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AN ANONYMOUS TWIN OF JOHANNES OCKEGHEM'S
MISSA QUINTI TONI IN SAN PIETRO B 80*

In his study of the manuscript San Pietro B 80, published in 1960,¹ Charles Hamm suggested that the peculiar way in which Guillaume Dufay's *Missa Ave regina caelorum* is transmitted in this source illustrates the phenomenon of the so-called composite Mass: "the Dufay *Missa ave regina* corresponds with other versions of the Mass only through the 'Osanna'; the 'Benedictus' and the entire 'Agnus' are for three voices, in contrast with the four-voice writing in the remainder of the Mass, and have nothing to do with the first sections of the piece".² More recently, Christopher Reynolds has shown that the break-off described by Hamm has actually been caused by the loss of two complete gatherings from the manuscript, through which two unrelated and now fragmentary Masses became contiguous and seemed to constitute one piece.³ Fortunately, the Dufay Mass is preserved completely in two other sources,⁴ and a fourth fragmentary source for the Mass has recently been rediscovered in Poland by Miroslav Perz.⁵ However, there appear to be no concordant sources for the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the anonymous three-part Mass which now follows the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* in San Pietro B 80, on fols. 21r-25r. Fragmentary though it is, the latter Mass merits special attention, for a number of its traits suggest that its composer may have been Johannes Ockeghem.

Of the two extant movements of the Mass only the Agnus Dei is preserved completely. The page which originally faced the present folio 21r, and which must have contained the Superius and the *residuum contratenoris* (i.e. bars 59-74 of the Contratenor in the edition below) of the Sanctus and Pleni, was lost with the two gatherings that are now missing from the manuscript. From what is left of the Mass, it appears that the work was freely composed, i.e. without the use of a preconceived constructional device. Even its motto, if there was one, must have been treated extremely freely.

As far as the two extant movements allow us to conclude, the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 must have been conceived as a twin to Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*.⁶ Apart from general stylistic traits, it shares with the latter Mass two rare features which to my knowledge are not encountered together in other Masses from the fifteenth century. The first of these features is the use of a type of three-part texture that I would designate 'reduced motet-texture'. In the three-part so-called chanson-texture (see Figure 1a), the task of providing the fundamentals of vertical combinations was divided between two different voices of equal range, the Tenor and Contratenor, whereas in the so-called motet-texture (Figure 1b) this task was allotted to a single Bass part. Around 1450, when a new predilection for clear harmonic direction in polyphonic music began to assert itself, the chanson-texture must have been considered unsatisfactory for that reason, since a new three-part

texture was developed which included, like the motet-texture, a separate Bassus part (Figure 1c). This new texture was in fact the motet-texture deprived of its inessential harmonic filler, the Contratenor *primus*; hence my designation 'reduced motet-texture'. After c1460, the chanson-texture was virtually abandoned in the polyphonic Mass; it was replaced by the reduced motet-texture for the next fifty years or so, until the writing of Masses for three voices was given up almost altogether in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

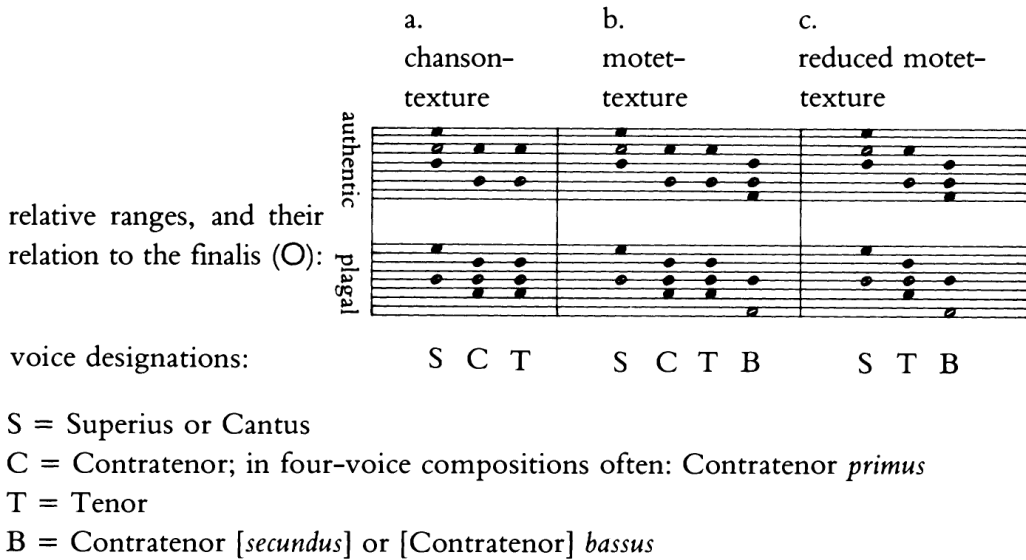


Figure 1: Texture-types used in fifteenth-century Masses.

In the history of the Mass in reduced motet-texture three consecutive stages can be distinguished: an English, a Franco-Netherlandish and a German stage. The oldest preserved Mass in reduced motet-texture is presumably the anonymous *Missa Veni creator Spiritus* from the manuscript PragP 47.⁷ This Mass seems to be an English work, as it uses the well-known cadential 'English Figure' (Gloria mm. 23-4), contains a *prosula* text in its Kyrie (though not a characteristically English one: *Cunctipotens genitor*), omits part of the Credo text (Et ex patre facta sunt), and introduces simultaneous rests in all voices at least once (Gloria m. 68, but presumably also Credo m. 59).⁸ Closely contemporary with it is Walter Frye's *Missa Summe trinitati*, which was copied in BrusBR 5557 in 1468.⁹ In the 1470s and 1480s, the Mass in reduced motet-texture enjoyed a brief vogue in the Franco-Netherlandish tradition, witnessed by the anonymous *Missa Sine nomine* on fols. 50v-58r of TrentC 91, the fragmentary San Pietro B 80 Mass (copied in or shortly before 1475¹⁰), Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* (copied in BrusBR 5557 between 1476 and 1480¹¹) and the *Missa Sine nomine 'No. 1'* by Johannes Tinctoris¹² (composed during the reign of Ferdinand I of Aragon, King of Naples, i.e. before 1494¹³). After c1490, the Mass in reduced motet-texture became an exclusively local

JOHANNES OCKEGHEM

Missa Quinti toni a 3
 BrusBR 5557, fols. 77r-83r (1476-80)
 Chigi C. VIII. 234 (c1500), fols. 115v-125r
 Kyrie C C C
 Gloria C Φ
 Credo C C Φ
 Sanctus C C Φ Φ
 Agnus Dei C C

JOHANNES OCKEGHEM

Missa Au travail suis a 4
 CS 41 (c1495), fols. 104v-113r
 CS 63 (c1495), fols. 12v-18r
 Chigi C. VIII. 234 (c1500), fols. 89v-96r
 Kyrie C C C
 Gloria C Φ Φ
 Credo C Φ
 Sanctus C Φ
 Agnus Dei C Φ

ANONYMOUS

Missa a 3
 San Pietro B 80, fols. 21r-25r (1475)
 Sanctus C C Φ Φ
 Agnus Dei C Φ Φ

JOHANNES MARTINI

Missa Ma bouche rit a 4
 Verona 761 (c1470-80), fols. 53v-62r
 ModE M.I.13 (1481), fols. 94v-104r
 MilD 2 (c1490-1500), fols. 26v-36r
 Kyrie C C C
 Gloria C Φ
 Credo C Φ Φ
 Sanctus C C C₃ Φ
 Agnus Dei C Φ

JOHANNES MARTINI

Missa Cela sans plus a 4
 CS 51 (c1485), fols. 155v-165r
 Kyrie C Φ Φ
 Gloria C Φ
 Credo C Φ Φ
 Sanctus C Φ Φ ₃ Φ
 Agnus Dei Φ Φ

JOHANNES MARTINI

Missa Dio te salvi Gotterello a 4
 ModE M.I.13 (1481), fols. 69v-80r
 Kyrie C C₃ C
 Gloria C C Φ
 Credo C C Φ
 Sanctus C C Φ ₃ Φ
 Agnus Dei C C Φ

JOHANNES MARTINI

Missa Orsus orsus a 4
 Verona 755 (c1470-80), fols. 85v-95r
 Verona 761 (c1470-80), fols. 89v-101r
 ModE M.I.13 (1481), fols. 1v-11r
 CS 51 (c1485), fols. 145v-155v
 LucAS 238, fols. 48v-48bis v (c1485)
 JenaU 32 (c1500-20), fols. 220r-233r
 Kyrie C Φ C
 Gloria C Φ
 Credo C Φ Φ ₃
 Sanctus C C Φ Φ ₃
 Agnus Dei C Φ Φ

JOHANNES MARTINI

Missa Coda di Pavon a 4
 ModE M.I.13 (1481), fols. 129v-140r
 MilD 2 (c1490-1500), fols. 20v-26r
 Kyrie C Φ C
 Gloria C C Φ Φ
 Credo C Φ
 Sanctus C C C Φ
 Agnus Dei C C C

JOHANNES MARTINI

Missa La Martinella a 4
 CS 35 (c1490), fols. 38v-52r
 Kyrie C Φ O
 Gloria C Φ C
 Credo C Φ Φ
 Sanctus C Φ Φ Φ
 Agnus Dei Φ Φ Φ

Figure 2: Fifteenth-Century Masses using the C- Φ Mensuration Scheme.

Sigla not employed in *Census-Catalogue of Manuscripts Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, edd. Ch. Hamm and H. Kellman (Neuhausen, Stuttgart 1979-), Renaissance Manuscript Studies I:

Verona 755, 761 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Mss. 755 and 761
 CS 35, 41, 51, 63 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Mss. 35, 41, 51 and 63.
 Chigi C.VIII.234 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi C.VIII.234
 San Pietro B 80 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. San Pietro B 80

German tradition, initiated, it seems, by the two Obrecht Masses *Fors seulement*¹⁴ and *Je ne seray*,¹⁵ which are found only in German sources. The best-known German contributions to the type are the *Sine nomine* Masses by Johannes Aulen¹⁶ and Heinrich Finck;¹⁷ in addition to these attributed cycles, a considerable number of anonymous Masses in reduced motet-texture are to be found in German sources dating from the period c1490-1550.¹⁸

The second feature common to both the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 and Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* is the use of a sequence of mensurations in which C alternates with Φ . In the fifteenth century, it was highly uncommon to use this mensural scheme throughout an entire Mass. To my knowledge, only Johannes Martini and Johannes Ockeghem employed it in Masses (see Figure 2). There are no indications of direct contact between these two composers. Yet, as the datings of the sources listed in Figure 2 suggest that they used the C- Φ mensuration scheme around the same time, *viz.* c1470-85, it is difficult to imagine that they should have done so unaware of one another.

Charles Hamm's remarks with regard to the peculiar mensural practice in Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*¹⁹ apply to the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 as well, albeit with one small exception: in Ockeghem's Mass there is a complete absence of any sort of triple time, while in the San Pietro B 80 Mass there is a temporary change to triple organization (Φ_3) at the end of the *Agnus Dei secundum*. In both Masses, dissonance regularly falls on the minim in both C and Φ , and occasionally on the semibreve in Φ . As regards movement in C and Φ , the two Masses appear to have approximately the same average note-values. However, before the latter correspondence can be used to support my thesis that the two Masses are twins, the concept of average note-value, i.e. the total duration of all the notes occurring in a given mensuration divided by the total number of notes, requires some comment.

The method of average note-value was introduced by Arthur Mendel at the International Josquin Festival-Conference at New York in 1971,²⁰ in order to replace Hamm's method of counting the frequencies of the different note-values occurring in fifteenth-century compositions.²¹ It has the merit of expressing in a single figure important information on the relative speed at which a given mensuration was performed. In applying the method proposed by Mendel in a number of fifteenth-century English Masses,²² I found that the average note-values in a single mensuration always remain on approximately the same level throughout the different sections of the same Mass that are written in that mensuration. Of the different mensurations that occur in fifteenth-century Masses, moreover, each always appears to have its own, individual, average note-value level, to which it consistently adheres throughout the composition. Clearly, composers had fixed tempi and tempo relationships in mind when they created their works, just like later composers in the age of the metronome. However, different compositions often appear to have different average note-values for the same mensuration.

Differences such as these probably depend upon chronological changes in the performance practice of the fifteenth century. With this in mind, it becomes feasible to group together works that were probably composed under the same performance conditions and hence may be chronologically related. In Figure 3, I have collected the average note-values in the mensurations O, C and Φ of a

| Group: | Composition: | Average Note-Values: | | | Comments: |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|-------|--------|--------------------------------|
| | | O | C | Φ | |
| 1. | <i>Missa Caput</i> | 1.030 | – | 1.260 | Composed in 1460 |
| | <i>Mort tu as navré</i> | 1.023 | – | 1.333 | |
| 2. | <i>Missa L'Homme armé</i> | 0.826 | – | 1.161 | Copied in 1467-8 ¹ |
| | <i>Missa De plus en plus</i> | 0.845 | – | 1.270 | |
| | <i>Salve regina</i> | 0.895 | – | 1.456 | |
| | (Cappella Sistina 42) | | | | |
| 3. | <i>Missa Ma maistresse</i> | 0.633 | – | 0.711 | Copied in 1476-80 ² |
| | <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> | – | 0.626 | 0.811 | |
| | <i>Missa Cuiusvis toni</i> | 0.625 | – | 0.830 | |
| | <i>Missa (San Pietro B 80)</i> | – | 0.681 | 0.870 | |
| | <i>Intemerata Dei mater</i> | 0.697 | – | 0.904 | |
| | <i>Missa Fors seulement</i> | 0.711 | 0.723 | – | |
| | <i>Credo Sine nomine</i> | 0.754 | – | 0.956 | |
| | <i>Missa Mi mi</i> | 0.794 | – | 1.079 | |
| | <i>Missa Au travail suis</i> | – | 0.726 | 1.085 | |
| | <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i> | 0.750 | – | 1.095 | |
| Unclassifiable works: | | | | | |
| | <i>Requiem</i> | 0.777 | 0.724 | 1.782 | |
| | <i>Missa Ecce ancilla Domini</i> | 0.803 | – | 0.867 | |
| | <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> No. 14 | 0.424 | – | 0.866 | |
| | <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> No. 2 | 0.702 | – | 1.201 | |
| | <i>Ave Maria</i> | 0.780 | – | – | |

Figure 3: Average note-values in the mensurations O, C and Φ in compositions by Johannes Ockeghem and in the anonymous Mass on fols. 21r-25r of San Pietro B 80 (unit of the average note-value: semibreve).

1. R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford 1985), p. 30.
2. R. Wegman, *New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels*, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557*, in TVNM 36 (1986), p. 14.
3. Chr. Reynolds, *The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory*, in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), p. 281.

number of compositions by Johannes Ockeghem, together with the average note-values of the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80; (the unit for the average note-values in this figure is the semibreve [S]; for example, imperfect breves are counted as 2.0 S, minims as 0.5 S, dotted semiminims as 0.375 S, etc.). Leaving apart those works which stand alone, it is possible to distinguish three chronological groups of compositions that were probably composed under the same performance conditions (groups 1, 2 and 3). In each group, there appears to be a ratio of about 3:4 between the average note-values in O and C ; this confirms the 3:4 tempo relationship between these mensurations which has been proposed on different grounds by Charles Hamm, Alejandro Planchart and Anna Maria Bosse Berger.²³ In the third group, which probably covers the 1470s, the *integer valor* mensurations O and C appear to have very similar average note-values; clearly, the semibreve was performed at the same speed in these mensurations. As Figure 3 shows, both Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* and the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 belong to the third group. As the two works were both copied in the 1470s, it is reasonable to assume that they were composed around the same time, presumably between 1470 and 1475.

The two stylistic features so far discussed – reduced motet-texture and the C - C mensuration scheme – are to my knowledge found together only in the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 and Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*. In this important respect the two works therefore occupy the same, unique, position within the preserved Mass repertory from the fifteenth century. A number of additional correspondences confirm the relationship. In his discussion of the new stylistic trends that occurred in Franco-Netherlandish compositions after about 1460, Edgar Sparks cited two passages from the *Missa Quinti toni* as examples of motivic usage.²⁴ Although the devices employed in these passages are quite foreign to Ockeghem's sacred musical style as it is nowadays usually understood,²⁵ they are certainly not exceptional in this respect. The many instances of imitation involving three voices, repetition of rhythmic patterns, *ostinato* and melodic sequence²⁶ show that by the time Ockeghem composed his *Missa Quinti toni*, he must have been fully aware of the stylistic innovations of the 1460s and 1470s. The same devices have been used, and to much the same extent, in the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80.²⁷ Moreover, the two Masses have almost the same voice ranges and clef dispositions (see Figure 4). I have not been able to find these particular voice ranges and clef dispositions in any of the other Masses in reduced motet-texture mentioned above. Another feature common to both the *Missa Quinti toni* and the anonymous Mass in San Pietro B 80 is the frequent occurrence of strict and comparatively long imitations, mostly at the unison, between the Tenor and Superius, supported by the Bass.²⁸ These imitations often give the impression that the texture, instead of belonging to the reduced motet-type, consists of a duo of two equal voices, accompanied by a Bass.

voice ranges:

voice designations:
(see Figure 1)

clefs:

| | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | a. | | b. | | | |
| | [S] | T | B | [S] | T | B |
| | C ₂ | C ₃₋₄ | F ₄ | C ₂ | C ₃ | F ₄ |

Figure 4: Voice ranges and clef dispositions in Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* (a) and the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 (fols. 21r-25r) (b).

In view of the close relationship between the two Masses discussed above there can be little doubt that they were either composed at the same time and conceived as twins from the start, or that one was later modelled after the other. It would seem, therefore, that the primary importance of the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 is that it provides an immediate context for the *Quinti toni* Mass, a work which is otherwise difficult to place, as it seems quite uncharacteristic not only of the compositional procedures and style of Ockeghem, but also of those of his contemporaries. For this reason it becomes attractive to assume that the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 is by the same composer as the *Missa Quinti toni*. But before we can devote attention to the problem of authorship, we must first briefly discuss the phenomenon of fifteenth-century twin Masses in general.

It seems that twin Masses were originally an English invention. The close structural relationship between the anonymous English *Missae Caput* and *Veterem hominem*, for example, has been noted for decades; stylistically, these two Masses also seem to have very much in common.²⁹ However, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the common features of these cycles were part of the general stylistic vocabulary in England in the early fifteenth century, since many English Masses from this period which could have shown the same features must have been lost. An unmistakable twin relationship, however, exists between the Sanctus-Agnus Dei pair by John Bedyngham found on fols. 389v-395r of TrentC 90 and the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the same composer's *Missa Dueil angoisseux*.³⁰ The same is true of the three-voice *Missa Soyez aprantiz*,³¹ ascribed to 'W. de Rouge' in TrentC 90 but probably an anonymous English composition,³² which is identical in cantus firmus treatment, mensuration scheme³³ and general musical style to the anonymous *Missa O rosa bella I* found in TrentC 88 and LucAS 238.³⁴ What is more, the latter two Masses both constitute Mass-motet cycles with four-voice motets found elsewhere.³⁵ Twin relationships, however, are not confined to the English Mass repertory from the fifteenth century. Tom R. Ward, for

example, tentatively ascribed the anonymous *Missa Je ne seray* from BerlS 40021 to Jacob Obrecht on the basis of its close formal and stylistic similarities with the latter's *Missa Fors seusement*.³⁶ And to the Continental examples of the phenomenon, the twin Mass discussed in this paper may now be added.

Why did fifteenth-century composers write twin Masses? The phenomenon should not be explained, I believe, as a further extension of the cyclic principle which, earlier in the century, had led to the creation of the cyclic Mass. Twin Masses are, in a formal and stylistic sense, blueprints of one another; but there is never a direct musical relationship between them which could justify the use of the term cycle, as, for example, in the case of the anonymous *L'homme armé* Masses from the manuscript NapBN 40.³⁷ The explanation that composers literally repeated the procedures of previous Masses because they had turned out to be successful does not seem not very likely either. There is no indication that any of the Masses cited above presents outstanding or unprecedented solutions to compositional problems. Besides, it is difficult to conceive that composers like Bedyngham, Ockeghem and Obrecht should have been interested in literally copying the procedures of previous Masses after they had progressed in their compositional development. A third explanation, therefore, may be that twins of existing Masses are the products of pupils or epigones trying to emulate the styles and techniques of established composers. Although this possibility cannot be ruled out, one may wonder, especially in the cases of Obrecht's *Missa Fors seusement* and Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*, why, if the twins of these Masses would have been composed by pupils or epigones, they did not model their twins upon the more ambitious large-scale cycles of these composers, which are more typical of their style. With the possible exception of the anonymous *Missa Caput*, which must have been extremely popular in the fifteenth century, no twins seem to have been made of the classic masterpieces of the fifteenth-century Mass repertory, which would have been the most attractive models for pupils or epigones. A fourth explanation, finally, may be that twin Masses were composed together for occasions which required two Ordinary cycles equally fitting in style and character. Although the objection may be raised that twin Masses are seldom found together in one source,³⁸ which would have been likely if there was a close historical connection between them, this seems to be the most likely explanation.

While it seems beyond dispute that the anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80 is a twin of the *Missa Quinti toni* of Johannes Ockeghem, it appears difficult to safely conclude from this fact alone whether or not it is by the same composer. The most that can be said at the moment is that the Mass could be the work of an anonymous pupil or epigone of Ockeghem, but seems more likely to be a product of his own making, particularly as it was written at about the same time as the *Quinti toni* Mass, presumably in the early 1470s. However this may be, the existence of a twin of the *Missa Quinti toni* adds to the significance of this work, which only too often has been dismissed as an early Mass, believed to date from

the beginning of Ockeghem's career.³⁹ Although Ockeghem's greatest achievements may lie in his Masses for four voices, the fact that he composed in his mature years the three-voice *Missa Quinti toni*, and possibly the San Pietro B 80 Mass, indicates that the three-voice Mass cycle in the second half of the fifteenth century was far from becoming an insignificant or outmoded *genre*. Instead of dismissing them as works of apprenticeship simply on the grounds of their three parts, three-voice Masses of late fifteenth-century composers should be considered and valued as representatives of a continued, independent tradition which, although perhaps in its last phase, was still lively and capable of generating works of beauty and refinement.

* I am much indebted to Jaap van Benthem and Professor Willem Elders for valuable advice and corrections.

1. Ch. Hamm, *The Manuscript San Pietro B 80*, in RBM 14 (1960), pp. 40-55.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
3. Chr. Reynolds, *The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory*, in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), p. 260.
4. BrusBR 5557, fols. 110v-120v, and ModE M.1. 13, fols. 159v-175v.
5. Poznan, University Library, Ms. 7022, fols. 1v-2v and 5r-8v of gathering 1; see: M. Perz, *The Lvov Fragments: A Source for Works by Dufay, Josquin, Petrus de Domarto and Petrus de Grudencz in 15th-Century Poland*, in TVNM 36 (1986), pp. 30-1.
6. Johannes Ockeghem, *Collected Works*, ed. D. Plamenac, 2nd ed. (New York 1959), Vol. I, pp. 1-14.
7. PragP 47, fols. 132r-138r. Edition in: R. J. Snow, *The Manuscript Prague, Strahov Monastery D.G.IV.47* (Ph. D. Diss., University of Illinois 1968), pp. 385-405.
8. Criteria for assigning English authorship are discussed in Ch. Hamm, *A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in Fifteenth-Century Continental Manuscripts*, in MD 22 (1968), pp. 47-61.
9. Walter Frye, *Collected Works*, ed. S. W. Kenney (1960), CMM 19, pp. 21-39. For the date of the layer of BrusBR 5557 containing Frye's Mass, see: R. C. Wegman, *New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557*, in TVNM 36 (1986), pp. 10-1.
10. Reynolds, *op.cit.*, p. 281.
11. Wegman, *op.cit.*, p. 14.
12. Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Omnia*, ed. F. Feldmann (1960), CMM 18, Vol. 1; Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Omnia*, ed. W. E. Melin (1976), CMM 18, pp. 1-32.
13. Tinctoris, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Feldmann, p. ii.
14. *Werken van Jacob Obrecht*, ed. J. Wolf, *Missen*, No. 22 (Leipzig 1919); *New Obrecht Edition*, gen. ed. Chris Maas, Vol. 4, ed. B. Hudson, (Utrecht 1986), pp. 25-47.
15. T. R. Ward, *Another Mass by Obrecht?* in TVNM 27 (1977), pp. 102-8. This Mass will be edited by Tom Ward in Vol. 14 of the *New Obrecht Edition* (see note 14 above).
16. Johannes Aulen, *Missa*, ed. H. Birtner (Wolfenbüttel 1934), *Das Chorwerk* 31.

17. A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. 5, ed. O. Kade (Leipzig 1881), pp. 247-79; Heinrich Finck, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt 1962), pp. 3-16.
18. See, for example, the anonymous *Missae Sine nomine* in WarU 2016, fols. 97v-101v (edition of Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei in F. Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf. 2016 des Musikalischen Instituts der Universität Breslau* (Breslau 1932), Vol. 2, pp. 1-10) and RegB B216-9, Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 11.
19. Ch. Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice* (Princeton 1964), pp. 159-60.
20. A. Mendel, *Towards Objective Criteria for Establishing Chronology and Authenticity: What Help can the Computer Give?*, in Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference, ed. E. E. Lowinsky (London 1976), pp. 298-9.
21. Hamm, *A Chronology*.
22. The results of this enquiry will be published in a forthcoming paper on the historiography and chronology of the English Mass cycle in the period c1420-80.
23. A. M. Bosse Berger, *The Relationship of Perfect and Imperfect Time in Italian Theory of the Renaissance*, in *Early Music History* 5 (1985), pp. 26-8.
24. E. H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1963), pp. 233-4.
25. The current view of Ockeghem's sacred musical style is still largely based on Bukofzer's stylistic analysis of the early *Missa Caput* (see: M. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York 1950), pp. 278-92).
26. Imitation involving three voices: e.g. Kyrie mm. 17-21; Gloria mm. 4-6, 40-2, 60-3, 110-4, 132-9, 147-53; Credo mm. 57-61, 63-5, 165-72, 225-8; Agnus Dei mm. 27-9. Repetition of rhythmic patterns: e.g. Sanctus mm. 17-20. Ostinato: e.g. Gloria mm. 35-41; Sanctus mm. 97-106, 159-62; Agnus Dei mm. 27-30. Melodic sequence: e.g. Sanctus mm. 108-20; Agnus Dei mm. 74-9.
27. Imitation involving three voices: e.g. Sanctus mm. 116-27, 132-41, 143-6; Agnus Dei mm. 8-11. Repetition of rhythmic patterns: e.g. Agnus Dei mm. 27-31. Melodic sequence: e.g. Sanctus mm. 93-8; Agnus Dei mm. 27-31. (Measure numbers refer to edition below).
28. *Missa Quinti toni*: Gloria mm. 48-53, 55-62, 97-106, 135-9; Credo mm. 18-25, 35-41, 110-4, 185-92, 197-200; Sanctus mm. 75-82, 114-20. Anonymous Mass from San Pietro B 80: Sanctus mm. 79-85, 88-98, 158-64.
29. Although Margaret Bent argues in her edition of the *Missa Veterem hominem* that the two Masses have marked differences of style (M. Bent, *Four Anonymous Masses* (London 1979), EECM 22, p. 185), I fail to notice, even after close examination of the score, the stylistic traits which are claimed to set the *Veterem hominem* cycle apart from the *Caput* Mass.
30. The two anonymous movements employ the same mensuration scheme as the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of Bedyngham's *Missa Dueil angoisseux* (O O Φ Φ O) and have approximately the same average note values. Comparison with the average note values of another Mass by John Bedyngham reveals that the latter correspondence is probably not coincidental:

| | average note-values: | |
|--|----------------------|-------|
| | ○ | ♢ |
| anonymous Sanctus-Agnus Dei pair | 1.020 | 1.430 |
| Bedyngham: <i>Missa Dueil angoisseux</i> * | 0.980 | 1.469 |
| Bedyngham: <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> ** | 0.912 | 1.634 |

* TrentC 88, fols. 17v-21r and 27v-31r; TrentC 90, fols. 383v-389v. Edition: *Sieben Trienter Codices. Fünfte Auswahl* ed. R. Ficker (Vienna 1924), DTÖ 61, pp. 127-35.

The *Benedicamus Domino* on fol. 31r of TrentC 88 is a *contrafactum* of the *Cum sancto*.

** OxfB C87*, fol. 223v [Sanctus only]; TrentC 88, fols. 46v-54r; TrentM 93, fols. 30v-36r. Edition of Sanctus after OxfB C87* in: E. Apfel, *Studien zur Satztechnik in der mittelalterlichen Musik* (Heidelberg 1959), Vol. II, pp. 139-42.

Both works are written in the Lydian mode, and share the peculiarity of having the percentage of *clausulae* on the final far outnumbered by the percentage of *clausulae* on the dominant:

| percentage of <i>clausulae</i> on: | F | G | A | B | C | D | E |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|---|----|----|---|
| anonymous Sanctus-Agnus Dei pair | 23 | 8 | 12 | – | 38 | 19 | – |
| <i>Missa Dueil angoisseux</i> | 28 | 24 | 3 | – | 43 | 1 | – |

Generally, this occurs in fifteenth-century Masses only as a consequence of rigid cantus firmus treatment.

Significantly, the anonymous Sanctus and Agnus Dei constitute a composite Mass with the Gloria and Credo of Bedyngham's *Missa Dueil angoisseux* in TrentC 90. An annotation on fol. 73r of TrentC 90 refers to the four movements as *missa Badingm*. Although Hamm has shown that there is no cyclic relationship between the two pairs (*A Chronology*, p. 104), their joint transmission in TrentC 90, together with their structural and stylistic similarities, suggest that they were in some way connected. Conclusive evidence can be obtained only, it would appear, if the two works can be compared with regard to their cantus firmus treatment. No model for the Sanctus-Agnus Dei pair has as yet been found.

31. *Trienter Codices. Siebente Auswahl*, ed. R. Flotzinger (Graz, Vienna 1970), DTÖ 120, pp. 47-61 (TrentC 90 version) and 95-108 (San Pietro B 80 version).
32. The *Missa Soyez aprantiz* contains simultaneous rests in some of its duos (Sanctus m. 30 in the TrentC 90 version and mm. 30 and 39 in the San Pietro B 80 version), omissions of the Credo text ("Crucifixus procedit" in the TrentC 90 version, and "Genitum facta sunt", "Crucifixus non erit finis" and "Qui cum Patre peccatorum" in the San Pietro B 80 version) and uses the cadential 'English Figure' (Gloria mm. 41-2 and Agnus Dei mm. 14-5 in the TrentC 90 version only).
33. No mensuration signs are found for the duos of the *Missa Soyez aprantiz* in either TrentC 90 or San Pietro B 80. Reeser thought that all duos were composed in C (E. Reeser, *Een 'iso-melische mis' uit den tijd van Dufay*, in TVNM 16 (1946), p. 154). In his edition of the Mass (see note 30 above), Flotzinger assumed only the Quoniam, Pleni, Benedictus and Agnus *secundum* to have been composed in binary mensuration, and

- transcribed the other duos in O. As there is no indication, however, that changes of mensuration occurred in this Mass at all, it seems more likely that the entire work was composed, like the *Missa O rosa bella I* (see note 34 below), in O.
34. Edition, based on TrentC 88, fols. 363v-372r, in *Sechs Trienter Codices. Zweite Auswahl* edd. G. Adler and O. Koller (Vienna 1904), DTÖ 22, pp. 1-12. This Mass is also found in the English section of LucAS 238, on fols. 24ter r-v (see: R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford 1985), pp. 125-6 and 194). The *Missa O rosa bella* is presumably the work of an Englishman, since it contains simultaneous rests in some of its duos (Sanctus m. 52, Agnus Dei m. 53), and omissions of the Credo text ('Et resurrexit apostolicam Ecclesiam') and besides features the 'English Figure' (Agnus Dei mm. 15-6).
 35. The *Missa Soyez aprantiz* constitutes a Mass-motet cycle with the anonymous motet *Stella celi extirpavit* which is found on fols. 11v-13r of TrentC 88 (see: R. J. Snow, *The Mass-Motet Cycle: A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Experiment*, in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, edd. G. Reese and R. J. Snow (Pittsburgh 1969), pp. 309-10). The motet *O pater eterne* found on fols. 160v-161r of PragP 47 and, with the text *O admirabile commercium*, on fols. 123v-124r of Mild 1 (see: Snow, *The Mass-Motet Cycle*, pp. 315-20), probably constitutes a Mass-motet cycle with the *O rosa bella I* Mass, in spite of the fact that it is found together with the *Missa O rosa bella III* in PragP 47. Firstly, it is composed, like each of the items of the *O rosa bella I* cycle, in O throughout; secondly, it has exactly the same motto as these items, which is quite unlike the rather loosely shaped motto of the *Missa O rosa bella III*; thirdly, like the *Missa O rosa bella I* it divides the cantus firmus into two halves after note 72 of the chanson Tenor, and not, as the *Missa O rosa bella III* and the original chanson itself, after note 68 (note numbers refer to edition of *O rosa bella* in John Dunstable, *Complete Works*, ed. M. F. Bukofzer, 2nd rev. ed. by M. and I. Bent and B. Trowell, (London 1970), MB 8, pp. 133-4).
 36. Ward, *op.cit.*
 37. *Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae*, ed. L. Feininger, Series I, Vol. iii, Nos. 1-4 (Rome 1957-65); *Six Anonymous L'Homme Armé Masses in Naples*, *Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. VI E 40*, ed. J. Cohen, (1981), CMM 85.
 38. Short *bicinia* from both Obrecht's *Missa Je ne seray* and *Fors seulement* are found in the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 11883; Bedyngham's *Missa Dueil angoisseux* and the Sanctus-Agnus Dei pair connected with it are found together in TrentC 90 (see note 30 above).
 39. That the *Missa Quinti toni* should be an early work was first suggested by Heinrich Bessler (H. Bessler, *Von Dufay bis Josquin, ein Literaturbericht*, in *ZfMw* 11 (1929)), and since then widely adopted by other musicologists.

APPENDIX

Johannes Ockeghem [?], *Missae*: Sanctus (incomplete) and Agnus Dei [Kyrie, Gloria and Credo missing].

Only known source: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B 80, fols. 21r-25r.

Original note-values have been reduced by one half. Ligatures are indicated by horizontal brackets placed over the notes of the ligature; black coloration, including *minor color*, is indicated by half brackets. Editorial accidentals are placed above the notes to which they apply.

Tenor

Contra

San-

San- ctus,

5

10

ctus, San-

San- ctus, San-

15

ctus, San-

tus, San- ctus, San-

20

ctus, Do- mi-nus De-

ctus, Do- mi-nus De-

25

us, De-

us, Sa-

30

Sa-
ba- oth, Sa- ba- oth, Sa-

35 40

ba- oth. Ple- ni
ba- oth. Pleni

45

sunt ce- li, sunt ce-

50

li, et
et ter-

55

ter- ra, et ter- ra, et ter-
ra, et

60

ra glo-

ter- (ra)

This system contains measures 60 through 65. The vocal line begins with a whole note 'ra' followed by a half note 'glo-'. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and a more active eighth-note line in the right hand.

66 70

ri- a tu-a, glo-

This system contains measures 66 through 70. The vocal line continues with 'ri- a' (measures 66-67), 'tu-a,' (measures 68-69), and 'glo-' (measure 70). The piano accompaniment maintains the eighth-note texture.

75

ri- a tu- a,

This system contains measures 71 through 75. The vocal line has 'ri- a tu- a,'. The piano accompaniment features a change in the right hand at measure 75, moving to a more melodic line with some grace notes.

80

san- na, O-

san- na,

san- na,

This system contains measures 76 through 80. The vocal line has 'san- na, O-'. The piano accompaniment has a change in the left hand at measure 76, moving to a more active eighth-note line.

85

san- na

O- san- na in

O- san- na in ex-

This system contains measures 81 through 85. The vocal line has 'san- na'. The piano accompaniment has a change in the right hand at measure 81, moving to a more melodic line with some grace notes.

90

in ex-cel-
ex-cel-
cel- sis, in ex-cel- sis,

95 100

sis, in ex-cel-
sis, in ex-cel-
in ex-cel- sis, in ex-cel-

105

sis. Be- ne- dic-
sis. Be-
sis.

110

tus qui
ne-dic- tus
Be- ne- dic-

115

ve- nit, qui ve-
qui ve- nit, qui
tus qui ve-

120

ve-

This system contains measures 120 through 124. It features a vocal line with a long note at the start, followed by a melodic line. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady bass line and a more active treble line. The lyrics 've-' are written under the first measure.

125

130

nit

This system contains measures 125 through 129. The vocal line has a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar texture. The lyrics 'nit' are written under the second measure.

135

nit in

in no-

nit

This system contains measures 130 through 134. The vocal line has a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar texture. The lyrics 'nit in' are written under the second measure, 'in no-' under the third measure, and 'nit' under the fourth measure.

140

no-

mi-ne, no-

in

This system contains measures 135 through 139. The vocal line has a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar texture. The lyrics 'no-' are written under the second measure, 'mi-ne, no-' under the third measure, and 'in' under the fourth measure.

145

mi-

no-

This system contains measures 140 through 144. The vocal line has a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar texture. The lyrics 'mi-' are written under the second measure and 'no-' under the third measure.

150

mi- ne, in no-

ne, no- mi- ne, mi- ne, in no-

155

mi- ne, in no-

in no- mi- ne

165

mi- ne Do- mi- ni, Do-

mi- ne Do- mi- ni, Do- mi- Do- mi-

Do- mi-

170

ni, Do-

ni, Do- mi- ni, Do-

mi- ni.

mi- ni. mi- ni.

mi- ni.

Osanna ut supra.

Tenor

Contra

A- gnus De-

gnus De- i, qui tol-

lis, qui tol- lis, qui tol-

lis pec-ca- ta, pec- ca-

ta mun- di, pec-ca- ta mun- di, ta, pec- ca- ta, pec-ca- ta mun-

pec- ca- ta mun- di: mi- se-re-

30

se- re re no-
se-re re no- bis, no-
re no-

38 40

bis.
bis. A- gnus De-
bis. A- gnus De- i,
A-

45

qui
qui tol- lis
gnus De- i,
De- i,

60

tol-
qui tol-

65

60

lis pec- ca- ta mun-

64 70

ta mun-

75

di: mi- di: mi- se- re-

80

se- re- re, re, mi- se- re-

85

re no- re no-

90
bis, no-
bis, no-

95 100
bis. A- gnus De- i,
bis. A- gnus De-

105
qui tol-
qui tol-
i, qui tol-

110
lis pec- ca-
lis pec- ca-
lis

118
ta mun-
pec- ca- ta mun-

120

mun- di:
di: do-

126 130

do- na no-
di: do- na no-
na no-

135

bis pa-
bis pa-
bis, no- bis pa-

cem.
cem.
cem.

SUPERIUS, Agnus Dei, 10₂: a in ms.

TENOR, Agnus Dei, 19₅: d' in ms.