

# TEXTING IN EARLIER FIFTEENTH CENTURY SACRED POLYPHONY

with particular reference to the repertory of the Trent Codices and related sources

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study addresses problems involving the application of text to sacred music in the approximate period 1400-1460, with special reference to the contents of the Trent Codices. I will attempt to show that there was little or no standardisation in setting text to part-music, and sometimes a widely differing variety of practices. I also attempt to show that a best-practice editorial full text policy is suitable for some sophisticated part-music from the years 1440-1460, but additionally I will argue that such a policy cannot be applied uniformly to all extant styles of vocal music for the period concerned.

This is only a short study of a large subject. Its purpose is to give those who are relatively new to editing fifteenth century music a step forward based on my long experience of dealing with texting in compositions of the time (from roughly 1977 to beyond 2020). Like everybody else I learned partly by making mistakes, and hopefully absorption of what I suggest in the following pages will make learners' attempts to handle texting far more confident than they might otherwise be. I make no claims to rectitude or authority here, and I write on this subject merely because I have trod its paths more than most other scholars. For most of this study I have pursued those paths empirically, and the lack of relevant theoretical sources has certainly not been a disincentive. For most guidelines proposed in this study there will be exceptions, and I make no claim to have been exhaustive about such exceptions. Much of what I suggest concerning lower-voice text could be substituted by a more theory-based approach to ligatures than I allow here, plus perhaps generalisations about incipit-texted and partially imitative textures not really needing text. But I know for sure that such approaches would short-serve much of the music concerned.<sup>1</sup>

The main difficulties with text in earlier fifteenth century sacred music are related to the musical textures and text presentation in voices which are not fully texted. Slow-moving Tenor and Contratenor

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<sup>1</sup> There is an additional layer of complexity here in that an increasing number of fifteenth century sacred pieces in more than one source are now capable of being analysed as adaptations or second versions of previous copies, and sometimes this involves doubling or halving of values and changing of mensurations, adding or deletion of ligatures, and so on. For some small examples see Bent, M., 'New Concordances for Dunstaple, Cooke and Binchois...' in Cook, J., McDonald, G. and Whittaker, A. (eds), *Manuscripts, Materiality and Mobility. Essays in Late Medieval Music in Memory of Peter Wright* (Libreria Musicale Italiana, Lucca, 2024) pp. 151-162. Additional texting can also play a role in how a modern editor views a single work. For example, the *Zacara Gloria tro. Laus et honor* in *Old Hall* (f. 28v) is the only extant source for this piece with a ligatured and untexted Contra. It seems possible that the trope in other sources might not have been part of the original work.

parts often cannot accommodate the quantity of text which the Superius voice above them is given. Also in many continental manuscripts from the end of our period such Superius text is often entered in a compressed and imprecise manner.<sup>2</sup> Modern editions reflect these difficulties in various ways. A few merely give the unhyphenated text largely as it appears in the source used.<sup>3</sup> Others attempt to reproduce more or less the exact underlay of the source used, which may not have been the intention of the music's composer.<sup>4</sup> Quite a few editions attempt to resolve underlay problems by moving syllables around, either out of a sense of being practical or because of a sense of aesthetics. Some also add editorial lower-voice text.<sup>5</sup> The difficulties with text here are compounded by the certainty that Latin pronunciation was not standardised in this period, and also by the probability that our sense of text underlay aesthetics was not the same as that of a musician of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

I begin with presentation of a few examples to show how widely fifteenth century attitudes to musical text may have varied. Firstly, I refer to Dufay's *Iuvenis qui puellam* (not a sacred piece, but rather a mock discussion in terms of canon law whose allegorical references seem to concern the Council of Basle).<sup>7</sup> Its use of fauxbourdon and syllabic passages reinforce its relationship to styles of sacred music current around 1440. I refer to it here because the rhythms of its syllabic passages tend to reflect the poetic feet of its text, which is most unusual for its time.

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<sup>2</sup> Pieces in continental sources sometimes appear to be quite scrappily copied alongside readings in English concordances, such as in the fragmentary source illustrated in Plate 9. Plate 8 (even though its music has no continental concordances) illustrates another insular source with what looks like clear textual intentions.

<sup>3</sup> For an example see Albert Seay's edition *The musical works of John Hothby (d. 1487)* (CMM 33, 1964).

<sup>4</sup> See Gülke, P. (ed), *Johannis Pullois Opera Omnia* (CMM 41, 1967).

<sup>5</sup> For much of this study I will be referring to my extensively texted online editions of Trent 89 and 91 (hereafter 89 and 91) on the Oxford DIAMM website (<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/trent-codices/>) with the manuscript sigla followed by page numbers for individual music passages. My reason for this is that these series provide reference to a conveniently large body of music in a single format which is edited consistently. Throughout this study, many pagination references for scores are only referred to by their start point (i.e. 'p. 34' for a whole Mass cycle or motet). This is merely to save space.

<sup>6</sup> This point about aesthetics is particularly observable for English-speakers in the text underlay of the recent edition of Thomas Whythorne's 1571 songs for three, four and five voices (respectively Antico AE 31, 39 and 38, 2000-2004) and also in the general underlay policy in early volumes of Stainer and Bell's *The English Madrigalists* series edited by Edmund Fellowes.

<sup>7</sup> The piece is incomplete in its only source and lacks the ending. Further, see Trumble, E., 'Autobiographical Implications in Dufay's Song-Motet "Juvenis qui puellam"' in *RBM* 42 (1988) pp. 31-82. Trumble does not discuss the rhythmic feature mentioned here. The text of *Iuvenis qui puellam* consists of prose for its first surviving section and metrical stanzas for what remains. For recent work on it see Alejandro Planchart's online Dufay edition (<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/165/24DuFay-Iuvenis.pdf>). The text of the first section is taken from a letter of Pope Eugenius III, "Ad Aesculapium presbyterum", found in the proceedings of the Third Lateran Council (1179). Dufay would have had access to this because of his canon law studies in the later 1430's. Planchart's *Guillaume Dufay: the Life and Works* (2 vols, Cambridge and New York, 2018), II, p. 408 disputes the musical setting's accepted dating slightly.

1. Dufay, *Iuvenis qui puellam*, opening of first duple section;

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Qui - a i - gi - tur in his que du - bi - a sunt,  
 Qui - a i - gi - tur in his que du - bi - a sunt,  
 Qui - a i - gi - tur in his que du - bi - a sunt,

2. Dufay, *Iuvenis qui puellam*, end of surviving final section;

<sup>b</sup>

se - xto e - o - dem ti - tu - lo.  
 se - xto e - o - dem ti - tu - lo.  
 se - xto e - o - dem ti - tu - lo.

Secondly (and more or less oppositely) the start of the second section of the Credo from the 'Jo. Bassere' Mass in 89 gives the word 'Crucifixus' with a most unusual rhythm.<sup>8</sup>

3. Jo. Bassere, Credo from the Missa *Sine nomine*, opening of second full section;

79 [O = ♩ =]

- - ctus est. Cru - - ci - fi - xus e -  
 - - - ctus est. Cru - - ci - fi - xus e -  
 Cru - - ci - fi - xus e -

Third, the following extract from the Missa *Zersundert* in 91 shows words from the Credo text being adapted to the anacrusic rhythm of a pre-existent song model by repetition of syllables.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> D89 p. 961.

<sup>9</sup> D91 p. 788. This Credo presents what seems to be a series of song references in its Superius, and the anacrusic behaviour of the Superius and Tenor here is probably derived from the melody of the mostly lost song *Tu auf mein allerlibste* (part of which survives as incipits in the quodlibets *Glogau* no. 117 and *Leipzig 1494* no. 159). Perhaps even worse than this example in terms of setting Mass Ordinary text is a passage from the Credo of

4. Missa *Zersundert*, Credo, 160-164;

160 #

- - - tas. Et u - ...Et u - ...Et u - nam, san - ctam, ca -

Pro - phe - tas. Et u - nam, san - ctam, ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec - cle -

Pro - phe - tas. Et u - ...Et u - ...Et u - nam,

Pro - phe - tas. Et u - nam, san - ctam, ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam ...a -

Added to these rare extremes we also find text in probably revised pieces and contrafacta where certain liberties seem to be taken. Notably in the Missa *Au chant de l'alouette* in *SP B80* where dense and sometimes awkward upper-voice wordsetting in the Gloria and Credo suggests some drastic revisions, perhaps due to the work being shortened.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, *Spec* contains two pieces which look like contrafacta of secular works whose Superius parts are untidily underlaid with successive parts of the Credo text rendered like verses.<sup>11</sup>

In between these instances, much triple-time music of the era from Ciconia to Dufay's later years moves in what a previous writer called the 'juxtasyllabic style'.<sup>12</sup> Meaning that where the music has anything like full text, the Superius tends to lead in a texture where the lower voices have less text than the latter or where the lower voices textually 'catch up' with the Superius towards the ends of musical phrases. But even to admit the likely existence of such a haphazard method of text-setting in fully underlaid music only seems to pose more questions than it answers. Such as where and when lower-voice text is needed or not, the priorities in which text and music were entered in some sources, and most importantly a question of consistency. Are there indeed any grounds for attempting to text earlier fifteenth century sacred polyphony with a degree of editorial consistency? These and other related issues are matters which I hope to address satisfactorily in the following sections, whose headings are set out below.

2. Surviving treatises concerning text underlay, and principles followed in the remainder of this study.
3. How to determine the necessity of lower-voice texting, and identifiable types of music in preceding style periods which seem to require consistent text policies.
4. Full text in pieces from the later part of our period.
5. Precedents for types of texting amongst sources earlier than 1430, and text preceding the copying of notation (in carefully made manuscripts from before 1400 this tends to be the norm).

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Martini's Missa *Cucu* where the words of the Tenor's Credo text are interrupted by the 'Cucu' call of the cycle's binding musical material (*D91* p. 573).

<sup>10</sup> *SP B80* ff. 1v-9r. Published in Moohan, E. and Steib, M. (eds), *Johannes Martini: Masses Part 1. Masses without Known Polyphonic Models* (A-R Editions, 1999) p. 212. There is also an online transcription by Agostino Magro at <http://ricercar-old.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/MessesAnonymes/sources/86.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> *Spec* pp. 166-167, both for are three voices and respectively referred to as *Patrem Řehtavé* and *Patrem Jirkovo* in the manuscript's index. The first name means a 'neighing' Patrem and the second means the Patrem 'of George'. For more information on individual names for pieces in *Spec* see Mráčková, L., *Behind the stage: some thoughts on the Codex Speciálník and the reception of polyphony in late 15th-century Prague* in *Early Music* 37 (2009) pp. 37-48.

<sup>12</sup> See Villard, L., *Text underlay in the Mass Ordinary of Dufay and some of his contemporaries* (Ph. D. dissertation, Illinois University, Evanston, 1960) pp. 37-43.

6. The development of textural density in fifteenth century sacred music.
7. Superius parts with two or more slower-moving supporting parts.
8. Homophony and near-homophony.
9. Imitative and largely free composition.
10. Chant paraphrase.
11. Lower voice cantus firmus.
12. How text might have been applied in performance, and the likely variety in vocal ensembles.
13. Other studies of texting.
14. Conclusions.

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## 2a. SURVIVING TREATISES CONCERNING TEXT UNDERLAY, AND PRINCIPLES FOLLOWED IN THE REMAINDER OF THIS STUDY.

Apart from casual references to text distribution in a treatise who some authorities regard as the work of a certain 'Egidius', there appear to be no surviving works on setting text to music prior to the early fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Don Harrán published an article in 1978 which gives and discusses the surviving parts of two treatises on texting, each of which is incomplete. Both may come from the Veneto. The first may date from around 1420 and the second may be from before the mid-century. Both are in Italian and the leaf containing their remnants is bound together with treatises by Gulielmus Monachus and Antonius de Leno.<sup>14</sup> The rules that each texting treatise gives are basic and seem to be intended for general musical instruction rather than for experienced musicians. I paraphrase the principles and rules given in the first treatise below.

1. There is no logic in how to adjust words to melody beyond that in the mind of whoever writes out the melody in notes.
2. Melodies can carry as many syllables as are required.
3. Syllables always go with the note written above them.
4. Never break ligatures by assigning more than one syllable to single ligatures.
5. Align notes and syllables properly.

The second treatise gives equally straightforward instructions which I paraphrase as follows.

1. Deliver the syllable (i.e. sing the syllable) on the note with which it is aligned.
2. Keep singing all notes on the same syllable until the next syllable is reached.
3. Be careful to specify [in copying] where a syllable is to be sung.
4. Never place a syllable on any note of a ligature other than the first.
5. Syllables may occur on adjacent beats (i.e. tactus or semibreve pulses) or on beats still further apart.
6. Syllables are not to be placed between beats (i.e. they are not to be placed under notes that are not on tactus or semibreve pulses). Harrán discusses the precise intention of rules 5 and 6 above, which seem to indicate - for example - that in a measure of six minims in O mensuration syllables may only occur under minims 1, 3 and 5.

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<sup>13</sup> Bent, M., *The Motet in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2023) pp. 17-18 contests the usual attribution of this treatise on motet writing to Egidius de Morino, also suggesting that its date may be nearer 1400 than the normally accepted dating in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> See Harrán, D., 'In Pursuit of Origins: The Earliest Writing on Text Underlay (c.1440)' in *ActaM* 50 (1978) pp. 227-240. The original language and English translations of practically all theoretical material given in this section can be seen in the same author's *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (MSD 40, Stuttgart, 1986), Appendix, pp. 360-489.

The next most significant writings on text underlay come from the sixteenth century. They are in an unusual chronological order because the ten principles of text underlay in Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1558) are followed by Kaspar Stocker's *De musica verbali* of ca. 1570, which gives rules that were observed by 'older composers' as well as general principles concerning text underlay.<sup>15</sup> It becomes apparent from Stocker's discussion that his 'older composers' rules' refer to music written before Zarlino, who was a disciple of Willaert and whose motets generally reflect a more syllabic style of writing than is apparent in the music of previous masters.<sup>16</sup>

For the sake of simplicity I give Zarlino's rules here first, largely as paraphrased in the account of Zarlino's works published by Gustave Reese.<sup>17</sup>

1. Long and short syllables should be combined with notes or figures of corresponding value 'so that no barbarism is heard'.
2. Only one syllable should be sung to a ligature.
3. A dot augmenting a note should not be given a new syllable (meaning that an augmented note can only receive a single syllable and must not be split).
4. A syllable is not to be assigned to a semiminim or to notes of smaller values, or to notes immediately following such small values (this rule is meant to apply to music where the tactus is on the semibreve).
5. Notes that immediately follow a dotted semibreve or minim and are of smaller value than the dots themselves (i.e. a semiminim after a dotted semibreve) are not normally given a syllable.
6. If a syllable has to be given to a semiminim, another syllable may also be given to the following note (again this rule is meant to apply to music where tactus is on the semibreve).
7. A syllable must be given to a note - whatever its value - at the beginning of a piece or after rests within it.
8. In plainchant, neither words nor syllables should be repeated (presumably Sanctus chants would lie outside this rule).
9. At the close, a penultimate syllable may be combined with a number of notes but only if it is a long syllable. A combination of several notes with a short syllable would produce a barbarism.
10. The last syllable must coincide with the last note of a piece.

All of these rules except the second are occasioned by a sense of aesthetics. Not all of them are consistent with material to be discussed in the following sections, and in due course I will describe exceptions to rules 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10.

## 2b. Kaspar Stocker's writing on text underlay.

Stocker's treatise *De musica verbali* (probably written around 1570) illustrates a scholastic method of writing about texting with humanist influences. In his first chapter he states that "musicians are shamefully ignorant of the method of how to apply words to notes, a discipline not easy to learn without rules". He also objects to solmisation as a teaching method, and subsequent chapters deal with basic

<sup>15</sup> See Lowinsky, E., 'A Treatise on Text Underlay by a German Disciple of Francesco de Salinas' in Meyer, E. (ed), *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler* (Leipzig, 1961) pp. 231-251.

<sup>16</sup> See Lewis, Mary S., 'Zarlino's Theories of Text Underlay as Illustrated in His Motet Book of 1549', in *Notes* 2 (1949) pp. 239-267. For the purposes of this discussion the sixteenth century accounts of texting by Lanfranco (1533) and Vicentino (1555) are not used. For these, respectively see Harrán, D., 'New light in the question of text underlay prior to Zarlino' in *ActaM* 45 (1973) pp. 24-56 and the same author's article 'Vicentino and his rules of text underlay' in *Musical Quarterly* 59 (1973) pp. 620-632. I omit Lanfranco's rules because - as Harrán's study shows - Zarlino partially cribs them. Giving a full account of Lanfranco's thinking would also obscure the dichotomy in my account here between Zarlino's rules and Stocker's assembled practices of older musicians. I am, after all, writing about fifteenth century practices and not those of the following century. Further on Zarlino see Goldman, D., 'A New Look at Zarlino's Theory and its Effect on his Counterpoint Doctrine' in *Theory and Practice* 16 (1991) pp. 163-177.

<sup>17</sup> Reese, G., *Music in the Renaissance* (revised edition, Norton, London and New York, 1959) p. 578.

theory and practice in music in addition to the potency of text when it is set to music. In his third chapter he asks “should a composition be sung in any other way than that intended by the composer?” and after dealing with further elementary theory matters he asks if it is legitimate to apply Zarlino’s underlay rules to music not composed according to their practice. He answers this question by saying that he firmly believes such principles existed before Zarlino, and he then lists five obligatory rules followed by older composers. These are as follows, with some paraphrase of their content.

1. Do not force a greater number of syllables onto a smaller number of notes.
2. Count the dot as one with its note (which equals Zarlino’s rule 3).
3. Each ligature receives only one syllable (equalling Zarlino’s rule 2).
4. If several notes appear on the same pitch, each one of them receives its own syllable (I take this to mean immediately successive notes at the same pitch).
5. The first syllable goes to the first note, the last syllable to the note (agreeing with Zarlino’s rules 7 and 10).

These add nothing aesthetically new to Zarlino’s rules, and the ‘new’ rules 1 and 4 here are as self-explanatory as the rest of the derived rules given. Stocker also provides commentaries to his list. The commentary regarding rule 1 describes a situation where many notes are given at the beginning of a piece to few syllables, but where towards the end of the piece more syllables in the text than available notes remain. In this eventuality some syllables may be left out, or notes must be divided, or syllables must be given to small values which do not normally receive them. Stocker adds that examples of such situations will not be found in the works of Willaert and his followers, but instances occur in works by older composers. Unfortunately the musical examples that should accompany this passage are omitted.

He also asks “how does it happen that we find more notes than syllables?” and replies to this by giving the composer or the singer as the cause. If the composer gives more notes than syllables then such a situation may be due to imitative construction or other means of musical construction to emphasise either an important sentence or word in the text. If the singer gives more notes than syllables, this may be due to ornamentation.

In the commentary to rule 2 Stocker describes why dotted rhythms occur, saying that they either reflect the correct stresses of text (i.e. in the word ‘Dominus’ with a short note for its second syllable) or because of contrapuntal necessities (for example, in the classic preparation of a dissonance). He also allows a concession here in the eventuality of ‘too many syllables’, namely that the two parts of a dotted note may be separated providing the separation does not result in the second note offending the ear as a dissonance. I imagine that what he had in mind is illustrated by the following example, but he also says “in case of doubt, it is always safer to follow the rule not to separate the dot from its note.”

5. Realisation of a likely exception to Stocker’s rule 2;

et vi - vi - fi - can - tem.

et vi - vi - fi - can - tem.

In his commentary to rule 3, Stocker admits that ligatures can receive more than one syllable if necessary. Rule 4’s commentary section also allows an exception, namely that if the first of two notes at the same pitch is a semiminim or shorter, a syllable may be given to just the second note or may be omitted altogether. Again the musical example which follows this passage is missing, which is

particularly unfortunate. He continues that this exception particularly applies when the first note is preceded by a note of the same length and so appears to be tied, and the note afterwards can go without a syllable because it follows a semiminim. Lowinsky illustrated Stocker's probable intention here as follows.

6. Realisation of an exception to Stocker's rule 4 (adapted from Lowinsky, *op. cit.*);



Stocker's exceptions to his fifth rule firstly concern internal syllables in whole musical texts. He regards placement of all of these internal syllables as musically random. However, if the first or last syllables in a voice have a ligature, then rule 3 for ligatures overrides rule 5. He then proceeds to five optional rules of older composers.

1. The syllables of each penultimate or antepenultimate note - providing that they are accented - may accept several semiminims.
2. An isolated semiminim often receives a syllable, and in this instance the following note receives a syllable too.
3. If two notes which are minims or semiminims follow a dot and their value taken together equals that of the dot, neither they nor the note that follows usually receive a syllable.
4. Occasionally two minims or semiminims take one syllable, which is applied at the first note and held out for the second.
5. If many semiminims or smaller notes go together they receive one syllable, which comes under the first note.

Most of these optional rules concern the text-setting of melismata. Rule 1 here equals Zarlino's rule 9, rule 2 is the same as Zarlino's rule 6, rule 3 is the same as Zarlino's rule 5, and rule 5 has a similar context to Zarlino's rule 4. His commentaries on these optional rules of older composers contain the following observations. Regarding rule 1, Stocker differentiates between accents in single words and the importance of certain words within sentences, and says that an educated musician ensures the agreement of grammatical and musical sense. I take this to mean that melismata on unimportant words such as 'et' or 'in' are discouraged in polyphony, and likewise melismata on word combinations such as 'et in' or 'qui pro' are thought to be unstylish.

Concerning rule 2, Stocker's arguments can be summarised as meaning that a texted semiminim with an untexted longer note following it can sound odd. He adds that if a texted semiminim is followed by small values, then only the first of these small values receives a syllable.

On rule 3, he stresses that the speed of the semiminims concerned makes the appearance of a syllable on a longer note *immediately following them* uncomfortable.

Regarding rule 4 (a preference for minims being used for text in pairs) his desire for the syllable to appear with the first of two such minims is the result of *tactus* normally being counted at semibreve and not minim level. Where a minim is followed by a note twice its value, the second note should be regarded as an accessory to the first. Lowinsky realised Stocker's probable intentions here as follows.



7. Realisation of a commentary example to Stocker's optional rule 4 (adapted from Lowinsky, *op. cit.*);

Stocker comments on his rule 5 preference for syllables on the first notes of melismata containing small values as follows. Not only does a composer usually start ordering his counterpoint from the beginning of such a passage; singers tend to do likewise when they embellish starting with a simple melodic figure (i.e. it would be rare for a Renaissance singer to begin an embellished phrase with a series of simple or large values).

Lastly in connection with optional rules of older composers, Stocker discusses matters relating to Zarlino's rule 8 and its prohibition of word and syllable repetition in plainchant. He says that when - towards the end of a piece - so many notes remain that a sentence can be repeated, repetition is favoured to prevent the singing of a long melisma on an accented syllable. He adds that frequent repetitions cause 'aversion and disgust in the listener', that text repetition sometimes occurs in polyphony out of necessity, and that repetition sometimes occurs because the importance of a certain portion of text has to be impressed upon the listener. He adds that phrase or word repetition for emphasis of meaning is also a habit of poets and orators. Stocker then gives a list of optional rules of modern composers. These are as follows.

1. All minims and notes larger than a minim receive a syllable.
2. A series of semiminims or smaller notes - however many they may be - receives only one syllable.
3. A note following immediately upon semiminims or fusae - whatever its value may be - continues the same syllable as the previous small values.
4. Repetition of text should be shunned, and repetition of single words should be shunned more than that of sentences.
5. Short syllables should take a short note, and long syllables should take a long note.

Rule 1 here is very similar to Zarlino's rule 1. Rule 3 resembles Zarlino's rule 4, rule 4 is similar to Zarlino's rule 8, and rule 5 is again similar to Zarlino's rule 1. Stocker again gives commentaries to these rules, but these need not concern us here nor their application to music of Willaert's generation.<sup>18</sup> Lowinsky gave a full comparison of the application of Zarlino's and Stocker's underlay rules, but again that is outside the present subject-matter. What matters here is that Stocker is practically our only witness to the habits of composers regarded as 'older' in the first half of the sixteenth century. His writings clearly touch upon the following situations which we will encounter several times again in following discussions.

Too many words for the notes given (see older obligatory rules, commentary 1).

Occasional split values (see older obligatory rules, commentary 2).

Ligatures needing more than one syllable (see older obligatory rules, commentary 3).

The likely existence of repeated notes in cadential clichés (see older obligatory rules, commentary 4).

Pieces or single voices ending with ligated values (see older obligatory rules, commentary 5).

<sup>18</sup> Stocker is far more prolix and elegant in his original language than I allow here, and those who take interest in humanists' comparisons of oratory and music will take much pleasure in his reasoning. However, the otherwise very accurate and eloquent account in Lowinsky, *op. cit.* is slightly confused because on p. 237 (first full paragraph) the information on Stocker's five obligatory rules of older composers has its descriptions of the rule 2 and 3 commentaries in the wrong order.

It would be possible to contrive a set of ‘obligatory older rules’ for texting in works before Willaert simply by compounding common features of all the older rules given so far. However, working in that way to edit music not necessarily written with such principles in mind might be procrustean or might end up being prohibitive rather like the workings of species counterpoint. Nevertheless for a laboratory-style way of applying similar rules see the information from Albert Munn’s 1991 thesis in section 13.

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## 2c. General principles for realising text underlay.

Having dealt with the relatively sparse information that survives from theorists, there are certain principles followed in the remainder of this study which depend partly on the rules previously given.

(i) I take realised text underlay here to mean that the score and one-stave examples in the following pages have had their text-syllable positions in the originals adjusted frequently, and voices without text have sometimes had editorial text added. The purpose of such realisation is restoration: namely, an attempt to enhance what survives of the music and to bring it back into the world of performance without giving the singers too much work other than to read and sing what they see, and at sensible performance speeds too. In providing guidelines for such restoration I am well aware that many manuscripts prior to the 1430’s use music notation copied after text was entered, and I deal with samples of such sources in section 5. I am discussing music that was exclusively sung, and mostly sung either to text or to wordless vocalisation or a mixture of both. There is a school of thought which considers the singing of solmisation syllables for supporting voices in late medieval polyphony, but I have never seen this investigated on paper or heard it done effectively.<sup>19</sup> Likewise if there is anybody reading this study who believes in the exclusive use of instruments for supporting parts in fourteenth and fifteenth century polyphony, they will find no support for that belief here. However, see section 11 for possible uses of instruments in cantus firmus parts.

(ii) I think it logical that in measured music there is a general preference for a syllable to be placed on a strong beat. This particularly applies to supporting voices. Exceptions are likely to occur in four instances. Firstly where a plainchant cantus firmus is involved, or secondly with upper-voice plainchant paraphrase if the latter is not so figurative as to have a merely vague resemblance to its parent chant. For examples of the latter I refer readers to section 10 on chant paraphrase. The third exception concerns vocalised prelude and postlude passages in part-music; some of these might have been wordlessly vocalised. Such preludes largely belong to secular pieces by Binchois, Dufay and others in *Ox 213* and similar sources. The fourth exception is with anacrusic two-note entries at the same pitch as in Examples 16 and 17 following.

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<sup>19</sup> Two related early fifteenth century Latin three-voice secular pieces by Egardus and Martinus Fabri mention a certain ‘Buclarus’ who is encouraged to return home (probably to the Low Countries) and sing ‘gamautare’. Further, see Strohm, R., *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 111-112. Apart from occasional solmisation references in combinative chansons these pieces are amongst the very few polyphonic pieces before Josquin’s Missa *La sol fa* that mention or involve solmisation in their texts. Both are canonic. The Fabri piece (*Sinceram salutem*) is published in Strohm, *ibid.* p. 211. Egardus’s piece (*Furnos reliquisti / Equum est*) is in *PMFC* vol. 13 p. 214.

(iii) Despite the seamless texture of much mid fifteenth century polyphony, most music of this period is essentially measure music which uses regular tempus groupings of two or three semibreves.<sup>20</sup> Much of the complexity of O mensuration style in the later part of our period is achieved by the use of conflicting accents and varied harmonic pace. For example, rhythms such as  $\square \diamond \diamond \square$  occur frequently, and standard cadence formulas can be halved or doubled in speed to achieve varied rhythmic effects.

8. Touront, Missa *Sine nomine* II, Credo, 74-75;<sup>21</sup>

74

(ce) - - - lis.

8

(ce) - - - lis.

8

(ce) - - - lis.

9. Touront, Missa *Sine nomine* II, Sanctus, 34-36;

34

- ba - - - oth.

8

- ba - - - oth.

8

- ba - - - oth.

Here we are dealing with the contrast between lesser and greater rhythms. This is an extremely important principle in connection with texting problems, since deciding where a strong accent lies can help to determine the best position for text syllables. However, in rhythmically sophisticated polyphony the positioning of strong and weak accents is not always easily detectable, and sometimes might not even be relevant for editing purposes. In pieces from the middle to the later parts of our period the contrasts between lesser and greater rhythms often make up quite complex textures, and the task of identifying strong musical stresses is best done empirically through performance. For example, in O mensuration and faster-moving passages in sesquialtera or dotted-C, repeated singing or playing through will often be crucial in deciding whether the rhythm  $\square \diamond \diamond \square$  (or its halved equivalent) should have its first and third values stressed or its first and fourth. I find that as triple rhythm in fifteenth century works becomes slower and more intricate, I often unconsciously seek in aural terms for duple patterns rather than the triple measures of the written music. Hopefully that is only natural as people seek mental anchorage points for anything melodically and rhythmically organised.

<sup>20</sup> Many of the arguments in the following pages are taken from my 1989 Ph. D. dissertation *The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91, together with analyses and editions of six Mass cycles by Franco-Flemish composers from Trent Codex 89* (2 vols, Exeter University), I, pp. 301-305.

<sup>21</sup> For the complete pieces in Examples 8 and 9 see *D89* pp. 64-73 and 73-78.

Duple mensuration polyphony - despite there still being questions about its speed when used internally following triple sections - tends to move in implied greater measures of two or three-measure units.<sup>22</sup> The theorist Johannes Hanboys's *Summa super musicam* of ca. 1370 mentions compound and purely duple rhythms, but this is a rare citation.<sup>23</sup> Very occasionally one finds fifteenth century secular pieces whose duple measures easily fall into a greater triple measure rhythm, such as the textless *Dy plumlein* (Schedel no. 5). One of the adaptations of the famous *O rosa bella* also does this, although the original song may not have looked quite like the famous version and might not even have had the same text.<sup>24</sup> It is far more common to find duple mensuration part-music where a series of duple measures in pairs is succeeded by a cadential formula using a triple greater measure, as in the following examples - where dotted lines have been inserted to show where the pre-cadential triple unit seems to begin in each case.

10. Anon, Magnificat Tone 5 (88 ff. 337v-338v), 30-38;<sup>25</sup>

30

sa - lu - ta - ri me - - - o.

8 sa - lu - ta - ri me - - - o.

8 sa - lu - ta - ri me - - - o.

8 sa - lu - ta - ri me - - - o.

<sup>22</sup> Duple-meter pieces whose greater measures fall into triple patterns occur in Machaut, as in motet 8 (*Qui es promesses / Ha Fortune / Et non est*, published in *PMFC* vol. 2 pp. 134-136) where the organisation of the Tenor is triple. Threefold greater measures in Machaut can also occur in duple-meter pieces without organised Tenors, as in the two-part Rondeau *Quant j'ay l'espart* (*PMFC* vol. 3 p. 145). There are also Trecento antecedents in secular pieces using the duodenaria signature.

<sup>23</sup> This concerns the division of the breve into eight and indications of 'longa mensura', which are relevant to smaller values in English fourteenth century polyphony. Further, see Lefferts, P. (ed), *Regule*, by Johannes Hanboys (University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

<sup>24</sup> For the adapted version see *D89* p. 1896.

<sup>25</sup> This and all other 88 examples are taken from my own editions rather than published versions.

11. Domarto, Sanctus from the Domarto-Cervelli Mass, 128-135;<sup>26</sup>

Related to this quite common style feature is the tendency for cantus firmus works or pieces with internal long-note parts to fall into triple greater measures for relatively long stretches of internal sections. Examples of this occur in the Credos both the *Quand ce viendra* and *Mon oeil* Masses in 89.<sup>27</sup>

(iv) Stocker's optional rule 4 for older composers mentions a preference for minims being used in pairs for single text syllables. In the mensurations where minims naturally occur in pairs (O, C and their derivatives) this may apply and the same may also apply to pairs of semibreves, particularly if they are ligated. The following fourteenth century examples respectively illustrate these minim and semibreve preferences.

12. Anon, Kyrie from the Sorbonne Mass, 51-58;<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *D89* p. 403.

<sup>27</sup> The first of these Masses is probably the work of Busnois, and the second has an attribution to Touront. For the relevant section in the Missa *Quand ce viendra* see *D89* pp. 912-916, where the rhythms of the outer voices are subordinate to the triple greater rhythm of the cantus firmus Tenor. In the second full section of the Missa *Mon oeil* Credo (*D89* pp. 868-873) the triple greater measure full section is preceded by a reduced-scoring passage in which triple greater measures do not seem to be in use.

<sup>28</sup> See *PMFC* vol. 23a p. 3.

13. Anon, *Gaude virgo immaculata* (US-NYpm f. 1v-2r), 42-50;<sup>29</sup>

42

The image shows three staves of musical notation in mensural notation. Each staff has a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics 'cum gau - di - o ge - nu - i - sti.' are written below each staff. Brackets above the notes group them into measures. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the final measure of the top staff.

Likewise in the mensurations where minims naturally occur in threes (dotted-O and dotted-C) I would expect some single syllables to be underlaid to three-minim groups, and where syllables have to be underlaid to notes involving simple coloration I would expect at least some underlay to follow the rhythms of the colored values. The following two examples illustrate these minim and coloration-pattern preferences.

14. Machaut, *Nes que on porroit*, Superius, 39-40;<sup>30</sup>

39

The image shows a single staff of musical notation in mensural notation with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics 'grant de - sir que j'ay de' are written below the staff. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the staff.

15. Dufay, *Gloria* (88 ff. 384v-386r), 33-37;<sup>31</sup>

33

The image shows three staves of musical notation in mensural notation. The top staff has a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The middle and bottom staves have bass clefs and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: '- tens. Do - mi - ne Fi - li U - ni - ge - ni - te. - stis, ...Fi - li, U - ni - ge - ni - te. - tens. Do - mi - ne Fi - li, U - ni - ge - ni - te.' A sharp sign (#) is placed above the top staff.

(v) Start-of-phrase repeated notes at the same pitch with only the first syllable being texted are quite common, particularly in the earlier part of our period and also amongst English works until at least the middle part of our period. There are plenty of examples to show that same-pitch repeated notes at strategic musical points within a work were tolerated both before and during our period. Same-pitch repeated notes with one syllable for the first of two notes occur in one or other of the upper voices at the opening of Vitry's motet *Tuba sacra / In arboris*, and in the anonymous and slightly later motet

<sup>29</sup> *PMFC* vol. 17 p. 118.

<sup>30</sup> *PMFC* vol. 3 p. 123.

<sup>31</sup> Published in *Dufay Opera Omnia* vol. 4, no. 21.

*Dantur / Quid scire*.<sup>32</sup> Machaut's motet 21's Introitus section opens likewise.<sup>33</sup> Jacopo da Bologna's *In verde prato* has one upper voice at its start which does the same.<sup>34</sup> In the revised edition of Dunstable's collected works repeated same-pitch notes with one syllable on only the first note likewise occur at the start of Sanctus no. 6, Agnus no. 14, *Salve Regina mater mire* no. 45 and *Salve Regina* no. 63.<sup>35</sup> The following examples illustrate such repeated notes in typical contexts. Example 16 gives part of a song from before 1430 which has a vocalised postlude to a phrase of text. Example 17 shows a typically English anacrusic use of repeated pitches in the Superius of a Sanctus setting.

16. Briquet, *Ma seul amour* (*Ox* 213 no. 224), Superius, 9-14;<sup>36</sup>

9

la du - re do - lour que

17. Blome, Sanctus (*Ao* ff. 248v-250r), Superius, 8-15;<sup>37</sup>

8

san - - - - - ctus.

Example 17's usage is amply reflected in the definitely English five-part *Ave Regina celorum* setting in 89, where the shortish text is set to two extended sections and where there are four such triple-time anacrusic entries in the first section.<sup>38</sup> The same piece also features some same-pitch repeated notes in its second section which are not allotted any syllables at all.<sup>39</sup> A similar texting policy to that in the 89 *Ave Regina* is also found in the reconstructed version of Dunstable's *Descendi*, where again there is a relatively short text set to two extended sections. Here too we find some repeated same-pitch notes which have no syllables allotted.<sup>40</sup> Likewise the 89 equal-voice Mass (which seems to be musically connected to the latter *Ave Regina*) also contains some instances of two identical pitches at the start of phrases where only the first note is texted.<sup>41</sup> For some reason, anacrusic entries using single pitches in this style of music seems to be more restricted to triple sections than duple ones. However, lack of more insular duple pieces or sections to examine makes that generalisation less than firm. Persuading readers that this style feature is genuine rather than a mere editorial conceit is difficult because it goes against the grain of modern ideas regarding wordsetting. Inspection of the instances cited above should help to convince readers that my citations here are in earnest.

Other situations where same-pitch repeated values at the start of phrases might be found are in Kyrie settings (where there may be long melismata on the last syllable of 'Kyrie' or the first syllable of

<sup>32</sup> See *PMFC* vol. 1 pp. 88 and 104.

<sup>33</sup> *PMFC* vol. 3 p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> *PMFC* vol. 6 p. 97.

<sup>35</sup> See *MB* 8 (revised edition) at the respective pages 12, 33, 113 and 152.

<sup>36</sup> For the complete piece see *EFCM* vol. 2 p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> *EECM* 47 p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> *D89* pp. 1955-1965. See the Superius at 35-36, plus the second voice down at 41-42 and the third voice down at 83-84. This setting is also found as a fragment in a page from a large and probably insular choirbook that was found at Lausanne. Further, see Staehelin, M., 'Neue Quellen zur Mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz' in *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* III (1978) pp. 57-83.

<sup>39</sup> See the Superius at 152-153 and the second voice down at 165-166.

<sup>40</sup> *MB* 8 revised edition no. 73, measures 9 and 15. Since this reconstruction was made by matching up music from two different fragments, there may have been aspects of the texting in one of these sources which did not agree exactly with texting in the other.

<sup>41</sup> See *D89* p. 1937 measures 42-43 (Sanctus) and p. 1939 measures 137-138 (Osanna II opening, two upper voices), and p. 1941 measures 12-13 (Agnus, in third voice).

‘eleyson’) or at the start of extended pieces which involve some degree of mensural complexity.<sup>42</sup> To take an example of the latter, the beginnings of the Gloria and Credo from Barbingant’s *Missa Sine nomine* in 89 open with asynchronous movement in the Gloria and Credo (each involving two Superius D’s against longer values in the supporting voice, illustrated in Example 18). The Agnus opening also has two Superius D’s at its Superius start (breve and then dotted minim, in Example 19) which seem to indicate repeated pitches to a single syllable. Therefore in Example 18 I propose a repeated same-pitch note at the start of the Gloria Superius, so that the Superius singer(s) might have been able to set the relatively slow pace for the intricate sections which follow.

18. Barbingant, *Missa Sine nomine*, Gloria, 1-3;<sup>43</sup>

Et in ter -

Et in ter -

19. Barbingant, *Missa Sine nomine*, Agnus, 1-4;

1. A - - - - - gnus De - -

1. A - - - - - gnus De -

1. A - - - - - gnus De - -

Domarto’s well-distributed *Missa Spiritus almus* (found in 88 as well as in another four sources) has the same problem at the start of its Kyrie and Sanctus movements - in other words an O mensuration Superius opening with breve D semibreve D which unavoidably results in a same-pitch repeated note for the Sanctus but which leaves the Kyrie probably needing a solution like the one in the previous examples - and for more or less the same reason (that is, a musically complex piece requiring a precise setting of speed by the rhythmically initiating parts).

<sup>42</sup> See the Kyrie of Faugues’s *Missa La bassedanse* for repeated values in *D91* p. 883 (Superius, 21-22) and p. 886 (Superius, 116-117).

<sup>43</sup> For the whole Mass see *D89* pp. 925-946. In the edition I have followed the same practice for the Credo as in Example 18.



20. Domarto, *Missa Spiritus almus*, Kyrie, 1-4;

Ky - - ri - - e e - -  
 Ky - - ri - - e e - -  
 Spi - -  
 Kyrie e - - - - -

(vi) Regarding final notes, the exceptions to Stocker's fifth obligatory rule allow for a voice to end a work with a ligature - in which case the last syllable of text will not be under the last note. There are some very clear cases of all such voices in a single work having final syllables on ligated penultimate notes, and in the following example the underlay of '-men' is also suggested by the ornamental minims in each part preceding this syllable.

21. Henricus Tik, *Missa Sine nomine*, Credo, 220-225;<sup>44</sup>

220  
 - - - - - men.  
 - - - - - men.  
 - - - - - men.

Other than cases like the latter and all final syllables synchronising with final notes, all pieces under discussion here fall into the following categories. Firstly, those where a chant-bearing voice is ligated at a final cadence but where surrounding parts are not. Secondly, those where a single voice is held over to deliver its final syllable after the others have sung it.<sup>45</sup> Third, where the final note in one or more parts involves some sort of rhythmically feminine cadence.<sup>46</sup> Fourth, there are works where the final syllable is given before the start of a melismatic postlude passage, as in Dufay's famous *Ce moys de May* and also in Ciconia's *Doctorum principem* (in the latter the two upper voices have different texts).<sup>47</sup>

(vii) The treatment of similar or identical cadential clichés within single works often seems to require an element of consistency. Typically, the essential voices of much fifteenth century polyphony (the Superius and Tenor) end a piece with a sixth-to-octave cadence with a seventh-to sixth suspension as

<sup>44</sup> *D89* p. 379.

<sup>45</sup> For an example see *D89* p. 906 (ending of the Gloria from the Missa *Quand ce viendra*).

<sup>46</sup> For an example see *D89* p. 16 (the halfway point in the Credo from a probably English three-voice Mass).

<sup>47</sup> *PMFC* vol. 20 p. 93.

in the last two measures in the outer voices of Example 15. At the close of a section this suspended note in the Superius need not always receive a syllable but this seems to be a good place for a penultimate syllable, particularly when the suspension is preceded by syncopated dotted values as at ‘-bis’ and ‘Pon-’ as in the following example.

22. Anon, *Missa Wünschlichen schön*, Credo, 85-87;<sup>48</sup>

85

- ti - am pro no - bis sub Pon -

- am pro no - bis sub Pon -

If an O mensuration section draws to its close with a long melisma in all voices, should the penultimate syllable be delayed until an almost-final suspension as in the latter example? Probably not, as there is little to say that repeated pitches as in the Superius of measures 86 and 87 above *must* receive syllables. Indeed, Example 6 (a realisation of Stocker explaining how repeated values sometimes work) shows that such repeated values are permissible, and in longish and concluding melismata the repeated values resulting from syncopated dotted values seem acceptable if sung to a single syllable as below.

23. Anon, *Missa O rosa bella III (ModC version)*, Kyrie, 65-76;<sup>49</sup>

65

- le - y - son, Chri - ste

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

- le - y - son, Chri - ste

-son, Chri - ste

The recognition of greater and lesser measures within a triple mensuration work can also minimise the importance of dotted syncopated groups as in the following example, where the Superius has a syllable on ‘ce-’ that implies a pre-cadential clichéd cadence in greater measures.

<sup>48</sup> D89 p. 91.

<sup>49</sup> D89 p. 595.

24. Anon, Missa *Le serviteur* II, Credo, 57-60;<sup>50</sup>

56

#

tem de - scen - dit de ce - - lis.

tem de - scen - - dit de ce - lis.

In duple mensurations one particular type of melodic usage looks significant but it seems to have a history of misrepresentation in editions, and therefore I give six examples of this particular cliché and related passages to show that what I suggest might have been fairly common fifteenth century practice. Editors of various works seem to want to avoid upper-voice texting like the repeated A's in the following examples but I see little reason why.<sup>51</sup> The parent chant for Example 25's Superius paraphrase is a passage which has the rising ligated notes D A Bb to 'se-' and then '-culi' set to two A's.

25. Attamasch, Credo, 194-201;<sup>52</sup>

194

#

ri se - - - cu - li. A - - -

ri se - - - cu - li. A - - -

ri se - - - cu - li. A - - -

Two passages from the well-distributed Clibano Credo setting suggest likewise. The parent chant passage for the first excerpt's Superius paraphrase is 'Deum de Deo' set to G F A G G, and the second uses 'et mortuos' set to F A followed by ligated G F and then G.

<sup>50</sup> D89 p. 354.

<sup>51</sup> For some instances of capable editors probably avoiding the issue here, firstly see Plamenac, D. (ed), *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works* vol. I (1927 and revised edition, 1959) pp. 30 and 40 (Superius parts of the Missa *Au travail suis* Kyrie and Agnus at 1-3 in each case). Secondly see Davis, B. (ed), *The Collected Works of Vincenet* (A-R editions, Madison, Wisconsin, 1978) p. 5 systems 2-3 (part of a three-voice Mass otherwise edited in D91; for my texting of the same passage see D91 p. 835).

<sup>52</sup> D91 p. 324.

26 and 27. Clibano, Credo, 70-74 and 181-183;<sup>53</sup>

70

De - um de De - o, lu - men de  
- la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de lu -

77

et mor - tu - os: cu - ius  
mor - tu - os: cu - ius  
- vos et mor-tu - os:  
et mor - tu - os: cu - ius

The previously cited plainchant melody snippet for ‘et mortuos’ seems to encourage the placing of a syllable on the Superius G above at the first note of measure 78 rather than on the second G. For those unfamiliar with the idea of the repeated Superius notes here, a similar situation seems to be unavoidable in a Superius paraphrase *Regina celi* setting from ca. 1450.

28. Anon, *Regina celi* (88 ff. 222v-223r), 51-60;

51

ru - i - - - - sti  
ru - - - - sti

<sup>53</sup> D89 pp. 2037 and 2041. This Credo setting survives in five sources, including Petrucci's *Fragmenta Missarum* 1505.

A similar situation with repeated notes occurs in one of the *91* chant settings, and in the following example some Superius texting looks out of step with the lower voice greater duple rhythm.

29. Anon, *Nigra sum* (*91* ff. 92v-93r), 10-20;<sup>54</sup>

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Superius (top), Tenor (middle), and Bass (bottom). The Superius part has a melody with several repeated notes on the same pitch, which do not align with the greater duple rhythm of the lower parts. The lyrics are: 'sed for - - - mo - - -' for the Superius, 'sed for - - - mo - - -' for the Tenor, and 'sed for - - - mo - sa,' for the Bass. The number '10' is written above the first measure of the Superius part.

If we tolerate repeated the Superius notes in the cadential clichés in Examples 28 and 29 (which seems unavoidable) then the most important question for me regarding Examples 25-27 is why should similar repeated notes at pre-cadential points be avoided? Trying to hide such a feature arguably creates a double standard in the text treatment of almost identical melodic motives. Lastly regarding this particular cliché in duple rhythm, another likely example can be found in the freely composed texture of the Credo from Touront's *Missa Sine nomine* I. The following passage occurs as part of a series of redicta-like phrases that repeat triadic and cadence-like figures on C, which are all in duple greater measures (measures 79-126 in the movement concerned). For the purposes of Example 30, the first greater measure consists of 95-96 and the following measures are therefore all reckoned in pairs of greater measures.

30. Touront, *Missa Sine nomine* I, Credo, 95-102;

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Superius (top), Tenor (middle), and Bass (bottom). The Superius part has a melody with several repeated notes on the same pitch, which do not align with the greater duple rhythm of the lower parts. The lyrics are: 'se - cun - dum Scri - - - ptu - - - ras.' for the Superius, 'di - e se - cun - dum Scri - - - ptu - - -' for the Tenor, and '(di) - - - e se - cun - dum Scri - ptu - - -' for the Bass. The number '95' is written above the first measure of the Superius part.

If the syllable '-ptu-' were not on a strong beat in the previous example, it would constitute the only significant Superius weak-beat entry in the entirety of the cut-C section partly illustrated. In further consideration of Examples 25-27, it would of course be logical for modern editors to want to alter my texting to avoid the repeated same-pitch notes in the Superius. But then - as happens so often in editing fifteenth century texting - doubt might set in as to what is actually the best (or the least worst) solution. To end my discussion of this particular texting trait, I advise that where such repeated notes seem unavoidable in duple rhythm they should be tolerated rather than edited out or airbrushed out using offbeat texting or editorial word repetition.

<sup>54</sup> *D91* p. 254. Further regarding duple mensuration chant settings where the Superius paraphrase texting is not consistent with greater measures in the lower parts see section 10, Example 84.

In four-voice textures there are often repeated notes at cadences in the Contra primus (or ‘altus’) part as follows, which should usually not be taken as a sign that editorial repeated text is needed.

31. *Salve Regina* (89 no. 47), 167-176;<sup>55</sup>

167

um o - - - sten - - - de. #

um o - - - sten - - - de. #

um o - - - sten - - - de. #

um o - - - sten - - - de. b

I conclude this discussion of cadential clichés with mention of some unfamiliar melodic forms which may confuse those who have not encountered them before. First amongst these comes a usually English cliché in either triple or duple meter as in the following example’s Contra - which is borrowed material since this is from the *O rosa bella II* Mass that uses the famous song’s Superius as its Contra.

32. Anon, *Missa O rosa bella II*, Agnus (90 ff. 370v-371v), 141-144;

141

bis pa - - - cem. #

bis pa - - - cem. #

bis pa - - - cem. b

I am unsure whether any examples of this cliché exist either in this form or in its usual duple form (i.e. in semibreves and minims) where either of the C’s in the penultimate Contra measure here call for a syllable.

Finally, some examples are given below of Superius and Tenor clichés which likewise tend to occur in works of English origin. All of these are taken from the first Mass in 89 and the equal-voice Mass in the same manuscript.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> D89 p. 1243.

<sup>56</sup> D89 pp. 1-28 and 1919-1943.

## 33a-g. Miscellaneous cadential clichés;

33a.

204

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

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

- - - - - le - - y - - son.

33b.

28

te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti -

te. Gra - ti - - - - as a -

...Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus

33c.

155

ni.

ni. O -

...-ni. O -

33d.

154

cem.

cem.

cem.

33e. (Examples e-g are from the equal-voice Mass);

35

...Chri -

fi - ne, e - - - le - y - son.

fi - - - ne, e - - - le - y - son.

33f.

20

2. A - gnus De - - - - -

2. A - gnus De - - - - -

33g.

92

- - - - - bis pa - - - - - cem.

- - - - - bis pa - - - - - cem.

- bis pa - - - - - cem.

(viii) This section concerns anticipatory function, called ‘standard Contratenor function’ in a previous study by David Fallows quite justifiably, since it is often a Contratenor part that is involved in the following action.<sup>57</sup> A three-part piece proceeds until it reaches the end of a phrase, and then the Contratenor halts before the resulting cadence or creates continuity with new movement before the other parts. Sometimes this prior movement is imitative (as in Example 34 below, where the Contra in the lowest voice here) and sometimes it is not as in Example 35 where the Contra is the middle voice.

<sup>57</sup> See Fallows, D., *Robert Morton's Songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, University of California, Berkeley, 1977), I, p. 53.



34. Frye, *Salve virgo mater pia* (88 ff. 70v-71r), 35-41;

35

per quam nos re-de-mit Chri - - - - -

per quam nos re-de-mit Chri - - - - -

per quam nos re-de-mit Chri - - - - - stus

35. Bourgeois, *Gloria tro. Spiritus et alme* (88 ff. 323v-327r), 63-67;

63

-am. Do - mi - ne De - - - us,

-am. Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex

-am. Do - mi - ne De - - - us

Anticipatory function can more rarely be found in a duo, or a Tenor part or Superius part. Respective instances are illustrated in the following two extracts (in Examples 36 and 37 following, the Tenor is the third part down).

36. Anon, Missa "O2", Agnus, 16-23;<sup>58</sup>

16  
 (mun) - - - - - di,  
 (mun) - - - - - di, mi -  
 (mun) - - - - - di, mi -

20  
 mi - se - re - re ... mi - se - re - re  
 se - re - re ... mi - se - re - re  
 - se - re - re ... mi - se - re - re

37. Cervelli; Kyrie from the Domarto-Cervelli Mass, 63-70;<sup>59</sup>

63  
 -leÿ - son, Chri - ste e - - -  
 -leÿ - son, Chri - ste e - - -  
 - leÿ - son, Chri - ste e - -

Readers will observe that I have tailored the texting for the anticipatory voice in each case, so that it finishes its text phrase before commencing new rhythmic movement. In cyclic Masses and Mass Ordinary settings anticipatory function is more common in fully scored sections than in duets, and it can also occur in four-voice textures as in the following straightforwardly imitative context where the two Contratenors are the second and fourth parts down.

<sup>58</sup> *D89* p. 191.

<sup>59</sup> *D89* p. 387 (this Kyrie is only found in *SP B80*).

38. Anon, *Salve Regina* (88 ff. 61v-64r), 10-19;

10

cor - di - e,

- ri - cor - di - e, Vi -

- ri - cor - di - e, Vi - ta, dul - ce -

15

Vi - ta, dul - ce - do, et spes

- ta, dul - ce - do, et spes

- do, et spes

(ix) This section concerns the way in which Superius voices often lead in syncopated passages. The topmost part is nearly always the most rhythmically active in fifteenth century vocal music, and this usually also applies in motets where there are two more or less equal upper parts.<sup>60</sup> In the following two examples, the Superius leading in textual terms (Example 39) seems to be much more common than a textually leading lower voice (Example 40).

39. Domarto; Gloria from the Domarto-Cervelli Mass. 91-99,<sup>61</sup>

91

ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus,

...Tu so -

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus,

<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the most notable early fifteenth century exception to this rule is Cesaris's Rondeau *Je ris, je chante* (EFCM vol. 1 p. 20) which has a highly active Contra in comparison with its outer voices.

<sup>61</sup> D89 p. 392.

40. Barbingant, Missa *Sine nomine*, Gloria, 163-169;<sup>62</sup>

160

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus,

In chant settings involving sections with plainly given Tenor cantus firmus, the type of text-setting in Example 39 is very common and 91 contains what appear to be a composer-set of Sequence settings with similar treatment of Tenor chant passages involving textually leading Superius rhythms.

41. Anon, *Victime pascali laudes* (91 ff. 151v-152r), 68-87;<sup>63</sup>

68

- res. 2b. Mors et vi - ta du - el - lo con -

- res. 2b. Mors et vi - ta du - el - lo con -

- res. 2b. Mors et vi - ta du - el - lo con -

78

-fli - xe - re mi - ran - do: dux vi - te mor -

fli - xe - re mi - ran - do: dux vi - te

-fli - xe - re mi - ran - do: dux vi - te mor -

(x) This section concerns text repetition in polyphony, or rather repetition of parts of a musical text. The first evidence of significant textual repetition in part-music seems to come from the Trecento, two significant examples being in a two-voice Sanctus by 'Lorenzo' in *P568* which has a text repeat at 'Pleni sunt celi et terra' and Paolo da Firenze's three-voice madrigal *Godi Firenze* (probably dating from 1406) which repeats its first word several times.<sup>64</sup> These instances are paralleled by the emergence of 'bird virelais' in the French Ars Nova repertory which repeat some text for onomatopoeic reasons such as in Vaillant's famous *Par maintes foyes*. Within a few years in Italy song traditions developed which also tended to involve some textual repetition. Such as short Ballate including repetitions of text phrases set syllabically,<sup>65</sup> and longer Ballate such as the Ciconia setting of *O rosa bella* which likewise

<sup>62</sup> *D89* p. 931.

<sup>63</sup> *D91* p. 1122. Further regarding this batch of Sequence settings, their straightforwardly common properties and also a connected setting in *Glogau* see my monograph *Trent 91; first steps towards a stylistic classification* on the *DIAMM* website, pp. 7-12.

<sup>64</sup> For these examples respectively see *PMFC* vol. 12 p. 73 and vol. 9 p. 130.

<sup>65</sup> See *Fuggir non posso* from *Mancini*, published in *PMFC* vol. 11 p. 76.

repeats text phrases.<sup>66</sup> One Zacara Gloria (based on his song *Rosetta*) also repeats a part-word at ‘omni-[potens]’ in a single voice, and another by Ciconia has ‘gloriam’ repeated in same-pitch imitation and the same rhythm between two upper voices.<sup>67</sup>

In sacred music styles from the 1420’s onwards, we find Mass Ordinaries developing beyond the musical scale of previous compositions of the same type. Typically we find Gloria settings by English composers whose length is dictated by their structural Tenor schemes, or Sanctus settings which are more extended in both musical phrases and length than their Ars Nova predecessors. In the latter extended type of Sanctus, it is logical for performers to expect more text than is usually allotted to Pleni sunt and Osanna sections. But before we - as editors - fill our scores with multiple editorial text repeats prompted by the merest excuse of dotted-rhythm clichés with repeated pitches, I argue that at least some of this music might be allowed to keep its superbly melismatic style without further textual interference as in the following two examples.

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<sup>66</sup> *PMFC* vol. 24 p. 144.

<sup>67</sup> For these two instances see *PMFC* vol. 13 p. 19 and vol. 24 p. 26.

42. Anon, Missa *Meditatio cordis*, Sanctus, 95-130;<sup>68</sup>

95 [O = ♯ =]

- a. O - - - - -

- a. O - - - - -

Me - - - - - di - - - - -

O - - - - -

104

san - - - - -

san - - - - -

- ta - - - - - ti - - - - - o - - - - -

san - - - - -

113

na - - - - - in - - - - -

na - - - - - in - - - - -

cor - - - - - dis - - - - - me - - - - -

na - - - - - in - - - - -

122

ex - - - - - cel - - - - -

ex - - - - - cel - - - - -

i - - - - -

ex - - - - - cel - - - - -

<sup>68</sup> Strahov f. 89v-91r.

43. Anon, *Missa Du cuer je souspire*, Sanctus, 213-252;<sup>69</sup>

213 —#

na in

na in

223

ex in ex

ex

233

243

- cel cel

cel

The latter plea is probably going to be difficult to accept for those used to singing sixteenth century Masses with multiple word repeats at textual points like ‘in excelsis’. Suffice it to say here that there

<sup>69</sup> D89 p. 841.





century repertoires. Finally regarding repeated notes, one will occasionally come across passages which seem entirely illogical to modern eyes, such as the behaviour of the higher Contra in the melisma on ‘O’ in the following example.

45. Fleron, *Salve Regina / Le serviteur* (Mu 3154 no. 60), 167-270;<sup>75</sup>

(xi) This section concerns the splitting and joining of note values to accommodate texting, which is mentioned by Stocker (in his commentary to rule 2 of obligatory older rules) and also in two fifteenth century instances which are clearly documented. Generally I am not in favour of large-scale note splitting to accommodate text, but in examples such as the second section opening of Barbingant’s *Sine nomine* Gloria the Tenor would otherwise proceed in long notes whose texting otherwise might look odd in comparison with the outer parts. In this instance (the Tenor is the middle voice in the following example) one might well ask what part of the Gloria text could the unsplit Tenor carry convincingly.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> The Superius here is quoting from the Superius of the song *Wünslichen schön* in one of its syllabic passages, but in this motet that syllabic passage is unavoidably set to ‘O’ in the *Salve Regina* text. Beneath this Superius is a Tenor (the third part down) giving an elaborated version of the *Salve Regina* chant, and above the Tenor is a first Contra with two instances of same-pitch repeated notes which cannot be texted with anything other than ‘O’.

For the published edition in Noblitt, T. (ed), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold* (4 vols, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* 80-83, Kassel, 1988-97), II (1993) no. 60.

<sup>76</sup> *D89* p. 930. Possibly if the Tenor notes were not split here ‘Qui tollis’ would suffice as its text, omitting ‘miserere nobis’. At the same halfway point in the Credo there are similarly long notes (*ibid.* p. 936). As in the Gloria my note-splitting here puts textual sense first, but ‘Et incarnatus est’ would happily fit the unsplit notes here instead of my ‘Et incarnatus est... Virgine’. No cantus firmus of conventional type appears to be involved in either of these Tenor passages.

46. Barbingant, Missa *Sine nomine*, Gloria, 98-117;

98

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - - -

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - - -

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - - -

108

- di, mi - se - re - re no - - - - - bis.

- di, mi - se - re - re no - - - - - bis.

- di, mi - se - re - re no - - - - - bis. Qui

There are two reasons why fifteenth century scribes adapted existing music by splitting lower-voice notes extensively. Firstly, there is some evidence that scribes working in northern Italy around 1430 adapted pieces by northern composers with mostly vocalised supporting parts to accommodate more text.<sup>77</sup> One such example concerns Arnold de Lantins's three-voice Mass in *Ox 213* and *BU 2216* (the former manuscript comes from the Veneto and the latter probably spent significant time in Brescia). In the latter source Tenor parts have been texted and have split notes in the first three movements, and the *BU 2216* version edits out a section of equal upper voice texture at the start of the Gloria and replaces it with a more normal texture involving a Superius and two supporting parts.<sup>78</sup> The Mass in question is a simply written piece chiefly using triple meter and the editing concerned could not have involved any great degree of work. The likely parent piece for this Mass (Arnold's *O pulcherrima mulierum*) similarly has a texted Tenor in *BU 2216* whereas *Ox 213* has longer Tenor notes.<sup>79</sup> *BU 2216* also revises the fermata passage at the end of this motet. All of this revision was no doubt done by somebody seeing that this music could easily accept more text in at least the Tenor, probably due to a change in purpose or fashion that had begun to avoid wordless vocalisation.<sup>80</sup>

The second instance of lower-voice editing comes from another north Italian source, the fragment *P4379-II*. This contains a version of Binchois's Ballade *Amours mercy* which has text in its two lower voices as well as its Superius part. As with the Lantins Mass, this is achieved by splitting larger values

<sup>77</sup> Here I intend no nationalistic distinction between Italians and northerners. In the wake of music coming from the church councils, scribes of either or other nationalities might have been involved.

<sup>78</sup> Variant readings and differing passages from both sources are presented in van den Borren, C. (ed), *Polyphonia Sacra: A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century* (The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1932, repr. 1963), nos 1 (Kyrie), 2 (Gloria) *et al.*

<sup>79</sup> See van den Borren, *ibid.* nos 43 and 43bis. Concerning the likely connection between this motet and the Mass, see Strohm, R., *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993) pp. 176-177 and Widaman, J., *The Mass Ordinary Settings of Arnold de Lantins: A Case Study in the Transmission of Early Fifteenth-Century Music* (Ph. D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1987).

<sup>80</sup> A good recent recording of this Mass (by the groups Capilla Flamenca and Psallentes, Ricercar label CD 207, 2003) splits Contratenor notes as well as Tenor values.

in triple units (breves in O mensuration or semibreves in dotted-C) into two. It serves as an example of how a chanson could be ‘enlarged’ for a special performance instead of having a Superius sung to text with vocalised lower voices.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, even within the latter performance option there are also pieces which require partial text in a lower voice that might otherwise be vocalised.<sup>82</sup> But of course the existence of the adapted Lantins and Binchois examples does not mean that absolutely every other early fifteenth century piece of the same type either can (or has to) be treated in the same way as here, and such enlargement would be difficult to set out in standard fifteenth century copying formats for a Rondeau cinquain. I refer readers to sections 3, 5 and 8 for more identifiable types of early fifteenth century part-music where consistent text policy is applicable.

A few split notes within extended free composition seem to be permissible in order to make short passages of probable homophony clearer or to give a lower voice contextual sense where its rhythms might otherwise only allow an incomplete text phrase like ‘Confiteor baptismata ... remissionem.’<sup>83</sup> Even if a copy of a motet, Gloria or Credo is not detectable as an adapted concordance of something slightly older this might apply, such as in Example 48.<sup>84</sup> Some long-note cantus firmus parts in Masses also seem to call for split values so that at least some text may be applied to a typically awkward Tenor with extended values. But not all of these can carry text. To take two examples, the Tenor of the 89 *Missa Du cuer je souspire* only has two basic configurations (triple and duple) which it repeats throughout at different pitches (see Example 43 for part of the duple cast of the Tenor). Neither short Tenor phrase happily accepts short phrases of Mass Ordinary text or even the text of the parent song, so it is likely that this Tenor was vocalised for two very good reasons. Firstly, instrumental rendering of such a Tenor might have been difficult since it involves some accidentalised pitches. Secondly, to allot this Tenor part to any medium other than a voice would make the work sound unstable or maybe leave the listener thinking that it is without sure foundations. Similarly, Busnois’s motet in honour of Ockeghem in 91 and *Mu 3154 (In hydraulis)* has a repeated three-note pattern which is again repeated at different pitches and has triple and duple guises (with three of these guises in total). Unless these passages were sung to ‘Ockeghem’ it is hard to think of another text that might be suitable. Again, wordless vocalisation here might be the least problematic solution and the D C D / A G A of the Tenor might be representative of three fleur-de-lys emblems on a heraldic shield.<sup>85</sup> If editors *do* wish to split lower-voice notes for the sake of text, I ask that their split-note solutions to textual problems keep to simple values and are not too artful; even altering a Tenor or Contra to suit editorial text constitutes one level of contrivance and a second level above that would perhaps be expecting too much from the Tenors and Contras who originally helped to sing this music.

Splitting (and joining and omitting) notes is also part of common practice with Psalm and Magnificat Tones in the way that they are usually written in both medieval sources and modern Solesmes chant books. The same was sometimes expected of singers using polyphony, as is clear in one Superius-

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<sup>81</sup> See the abundantly clear musical examples and photographs of relevant sources in Slavin, D., ‘In support of ‘heresy’: manuscript evidence for a *cappella* performance of early 15<sup>th</sup>-century songs’ in *Early Music* 19 (1991) pp. 179-190.

<sup>82</sup> For example in courtly songs which have passages of inter-voice-part conversation between a man and a woman like Dufay’s *Estrinés moy* and Paullet’s *J’aim. Qui?* Further, see Earp, L., ‘Texting in 15<sup>th</sup>-century French chansons: a look ahead from the 14<sup>th</sup> century’ in *Early Music* 19 (1991) pp. 195-210.

<sup>83</sup> For an example of note-splitting in a probably homophonic passage see *D89* p. 1292, first system on page (part of the *Strahov* version of the motet associated with the *Missa Hilf und gib rat*).

<sup>84</sup> The Touront Mass illustrated in Example 30 has a rarer transmission problem, namely that the concordant reading in *Strahov* often appears to simplify readings in 89. Therefore in the inferior *Strahov* version of the Credo several Tenor values need to be split to create some sense of coherent texting.

<sup>85</sup> Further see my edition of the work in *D91* (no. 128), the commentary on it (*D91* pp. 1054-1058), and Jaap van Benthem’s article ‘Text, Tone, and Symbol: Regarding Busnois’s Conception of *In hydraulis* and its Presumed Relationship to Ockeghem’s *Ut heremita solus*’ in Higgins, P. (ed), *Antoine Busnois...* (Clarendon, 1999) pp. 215-253. Also see Higgins, P., ‘“In hydraulis” Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois’ in *JAMS* 39 (1986) pp. 36-86.

paraphrase Magnificat Tone III setting from 88 where the copying of the first polyphonic section is predictably skeletal for a work with repeated verses. This setting is rather like later *falsobordone* settings and the performers are expected to omit some notes and join others in order to perform all of the verses competently. The published edition of this work faithfully sets out what the manuscript provides, but more in the way of text and editorial bracketing is needed to make it easily performable.

47. Anon, Magnificat Tone III (88 ff. 249v-250r), 1-9,<sup>86</sup>

In verse 2 miss  
this measure.

2. Et e - xul - ta - vit  
4. Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -  
6. Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in spi - ri -  
gna qui  
bra - chi -

Contra primus

2. Et e - xul - ta - vit  
4. Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -  
6. Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in spi - ri -  
gna qui  
bra - chi -

Tenor

2. Et e - xul - ta - vit  
4. Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma - gna  
6. Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in bra spi - ri -  
qui  
chi -

Contra secundus

2. Et e - xul - ta - vit  
4. Qui - a fe - cit mi - hi ma -  
6. Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in spi - ri -  
gna qui  
bra - chi -

5

[2] In verses 2 & 4 miss  
these measures.

- tus me - us in  
po - tens est: et  
- o su - o: di - - sper - sit su - per - bos

- tus me - - us in  
po - tens est: et  
- o su - - o: di - - sper - sit su - per - bos

- tus me - us in  
po - tens est: et  
- o su - o: di - - sper - sit su - per - bos

- tus me - us in  
po - tens est: et  
- o su - o: di - - sper - sit su - per - bos

<sup>86</sup> See Gerber, R. (ed), *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent (Monuments of Renaissance Music 12*, Chicago and London, 2006) p. 754. The small number of more or less obligatory note-joins in this setting are matched by a similar but very minor need for joined notes in the repeated verses of the Dufay Tone III/IV Magnificat setting (see *D89* pp. 1553-1559; not all sources for this piece agree on how its texting should work).

(xii) This section concerns ligatures. All of the theory sources previously cited say that a ligature should only receive one syllable, and only Stocker allows that ligatures may sometimes have to accept more than one syllable. Ultimately the ‘one syllable’ ligature rule derives from chant, where its application invariably makes sense. But fifteenth century music copyists wrote ligated passages of polyphonic voices where lower-voice texing simply becomes impossible if all ligatures are observed as one-syllable entities. The mensuration of the following two examples (from *ca.* 1450 or after) is O2 as in Example 35, where there are three imperfect breves to each grouping of a perfect long. Any two of those six semibreves within the space of a perfect long can be ligated either to each other or to values larger than a semibreve, resulting in the underlay of Example 48 below (where note-splitting and ligature breaking has been applied) or the comparatively chaotic underlay of Example 49 - which is the same passage as in Example 48 but with no ligature breaks or note-splits. As can be seen, the ligatures in Example 48 do not even allow for the realisation of imitative texting.

48. Missa O2, Credo, 21-24;

21  
Pa - tri, per quem o - mni-a fa - cta sunt. Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi -  
- ti - a - lem ... quem o - mni - a fa - cta sunt. Qui pro - pter nos ho -  
- ti - a - lem Pa - tri, ... o - mni-a fa - cta sunt. ... nos ho -

49. Missa O2, Credo, 21-24 with the one syllable per ligature rule strictly applied;

21  
Pa - tri, per quem o - mni-a fa - cta sunt. Qui pro -  
- ti - a lem ... Qui pro - pter nos ho - - - -  
- ti - a - - - - - lem Pa - tri, ... nos ho -

These attempts to apply texting suggest that not all lower-voice ligatures are valid for the purposes of text underlay. But having used a fairly ligature-filled passage to present my case, three other things have to be considered here. Firstly in works with more than one surviving reading some ligatures tend to agree, and might be valid for the purposes of text positioning. Secondly in Superius paraphrase pieces the chant-carrying upper voice tends to preserve a number of ligatures used in its parent chant, as in the following example.

50. Anon, *Veni sancte spiritus, reple tuorum* (D89 edition no. 10) 17-28, together with the matching portion of the chant elaborated in the Superius (from *LU 1997* pp. 1837-1838);<sup>87</sup>

ac - cen de: qui per di - ver - si - ta - tem lin - gua - rum cun - cta - rum

17 ac - cen - de: qui per di - ver -

ac - cen - de: qui per di - ver -

- gnem ac - cen - de:

21 - si - ta - tem lin - gua - rum cun -

- si - ta - tem lin - gua - rum cun -

qui per di - ver - si - ta - tem lin - gua -

Thirdly in quite densely textured pieces such as these, readers might well ask what I have against lower-voice vocalisation as opposed to lower-voice texting. The simple answer is that I have no objection to vocalisation: such pieces may have tended to acquire lower-voice text when singers realised imitative possibilities, and filling in the gaps intelligently is what happens when text is added - either *ad libitum* or by the more painstaking method of incremental inspection by panel or by score. It is also important to remember that very many fifteenth century composers or revisors may not have had the relative luxury of textual inspection by score.<sup>88</sup>

Additionally it seems that some ligatures in voices which are not chant-derived must be functional in the sense that they carry a syllable and are also authorial (that is, part of the original piece). Normally in any given example which involves a high level of free invention the ligatures in one voice of a passage

<sup>87</sup> The pieces represented in Examples 36, 48 and 49 may be the work of the same anonymous, who has a preference for using O2 and may be responsible for a group of similar-looking pieces in 88 and 89. Further, see Mitchell, R., 'The *Advenisti / Lauda Syon* composer and his likely contributions to the later Trent Codices' in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13 (2004) pp. 63-85. Since writing this article I have also come across the *Discubuit Jhesus* setting in 88 (f. 335v) which is a Tenor cantus firmus Respond setting having much in common with the O2 works discussed in this article - both in style and in terms of numerical features.

<sup>88</sup> For an example of texting in a Tenor part which is not the same as the texting in a parent chant, see Bent, M., 'Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15<sup>th</sup> Century: Evidence and Implications' in Günther, U. and Finscher, L. (eds), *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Vorträge des Gastsymposiums in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. bis 12. September 1980* (Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 10, Bärenreiter, Kassel, pp. 291-326) Example 9, from Leonel's three-voice *Ave Regina* setting in *Old Hall*.

will conform to principles of strong accent more than those in the other voices, as in the lowest voices of Examples 41 and 50. Here and frequently elsewhere the ligatures which appear to be non-functional tend to be those involving longs and breves. In the passage below the middle voice seems to have a syllabically functional ligature at 133, and the two upper voices have arguably functional ligatures at 136-137. Examples such as this seem to confirm that many lower-voice ligatures in works of around 1440-50 are scribal decisions having no necessary significance for text underlay.

51. Anon, Missa *Le serviteur* II, Gloria, 132-141;<sup>89</sup>

132

mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis.

mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis.

mi - se re - re no - - - - bis.

Ligatures often seem to impede the creation of matching underlay between imitative voices. In such cases I would usually preserve the imitation and disregard the ligatures, as I have in Example 52 below at ‘Quoniam’ and also in Example 48.

52. Touront, Missa *Sine nomine* I, Gloria, 97-116;<sup>90</sup>

97

- tris, mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis.

- tris, mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis. Quo -

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

107

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san - - - - ctus, Tu so - lus Do - mi -

- ni - am tu so - lus san - - - - ctus, Tu so - lus

so - lus san - - - - ctus, Tu so - lus Do - mi -

If two semibreve, breve or semibreve/breve ligatures occur simultaneously in different voices, both ligatures are probably functional and authorial and should be observed as syllable carriers.

<sup>89</sup> D89 p. 351.

<sup>90</sup> D89 p. 41.

53. Barbingant, Missa *Sine nomine*, Sanctus, 96-100:<sup>91</sup>

96

Be - - - ne - - -

Be - - - ne - - -

Oppositely, the principle of strong accent may be disregarded if two or more voices of an imitative passage are similarly ligated.

54. Touront, Missa *Sine nomine* II, Gloria, 152-155;<sup>92</sup>

146

Jhe - su Chri - - -

- Jhe - su Chri -

- mus. Jhe - su Chri - -

A series of ligatures may be taken to mean that a single syllable is extended rather than each ligature requiring a syllable.

<sup>91</sup> D89 p. 943.

<sup>92</sup> D89 p. 41.



55. Touront, *Missa Sine nomine II*, Sanctus, 68-77;<sup>93</sup>

The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef, a middle staff with an alto clef (C-clef), and a bottom staff with a bass clef. The first system is numbered 68 and contains the text '(ex) - - - - - cel - - - - -'. The second system is numbered 74 and contains the text '- - - - - sis.'.

It should be evident from the flexibility of the foregoing principles that the use of ligatures in mid fifteenth century part music is a complex issue, and one that cannot easily be dealt with. As soon as some ligatures in a work are recognised as syllabically functional and authorial, those will probably modify the application of strong accents advised earlier.<sup>94</sup> Sometimes I have had three or four attempts at text-setting before achieving a satisfactory version of a particular piece ('satisfactory' here meaning a complete listening with little or no sense of editorial hiatus). Newcomers to fifteenth century textures are advised to try the exercises in section 9 before attempting those in section 7. This is because section 7 deals with earlier fifteenth century works (partly from the 1420's) where single-syllable ligature observance is likely to be more frequent. Section 10 on chant paraphrase also provides further examples which are best avoided by beginners until they are confident with the types of piece exemplified in section 9.

(xiii) Occasionally a piece will be found whose text looks unsatisfactory with its music because it is probably not the original. The text given might either be a contrafactum which fits badly (as in *Stella celi / So ys empretyd* and the Johannes de Quadris *Gaudeat Ecclesia* in 88) or will be a text that fits the music a little less well than the text normally given with the music in other sources (such as the alternative *Sacerdotes incensum Domini* text given with Touront's *Recordare* in *Spec*).<sup>95</sup> In the event

<sup>93</sup> D89 p. 76.

<sup>94</sup> Other specialists have raised doubts about the validity of ligatures in secular mid fifteenth century repertory. See in particular Fallows, D. 'A word about ligatures' in *Early Music* 41 (2013) pp. 104-107, and also Perkins, L., 'Toward a rational approach to text placement in the secular music of Dufay's time', in Atlas, A. (ed), *Papers read at the Dufay quincentenary conference* (Brooklyn, 1976) pp.102-114.

<sup>95</sup> *Stella celi* and *Gaudeat Ecclesia* are published in Gerber, *op. cit.* pp. 163 and 175. Both have texts which seem to be too short for the music. The latter can possibly be improved by adding more text from its parent text source, which is part of a rhymed office by Julian of Speyer. Regarding the *Spec* twin texts for Touront's troped Offertory setting, see D89 pp. 1456-1457.

of a text that obviously looks too short for the music another might be substituted editorially.<sup>96</sup> Likewise it sometimes happens that a reading for a single work in the chosen source is woefully inadequate compared to concordant readings.<sup>97</sup> If possible, use another source instead.

(xiv) Finally in my series of general guidelines I briefly touch upon unusual wording or non-Latin text which students may encounter. For example ‘huic’, which in fifteenth century musical usage seems to be a one-syllable word. Also ‘etiam’ (whose usual three-syllable rendering can occasionally be replaced by the Gallic two-syllable ‘e-tiam’) and words ending with ‘-tie’ as a single syllable as in Example 12. Plus ‘remissionem’ which in a Gallic rendering could be a four-syllable ‘re-mis-sio-nem’. Finally, ‘Kyrie eleyson’, which some sources give as a single word (Kyrieleyson).<sup>98</sup> The syllabic treatment of ‘eleyson’ or the four syllable ‘e-le-y-son’ varies, with some settings clearly indicating four-syllable renderings and others seeming to need ‘e-le-y-son’ applied instead.<sup>99</sup> Mid-century Kyrie settings are also the most likely pieces where some degree of word repetition needs to be applied, even if not in all of the voices of individual settings. I define ‘need’ here to mean that the finished editorial workings in a modern score leave no repeated same-pitch notes apart from those covered by melismata on the various syllables of ‘Kyrie’ or ‘eley-’.

.....

### 3. HOW TO DETERMINE THE NECESSITY OF LOWER-VOICE TEXTING, AND IDENTIFIABLE TYPES OF MUSIC IN PRECEDING STYLE PERIODS WHICH SEEM TO REQUIRE CONSISTENT TEXT POLICIES.

(i) Certain types of earlier fifteenth century musical textures have common properties which seem to invite common texting policy. First amongst these are structured motets in three to five voices (usually in three or four parts) where the upper voices are equal in range or nearly equal and carry a shared text or a different text in each voice. Beneath these upper voices are usually a Tenor (which does not always use a cantus firmus) and sometimes a filler Contra which tends to be grammatically inessential. Sometimes these lower parts move in sustained values as tends to happen in the lower voices of Philippe de Vitry’s four-part motets. When a chant-based Tenor is in evidence such a Tenor cannot always be sung to its cantus firmus text. This is because the rhythmic configuration of these Tenors is sometimes different from the text-and-music relationship of their parent chant. Such Tenors may therefore have been vocalised as well as the Contra parts. David Fallows has highlighted the Tenor of Dufay’s early *Vasilissa ergo gaude* as a typical example of an untextable organised Tenor.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>96</sup> My own experiments with *Stella celi* suggest that the *Salve Regina* text will fit this motet reasonably well, but even that might not be right because the piece might have originated as a troped Kyrie belonging to a Mass cycle.

<sup>97</sup> For an example of a poor reading in 88 see the three-voice Gloria in Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 1098. This has concordances in *Mu 3154* (ff. 10v-11r), *Spec* (p. 430-431) and the Avezzano fragment (I-AVZcv MS P, Rocca di Botte, Busta N. 5, fasc. 25 ff. 2v-4r). The first of these concordant readings is easily superior to that of 88. Also, Bent, *op. cit.* Example 15 compares text positioning in different readings of a single Ciconia Gloria. These suggest the likelihood that imposing modern Latin accentuation criteria upon all of a single work’s texting is anachronistic.

<sup>98</sup> The very short Kyrie to Ockeghem’s five-voice Missa *Sine nomine* (published in Plamenac, *op. cit.* vol. II p. 77) seems to benefit from texting in which ‘Kyrieleyson’ etc. is a five-syllable word.

<sup>99</sup> For a clear usage of four-syllable ‘e-le-y-son’ see the early Dufay Kyrie published in Sandon, N. and Marrocco, W. (eds), *The Oxford Anthology of Medieval Music* (Oxford, 1977) p. 203.

<sup>100</sup> See Fallows, D., *Dufay* (Dent, London, 1982) p. 105, where joint examples demonstrate the incompatibility of this motet’s cantus firmus text (*Concupivit rex*) with the motet Tenor derived from the chant.

Frequent recopying of structured motets means that some of their surviving copies are at the ends of remote transmission lines, and some of these readings of text as well as music are unreliable.<sup>101</sup> The Franco-Cypriot manuscript *Turin J.II.9* preserves 41 motets from *ca.* 1410-1420, mostly in Latin and in which the upper-voice texting seems clear, in which the lower voices rarely carry text, and where the Tenors are not very often chant-derived. Most of the ligatures in the upper parts may therefore be functional and authorial. I suspect that these motets (maybe written in the isolation of Cyprus) were not frequently recopied and therefore I also suspect that the source presenting them is authoritative.<sup>102</sup> Its upper-voice texting rarely conforms to modern ideas of underlay aesthetics and not even to some of the rules presented in the previous section. The following example illustrates the usual vertical texture and also the mostly subordinate lower parts in the Franco-Cypriot motet collection.

56. Anon, *Iubar solis / Fulgor solis* (*Turin J.II.9* motet 5), 37-42;<sup>103</sup>

Motet 9 in the Turin collection is not structured, and similar non-structured but motet-like pieces occur in western repertoires with some of them belonging to an Italian motet tradition. In these pieces some lower voices have text. Ciconia's *O felix templum* has two passages where an otherwise untexted Tenor initiates unison imitation.<sup>104</sup> His *Venecie mundi splendor / Michael* has a Tenor that behaves likewise and *O virum omnimoda* has a Tenor which is clearly intended to be sung with text throughout.<sup>105</sup> There are other works from the Italian motet tradition which have internal Tenor text in an otherwise untexted part, and there are also short freely composed works for two upper voices plus a non-organised Tenor that does not carry text, for example *Jhesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus* by Hubertus de Salinis which survives in four sources.<sup>106</sup> Therefore the early fifteenth century structured motet and shorter works similar to the latter are easily identifiable categories in which general text behaviour is clear. Importantly, their supporting voices do not always require text and where text sometimes occurs in a Tenor (as in *O felix templum*) that text need not even be complete. Additionally, some early cyclic Masses imitate the Tenor organisation and vocal texture of structured motets. The famous English *Missa Caput* has more or less consistently bipartite cantus firmus presentation and seems to need its two upper

<sup>101</sup> For an example see *PMFC* vol. 5, critical notes p. 20 (mangled text variants in the *Ch* reading of Aleyn's motet *Sub Arcturo / Fons citharizanicum / In omnem terram*). *Ch* also has Italianisations in some of its French texts.

<sup>102</sup> For another part-source that is probably reliable and authoritative see Margaret Bent's introduction to *EECM* 62 (2022) which suggests that some works by Burell, Damett, Sturgeon and Cooke in the later layer of *Old Hall* may be autograph copies. All four were amongst the clerks and chaplains of King Henry V, whose chapel inherited the manuscript from its original owners (the chapel of Henry's brother Thomas Duke of Clarence).

<sup>103</sup> Published in Hoppin, R. (ed), *The Cypriot-French repertory of the manuscript Torino, Biblioteca nazionale, J.II.9* (4 vols, 1960-63), II, p. 17. The example is taken from my own edition of this piece.

<sup>104</sup> See *PMFC* vol. 24 p. 69, and the Tenor at measures 29 and 86.

<sup>105</sup> *PMFC* vol. 24 p. 81.

<sup>106</sup> See van den Borren, *op. cit.* pp. 276-277. The two sources for this motet which are infrequently mentioned are *Stras* and *SanL*.

voices (a Superius and high Contra) sung to Ordinary text and its Tenor sung to cantus firmus text. However in the first three movements the lowest voice (another Contra, which tends to use sustained values) possibly does not need any text at all and can be vocalised.<sup>107</sup> There is, of course, a world of difference between the pieces from *Turin J.II.9* and *Q15* mentioned beforehand and the Masses in the later Trent manuscripts, but what is of chief interest here is the type of vocal texture that seems constant in motet-like works in all of these repertoires.

(ii) English works written in score make up a second easily identifiable type of music with clear texting intentions. These are mostly from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and the text is almost invariably written under the lowest of the voices (of which there are usually three). Much music in the original layer of *Old Hall* is copied in this format, along with a large quantity of badly preserved fourteenth century insular sources which give a variety of setting types written in this manner: Mass Ordinaries, short Sequence settings and devotional works, and very occasionally ceremonial pieces as found in *US-Nypm*. This type of copying occasionally allows for a small amount of jagged alignment due to topmost parts having the most notes. The latest significant source of this type is *Selden B26* (ca. 1425-50) which contains carols as well as sacred music. Not all polyphony in this composite manuscript is given in score, but some of the settings therein which are copied in this format are rhythmically quite complex whereas *Old Hall* generally reserves score copying for descant-type chant settings and some of its Mass Ordinaries. There are also continental fourteenth century antecedents for Mass Ordinary settings which tend to be homophonic and whose text delivery seems to be syllabically simultaneous in all voices.<sup>108</sup>

(iii) ‘A versi’ Gloria and Credo settings where the texturally alternating duet passages have both voices texted but where one or more supporting lower voices are probably vocalised as in type (i) above. Gloria and Credos nos 3 and 4 in the Ciconia edition are of this type, as is Gloria 6.<sup>109</sup>

(iv) ‘A versi’ Gloria and Credo settings with all voices texted. There are surviving examples by Zacara, Binchois, Guillaume le Grant and others.<sup>110</sup>

(v) Continuous-texture Gloria and Credo settings with all voices texted, copied in choirbook format. For early examples before our period see the Credo by ‘Bonbarde’ in *Apt*,<sup>111</sup> plus a two-part Gloria by ‘Chassa’ in the same source.<sup>112</sup> There are also examples by Ciconia and in *Turin J.II.9*.<sup>113</sup> Continuous texture with all voices texted also covers rare instances like Gloria no. 7 in the revised Dunstable edition, which gives successive parts of its text to three different voices prior to its ‘Amen’ section.<sup>114</sup> Conventional texting in category (v) becomes important towards the mid-century when the cyclic Mass repertory expands.

(vi) A texture consisting of a type of three or four-part piece (usually sacred) in which the Tenor and Contra have interlocking anacrusic phrasing, making it difficult to see how text could successfully be applied to such voices as in the following example.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>107</sup> See 89 p. 1105 for my edition with texting arranged in this way.

<sup>108</sup> See the *Ivrea* Gloria *tro. Et homo verus* (*PMFC* 23a p. 138) and the *Apt* Jacobus Murrin Credo (vol. 23b p. 238).

<sup>109</sup> For these works see *PMFC* vol. 24 pp. 13 and 30.

<sup>110</sup> For the Zacara example (Credo *Deus Deorum*) see *PMFC* vol. 13 p. 109. For Binchois, see Kaye, P. (ed), *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois* (Oxford, 1993) p.1. For Legrant, see *EFCM* vol. 2 (1959) p. 53.

<sup>111</sup> *PMFC* vol. 23a p. 224.

<sup>112</sup> *PMFC* vol. 23a p. 100.

<sup>113</sup> For Ciconia here see the Gloria-Credo pair in *PMFC* vol. 24 p. 1, and for *Turin J.II.9* see the Gloria-Credo pair in Hoppin, *op. cit.* vol. II p. 12..

<sup>114</sup> *MB* 8 revised edition p. 14. See *D89* pp. 1932-1934 for a section of a Credo which gives incipits implying similar text treatment to that in Dunstable Gloria 7.

<sup>115</sup> Hoppin, *ibid.* vol. I p. 27. For a four-part example from the mid-century see the Gloria *D89* p. 2031, which also contains repeated same-pitch notes in its lower parts.

57. Anon, Gloria (*Turin J.II.9* no. 4a), 20-35;

20

te, A-do-ra-mus te, Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te. Gra-ti-

28

-as a-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter ma-gnam glo-ri-am tu-am.

(vii) ‘Trumpetum’ type lower voices in which there are fanfare motifs and anacrusic lower-voice entries as in type (vi) above. Again, the very nature of these lower voices often seems to exclude the addition of editorial texting.<sup>116</sup>

So far we have dealt with types of music where the clear presence of text in original sources (or the lack of it in lower voices) seems to tell us much about likely performance practice. For the types of music discussed, frequently set shorter texts (as in Kyrie and Sanctus settings) often conform to types (ii) and (v) above. Now we come to more difficult cases where text may be absent from lower voices for significant reasons.

(viii) One or more texted upper parts above slower-moving lower parts in freely composed pieces which simply cannot accommodate upper-voice text because they contain more extended values. Examples are numerous. I start here by citing Tapissier’s three-voice Credo as an piece from early in our period which represents a common type of Credo setting in which the Superius treats the text fairly syllabically, and in which the rhythmic pace of the lower parts is not too different from that of the top part. Only the ‘Amen’ section in the *Apt* reading of this piece seems to be intended to have full text.<sup>117</sup> The ‘Roy Henry’ Gloria in *Old Hall* is another work that only requires lower voice text at ‘Amen’.<sup>118</sup> Thirdly as a slightly later example of chanson-influenced style I mention the freely composed Credo from Reginald Liebert’s Marian Mass, probably composed by 1430. This multisectional movement features supporting

<sup>116</sup> For an example see Cousin’s *Missa Tube in 90* (published in *DTO 120* pp. 3-16. The Gloria (*ibid.* p. 5) starts with so many repeated same-pitch notes that editorial lower-voice text underlay is not feasible. Despite Paulus Paulirinus’s oft-quoted reference to singing ‘in the manner of the French trumpet’, the existence of fanfare-like pieces in *StrasC* like the famous *Tuba Gallicalis* and Heinricus de Libero Castro’s *Virgo dulcis atque pia* (*PMFC* vol. 23a p. 371) persuades me not to exclude the likelihood of at least some polyphony being played or accompanied by instruments, as does the *Bobik Blasen* piece in *NurS 9a*.

<sup>117</sup> *PMFC* vol. 23b p. 244 and *EFCM* vol. 1 p. 61.

<sup>118</sup> Published in *CMM 46-I* p. 21.

voices in which there is little or nothing to suggest the addition of editorial text, and at measures 88-121 the lower voices behave similarly to those in Example 57.<sup>119</sup>

For a fourth example of type (viii) I refer readers to the five-part canonic motet *Regis celorum genitrix*, in which there are three sections in double canon. The three lower voices in each section (which form one of the canons throughout) contain many sustained values and it is unlikely that they could accommodate the text of the two upper parts. Since these lower parts have some accidentalism they are also probably best vocalised rather than played.<sup>120</sup>

For a fifth example of type (viii) I take a five-part motet from 88 which has the text *O sidus Yspanie*, although this might be a contrafactum.<sup>121</sup> As with the previous piece cited the texture consists of two upper parts which are texted plus three supporting lower voices. Again, the latter with their sustained values seem not to need text apart from a single trio passage in the second section where the upper voices are silent. Here a single editorial text incipit for the lower voices would suffice to fill what would otherwise be something of a musical void.

(ix) Already with the last example I impinge upon a very large texture category, namely pieces with mostly vocalised lower voices that clearly need at least one or two lower-voice incipits owing to groups of repeated minims or semibreves in their lower parts. Amongst these I number early examples like the *Rezon* and *Velut Gloria* settings in *EFCM* volume 2, cantilena motets with melismatic Superius parts by Dufay, Brassart and others which only need lower voice text at fermata points, and Dunstable's three-voice *Sancta Dei genitrix*. The latter needs lower-voice text at two homophonic passages and in the final 'Amen' section but does not seem to require lower-voice text elsewhere.<sup>122</sup> Likewise the lower voices in the Gloria of Dufay's early Missa *Sine nomine* only seem to require a few texted entries throughout in parts which are probably otherwise best vocalised.<sup>123</sup>

Similarly, the five-part Magnificat Tone V in 89 has fanfare-type imitation at the start of all of its verses, some of which require text at the start of lower-voice sections while others do not.<sup>124</sup> But this might be an archaic piece in a source which otherwise preserves mid-century and later repertory. Groups of same-pitch minims in the lower voices of Johannes de Quadris's *Gaudeat ecclesia* also imply that occasional incipit texting is needed in these voices, but the text of this piece may be a contrafactum since the given text as it stands does not fit the music well.<sup>125</sup> Pullois's four-voice canonic Gloria has two lower voices which require the same treatment as in the Johannes de Quadris piece.<sup>126</sup> My purpose here in citing works from Italian, English, central tradition and possibly Germanic repertory (the 89 Magnificat) is to show that texting lower voices with occasional incipits and otherwise vocalising them wordlessly was

<sup>119</sup> Published in *EFCM* vol. 3 pp. 81. Another good reason for citing this particular piece is that it is performed exactly as mentioned above on the 1996 Lyrichord CD *Echoes of Jeanne d'Arc* (LEMS 8025, Schola Discantus dir. by Kevin Moll).

<sup>120</sup> *D89* p. 1319. There are also insular canonic works which have double-row texting for the different portions of text that canonically derived voices are intended to sing; the syllable stresses in these do not always conform to modern Latin accentuation standards. For an example see the Dunstable canonic Gloria in the Tallinn fragment (EV-TALtm, Franz 8.2/1a, f. 3r) 1996. Further see Bent, M., 'A new canonic Gloria and the changing profile of Dunstable' in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 5 (1996), pp. 45-67).

<sup>121</sup> Published in Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 637 and *DTO* 76 p. 75.

<sup>122</sup> *MB* 8 revised edition, no. 47 (p. 119).

<sup>123</sup> See the Planchart edition at [https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/181/01\\_Du\\_Fay\\_Missa\\_sine\\_nomine.pdf](https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/181/01_Du_Fay_Missa_sine_nomine.pdf). The Gloria does not seem to have textable lower voice material until the Tenor incipit at 'miserere nobis' (144) and thereafter imitative writing and some further lower voice incipits seem to call for text in the short passage up to and including 'Jhesu Christe'. All parts also seem to need text for the extended 'Amen' section. Regarding texting in the Credo of this Mass see section (x) following.

<sup>124</sup> *D89* p. 1590.

<sup>125</sup> See Gerber, *ibid.* no. 6 (p. 175).

<sup>126</sup> Gülke, *op. cit.* p. 24. Some lower voice incipits need to be editorially added to accommodate repeated notes at the same pitch.

a widespread practice. It also seems to apply to some early cyclic Masses, and I refer here to a poorly-preserved Mass whose movements are split between 88, 90 and 93. This work is oddly and archaically dissonant in places (perhaps signifying a composition date in the 1430's or 40's) and its frequent lower voice behaviour with sustained notes can be seen in the following example. The signs \*---- and ----\* in the score are useful inventions of my own, and tell singers where to start and stop singing text incipits and to start or end vocalised passages.

58. Anon, *Missa Avecu?*, Gloria, 8-17;<sup>127</sup>

8  
vo - lun - ta - - - tis. Lau - da - mus te,  
----\* ... Lau - - da - mus te,  
----\* ... Lau - - da - mus te,  
----\* ... Lau - - da - mus te,  
13  
Be - ne - di - ci - mus te, A - do - ra - mus te, Glo - - ri - fi - ca -  
\*----  
\*----  
\*----

(x) This category covers unconventional three-voice works where the degree of imitation involved implies extensive incipit texting for lower voices. In this connection some of Dufay's early Mass Ordinary settings are particularly relevant. Typically the young Dufay took the syllabic style of Mass Ordinary exemplified by pieces like Tapissier's Credo and the Example 57 *cursiva* Gloria and in one piece made this style of setting into a technical tour de force involving frequent imitation plus textural and rhythmic variety.<sup>128</sup> The Dufay Credo concerned in *Q15* (which is paired with a Hugo de Lantins Gloria) is probably the result of Dufay encountering this composer and his imitative experiments.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> The Agnus is published in Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 8 (p. 202) and the Gloria and Credo in Gozzi, M., *Il manoscritto Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, cod. 1377...* (2 vols, Turrus, Cremona, 1992), vol. II p. 52 (edition of Gloria and Credo) & vol. I p. 85 (giving a brief listing and discussion of the various movements). The Sanctus remains unpublished, and the cycle's title 'Avecu' is only partly legible. Conceivably it might have read 'Avec un ...' or perhaps even 'Ave cuius ...'.

<sup>128</sup> The term *cursiva* occurs in *Ox 213*. Rapid dispensation of text in upper voices seems to derive from fourteenth century motets, and there is also another antecedent in Rondellus type pieces of early fourteenth century insular origin.

<sup>129</sup> For the Dufay piece see Bessler, *Dufay Opera Omnia* vol. IV p. 17. The relevant Hugo de Lantins Gloria is printed in the same volume, but the two settings do not really constitute an integrated pair.

The lower voices of Dufay's Credo are full of imitative answers, some of which are supplied with text incipits while others are not. Are we right to try editorially texting absolutely all imitative occurrences here? If text is used thus, it results in a setting which really needs fully written out underlay. Perhaps this is not quite right, and maybe some of the lower voice imitative answers should be left as vocalised material. A similar but less complex texture is found in the Credo from Dufay's *Missa Sine nomine*, where lower voice text is possibly needed at the chordal 'Patrem omnipotentem' opening, and where there are incipits at 'Amen' in both lower voices. In between these points imitation between the upper and lower voices might call for short passages of additional lower voice text at 'genitum non factum', 'passus et sepultus' and 'qui locutus'. But again the need for such texting is not established.<sup>130</sup>

Another early Dufay Gloria and Credo pair has textual telescoping plus passages of text in all three voices followed by likely vocalisation (or, in the case of the Superius and middle part here, syllable extension). This has fourteenth century antecedents and otherwise occurs in the two upper voices of Queldryk's four-part Gloria from *Old Hall* (a piece otherwise much like a structured motet) and also in the same pair of voices in a four-part Gloria and Credo by Loqueville.<sup>131</sup> But it is unusual to find this sort of alternation in each voice of a three-part piece without a lowest part in extended values.<sup>132</sup>

59. Dufay, Gloria (Besseler edition vol. IV p. 3), 8-15;

As in the previous Dufay Ordinaries mentioned here, these movements require a varied approach to editorial lower voice texting and this Gloria's homophonic ending may require underlay in all voices.

(xi) The remaining two types of texture that I wish to highlight are in the territory of Superius chant paraphrase settings. The most common of these is a type of Introit setting current from *ca.* 1430 to at least 1460, usually for three voices and consisting in its fullest form of three sections. These are the Introit antiphon (its first section, usually preceded by a chant intonation), its verse (again, usually preceded by another chant intonation) and its doxology or 'Gloria Patri' section. Liebert and Brassart may have been amongst the first composers to write such pieces, of which there are large quantities in most of the Trent manuscripts and *Strahov*.<sup>133</sup> In the second and third sections the writing is sometimes syllabic and homophonic, and may feature fauxbourdon. In such instances the lower voices of these

<sup>130</sup> See Planchart, *op. cit.*

<sup>131</sup> For the Loqueville Gloria-Credo pair see *EFCM* vol. 3 p. 11. For the Queldryk Gloria see *CMM 46-I* p. 93.

<sup>132</sup> The likely syllable extensions here in the upper voices of Example 58 prompt me to mention the old theory of melismata which end texted phrases of Dufay's music being 'instrumental postludes', which probably began in the writings of Sir John Stainer, Hugo Riemann and others. Further, see Leech-Wilkinson, D., *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music...* (Cambridge, 2002) pp. 23-26 and 31-35. The idea that the singer(s) of the Superius in the Gloria above might have briefly picked up a rebec or a recorder just to play the three notes in measures 13-14 or the middle part's notes at 10-12 is absurd.

<sup>133</sup> For a relatively late example (*Salve sancta parens*) see *D91* p. 1102. For others see *D89* pp. 1985-2006. I have given editorial lower-voice text to all of these pieces, but the *D91* setting could easily manage with vocalised lower voices for its first section, as could the *Rorate celi* and *Salve sancta parens* settings cited above in the group of *D89* settings starting on p. 1985. However, other settings in this *D89* batch have internal first-section duets and in one case pseudo-imitation (in *Spiritus Domini* on p. 1999). Such factors prompt the addition of editorial text.



settings need text, and the short verse texts involved would not have been difficult for singers to memorise. But in the first sections of such pieces editorial lower voice text is not always necessary - particularly if the texture does not involve fauxbourdon, imitation, filler-passages without the Superius or same-pitch repeated values. Even where imitation is involved one or two short lower voice text incipits therein are sometimes better than full editorial text, although the latter can of course be attempted for an 'enlarged' version of a setting. The advantage of visualising such Introit first sections as chiefly vocalised is that they release us from the idea of fifteenth century Tenors and Contras as experts in Biblical and patristic texts who knew many of these Introit texts faultlessly by heart. Indeed, many such singers might not have been anything like as literate as this. In the 88 Mass Proper collection the same text policy as above sometimes also applies satisfactorily to non-imitative sections of other Propers such as Gradual, Offertory and Communion settings.

(xii) The final type of texture to be listed is related to the previous type of category since it concerns hymn settings which use chant paraphrase. As above, if more than one or two verses of a hymn setting were sung in polyphony it would have required the singer(s) to know the text. With hymn texts typically ranging from three or four verses each to the thirteen stanzas of the famous *Ut queant laxis*, it is unlikely that the singers of lower voices without underlay in such settings knew all such verses. In settings which are non-imitative, which have continuous texture and which do not use fauxbourdon, wordless vocalisation is again a practical choice for Tenor and Contra voices. Two short settings of *Iste confessor* which are next to each other in 88 are good instances of this policy. The following example is from the second of these settings.<sup>134</sup>

60. Anon, *Iste confessor* (88 f. 240v), 19-38;

19

- ius ce - le - brat per or - bem, Ho - di - e  
 - tum mo - do sa - ni - ta - ti, Quo - li - bet  
 - li re - si - dens ca - cu - men To - ti - us

29

le - - - - tus me - ru - it se - - - - cre -  
 mo - - - - do fu - e - rint gra - - - - va -  
 mun - - - - di ma - chi - nam gu - - - - ber -

This is merely one option for the texting of hymn settings, and the sources are certainly not consistent in the way that they present these pieces. The immaculately copied original layer of *ModB* consistently

<sup>134</sup> Published in Gerber, *op. cit.* p.732.

gives Dufay's hymns with multiple verse textings in the Superius parts and the accompanying verse of parent chant, plus incipit-texted lower voices on the facing page. With such clear and beautiful copies as these it would be easy for lower-voice singers to glance leftwards in order to read their sung text. Similarly, the *Strahov* compiler's hymn section has a few examples of Superius parts with multiple verses underlaid - albeit less tidily than in *ModB* and on a much smaller page size. The late fifteenth century fragment *Linz* also contains a setting of *Urbs beata Jherusalem* where somebody has tried to underlay text to the Tenor (see Plate 1). My editions of the hymns in 89 and 91 all have text underlaid in their lower voices, but this is because I wanted 'enlarged' versions of these works and also because some of them contain imitative work. In the few pieces of this type therein which resemble Example 60 the editorial text could just as easily be dispensed with.<sup>135</sup>

To conclude this section, my references above have given interested parties much to look up but this is because I intend a comprehensive coverage of the types of sacred music concerned.

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Plate 1. *Linz* no. 44, *Urbs beata Jherusalem*. Note added lower voice text in fifth stave.



<sup>135</sup> For examples see 89 nos 105a and 114, where this possibility is mentioned in the relevant critical notes.

## 4. FULL TEXT IN PIECES FROM THE LATER PART OF OUR PERIOD.

In this section I take some samples of works which I know well, and I demonstrate the detailed options in how to treat their texting plus familiar problems which will be encountered. There are four musical samples. The first two have almost complete text in all voices and the second pair require editorial intervention in the form of added underlay.

(a) The Agnus Dei from the 89 equal-voice Mass.

The three Tenor-range voices in this movement (illustrated in Plate 2 and Example 61) exchange top, middle and lower-voice functions sporadically, and the piece is not chant-dependent. The following table approximates the voice function exchanges which occur throughout, with as much accuracy as can be expected from counting measures as single units.

Table 1. Voice functions in Example 61.

Section	Measures	Superius function	Contra function	Tenor function
Agnus I	1-5	Voice 1	Voice 2	Voice 3
	5-10	2	3	1
	10-12	2	1	3
	12-15	3	-	1
	15-19	1	-	3
Agnus II	20-25	1	-	2
	25-29	2	-	1
	29-32	2	-	3
	33-45	3	-	2
Agnus III	46-53	1	2	3
	54-59	2	1	3
	59-75	3	2	1
	75-77	2	1	3
	78-84	1	2	3
	85-87	2	1	3
	88-100	1	2	3

In what seems to be a freely composed texture such as this, the behaviour of Superius-function phrases in single voices will mostly tend to determine how text is underlaid. Plate 2 gives the original. Circle-numbered syllables in Example 61 indicate texting which I have adjusted despite what the manuscript seems to imply, with “1” in the score for the first voice and “2” and “3” for the other voices. Such syllable adjustments are often necessary when working from many fifteenth century sources. One of the few where this difficulty does not occur is the original layer of the late fifteenth century source *Verona 759*. This is because the text hand in those pages is much smaller than most normal text hands which copy underlay. The original layer of *ModB* is another source which is lucid in its texting.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>136</sup> This might prompt the suggestion that a study of texting is better attempted using just these neatly copied sources. However this idea be countered by arguing that neither presents the varied repertory of the Trent manuscripts, and also that any deductions made about texting using just those sources might narrow the time-span to which any established rules apply. Regarding the actual validity of some of the *ModB* texting see my comments on Jonathan King’s studies in section 13.

The image shows two pages of a handwritten musical manuscript, likely a polyphonic setting of a Mass. The notation is in a historical style, possibly from the 15th or 16th century, featuring a single staff per part with square notes. The text is written in Latin.

**Left Page (89r):**  
 - The top staff begins with the text "Et in terra pax".  
 - Below it, another staff has the text "Et in terra pax".  
 - Further down, there are staves with "Qui tollis" and "Et tollis".  
 - At the bottom of the page, the text "Et tollis" is repeated.

**Right Page (114r):**  
 - The top staff has the text "Et in terra pax".  
 - Below it, another staff has the text "Et in terra pax".  
 - Further down, there are staves with "Qui tollis" and "Et tollis".  
 - At the bottom of the page, the text "Et tollis" is repeated.

The manuscript is written on parchment and shows signs of age, including some staining and wear at the edges. The paper is yellowed and has some faint markings. The musical notation is dense and fills most of the page.

Plate 2. 89r ff. 113v-114r (see Example 61)

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61. Agnus Dei from the Missa *Ad voces pares*;

1. A-gnus De - i, *Primus* qui tol - lis pec -

*Secundus* qui tol -

*Tertius* qui tol - lis

5 - ca - ta mun - di,

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi -

10 mi - se - re re no - bis.

mi - se - re re

15 - se - re re no - bis.

20

2. A - gnus De - - - - -

2. A - gnus De - - - - -

25

- i, qui tol - - - lis

- i, qui tol - - - lis pec -

...-lis

30

ca - ta mun - - - - -

pec - ca - ta mun - - - - -

35

di, mi - se - - -

di, mi - se - - -

42

re - re no - - - bis. 3. A -

re - re no - - - bis. 3. A -

re - re no - - - bis. 3. A -

re - re no - - - bis. 3. A -

47

gnus De

gnus De

gnus De

56

i, qui tol

i, qui tol

i, qui tol

65

lis pec

lis pec ca

lis pec

74

-ca ta mun

-ta mun

-ca ta mun

83

di, do na no

-di, do na no

di, do na no

92

1. - - - - bis ① pa - - - - - cem. ①

2. - - - - bis ② pa ② - - - - - cem. ②

3. - bis ③ pa ③ - - - - - cem. ③

An initial inspection of this example and its labelled syllables in comparison with the photograph of 89 might suggest that little or nothing is definite about the editorial texting process. But basic logic starts to yield answers quite easily. I want readers to imagine that they are facing an untexted score here, and that they only start to visualise texting exactly as I describe the process below.

1. Firstly, there is no doubt that some sort of chant intonation is needed. Agnus I's lower voice then proceeds with G G G F F F G (up to the first note in measure 7). Logically this batch of notes should each receive a syllable, which results in 'qui tollis peccata mun-' in this voice being dispensed with.

2. The upper voices above this passage have imitation at 1-5 which their underlay should reflect.

3. At 6-7 in the first voice the repeated values seem to suggest underlaying of '-cata mun-' so that the latter syllable coincides with the same syllable in the third voice. The second voice at 5-7 will have underlay synchronous with the other parts.

4. The above decisions have all been taken despite the 1's, 2's and 3's in the score indicating manuscript text positioning at variance with our placings. But so far I do not think that anything is really in doubt. The next question is where does '-di' properly belong. Interpreting 89 literally will result in '-di' in voices 1 and 2 being placed under their last notes in 8 - but a look at the first voice here in 89 shows that the syllable is placed exactly where it is to avoid an upward tail on the system below it. In the third voice in 89 '-di' is under 9,3 - an aesthetically not unpleasant choice which is viable. But the simplest solution is to place the '-di' syllable under the first notes of 9 in each voice.

5. At 9-10 the underlaying of 'misere-' is prompted by the repeated same-pitch notes in voice 3, and the final syllable of this word (-re') can be retained for the cadence at 12 (not indicated in 89, but again this is a logical choice). It is quite common in this repertory for a word such as 'miserere' (written without most its syllables separated) to be editorially expanded to last for a number of measures.

6. 'nobis' - despite the manuscript's text positioning - can have its first syllable in voice 1 given to the start of a phrase in 13, and voice 3 can receive the same syllable in measures 12-13 as a same-pitch anacrusic entry (which is not uncommon in English works of this type and vintage: see section 2c part 5). Both voices can also have '-bis' given to the final cadential note in this section.

7. The words 'Agnus Dei' at the start of section 2 are underlaid with an important principle in mind, namely that fifteenth century singers might have wanted to get rid of text syllables with 'one per measure' if there were a greater number of measures than syllables. Therefore, 'Agnus De-' has its first three syllables here underlaid to the first three measures. This leaves 'De-' as a melisma covering three measures before the cadence and this word's final syllable.



8. At 25-26 I assume another same-pitch anacrusic entry for 'qui' in voice 2, and in the following measures I place 'tol-' in the second voice at 28 because the first note of this measure has an upward leap of a fourth after the previous measure. Arguably this is enough of an intervallic hiatus to justify a syllable being placed here, and the other voice here has had the same syllable put in the same place. Note that in the third voice there is an entry on a part-word at '-lis' (29).

9. 'peccata' in voices 2 and 3 has its syllable placement mostly determined by the repeated same-pitch notes in voice 3 at 30-31, and the cadence on E at 32 is a good place to begin 'mun-' in both voices, since later in this passage both voices are animated in minims and show no signs that a further syllable is needed in measures 32-35.

10. The placement of 'miserere' is influenced by its manuscript positioning in the third voice and the repeated F's in the second voice at 39-40. The syncopation at 43 in the third voice seems to be a good place for the first syllable of 'nobis', as this anticipates a cadential cliché in the second voice at 44-45.

11. Placement of '-gnus' after the start of the third section and also 'De-' is influenced by the ligatures in the third voice, and there seems to be no reason for the two voices above voice 3 here to have asynchronous underlay.

12. 'qui' in both lower voices at 58-59 takes anacrusic entries, and this word is omitted in the first voice.

13. 'tol-' in the second voice takes another anacrusic entry with the other voices following it as soon as possible with the same syllable at the start of the next measure; '-lis' then follows at the next cadence (68). So far in section 3 here, the duple measures seem to fall into two-measure pairs and none of the underlay suggested for this passage is seriously at variance with the idea of duple greater measures.

14. The underlay of 'peccata' is prompted by the syncopation in voice 2 at 69, and also the pre-cadential answering phrases in all voices at 72-75.

15. The middle of this section seems simple, since 'mundi' will take a phrase ending with a cadence on D (75-84) which features some changing-note material, and 'dona' will benefit from being placed where the two-voice imitation occurs at 85-89 in voices 1 and 2.

16. 'nobis' seems to be prompted by the voice 1 syncopation at 89, and '-bis' in the two upper voices seems to fit nicely in the cadences at 95 which involves a ligature in voice 2. What voice 3 does here is open to debate since it is silent at the cadence. Possibly '-bis' best follows the ligature at 93-94.

17. 'pacem' seem best treated with its first syllable at 96 in all voices, and its second syllable on the final note in all parts. A commonsense lesson can be derived from points 15-17 here; where there are three or four phrases and three of four words of text to be underlaid, one phrase will usually cater for each word.

Out of all of these 17 or more underlay decisions, perhaps the only two which are less than definite for me are the placement of '-di' in the third voice at 9 and the placement of '-bis' in the same voice at 93-94. Both of these instances could just as easily have their syllables moved respectively to 9,5 and 94.

What results here is a movement in which imitation is largely respected by the wordsetting and where most repeated notes at the same pitch are treated as relevant for underlay of successive syllables. One could of course try to finalise a less polished version in which more manuscript positionings and ligatures are respected than here, but I think that to do such a thing would only leave doubts in the mind of its deviser and those doubts would multiply if the same person attempted a similar exercise with a similar fifteenth century piece. The stages of underlaying text described here are a significant part of

what I mean by the best-practice approach mentioned at the start of this study: the latter example has been texted with a degree of care and some weighing-up of most of the practical options involved. Additionally, should this piece have concordant readings some of the individual decision processes might take longer. My final comment on this piece is that I selected it specially for teaching purposes for a significant socio-cultural reason. Since its voices are more or less equal in range it can be sung easily at a variety of pitches to give students some idea of how the texting sounds in performance. Thereby it avoids problems with fifteenth century textures that are commonly encountered such as lack of strong-voiced individual Superius singers and high Tenors owing to the prevailing matching of voice ranges to music scored for S A T B ranges.

(b) The *89 Beata viscera* setting.

This short piece (illustrated in Plate 3 and Example 62) adds a degree of constraint in that the part normally called the Tenor has a chant cantus firmus. This is given in chant notation in *89* which is monorhythmic apart from three values (two internal notes and the final long). The cantus firmus texting in the Example 62 follows that of a commonly used version of the chant (*LU 1997* p. 1268) rather than any underlay peculiarities which *89* might feature. Normally I would use a contemporary or roughly contemporary chant source for texting comparison rather than a Solesmes chant book, but the two versions of the chant differ very little.

It appears that no ligatures need to be broken and there is very little difference between my texting of Example 62 and the original. In the chant-based Tenor the minor texting differences are at the following points:

viscera  
-verunt  
eterni  
Patris  
filium

In the Superius there are even less differences. These are at the following places:

viscera  
-verunt  
eter-  
filium



62. *Beata viscera*;<sup>137</sup>

Be a - ta vi - sce - - - ra

Contra Be a - ta vi - sce - - - ra Ma -

Tenor Be a - ta vi - sce - - - ra Ma -

8 Ma - ri - e Vir - gi - nis, que por - ta - -

8 - ri - e Vir - gi - nis, que por - ta - -

8 - ri - e Vir - gi - nis, que por - ta - -

18 - - ve - - - runt e - ter - - ni Pa -

8 - - ve - - - runt e - ter - - ni Pa -

8 - - ve - - - runt e - ter - - ni Pa -

28 - - - tris Fi - li - - - um.

8 - - - tris Fi - li - - - um.

- - - tris Fi - li - - - um.

Contra differences are likewise minor, at these occur at the following points:

viscera  
 virginis  
 portaverunt  
 Patris  
 Filium

<sup>137</sup> D89 p. 1918.

Some of these differences are only listed because the score requires word extensions where the manuscript gives single words without separating syllables. The degree of convincing texting here is unusual in a mid-century source and similar examples can be found in equally short *Da pacem* and *Deo gratias* settings, where sometimes there is just the Superius text written in full.<sup>138</sup> My argument here is that in such short pieces there is little need for artifice, and usually not enough complexity for a scribe to have to move syllables because of possible collisions with note-tails on a stave below. Chant settings in the same style as Example 62 are quite rare: this piece is part of a set of descant-like Proper settings copied with the 89 equal-voice Mass and probably used in conjunction with it. More common in the later Trent manuscripts and *Strahov* is a similar type of chant setting which usually has its Tenor in Gothic neumes. Most of these seem to come from the German-speaking world, they can cover a wide range of settings types such as Mass Ordinaries, Introits and Responds, and the texting in their freely written voices usually involves more editorial intervention than has been applied here.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> For examples see *D91* p. 193 (a *Da Pacem* setting) and Kaye, *op. cit.* pp. 187 (Binchois's *Da pacem* setting) and 188 (his *Deo gratias* setting).

<sup>139</sup> For a Sanctus with its Tenor in chant notation see *D89* p. 2057. For further settings of this type see *Strahov* ff. 42v-46v (six Introit settings with chant notation Tenors and a Kyrie with a chant notation Superius). There are also two Kyries and one Gloria with chant notation parts on ff. 61r-64r and other examples of the same sort of texture elsewhere in this manuscript).



Plate 4. 88 ff. 90v-91r (see Example 63)

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My third example is radically different, and is the second of five sections in the Credo of the four voice *Missa Puis que m'amour* in 88. This Tenor cantus firmus Mass has full sections which use the Tenor of Dunstable's chanson of the same name, but no pre-existent material from the song is involved in the section in question which is given as Example 63 and illustrated in Plate 4. This trio is a forerunner of similar reduced-scoring sections which occur in Masses by Faugues and others, and these tend to consist of a series of short panels with differently scored duets and three-part textures. The anonymous composer of this Mass certainly puts 'everything in the shop window' here. There are various sorts of devices such as three-part unison imitation (71-73), a cadential drive passage with cross-accents (75-82), polymensural writing (83 onwards), changing-note imitation in two of the voices (88-90), close imitation at the fifth between the two upper voices with some imitative activity from the third voice (99-109) and sustained values in two of the parts against an active middle voice (111-116). To help with the variety of textures here the middle part has a range of just over two octaves, and apart from the opening lower-voice incipits only the Superius is texted.

The 88 texting is imprecise in places, and - even to the most sceptical eye regarding editorial underlay - extensions of words written without separate syllables seem to be needed. Is full text actually required in the lower voices? I would answer this by referring readers to the lowest-voice repeated values at 69, the exact unison imitation in all voices in the same stave system, and the changing-note imitation in the second system of the example's second page. The imitation at the bottom of the second page is also relevant here: all of these passages would sound very odd indeed if editorial text was not applied.

63. Anon, 'Genitum' section from Credo of the *Missa Puis que m'amour*;<sup>140</sup>

63

Ge - ni - tum, non fa - - ctum, con - sub - stan - ti -

Ge - ni - tum, non fa - - - - ctum, con -

Ge - ni - tum, non fa - ctum, con - sub - stan - ti -

68

- a - lem Pa - tri, per quem o - -

- sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri, per quem o -

- a - - - lem Pa - tri, per quem o - - - - mni -

73

- mni - - - a fa - - - -

- - - mni - - - a fa - - - -

- - - - - a fa - - - -

78

- - - - cta sunt.

- - - - cta sunt.

- - - - cta sunt.

<sup>140</sup> 88 ff. 88v-89r, published in Gerber, *op. cit.* pp. 355-357.



83

Qui pro pter nos ho - mi - nes et pro - pter no - stram

[♩ = ♩]

Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi - nes et pro - pter no - stram

Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi - nes et pro - pter no - stram

88

sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit

sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de ce -

sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de ce -

93

de ce - lis. Et in - car - na -

[♩ = ♩]

- lis. Et in - car -

- lis. Et in - car -

99

- tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto, ex Ma -

-na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma -

-na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto, ...Ma -

104  
 ri - a Vir - gi -  
 ri - a Vir - gi -  
 ri - a Vir - gi -

109  
 ne: et ho - mo  
 ne: et ho - mo  
 ne: et ho - mo

114  
 fa - ctus est.  
 fa - ctus est.  
 fa - ctus est.

The best way to treat this very varied texture is to isolate stretches of the music where there is a degree of certainty about what to do with text. As with the first example in this section the whole process is set out in numbered stages below.

1. The closing passage (111-119) gives ‘factus’ under 114 in the Superius. It seems logical to stretch this word so that its second syllable begins where there is a repeated same-pitch note in one of the lower parts (at 118).<sup>141</sup>

2. Moving backwards, ‘Et incarnatus’ at 97-99 can receive more or less homophonic treatment, but starting with ‘est’ at 99 the underlay has to be placed with regard to imitation. My solution realises the imitation as exactly as possible at 99-106, and then stretches ‘Virgine’ (given at 106 in the manuscript) to the cadence at 110.

<sup>141</sup> The contour of the Superius at 111-119 is similar to that of Credo V at the same textual point (see *LU 1997* p.74) but I doubt that this section gives a genuine chant reference here because the *LU 1997* passage cadences on D rather than the final G cadence of this example.

3. Moving back to the beginning, I have realised the lower voices' texting by allowing the catch-up principle to apply at 63-69, and adjusting the manuscript position of 'Patri'. Hopefully this is not too contrived.
4. The passage involving three-voice unison imitation at 69-74 has been realised by allowing both lower voices to accept 'omni-' as the imitatively answering syllable to 'per quem' in the Superius at 69-70. Otherwise there might be discontinuous lower-voice text in the ensuing measures.
5. Following 'omnia' there is an extended rhythmically active passage leading up to the cadence at 82. As in the manuscript I begin this with 'fa-' on a cross-accented value, but 88 gives '-cta' under Superius 81,2. It seems more conventional to move this syllable back to 80 so that the voices below it can be seen to have rhythmically similar movement for a reason (i.e. change of syllable).
6. The passage where the Tenor changes to dotted-C is problematic. Once more here I apply lower voice catch-up, and I arrange the texting so that 'salutem' (given in the manuscript with 'salu-' at 88,3) begins at 88,1 and extends to the end of the changing-note passage at the cadence in 91.
7. 'descendit de celis' is texted with the middle voice anticipating the Superius, and with the lowest voice in the score following the rhythm of the middle voice where the anticipation begins. Such matching underlay seems to be frequent in many instances where lower voices begin imitation.

These processes cover the whole section, and I am confident that the result parallels the meticulous way in which the composer put this section together. Such a policy for texting of course also implies that the original might have been just as carefully texted, which is something that the version in 88 does not reflect. Neither do I think it possible that really well informed lower-voice singers could be expected to realise all of the imitative underlay in this section as some sort of *ad libitum* process. Quite simply there would be too much work involved.

My fourth sample is again radically different. This is the second half of the Credo from Ockeghem's *Missa Caput*. The whole Mass is in 88 as well as *Chigi* and the latter seems to show that some editing process had been involved before it was entered into the latter manuscript. Both readings for this section are shown in Plates 5 and 6. The Credo in both readings differs in terms of some breves being divided into semibreves, or semibreves being made into breves. Evidently somebody was dissatisfied with the piece as they received it, which is the only probable reason for the alterations.

This is one of two well-known Ockeghem works with cantus firmus in its lowest voice (the other being his four-voice *Salve Regina*). Since this Mass was entered into the gatherings which now make up 88 its composition is likely to precede the early 1460's. By the time that the *Chigi* version was copied (probably after 1500) various versions of this Mass might have been in good circulation for roughly 40 years, no doubt with some versions accurately copied and texted and others being less accurate. The 88 version is not particularly good. Like *Chigi* it confuses voice-names for the lower parts (which is understandable in view of the lowest part unusually being the cantus firmus) and the section in question has no text apart from sectional incipits.



Plate 5. 88 ff. 290v-291r (see Example 64)

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Et in cruce  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro

Et in cruce  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro  
 Et in sepulchro

Plate 6. Chigi ff. 69v-70r (see Example 64)

64. Ockeghem; 88 version of the second Credo section from the *Missa Caput*;

95 97 [ $\text{♩} \approx \frac{2}{3} \text{♩}$ ]

- lis. Et in - car - na - tus est

- - - lis. Et in - car - na - tus

- lis. Et incarnatus

- - - - lis. Et incarnatus est

103

de Spi - ri - tu San - cto, ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -

est de Spi - ri - tu San - - - cto, ...Vir -

112

- ne: et ho - - mo fa - - ctus # est.

- gi - ne: et ho - - mo fa - - ctus est.

121

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis

130

sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - to, pas - sus et se - pul -

sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - to, pas - sus et se - pul -

139

tus est. Et

tus est. ...Et in Spi - ri -

...Et in Spi -

...Et

148

re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e se -  
- tum San - ctum Do - mi - num, et vi - vi - - fi -  
- ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num, et vi - vi -  
re - - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di -

157

- cum - dum Scri - ptu - ras. Et a - - scen - -  
- can - tem. Qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que pro -  
- fi - can - tem. Qui ex Pa - tre ... pro -  
- e se - cun - dum Scri - ptu - ras. Et a -

166

- dit in ce - lum, se - det ad de - xte - ram  
- ce - dit. ... Qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit. Qui  
- ce - dit. ... Qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o -  
- scen - dit in ce - lum, se - det ad de - xte - ram



175

Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est  
 cum Pa - tre et ...si - mul a - do -  
 - que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre  
 Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est

184

cum glo - ri - a iu - di - ca - re vi - vos  
 - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur: qui  
 et Fi - li - o si - mul a - do - ra - tur  
 cum glo - ri - a iu - di - ca - re

193

et mor - tu - os: cu - ius re - gni non e - rit fi - nis.  
 lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas. Et u - nam san -  
 ...san

202

b

...Con - fi - te -

-ctam, ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec -

-ctam, ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec - cle -

...Con - fi - te -

211

-or u - num ba - pti - sma in re - mis - si -

-cle - si - am. ...u - num ba - pti - sma in re - mis -

-si - am ...ba - pti - sma in re - mis -

-or u - num ba - pti - sma in re - mis -

220

- si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum. Et e - xpe - cto re -

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

- si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum. Et e - xpe -

- si - o - nem Et e - xpe - cto re -

229

-sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum.

...re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum.

- cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum

-sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum

238

- rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se -

rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se -

- rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se -

- rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se -

247

- cu - li. A - li. -

- cu - li. A - li. -

- cu - li. A - li. -

- cu - li.

256

- men.

8 - men.

8 - men.

A - men.

*Chigi* is neater and a more thoroughly texted copy. But the full subsections of Example 64 are continuous in texture and seem to have phrases that overlap in different voices - which is a fairly unforgiving environment for editors attempting supporting-voice text underlay. There are already five published versions of Ockeghem's *Caput Mass* by the editors of *DTO* (1912), Dragan Plamenac (1947), Alejandro Planchart (1964), Jaap van Benthem (1994) and Rebecca Gerber (2006).<sup>142</sup> All of these and also my own rendering above face the same problem in that the texture is not really controllable in terms of text underlay, and however the implications of *Chigi* are worked out a certain degree of textual editing will ensue.

I summarise the difficulties encountered in wordsetting Example 64 as follows. Firstly, the underlay in the opening duet subsection at 98-144 partly follows *Chigi*, but I doubt that absolutely all of the underlay in that source is accurate as it gives the Superius 'est' at 143 *before* the cadence at which I place this syllable. The lower duet voice in *Chigi* has less text than the Superius, and a brief look at this in Plate 6 will show that it is probably not reliably placed as in the latter voice. As minor points to observe I make the supporting voice overhang a cadence-point with its texting at 107-109 (the complete text phrase has too many notes for the voice concerned here in any case) and at 143 I give the lower duet voice an anticipatory syllable since this voice does not actually sound at the duet's cadence.

Secondly, the Superius text in *Chigi* and the lower-voice incipits therein prescribe telescoping from 144 onwards (probably at least up to 197) and the two inner voices have 'Et in Spiritum...Prophetas' whereas the outer ones have 'Et resurrexit' and its continuation. The only other clues to where lower voices might have syllables are in pairs of same-pitch semibreves as in the higher Contra in 161-162. Even so, both inner voices seem to need editorial repeats of 'Qui ex Patre...procedit' at 168-179 and the editorial continuation of telescoping results in a short upper-voice duet with each voice having a different part of the Credo text at 193-199.

Thirdly, in the second full subsection (from 208 onwards) notes have to be split and some editorial text in the inner voices needs omissions in order to make the texture appear as though it is under control. In my version above, all parts from 238-239 onwards settle onto a reasonably assembled rendering of 'Et vitam venturi' but my basic point in explaining the texting procedure here is that the non-imitative and continuous nature of the parts seems to make any tidier decisions impossible. It is simply in the 'nature of the beast' here that there is an element of randomness about how the lower voices of this section were texted, and this is certainly not the only four-voice section of its type to have this characteristic.

<sup>142</sup> These are respectively in *DTO* 38 pp. 59-79, Plamenac *op. cit.* vol II pp. 37-58, Planchart, *Missae Caput* (Collegium Musicum 5, Yale University) pp. 53-97, van Benthem, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Mass Sections fascicle I, I: Missa Caput* (edition by Koninklijke VNM) and Gerber, *op. cit.* pp. 852-882.

The four examples presented in this section therefore try to ground potential students of mid-century sacred music in four different applications of texting. Firstly, in a mostly triple-measure exercise where there are some melismata and some options for placement of individual syllables. Secondly, in a chant-derived piece where most of the text as given in the manuscript seems to be reliably placed. Thirdly, in a trio section which displays different sorts of imitative textures and lastly in a single section from a large Mass movement in which precisely the reverse situation from the third example seems to be apparent (i.e. no imitation, and very little help as to how the text might be placed from one of the sources). Subsequent sections of this study will attempt to explain (at least in part) how such a diverse series of musical-textual situations arose within a single short era

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## 5. PRECEDENTS FOR TYPES OF TEXTING AMONGST SOURCES EARLIER THAN 1430, AND TEXT PRECEDING THE COPYING OF NOTATION IN CERTAIN SOURCES.

Those who have read this study so far will doubtless be pleased to know (or to be reminded) that there is at least one sort of non-score vocal polyphony from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in which texting is absolutely unequivocal. This is in the Triplum parts of structured motets where absolutely every note has a single syllable, as in the short *Patrie pacis / Patria gaudencium* from an English source of ca. 1330.<sup>143</sup> Other strict examples of the music-to-text relationship are rare, but the Triplum of the fragmentary motet *Carbunculus ignitus* (*Old Hall* no. 143) is similarly devised.<sup>144</sup> Motet no. 1 in *Turin J.II.9* also comes close, with its upper voices admitting a few two-note groups to single syllables.<sup>145</sup> So do the upper voices of motets like the famous *Degentis vita* found in *Ch* and other sources, and so do the topmost parts of some of Vitry's motets.

Study of the sources surrounding Machaut's musical output and related motet sources show that music overlay to already copied text was very common in the fourteenth century.<sup>146</sup> This type of copying is found in the *P 146* interpolated copy of Fauvel, in most of the Cambrai fragments, in the Brussels rotulus *Br 19606*, in most of *Ivrea*, and also what survives of *Trém*. It also prevails in the more formally and expensively copied Machaut manuscripts such as *P 1584*. Lawrence Earp's 1991 article illustrates that text-first copying method can produce a beautifully clear and mostly unambiguous reading by illustrating the *P 1584* copy of Machaut's three-part Ballade *Donnés seigneurs*. Earp reinforces this by describing how the central Machaut sources occasionally correct individual syllable separations, or use a diagonal line to place music properly with text. In such music it is chiefly Superius parts or twin top voices which receive text, and therefore the copying method does not usually result in pages which are crowded.

The copying of music *before* text is detectable in later fourteenth century secular sources such as the composite manuscript *Reina* and also *P 568*, where certain melismatic passages are sometimes notationally compressed. Alongside the two methods of copying also comes incremental copying of text and music, in which the former usually comes first and is then followed by the passage(s) of music

<sup>143</sup> *PMFC* vol. 15 p. 120.

<sup>144</sup> Regarding the threefold textual-musical scheme in this solitary surviving voice see Bent, M., 'Text Setting in Sacred Music 15<sup>th</sup> Century: Evidence and Implications' in *Counterpoint, Composition and Musica Ficta* (Routledge, London and New York, 2002) pp. 273-300.

<sup>145</sup> *Victima / Victimis / [Victime pascali]*, published in Hoppin *op. cit.* vol. 2 p. 1.

<sup>146</sup> Much information in the following paragraphs comes from Earp, L., 'Texting in 15<sup>th</sup>-century French chansons: a look ahead from the 14<sup>th</sup> century' in *Early Music* 19 (1991) pp. 195-210.

to which the text should fit. This third method seems to be in evidence in parts of *Ivrea*, *Old Hall*, and *Ox 213*. Otherwise in *Old Hall* there is much text-first copying. It is also of interest there that one of the main Burgundian chanson sources (*EscA*) is the work of two successive scribes where the first overlays music to text and the second underlays text to music. *ModA* also contains some examples of music copied before text.

However, to describe such divisions in practice before the fifteenth century and simply leave matters as they stand is too cut-and-dried. What happened when the default copying procedure was not up to standard, or where the complexity of the music compromised the way in which it was copied? Useful answers here have been given by Margaret Bent in her study of the *Old Hall* scribes, and also by Elizabeth Randell Upton in a study of just four songs from *Ch*, a manuscript which is beautifully copied even though some of its text variants have already been cited in this study as bizarre.<sup>147</sup> For those who are unfamiliar with the general appearance of secular repertory in *Ch*, the text is often copied in tidy blocks on multiple lines under part-stretches of stave, and the text of additional lines or strophes is frequently copied at the end of Superius parts in rather compressed rectangles of Gothic script. The music often includes red or void notational devices, some of which indicate various degrees of complexity ranging from simple coloration to almost undecipherable notational puzzles like those in Rodericus's often cited *Angelorum psalat*. My reason for briefly explaining the general appearance of *Ch* is to emphasise that this presentation manuscript is not too different in appearance from Machaut sources like *P 1584*.

The four songs commented on in Upton's article show that the *Ch* text and music scribes (who cannot be proven to be the same person even if they actually were) had varied success in matching notation to the already-copied text. In Andrieu's double Ballade *Armes amours / O flour des flours* there are not that many discrepancies between the words and music. In Solage's very lengthy Ballade *Corps femenin* the music is crowded in places. There are also problems with the characteristic blocks of text in this copying style and the probable distribution of that text's syllables in the Superius part. The same problem is more acute in the Ballade *Le mont Aon* (probably also a work of Solage) where the usual text-blocks take little account of extended melodic sequences in the Superius. These should logically receive some form of underlay matching the sequential writing, but this is certainly not apparent from *Ch*. Lastly, Upton finds problems in Cunelier's *Se Galaas* such as the written text messing up a musical rhyme feature plus questionable text placement at the fermata passage near the end of the song. Also we cannot be sure whether the shortfalls described here were the result of sloppy copying by a musician who knew these songs well, or whether they were the result of using an exemplar that separates us from more careful originals. In view of some of the other shortcomings in *Ch* such as inferior variants to music and text I begin to suspect that the latter may be true regarding at least some of the songs discussed here. Two rather hard-to-learn lessons regarding medieval manuscripts come from work like Upton's; firstly not everything that is neat and presentational is authoritative, and secondly sources tend to be individually inconsistent in the quality of the copies which they preserve.

Moving to manuscripts which are properly within the timescale of our study, *Q15* displays signs of both music-first and incremental copying. The underlay to all voices in *Q15* no. 64 (a Credo by Salinis, Plate 7a) is so small and precise in all three voices that it is hard not to imagine the music being copied first, and in parts of the Tenor of this piece the text is unusually compressed. Incremental copying is at least probable in the Salinis motet illustrated in Plate 7b, since the equal upper voices alternate textual and

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<sup>147</sup> See fn. 101 and Upton, E., 'Aligning Words and Music: Scribal Procedures for the Placement of Text and Notes in the Chantilly Codex' in Plumley, Y. and Stone, A. (eds), *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context* (Brepols, 2009) pp. 115-132. Bent, 'Text Setting in Sacred Music 15<sup>th</sup> Century: Evidence and Implications' gives examples of score copying where small amounts of independent part movement obscure affect musical appearance (see her Examples 10 and 11) and she also gives detailed examples of consistent copying habits in *Old Hall*. For a full summary of this article see section 13.

melismatic passages. Generally in *Q15* the notation is well spaced and Margaret Bent (as editor of the facsimile edition) records the fastidiousness of the main scribe in matters of text alignment discrepancies and placement corrections.<sup>148</sup> *Turin J.II.9* is another source where text-first copying seems to hold sway for the Mass Ordinary and motet sections, and for at least a large part of its song collection too. In addition the small Mass Ordinary setting group in *Turin J.II.9* is copied with a surprising lack of text contractions throughout these pieces with what is usually very neat text (see Plate 7c).

Although *Ao* is a composite source it also shows signs of text-first copying, for example in the setting of the *Gaudeamus* Introit on f. 14v where there is a compressed notation passage under reasonably spaced text (Plate 7d). Likewise, in a Guillaume Le Grant Credo one notation passage overruns a stave but the text does not (see Plate 7e). Oppositely, a Gloria with a densely syllabled Superius from the fourth section of *Ao* (which is probably the work of Brassart) has very good word-to-note correlation in its topmost part so the music probably came before the text here (Plate 7f). Again at the opposite pole, the beautifully copied hymn section in *ModB* with multiple verses was probably a text-first task. It is one of the great frustrations of our subject that fragments showing equal beauty of copying method are often all that survives of what were once no doubt magnificent manuscripts. Plates 8 and 9 give typical examples.

The earlier Trent manuscripts also display some signs of text-first method, such as in an anonymous Credo in 87 (f. 9v) which has a phrase at ‘Crucifixus...nobis’ where the music runs past the text (see Plate 7g). Likewise in a Binchois Gloria on f. 25v music overruns text at ‘Patris’, and a textual correction due to music-text spacing at ‘nostram’ would definitely not be there if the music had been copied first (see Plate 7h). Similarly in the Superius of Poignare’s Gloria (51v, Plate 7i) there are small examples of compressed notation but with text below it that is not squashed in. In 90 f. 24v we find a setting of the *Spiritus Domini* Introit where the doxology text runs into a margin (Plate 7j, another possible case of notation preceding text). Finally in a Dufay Credo from 93 (f. 270r) there is an equally clear sign of music copied before text: the text for ‘Patrem omnipotentem’ has been given contractions so that it matches the first seven syllables of the Superius text (Plate 7k). This would probably not look the same had the copying of text preceded the music.<sup>149</sup>

The main scribe of 90, most of 88 and parts of 89 and 91 (Johannes Wisser) seems to begin his surviving work in the 1450’s with 90, which is a rather untidily but fussily copied version of much of the contents of 93. His copies therein are often inferior to their exemplars and frequently incorporate their errors. In 90 I suspect that much of his copying was done with the notation first and the text second.

Plate 7a. Music before text in *Q15*, f. 65v;

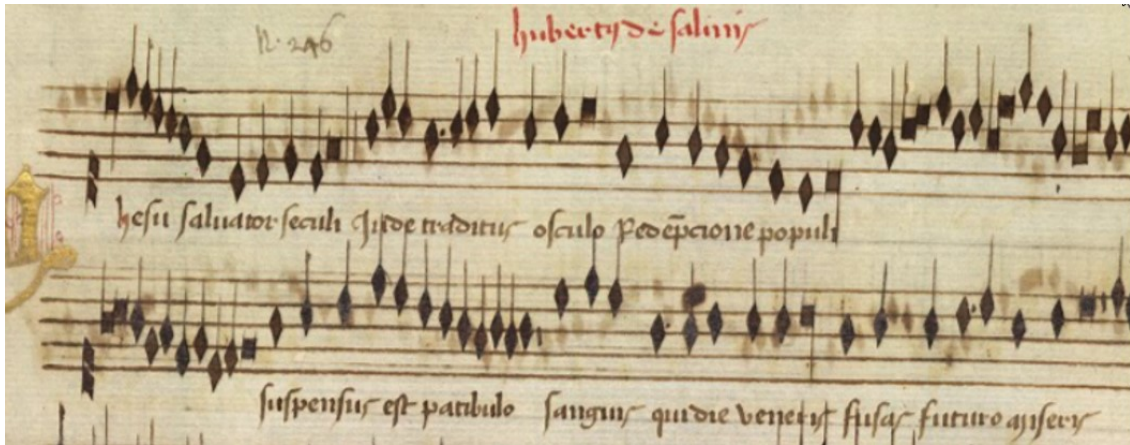


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<sup>148</sup> See Bent, *op. cit.* vol. I p. 96.

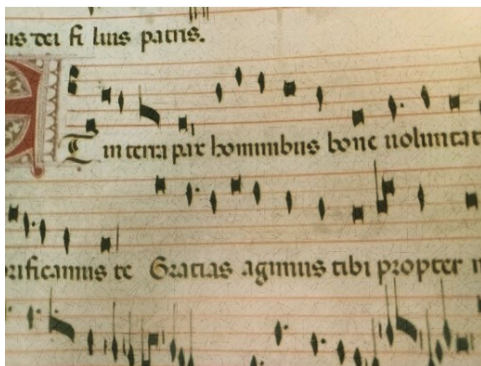
<sup>149</sup> This Credo by Dufay is the same work which is discussed at the start of section 3 part 10.

Plate 7b. Possibly a case of incremental work in *Q15* rather than text-first copying, f. 249v;



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Plate 7c. Text-first copying in *Turin J.II.9* f. 32v;



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Universitaria di Torino. Divieto di riproduzione.

Plate 7d. Text before music in *Ao* with compressed notation above it (f. 14v);

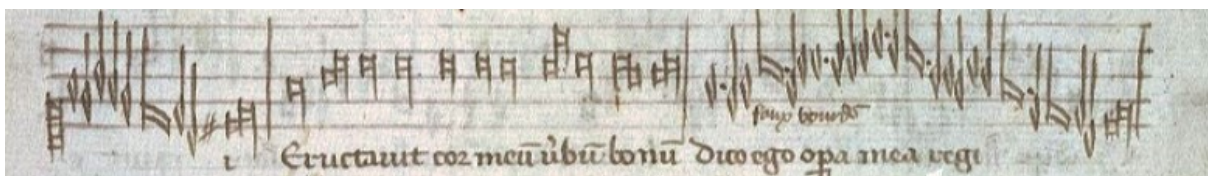


Plate 7e. Text before music in *Ao* with notation overrun into margin (f. 102r);

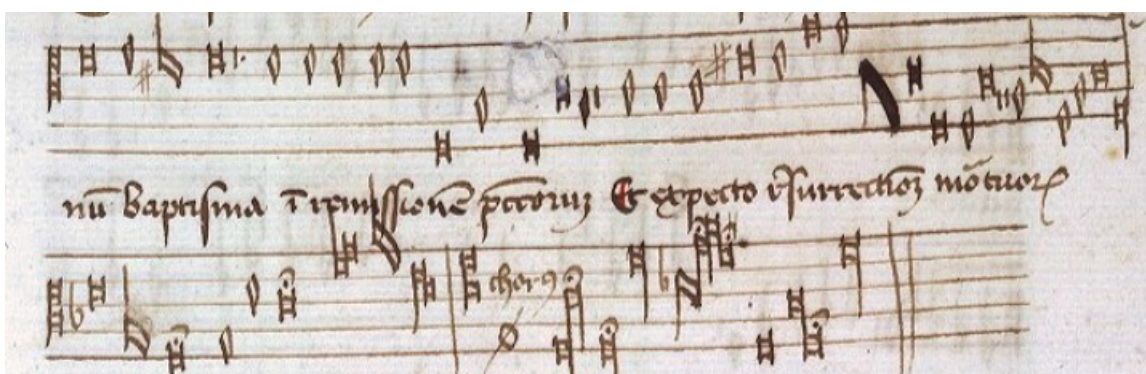




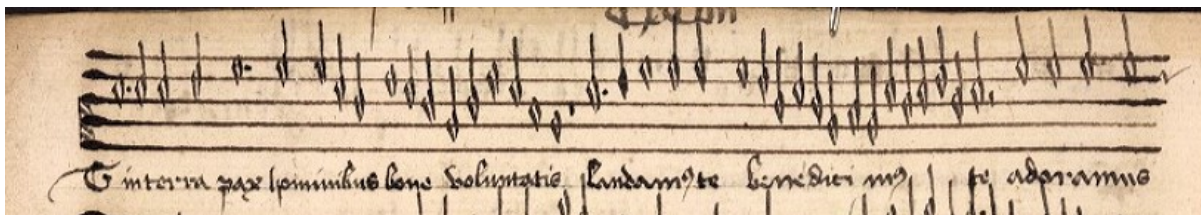
Plate 7f. Probable music before text in *Ao* (f. 270v);

Plate 7g. Probable text-first copying in 87 (f. 9v);

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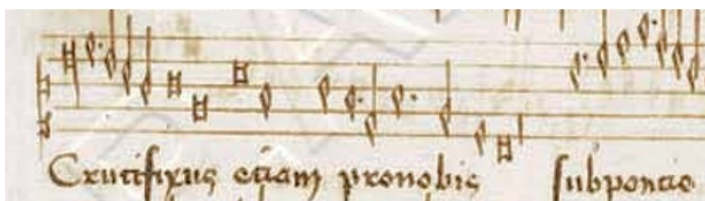


Plate 7h. Probable text-first copying in 87 with a correction after insertion of notation (f. 25v);

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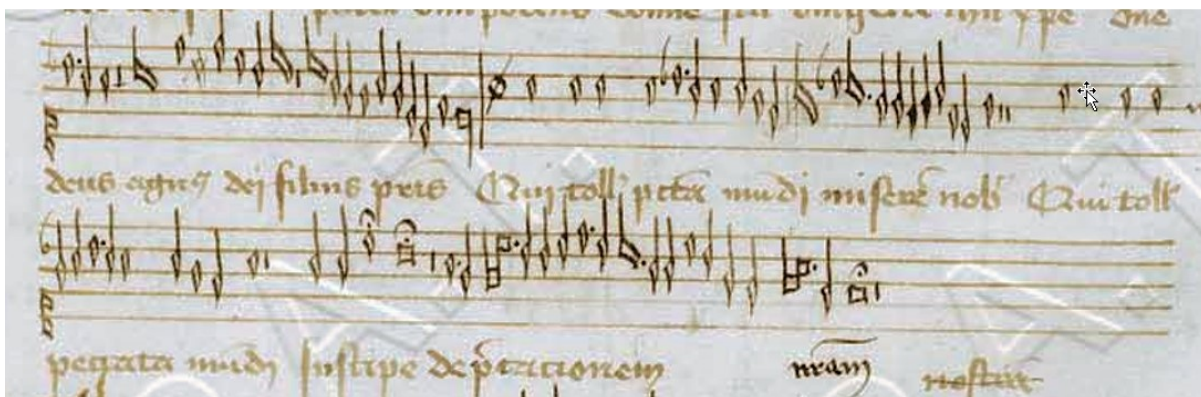


Plate 7i. Probable text-first copying in 87 with compressed notation (f. 51v);

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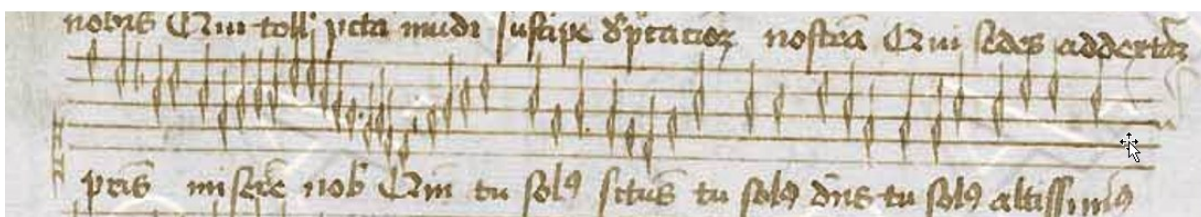


Plate 7j. Music copied before text in 90 (f. 24v);

© Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento - Italy.

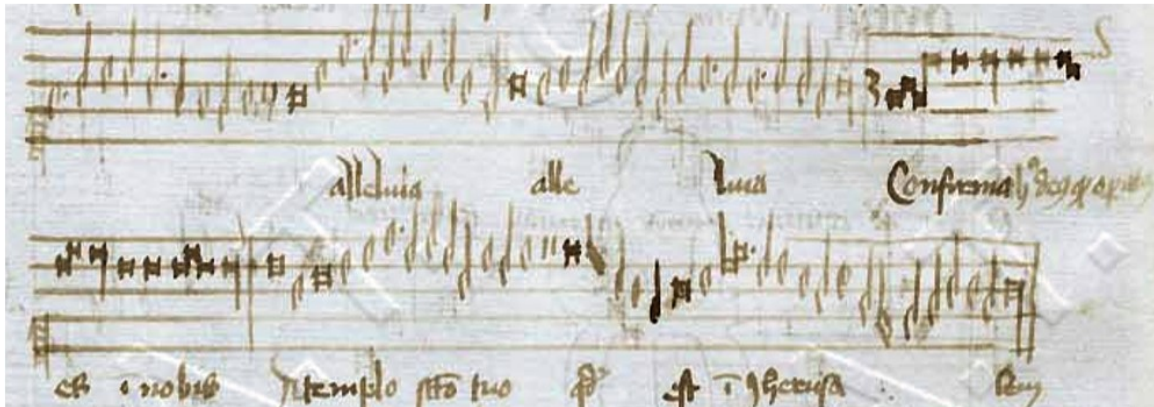


Plate 7k. Probable music entry before text in 93 (f. 270r);

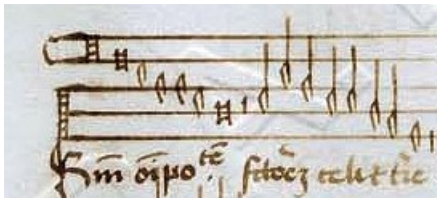


Plate 8. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, ms Don.b.31, fol [x] verso

**A**gnus dei  
Qui tol lis perca ta mun di  
mu se re re no  
bis. **A**gnus de  
i qui tol lis per ca ta mun di mu  
se re re no bis. **A**gnus de  
i qui tol lis pec ca ta  
mun di dona nobis pacem **A**gni dei.

Plate 7j illustrates an example of his early copying. Ultimately a copyist is only as good as the material in front of him, and by the time that Wisser was copying the large assembly of Propers in what is now 88 he appears to have been influenced greatly by what must have been a reliable exemplar. Unlike in other parts of the later Trent manuscripts rests tend to be counted accurately, and at least some of the texting in these often lengthy Superius paraphrase settings has chant-based reasoning behind its positioning. In his other work we have already seen that Wisser seems to move syllables because they occasionally get in the way of note-tails on a stave below (see section 4a), and occasionally some of his copying might have been done at considerable speed. The Agnus Dei of the Missa *Du cuer* in 89 has a stretch of its duple-section repeated Tenor omitted, and to make a mistake of this significance (where the fixed Tenor had already been copied in previous movements) either the exemplar was wrong or the copyist was short of time. A few copies in the later Trent manuscripts also show the work of one scribe continuing that of another (such as in the Magnificat Tone IV *D89* p. 1520) and the 91 copy of Vincenet's Missa *O gloriosa*). But to return to the idea of Wisser as a scrupulous copyist the recent discovery of the Bolzano fragment gives us a likely model for his copying of a canonic *Salve Regina* in 89. I quote from the critical notes of my edition below to show how the relationship between these copies.

“Bolzano is very close to Trent 89, even to the extent that both sources notate some rests idiosyncratically, both have similar capital letters at their start, both give ‘fily’ for ‘filii’ and both give the verbal canon in almost exactly the same form (both sources even give a bracket-like sign before the canon’s four text lines). It is therefore highly probable that one reading was copied from the other, and in view of Bolzano giving the expanded form of ‘Sup[er]ior tenori’ it seems that this might have been the exemplar for Trent 89.”<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> *D89* p. 2099. The *Salve Regina* in question is on p. 1949. Regarding the Bolzano fragment see Gabrielli, G., ‘A new source of Quattrocento music discovered in Bolzano’ in *Early Music* 43 no. 2 (2015), pp. 255-267, and the same author’s ‘Il manoscritto Bolz’ in Cook, J. *et al* (eds), *Manuscripts, Materiality and Mobility...* (2024) pp. 27-46.



Wisser is also likely to have checked copies (several authors mention the finding of likely correction signs in the Trent manuscripts) and occasionally he rewrote passages that used mensural signatures unfamiliar to him in an attempt to clarify their meanings.<sup>151</sup> Very occasionally he entered more or less

<sup>151</sup> Regarding Wisser checking and correcting his own work in 93 and 90 see Bent, M., 'Trent 93 and Trento 90: Johannes Wisser at work' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini I* (1986) pp. 84-111 (particularly pp. 94-96). Regarding clarification and rewriting of mensurally unusual passages see Kirkman, A., 'Innovation, stylistic patterns and the writing of history: the case of Bedyngham's Mass *Dueil angoisieux*' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini II* (1996) pp. 149-175 (a cadential cliché in the 90 version of the Bedingham Gloria's ending is rewritten in 88 without a proportional sign and coloration). Also see *D91* p. 392 concerning proportional passages in a three-voice Mass where an unknown scribe has made the main copy but Wisser is probably the author of passages with revised signatures. This Mass now has a concordance which I discovered in 2023 in some paste-downs recovered from an incunabulum (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 2 Inc. c.a. 1088-2,2/2,3#2,2) which give seven very short passages from the Gloria's Contratenor.

full text in a few copies, no doubt because his exemplars gave text in that fashion too. In this connection a short group of works in 89 are particularly important because all of them might have come from a single source giving works by an English composer or at least partly adapted works by an Englishman.<sup>152</sup> But there is one thing which is particularly important about the transmission of texted sacred music after 1440. In general the fashionable style of triple-time sections became more complex, and after *ca.* 1450 the same begins to apply to duple writing in polyphony. Given the simple triple style of some so-called ‘Liègeois’ pieces in *Q15* and also given the uncomplicated style of duple writing in motets from the first quarter of the century, text-before-music and incremental methods of copying had a good chance of rendering the pieces which they transmitted accurately and making the textual intentions of their upper voices fairly clear. As soon as rhythmic complexity becomes frequent in modernistic triple sections of the 1440’s and ‘50’s, the music-first method of coping starts to remove visibly obvious word-to-music connections on the page, and in some mid fifteenth century pieces with only Superius text the presence of text sometimes tells the reader little about its actual intended underlay. To summarise, the music was outgrowing its copying medium just as in Upton’s study of a handful of songs from *Ch.*

The sheer amount of music copied by Wisser and his assistants also largely removed the scribe-performer connection which I think is often apparent from good copies of Superius-texted songs from the Machaut era. Quite simply, the Trento scribes were handling and recopying so much music that they cannot have known well or performed well anything like the number of Introit, Gloria, Credo and Sanctus settings, Magnificats and hymns entered into 90 and the later Trent manuscripts. The recopying of music by Wisser was therefore akin to an industrial process, and despite his checking of sources nothing could check the verity of syllable or word placement in exemplars where such features may have been edited or experimented with in small ways even before they reached Trento. Neither are such transmission difficulties limited to musical text alone, as the likely distribution of the famous anonymous *Caput* Mass seems to show.<sup>153</sup> Nor were all of the sources used by the Trento scribes in choirbook format, as one piece in 89 seems to have been copied from a partbook or at least a small-sized source.<sup>154</sup>

Not all of the music handled by Wisser was copied in such a way as to actually *remove* it from a performance medium. Like other copyists he developed a default way of handling four-part pieces: customarily the Superius was texted, with the Tenor beneath it being untexted or sparsely incipit-texted. On the right-hand page of a single opening he would then copy the Contra part(s) treated in much the same way as the Tenor. Three or possibly four people could have easily assembled close around one of the later Trent manuscripts and tried out a four-part piece, perhaps with the singers of the lower parts vocalising until they were sure where and when to add text. Such a situation is surely in evidence with the copy of the *Salve Regina / Hilf und gib rat* motet in 89 since its Superius has been given a second text in large-size superscript by a copyist other than the first text scribe (see Plate 10). There would be no reason for doing this other than to give the singer(s) of this part a clearly legible text.<sup>155</sup> But the piece

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<sup>152</sup> These are *Perpulchra Syon filia / Pulchra es, Tu ne quesieris* and *Gaude flore virginali*, copied together in the manuscript (*D89* pp. 1173, 1179 and 1183). All three are for four voices and fully texted, although the lowest part is inessential in the first piece and the second piece can be sung in three parts if elements of the two Contra parts are omitted or rearranged. *Tu ne quesieris* is a Horatian ode setting but has some features shared by English Ballades or rhyme-royal settings from the mid-century. Both this setting and the previous piece cited are notable for the careful way in which they set their texts, and all three are set out on their pages in a relatively well spaced way which suggests mimicry of that feature from the immediate copying model.

<sup>153</sup> See the 2007 edition of the *Missa Caput* by Reinhard Strohm in *EECM* 49 (2007), commentary, pp. 33-45. Otherwise the Mass is in *D89*, pp. 1095-1148.

<sup>154</sup> The contrafact version of Touront’s *O generosa (Compangant omnes, D89 p. 1214)* has omissions and erasures at the same internal point in the two upper voices. Further, see *D89* p. 1459.

<sup>155</sup> For the two differently texted versions see *D89* pp. 1269 and 1277. For the five-voice version of this motet from *Strahov* and its associate Mass attributed to ‘Philippus’ respectively see pp. 1285 and 1379. Regarding well-

in question is not a particularly good example to use for a simple Superius text plus vocalised-lower-parts performance, as it contains short panels with varied scoring in which lower duetting voices ideally need some texting. Nevertheless other examples in the later Trent manuscripts are more amenable to this type of performance, including the two 88 hymn settings cited in section 3 part 12 and some of the more melismatic Superius-paraphrase Proper settings in the same source.

Plate 10. 89 ff. 354v-355r with superimposed text

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But already here I am reaching beyond the purpose of our immediate discussion, which is how music of the preceding generation was texted and copied. To return to manuscripts of the conciliar period, direct relationships have been convincingly argued for *Ao* and parts of the Trent collection.<sup>156</sup> The earlier Trent manuscripts (which are composite in origin) also have a close relative in the void-notation Zwettl fragment, which consists of two paper bifolios plus a single folio with a large single page size (390 x 290 mm) that originally must have been a more extensive manuscript than the collection of *Glorias* which this source preserves. This is because there are directions to *Credos* on pages or folios 167, 175 and 179 which match (or are paired with) the *Glorias*, but the *Credo* section has not survived.<sup>157</sup> *Zw* preserves the following works, cited here using the manuscript's original foliation.

worn pages possibly indicating practical use of parts of 88 see Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 4, where ff. 331v-410v (gatherings 28-34) show signs of use and ff. 338v, 339, 350v, 331, most of 363v-374v 375, 387-388, 398v-399r and 410v are cited as having signs of dirt and wear.

<sup>156</sup> See Wright, P., 'The Aosta-Trent Relationship reconsidered' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini I* (1986) pp. 138-157. The same subject was discussed by Manfred Bukofzer in his posthumously published article 'Changing Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music' in *MQ* 44 (1958) pp. 1-18.

<sup>157</sup> See von Fischer, K., 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13. 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts' in *ActaM* 38 (1964), pp. 79-97 and Wright, P., 'The Compilation of Trent 87<sub>1</sub> and 92<sub>2</sub>' in *EMH* 2 (1982) pp. 237-271. The discovery that *Zw*

1. The Gloria from Grossin's *Missa Trombetta*, incomplete in this reading (54r). Also found in *Ao*, ff. 68v-70r.
2. A fragmentary and probably three-voice Gloria of which only parts of the lower voices survive (76r).
3. A Gloria by Loqueville (also incomplete here) which also survives in *Q15*, ff. 59v-60r. *Zw* has an added 'Trombetta' Contratenor to the first section and a longer 'Amen' section which are both absent from *Q15*.
4. A lower part to a Gloria setting, incomplete (80r).
5. An incomplete three-voice Gloria by Rouillet (60v-81r) which is a unicum and once had a Credo setting in this manuscript paired with it.
6. The Superius of a Gloria by Johannes Verben (81v), which is also found in *Ao* (89v) attributed to Jo. Berken or Werken (the attribution is partly cut off).

My particular interest in *Zw* is for two reasons. Firstly it has been established that its scribe is very likely to be Johannes Wolf, the main scribe of Trent 87<sub>1</sub>. Secondly, the expense of the large paper size and the known original extent of the manuscript prompts the argument that such a luxury item would not have been compiled for anything except practical use. I investigate that possibility here, since *Zw* has been on the sidelines of larger matters in previous studies and here it serves our purpose perfectly as being a large-size source that seems to preserve conciliar-period Mass polyphony as it may have been used. The Loqueville Gloria in the preceding list is my principal object of attention. This is an 'a versi' setting with short sections for two equal upper parts alternating with normal three-voice texture. In *Zw* its opening has a Contra added to the initial Duo and there is an extended 'Amen'.<sup>158</sup> These features suggest that the copy in *Zw* is a certain distance down lines of transmission, as may features of the texting. The example below gives the first Discantus part from this Gloria with the texting as it appears firstly in *Q15* and secondly as in *Zw*. Plates 11 and 12 give most of this Gloria as it appears in *Zw*. It will be observed that the text positioning in the *Zw* version is mostly clear (apart from 'voluntatis') but is different from that in *Q15*, possibly because of the text in *Zw* being entered before the music.

65. Loqueville, Gloria (Reaney *EFCM* vol. 3 no. 6), first few measures of topmost part;

*Q15* Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus  
*Zw* Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus  
 8 ni - bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - - - tis.  
 bo - ne voluntatis.

Comparison of the texting in *Zw* as given in Plates 11 and 12 and the *Q15*-based edition of the Gloria in Reaney vol. 3 will also show that the *Zw* texting at '...unigenite jhesu christe' (Plate 12, end of stave 1) ends before a phrase-ending as does 'voluntatis' in Example 65. The melisma on 'filius Pa---tris' (in Plate 12 stave 2) also differs from the textual intentions of *Q15*, and 'deprecationem nostram' (Plate 12 stave 3) also ends before its musical phrase in *Zw*. There are other differences between this reading

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was probably copied by one of the Trent scribes was first revealed by Peter Wright in a paper given at the Glasgow Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in summer 1981, at which I was present.

<sup>158</sup> Published in Reaney, *EFCM* vol. 3 p. 5 (no. 6). The *Zw* Contratenor for the first section and the surviving music for the *Zw* 'Amen' are given in the same volume after p. 105, since they only became available to the editor after the rest of the critical apparatus for *EFCM* vol. 3 was finished.

and *Q15* too. But apart from the fact that singers were expected to extend multi-syllabled words at the ends of musical phrases, the texting intentions of this copy seem perfectly clear. *Zw* gives this Gloria incompletely, but from what we have it appears that the copyist only texted voices which need to carry text. The Tenor and Contra do not need text except at 'Amen', and in general the textual and musical copying is well spaced.

Plate 11. *Zw* f. 77r, part of the Loqueville Gloria cited in Ex. 65;

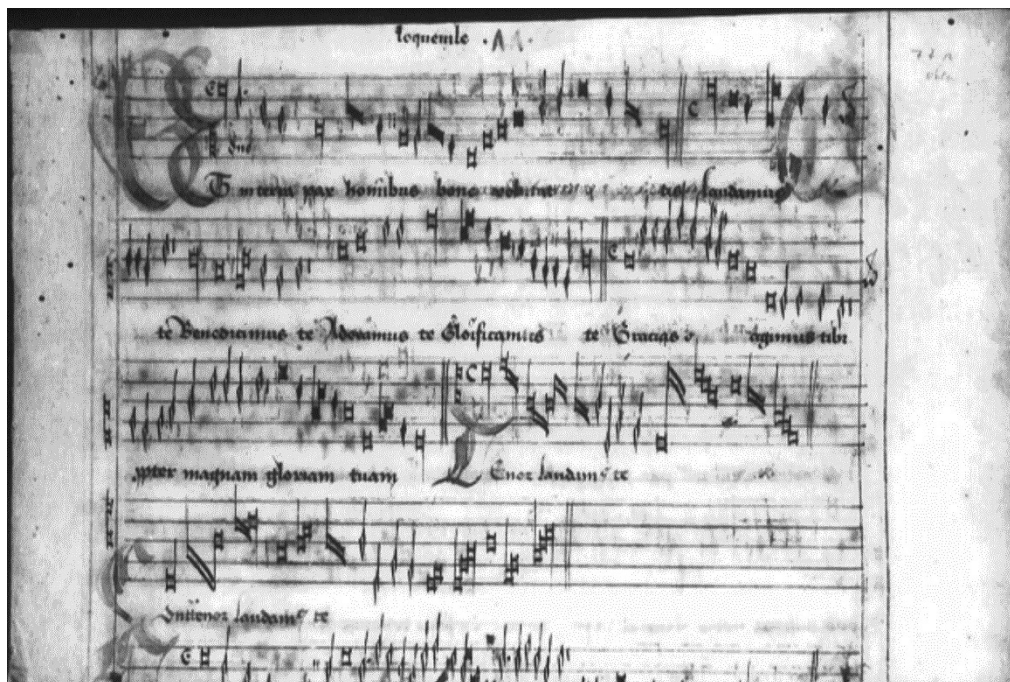
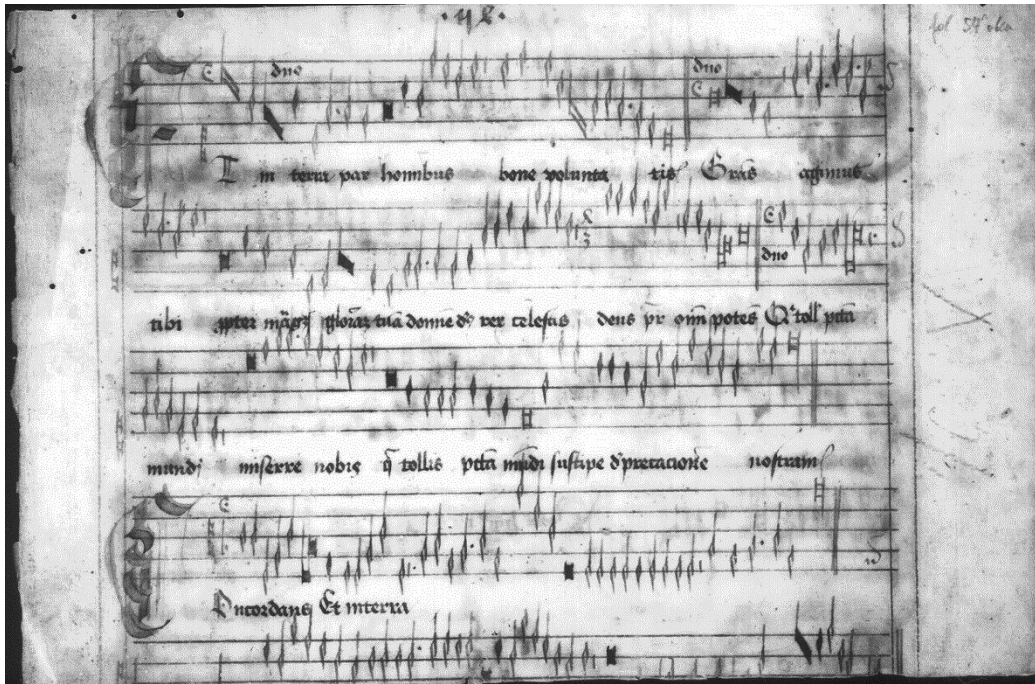




Plate 12. Zw f. 77v, part of the same Loqueville Gloria;



It is therefore a reasonable conclusion that this copy was intended for practical use, and maybe its size and character visibility might have allowed for more than three or four singers to assemble in front of it. However, that last point is not significant to my argument here. To move on to other pieces in *Zw*, it seems that the copyist (at least in the pages which we have) was scrupulous enough to provide most lower voice text where it was needed. Plate 13 shows part of the Gloria from Grossin's Mass, but - despite the starting clef - the upper voice here not a Superius part; this is a 'Discantus secundus' because like the Loqueville Gloria this work alternates textures. The text here for the upper voice given is essential, whereas the 'trombetta' Contratenor in this work has many repeated notes and is probably not meant to be texted.



Similarly Plate 14 gives the sole surviving page of a lower voice from an anonymous Gloria, probably all consisting of a Contra. When there is text here too its layout is fairly clear. Where there was at least a short likely continuation of written text (at ‘Qui tollis [peccata]’) the copyist has chosen to compress the music rather than give full text, so again his intentions seem to be competently expressed. Plate 15 likewise gives the Tenor of Rouillet’s Gloria, with a mixture of incipit texting, text actually intended to fit music, and the voice-name ‘Tenor’ slightly misplaced. But again the page as it stands would be usable for practical purposes.

<sup>159</sup> Published in Reaney, *op. cit.* p. 31.

Plate 14. Zw.f. 76r, part of a fragmentary Gloria;

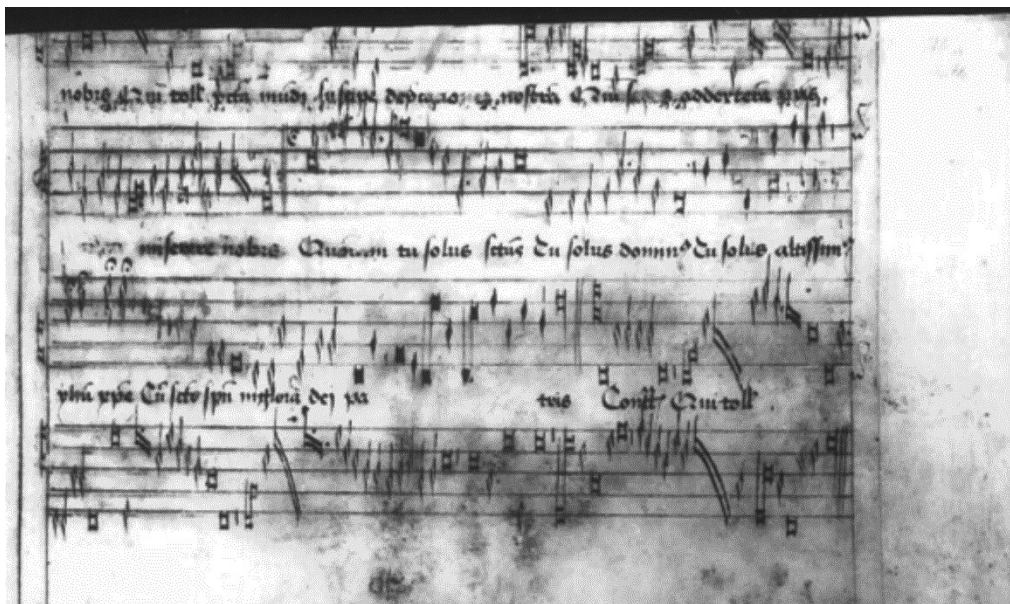
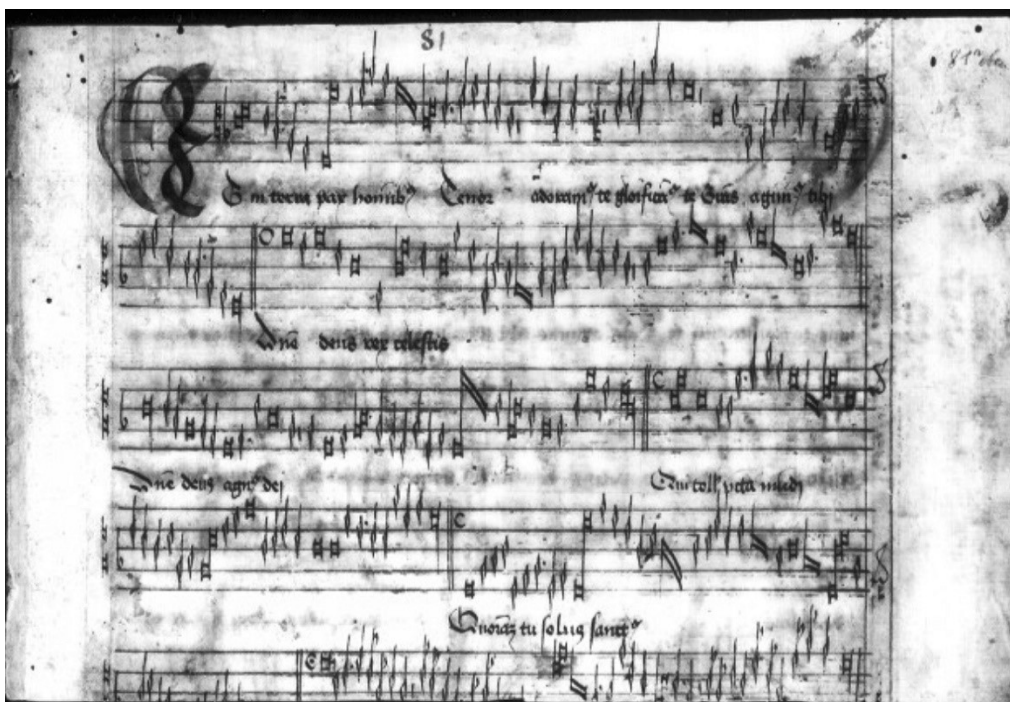
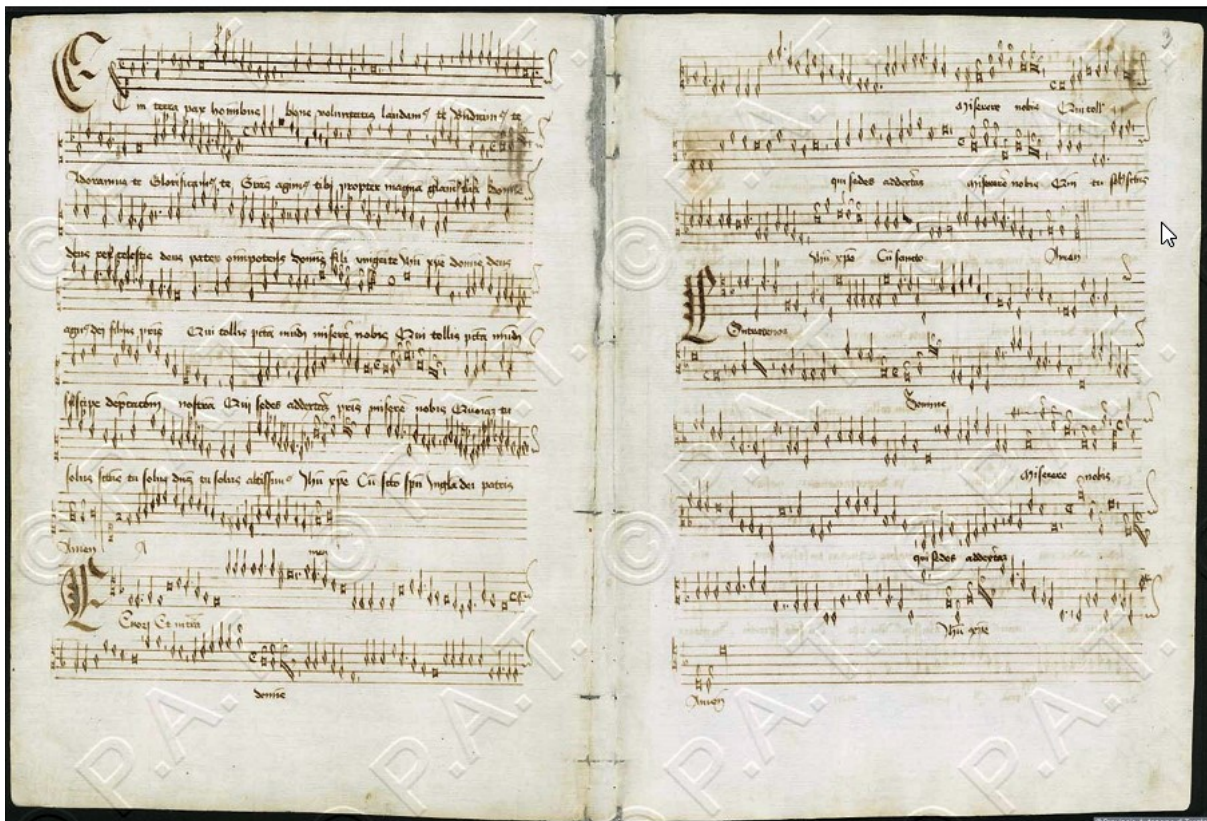


Plate 15. Zw.f. 80r, part of Rouillet's Gloria;



It would constitute a dangerous argument from silence to describe Zw as a performer-friendly source since we have so few pages from this once large manuscript. However, to indicate the unusual degree of care which Johannes Wolf seems to have taken with these copies it is instructive to look at some of his smaller-size work in 87. Folios 2v-3r in this manuscript give another Grossin Gloria (not connected with the previous Mass) where little lower-voice text has been provided. But the repeated same-pitch lower voice values in this setting mean something quite different from those in the Contra of the *Missa Trombetta*, because the Tenor and Contra in the 87 Gloria easily accept Ordinary text. Plate 16 gives the start of this piece in 87.



It could of course be argued that any experienced singers using this copy would automatically apply a text that they no doubt knew by heart, but all I wish to demonstrate here is that Zw seems to give an uncommon degree of care in how its surviving pieces are presented. Plate 17 gives the start of the Binchois Magnificat Tone 4 setting from 87. This is another instance where Johannes Wolf did not supply much lower voice text, although he works differently in other Magnificats from 87. Again, it could be argued that a familiar text was easily applied by experienced singers here.

<sup>160</sup> Published in Reaney, *op. cit.* p. 46. The Gloria is not unlike the same composer's *Imera dat hodierno* in that its texture approaches homophony.

Plate 17. Binchois, Magnificat Tone IV, first opening in 87 (ff. 45v-46r);<sup>161</sup>

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Detailed study of Trent 87<sub>1</sub> shows that subsidiary scribes occasionally complemented and adjusted details of Wolf's copying.<sup>162</sup> Wolf himself has been shown to be dependent for at least some of his exemplars on parts of what is now *Ao*, and a recent illustration of this shows that like his successor Wisser he too could be influenced by how a copying model was laid out in terms of music and text.<sup>163</sup> The cases illustrated in the last few pages demonstrate that there probably was such a thing as a textually usable polyphonic Mass manuscript in the 1440's, and that the next best thing (the smaller-sized copies in Trento) often do not seem to be so user-friendly.

Our final example of a probably usable source comes from a manuscript very different from *Zw*. It is a sad consequence of musicology that a particular source can be praised or condemned in a few words regarding the quality or authenticity of its readings. One of the demonstrably worst cases in this respect is *Strahov*, which preserves a largely sacred repertory from the 1460's and before and whose origins are central European but otherwise geographically uncertain. It has strong connections with the Czech lands and possibly Moravia. Several citations of its concordant readings described in the *D89* critical apparatus show that these are often badly copied and second-rate.<sup>164</sup> Its double page size (430 x 300 mm) also makes it little bigger than a modern desk diary, and it seems to have become the personal collection of somebody who had the time to collect polyphony. If pages of *Strahov* were ever sung from, only three people (or at the most four) could have gathered in front of it. This often chaotic assembly has many concordances with the Trent manuscripts and central European sources, and many of its readings for concordant pieces show well-travelled work which has accumulated such features as

<sup>161</sup> Published in Kaye, *op. cit.* p. 160.

<sup>162</sup> See Wright, *op. cit.* in the tabular information concerning activity of subsidiary hands.

<sup>163</sup> See Wright, P., 'The Aosta-Trent Relationship reconsidered'...

<sup>164</sup> See in particular the critical notes to *D89* nos 3c (p. 115), 5c (p. 129) and 12c (p. 305).

extra voices, adapted voices, and in a few cases probable simplification of existing material. But amidst the usually substandard work of the main *Strahov* scribes one or two pieces are copied immaculately and with clear intention of textual placement. The *Surge propera* setting given below is such an example. Following this piece, Plates 18-21 give the original and Example 67 gives the parent antiphon chant from *Neumarkt* on which the Superius of this motet is based. The motet's Superius elaborates the chant transposed a fifth up.

A brief comparison of the music example and the *Strahov* Superius shows that most of the texting seems to be authoritative. My score differs with the manuscript text positions only at '-mica' (6), part of the word 'foraminibus' (31-33), '-cerie' (42-44), the end of 'Ostende' at 47-49, 'tua' 62-71, 'me-' at 72, and '-cies' at 89-90. 'Alleluia' at the end is my editorial addition, since it seems unlikely that the setting ended like the chant with a long melisma on 'decora'. In the lower voices the incipits are scarce but all seem to be in correct places, and a few multi-syllabled words need stretching over several measures. There is probably not enough text in the lower voices for supporting parts to improvise full text, but since the text here is a continuous extract from the Song of Song (chapter II, end of verse 13 and all of 14) singers using this piece may have known the text by heart.

The open texture of *Surge propera* with its frequent duets and unison imitation is very close in style to Song of Songs motets by Plummer, Pyamour, Stone and other Englishmen. But this piece may very well be merely a good imitation of insular style for several reasons. Firstly in matters of texture all of its voices have very wide ranges and its Tenor has a solitary fourth against the Superius at its first entry (measure 18). These features may be uncharacteristic for an English work. Secondly, the downward imitative runs at 63-65 and the stepwise ascending fourth in the Superius at 'Alleluia' (99-100) are also a feature of the *Strahov* setting of *O sacrum convivium*, which is similarly scored to *Surge propera* and also ends with 'Alleluia'.<sup>165</sup> There may not be enough evidence to suggest a single composer for both pieces, but I suspect that the *Strahov* reading of *Surge propera* is reliable because it was close to the likely original coming from somewhere in central Europe or northern Italy. Thirdly, I have not seen the chant in any source other than *Neumarkt*. I suspect that it might not have been current in English-speaking areas, and the wide vocal range of the chant plus its melodic leaps suggests that it might be Germanic and fourteenth or fifteenth century.

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<sup>165</sup> Regarding *O sacrum convivium* (*Strahov* ff. 233v-235r), see Mitchell, R., 'A forgotten Mass and its composer' in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001), pp. 135-154. This motet already seems to be part of a composer-group that consists of two or possibly three Masses and a handful of competently written motets, so extending that particular nest of pieces without proper grounds would be unwise. For a transcription of *O sacrum convivium* see Snow, R., *The Manuscript Strahov D.G IV. 47* (Ph. D. dissertation, Illinois University, 1968) Appendix I p. 441. Like *Surge propera*, *O sacrum convivium* is centred on C and has many doubled leadingnote cadences.

66. Anon, *Surge propera* (Strahov ff. 206v-208r);

Sur - - - ge, a - - -

Contratenor  
Sur - - - ge, a - - -

Tenor

5

mi - ca me - - -

mi - ca me - - -

10

a, spe - ci - o - sa me - - -

a, spe - ci - o - sa me - - -

15

a, co - lum - ba

a, co - lum - ba me - - -

co - lum - ba me - - -

20

me

25

30

- a, in fo - ra - mi - - ni - - bus

- a, in fo - ra - mi - - ni - bus pe - -

- a,

35

pe - tre, in ca - ver - nis ma - - -

- tre, in ca - ver - - nis ma - -

... in ca - - - ver - nis ma - - -



40

ce - ri - e.  
ce - ri - e.  
ce - ri - e. O -

45

O - sten - de mi -  
O - sten - de mi -  
- sten - de

50

hi fa - ci -  
hi  
mi - hi fa -

55

- em tu - am.  
...So - net vox  
- ci - em tu - am. So - net vox

60

So-net..So-net vox tu

tu

tu

65

a in au-ri-bus me is.

a in au-ri-bus me is,

a in

70

a in au-ri-bus me is.

a in au-ri-bus me is,

a in

75

Vox e -

in au-ri-bus me is. Vox e -

au-ri-bus me is. Vox e -

80

-nim tu

-nim tu

-nim tu

85

-a dul - - cis et fa - - ci - -

-a dul - - cis et fa - - ci - -

-a dul - - cis et fa -

90

-es tu - - - - a de -

-es tu - - - - a

-ci - - es tu - - - - a de - -

95

- - - co - - - - ra. Al -

- - - co - - - - ra. Al - - - le -

100

le

105

...Al - le

110

115

lu

lu

lu

120 [20]

ia.  
ia.  
ia.

Plate 18. Strahov f. 206v;

*Gloria in excelsis deo*  
*Et in spiritu sancto*  
*Et in consubstantia*  
*Et in consubstantia*  
*Et in consubstantia*  
*Et in consubstantia*  
*Et in consubstantia*

Handwritten musical score on aged paper, featuring ten staves of music. The notation includes various note values and rests. The lyrics are written in Latin below the staves. A prominent red initial 'S' is visible on the third staff. The page is numbered '207' in the top right corner and '472' at the bottom center. The text includes:

207

spem in

refugium

S

frustra

infirmis

in

472

Plate 20. Strahov f. 207v;







67. *Surge propera* (*Neumarkt*) ff. 138v-139r);<sup>166</sup>

Sur - ge, a - mi - ca me - a, spe - ci - o - sa me - a, co - lum -  
 - ba me - a, in fo - ra - mi - ni -  
 - bus pe - tre, in ca - ver - nis ma - ce - ri - e. O - sten -  
 - de mi - hi fa - ci - em tu - am. So - net vox  
 tu -  
 - a in au - ri - bus me - is. Vox e - nim tu - a  
 dul - cis et fa - ci - es tu -  
 - a de -  
 - co - ra.

## 6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTURAL DENSITY IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY SACRED MUSIC

Many innovations in fifteenth century musical style come from greater use of smaller rhythmic values than were normally used in fourteenth century polyphony, and also from the increased use of those smaller values to create harmonic pace. For those to whom that sounds unfamiliar, I mean that in some mid-century sacred works there are passages where harmonic changes occur at minim level as well as

<sup>166</sup> This transcription was made using a microfilm of *Neumarkt* which shows significant page damage and repair-tape marks, and in which some of the ligature joins are less than clear. Therefore I cannot guarantee its accuracy.

at breve or semibreve level.<sup>167</sup> This section explores that change, and other variations in texture that help to characterise mid-century style.

The use of small or proportional small values occurs in the upper voices of fourteenth century motets, and the continuator(s) of Ars Nova motet style in *Turin J.II.9* leave us a splendid example of upper-voice complexity in the three-voice motet *Personet armonia / Consonet altisonis*, which contains repeated and fast upper-voice syncopated passages and also hoquet involving triplet-like figures as in the *Multipliciter* motet in *Ch.*<sup>168</sup> Small values also find a new use in the sophisticated middle-period style of Leonel Power, where cadential clichés in upper voices are sometimes rendered in color or in augmented values.<sup>169</sup> Leonel also seems to be one of the first to allow all voices in a piece of three-part Superius paraphrase polyphony to double their harmonic pace, as is evident from one of his Sanctus settings in *Old Hall*.<sup>170</sup>

However, it would be wrong to give readers the impression that all major composers of the period inexorably moved towards the greater use of small values as the fifteenth century progressed. Dunstable in particular seems to have used quite a few semiminims (semiquavers in the *MB* 8 edition's transcription values) in the first few measures of his motet *Preco prehemincie / Precursor / Inter natos*, which can be shown to date from 1416. But this tendency seems to decrease in works of his which are probably later. In a piece such as his *Salve scema sanctitatis* the movement of the upper voices is noticeably simpler than in the former work.<sup>171</sup> Similarly in the secular sphere it is assumed (whether rightly or wrongly) that some very complex songs by Matteo da Perugia precede several more by the same composer in which the stylistic model appears to be triple-rhythm cantilena style rather than the complexities of Ars subtilior.

Increased minim motion in supporting voices towards the end of an O mensuration piece is a feature common to pieces by Dunstable, Power, Dufay, Binchois and others. Where the accelerated motion is clearly part of a culminative effort approaching a cadence-point this is referred to in modern writings as 'cadential drive'. But in certain works from the 1430's or '40's onwards minim motion in O mensuration becomes a standard resource in its own right, as in the piece by Bedingham which has the probably spurious incipit 'Le serviteur' and no further text.<sup>172</sup> Some works in 88 and 89 also feature increased minim motion, notably the probably continental Missa *Te Deum* in 89 which may date from the 1440's. This work (parts of which appear to be rather old-fashioned in style) audibly alternates animated free trios with full panels in slower note values which contain cantus firmus material.<sup>173</sup> Dufay's *Mirandas parit* (given in a contrafactum version in 88) likewise contains a passage in its duple section where the harmonic pace doubles.<sup>174</sup> More importantly for text underlay purposes, the pseudo-

<sup>167</sup> For an example see *D89* p. 1365 (the anonymous motet *Gregatim grex audit*). The critical commentary to this piece (p. 1499) gives good reasons why it can be dated to 1450-1451.

<sup>168</sup> For *Personet armonia* see Hoppin, *op. cit.* vol. II p. 58. The transcription here is basically correct but the upper voices can be barred differently. For *Multipliciter* see Günther, U. (ed), *Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly and Modena* (CMM 39, 1965) p. 14.

<sup>169</sup> For colored cadential Superius clichés see the Credo by Leonel in Sandon, N. and Marrocco, W. (eds) *The Oxford Anthology of Medieval Music* (Oxford, 1977) p. 150. For further examples from *Old Hall* (including proportionally rendered clichés) see Bent, M., 'Principles of mensuration and coloration: virtuosity and anomalies in the Old Hall manuscript' in Delfino, A. and Saggio, F. (eds), *Le Notazioni della Polifonia Vocale dei Secoli IX-VII* (2 vols, Editioni ETS, Cremona, 2022), II, pp. 73-95.

<sup>170</sup> *Old Hall* ff. 93v-94r, published in Bent, M. and Hughes, A., (eds), *The Old Hall Manuscript* (CMM 46, 3 vols, 1969-1973), II, p. 346.

<sup>171</sup> For *Preco prehemincie* see p. 78 in the revised *MB* 8 Dunstable edition. For *Salve scema* see p. 81. *Preco prehemincie* with its *Inter natos mulierum* Tenor is mentioned in a chronicle which cites it in connection with the Emperor Sigismund's visit to England in 1416. Further see Bent, M., *Dunstaple* (*Oxford Studies of Composers* 17, 1981) p. 8.

<sup>172</sup> Published in Fallows, D. (ed), *Secular Polyphony 1380-1480* (*MB* 97, 2014) p. 68.

<sup>173</sup> *D89* pp. 753-785. See pp. 782-784 for particularly clear alternations of free and cantus firmus passages.

<sup>174</sup> See Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 213, measures 106-111.

canonic song motet *O dulcis Jhesu* in 89 poses a particular problem concerning density. In a piece such as this where the Superius and Tenor have much the same material at one measure's distance from each other (and presumably identical texting because of the imitation) does the accompanying Contra's underlay follow the Superius, the Tenor, or should there be a mixture of both?

68. *O dulcis Jhesu memoria*, 1-9;<sup>175</sup>

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Superius, Tenor, and Contratenor. The Superius and Tenor parts are in mensural notation with a 3/8 time signature. The Contratenor part is in mensural notation with a 3/8 time signature. The lyrics are: "O dul - cis Jhe - - - su me - mo - ri - a Dans ve - - - ra cor - dis gau - di - a". The Superius and Tenor parts have identical lyrics, while the Contratenor part has a different set of lyrics: "me - mo - ri - a Dans ve - - - ra cor - dis gau - di - a".

The answer here appears to be that the Contra's texting follows neither voice completely, but matches vertically with either of the other voices' texting whenever possible (in the latter passage the Tenor largely seems to lead the Contra). One way round copying the intricacy of rhythm given in examples like the latter was simply to double the values being used. Such a solution gave rise to the use of the sign O2 to express complex triple rhythm, although O2 probably originated as a little-used proportional indicator.<sup>176</sup> O2 as a common-usage triple signature appears in some of the 88 Proper settings (including movements that might be the work of Dufay), in motets by Busnois, and also in several works in 89 and related sources which may be the work of a single central-tradition anonymous.<sup>177</sup> Amongst these are a setting of *Veni Sancte Spiritus...reple tuorum* cited in Example 50 which is not that different in imitative texture from the latter example, and also a curious three-voice Mass which exclusively uses the O2 signature. I call this Mass 'curious' because it has been recognised as quoting material from Dufay's well-known *Adieu m'amour*, and it may well also borrow some material from Frye's ubiquitous *Ave Regina celorum*. It is therefore a precursor of mid-century Germanic Masses which quote snippets of chant and secular tunes and also later 'Carminum' Masses by Obrecht, Isaac and Prioris. Part of this Mass has already been quoted in Examples 36, 48 and 49, with the latter two extracts showing that not all ligatures in lower voices can be treated as serving single syllables only. The Gloria serves another purpose for us here in the casual way that its lower-voice text is given. Quite simply there are few lower-voice incipits, and there is an element of do-it-yourself about how lower voice text can be added. In my edition of this movement and also the Credo I have supplied as much text in these voices as seems

<sup>175</sup> D89 p. 1207, possibly a work by Touront (further, see D89 p. 1090). A second but fragmentary source for this piece (*Columbia*) also contains another similarly constructed three-part motet (*O gloriosa genitrix*). That too is fragmentary but much of it is reconstructable due to the probable use of unison imitation throughout.

<sup>176</sup> O2 occurs internally in one voice of Grenon's motet *Prophetarum fulti* in *Ox 213* (ff. 120v-121r). Further, see Hamm, C. *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay* (Princeton, 1964) p. 43.

<sup>177</sup> See Mitchell, 'The *Advenisti / Lauda Syon* composer'...

possible by following imitative writing and occasionally by splitting long notes, but this particular Gloria could probably be managed with less lower-voice text. I set out its basic construction below, and this can be compared with the edition if desired.

A (1-9). Imitative duet with animated writing in which lower voice text for this passage seems necessary.

B (10-19). Non-imitative passage with slower lower voices than in A which use sustained values. Possibly the lower voices here could be vocalised.

C (20-32). The lower parts here have some imitative activity, justifying at least partial lower voice text and probably more than that too.

D (33-52). Start of the second section. Much the same applies as in A, but there is some melodically sequential work.

E (52-57). Can be treated like B above.

F (58-68). Can be treated like C above.

The point of illustrating this setting is that copying styles in this period often fall short of everything that is absolutely required in this music. Not only in terms of accidentals, but also in the textung of imitative material. Much the same situation is found in the Credo which follows this Gloria and - particularly regarding complex triple meter - in some of the Magnificat settings in 89 and 91. The Tone VI setting 89 no. 65 is a similar work to the latter, in that its first polyphonic verse (a duet) uses animated writing and the subsequent sections have a Superius part which makes considerable use of small values and some syncopation.<sup>178</sup> Other Magnificat settings of this type occur, sometimes with noticeably asymmetrical writing in triple meter and some indebtedness to the Touront Tone VI setting. Some of these may be merely provincial imitations limited to central European circulation, and in particular here I mention the setting following Touront's Magnificat in *Strahov* (ff. 296v-298v) which is not only musically related to his setting but is also a fussily written piece with contrapuntal shortcomings.<sup>179</sup>

The use of small values in all parts has two further lines of development which concern us here. The first is in works from the 1450's and 1460's where upper parts typically have not only semiminims but also fusas, as in the anonymous Missa *Regina celi* in 91. Possibly the work of Martini, this Mass has much small-value work in its upper parts. For the purposes of underlay, the guidelines regarding duple rhythm which seem to apply to breves and semibreves can - in a piece such as this - be applied to semibreves and minims instead. Parts of this Mass aurally seem to be in three units of duple rhythm rather than in one slow unit of O mensuration.

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<sup>178</sup> D89 p. 1541. The first three sections in this setting are followed by three further sections which are varied repeats of the first three.

<sup>179</sup> Published in van Benthem, J. (ed), *Johannes Touront: Ascribed and attributable compositions in 15<sup>th</sup>-century sources from Central Europe* (the fourth volume of van Benthem's Touront series, KVNMM, undated, probably 2018) p. 9. For a clear case of an amateur composer (Hainricus Collis, probably identical with a similarly named professor of theology from the Louvain area) see Gerber, *op. cit.* pp. 41-42 (biography details) and p. 160 (his Sanctus, which is a distinctly awkward piece of work). His Gloria setting in 92 (which is his only other known work) is a little more accomplished. Small details of the Sanctus can be transcribed differently from the published version, but the pages which preserve it suffer badly from fading.

69. Missa Regina celi, Agnus, 9-12;<sup>180</sup>

9

-lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,  
-lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,  
-lis pec - ca - ta ...qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,  
-lis pec - ca - ta ...qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,  
-ia: Qui - a quem me - ru - i -  
-lis pec - ca - ta ...pec - ca - ta mun - di,  
-lis pec - ca - ta ...pec - ca - ta mun - di.

Ultimately this style of writing culminates in works such as Tinctoris's low-pitched Missa *Sine nomine* I (where the writing in O mensuration is even more complex than in the above example) and in certain pieces by Agricola, Compère and others which retain O signatures even though they effectively use duple rhythm.<sup>181</sup>

Upper parts with small values are, however, just one expression of how complex triple-mensuration writing could become in the years around 1450-60. Another device which arose in these years was the use of a long-note Superius part with rapidly moving lower parts beneath. Probably early examples occur in the Credo from Dufay's St. Anthony of Padua Mass, in the 88 Missa *Puis que m'amour* as illustrated at the end of Example 63, and one of the Magnificats which probably form part of the provincial group of pieces cited above.

70. Magnificat Tone I (D89 no. 63), 155-159;<sup>182</sup>

155

et se - - mi ni e - ius in  
et se - - mi - ni e - ius in  
et se - mi - - ni e - ius in

For underlay purposes such long-note passages often use chant-derived Superius parts, and it is logical that where such a voice is chant-derived it should follow the text of the parent chant. The rise of chant settings which consist solely of this type of texture is a logical growth from the former, with these long-note exercises starting to appear in 89 and 91 as internal sections in cyclic Masses and Ordinary

<sup>180</sup> D91 p. 613. Further concerning Martini as the likely composer see D91 pp. 721-732.

<sup>181</sup> Published in Melin, W. (ed), *Johannes Tinctoris Opera Omnia* (CMM 18, 1976) pp. 1-32. For an example of complicated O mensuration work by Compère, see Finscher, L. (ed), *Loyset Compère Opera Omnia* vol. V (CMM 15, 1972) p. 23 (*Faisons boutons* version A). The same piece also exists in a second version which uses doubled values, also published in Finscher, *ibid*.

<sup>182</sup> D89 p. 1534. The contour of the Tone I material in this setting suggests a German-variant tone as its basis.

settings (see the final page of Example 63 and also in two Sanctus settings in 89).<sup>183</sup> In 91 we find both Superius-based and Tenor cantus firmus long-note settings of Propers and Ordinaries.<sup>184</sup> Some hymn settings also use a similar and largely long-note Superius paraphrase style.<sup>185</sup>

The outcome of these innovations is that an established composer in the 1460's like Antoine Busnois had a greater variety of vertical textures than before to choose from when putting an extended work together. If we briefly look at his famous *In hydraulis* motet from 1465, it has a threefold schematic Tenor, with some interestingly varied outer voice writing against single sustained Tenor values (see 22-25 and 71-73).<sup>186</sup> There is pseudo-canonic duet writing in its duple section (at 110-120 and 191-216) and also a passage of duet writing in doubled harmonic pace followed by entry of a third voice in effective across-the-pulse measures which are triple (122-152). There is also a duet passage in the triple section in quadrupled harmonic pace (55-59, probably word-painting the text 'duplum' here), a passage of long-note Superius writing with a rhythmically active duetting voice below it (217-223), and an overall degree of rhythmic equality amongst the outer voices.

The Tinctoris *Sine nomine* I Mass mentioned earlier also has a wide variety of similar devices (including use of redictae and long-note passages) and the nearest counterpart to *In hydraulis* is also very varied in its musical make-up. This is the anonymous Missa *Quand ce viendra* in 89, which is probably a Busnois work and employs the following features. Arithmetically threefold and sixfold stretches of augmented cantus firmus, redictae and also ostinati which are additive in the sense that with each repeat the ostinato figure extends itself, a mobile Bassus part against an upper part in sustained values (Sanctus, 162-173) and a duet passage between the outer voices in four-part texture. The latter is a rare feature in continental Masses of the time, although it is sometimes found in English repertory of the Eton choirbook type. The Missa *Quand ce viendra* - although only consisting of four movements - also displays signs that the number of sections per movement increases throughout. As with *In hydraulis* (and also not for the first time in this study) the music and the devices used in it are beginning to outgrow the standard copying medium.

How is all of this relevant to the fitting of editorial underlay to polyphony? Simply put, readers need to be aware of all of the devices mentioned here before applying my previous guidelines in editing similar music. I also record here - with a degree of regret - that not all previous scholars seem to have been even-handed about dealing with mid-century music which uses small values. Years ago I remember reading sleeve-notes to a 1965 LP that featured a performance of the carol *Pray for us thow prince of pes*, which shares music extensively with one of Binchois's Credo settings (or vice versa).<sup>187</sup> The sleeve notes were disparaging about this 'artificial' piece for no reason other than its upper parts contain a few melismata and syncopated or dotted cadences<sup>188</sup>. Similarly, in Adelyn Leverett's otherwise excellent

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<sup>183</sup> See *D89* pp. 381-382 (part of the Sanctus from Henricus Tik's Mass, probably not chant-based) and also part of an anonymous Sanctus in *D89* p. 1975 (with a chant-based Superius). The latter setting may have something to do with Tik.

<sup>184</sup> For a Superius-based chant setting see *D91* p. 273 (*Ave Regina celorum...mater regis*) and for a Tenor cantus firmus setting with unadorned chant see the Kyrie on p. 131.

<sup>185</sup> See *Ave maris stella D89* p. 1699.

<sup>186</sup> *D91* p.924.

<sup>187</sup> The carol seems to precede the Credo setting. Further, see Wright, P., 'Binchois and England: Some Questions of Style, Influence, and Attribution in his Sacred Works' in Kirkman, A. and Slavin, D. (eds), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, 2000) pp. 87-118. Also see Kirkman's article 'Binchois the Borrower' in the same volume (pp. 119-135) and Fallows, D., *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols: 1413-1440* (Routledge, London and New York, 2018) pp. 124-128.

<sup>188</sup> See the cover notes to the LP *Medieval English Lyrics* by the Purcell Consort of Voices (Argo LP ZRG 443, 1965). The names of Frank Ll. Harrison and Eric Dobson are appended to these notes.

study of the previously cited Missa *Regina celi* I detect an opinion or inference that part-music with detailed small values is somehow inferior to works using simpler rhythm.<sup>189</sup>

Leaving aside modern preconceptions about musical style, the most frequent expression of new-found technical resources was not in the everything-on-display approach of *In hydraulis*. More generally the outer voices of four-part cyclic Glorias and Credos take on some of the more restrained devices cited in the previous pages such as outer parts moving around a slower-moving voice with parent material, and passages of imitation in O mensuration sections which have a relatively intricate rhythm in their upper parts. Mid-century Masses like the previously cited *Quand ce viendra* cycle also make use of subsectional scoring contrasts, which are sometimes described nowadays as ‘panels’.

What the Superius is intended to sing in the *Quand ce viendra* Mass is at least half clear because this voice is texted. The way in which extremely long-note Tenors in parts of Masses like these might have been texted is dealt with in section 11 on cantus firmus. But what about the two Contras, which roughly correspond here to the Renaissance ‘altus’ and ‘bassus’ parts in standard four-part texture? These parts have very few text cues in 89. In the ‘Gratias’ section of the Gloria (its first full section, over sixty measures long) there are just five upper-Contra text cues (‘Gratias’, ‘Domine’, ‘Rex celestis’, ‘Domine Fili Unigenite’ and ‘Domine Deus Agnus’). The lower Contra only has ‘propter magnam’. Within this large section, too, I only see one instance of upper-Contra repeated pitch and four similar instances in the lower Contra which might help singers to place some useful text cues. Additionally this situation occurs in a texture which is largely non-imitative, in the main duple section the two Contra parts only have starting incipits, and there is little to say whether some cues are merely place markers rather than instructions to sing text.

The full sections in the Credo of the same Mass display a similar lack of Contra incipits. Again the upper Contra has just five text cues, in a large section that stretches from measure 31 to measure 139. The lower Contra merely has ‘Et ex Patre’, which is also given in the Tenor. Even if a few more incipits for both movements had been provided in these voices, there seems to be an element of randomness in the way that these Contra voices were texted in performance (that is, if the 89 copy is anything like what the original looked like). Comparisons can be drawn with the section of the Ockeghem *Caput* Mass given as Example 64. Questions also arise from the condition of the 89 copy, such as whether the composer merely left singers of Contra parts in four-voice textures to improvise placement of Mass Ordinary cues, and whether all singers concerned actually knew how to treat such voice parts at first contact. In this Mass, too, the extended Kyrie has been given skeletal indications in the upper voices that the Kyrie is ninefold - so we cannot accuse the copyist of total negligence. On one hand, the case of the O2 Gloria cited a few pages back argues that singers of supporting voices sometimes had to fend for themselves in terms of texting. On the other hand, the presence of imitation within some large-scale cyclic Glorias and Credos in full sections argues that copies like the 89 pages for *Quand ce viendra* perhaps really are only minimal in terms of text placement, and that somebody like the ‘phonascus’ described by Glareanus occasionally set text to music not only for new works but also for older works where manuscripts simply did not tell the performers enough. It is surely our duty to try to realise at least some underlay in imitative Contra parts for such large sections as those cited here. Meanwhile I give some more examples of text in large cyclic movements below with different and less extreme text-cue situations.

Faugues’s Missa *Le serviteur* is the last Mass cycle in 88 and can be shown by a simple description that the Trent copy represents a more helpful situation to singers than the previous case. As in the Missa

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<sup>189</sup> Leverett, A., ‘The Anonymous Missa Regina celi laetare in Trent Codex 91’ in *MD* 46 (1992) pp. 5-49. I add here that there is of course the phenomenon of probably second-class polyphony which seems rather pestered with small values (for example, the fragmentary final Magnificat in *Lucca* whose cantus firmus is the Tenor of Hothby’s *Amor*). Some of the Germanic Magnificats previously cited also fall into this category. But there is still no reason to condemn a musical style just because the writer describing it or the listener involved has little personal sympathy for it.

*Quand ce viendra* the manuscript gives enough Kyrie incipits in the topmost voice to show that Kyrie I is threefold (88 f. 411v). In the following O mensuration first section of the Gloria all three upper voices are extensively texted, but with less text for the Tenor than in the two voices above it (ff. 413v-414r). On the following page-opening giving the Gloria's second half the two upper voices are texted. Much the same applies to the two following page-openings for the main triple and duple sections of the Credo, and the two upper voices are also texted for much of the Sanctus. There is much imitation in this Mass based on imitative material from the parent song by Dufay, so singers faced with a less thoroughly texted copy than this could be made to manage somehow in the Contra parts after a basic first sing-through with vocalised lower parts. My unpublished editing work on the extensive Sanctus also shows that few text repeats seem to be needed here, although the same seems not to be true for the lengthy Kyrie of this Mass.

Vincenet's Missa *O gloriosa* is another work with an extended Gloria and Credo. This Mass survives in two versions. The 91 version is probably more authentic than that in *CS 51*, since the latter contains much material suggesting overhaul or revision.<sup>190</sup> In the 91 copy at least two scribes have been at work, and the Gloria and Credo show signs of lower voice text incipits being filled out by a second scribe. However there are crossouts, some of the underlay looks careless and the Credo texting looks quite crowded. The *CS 51* version also has the latter fault. This version of the Credo has extensive partial texting in the two middle voices but less in its lowest voice.

Finally amongst cyclic works here, Simon de Insula's Missa *O admirabile* in 88 presents an easier set of circumstances than those in the works previously cited. This is for two reasons. Firstly, like some of the structured motets mentioned at the start of section 3 its chant-based Tenor is not given in a rhythmic form that easily invites being given its parent antiphon text. Neither does it have enough shorter values to carry much Mass Ordinary text and still be textually synchronous with the upper voices. Therefore it seems best mainly vocalised apart from very few incipits in the Gloria and Credo, and the same applies to much of the lowest part in the Gloria and Credo too (a lower Contra). The texture of these movements therefore seems to be much like that of early fifteenth century four-voice motets with just the two upper voices texted for most of their length.<sup>191</sup> The Missa *O admirabile* might seem to be quite a late work to call for vocalisation, but there seem to be other late instances such as the canonic lower voices to the mid-century five-part motet *Regis celorum* (*D89* p. 1319) and the Ycart four-part Magnificat in *Fa 117b*.<sup>192</sup> Still later in the fifteenth century there is evidence of lower voices being partially vocalised in Florentine carnival songs.<sup>193</sup>

Finally in this section on texture I go back to where I more or less started with Matteo da Perugia and rhythmic complexity. Extreme rhythmic complexity survives throughout the century in isolated works by Hugo de Lantins, Leonel Power, G. Dupont (in 92), Hothby (in *Fa 117b*), Ugolino of Orvieto, Busnois, Tinctoris and others which tend to be used to demonstrate proportions. Three such pieces by Bedingham survive in the sixteenth century source generally known as John Baldwin's *Commonplace Book*.<sup>194</sup> Having suggested much in this study that tends to remove material from the territory of instrumental performance, I might also suggest that the only three-part piece amongst this Bedingham

<sup>190</sup> See *D91* pp. 852-878 for the Mass, and pp. 1013-1034 for the commentary and description.

<sup>191</sup> This Mass is published in Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 915, where the Tenor in the Gloria and Credo is given cantus firmus text and the lowest part in each movement is given Mass Ordinary text. My idea that these movements might not need much lower-voice text is prompted by the fact that this Mass is a slavish stylistic imitation of the English Missa *Caput*, and also by the probability that the two lower voices in some movements of that Mass can be also be quite simply texted with a Tenor singing cantus firmus text ('caput') and a vocalised lower Contra. Further see *D89* pp. 1105-1133 for three of the *Caput* movements texted in this way.

<sup>192</sup> Published in Atlas, A., *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 200-203. However, out of the three supporting parts which can be vocalised the Tenor in each verse is identical and therefore probably has a cantus firmus. This Tenor may have originally been allotted its parent text in each verse.

<sup>193</sup> See McGee, T., 'Singing Without Text' in *Performance Practice Review* 6/1 (1993) pp. 1-32.

<sup>194</sup> Published in Fallows, *Secular Polyphony 1380-1480* pp. 110, 113 & 116.



set (*Salva Jhesu*) might be another work which originally had upper-voice text and two vocalised lower parts. Since Bedingham's *Le serviteur* is cited as an important point of departure earlier in this section on density, it seems appropriate to close it with thoughts on the same composer and what he was capable of apart from standard three-voice texture - including this piece and the six-part *O rosa bella* in 89 which adds three extra (possibly instrumental) parts to the original song.

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## 7. SUPERIUS PARTS WITH TWO OR MORE SLOWER-MOVING SUPPORTING PARTS

This section explores the most common type of free composition amongst the sacred works of Dunstable, Leonel, Dufay, Binchois and their contemporaries. It concentrates on music from the period 1410-1430, and I advise beginners in terms of texting to absorb the examples in sections 8-12 before examining the pieces described here. This is because the guidelines that I follow in this study tend to become 'grey areas' when applied to music in this early part of our period and also in the years after *ca.* 1460. My first example is the first four sections from the *Georgis a Brugis Credo* in 87.<sup>195</sup> I have selected this extract for the following reasons. Firstly, it is a good example of an early fifteenth century style which has been called small-paced because its Superius phrases are rarely far away from a cadential cliché. This fashion typifies much music by Binchois, Grossin, Liebert and others. Secondly it offers insights into several texting dilemmas which I will explain below. Third, its style feature of more-or-less equal duetting upper voices recalls two-part Rondeaux in *EscA* and by Rezon which are similar, and in some of these both voices were usually sung because they have twin texts.<sup>196</sup>

Fourth, the composer's use of musical echoes and rudimentary imitation (in sections 4 and 1 respectively) places him not far from the sound-world of pieces like Ciconia's *O felix templum*. I make these style references for the *Credo* setting here to show that it is probably central-tradition in conception rather than a one-off piece written in isolation. The tempo of the sections given above cannot be too fast, because subsequent sections in this setting feature some semiminim movement.

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<sup>195</sup> Published in *DTO* 61 p. 30.

<sup>196</sup> For examples see Reaney, *op. cit.* vol. II p. 105 (a twin-text two-part example by Rezon) and Kemp, W. (ed), *Anonymous Pieces in the Chansonnier El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monastero Cod. V. III. 24 (CMM 77, 1980)* p. 3 (an anonymous two-part and twin-text example).

## 71. Georgis a Brugis, Credo, 1-55;

Pa - - trem o - mni - po - -

Pa - - trem o - - - - -

Contra Pa - - trem o - mni - po - -

- - - - - ten - - tem, fa -

- - - - - mni - po - ten - tem, fa -

- - - - - ten - - tem,

- - - cto - - rem ce - li et ter -

cto - rem ce - - - - - li et ter -

- re, vi - si - bi - li - um o - mni - um et in - vi -

re, vi - si - bi - li - um o - mni - um et in - vi -

si - - bi - - li - um. Et in u -

si - - bi - - li - - um. Et in u -

26

num Do - mi - num Jhe - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um

num Do - mi - num, Jhe - sum Chri - stum Fi - li - um

31

De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex

De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex

Et ex

36

Pa - tre na - tum an - te o - mni - a se - cu - la.

Pa - tre na - tum an - te o - mni - a se - cu - la.

Pa - tre na - tum o - mni - a se - cu - la

42

De - um de De - o, lu - men

De - - um de De - o, lu -

De - um de De - o lu - men

47

de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De -

men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De -

de lu - mi - ne, de De -

52

- o ve - - - - - ro.

o ve - - - - - ro.

o ve - - - - - ro.

The problems in this work which I refer to are as follows. At the start, the published edition delays ‘-trem’ until measure 4, therefore missing the chance for the first word of the text to make an emphatic statement in the first two measures. Other editions sometimes behave similarly in avoiding what I would call obvious choices. The edition also underlays ‘omnipotentem’ differently to my version. My rendering is based on the idea that the Superius and second voice imitate each other and that this imitation should be heard, even if the result breaks ligatures.

The edition also leaves the Contra untexted. Editorial realisation of Contra text looks easy, but it seems to have been the *DTO* editors’ policy not to text such voices if they only have incipits. Realising the second-voice underlay in the first duet sections results in a little textual catch-up for single voices at 12-15 and 26-30, and in the latter passage the Superius and Tenor texting is disjunct anyway. In duet sections for this type of setting (usually called ‘a versi’ settings) some degree of disjunct text is to be expected. The same also tends to apply in varying degrees to their fully scored sections.

At 17 and 33 both passages are in dotted-C mensuration with iambic rhythms at pre-cadential points, and at 33 the lower voice in the cadence formula uses coloration. Above it (in the second voice here) I retain ‘-NI-tum’ with the first syllable on an iambic minim-semibreve pair. This is because the voice concerned is not using coloration and therefore invites strong accents as they appear in dotted-C perfect semibreve motion. Placing the ‘-ni-’ syllable on the second note here might only be appropriate if the mensuration is O, although some carefully texted *Ars Nova* Superius parts do differently. Finally, note the long melisma on the final syllable of ‘secula’. To conclude, the points raised above recur in many other pieces of similar type and what I suggest here for certain situations will often apply in other works of the same rhythmic type and from the same era.

My second example is the first section of Leonel’s *Anima mea*, a motet which survives in four sources.<sup>197</sup> The editor of the *CMM* edition of this piece believed that the two-part version in *BU 2216* is authentic, and that the three-part version in other readings has an inauthentic Contra. I treat this claim with suspicion. The whole work consists of three sections, and following the triple section given here are a Superius and lower voice duet section and a final and short triple-time full section. I suspect that the lower parts for the outer sections hardly need any text and for the most part were vocalised. The first section featured in our example has no text beyond opening incipits in *ModB*, which I regard as an authoritative source. *ModB* is also generally a reliable source for Superius text positioning and much of my underlay in Example 71 follows that manuscript.<sup>198</sup> Dealing with the lower voices first, it will be seen that the Tenor begins with a maxima. This negates any realistic idea that the Tenor can carry text, as the Superius at 2-7 has ten text syllables and plenty of notes to carry these. In contrast the Contra in the same passage only has four extended values. Since the Contra begins a measure before the Superius,

<sup>197</sup> Published in Hamm, C. (ed), *Lionel Power, Complete Works* vol. I (*CMM* 50, 1969) pp. 36-38. See also p. xvii regarding Hamm’s ideas on how this piece originated. Readers should also be made aware that this edition mixes anonymous works with attributed pieces in order to demonstrate a developmental line. There is of course nothing wrong in that, but not all of the anonymous additions here are necessarily the work of Leonel.

<sup>198</sup> As in Example 58. the signs \*--- and ---\* are used in the lower voices in Example 71 to indicate to singers where to start and stop vocalisation.

I think that it is realistic for the Contra singer to begin with the word 'Anima' at 1-2 and then wordlessly vocalise the part as in the Tenor below it.

For the rest of the section, it also seems obvious that at 22-23 the Superius (with six declamatory semibreves) readily accepts texting whereas the parts beneath in breves and semibreves do not. Also, a slightly imitative entry at 14-16 (with the Tenor imitating the Superius for two notes) does not really constitute enough of a reason to impose editorial lower-voice underlay. Throughout, the rest of this section probably needs no more lower-voice texting at all except at 44-46, where the Tenor anticipating the Superius can be given 'percusserunt' as an incipit with the Contra on the same word because the two lower voices have a linking duet passage here. But after 'percusserunt' to the end lower voice vocalisation again seems to be in order. In other pieces of this type one also finds brief texted interventions for the lower voices, as in Dunstable's *Sancta Dei genitrix* where the two lower voices have 'flos misericordie' at measures 13-15 and also a fermata passage before the final 'Amen'.<sup>199</sup> Dufay's cantilena motets also have textual interventions for lower voices of the same type.<sup>200</sup>

The behaviour of the Superius in Example 72 is of more interest here than the lower voices, as the texting demonstrates features which I have mentioned before and also gives typical examples of texting that editors sometimes have to tolerate. Firstly, the placement of the syllable '-cta' at 6 occurs at the start of a ligature but also - aurally - occurs as a fourth beat in a 'greater measure' patch with the lower voices where the rhythm is probably heard as 4 + 2 semibreves by most people. The Superius here - in the same terms - configures 3 + 3 in terms of semibreves because notes 3 and 4 are ligated. Unless one smooths over such occurrences by placing '-cta' at Superius 5,2 such placements must occasionally be allowed to happen and feature widely in O mensuration and dotted-C mensuration pieces by Leonel's contemporaries. Secondly, at 10-13 I have spread four syllables of text across the first beats of four measures. That is probably a good way of handling unspecific-looking texting in extended Superius phrases. Third, at 18-19 there is an aurally greater-measure approach to a cadence which takes the first syllable of a two-syllable word (another useful resource) and fourthly 'custodes' at 36-37 has its final syllable on the third beat of a measure which seems to be odd but unavoidable. Equally odd is the melismatic extension of 'mihi' at 25-33 and 'invenerunt' beginning at 33 in the middle of a phrase. A logical place for this word's first syllable would be the start of a phrase after the semibreve rest at 31. Sometimes such things happen, and in the period of this motet we do not yet have the 'one phrase per word or sentence' rule firmly established.

At 46-50 'percusserunt me' (five syllables) conveniently takes up the first beat of five successive measures, and in the final measures 52-53 constitute another 'greater measure' patch but the placement of '-runt' is delayed because the note preceding its E is another E in a small value. Taking all of these points into consideration should help with the handling of similar-looking pieces which - like this one - do not paraphrase a chant or conceal any sort of lower-voice pre-existent material.

<sup>199</sup> See *MB* 8 revised, pp. 119 and 121.

<sup>200</sup> See the final measures of *Flos florum* in Alejandro Planchart's online Dufay edition (<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/159/18DuFay-Flos.pdf>) and also the ending of *Alma redemptoris* II (<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/150/02DuFay-Alma2.pdf>).

72. Leonel, *Anima mea* I, 1-54;

A - ni - ma me - a li - que -  
 Contratenor A - - ni - ma \*----  
 Tenor Anima mea \*----

Detailed description: This system contains the first four measures of the piece. It features three staves: a vocal line at the top, a Contratenor line in the middle, and a Tenor line at the bottom. The vocal line begins with a whole note 'A' followed by quarter notes 'ni', 'ma', 'me', 'a', and a half note 'li' with a dash. The Contratenor line starts with a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'ni', 'ma', and a half note 'ma' with a dash. The Tenor line starts with a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'ma', 'me', 'a', and a half note 'me' with a dash. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

5  
 - fa - - cta est ut di - le - ctus

Detailed description: This system contains measures 5 through 8. The vocal line has a whole note 'fa' with a dash, followed by quarter notes 'cta', 'est', and a half note 'ut' with a dash. The Contratenor line has a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'di', 'le', and a half note 'ctus'. The Tenor line has a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'le', 'ctus', and a half note 'ctus'. The key signature has one flat, and the time signature is common time.

10  
 lo - - cu - - tus est: que -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 9 through 12. The vocal line has a whole note 'lo' with a dash, followed by quarter notes 'cu', 'tus', and a half note 'est:' with a dash. The Contratenor line has a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'que', 'que', and a half note 'que'. The Tenor line has a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'que', 'que', and a half note 'que'. The key signature has one flat, and the time signature is common time.

15  
 si - vi et non in - ve - ni il - - -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 13 through 16. The vocal line has a whole note 'si' with a dash, followed by quarter notes 'vi', 'et', 'non', 'in', 've', 'ni', and a half note 'il' with a dash. The Contratenor line has a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'il', 'il', and a half note 'il'. The Tenor line has a whole rest, followed by quarter notes 'il', 'il', and a half note 'il'. The key signature has one flat, and the time signature is common time.

20

lum: vo - ca - vi et non re - spon - dit

25

mi - - hi:

30

in - ve - ne -

35

#  
runt me cu - sto - des

40  
ci - vi - - - ta - - - tis  
...per - - - cus-  
...per - - -

45  
per - - - cus - - - se - - - runt  
- se - runt \*----  
cus - se - runt \*----

50  
me et vul - ne - ra - ve - - - runt me.

My third example is the first section of the Gloria from Pullois's three-voice Mass.<sup>201</sup> This is a probably a later work than other examples given here, but seems to be so closely modelled on English antecedents that it was once mistaken for an insular work.<sup>202</sup> It may have been written in the later 1440's, and its composer was in the Papal choir from during or after 1447 until 1468. His Mass is well distributed but some of the surviving copies of the Gloria and Credo seem poor or confused. In terms of texting this is hardly surprising since a brief look at Example 73 will show that the Superius has many more notes than words while the opposite situation prevails in the Tenor, which uses many extended values.

<sup>201</sup> Our example differs considerably from that of the whole Mass in Gülke, *op. cit.* p. 1 and the edition of the Gloria by itself in Sandon and Marrocco, *op. cit.* p. 209. Our main source for the example here is the version in 87. Since both of these books were published another Gloria in 90 that is the work of Pullois has been located (see Gozzi, *op. cit.* vol. II p. 117). The lower parts of this 'new' three-voice setting seem to be vocalised except for a briefly duetting lower voice at 'suscipe deprecationem nostram'. Pullois's Mass seems to have been in circulation for an extended time since the sixteenth century theorist Spataro cites part of it.

<sup>202</sup> See Curtis, G., 'Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass - or a case of mistaken identity?' in *Music and Letters* 62 (1981) pp. 41-59.



73. Pullois, first section of Gloria from the Missa *Sine nomine*:

Et in ter - - - - -

Contra Et in ter - - - - - ra

Tenor Et

5

- ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

pax ho - mi - ni - bus

in ter - - - - - ra pax

10

bo - ne vo - lun - - - - - ta - -

bo - ne vo - lun - - - - - ta - -

bo - ne vo - lun - - - - - ta - -

15

- - tis. Lau - da - mus te, Be - ne -

- - tis. Lau - da - mus te, Be - - ne -

... Lau - - - - - da - - - - -

20

- di - ci - mus te, A -

- di - ci - mus te. A -

- - - - - mus te, ... A -

25

- do - ra - mus te, Glo - ri - fi -

- do - ra - mus te, Glo - ri - fi -

- do - - - ra - mus te Glo - ri - fi -

30

- ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as a -

- ca - mus te, Gra - ti - as a -

- ca - - - - mus te.

35

- gi - mus ti - bi pro - pter ma - gnam glo -

- gi - mus ti - bi pro - pter ma - gnam glo -

- - - - -

40

-ri - am tu - am. Do - - - mi -

-ri - am tu - am. Do - mi - ne

...Do - - - mi -

45

-ne De - - us, Rex

De - us, Rex ce - -

-ne De - - us, Rex

50

ce - le - - - stis, De -

- le - - - stis, De - us

ce - - - le - - - stis,

55

-us Pa - - - ter o - - -

Pa - - - ter o - - -

De - - - us Pa - - - ter o - - -

60

8

- mni - po - - - tens.

- mni - po - - - tens.

- mni - po - - - tens.

Pulloy seems to have modelled his imitation of the *contenance Angloise* either on motet-like Ordinary settings or structured motets, or possibly pieces like the Tyling Tenor cantus firmus setting of *T'Andernaken* which has its borrowed material partly in extended values.<sup>203</sup> This Gloria presents problems on the same scale as those in Example 64, which gives part of Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass. I list the main points of concern below.

1. The Tenor in this section mostly consists of extended values, and it is only with reference to the remainder of this movement that the decision to supply filled-out incipits can be taken. This is because the Gloria's main second section has a leisurely sense of text delivery in which the Tenor can partly keep up with the other voices in terms of getting through the text. Therefore if partial text can be applied to that duple section then at least some text probably belongs in the first section too. But in order to supply partial text in the Tenor's first section 'Benedicimus te' needs to be omitted, two notes at 24-27 need to be split, and 'Gratias agimus...gloriam tuam' also needs to be omitted. Performers may not care to be so fastidious and might wish to vocalise some of this first-section Tenor instead.
2. The number of same-pitch repeated values in the Contra suggest that this part needs text as well as the Superius. But the latter has several points where the exact placement of syllables is problematic. Firstly, what are the best places for the last two syllables of 'terra pax' in the Superius? Putting '-ra' at the start of measure 3 gives this syllable a long melisma and ignores a possibly relevant anticipating E at the end of measure 4. 87 places '-ra' under 6,4. I prefer it under 5,1 - not only because this provides a reason for the anticipating note at the end of 4, but also because it gives this syllable a neat two entire measures to run. One source (*Lucca*) texts this Superius passage as I have.
3. Much the same applies to 'voluntatis'. I give each of the middle two syllables of this word two measures each. At 20-22 likewise I give '-dicimus' three Superius measures, and in the Tenor at 22 I ignore a ligated strong beat and place '-mus' on the second beat of this measure, because 21-22 sounds as though it should be a greater-measure cadential approach.
3. At 28-31 I give the four syllables of '-rificamus' in the Superius a measure each. As above that looks like a tidy solution, but none of these decisions are necessarily right. They merely seem like the least worst options in each instance.
4. The placement of 'Rex' in the Superius at 48-50 fulfils a cadential need for a syllable at 48, but then I have to ignore an anticipating C at the end of 49. However, I have already ignored similar movement at 2-3 with the first syllable of 'terra'.
5. Finally regarding the Superius, it is unusual to find '-mni-' at 60 on the weak beat of a measure but this seems unavoidable because both Superius notes in 60 are at the same pitch.
6. Texting of the Contra largely follows that of the Superius, allowing for a little disjunct underlay where nothing else seems reasonable.

<sup>203</sup> Published in Fallows, *op. cit.* p. 34.

Arriving at all of those editorial decisions is something of a leap of faith, considering that the Superius is longwinded and requires strong voices. My ideal test for such texting in the ‘old days’ when I had a remote back room was to record myself singing all three such parts (transposed down a little) into different tracks on a Tascam multi-track studio and then listen critically to the result to make correcting alterations. But that particular Superius part is a taxing effort to sing and it makes decisions hard if the person doing the testing finds the part rather a struggle. The other consideration from using such a method is that - unless the tester becomes conditioned to such work - a sense of modern aesthetics for aural testing invariably starts to creep into decision-making. But thankfully not all such cyclic Glorias are so difficult to deal with.

My fourth example is the opening of a Binchois Credo which survives in three sources and is convincingly paired with a similar Gloria setting that survives in five.<sup>204</sup> Although texturally similar to the Credo in Example 71, I have selected it as a study piece for several reasons. Firstly, its texting in the following example shows how full text in all parts can behave when applied to a piece with more rhythmic activity than in Example 71. The Kaye edition texts this piece with details that are different to mine, on the supposition that two of its sources (*Ca 6* and *Ca 11*) are authoritative merely because these two Cambrai manuscripts copied by Simon Mellet give nearly identical readings and text. I differ from that view; they may be authoritative of the way that this Binchois Credo was known possibly around 10-15 years or more after its composition date, but neither is necessarily any closer to what the composer intended than the much less user-friendly copy in 92. Kaye’s texting in the given measures breaks less ligatures than I do, but there seems to be no real reason to respect the ligatures at 29-30 and 32 even if they are simultaneous. He also places the middle syllable of ‘secula’ in the Superius a note before I place it in a cadential cliché (at 40) but in a rhythmically identical Superius cliché at 48 the first syllable of ‘verum’ is not treated thus. In the Cambrai readings the ligatures cited certainly have textual significance, but I suspect that for a primary editorial reading of Binchois’s Credo they do not. I hope that it does not seem arrogant here that for me a set of approximate guidelines supersedes some primary-source textual detail.

The alternation of uncut and cut mensural signs acts merely to mark and separate the duet and full subsections. Example 74 also shows us what a small degree of lower-voice catch-up looks like (see 53-54) and much of my texting in 1-14 tends to place syllables in both voices on the first beat of successive measures. Otherwise pairs of minims seem to be significant as syllable carriers (see 19 and also the middle voice at 35) and the Superius at 15 with repeated C’s at ‘-sibi’- is slightly unusual but probably not incorrect. The Tenor having two consecutive minims with syllables at 60 looks awkward, but this is the result of textual catch-up. I do not treat the same-pitch notes at the end of ‘Landini sixth’ melodic formulas as syllabic notes, but there are occasions in this repertory where the second of such notes will have to receive a syllable. Note also the implied triple greater measure at 26-27 and the last two syllables of ‘Dominum’ being used at the penultimate and final notes of a cadential figure (24-25). This setting has triple mensuration for its entire length, with nothing implying accelerated semibreve motion. But it is unlikely to have been performed at a hurried pace because of the minim motion of pre-cadential passages such as at 61-62. In this context occasional patches of lower voice underlay catch-up might sound odd to some ears, but the way in which the music was written necessitates this feature. Many examples of mid-century music retain some of the basic features outlined here, so for students who want to work on the rest of this piece for texting purposes this is probably another useful work to investigate.

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<sup>204</sup> Both movements are published in Kaye, *op. cit.* pp. 1 and 8.

## 74. Binchois; Credo (Kaye edition no. 1b), 1-63;

Pa - - - - trem o - mni -

Contratenor Pa - - - - trem o - mni -

Tenor

- po - - - ten - - - tem, fa - - - cto - -

- po - - - ten - - - tem, fa - - - cto - -

- rem ce - li et ter - - - re, vi -

- rem ce - li et ter - - - re,

- si - bi - li - um o mni - - - um et in - vi - si -

- vi - si - bi - li - um o - mni - - - um et in - vi - si -

20

- bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi -

- bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num,

Et in u - num Do - mi -

25

- num, Jhe - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - -

Jhe - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - -

- num, Jhe - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - -

30

- i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex

- - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex

- i u - - ni - ge - ni - tum.

35

Pa - tre na - tum an - te o - mni - a

Pa - tre na - tum an - - te o - mni - a se -

40

se - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu - -

- cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu - -

45

- men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de

- men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum

50

De - o ve - - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fa -

de De - o ve - - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fa -

Ge - ni - tum, non fa -

55

- ctum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - - tri, per

- ctum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - - tri, per

- ctum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - - tri,



60

quem o - mni - a fa - cta sunt.

quem o - mni - a fa - cta sunt.

per quem o - mni - a fa - cta sunt.

My last example in this section is a probably insular Song of Songs motet rather like that in Example 66, but in this instance no chant paraphrase seems to be involved and Example 75 is here to show how text behaves typically in a fully texted piece using duple mensuration.

The texture is made up of short panels consisting of alternating duet combinations and fully scored passages, in some of which the lower voices have imitative material which does not appear in the Superius (see 16-21). Imitation can also be merely rhythmic in all voices rather than rhythmic and melodic (see 63-66) or can feature just the Superius and Tenor without the Contra (as at 29-35). At 37-40 the Superius seems to extend a word after the same word has ceased in a lower part (possibly a quite frequent feature of insular works) and the text is set so that some passages are declamatory while other single words have extensive melismata (for the latter see 40-45 and 47-57). Twice in this piece a particular melodic device appears which seems to call for repeated notes at the same pitch (see the Contra at 31 and 73 and also Examples 25-30 for similar instances). As in the previous Binchois Credo example minims moving in pairs are occasionally a useful resource for applying editorial text (see the Contra at 36-37) and the basically simple duple rhythm is relieved by an asymmetrical cadence at 62-63. Cadences at unexpected rhythmic positions are also a feature of insular works in this period. Not all ligatures seem to be functional and authorial for the purposes of carrying syllables, and sometimes the Superius behaves by using simple syncopation to help drive the texture along (see 32-35 and 74-76). As indicated in previous sections concerning general underlay guidelines, the penultimate syllable of the text seems to be an occasion for extended melismatic writing. Many of these features also occur in similar Songs of Songs motets by Dunstable, Pyamour, Stone and others and for the purpose of editorial texting readers would initially do well to break such pieces up into subsections. Some small panels will yield convincing results more easily than others, and as with previous pieces discussed in this section a degree of disjunct texting and lower voice catch-up is to be expected. Other features which are likely to be encountered in similar works include the lower voices only having incomplete text (due to the frequent duet panels) and also lower-voice entries on part-words. This does not happen here, but 89 gives several instances of this happening in works which are likely to be English.<sup>205</sup>

To end this section I repeat that the examples given suggest a degree of flexibility in applying editorial text. My answers tend to be the ones which involve the maximum amount of editorial text that is practically possible in each case, but such solutions are not the only ones for pieces like the Pullois Gloria and the motet in Example 75.

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<sup>205</sup> See pp. 2088, 2090 and 2100 concerning part-word lower voice entries in the 89 equal-voice Mass and the five-part *Ave Regina* setting therein. One phrase in the topmost voice of the former Mass even *ends* with a part-word (see p. 1926).

75. *Qualis est dilectus* (88 ff. 330v-331r);

Qua - - - - - lis

Tenor  
Qua - - - - - lis

Contra

6  
est di - le - - - ctus me -

8  
est di - le - - - ctus me - -

13  
- - - - - us ex di - le - cto,

8  
- - - - - us O pul - cher-ri - ma

...O pul - cher-ri - ma mu - li - e -

20  
O pul - cher - ri - ma mu - li -

8  
mu - li - e - - - - rum, ...O pul - cher - ri - ma mu - li -

- - - - - rum, ...mu - li - -

27

- e - rum. A - mi - cus me - us can - di -

- e - rum. A - mi - cus

- e - rum. A - mi - cus me - us can - di -

34

- dus et ru - bi - cun - dus, e -

me - us ... e - le -

- dus et ru - bi - cun - dus, e -

41

le - ctus ex mi - li - bus.

- ctus ex mi - li - bus

- le - ctus ex mi - li - bus.

48

55

Le - va e -

Le - va e - - - -

Le - - - - va e - - - -

62

- - ius sub ca - pi - te me - - - -

- - ius sub ca - pi - te me - - - -

- - ius sub ca - pi - te me - - - -

69

- - - o et dex - tra il - li -

- - - o et

- - - o et dex - tra il - li -

76

- - us am - ple - xa - - -

... am - - - - ple - xa - - - -

- - us am - - - - ple - - - xa - bi -

83

- bi - - - - - tur

8

- bi - - - - - tur

8

- - - - - tur

90

me.

8

me.

8

me.

## 8. HOMOPHONY AND NEAR-HOMOPHONY

Homophonic textures are quite common in our period. However this section is short since this study is mostly concerned with problems in indistinct texting and texting practice, and not with clear cases of words belonging under parts that are all or nearly all in the same rhythm. Therefore I give a brief and chronological account here so that those interested in such pieces and their textual behaviour can locate appropriate study material easily.

Beginning with the plainer descant settings that make up the much of the oldest repertory in *Old Hall*, the nearest continental equivalent seems to be works like the late fourteenth century Suzoy Gloria in *Apt* or the remarkable series of works by Guillaume le Grant which seem to date from the 1420's or slightly before. This composer has left us two short homophonic songs in addition to 'a versi' Mass Ordinaries in which note-against-note writing plays a significant part.<sup>206</sup> The simple style of duple writing in some of these pieces is also matched by Gemblaco's brief and touchingly simple *Par ung regard* in *Q15*.<sup>207</sup> From the same period or a little later there are several sacred and secular triple-meter pieces by Estienne Grossin which have strong homophonic elements, such as his freely composed motet *Imera dat hodierno*.<sup>208</sup> Likewise some of the composers represented in *Q15* cultivated a simple triple-time style for song-motets and short sacred pieces, best exemplified by Dufay's brief *Ave Regina celorum* I (which is mostly homophonic in texting terms until its final measures) and Arnold de Lantins's equally well-known refrain motet *In tua memoria*.<sup>209</sup> Johannes de Lymburgia also produced

<sup>206</sup> For most of Guillaume le Grant's surviving pieces (three Mass Ordinary settings and a handful of songs) see Reaney, *op. cit.* vol. 2 pp. 49-62. Regarding the single song not in the latter edition (*La douce flour* from *Ox 213*, which gives the composer's name as an acrostic) see Fallows, D., *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs 1415-1480* (Oxford, 1999) p. 704.

<sup>207</sup> Published in van den Borren, C. (ed), *Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance Liègoise* (Brussels, 1950) p. 74.

<sup>208</sup> Published in Reaney, *ibid.* vol. 3 p. 59.

<sup>209</sup> Published in van den Borren, C. (ed), *Polyphonia Sacra* (London, 1932) p. 267.

some similar pieces preserved in *Q15* which resemble Italian laude. Dunstable's famous *Quam pulchra es* is another exercise that is partly homophonic, but chiefly because it dispenses with a reasonably lengthy text within a short stretch of music.

One 1420's or early 1430's fashion whose impact lasted for decades was the writing of Superius paraphrase hymn settings in triple meter, some of which feature relatively little in terms of rhythmic complexity. These are found in fauxbourdon texture as well as for the three normally stratified voices, and examples by Dufay sometimes give alternative lower parts for both types of texture. Dufay's *Ad cenam agni* setting in 89 is typical of these, with its optional fauxbourdon version and succession of short and sometimes regular phrases.<sup>210</sup>

76. Dufay, *Ad cenam agni*, 1-9;

1. Ad ce - nam a - gni pro - vi -  
 3. Pro - te - cti Pa - sce ve - spe -  
 5. O ve - re di - gna ho - sti -  
 7. Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - mi -

Contra

1. Ad ce - nam a - gni pro - vi -  
 3. Pro - te - cti Pa - sce ve - spe -  
 5. O ve - re di - gna ho - sti -  
 7. Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - mi -

Tenor

1. Ad ce - nam a - gni pro - vi -  
 3. Pro - te - cti Pa - sce ve - spe -  
 5. O ve - re di - gna ho - sti -  
 7. Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - mi -

5

- di, Et sto - lis al - bis can - di - di,  
 - re, A de - va - stan - te An - ge - lo,  
 - a, Per quam fra - cta sunt tar - ta - ra,  
 - ne, Qui sur - re - xi - sti a mor - tu - is,

- di, Et sto - lis al - bis can - di - di,  
 - re, A de - va - stan - te An - ge - lo,  
 - a, Per quam fra - cta sunt tar - ta - ra,  
 - ne, Qui sur - re - xi - sti a mor - tu - is,

The fauxbourdon fashion also briefly found a use in motet style, as a temporary feature in Dufay's famous structured motet *Supremum est mortalibus / Isti sunt* of 1433. Likewise fauxbourdon in declamatory style became a useful resource in the verse portions of Superius paraphrase Introit settings, and fauxbourdon also features in a single Gloria from 87 which alternates standard three-voice and fauxbourdon passages as in the previously mentioned Dufay motet.<sup>211</sup> From the end of our period

<sup>210</sup> Edition in *D89* pp. 1758-1761. In this instance the fauxbourdon version might not be Dufay's.

<sup>211</sup> Published in *DTO* 61 p. 33.

Johannes Martini also left us a simple Tone 3 Magnificat setting in which the second part down is fauxbourdon-derived but which also has a real bass part beneath its Tenor. Understandably, some unusual cadential dissonances result in this piece.<sup>212</sup> The fauxbourdon fashion also became useful for settings of lengthy texts, such as Binchois's *Te Deum* and *In exitu Israel*.<sup>213</sup> Only a little removed from the latter in style terms are single settings each of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the Oration of Jeremiah in *MC 871N*.<sup>214</sup> Both are fairly homophonic in style and the former piece has a Contra which is fauxbourdon-like in some sections. The second setting has some four-part verses. Such settings and the falsobordone-like 88 Magnificat featured in Example 47 are forerunners of the Ferrara psalm collection which is the work of Martini and Brebis. Likewise, *Egerton* features two Passion settings which are probably related to declamatory fauxbourdon pieces with longish texts.<sup>215</sup> Also, 91 contains a very extended Book of Generations setting (the Matthew version) for three voices plus a four-voice introduction. This is in duple rhythm and very plain in style. It has a bass-like Contra, and most verses repeat recitation-tone material which is paraphrased in the Superius.<sup>216</sup>

Right at the end of our period the true *Missa Brevis* type makes its appearance. 91 has two such Masses, and in both the *Glorias* and *Credos* have much declamatory activity in minims.<sup>217</sup> The first of these works has links to Milanese repertory of the 1460's and '70's, since Gafforio and other composers around him cultivated a similar sort of Mass composition. Homophony is also an occasional resource in mid-century cyclic *Glorias* and *Credos* where a particular text passage seems to receive special musical emphasis.<sup>218</sup>

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## 9. IMITATIVE AND LARGELY FREE COMPOSITION

Imitatively written music does not usually have any sort of convincing underlay other than that called for in matching terms by the intervallic procedure that creates its partwriting, unless of course repeated imitative motives move through successive phrases of musical text. Nevertheless even within the world of imitative music there are grey areas such as pseudo-imitation and music with casually written imitative motives. This section therefore attempts to explore some of the variety in fifteenth century imitative methods. Previous examples given in this study provide us with two types of imitation. Example 68 gives part of the 89 song-motet *O dulcis Jhesu* with its pseudo-canonic Superius and Tenor. The four-voice *Missa Te Deum* in the same manuscript gives an earlier example of similar imitation. All of the trios in the *Agnus* of this Mass exclude the cantus firmus Tenor, and they feature pseudo-canonic imitation at the unison between the Superius and either of the Contra parts.<sup>219</sup> Rudimentary and brief

<sup>212</sup> Edited (but with unnecessary emendations) in Brawley, J., *The Magnificats, Hymns, Motets and Secular Compositions of Johannes Martini* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Yale University, 1968), II, p. 32.

<sup>213</sup> Respectively published in Kaye, *op. cit.* pp. 243 and 203.

<sup>214</sup> Published in Pope, I. and Kanazawa, M. (eds), *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871* (Oxford, 1978) pp. 343 and 365.

<sup>215</sup> See Bukofzer, M., *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London, 1950) pp. 137-138. Further on the non-carol repertory in *Egerton* see McPeck, G. and Linker, R. (eds). *The British Museum manuscript Egerton 3307. The music, except for the carols, edited and transcribed, and with a general commentary* (London and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1963).

<sup>216</sup> *D91* p. 416. For the Superius paraphrase material involved see *D91* p. 516.

<sup>217</sup> *D91* pp. 467 and 485. *Gloria brevis* settings with declamatory Superius parts are far older (such as Dufay's early *Gloria in quadregesima*) but in both 91 Masses cited here all three voices get through their text with speed.

<sup>218</sup> For examples, see *D89* pp. 370 and 374 (passages in the *Gloria* and *Credo* of Tik's Mass, respectively at *Gloria* 143-145 ('miserere') and at 'Genitum non factum' in the *Credo* at 55-58. Also see Plamenac, *op. cit.* vol. II p. 4-5 (the second section of the *Gloria* from Ockeghem's *Missa Mi-Mi*, beginning 'Qui tollis peccata').

<sup>219</sup> See *D89* pp. 781-784.

imitation with a lower voice leading the texture is found in the Example 66 *Surge propera* setting, where there is Tenor-Superius imitation at 18-19 and Contra-Superius imitation at 45-50 and 58-60.

The chansons of Hugo de Lantins provide good early examples of both Superius-Tenor and Tenor-Superius imitation, but I suspect that the former is more common in most pieces written up to *ca.* 1450. Not all imitative passages can always receive identical texting in the voices involved, and neither can all receive a comfortable succession of syllables that agree with modern wordsetting aesthetics. The beginning of the Gloria from the Missa *Wiplich figur* gives an example of the word ‘terra’ treated unusually in minims, and in the passage that follows (measures 3-5) the brief two-part imitation has to feature different texting in each voice.<sup>220</sup> The same section also features the same difficulty at ‘Glorificamus te’ (at measures 22-24). Generally Superius parts tend to lead Tenor parts in simple imitative work, as is found in the Gloria of the Missa *Wünslichen schön*. The main duple section of this movement has the Superius imitatively leading the Tenor nearly all the way through.<sup>221</sup> A more equal approach is found a similarly textured three voice *Salve Regina* also in 89. Here, the extended duple section at 40-216 has a series of varied scorings and some imitative work where the lower voices lead the Superius. One duet passage also features the lower voices with imitative work of their own.<sup>222</sup>

Standard three voice texture with the Contra leading an imitative point is rarer than the Tenor leading a point, and important examples are found in Henricus Tik’s three-voice Mass from *ca.* 1450. This represents a much more disciplined approach to imitative writing within a standard three-voice texture than most examples cited immediately above, and the wide range of the imitative resources concerned is the subject of an extended article.<sup>223</sup> Most of the imitative passages in this melodically well integrated Mass are for two rather than three voices, but there is three-voice imitation at two instances in the Credo’s first section (at 32-36 and 63-67) and in both instances the points are initiated by the Contra. Elsewhere in this Mass there are intervallic answers at the unison, octave, upper and lower fifth, and at the fourth above. In John Milsom’s words “...Long spans of this Mass are made almost wholly out of strict *fuga* and approaches to cadence, with barely any polyphonic content that does not fall into one or other of those categories”.<sup>224</sup> The rhythmic variety of imitation between voices also varies between one minim’s distance and one perfect breve. This Mass is also exceptional since its first Osanna gives the same three-note stepwise ascending theme in maximas successively in each voice (first in the Superius, and then a fifth below in the Tenor and then the Contra). To sum up, there is nothing quite like this Mass amongst contemporary works.

It is far more normal to find imitative sections made up like the one in the *Wünslichen schön* Gloria previously described, and at the start of the second section of the Credo in Touront’s Missa *Sine nomine* I we find a series of short imitative figures shared between all three voices with a preponderance of motives ending on C (see Example 30). The result is that the section-opening sounds like a series of *redictae*.<sup>225</sup> Taken to extremes, this sort of imitative duetting also occurs in an isolated Credo section in 91 which may have once belonged to a complete movement or even a Mass cycle. The text merely runs from ‘Crucifixus’ to ‘erit finis’ and the entire section consists of a series of interlocking imitative duet passages that are finally united in a three-voice cadence.<sup>226</sup> This short piece may have something to do with Martini as all sections of his four-part motet *Levate capita vestra* have a similar texture, as do parts of his three-voice Missa *In feuers hitz*.

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<sup>220</sup> D89 p. 31.

<sup>221</sup> D89 pp. 86-88.

<sup>222</sup> D89 p. 1233, first system.

<sup>223</sup> Milsom, J., ‘Henricus Tik and the Spectrum of *Fuga*’ in *Gruppo di Analisi e Teoria Musicale* 2017/2, vol XXIII, pp. 105-134. The whole Mass is in D89, pp. 364-385.

<sup>224</sup> Milsom, *ibid.* p. 109.

<sup>225</sup> D89 p. 45.

<sup>226</sup> D91 p. 655.



Pseudo-imitation in sacred works of 1400-1450 most commonly occurs in the answering phrases of upper voices in structured motets, usually involving answers at the unison. Structural pseudo-imitation is rarer, and where it is seen its use sometimes implies that the composer responsible for the texture was relatively unskilled. Two such examples in 89 are a three-voice Kyrie-Gloria pair (maybe a scribally assembled ‘Missa Pascalis’ pair) and a setting of the Introit *Spiritus Domini* with migrant chant treatment which is also for three voices. The *Spiritus Domini* setting looks decidedly odd since its texture contains some consecutive perfect fifths and octaves despite the Contra being bass-like. Certain melodic gestures and patches of doubled harmonic pace writing recall western-repertory chansons like Caron’s well-known *Cent mille escus*.<sup>227</sup> All three voices sometimes participate in imitation, notably at the start of the verse section where the imitative entry order is Contra-Superius-Tenor. The latter voice has the verse formula G A G C here in long notes, but some of these notes have to be split to achieve effective underlay. Pseudo-imitation occurs at 10-14 and 52-55, and the former instance is illustrated below. This passage could have easily have been made more imitative by making the Tenor at 11-13 match the Superius melodically.

77. *Spiritus Domini* (D89 no. 179), 7-15;

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Superius (top), Tenor (middle), and Contra (bottom). The music is in a single system with three staves. The lyrics are 'ni re ple' repeated across the staves. The Superius part starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Tenor and Contra parts start with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The score illustrates pseudo-imitation, where the voices do not match melodically. The lyrics are 'ni re ple' repeated across the staves.

The previously mentioned Kyrie and Gloria contain similar surprises, with the former (which is an alternatim setting of MEL 39) having defects similar to those in *Spiritus Domini*. The unamended Kyrie Contra has very obvious outer-voice consecutive fifths at measure 3, and these are preceded by uncomfortable progressions with sixths in measures 1 and 2. There is some clumsy partwriting at 7, and Kyrie II ends with a passage of anacrusic hocket-like writing which looks quite out of place in a mid century Ordinary setting. This may be a Germanic imitation of more polished pieces, of which the following Gloria serves as an example. It has pseudo-imitation at 6-7 and 9-10 of a similar type to that in the last example. In both instances here the Tenor could easily have been altered to make it more imitative. Pseudo-imitation also occurs in the final section at 164-167, where the Contra part beginning the imitative point cannot share the G initially used by the answering voices since this would create a Superius-Tenor fourth (the Contra is the lowest part here).

<sup>227</sup> For the Kyrie and Gloria see D89 pp. 2022-2030. For *Spiritus Domini* see D89 p. 1999. Caron’s *Cent mille escus* is published in Thomson, J. (ed), *Les Oeuvres Completes de Philippe (?) Caron* (2 vols, New York, 1971 and 1976), II, pp. 167-169.

## 78. Gloria (D89 no. 187). 159-168;

Additionally at the beginning of the duple section in this Gloria an imitative Tenor answer to a Superius motive is melodically altered by one note, so that the parts fit together satisfactorily. One other particular imitative phrase in this duple section is awkward since each imitative voice leaps a seventh up. Quite a lot of emendation is needed in order to make this rather ingeniously written Gloria setting presentable, and both this Gloria and the Kyrie were entered in 89 by the same subsidiary scribe who copied *Spiritus Domini*. Aurally and in terms of Superius-Tenor imitation the Gloria is otherwise not unlike the *Missa Wünschlichen schön* Gloria mentioned earlier. These pieces may also impinge upon the origin of the imitative *Sancta genitrix* motet (D89 edition no. 53) which occurs in later sources as a ‘Coda di volpe’ and ‘Der fochs schwantcz’. Partly based upon the Molinet *Aime qui vouldra* song, this is another piece copied in 89 by the same subsidiary hand as the previously discussed Ordinaries - and the Latin text in the 89 version fits the music well. I suspect that this version preceded the textless renderings in other sources for this motet.

Here are some further examples of pseudo-imitation in works from 89 and 91. All of the following instances are two-voice. I find two more in the *Missa Wünschlichen schön* (Gloria 80-86 and Credo 61-69), two in the 89 *Missa Te Deum* (Gloria 53-54 and Sanctus 13-14), one in the three-voice Tone VI Magnificat no. 64 in a duet on p. 1538, three in the 89 version of *Salve Regina / Hilf und gib rat* (15-16, 89-93 and 114-116) and three in the 89 motet *O sacrum manna / Ecce panis* (43-48, 154-157 and 246-251). However the three latter instances are similar to Triplum-Motetus pseudo-imitation in earlier structured motets. It may be no accident that the greater part of these instances are from works originating in the German-speaking world.

Pervasive imitation (in which imitative treatment of pre-existent material permeates all voices) does not make much appearance in the later Trent Codices, but the alternim *Salve Regina* setting D89 no. 48 is a significant early example.<sup>228</sup> The rather intricate polyphonic sections of this setting give the well-known *Salve Regina* chant a fourth up from its normal pitch, slightly elaborated and largely in the Tenor. However this Tenor interweaves in terms of range with two upper parts, and there is also a bass-like Contra. All voices anticipate the Tenor entry at the start, at measures 6-8 the Superius and Tenor are

<sup>228</sup> D89 p. 1245.

imitative, and at the start of the second section all voices except the Superius anticipate the Tenor again. At 31-43 the upper Contra and the Tenor are almost in canon, and in the duple section ('Et Jhesum') there are further outer-voice anticipations of the Tenor. In the final section the Tenor is briefly the topmost voice at the vertically climactic point of its melody. There is considerable artifice in this setting which is not unlike Obrecht's alternatim four-part setting of the same text from about 25 years later, assuming that the 89 setting dates from the 1450's.

Parallels to this setting can be seen in the large scale four voice Credo setting 91 no. 107, which may be the work of Martini.<sup>229</sup> Here also a well-known chant cantus firmus (in this case the Credo I chant) is mostly given in the Tenor and again all other voices are involved in the imitation and anticipation of parts of the borrowed material. As in the latter *Salve Regina*, some of the inner-voice imitation of the chant-carrying Tenor is extended. A full analysis of the cantus firmus use and its outer-voice sharings is given with my edition of this movement.<sup>230</sup> Finally amongst pieces which are remarkable for their imitative content I briefly mention Touront's *Pange lingua* setting, which survives in two versions (the 88 version with twin Discantus voices seems to be the original). This setting seems to be unique amongst mid-century Vespers hymn settings since again all supporting voices are involved in imitating or anticipating the parent material in the Superius.<sup>231</sup> The same composer's troped four-voice *Recordare* setting in 89 and other sources also rises above other contemporary Offertory settings by virtue of its use of imitation and density of partwriting.<sup>232</sup>

In categorising different types of imitative work I now come to the relatively rare case of lower voices which have imitative material that is independent of upper-part activity. This of course happens on a facile level in the supporting voices of long-note Superius settings of chants or Tones that are similar to Example 69.<sup>233</sup> It can also happen in the four-voice textures in cyclic Masses and motets. One example is in Touront's Missa *Mon oeil* in 89, where at Kyrie 120-124 and Gloria 40-43 the two lower voices both treat borrowed material imitatively while the upper voices are free.<sup>234</sup> But already in discussing such things I impinge upon the final category of imitative work to be dealt with here, namely imitative reworking and recombination of borrowed material in cyclic Masses.

It has long been recognised that the four-part *O rosa bella* III Mass preserved in three different readings not only takes the famous song's Tenor and uses it as a cantus firmus, but also includes quotation of outer-voice material from the song. A small amount of this outer-voice material is reworked as anticipations of cantus firmus entries, but no more than a little.<sup>235</sup> Much the same applies to the Missa *Quant ce viendra* and its borrowed material, with a little more in terms of recombination to be seen in the Touront *Mon oeil* Mass previously mentioned. Only two Masses in the later Trent Codices come close to later efforts in integrating the outer parts of a borrowed song with the Tenor cantus firmus from the same piece. The first is Faugues's Missa *Le serviteur* in 88, whose movements feature the celebrated song not only using its Tenor as a cantus firmus, but also casually quoting much material from the song's imitative other voices and reworking some of this material imitatively as well. Occasionally the order in which the borrowed material appears is not the same as in the song, and the entry order of some imitative material is changed too and expanded from three-voice workings to points for four voices.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> *D91* p. 663.

<sup>230</sup> *D91* p. 757-758.

<sup>231</sup> Published in Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 1048 and *DTO* 53 p. 85.

<sup>232</sup> *D89* p. 1209.

<sup>233</sup> For a further example see *D89* p. 1259 (part of a four-voice setting of *Ave beatissima civitas*).

<sup>234</sup> The same composer also produced a short motet with both lower voices in mirror canon (*Virgo restauratrix*, published in van Benthem, *op. cit.* vol. IV p. 39). However the text version given here is possibly less comfortable with the music than the slightly different version in the motet's unique source (*Schedel*).

<sup>235</sup> See *D89* p. 468 for the Mass, and *D89* pp. 744-745 for details of outer-voice use of parent material.

<sup>236</sup> Further on this Mass (which is published in Gerber, *ibid.* pp. 1183-1218) see Sparks, E., *Cantus firmus in Mass and Motet 1420-1530* (Berkeley, 1963) pp. 172-173 and 177-181.

The most detailed reworking of the song is in the Kyrie, which may have been written after the rest of the movements.

Beside this very well-worked piece is Vincenet's Missa *O gloriosa* in 91 which is based on Touront's song-motet *O gloriosa regina*. This reworks much material from its model as follows. The connecting thread throughout tends to be the Superius of the model rather than its Tenor. All voices of the song are randomly drawn upon, but a recurring feature is the presentation of material from the motet with reworked imitation, or Superius quotations with newly imitative material replacing other sorts of similar musical activity in the parent piece.<sup>237</sup>

The purpose of this extended digression away from the practicalities of wordsetting is to arm the reader with what to expect from fifteenth century musical textures. Sections 10 and 11 have a similar purpose, respectively dealing with chant paraphrase and lower voice cantus firmus. To return to the main purpose of sections 2-4, the comments below apply to particular situations that editors might encounter in textures which mostly consist of free composition.

(a) Discontinuous text has already been mentioned in connection with Example 75. The Credo of Martini's presumably early Missa *In feuers hitz* is also a good extended example of verbal discontinuity in single voices, since much of the piece and particularly its second section consist of a series of short interlocked duets.<sup>238</sup>

(b) Very occasionally, imitation is best not texted. On p. 683 of the *D89* commentary I give a transcription of the Bergerette *Greveuse m'est vostre acointance* from *Laborde*. Only the upper voice of this three-part song seems to carry text satisfactorily, and therefore with some justification I suggest that the lower voices might have been vocalised. Its second section begins with some Tenor-Superius imitation which is initiated in an offbeat manner, in which case it would probably not be realistic for the performer of this part to mimic Superius texting. Therefore the passage is possibly best left as it is. It is also relevant here that the line of text which opens this second section ('Crées que je n'ay aultre puissance') will not comfortably fit into the Tenor here as it does with the Superius.

(c) Sometimes imitative voices have to be texted with offbeat underlay in order to effect imitation as clearly as is possible. In the second-section duet from the 89 motet *Salve Regina / Le serviteur* this happens at 117-124 with the words 'nobis post hoc' in a duet passage.<sup>239</sup> A similar musical event is found in the song-motet *O dulcis Jhesu memoria* at 'memoria'; see Example 68 measures 5-6 between the two upper voices in the score (the Superius and Tenor).

(d) Duple sections sometimes use sesquialtera, either in a single voice or more than one. Where fully-scored sesquialtera passages occur, it is probably not right to continually seek underlay that matches 'greater rhythm' or courante-type coloration in the triple sense rather than simple triple units. Many sesquialtera sections do not seem to have been written with such complexities in mind, although a few possibly were.<sup>240</sup> By way of example, in the following passage from Martini's Missa *Cucu* I am satisfied that greater triple rhythm occurs at 309-310 (and at 307-308 in voices 2 and 4) but not at 315-316. Imposing it in voices 1 and 4 at the latter place would look artificial.

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<sup>237</sup> For the whole Mass see *D 91* pp. 852-878. Passages which justify my description above can be found at Kyrie 41-47, Gloria 112-140, 161-184, and Credo 52-61, 124-136 and 162-212. For a tabular analysis of the whole Mass see *D91* pp. 1029-1032.

<sup>238</sup> Published in Moohan, E. and Steib, M. (eds), *Johannes Martini: Masses Part 2. Masses with Known Polyphonic Models* (A-R Editions, 1999) p. 79. The isolated Credo section from 91 previously mentioned in this section has a similar texture.

<sup>239</sup> *D89* p. 1265.

<sup>240</sup> Barbingant's Missa *Sine nomine* seems to contain some complex sesquialtera work. Further, see *D89* p. 938 (the first and last systems on this page) and the end of the Benedictus on p. 943.

79. Martini, Missa *Cucu*, Credo 303-318;<sup>241</sup>

303

3 3&c.

-cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - - -

Et e - xpe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - - -

Cu - cu Cu - cu Cu - cu Cu - cu

-cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - - -

311

rum. Et vi - - - tam ven - tu -

rum. Et vi - - - tam ven - tu -

Cu - cu Cu - cu Cu - cu Cu - cu

- - - rum. Et vi - - - tam ven - tu -

(g) In simple duple and triple textures where lower voices are vocalised or do not have complete text occasionally a Superius ligature will be seen which crosses strong accents but will still essentially do no harm if observed as textually significant. Example 80 here gives a likely case at 'ten-' in the Superius, although I advise caution in deciding which other ligatures this suggestion might apply to. Example 81 suggests a similar case in its Tenor-Superius imitation at 29-30.

80. Binchois, Credo (Kaye edition 2b, *Ao ff.* 33v-36r), 1-9;<sup>242</sup>

Pa - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem, fa - -

Pa - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem, \*----

Pa - - - - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem,\*----

<sup>241</sup> *D91* p. 574.

<sup>242</sup> Published in Kaye, *op. cit.* p. 23.

81. *Quam pulchra es* (89 no. 31), 25-34;<sup>243</sup>

25

me, et

est pal - - - me, et u - be -

est pal - - - me, et u - be - ra tu -

30

u - be - ra tu - - - a bo - - tris. Ca - put

- ra tu - - - a bo - tris. Ca - put tu -

- - - a tu - - - a bo - tris. Ca - put

.....

## 10. CHANT PARAPHRASE

Material presented in this section tends to undo some of the tidy categorising which has so far been a feature of this study. This is because Superius chant paraphrase often adheres to the way that the parent chant(s) involved are texted, and the results are sometimes seriously at odds with ideas of strong and weak musical accents and also with perceived greater and lesser measure groups.

I detect the beginning of upper voice chant paraphrase in the first motet from *Hatton* which is *A solis ortus cardine*, an early fourteenth century English Rondellus motet for four voices that needs the opening of its first voice reconstructed. The reconstructed result is a borrowing from the opening of the well-known hymn chant *A solis ortus cardine*.<sup>244</sup> From slightly later in the century (possibly around 1350) the English source *Sloane 1210* preserves a three-part setting of the hymn *O lux beata trinitas* which lightly elaborates the well-known chant for this text in its topmost voice.<sup>245</sup> From the end of the fourteenth century or the start of the fifteenth there is also the phenomenon of elaborated *monodic* chant in a single *Alleluia Virga Jesse* from *Washington M.2.1*.<sup>246</sup> This source (if not all of its repertory) also appears to be English. Otherwise the trail seems to disappear apart from the appearance of nine Superius paraphrase hymn settings in *Apt*, plus one more setting therein with middle-voice chant. All are for three voices. But perhaps paraphrase is not really the right description for the former nine settings as

<sup>243</sup> D89 p. 1155.

<sup>244</sup> Published in its reconstructed version in *PMFC* vol. 16 p. 200. For other chant usages in roughly contemporary Rondellus motets see Bent, M., Hartt, J. and Lefferts, P., *The Dorset Rotulus. Contextualising and Reconstructing the Early English Motet* (Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2023).

<sup>245</sup> Published in *PMFC* vol. 16 p. 207.

<sup>246</sup> See Bent, M., 'Washington, Library of Congress, M2.1.C6 1400 Case: A Neglected English Fragment' in Hartt, J., Mahoney-Steel, T. and Albritton, B. (eds), *Manuscripts, Music, Machaut: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Earp* (Turnhout, 2022) pp. 529-552.

their Superius parts hardly elaborate their parent material at all.<sup>247</sup> Apart from a solitary Superius-based setting of *Ave maris stella* in *Stras 222* (which is probably not from the earliest layer of this source) the other five hymns presented therein survive as incipits only, and all of these five pieces may have been cantus firmus settings rather than paraphrases. *Ave maris stella* here is in void notation, and the other five incipits are in the black notation typical of the older part of *Stras 222*.

With continental void notation we are then in the period of Reginald Liebert, Binchois, Lymburgia and the young Dufay. Amongst these composers elaborative chant paraphrase becomes a standard medium. Leonel and Dunstable have also left us examples, with Superius paraphrase being the borrowing medium in the *MB 8* revised Dunstable edition's *Ave maris stella*, *Regina celi*, Magnificat Tone 2 (first version) and the troped Gloria no. 9, although the latter has some chant material in its Contra part too.<sup>248</sup> At least two good and extended accounts of the contemporary development of hymn settings are extant, one being the chapter on hymns and Sequence settings in David Fallows's biographical study of Dufay and another being Tom Ward's chronologically based account of hymn settings in the Trent manuscripts.<sup>249</sup> For hymn settings we also have Ward's splendidly encyclopaedic catalogue of fifteenth century settings listed by text and chant use according to the *MM I* hymn melody study.<sup>250</sup> A comprehensive study of paraphrase involves more material than this (such as the Propers by Liebert, Sarto and Brassart) but I merely wish to show readers here that at least the hymn territory of paraphrase development is well documented. One of Ward's examples (*Jhesu redemptor seculi* from 92) illustrates what is probably the simplest type of triple-meter Superius chant elaboration. The chant (*MM I* no. 8) is given in the Superius with four phrases that all anacrusic at their start, and three of these phrases are of the same length. It would not be hard for anybody with knowledge or memory of the parent chant to fit the text to the Superius here, although Ward's example inconveniently fails to give the final word of the text in the score. The Tenor here seems to be capable of carrying text too, but probably not the Contra which is incomplete (possibly this part was vocalised). Some of the Propers in Liebert's plenary Mass contain Superius paraphrases which are not that different from the one previously described. Chronologically the next step in development is described in David Fallows's account of how Dufay's collection of hymn and Sequence settings developed. Like other authors he draws a contrast between Dufay's inventive and often cleverly worked chant paraphrases and the simpler, sometimes more text-oriented chant paraphrases found in certain works by Binchois. Dufay's hymns seem to begin as a group of less than twenty settings, which are slightly increased in number in the 1440's source *ModB* and expanded further in Dufay's later life. These are further expanded by the *CS 15* collection of Dufay's hymns which was copied in the 1490's and includes additional new Contra parts plus other types of reworking. I have already given an example of part of a fairly typical Dufay setting in Example 76. For underlay purposes, I suspect that an important feature of triple-meter settings is that the chant melody concerned in each triple-time setting and its ligatures are reflected in the paraphrase, but at the same time the underlay does not rhythmically upset the progression of strong accents in supporting voices. By way of explanation, in the example below the Superius at 'Veni cre-A-tor' follows the contour of the famous hymn chant but my editorially texted lower voices do not align with the Superius '-a-'.

<sup>247</sup> The *Apt* hymn settings are published in *PMFC* vol. 23b, pp. 356-365.

<sup>248</sup> For these pieces respectively see *MB 8* revised pp. 95, 101, 95 (again) and 16.

<sup>249</sup> Fallows, *Dufay* pp. 135-150 and Ward, T., 'The Office Hymns of the Trent Manuscripts' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini I* (1986) pp. 112-129.

<sup>250</sup> Ward, T., *The Polyphonic Office Hymn 1400-1520. A Descriptive Catalogue (Renaissance Manuscript Studies 3, Stuttgart, 1980)*.

82. Anon, *Veni creator spiritus* (88 f. 230v, version 1), 1-4;<sup>251</sup>

1. Ve - ni cre - a - - -  
 3. Tu se - - - pti - - - for - - -  
 5. Ho - stem re - - - pel - - -  
 7. Sit laus pa - - - tri

Contra primus

1. Ve - ni cre - - - a - - -  
 3. Tu se - - - pti - - - for - - -  
 5. Ho - stem re - - - pel - - -  
 7. Sit laus pa - - - tri

Tenor

1. Ve - ni cre - - - a - - -  
 3. Tu se - - - pti - - - for - - -  
 5. Ho - stem re - - - pel - - -  
 7. Sit laus pa - - - tri

Contra secundus

1. Ve - ni cre - - - a - - -  
 3. Tu se - - - pti - - - for - - -  
 5. Ho - stem re - - - pel - - -  
 7. Sit laus pa - - - tri

At cadential clichés in this triple-meter style it also seems appropriate in most cases that the underlay in the paraphrasing voice follows the normal beat stresses of the cliché in each voice, and is not modified so that the Superius follows a melodic chant contour placing the syllable *before* the final note.<sup>252</sup> By way of example, the ending of the Dufay setting given below often seems to be the best way to treat such cadences in triple meter. Putting the final ‘-a’ on any other notes than those given in the Superius of Example 83 would perhaps be wrong here. Arguably this melody is not chant: it is best described as chant transformed into a fifteenth century paraphrase.

<sup>251</sup> Published in Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 707.

<sup>252</sup> The only likely exceptions to this are firstly where two or more voices (one of which is chant-carrying) have their penultimate and final notes ligated, or where they are preceded by antepenultimate anticipatory notes as in Example 21. The second exception would be when all parts have their final syllable in a melisma at some distance from the next cadence.



83. Dufay, *Deus tuorum militum* (88 f. 387r), 15-19;<sup>253</sup>

15

- ve - nit ad - ce - le - sti - a.  
- mit - te no - xam ser - vu - lis.

8

- ve - nit ad - ce - le - sti - a.  
- mit - te no - xam ser - vu - lis.

8

- ve - nit ad - ce - le - sti - a.  
- mit - te no - xam ser - vu - lis.

A look at many editions of this type of music and similar works tends to confirm that this point is a matter of contention. For example, two editions of Ockeghem's *Alma redemptoris* begin with the paraphrasing second-voice-down having the long chant-derived melisma on 'Al-' and then differ in placing the following syllable '-ma'. The Wexler edition places this syllable at a cadential E as I would, while the other edition takes the last three notes of the melisma and uses these for the '-ma' syllable much as the chant does.<sup>254</sup> My argument against the latter is as follows. In triple-meter paraphrase, why should a transformed melody take on all of the texting features of its model if some of those features might seem incompatible with fifteenth century Superius clichés? The same argument for underlay reflecting strong stresses at cadence points is probably applicable to many of the duple Superius paraphrase settings in 91, and for similar reasons to the above arguments. These paraphrases are not chants: they are fifteenth century adaptations.

In duple-meter hymn and Sequence settings and other sort of paraphrases, violations of strong-accent guidelines in paraphrasing voices seem to be allowed quite often. Some such examples have already been seen in Example 62, but the *Beata viscera* given there has Tenor cantus firmus. Philip Kaye's Binchois edition gives a fauxbourdon setting of the Introit *Salve sancta parens* in which the chant-carrying Superius is at odds with strong accent at its first cadence (at 'enixa') due to chant-derived ligaturing.<sup>255</sup> Likewise, in equally simple Superius paraphrase settings such as the following Magnificat antiphon from *SP B80* the syllable '-cin-' is at odds with the greater duple meter here but the ligature is given in both this setting and its parent chant.

<sup>253</sup> Published in Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 1127.

<sup>254</sup> See Wexler, R. and Plamenac, D. (eds), *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works* vol. 3 (1992), p. 3 and Greenberg, N. and Maynard, P. (eds), *An Anthology of Early Renaissance Music* (Norton, 1975) p. 78.

<sup>255</sup> Kaye, *op. cit.* p. 246.

84. *Crucem sanctam subiit*, 6-16;<sup>256</sup>

6  
-num con - fre - - - git: ac - cin - - ctus est

8  
-num con - fre - - - git: ac - - - cin - ctus est po -

8  
-num con - fre - - - git: ac - cin - ctus est

Observe that in the latter example I make one voice adhere to the 2 x 2 greater measures here at ‘-cinctus’. That I consider important, and if possible in similar situations I would make both supporting voices follow greater duple measures. Much of the duple-meter chant setting repertory in *91* seems to be written in a similar manner. Chant-derived voices in these works often make rhythmic irregularities because of their chants’ ligatures but with the lower voices plodding along in regular 2 x 2 successions of breves and semibreves - and perhaps with an occasional semibreve syncopation in one lower voice to vary the texture.<sup>257</sup>

To return to Dufay and paraphrase technique, David Fallows demonstrates that Dufay’s later Sequence settings develop so that the lower voices are varied to accompany the chant-carrying voice, thus providing a greater degree of musical interest than would otherwise be present. The Dufay setting of *Letabundus* is singled out as a particularly fine example. Equally varied Sequence settings survive in *91*, most of which alternate paraphrase verses with verses using unelaborated Tenor cantus. But it is to Dufay that we must return to illustrate a further stage in paraphrase technique, namely the ability to handle long chants with extended melismata. *88* preserves a large number of Superius paraphrase Proper settings in cycles. At least some of these are likely to be the work of Dufay, and possibly many more of them too if we had the evidence to prove it. The most likely examples to be Dufay’s work are the majority of the movements in the votive cycles, which are the first Proper cycles in the collection.<sup>258</sup> These include many movements in which the basic principles of paraphrasing voices as outlined above hold true, and amongst the Gradual and Alleluia settings are some extremely long settings. The St. Anthony of Padua Gradual *Os iusti* is one such setting, and it has been established that the theorist Spataro knew of this piece as a Dufay work. It has also been established that two movements of the ‘de Sancto Spiritu’ cycle are Dufay’s. The cycle following those Propers in *88* is a votive cycle for the Trinity, and the Gradual in that group of works is very similar to the Gradual in the previous set and also not unlike the *Os iusti* setting previously mentioned. I therefore take the Gradual from the Trinity cycle as a likely Dufay work, and I use it here to illustrate the way in which the composer treated an extended chant. Example 85 gives the whole piece, and all of this uses Superius paraphrase except for at 103-128 (‘in firmamento’) where the chant is paraphrased in the Contra.<sup>259</sup>

<sup>256</sup> *D89* p. 1775.

<sup>257</sup> In the *Glogau* partbooks paraphrase works which have concordances with *91* tend to be fully texted (plus also much more of the *Glogau* sacred repertory) suggesting that full text to these works was sometimes expected in spite of their less thoroughly texted copies in *91*.

<sup>258</sup> Further, see Gerber, R., ‘Dufay’s style and the question of cyclic unity in the Trent 88 Mass Proper cycles’ in *I Codici Musicali Trentini 2* (1996), pp. 107-120. Also very relevant here is the Fallows article in *I Codici Musicali Trentini 1* (1986) pp. 46-59.

<sup>259</sup> It is not particularly helpful here that the *LU 1997* version of the chant (pp. 910-911) uses a different verse text and melody from the one paraphrased in this setting. Suffice it to say here that the paraphrasing voices are much closer to fifteenth century versions of the chant than they are to the Solesmes version. Other Gradual settings in

Brief inspection of the score reveals the sheer scale of the music (parts and the whole of which were re-used in subsequent 88 Proper cycles) and also reveals features which will be of interest to those editing similar works. Such as the unavoidable conflict of different parts' accents at 1-2 on '-ne' and the very long melisma on this syllable extending to measure 12. At 25-26 and 170-171 there are passages with anticipations of notes in preceding measures, but where only one syllable of text is involved for pairs of same-pitch values (at 25-26 two voices behave in the manner). Note also the extended melisma on 'es' (58-102) which encompasses not only a fully-scored passage but also a duet succeeding it. At 31-32 there are repeated Superius notes at the same pitch, and at 34-35 an unavoidable offbeat accent at '-se' - in the Superius. At 129-130 there is a similar Superius occurrence, and both sections of the piece reach their final syllables well before their final notes (in the case of the second section the final syllable on '-la' is very extended). The texture of this movement is quite open, and its music reveals no great complexities. The way in which its texting seems to behave is quite unlike other examples given in this study, and underlines the opening statement of section 1 in that there are probably no universal rules or standards for setting text to music in this period. Similar surviving works outside the 88 collection seem to be rare, although some movements in Ockeghem's Requiem have an affinity with the style of this setting.

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the 88 collection display similar signs of migrant chant use. For further discussion and illustration of this setting see Planchart, *Guillaume Dufay; the Life and Works*, II, pp. 512 and 531. In this example as in others preceding, the parent chant and manuscript text positioning are not followed slavishly for the purposes of editorial underlay.

85. [Dufay?]; *Benedictus es*;<sup>260</sup>

Be - ne - di - ctus es

Do - mi - ne,

Contra Do - mi - ne,

Tenor Do - mi - ne,

Detailed description: This block shows the beginning of the musical score. It features three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor) and a keyboard accompaniment staff. The Soprano part starts with a melodic line of eighth notes. The vocal parts enter with the text 'Do - mi - ne,'. The keyboard accompaniment provides a rhythmic and harmonic foundation.

Detailed description: This block contains measures 3 through 7 of the piece. It shows the continuation of the vocal and keyboard parts. The Soprano part has a triplet of eighth notes in measure 3. The keyboard accompaniment continues with a steady rhythmic pattern.

Detailed description: This block contains measures 8 through 12. The vocal parts continue their melodic lines, and the keyboard accompaniment provides harmonic support. There are some rests in the vocal parts during these measures.

qui in - - tu - e - ris

qui in - - tu - e - ris

qui in - - tu - e - ris

Detailed description: This block contains measures 13 through 15. The vocal parts enter with the text 'qui in - - tu - e - ris'. The keyboard accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are spread across the vocal staves.

<sup>260</sup> Published in Gerber, *Sacred Music...* pp. 444-448.

18

Musical score for measures 18-22. The system consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef and two piano accompaniment staves in bass clef. Measure 18 starts with a whole rest in the vocal line. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and chords in the right hand. Measure 19 contains the vocal entry with a flat (b) and a sharp (#) above the notes. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns.

23

Musical score for measures 23-27. The system consists of three staves. The vocal line begins in measure 23 with a flat (b) above the notes. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support. In measure 27, the vocal line has a long note with the syllable 'a' written below it. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

28

Musical score for measures 28-32. The system consists of three staves. The vocal line begins in measure 28 with a flat (b) above the notes. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support. In measure 30, the vocal line has a long note with the syllable 'bys' written below it. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

33

Musical score for measures 33-37. The system consists of three staves. The vocal line begins in measure 33 with the syllable '- sos,'. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support. In measure 35, the vocal line has a long note with the syllable 'des' written below it. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

38

per  
su per  
... su per

43

Che ru bin.  
Che ru bin.  
Che ru bin.

48

[O=C]

Be ne di ctus  
Be ne di ctus  
Be ne di ctus

57

es  
es  
es

66

Musical score for measures 66-74. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in treble clef with an 8va marking, and the bottom in bass clef with an 8va marking. The music features various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. Measure 66 starts with a whole rest in the top staff. Measure 74 ends with a whole note in the top staff.

75

Musical score for measures 75-83. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in treble clef with an 8va marking, and the bottom in bass clef with an 8va marking. The music continues with various note values and phrasing slurs. Measure 75 starts with a whole note in the top staff. Measure 83 ends with a whole note in the top staff.

84

Musical score for measures 84-92. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in treble clef with an 8va marking, and the bottom in bass clef with an 8va marking. The music continues with various note values and phrasing slurs. Measure 84 starts with a whole note in the top staff. Measure 92 ends with a whole note in the top staff.

93

Musical score for measures 93-101. The system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in treble clef with an 8va marking, and the bottom in bass clef with an 8va marking. The music continues with various note values and phrasing slurs. Measure 93 starts with a whole note in the top staff. Measure 101 ends with a whole note in the top staff.

102

in fir - ma - men -

111

in fir - ma - men -

120

to

129

ce - li,

ce - li,

...ce - li,



138

et lau - da - bi - - - - -

et lau - da - - - bi - - - - -

et lau - da - bi - - - - -

147

- - - lis et glo - ri - - - - -

- - - lis et glo - ri - - - - -

- - - lis et glo - ri - - - - -

156

- o - - - - - sus

- o - - - - - sus

- o - - - - - sus

165

in se - cu - la.

in se - cu - la.

in se - cu - la.

174

183

192

201

There is a further stage of Superius paraphrase beyond this extensive type of work, which manifests itself in Magnificat settings from 89, 88, *Strahov* and other sources from around 1450 or slightly later. Many fifteenth century Magnificat settings faithfully give the outline of the Tone paraphrased in their Superius so that a resemblance is clearly audible. A few more decorate their paraphrases lightly, and beyond that a few more add so much elaborative Superius material that the actual Magnificat Tone used

can only be detected by resemblances to the chant in terms of section openings, cadence-pitches, and half-close pitches in verses. Here we go almost beyond the definition limits of paraphrase, and the fashion may have been started by Touront's Tone VI setting or a similar work. The 89 Magnificat Tone I illustrated in Example 70 (no. 63 in my edition) is another good example of this type of setting. Others are the probably incomplete setting 89 no. 64, the Tone VIII setting 89 no. 68, and the Tone IV setting in 88 starting on f. 349v. In another Tone VI setting (89 no. 65, which also appears in *Strahov*) internal cadence-pitches are altered so that this piece features cadences on D and C which never feature in any Tone VI formula that I have encountered.<sup>261</sup> Some of these settings can be shown to use German-variant Magnificat Tones, so at least the few really elaborative settings which we have may have been localised or regional in origin. However - having said that - precious few western Magnificat settings survive between Dufay's later examples and the ones by Martini, Compère and Gafforio in later manuscripts. I end this section on paraphrase with an example from the Touront setting, bearing in mind that the Tone formula which generated the flamboyant duet below is given as an editorially supplied chant verse before the duet begins. It should also be considered that the sheer length of this setting may result from it being a reworking of a less sophisticated anonymous Tone VI setting that follows it in *Strahov*. Possibly the same composer is responsible for both.

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<sup>261</sup> As with *MM I* being more suitable for hymn chants than the modern Solesmes chant books, Magnificat Tone use is best detected by reference to the pair of Roman- and German-use Magnificat Tone tables in Illing, K., *Zur Technik der Magnificat-Komposition des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wolfenbüttel, 1936) p. 22. However, Illing did not give variant terminations. Even some of the Roman-use formulas given therein differ from those in *LU 1997*.

86. Touront; Magnificat Tone VI, 20-38;<sup>262</sup>

20  
o. 3. Qui - a respexit humilitatem an -

23 Duo  
- cil - le su - e: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes gene - ra - ti - o - nes. 4. Qui - a  
(T) 4. Qui - a

24  
fe - - - cit mi - hi ma - gna qui  
fe - - - cit mi - hi ma - gna qui

29  
po - - - - -  
po - - - - -

34  
- tens est: et  
- tens est: et

.....

<sup>262</sup> D89 p. 601.

## 11. LOWER VOICE CANTUS FIRMUS

Many of the characteristics described for paraphrasing voices also apply to cantus firmus parts whether they consist of a structural Tenor, an internal voice with fourths against the Superius, or a bottom voice in a composition (although lowest-voice cantus firmus in four-part pieces becomes rare after *ca.* 1440). All three types occur in our period, although middle voice cantus firmus tends to be restricted to insular chant settings and a few chant-based continental works.<sup>263</sup>

In terms of structure and texting the simplest cantus firmus works to deal with are those with short repeated Tenors that can be given their parent text. Amongst these are mensural transformation Masses such as the 89 *Missa Te Deum*, Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*, the 88 Mass pair on *Pax vobis ego sum* and the *Advenisti / Lauda Syon* motet in the same manuscript. Also included in this category is the freely invented but repeating voice singing 'Bella canunt' in Dufay's cantus firmus motet *Ecclesie militantis*, and two *Glorias* (one each by Dufay and Grossin) which use short repeated cantus firmus whose texts do not survive. These two works - because of the condition in which their Tenors survive - are lacking in performance essentials because parts of each contain repeated notes at the same pitch.<sup>264</sup> Not all Tenor motets have cantus firmus text in their chant or otherwise derived Tenor. The Tenor part of *Perpulchra Syon filia* in 89 features an antiphon cantus firmus which has the same text as the outer voices.<sup>265</sup>

Generally in chant-based Tenors and middle voices the ligatures given will preserve at least a percentage of the ligatures in the parent melody. As with ligatures in paraphrase works most of these should be respected in textual terms, particularly if the voice concerned gives the parent chant in more or less unelaborated guise.<sup>266</sup> But there also exists the phenomenon of Tenors in chant settings and motets which elaborate the chant concerned almost as much as a paraphrasing Superius might. If these elaborated cantus firmus works are triple-meter settings, in most cases it is better to respect the strong rhythmic accents in such pieces. There are two significant examples of this sort of elaborated-Tenor work in 89. One is an imitative Kyrie trope setting and the other is a short setting of a Sequence whose first-section Tenor is triple-meter and elaborated while its second and duple-meter section is not elaborated.<sup>267</sup>

The *Missa Regina celi* in 91 also has a chant-based cantus firmus which retains its parent text, and the cantus firmus here is modestly elaborated in each presentation. While it seems that the voice below this Tenor in 91 sings Mass ordinary text, it has been convincingly argued that two of Dufay's Masses with modestly elaborated Tenor cantus firmus (*Ecce ancilla* and *Ave Regina celorum*) each has cantus firmus text in the lower Contra part as well as the Tenor).<sup>268</sup> Chant-based Tenors can also be given in triple and rhythmicised versions, as happens with the chant verses in the otherwise migrant Sequence setting *Laus tibi Christe* by Roulet in 87.<sup>269</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Chant settings with middle voice cantus firmus are found in the earliest layer of *Old Hall*, in a short section of 89 which preserves chant settings that may be insular (see *D89* nos 161, 162, 164a-b and 165) and also in a setting of the Sequence *Congaudent* in 93 published in Gozzi, M. (ed). *Codici Musicali Trentini del Quattrocento vol. I, Sequenze* (Trento, 2012) p. 173. The latter setting may be Germanic, and the previously cited section of 89 featuring probable insular works also has some Tenor cantus firmus chant settings similar in style to those cited above (89 nos 165 and 168).

<sup>264</sup> See Bessler, *Dufay Opera Omnia* vol. 4 p. 81 and Reaney, *op. cit.* vol. III p. 44. Michael Scott Cuthbert has found a new concordance for the Grossin Gloria in the Avezzano fragment mentioned in fn. 97 (ff. 4v-6r).

<sup>265</sup> *D89* p. 1173. For details of the cantus firmus (*Pulchra es et decora*) see *D89* p. 1444.

<sup>266</sup> For an example see the Tenor-based cantus firmus verses of the Sequence setting *Verbum bonum et suave* (91 p. 1116).

<sup>267</sup> See *D89* p. 2007 (Kyrie tro. *fons bonitatis*) and 1227 (*Ave vivens hostia*), both for three voices.

<sup>268</sup> See Curtis, G., 'Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 5557, and the Texting of Dufay's "Ecce ancilla Domini" and "Ave regina" Masses' in *ActaM* 51 (1979) pp. 73-86.

<sup>269</sup> Published in Gozzi, *op. cit.* p. 224.

There are other cyclic Mass Tenors whose generally long-note parts seem to defy both texting and likelihood of instrumental performance, such as the Tenors to the *Naples VI.E.40 L'homme armé* cycles and the relatively short and transposing Tenor to the 89 *Missa Du cuer je souspire* discussed in section 2c, part 11.<sup>270</sup> It is often forgotten that because such works were preceded by structured motets whose chant-derived Tenors were probably vocalised then the same performance method should apply in untextable-looking Tenor parts. Other Mass Tenors with extended values seem to be best managed with a series of Mass Ordinary text incipits and usually a few split notes, but I will return to this category of Tenor in due course.

There are also long-note and unelaborated-Tenor chant settings, such as the low-pitched four voice *Salve sancta parens* setting in 91 and a very similar-sounding three voice Kyrie which is adjacent in the same manuscript.<sup>271</sup> In such settings it is more or less mandatory that Tenor ligatures are observed for texting purposes. Usually, if the texting in such a Tenor is at odds with the strong stresses of the outer voices this does not seem to matter. In a three-part setting like this with all voices sung, differences in underlay will be audible but tolerable. Usually in a four-part setting performed in the same way the Tenor's text can hardly be heard at all.

Lower-voice cantus firmus can also permeate upper parts, in both scribal and performance senses. In some of the Busnois motets in *Br 5557* and also in Agnus II of the 91 *Missa Regina celi* there are annotations in the upper voices which show that these scribes recognised where cantus firmus material was present in different voices. Parts of secular songs also appear in some Mass Ordinaries, although in the well-known Dufay Gloria-Credo pair which feature 'Resurrexit Dominus' and 'La vilanella' in all four voices of the Credo's 'Amen' section the secular tune is censored by the addition of a liturgically suitable Latin trope. Two Masses also show strong signs of employing at least *some* extra text in individual movements that might have been suppressed in later times due to its secular nature. The Agnus of Martini's *Missa Orsus, orsus* has an Agnus that has to feature at least some external text in its lowest voice due to cantus firmus material with same-pitch repeated notes being present.<sup>272</sup> The parent text of the cantus firmus fits perfectly here. Much the same thing happens in the *Missa Se tu t'en marias* in 88, which is based on the same folk song as Binchois' famous *Filles a marier*. Throughout this Mass the tune keeps a rhythmic configuration to which its original words might be sung, though the aural presence of a text that basically says *Marry and you'll regret it within a year* occurring simultaneously with parts of the Credo and Sanctus text might not be thought suitable in some churches.<sup>273</sup>

This brings us to the difficult pieces amongst cyclic works with extended-note Tenors, which as I previously indicated are usually handled by texting with discontinuous Mass Ordinary incipits. One such work (Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*) has a Tenor which has been shown to be performable on a slide-trumpet.<sup>274</sup> Performing the Tenor thus would sound rather odd and would perhaps make the texture seem unstable, so perhaps this part was doubled by such an instrument as well as having a singer giving the Tenor some Ordinary text. Other Mass Tenors pose similar problems. The best way to illustrate these is to provide descriptions of Tenor cantus firmus texting and activity in four movements featuring some of the longest continuous sections in the Masses from 89. These are the main Gloria and

<sup>270</sup> Regarding the accidentals and other difficulties with this particular Tenor, see *D89* pp. 1014-1021.

<sup>271</sup> Respectively published in *D91* pp. 125 and 131.

<sup>272</sup> See Moohan and Steib, *op. cit.*, Part 2, pp. 220-227.

<sup>273</sup> Published in Gerber, *op. cit.* pp. 226-344, in an edition which underlays the cantus firmus with Mass Ordinary incipits rather than the parent song's text.

<sup>274</sup> See Alejandro Planchart's online edition of the Mass for the most convincing arguments regarding this ([https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/184/04\\_Du\\_Fay\\_Missa\\_Se\\_la\\_face\\_ay\\_pale.pdf](https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/184/04_Du_Fay_Missa_Se_la_face_ay_pale.pdf)).

Credo sections of the *Groß senen* and *Quand ce viendra* Masses, and the comments below may be compared with the scores in *D89*.<sup>275</sup>

Missa *Groß senen* Et in terra section. Triple mensuration.  
Tenor active in measures 13-41, in simple augmentation.  
Text incipits in edition: Laudamus te ...Glorificamus te ... Rex celestis ...Deus Pater  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Groß senen* Qui tollis section. Duple mensuration.  
Tenor active in measures 124-204, in descending degrees of augmentation with changes initiated by congruent signs, starting with 4:1.  
Text incipits in edition: Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris... Jhesu and Jhesu Christe, repeated multiple times.  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Groß senen* Patrem section.  
Tenor active in measures 19-60, in 6:1 augmentation.  
Text incipits in edition: Et in unum Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum ...Deum de deo, lumen de lumine.  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Groß senen* Crucifixus section. O2 mensuration in outer parts, Tenor in descending degrees of augmentation with changes initiated by congruent signs starting with 8:1.  
Tenor active in measures 125-166.  
Text incipits in edition: Et iterum venturus est ...cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos. Cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum.  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Quand ce viendra* Et in terra section. Triple mensuration.  
Tenor active in measures 37-94, in 3:1 augmentation.  
Text incipits in edition: propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus, Rex celestis, Deus Pater omnipotens ...Domine Deus. Agnus Dei, Filius Patris.  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Quand ce viendra* Qui tollis section. Outer voices in duple mensuration, Tenor in O mensuration.  
Tenor active in measures 143-300, in 6:1 augmentation.  
Text incipits in edition: Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram...Tu solus Altissimus, Jhesu Christe ...in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Quand ce viendra* Patrem section. Triple mensuration.  
Tenor active in measures 36-139, in 3:1 augmentation.  
Text incipits in edition: Et ex Patre natum ante omnia secula. Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum ...Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri ...et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto. Ex Maria Virgine: et homo factus est.  
No Tenor values are split in the edition.

Missa *Quand ce viendra* Et resurrexit section. Outer voices in duple mensuration, Tenor in O mensuration in simple augmentation.

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<sup>275</sup> For the Missa *Groß senen* see *D89* pp. 227-267, and for the Missa *Quand ce viendra* see pp. 892-924. Our data for the *Groß senen* cycle uses the original Tenors rather than the resolutions also provided in the manuscript.

Tenor active in measures 198-301.

Text incipits in edition: Et iterum venturus est cum gloria ...Cuius regni non erit finis ...et vivificantem ...Qui ex Patre filioque ...Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur.

No Tenor values are split in the edition.

This type of description probably makes the editorial policy look tidier than it actually is, and my methods here are not the only detailed answers to texting these voices. The Tenors of other extended cycles need some split cantus firmus values to make their wordsetting seem satisfactory, notably in movements of Faugues's Missa *La bassedanse* in 91 and the Touront Missa *Mon oeil* in 89.

Cantus firmus text in a Tenor when sung against Ordinary text in outer parts can also be disconcerting but is no doubt permissible because this happens unavoidably in the *Mu 3154* four voice Sanctus super *Iste puer magnus*, which is possibly a work of Busnois.<sup>276</sup> Likewise a mostly vocalised Tenor part probably sounds slightly odd in the Sanctus of the 88 Missa *O admirabile*, but the shape of this Tenor and also its number of repeated values means that it will probably accept neither Ordinary nor cantus firmus text. The Missa *Gentil madona* in 91 is another work which uses augmented Tenors, as does Vincenet's Missa *Entrepris* in *ModC*. In the Missa *Gentil madona* at least some degree of preparation by the Tenor singer(s) would have been necessary, otherwise they would have been called upon to invert the cantus firmus at sight in Agnus I and provide text too. Performance preparation also seems to have been made in the now-lost immediate exemplar for the *Groß senen* Mass, as most Tenor cantus firmus sections of this cycle are given with resolutions much as they appeared for other Mass Tenors in later Petrucci prints. My final advice concerning augmented-notation Tenor parts is to leave the text of these until last in the process of editing a single section of music. Once it becomes apparent that the outer voices in a piece behave in certain ways, then it may become easier to experiment with what text (if any) is needed in the Tenor.

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## 12. HOW TEXT MIGHT HAVE BEEN APPLIED IN PERFORMANCE, AND THE LIKELY VARIETY OF VOCAL ENSEMBLES

In previous sections I have indicated that there is a discrepancy between the need for editorial text in modern scores and what is often preserved in fifteenth century sources. In the process of discussing this I cited the page size of the significant-looking Zwettl fragment as being a good argument for this manuscript's practical use. I have also argued that at least some of its lower-voice texting would have been perfectly understandable to fifteenth century singers and would have needed few or no further additions. Its single page size has been cited as 390 x 290 cm. Other neatly copied and presentationally careful sources from our period have a similar single page size, as is demonstrated below.

*Old Hall*; 41.6 x 27.6 cm.

*ModB*; 41.2 x 28,5 cm.

*Ca 6*; 50 x 33.5 cm

*Ca 11*; 48.6 x 36 cm

*Lausanne*; originally 50 x 380 cm.

*Naples VI.E.40*; 44.3 x 31.3 cm.

<sup>276</sup> *Mu 3154* ff. 137v-141r (no. 73). One good reason for attributing this very extended Sanctus setting to Busnois is that it contains additive ostinati as are found in the Missa *Quand ce viendra* and other works which are more firmly his.



*Lausanne* is a mere two-page fragment previously cited in footnote 38. It preserves some of a five-part motet otherwise found in 89 which looks insular, and its verso side gives some of a similar-looking *Anima mea* setting which is a unicum. Its black and red notation suggest that this was once part of a large English choirbook. *Naples VI.E.40* is the famous manuscript containing a ‘cycle of cycles’ on different parts of the *L’homme armé* tune plus a final and summary Mass using the whole melody. The outer parts in those Masses have full texting. The above measurements and the reputation of readings in the better-documented sources here make it likely that these sources were indeed used for performance purposes. Likewise my suggestions that at least small parts of the Trent and *Strahov* repertoires were suitable for performance use at least explains some of the occasional neatness and superimposed texts in these manuscripts. But the many of the examples illustrated so far (particularly those from the Trent collection) speak of a less than ideal performance situation for singers compared with the large-size manuscripts cited. Similarly, I have twice invoked the Missa *Quant ce viendra* for difficult situations involving its Contra parts and Tenor. These considerations bring me to the following points.

Firstly, apart from major institutions such as the English chapel royal, the Burgundian court and the Papal choir during prosperous times it seems that singers of polyphony were not employed in great numbers in single centres. The rivalry between the monarch in Naples and other Italian states for recruiting singers also speaks of a courtly and expensive one-upmanship game which single urban institutions simply could rarely match.<sup>277</sup> Relatively large numbers of skilled singers in one place implies that they used copies which did their skills justice, as do two works which particularly imply divided forces. These are Dufay’s *Sanctus Papale* and the Bourgeois Gloria *tro. Spiritus et alme* in 87 and 88.<sup>278</sup> It is no risky assumption that the first of these was for the Papal singers and the second for a group of singers at a French centre whose numbers could easily handle the music involved. As we have seen, the survival of manuscripts which might inform us better regarding performing conditions is small, but from the end of our period the six *L’homme armé* cycles in *Naples VI.E.40* clearly indicate textural variation since Tenorless passages are copied in red ink.<sup>279</sup> Likewise, David Fallows’s investigation of the large forces specified for Dufay’s St. Anthony of Padua Mass implies that the copies used for this work must have been reliable. The ensemble mentioned in Dufay’s will may indicate five Superius singers plus two singers on each lower part rather than three on each of the parts.

Secondly from the surviving sources it seems likely that the transmission of music tended to change after single works left their local region. For example, a motet or mass cycle copied at Windsor would

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<sup>277</sup> Regarding numbers of singers at the Burgundian court and the singers specified for Dufay’s St. Anthony of Padua Mass in the composer’s will see Fallows, D., ‘Specific information on the ensembles for composed polyphony, 1400-1474’ in Boorman, S. (ed), *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 109-144. Concerning King Ferrante of Naples recruiting singers for the Neapolitan court see Atlas, *op. cit.* pp. 23-57.

<sup>278</sup> Regarding both of these works see Fallows, *ibid.* pp. 123-124. Bourgeois’s Gloria names sections for ‘Chorus’ and ‘Pueri’, but some low notes in the latter-named sections make it probable that these were just names for divided ensembles rather than specifying an all-adolescent scoring. Dufay’s *Sanctus Papale* is similarly devised, using varied scoring to highlight trope sections. It also seems to contain passages where a divided ensemble united to sing (for example in *Osanna I* where there are *divisi* notes indicating six temporary parts). Fallows also cites the *Battre Gaude virgo* from 87 and one particular Binchois Gloria-Credo pair as showing signs of ensemble division.

<sup>279</sup> Published in Cohen, J. (ed), *Six anonymous L’homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms VI e 40* (CMM 85, 1981). I am wary of simply designating Tenorless passages as work for ‘soloists’ as opposed to ‘chorus’; maybe only small subgroups were involved in any division of forces here, and possibly no division of ensemble was intended at all. The red passages may only be there to show the musically literate where material without *cantus firmus* occurs (much as some of the *Br 5557* Busnois motets and Masses in *Chigi* use rubrications to indicate *the presence* of *cantus firmus*). ‘Chorus’ is also a charged term to use, because in using it we are possibly only a little distance away from anachronistic modern performances of this music with huge forces.

look much the same if recopied by a scribe in London, and the same is probably true of works from Antwerp or Bruges being recopied in other Flemish towns. But as soon as such music became the subject of a debased copying process or crossed the Alps then further copies and their more debased duplications might start to lose essential features, much as happened with copies of the English *Missa Caput*. Tropes might be discarded, mensurations and proportions misunderstood, and lower-voice text (if it was ever entered thoroughly) might be sacrificed to compress copying space on the page size concerned.

Third, it is for these reasons that our ability to determine how text was used (particularly in supporting voices) is impaired. While it is possible to envisage situations where singers ‘made do’ with less-than-perfect copies this is only guesswork. But it is at least possible to suggest what might have happened - for example - with a new motet or Mass cycle being performed near or at its place of origin. The introducer of the music (whether he was its composer or importer) should have made a copy in which at least the upper part(s) had clear texting, and he would have expected the singer(s) concerned to follow that texting. The lower parts might not initially add all of the text required, particularly if imitation was involved which did not have fully realised underlay in the copy. I suspect that such refinements as audibly imitative text might have come in second or third renderings of the piece concerned.

There is of course a corollary here in that less than satisfactory conditions probably produced less than satisfactory performances. There are of course gradations in poor performance, ranging from what singers might get away with (that a hearer does not really notice) to audible errors and ensemble problems. I also suspect that polyphony was frowned upon in some centres because bad copies and inferior adaptations caused annoyance with noticeably poor ensemble work. Not only does *Strahov* contain badly copied motets and Masses; a fragment discovered in Lyons containing parts of several Masses also has poorly copied and badly revised pieces.<sup>280</sup> With shorter liturgical works such as hymn and Sequence settings a degree of wordless vocalisation for lower parts might have been involved in performance of these works, as I have already suggested elsewhere in this study.

To propose this type of situation also implies that the earlier fifteenth century was a time of musical change. Alongside Richtenthal’s well known description of ‘posaunen’ playing at Mass ‘as one sings polyphony’ in 1415 and the equally well known account of Dufay’s *Nuper rosarum flores* being performed in 1436 by a mixed vocal and instrumental ensemble, more normal performance conditions for three-part music might only have included the succentor (or ‘master of the children’) directing the rendition of a Superius part by two or three trained youngsters while he and an assistant sang lower parts.<sup>281</sup> Elsewhere, the presence of a single technically skilled singer-composer might have stimulated the production of music where only vocal lower parts were needed to accompany the virtuoso. The very short-of-stature and disabled composer Zacara might have been such a performer, and likewise it would be rewarding to find evidence of Matteo da Perugia having a similar role in Milan or in Cardinal Filargo’s retinue at the Council of Pisa in 1409. What reason would there be for the ornamented-Superius version of a Zacara Credo in *Moda* unless it was the chosen vehicle of a singer who could render it properly? I suspect that this singer might have been Matteo or somebody else similarly

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<sup>280</sup> See Shand, F., ‘A New Continental Source of a Fifteenth-Century English Mass’ in *Music and Letters* 88/3 (2007) pp. 405-419. This fragment gives the Credo, Sanctus and Agnus from an English-looking Mass also found in 88 (ff. 253r-260r) with the first two movements in the fragment having a clumsily added fourth voice. Close inspection of photos from this source (*Lyons 6632*) enabled me to score these movements with the added part. Not only is the latter wanting; some of the variants of the original voices also seem to be debased.

<sup>281</sup> See Strohm, R., *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993) p. 508 for a description of two music masters plus five boys seen and heard singing ‘without seeing the music’ by Venetian diplomats in Klausen and Sterzing in 1492. The account singles out the singing of one particular boy, and also singing sounding like ‘a battle piece with trumpets’).

skilled.<sup>282</sup> The career of the ‘Niccolo Tedesco’ mentioned in the Ferrara records might be another case of a virtuoso.<sup>283</sup> The application of partial lower-voice text in Gloria, Credo and Proper settings also prompts a question of liturgical continuity and propriety. With a small ensemble of singers performing the Mass Ordinary and some singers in that ensemble only singing the Latin equivalents of ‘accept our prayer’ or ‘...our sins...’ then would such a thing be regarded as wrong? Possibly not, because as a celebrant and his assistants *say* Mass all the text is spoken by them as the prayer rises heavenwards. This argument is perhaps reinforced by part of Leon Villard’s discussion of text underlay.

”...To the composers and singers, however, the advent of polyphony brought the means of a new expression to the glory of God which gave them delight and satisfaction in the worship experience. It was not of concern to them that the lay worshippers could not follow every word, and it was of little consequence to the worshippers, who felt as far removed from the musical offering as from the ritual of the priest, since they did not need to understand either to benefit from it. It seems logical that the polyphonic treatment of the music might foster a laxity in regard to the exact underlay of the text. It should be emphasised, however, that the laxity concerned the details of fitting syllables to notes, and this should not be interpreted as a disregard for the sacred texts themselves”<sup>284</sup>

Also, might there be places in mid-century works where the precise placing of text in lower voices is less important than at other internal points? There well might be such places, since in a duet taken by two soloists the latter would presumably be well trained enough to perform such a section without the prop of full lower-voice texting. Additionally (and since there was probably no universal pitch standard in the fifteenth century) where might downward transposition of part-music alter the nature and necessary skills of an ensemble? We know that Binchois composed a certain amount of reasonably easy service music for low voices, and possibly such pieces served as travelling chapel music when the Duke of Burgundy or similar magnates were on their travels or encamped outdoors. The pitch-standard question is also relevant regarding the presence of polyphony in convents.<sup>285</sup> Likewise, questions about who performed music are also relevant regarding the known existence of organists in fifteenth century musical centres. Much fifteenth century keyboard music has vanished, including the entire outputs of Abyngdon and Squarcialupi. But some known fifteenth century composers were probably keyboard-literate.<sup>286</sup> Others might have written Superius paraphrase chant settings in a facile manner which may have originated in workings on a keyboard.<sup>287</sup> There is also the question of how valued the Tenors and Contras were who sang lower parts. It appears that there was a specific skill to each type of voice. Tinctoris and other writers mention some otherwise now hardly known names in that respect, either for being particularly proficient in their voice range or for having a career responsibility for being a ‘Tenor’

<sup>282</sup> The Credo with its ornamented version is published in *PMFC* vol. 13 p. 118. The embellishments to Zacara’s Superius part are suspiciously like some of the florid material in Matteo’s songs in *Moda*.

<sup>283</sup> See Lockwood, L., *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505* (Oxford, 1984) pp. 47 and 95-97. Ferrara documents list Niccolo as a singer and ‘pulsator’ (instrumentalist) rather than a chapel member, active in the years 1436 to 1466. He may have been one of those performers who crossed between the worlds of improvisatory tradition and written polyphony.

<sup>284</sup> Villard, *op. cit.* p. 9.

<sup>285</sup> The chained Dominican Convent in Basel appears to have been the long-term owner of at least two musical fragments kept in that city. Whether these or similar fourteenth- and fifteenth- century fragments originated as convent music books is something that I suspect has not been fully investigated.

<sup>286</sup> The renowned organist Conrad Paumann is known as the composer of a single song (*Wiplich figur* in *Schedel*) and the composer Philippe Basiron - when a choirboy at Bourges - is known to have had a clavichord (a ‘manicordium’) purchased for him. This is most unlikely to have been the monochord used for intervallic purposes. Further, see Higgins, P. ‘Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers. The Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges’ in *ActaM* 62 (1990) pp. 1-28.

<sup>287</sup> In this connection some of the simpler three-part and duple meter chant settings in *91* may prove relevant. For suitable examples see the group of antiphon settings in the *91* edition, nos 52-55.

as well as a music teacher.<sup>288</sup> Additionally the comment regarding Ockeghem having a good low voice is well known.

I might appear to have cast rather a wide net here, but all of these things impinge upon how sacred music and how its text might have been handled. We might also ask here how the situation regarding the known sparseness of lower-voice text affected the way in which a composer's music was used. Certainly a conscientious writer of music would have added text cues at syllabic or imitative points for lower voices, though whether somebody like Busnois or Ockeghem was normally more thorough than that in a four-voice or denser texture is open to question. Ockeghem's well known *Missa Sine nomine* a 5 contains syllabic passages and so does his equally well known *Intemerata*. Perhaps these well worked textures are the exception to the rule. The copies of Busnois's *Anthoni usque limina*, *Regina celi* I and II and *Victime pascali* are more or less fully texted in *Br 5557*, but I take serious issue with some of the word and syllable placement on these pages.<sup>289</sup> Maybe the composer of new music did not suffer disappointment in musical results so often as an importer of part-music who was not its composer. I argue this because of my previous points about music tending to lose essential features when it travelled. In this connection, it seems odd that not many examples survive of prestigious manuscripts which have been textually or notationally annotated. Perhaps institutions did not like mere singers (who were sometimes very temporary employees) altering their often valuable choirbooks. Nevertheless I have found a few examples. Two works in *Lucca* have lower-voice text entered in hands that look different to the larger Gothic text hand of the main copyist.<sup>290</sup> Also one black-notation *Benedicamus* trope for two voices in *Mu 3232a* has had as void-notation *Contra* entered by a hand very different from that of the original music.<sup>291</sup>

Likewise 89 contains the short four-part piece *O gloriosa et laudabilis*, whose text is in a different ink colour to the music and which may be merely a contrafactum.<sup>292</sup> There is also the question of supporting-part texting gratuitously entered by a scribe merely because it looks decorative but is of little help to singers in performance conditions. In my dealings with text in the manuscript *SP B80* I have sometimes thought that some underlay is entered so casually that the worth of its presence is questionable. These and all the other questions here also prompt a bigger question. What is the actual worth of fully realised editorial text underlay? My main answer here is that it helps to show readers what a fully vocal version of a certain work might have looked like if all parts were sung with words. It can also show how well a composer handled imitation or pseudo-imitation, how a piece might have looked with all the liturgical additions necessary for proper performance, and - in a good edition - it extends and expands the life of the music. By way of example, the sixth and secular-repertoire volume of Heinrich Besseler's *Dufay Opera Omnia* contains many editorial decisions which are now thought to be wrong or are out of date, but the music is so well edited in terms of text and accidentals that its use has widened the experience of Dufay's music like no other book before it. I extend the same

<sup>288</sup> See Fallows, *op. cit.* p. 115, and Igoe, J., *Performance Practices in the Polyphonic Mass of the Early Fifteenth Century* (Ph. D. dissertation, North Carolina University, Chapel Hill, 1971) pp. 75-87.

<sup>289</sup> 'Taking serious issue' here has resulted in my making neat private handcopies of these pieces in which the chant-based, stress-based and imitative facets of the writing are reflected in the editorial underlay more than the manuscript's actual text positioning. I have also done the same with other Busnois motets, Ockeghem motets, similar anonymous pieces and Magnificats, and also Tinctoris's two three-voice Masses. I am willing to share these handcopies with any interested parties.

<sup>290</sup> *Lucca* ff. 6r/7r/8r, where the lower voices in the Credo of Tik's *Missa Sine nomine* are given additional text in *Italic* script. Also, ff. 37.1v-37.2r, where four lower voices in the Credo from the *Missa Sancta Maria* have extra text and incipits in a Gothic hand which may not be that of the original copyist. For these instances see Strohm, R. (ed), *The Lucca Choirbook* (facsimile edition, University of Chicago Press, 2008).

<sup>291</sup> See Rumbold, I., Wright P. and Staehelin, M. (eds), *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram* (facsimile edition and commentary, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 2006) vol. 1, ff. 74v-75r.

<sup>292</sup> See *D89* p. 1642 and the commentary on p. 1819.

admiration to the Sandon and Marocco 1977 *Oxford Anthology of Medieval Music*, in which full text is realised as often as seems possible in the varied repertory presented.

A fully texted version of a fifteenth century sacred piece also tends to remove it from the world of improvisation which the twentieth century fell so seriously and maybe naively in love with, from various forms of jazz to Ravi Shankar. Earlier scholars also attributed many fantastic qualities to fifteenth century singers, including the ability to perform complexly using ‘super librum’ techniques, and likewise the ability to improvise over chant in formulaic descant or faburden fashion far beyond the basic tenets of these practices.<sup>293</sup> We now know such virtuoso feats to have been unlikely or at least rare.<sup>294</sup> Seeing something like a Brassart Introit setting or a Dufay Gloria on the page of a modern edition and knowing that I need add nothing to sing in its performance is therefore something of a thrill, because in a thorough edition I know that everything which I see in front of me has been well researched and thought out, and all options considered. I am not from the world of instrumental improvisation, and the things that I admire in music are the technical elements: the workings of structured motets and imitative counterpoint in up to six parts. There are of course musical worlds other than mine, but the editor who has tried to read and input everything relevant into the work that he presents becomes the medium by which the music that is his responsibility lives on.

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### 13. OTHER STUDIES OF TEXTING

The remainder of this study is largely devoted to what I hope is a non-prejudicial account of other writings on fifteenth century texting, so that readers may gain a balanced view of the general field of study. I use the term non-prejudicial here for a very good reason, namely that all of the writers discussed in the following pages have written in a learned fashion even though some of them were working in an era where instrumental participation in sacred polyphony was more or less taken for granted. Where I offer criticism in the following pages, it is only made where I see serious shortcomings in the approaches being described.<sup>295</sup> I have sometimes thought that this section might precede the others here in the hope that readers might see how the study of texting has developed within our own times, but the content described below varies quite widely in approach and subject matter, and consequently is probably seen in its best light in the place chosen here.

<sup>293</sup> Margaret Bent’s ‘*Resfacta and Cantare super librum*’ in Judd, C. (ed), *Music Theory and the Renaissance* (Routledge, 2013) pp. 371-391 convincingly sets out the conditions and nature of part-adding in much *cantus super librum* as being successive rather than spontaneous, and shows that Tinctoris’s writings on the subject are not as authoritative as once thought. Likewise, the examples of written-out *Giustiniane* in Petrucci’s sixth Frottola book seem like a far cry from improvisation. They are fully written out examples of what must have been a more improvisatory tradition in which melismatic and partwriting elements were perhaps not so controlled or solid as in the written-out versions. Further see Rubsamen, W. ‘The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century’ in *ActaM* 29 (1957) pp. 172-184, which gives one of Petrucci’s written-out models (*Aime sospiri*) with its unembellished prototype piece from *EscB*. There were doubtlessly many forms of improvisation in our period, both vocal and instrumental. All that I wish to do here is to dispense with the least believable amongst them.

<sup>294</sup> Further, see Kenney, S., *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise* (Yale, 1964) pp. 91-122 (a chapter on the theory of Descant) plus Trowell, B., ‘Faburden and Fauxbourdon’ in *Musica Disciplina* 13 (1959) pp. 54-78. Also see Bent, M., ‘The Definition of Simple Polyphony’ in Cesare, C. and Petrobelli, P. (eds), *Le Polifonie Primitiva in Friuli e in Europa* (Rome, 1980) pp. 33-42 and Sanders, E. and Lefferts, P., article ‘Discant II: English Discant’ in *The New Grove* (2001).

<sup>295</sup> I make no attempt at exhaustive coverage here, I restrict my survey to English-language studies, and omit two contributions because they cover sixteenth century material or are directed at secular music, namely Don Harrán’s article ‘How to “Lay” the “Lay”: New Thoughts on Text Underlay’ in *Musica Disciplina* 51 (1997) pp. 231-262, and Leeman Perkin’s ‘Towards a Rational Approach to Text Placement in the Secular Music of Dufay’s Time’ in Atlas, W. (ed), *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7 1974* (Brooklyn, New York, 1976) pp. 102-114.

I begin with Leon Villard's 1960 Ph. D. dissertation *Text underlay in the Mass Ordinary of Dufay and some of his contemporaries*. This study (roughly 180 pages in length) is of considerable value despite its age because it sets out its textual parameters clearly (just the Mass Ordinary text) and the manuscripts used and surveyed are *Q15*, *Ao* and *Ox 213*. Other sources are invoked (*ModA*, *ModB*, *ModC* and some of the Verona collection) but the selected primary sources exclude many smaller manuscripts made during Dufay's lifetime and also the Trent collection. I am uneasy about general assumptions being made from the relatively narrow band of sources, all of which are linked to Italy.

After an introduction on modern views of medieval texting and a survey of sixteenth century theoretical writings Villard proceeds to describe factors affecting text underlay (in Chapter 3) and gives guiding principles for achieving confident texting (Chapters 4-6). Villard recognises that text-first copying method existed and points to *ModC* as a manuscript where there is evidence for this. However this is not a source that I would take as my first choice to demonstrate the text-first method. He also recognises the likely presence of incremental text-then-notation copying in *Ox 213*. Having defined a 'juxtasyllabic style' (p. 38) he differentiates this from homophony (which he calls 'conductus style') but suggests that the juxtasyllabic style might have developed from hocket passages (p. 39). This I also contest.

In the process of setting out terminology for the discussion of text underlay Villard uses the terms 'perfection' for units where I would use the word 'measure' for perfect mensurations, and the term 'quad' for breve units in duple mensuration. He also uses the term 'syncope' to identify rhythmically displaced notational groups. Regarding the role of instruments for melismata in otherwise vocal ensembles, he says "...if textless passages were meant for instruments, perhaps the singer and the player were one person" (p. 46).

Villard recognises that rests can split text phrases and also that same-pitch repeated notes can occur in the middle of upper-part phrases (p. 50). He also remarks on repeated vowels indicating extended melismata as they are used in *P 568* and *ModA*, and considers that underlaying a part as follows for a single extended syllable (P a a a tris) would be practical (p. 53). On the same page he also says that there is little justification for word repetition in editorial underlay. I refer readers to section 2c part 10 for my own survey of word repetition problems. On page 55 Villard discusses ligatures, and argues that "The notes of a ligature should always be sung to a single syllable" but admits to ligature breaks sometimes being unavoidable. He also recognises the importance of same-pitch repeated notes in the Superius parts of early Dufay works where only a single syllable is given for the number of notes concerned (p. 58).

Now I come to what is perhaps the oddest feature of this study. Villard considers that a *punctus divisionis* in parts with perfect prolation can have a textual role, namely that the note preceding the dot and the note following receive one syllable, while the note *after* the post-dotted note receives a syllable rather than the note immediately following the dot. I reproduce Villard's example below, firstly showing his idea of 'correct' texting here followed by what he regards as incorrect or less correct.

87. Example from Villard, *op. cit.* p. 62 for notes separated by a *punctus divisionis*;

A - gnus    A - gnus  
 ✓                    x

I quote the author here to further clarify what he intended. "When the *punctus additionis* appears in the first form, with the related note immediately following the dotted note, the two notes are usually treated

as a unit which receives one syllable. There are numerous instances in the manuscripts where the scribe has made this clear by the way he spaces the notes.”

Villard permits exceptions to this guideline in syllabic passages and passages of melismata, but he does not cite any specific instances and I might remind readers here that his selected group of main sources for study are only *Q15*, *Ao* and *Ox 213*. I have looked in *Q15* for examples which are similar to the first passage in Example 87 above, but generally I find the text hand(s) in *Q15*'s upper parts to be fairly compressed and therefore this is an inhibiting factor in proving Example 87 part 1 to be convincing. Additionally in much of *Ao* the text hand tends to be large in comparison with the notation copied, so again it is unclear where relevant *punctus divisionis* examples might be found as proof. With *Ox 213* there are many less Mass Ordinary movements than in the other two sources and again I find that fairly compressed script prevents me from making a firm decision about what Villard argued. Therefore - unless I am not looking hard enough or thoroughly enough - I cast doubt upon his theory regarding the *punctus divisionis* as a widespread texting indicator.<sup>296</sup> There are two more good reasons for doubt here too. Firstly because underlying Superius text according to Example 87 part 1 gives the music and text the rhythm of coloration passages (i.e. 3/4 rhythms in what is modern 6/8) where there is no call for such rhythmic modification in the music. As I have already argued with Example 71, syllables in dotted-C mensuration tend to sound comfortable if placed on strong stresses in the mensuration concerned. Secondly, a text-first copyist or a scribe doing incremental text-then-music work would normally have to space his text to cater for notes, rests, and maybe a few accidentals. If Villard's theory here was correct then a copyist might have to calculate text and notation space for notes, rests and also relevant puncti. I consider that to be impractical.

In defence of Villard's more basic principles, he admits prolation-group priority in grouping melismatic minims in dotted-O and dotted-C mensurations (p. 66), but recommends the following for syncope figures. In triple rhythm passages in O, he likes to underlay sbr m sbr m syncopations with syllables on the first and second notes whereas many of us would naturally choose the first and third. In any case I see fixed assumptions about such a widespread rhythmic device as unnecessary. The way that such simple syncopations behave perhaps often depends on their context within greater- or lesser-rhythm combinations in voice parts considered together. He also admits the relevance of 'perfections' (i.e. measures) as relevant for texting purposes with single words that take up entire musical phrases. Likewise it is significant here that he takes several pages to determine the best positioning of the word 'voluntatis' in one piece, much as I did more briefly in dealing with the same word in the Pullois Gloria Superius in Example 73. Villard also goes into great detail - in general terms - in discussing where penultimate syllables might belong (pp. 92-97) and also how to treat 'e-ley-son' and 'e-le-y-son' in Kyrie settings (p. 124). It pleases me to see that I am not the only person to be conscientious about such things.

Likewise, Villard's study also goes into detail regarding the effect of imitative technique on musical textures and coins the convenient term 'quasi imitative style' to describe the way in which fifteenth century voice parts imitate each other for a few measures and then often go their separate ways (p. 112). Using a Franchois Gloria in *Ao* with strongly imitative elements (ff. 90v-92r) he also demonstrates that phrases can become imitative at their end points (p. 113). On pp. 114-119 he gives an extensive discussion of a Binchois three-part Gloria with two equal upper voices to demonstrate text treatment in various types of imitation and pseudo-imitation (given in an appendix on pp. 165-169) and the remainder of his thesis is largely devoted to texting and extended melismata in Kyrie settings.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>296</sup> To be completely fair, I see two likely examples of what Villard suggests in a particularly clearly copied Superius of a *Hec dies* setting in *Q15* (no. 190) at the start of the polyphony ('quam fecit') and also at 'in secu-' in the same part on the fifth stave down.

<sup>297</sup> The Binchois Gloria is also published in Kaye, *op. cit.* p. 93.

To summarise, this study would equip somebody very well in learning how to underlay text in Mass Ordinary music of the 1410-1440 period, perhaps with the exceptions of the fairly inflexible ligature rule and the argument concerning the *punctis divisionis*. Many ligatures in the early fifteenth century music presented in Reaney, *EFCM* volumes 1 and 2 are relevant for textual purposes. But anybody looking at the English pieces in *Ao* and *Q15* would surely start to question whether absolutely all ligatures are functional and authorial in terms of being single syllable carriers, and might also question some of Villard's arguments about fixed or mostly fixed patterns for melodic syncopes. In the context of his time (and I say that because this dissertation is now over sixty years old) this author did a thorough job with the sources that he used, and also asked some very pertinent questions.

James Igoe's 169-page 1971 dissertation *Performance Practices in the Polyphonic Mass of the Early Fifteenth Century* casts a wider net than the previous study.<sup>298</sup> It benefited from the great deal from other studies of polyphony and music theory published in the previous decade, but devotes most of its length to likely ensembles for sacred music rather than how those ensembles sang musical text. Igoe directs his attention on text to Mass Ordinaries only, and for discussing the disposition of text he uses exactly the same sources as Villard (*Q15*, *Ao* and *Ox 213*) in which he detects "...endless permutations of text inclusions and omissions." (p. 72).

Igoe's introduction parts 1 and 2 tackle many old preconceptions about the use of instruments in fifteenth century part-music, and part 3 (pp. 12-20) deals with terminology for 'discantare', 'discantus' and similar words in documentary sources. His chapter 1 discussion on use of instruments in services (pp. 21-32) is a revelation since it gives several hitherto little-known accounts clearly indicating that such things happened - although the readings are more or less never clear enough to specify that polyphony was involved. Igoe cites the horror of a Russian monk at the Council of Florence in 1438, who reported that "...this beating of tambourines, puffing on trumpets, flailing the organ, this waving of hands, and dancing in imitation of the devil" was going on (p. 24). He also records the disapproval of the bishop of Florence in 1450 that secular music was creeping into divine service (p. 25). In Mannetti's description of the coronation of Pope Eugenius IV in Florence (1436) it is recorded that 'many instruments played in wonderful harmony' (p. 27) and there is also a description of singers and instrumentalists in the Duke of Savoy's chapel (p. 29).

His second chapter (on the role of organs) gives an example of alternatim performance being documented (p. 33, though again it is not clear if vocal polyphony is involved) and also what is almost definitely an account of polyphony with four specialist singers in a Mass sung at s'Hertogenbosch in 1451 plus an organ (p. 51). Likewise his chapter 3 on the role of choirboys illuminates their often poor domestic conditions but gives references to show that boys 'memorise motets' (p. 59, from around 1350) and that three of them "sang the upper part of the superius or discant" in the court chapel of Louis, Duke of Guyenne who died in 1415 (p. 60). For those unfamiliar with Louis, he was the Dauphin before his brother Charles who later became Charles VII.

Igoe also gives a chapter on 'musical excellence' which describes the typical duties of a master of the children or succentor in full (p. 67) and he also describes the activities of many who sang polyphony as a wandering elite who offered their services where they were best paid (pp. 70-71). He also statistically calculates the permutations of text or no text in different sections and parts of three-voice pieces, and his sixth chapter gives much valuable information on the names, locations and activities of 'Tenorista' singers (pp. 75 onwards). He cites an instance of three Superius-Contra-Tenor singers in Udine in 1430 (pp. 76-77) and also a four-part vocal group in Turin with a bass in 1478 (p. 78).

Igoe also provides information from Paulus Paulirinus of Prague, who said that 'facetum' is a type of three-part song with different text in each part (p. 80). This probably refers to the black-notation

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<sup>298</sup> North Carolina University, Chapel Hill, 1971.



polytextual pieces found in sources like *Spec*, some of which are known to be the work of Petrus Wilhelmi and contain acrostics of his name. Igoe also discusses ‘trumpetum’ as a vocal technique and method of voice composition, and finds a reference for it in a secondary account of a document from Wrocław (p. 82). Much of the information in this study derives from earlier published work by Pirro, Coussemaker and others but this is a study that all interested parties should have on their bookshelf since it brings so many disparate sources and accounts of performances and ensembles together.

In contrast to both previous studies Gilbert Reaney’s short article ‘Text underlay in early fifteenth century musical manuscripts’ serves as something of a colophon to his copious editing work on *Ox 213* and the sources that are historically close to it.<sup>299</sup> I will not reference Reaney’s scores of pieces cited in the following paragraphs since all are easily accessible in volumes 1-3 of his series *Early Fifteenth Century Music*. He commences discussion by asking why Contra and Tenor parts often have no text, and observes that one piece which he edited (Briquet’s two-voice *Ma seul amour*) has lower-voice text in one source but not in a second. He also adds “...yet this piece has clearly instrumental interludes” (p. 246).

Reaney also discusses texting inconsistencies in the sources for Grossin’s near-homophonic motet *Imera dat hodierno*, and invokes Rezon’s setting of *Salve Regina* as a likely work where full Tenor text can be added by splitting some note values in that part. Likewise he suggests that Cesaris’s Rondeau *A l’aventure va Gauvain* had at least partial lower-voice text because it contains internal imitation, and also that the Tenor of Zacara’s *Patrem Scabroso* looks like a part that once had full text despite the text in the manuscript concerned being incomplete.

He also discusses minor misalignment of text, giving the sensible suggestion that such things would not have worried experienced singers of fifteenth century supporting parts. My own discussion of the Zwettl fragment and some textual differences between sources (illustrated in Example 65) suggest the same. Additionally, he comments on the number of works in the Mass Ordinary volume of Besseler’s *Dufay Opera Omnia* (volume 4) which seem to call for at least some lower-voice texting. In the author’s own words, this article was written to stimulate discussion of texting in the sizeable body of music which he published, and there are certainly works in that series which prompt questions about texting and performance practice. But many of them are secular and therefore slightly outside the scope of this study.<sup>300</sup>

Alejandro Planchart’s article ‘Parts with words and without words: the evidence for multiple text in fifteenth-century Masses’ deals largely with the possible presence of texts in polyphony which are additional to the Mass Ordinary.<sup>301</sup> Amongst the important points raised here are that some skilled musicians are known to have owned and played instruments, and that these can occasionally be distinguished from minstrels who were not (or probably not) notationally literate. Part of the Dufay Credo discussed in section 3 part 10 is given to demonstrate the presence of partial lower-voice text in three-voice texture. Planchart’s discussion of unusual texts and scorings encompasses the way in which parts of Dufay’s *Missa Sancti Jacobi* have their trope texts confused in the Trent readings, and also the way in which divisi parts in Dufay’s *Sanctus Papale* caused the Trent 92 scribe to miscopy this piece. He gives significant examples of chant-based Mass Tenors (such as that for the *Missa Fuit homo* in 88 and other sources) and gives a list of Ordinaries with chant-derived Tenors where at least a small percentage of these may have used their parent texts in the cantus firmus parts concerned. He also cites

<sup>299</sup> In Reese, G. (ed). *Essays in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday* (Pittsburgh, 1969) pp. 245-251.

<sup>300</sup> Amongst works in *EFCM* vols 1-3 which leave me wondering about texting are Lebertoul’s *O mortalis homo* (which gives successive stanzas of a Latin Ballade text in descending voices) and also the very short but complex Rondeau *Amans amés secretement* by Cordier. Despite its complexity the latter can easily be sung with text in all voices, and I heard it performed like this by the well-known group Gothic Voices in summer 1980.

<sup>301</sup> In Boorman, S. (ed), *Studies in the performance of late medieval music* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 227-252.

the Cornágo Mass in 88 as one of those in which borrowed material seems to keep at least some of its original configuration, but in this Mass the southern-dialect Italian cantus firmus text is not liturgical.

Albert Munn's 1991 thesis *Medieval and Renaissance Prescriptions Regarding Text Underlay and their Application to Music of the Fifteenth Century* (over 480 pages) is far more a study of theory and rules than their practical application.<sup>302</sup> This is a very well-planned study which begins by asking familiar questions about absence of musical text, such as how we might solve problems with the latter in fifteenth century sources, and how singers might have been trained to deal with textual problems. Importantly, on pp. 5-6 of his introductory chapter he writes as follows.

...”It is more likely that singers were able to cope with the problems of placing missing text through the utilization of procedures and customs which they had been taught since childhood. As a result of experience, familiarity with local scribal custom (perhaps benefitting from direct supervision by the composer), and specialized instruction at the hands of professional choirmasters in the techniques of text placement, singers may have been able to develop a more or less spontaneous "sixth sense" which enabled them to function with acceptable facility even on first reading. In cases of partially missing (or entirely missing) text, singers already intimately familiar with the text at hand, and intimately familiar with the chant melody on which a composition was based, may not have found missing text the paralyzing element we perceive it to be for ourselves. The fact that fifteenth century writers provided so little specific evidence also suggests that a variety of texting solutions was not only possible but acceptable, and would help explain the apparent freedom of practice...”

Munn's second chapter draws together a huge quantity of cultural history. Medieval and Renaissance writings on rhythm, meter, rhetoric, scholastic education, philosophy, Boethius and musical intervals, Augustine, the humanists, Gafforio's famous *Practica Musicae* title page which draws on material from Pythagoras, Platonism and Neoplatonism, Aristotle, treatises on music, monastic collectors, art, architecture and geometry, and the relationship between music and text as it seems to have developed in thirteenth and fourteenth century writings. Near the start of his Chapter 3 (on external factors affecting text underlay) he says that "...no phenomenon occurs in a vacuum" (p. 106) and discusses the types of unsatisfactory visual situations that trained singers might have had to tolerate. From p. 112 onwards he discusses the sixteenth century concept of *musica reservata* and its word-to-note relationship (which is quite different from madrigalism in setting musical text). Munn also gives a potted history of accent in Latin (in terms of 'periods' as far as can be discerned) and emphasises the value of the chant tradition in which medieval singers were trained.

Munn's fourth chapter (on the habits and variances of copyists and printers) acknowledges "the lack of autograph scores *per se* for music of the fifteenth century" (p. 136) and discusses the way in which the transferring of tablet-sketch to paper or parchment medium might have happened. He cites part of *SP B80* as containing revisions, discusses text-first copying, and mentions two English secular sources (*Douce 381* and *Camb 5943*) as likely instances of notation-first copying method. He also claims that much of the texting in *Chigi* for the Ockeghem Missa *Ecce ancilla* is painstaking and reminds us that much of the cantus firmus text for this Mass is written in red as are other parent texts in this manuscript's cantus firmus voices. No musical examples accompany these citations, and he also cites some of the same pieces as Reaney (by Briquet, Rezon and Zacara) for the same reasons concerning their differences in - or lack of - texting. Some of his discussion in this chapter is beyond our territory as he goes into detail regarding certain Obrecht Masses, and he cites Planchart's 'Parts with words' article in describing the reasons why the 92 copy of Dufay's Sanctus *Papale* is textually confused. He acknowledges that ligatures in polyphony can be broken and gives examples to support this (p. 155) citing the chansonnier *Dijon 517* and also 88 as examples of sources respectively containing crowded text and poor texting. In the course of discussing solmisation syllables he mentions Matteo da Perugia's canon *Andray soulet*

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<sup>302</sup> Ph. D. dissertation, Oklahoma University (Norman), 1991.

and he also cites part of the Bourgeois troped Gloria in 87 as an example of sectional pseudo-score. Thereafter much of his discussion passes out of our period, being concerned with sixteenth century repertory. But he does present Zarlino's rules for texting and also a list of fifteen criteria which help us to assess how reliable a music copyist might be.

Chapter 5 ('Extant instruction regarding text underlay') gives an abbreviated chronological history of thought and writing on the word-and-tone process from Plato, then to the *Micrologus*, then to theorists on chants, Anonymous IV, and through to sixteenth century writers ending with Sethus Calvisius (1592). He also discusses Antonius de Leno's treatise (pp. 224-231) and Lanfranco's 1533 account of texting (pp. 233-243) and then later writers on the same subject like Vicentino and Hermann Finck, Kaspar Stocker and Thomas Morley. But it is with Munn's chapter 6 ('Application of the evidence to fifteenth-century music') that we see method beginning to arise from documentation. He takes two reasonably well-known hymn tunes from the Anglican service, gives their texts and then their melodies, and then presents a second set of examples - with the same music but with the texting reduced to incipits for each text line. The conclusion is naturally that anybody who knew the text(s) would be able to sing the music satisfactorily from these abbreviated copies.

Practical application of many of the rules and precepts cited in this study is then put to just one piece (the Kyrie from the famous *Missa Caput*) in the following way. A summary of the most sensible rules given by each authority precedes the actual texting of each of the individual four parts. Each part of the piece is then given in two separate examples, in the first of which are notes highlighted because they cannot accept single syllables according to the preceding summary of rules. In the second set of examples for each part, notes are highlighted which *can* accept syllables according to those rules, and these examples are followed by percentage calculations to illustrate how many notes are free to receive a syllable. The answer here is that quite a lot of notes remain eligible. The whole question of how the *Deus creator* trope might fit this Kyrie is explored as fully as possible, since there are clearly two ways of doing this according to different transmissions of the piece in English and continental sources.<sup>303</sup> Finally the parts are texted according to a method which absorbs all of these previous decisions made by either exclusion or inclusion of syllabic possibilities. The whole process takes up over a hundred sides of this study (pp. 316-442). It is not for me to judge the significance of this experiment nor to speculate how it might be furthered. Maybe programming a neural network with the necessary exclusion and inclusion features for various notes in a single piece might be a suitable future direction. I only make two comments on the outstanding methodology here. Firstly they result in a final version of this troped Kyrie where vertical considerations seem to take second place to melodic and rhythmic moves in each voice, and secondly the result does not seem to allow for random application of text to well-known melodic clichés in the upper voices that might be contrary to the preceding rules. Otherwise I would not want to be without this study because of its assembly of theoretical and paramusical literature, but I remind readers that the main purpose of its study is *Prescriptions Regarding Text Underlay* as its title says.

Honey Meconi's short article 'Is underlay necessary?' article evokes the extensive literature on texting and gives a set of twelve rules most frequently cited by the theorists for texting and good singing.<sup>304</sup> She adds that such rules only work 'up to a point' in fifteenth century music and also mentions the existence of likely musical autographs in separate instances by Pietrequin and Isaac, with the latter being in *Berlin 40021*.<sup>305</sup> Importantly on p. 287 she writes "...We should not adopt without question

<sup>303</sup> See *D89* pp. 1095, 1105 and 1408-1410 for my own two versions of this Kyrie and how the trope fits the music in each case.

<sup>304</sup> In Knighton, T. and Fallows, D. (eds), *The Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Dent, London, 1992) pp. 284-291.

<sup>305</sup> Regarding autographs in *Berlin 40021* see the article by David Burn in <https://musical-life.net/kapitel/ysaac-de-manu-sua>, and also Just, M., ' "Ysaac de manu sua" ' in Reichert, G. and Just, M. (eds), *Gesellschaft Für*

the idea that texting that conforms to humanistic ideas about declamation is somehow better or more musical”, and she gives a list of twelve variables concerning how a twentieth century performer might perform a piece from an earlier period. The article also mentions the singing of solmisation syllables and its relationship to the 200-year-old shape-note or ‘Sacred harp’ method of singing in America where signs similar to solmisation syllables apply to different pitches. The question of whether underlay was flexible or not is also posed here; was the written texting on the page occasionally merely a rough indicator of how the music concerned was meant to be tackled? This and her p. 287 statement are weighty matters which deserve further consideration ...if a significant amount of material could be isolated that furthers discussion.

Jonathan King’s 25-page 1999 article ‘Texting Practices in Manuscript Sources of Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphony’ is a derivative from his 1996 dissertation.<sup>306</sup> The article opens with a statement that I thoroughly agree with (“The majority of surviving fifteenth-century polyphonic music is vocal”) and otherwise begins by citing fifteenth century sources which contain texting that looks explicit, namely *ModB* and *Q15*. Regarding variant readings, he asks how we might know which reading is correct (or rather - as I would say - more correct). He also reproduces the early treatise first documented by Harrán (and paraphrased in my section 2a here) in its entirety, giving a translation from the original Italian plus photographs of examples from the original. There follows an informed commentary on the rules given but he argues that the mensurations of the musical examples are uncertain.

King then gives a photograph of the start of the Tenor part from the verse of the famous ‘Agincourt carol’ in *Selden B26*, showing that the texting at the beginning of this part leaves no doubt for what was textually intended and is therefore an example of completely prescriptive texting. He also covers some ground that I have also covered regarding the presence of guide-lines in reliable fourteenth and fifteenth century sources to clarify texting. Additionally he quotes Lawrence Earp in saying that “..shortly before 1450...copyists on the continent finally gave up even the pretence of trying to show the correlation of word and music, and began to copy manuscripts music first, a much easier working method.”<sup>307</sup> King asks why scribes might have abandoned text-first copying, and argues that incremental text-then-music copying was probably the best method of transmitting music along with a similar situation where a text scribe and a notation scribe worked closely together. He gives *Old Hall* f. 32v (the Superius of a Gloria by Cooke) as a probable example of text and music being neatly entered, with both probably done by a single person.

He then moves to *ModB*, which has a part-preserved and neatly copied thematic index of some of its contents where the first few notes of each Superius part are given with the corresponding opening text. King indicates that there are now just three leaves of a thematic index which seems to have consisted of ten. He notes that this leaves us a large amount of musical incipits which were copied twice by the same scribe: once in the thematic index and once in the main copy. It also seems likely that the index was finished before the main copying because it omits Dufay’s *Moribus et genere* and other later additions by the main copyist. Because all of the repertory was not strictly organised by its composers, it is at least likely that the gathering of material was still in process at the time when the index was being made.

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*Musikforschung. Bericht über den internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Kassel* (Kassel, 1963) pp. 112-114. The first two ‘de manu sua’ pieces in this manuscript are a Sequence *Sanctissime virginis* and a setting of *In Gottes namen*. The third (a Mass on *Una musque de Biscaye*) is not in Isaac’s hand. All three works were folded and sent as letters, and then incorporated later as start- and end-material when *Berlin 40021* was collated and bound. The paper on which this music was written dates from around 1500.

<sup>306</sup> For the article see *JRMA* 124 (1999) pp. 1-25. The Ph. D. dissertation title is *Texting in Early Fifteenth Century Sacred Polyphony* (Oxford University, 1996) which contains further detailed material that is very relevant to this survey.

<sup>307</sup> Earp, *op. cit.* p. 197.

In all index entries it seems that the music was copied before the text, and the scribe uses one of two alternatives as he deals with the text appropriate to each musical index incipit. He either gives the words without spacing of individual syllables (which is usual here for melismatic openings) or for pieces with syllabic-looking index entries he spaces the syllables accordingly. King then isolates fifteen of these index entries where the text placement in the main copy of each piece differs from its index incipit.

In seven of these fifteen index entries the scribe reproduces the full-copy texting and adds syllables at the end of each index incipit. In the other five index entries out of the fifteen previously isolated, there are melismatic entries which have further departures from the texting in the main copies. All of this data is well illustrated in tabular form and with relevant photographs of the parts of *ModB* concerned. In the process of enquiry as to why differences occur, King proposes the commonsense argument that there is no implicit claim for the index representing all of the music concerned exactly as it should be sung. This evidence naturally also begs questions about the authenticity of much of the main-copy underlay in *ModB*, although King does not pursue that line of investigation.

He also assembles a list of scribal habits drawn from his experience of *ModB* and the work of its main scribe. This list is as follows, and he notes the similarity of the points below to similar conclusions made by Gareth Curtis in his work on *Br 5557*.

1. The first syllable goes to the first note.
2. The last syllable usually goes to the cadential final note.
3. Where the rest is a semibreve rest or a rest of greater value, that rest generally does not interrupt a word.
4. Melodic peaks which coincide with the beginning of a breve perfection call for a change in syllable.

Further regarding the index entries, King adds that in twelve of the index entries (i.e. the five and the seven previously highlighted) the scribe adopts a mode of copying which owes as much to his understanding of the exemplar as to its actual physical appearance. That is a conclusion which I think few of us can disagree with.

The rest of this article is devoted to features of the early sources for Dufay's hymns (*ModB* and *Q15*). The chronologically late *CS 15* copy of Dufay's hymns contains much accretional material that is probably not Dufay's, such as extra fauxbourdon versions of single pieces and four-voice reworkings of settings originally using standard three-voice texture. The *ModB* and *Q15* readings for Dufay's hymns are all neatly copied and include chant as well as polyphonic verses, but some of their elements vary. These include text lines where syllables might be elided (as a Francophone or Italian speaker might do naturally) placement of odd syllables that occur in the middle of words, and situations where a mid-word rest might occur in multiple lines of underlay.

King gives five musical instances in diplomatic facsimile which illustrate that the *Q15* copies show a greater consistency with grammatical word groupings than the *ModB* copies. Also the way in which some text is copied in one or other of these sources seems to show differences of accent in the way that the lines were read, and this affects the placement of penultimate syllables in some instances. As with his index entries, the main *ModB* scribe is beginning to exert judgement in some of these copies that have small but clear differences from those in *Q15*. King concludes thus: "The compositional level of activity in texting can be approached only through an understanding of the scribal level; and the scribal level is the province of musicians who record sound-images of texted music based not only on their exemplar (and thus on earlier copies, going back eventually to the composer) but also on practical skill

in the application of words to melodies – a skill acquired through knowledge of the repertoires in performance.”<sup>308</sup>

Margaret Bent’s ‘Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15<sup>th</sup> Century: Evidence and Implications’ (27 pages) also deserves a good place in this account of texting studies, mostly because it shows sound directions in which to proceed like the previous study cited.<sup>309</sup> The subject-matter in Bent’s study is strongly concentrated on *Old Hall* and parts of *Q15*, two sources with which the author has spent much more time than other scholars. As such (and particularly with regard to *Old Hall*) it seems that detailed study of text habits in just one manuscript present a certain sort of historical account which - in the long run - will probably be of more use than general studies like mine. Here, I should remind readers of the words ‘with particular reference to the repertory of the Trent Codices’ in my title, and that these sources are peripheral compared with *Q15* and insular sources which clearly show musical activity related to culturally and geographically central developments of the conciliar period. I am, therefore, guilty of looking at matters by examining a musical repertory which is occasionally not central and is also sometimes derivative of main developments. But at the same time these sources need to be explored because otherwise the remnants of sacred polyphony sources around 1440-60 are relatively few. Perhaps only with Dufay’s lifetime in music and the Trent manuscripts do we see a continuous line of development in sacred music without many ‘submerged stepping stones’ caused by losses of central-source material.

Bent assesses the current knowledge of word-tone relationships in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in comparison with much better documented sixteenth century studies, and certainly asks all of the appropriate questions, some of which I paraphrase here. Which syllables of a text line should occupy metrically strong positions, and what results amongst these text decisions are the most satisfying or vocal? How do we handle upbeats? Is there a limit to the duration of a small note value that can carry its own syllable? Should word repetition be used when editing extended melismata? Should ligatures ever be broken? Should chant-carrying parts follow the text positioning of their parent melodies? Should we let underlay be broken up by rests, and should imitative passages be texted correspondingly? She also reminds us that there are - as yet - no consistent solutions for these matters in the period concerned.

The role of the composer and also the scribe is discussed in transmitting music, and also the situation where a scribe might sometimes have altered the way that he worked due to a change in personal taste. Meticulous working habits are argued for the main scribes of both *Old Hall* and *Q15*, plus mentions of individual guide-lines in *BU 2216* and *Kras* which clarify texting. An investigation of text-first and incremental text-then-music methods is followed by demonstration that the main *Old Hall* scribe will sometimes use a small space or a staff break to indicate precise texting, and demonstration is also given that the same scribe seems to have been meticulous about texting different combinations of minim groups in perfect mensurations. Spacing of minims in the manuscript is also illustrated to show that occasionally two minims are deliberately close together, indicating that they share one syllable. One musical example is given from *Old Hall* f. 21v, transcribed to show that the precise underlay indicated by manual spacing and minim spacing results in a phrase that admits a same-pitch repeated value (Bent’s Example 4).

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<sup>308</sup> There is a school of thought in modern writings on *ModB* that its main scribe may be the Benoit (maybe otherwise Benedictus Sirede, traceable from 1436 to 1455) who has three hymns attributed to him in the manuscript and is otherwise known by two further compositions given in Reaney, *EFM* vol. 3 (all pieces concerned are on pp. 97-105). That is - of course - presuming that there was only one ‘Benoit’ as the composer of these works. Further on the basic structure of *ModB* and its scribes see Lockwood, *op. cit.* pp. 53-56.

<sup>309</sup> For the Bent article’s most recent printing see *Counterpoint, Composition and Musica Ficta* (Routledge, London and New York, 2002) pp. 273-300.

The following discussion of stresses and minim motion illustrate the wide variety of textual permutations possible in fifteenth century upper voices, and also shows that received ideas about stresses in Latin do not always apply to the texting of such voices. This discussion also reminds us that words can be interrupted by rests in their midst, and that a chant-carrying voice need not follow the text underlay of its parent melody. Bent also gives general support to the idea that ligatures in untexted parts are usually not broken, which is sensible in view of the likelihood of wordless vocalisation being the likely medium for many such voices. She gives a suitable example of Contratenor text differences between Zacara's Gloria tro. *Laus et honor* in *Old Hall* and its other sources which I have already cited in fn. 1 of this study. The other sources add trope text. She adds that full texting in lower voices may be an Italianate habit in this period (a view that I agree with considering the previously cited re-texting of the Arnold de Lantins Mass cycle).

Word repetition and opportunities for it seem to be absent from *Old Hall*, but another well-known instance of repetition is mentioned with an interesting historical reference to some emotive riots regarding bad living conditions and oppression in 1409 in Milan, when its Visconti ruler forbade the words 'pace' and 'guerra' to be spoken and ordered the replacement of the word *pax* in the Mass with a suitable alternative. One of Ciconia's three-part Glorias opens with 'Et in terra' and then has 'pax' individually in each voice on different notes of a triad...twice...which the author cites with a suggestion for a possible connection with 1409 events. Bent also cites passages in the score sections of *Old Hall* to show that notational alignment in score-format settings is sometimes jagged, but that this is likely to be the result of the scribe requiring precision in how he presents text and music for the singers.

This discussion also uses Ciconia's *O felix templum* to illustrate that not all imitative or pseudo-imitative answers between twin upper parts need to be texted with syllabic exactitude, and also cites the practice of telescoping Mass text in *Old Hall* as an instance where musical considerations take precedence over any others. Oppositely, Bent also cites the completely syllabic Triplum parts of the *CG 543* motet *Patrie pacis* and the fragmentary *Old Hall* motet *Carbunculus ignitus* to demonstrate that textual meter, music and mathematics occasionally combine to produce admirable use of all three combined in artful song (as I have done in section 5). Her study also mentions that in other structured works textual considerations for twin upper voices might have come last of all, but again gives an opposite situation in Aley'n's famous motet *Sub Arcturo plebs* where the composer is likely to have written the Duplum text since it mentions musical procedures in the notation of the piece as it is being sung. A further example is given from Machaut's motet 18 to show that textual planning played a considerable role in how this piece was laid out.

For the rest of this précis I hope that I will be forgiven for moving through highly relevant material with brevity. Examples are drawn upon from Ciconia's motets to show various types of textual integration or anomaly which become apparent when the motet texts are closely studied. It is convincingly demonstrated that Ciconia's structured motet *Albane misse celitus* was musically conceived with the texts having irregularities, and that what would seem to be logical metrical patterns in those texts (at least to us) are not always musically observed. It is also suggested that in other Ciconia motets (*Ut te per omnes* and *Petrum Marcello Venetum*) that important names in the texts are given particular prominence. This line of investigating text-to-music combinations is carried over into a discussion of Dunstable motets, where it is mentioned that the text distribution in the Superius of his famous four-voice *Veni Sancte Spiritus* involves all five double stanzas of the identically named Sequence text. However, these stanzas are rather irregularly distributed over three musical sections (or rather color passages in the Tenor). Dunstable's *Gaude felix Anna* similarly disposes of texts in an asymmetrical way, but *Salve scema sanctitatis* is more regular and its two upper-voice texts (which are alike in meter and rhyme) are tidily distributed between three musical sections. Likewise *Preco preheminiencie* similarly has tidily distributed texts, but *Dies dignus decorari* has textual and musical proportions which do not match. The footnotes of this study also mention Cooke's structured motet *Cristi miles / Alma*

*proles* in *Old Hall* (no. 112) in which the two texts and the music's rhythmic scheme seem to be matched as closely as possible (see Bent's footnote 27).

From the detail in this short account it can be easily observed that a great deal of work and experience was involved in its assembly. Fortunately for the author and also Jonathan King the sources under close scrutiny here are relatively tidy and organised compared with some of the much messier copies in the Trent and Strahov manuscripts that I have dealt with, and with some fifteenth century sources it would probably not be possible to undertake the same sort of research as has been done here with *Old Hall*. In this connection two of the 'outsiders' in early fifteenth century repertory collection seem to be important. These are *Old Hall* and the presumably Cypriot-repertory *Turin J.II.9*, precisely because both have little to do with the conciliar melting-pot and multiple music transmissions and recopyings that help to make up *Q15*, *Bu 2216*, *Ao* and the earlier Trent manuscripts.

Finally amongst studies of texting, a recent 18-page article by Niccolò Ferrari which largely deals with Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* is a little outside our period but highly relevant in view of its discussion of large-scale cyclic Masses with organised Tenors.<sup>310</sup> Initially the author proposes the idea of an 'open edition' which might record texting variants in a single work's concordant readings, and he asks many of the same questions about transmission and scribes as I and other cited authors have in previous pages here. Likewise he discusses what he calls the 'Great Word-Note Shift' - a term which is not his own but which aptly describes the transition from text-first copying as I have done in section 5. For these reasons and because of the material cited below I believe this short study to be of considerable worth.

To demonstrate what can happen to happen to a well-known work when it is disseminated, Ferrari compares different copies of the Josquin Mass concerned in *CS 197* and other sources. *CS 197* is generally recognised to be authoritative, and there are concordances in the Modena and Jena libraries as well as the Petrucci print of this work. For those who do not know this Mass, its full sections mostly have augmented Tenors and these present the same sort of textual problems as I have discussed regarding the *Missa Quand ce viendra* in 89. Also in common with the *Quand ce viendra* Mass is the Josquin work's uncertainty of higher and lower Contra text use and distribution, and Ferrari makes it clear that *CS 197* has had two layers of textual emendation added following the original copying. The emendations only occur in the Gloria and Credo, and consist of textual cross-outs, text shifts, word repetitions and the splitting of whole words into syllables. These emendations are listed in tabular form in the article. Ferrari also cites other examples of textual emendation in examples from a Weerbecke Mass, but emphasises that *CS 197* gives the clearest example of such practices in its own era.

In the process of describing and analysing this material he also introduces the term 'uncomposed text underlay', suggesting by default that the original versions of such works may have had features such as middle-voice passages in full sections where few text cues were provided.<sup>311</sup> The singers would have been relied upon to fill in text in such places. I do not necessarily object to this view, but would prefer there to have been some textual intention in composers' minds when producing imitative texture. Additionally the survival of the *CS 197* emendations prompts big questions about what an edition of this Mass should present, with the possibility of an 'open edition' including all textual variants as previously mentioned. Ferrari also indicates that this Josquin Mass was recopied in the Sistine chapel during the sixteenth century, and that some scholars regard the new copy as a direct filiation of *CS 197*. This too prompts questions, and one of these questions is mine rather than Ferrari's. Did contemporary eyes regard the emended *CS 197* copy as something of a mess which needed tidying up and replacing?

<sup>310</sup> Ferrari, N., 'Texting Polyphonic Settings of the Ordinary of the Mass in the Late Fifteenth Century' in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 15 (2023) pp. 225-242.

<sup>311</sup> Further on such passages see Schmidt-Beste, T., *Textdeklamation in der Motette des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2003).



Additionally, how common might such revisions have been in copies of Masses with long-note Tenors and sparse Contratenor text cues?

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#### 14. CONCLUSIONS

I hope that I have more or less proved my opening arguments concerning the likelihood that there were no universal standards for setting text to music in the period concerned. While there might be consistencies in single manuscripts or an accumulation of perceived features in a certain body of work from part of our period, attempts to apply those features as standard for slightly older or newer music will probably result in difficulties. I also notice in my own musical work (and revisions of it) that it is possible to be a little too keen in recognising assumed features where they might not exist. One particular trap for slow-moving O mensuration sections is to assume a ‘greater measure’ pair of measures in a pre-cadential position where strong beats by simple triple measures might be more appropriate for texting. Likewise I have gone through several of my pages of edited Kyries and removed too much reliance on ‘e le y y y son’, as I now think that a very extended third ‘y’ syllable here can be artificial. Another trap (particularly for those with a background in sixteenth century polyphony) is to assume a series of triple nuances in duple mensuration for wordsetting (or a patch of ‘virtual triple rhythm’) where it is probable that such things are very rare. A sixteenth century madrigal or canzonet might have musical passages which work like this, but I regard such temporary triple rhythm as uncommon in mid fifteenth century repertory. Two likely instances are in Busnois’s *In hydraulis* and in the Credo of Barbingant’s *Missa Sine nomine*.<sup>312</sup> In contrast (as we have seen in section 2) duple rhythmic groupings within O-mensuration passages are much more common.

Memory no doubt played a more important part in polyphonic singing than it does nowadays. A choral conductor is lucky nowadays if all members of his amateur choir have enough mid-performance ‘RAM memory’ to look at a few notes in a piece of Bach and then cast an eye on the conductor without really taking their score out of their sight. I met such a conductor who said that he was extremely grateful to be looked at thus, adding that it didn’t happen very often. That is a far cry from the fourteenth century boy choristers who memorised motet parts, or indeed somebody who I met by chance when doing night-shift work to help finance my thesis. During a midnight smoke-break I was looking at the score of the lengthy Trent 91 *Liber Generationis* setting which uses the extended text in the Matthew version. A female pal next to me on a bench (whose musical education had been with a chapel minister) saw what I was paging through, and promptly recited the whole text faultlessly. Likewise (and I claim no special memory aptitude for myself) at odd and non-musical moments in an average day I find myself mentally running through one movement’s Superius part of a Mass that I know well like the Domarto-Cervelli work cited in section 2c part 9. Having copied it three or four times and written about it, the piece is somewhat residual in my memory. Maybe experienced fifteenth century performers retained music in their minds in a similar way. Possibly sometimes they had to. As a reminder to those who consider that juvenile minds are not retentive, I might remind them of the existence of *Hafiz* children in the Muslim world (the so-called ‘guardians’ who have memorised the entire Koran) and the schools for such purposes in America as well as in the middle and near-east.

The way in which I have dealt with theory sources here (by not directly tying what they say into my descriptions of probable practice) is likely to surprise readers who are more used to seeing maxims on rhetoric, oratory and diction being applied to music. Here I explain what I have done in two ways.

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<sup>312</sup> Respectively see *D91* p. 930 measures 140-154, and *D89* p. 938 measures 221-225, but even then in the latter I might have taken artistic licence a little too far.

Firstly, I value things that are empirical over those that are speculative, metaphysical or in other ways abstractly theoretical. Secondly some of the writers on music quoted by Munn and other authorities were probably as removed as we are now from the group of choristers surrounding Ockeghem in the famous picture. Therefore it can be justifiably asked here whether theory should weigh heavily on practical musical matters, since at most periods in history music theory *has followed* practice rather than establishing it. What I have written about texting will no doubt also raise as many questions as I have attempted to answer. Some readers who use my editions might see my approach to texting as too formulaic, but in the Trent 91 chant settings formula is an important ingredient in compositional design. I also suspect that if a piece of music uses repeated melodic formulas and clichés then at least a good proportion of those clichés should be identically treated in terms of texting. But even that is contestable if we imagine fifteenth century singers tackling one of the Binchois or anonymous chansons in *Esca* for a sight-reading exercise. It was with this source (and the edition of its anonymous chansons by Walter Kemp) that my serious investigation of fifteenth century music began.<sup>313</sup> That was 47 years ago, and if the result of my work here is something like a manual then that is what I was gradually attracted to write. Because - in simple terms - foundations matter. If you are unfamiliar with how to start something properly then its beginning will probably have to be revised, re-crafted or rebuilt several times. In dealing with texting I know that to my own cost, having had to revise several attempts at texting single pieces several times before being satisfied enough to leave them alone. Hopefully my work here will help to prevent similar experiences for others.

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#### SIGLA USED THROUGHOUT FOR PRIMARY SOURCES

87	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, ms 87
88	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, ms 88
89	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, ms 89
90	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, ms 90
91	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, ms 91
92	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, ms 92
93	Trento, Archivio Diocesano, Biblioteca Capitolare ms 93, commonly called Trent 93

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<sup>313</sup> Kemp, W., (ed), *Anonymous Pieces in the Chansonnier El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monastero Cod. V. III. 24 (CMM 77, Stuttgart, 1980)*. The parent manuscript is also available in facsimile in Rehm, W. (ed), *Codex Escorial. Chansonnier* (Kassel, 1958).

<i>Ao</i>	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, Cod. 15 ( <i>olim</i> A <sup>1</sup> D 19, a composite fifteenth century source)
<i>Apt</i>	Apt, Basilique Saine-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms 16 bis
<i>Berlin 40021</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ms 40021 ( <i>olim</i> Preußischer Staatsbibliothek ms Z21)
<i>Br 5557</i>	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms 5557
<i>BU 2216</i>	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms 2216
<i>Ca 6</i>	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 6
<i>Ca 11</i>	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 11
<i>Camb 5943</i>	Cambridge, University Library, additional ms 5943
<i>CGC 543</i>	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms 512/543 (mostly non-musical source with fourteenth century musical additions)
<i>Ch</i>	Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms 564 ( <i>olim</i> 1047)
<i>Chigi</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms Chigi C. VIII 234
<i>CS 15</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina ms 15
<i>CS 51</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina ms 51
<i>CS 197</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina ms 197
<i>Dijon 517</i>	Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 517 ( <i>olim</i> ms 295)
<i>Douce 381</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Douce 38
<i>Egerton</i>	London, British Library, Egerton ms 3307
<i>Esca</i>	Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Musica, ms V.III.24
<i>Fa 117b</i>	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, ms 117. Composite source with a fourteenth / fifteenth century keyboard music manuscript plus scattered later fifteenth century additions of non-keyboard music (layer b) added by Johannes Bonadies ( <i>ca.</i> 1460-70)
<i>Fragmenta Missarum 1505</i>	<i>Fragmenta Missarum</i> , printed by Ottaviano Petrucci, Venice, 1505

<i>Glogau</i>	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms mus. 40098. (three partbooks formerly kept in the Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin under the same shelf number, otherwise known as the Glogauer Liederbuch)
<i>Hatton</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton ms 81 (a fifteenth century ms with fourteenth century flyleaves containing music)
<i>Ivrea</i>	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare ms 115
<i>Kras</i>	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa ms III. 8054 ( <i>olim</i> Krasinski 52)
<i>Laborde</i>	Washington DC, Library of Congress, ms M2.1 L25 Case (Laborde Chansonier)
<i>Lausanne</i>	Lausanne, Archives Cantonales Vaudoises, ms A e 15; half-page fragment from a fifteenth century choirbook of probable English origin
<i>Leipzig 1494</i>	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms 1494 (Nikolaus Apel Codex)
<i>Linz</i>	Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, ms 529 (a set of fragments)
<i>Lucca</i>	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Manoscritti ms 238
<i>Lyons 6632</i>	Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 6632
<i>Mancini</i>	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Manoscritti ms 184
<i>MC 871N</i>	Montecassino, Abbazia, Biblioteca, Codex 871N ('N' denotes the newer part of this composite source, which is a Neapolitan music manuscript from <i>ca.</i> 1460-1480)
<i>ModA</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms $\alpha$ .M.5.24 ( <i>olim</i> ms Lat. 568)
<i>ModB</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms $\alpha$ .X.1.11
<i>ModC</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms $\alpha$ .M.1.13
<i>Mu 3154</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, mus. ms 3154
<i>Mu 3232a</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, mus. ms 3232a (otherwise Clm14274)
<i>Naples VI.E.40</i>	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms VI.E.40
<i>Neumarkt</i>	Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, ms 58 ( <i>olim</i> Breslau, Diözesanarchiv, ms 58; the Neumarkt Cantionale of 1474)

- NurS 9a* Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, mss fragm. Lat. 9 and 9a (*olim* Cent. III, 25 & Cent. V<sub>5</sub> 61. Part of the same ms survives as Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 749)
- Old Hall* London, British Library, Add. ms 57950 (the Old Hall manuscript)
- Ox 213* Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Canonici misc. 213
- P 146* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français ms 146 (the version of the *Roman de Fauvel* with musical interpolations)
- P 1584* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français ms 1584
- P 4379-II* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms nouv. acq. 4379 section II
- P 568* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien ms 568
- Q15* Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale (*olim* Liceo Musicale) ms Q15 (*olim* ms 37)
- Reina* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. Fr. Ms 6771 (the Reina ms, a composite 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century source)
- SanL* Florence, Archivio di San Lorenzo, ms 2211 (a palimpsest source of Trecento music)
- Schedel* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, mus. ms 3232 (*olim* Clm 351A, Schedel Liederbuch)
- Selden B26* Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Arch. Selden B. 26
- Sloane 1210* London, British Library, ms Sloane 1210 (grammatical treatise containing insular fourteenth century musical fragments at both ends of the collection)
- SP B80* Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms San Pietro B 80
- Spec* Hradec Kralové, Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna, ms II A 7 (Codex speciálník)
- Strahov* Prague, Památník Národního Pisemnictvi, Strahovská Knihovna, ms D. G. IV. 47
- StrasC* Strasbourg, former Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms C.22 (*olim* 222). Polyphony manuscript of *ca.* 1420 destroyed in 1870, but whose contents are partially available in a set of transcriptions made *ca.* 1866 by Coussemaker (Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, ms 56286) and of which a single leaf survives as a photograph in Lippmann, Auguste: 'Essai sur un Manuscrit du Quinzième Siècle Découvert dans la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Strasbourg' in *Bulletin de la Société pour la Conservation des*

	<i>Monuments Historiques d'Alsace</i> 7 (1869), pp. 73-76 [second series]
<i>Trém</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.fr. ms 23190
<i>Turin J.II.9</i>	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Codex J.II.9, section B (the polyphonic part of a combined chant and polyphony ms)
<i>US-NYpm</i>	New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, ms M 978
<i>Verona 759</i>	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLIX
<i>Washington M.21</i>	Washington D. C., Library of Congress, ms M.2.1. C 6a.14
<i>Zw</i>	Zwettl, Bibliothek des Zistercienserstifts, ms without shelf mark

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#### SIGLA USED THROUGHOUT FOR SECONDARY SOURCES

<i>ActaM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i> (Journal of the International Musicological Society, 92 vols, 1928 onwards)
<i>CMM</i>	<i>Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae</i> (American Institute of Musicology, 114 series of editions, 1951 onwards)
<i>D89</i>	Mitchell, R. (ed), <i>Trent 89 new series</i> (free online edition of Trent 89 in 7 instalments, available on the <i>DIAMM</i> website as listed below, 2012-2019)
<i>D91</i>	Mitchell, R. (ed), <i>Trent 91 new series</i> (free online edition of Trent 91 in 7 instalments, available on the <i>DIAMM</i> website as listed below, 2012-2019)
<i>DIAMM</i>	<i>The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music</i> ( <a href="https://www.diamm.ac.uk/">https://www.diamm.ac.uk/</a> )
<i>DTÖ</i>	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich</i> . 1894-present, 160 vols so far, originally <i>DTÖ</i> as published by Artaria (Vienna) and subsequently by Universal-Edition (from 1920), then Österreichischer Bundesverlag (from 1947) then Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz (from 1958)
<i>EECM</i>	<i>Early English Church Music</i> (61 volumes to date, Stainer & Bell, London, 1961 onwards)

<i>EFCM</i>	Reaney, G. (ed), <i>Early Fifteenth Century Music (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae</i> 11, American Institute of Musicology, 7 vols, 1955-83)
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i> (Cambridge University Press, 1981 onwards)
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i> (1936 onwards)
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>LU 1997</i>	<i>Liber Usualis</i> , ed. by the monks of Solesmes, 1997 reprint
<i>MB</i>	<i>Musica Britannica</i> (107 volumes to date, Stainer & Bell, London, 1951 onwards)
<i>MM I</i>	Stäblein, B., (ed), <i>Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi</i> vol. I; <i>Hymnen. Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes</i> (Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1956)
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i> (1915 onwards)
<i>PMFC</i>	<i>Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> (24 vols, Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, Monaco, 1956-1991)
<i>RBM</i>	<i>Revue belge de Musicologie</i> (1946 onwards)

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