

**Aspects of Style and Design In The  
*Missa L'Homme Armé* Tradition  
c. 1450-c. 1500**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**by**

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## Abstract

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This dissertation examines *L'homme armé* Masses written during c.1450-c.1500, focusing on two aspects, the use of phrases 3 and 4 of the melody and the choice of pitch for the deployment of the respective cantus firmi. Altogether 34 Masses are considered. Chapter 1 reviews current information about the *l'homme armé* melody itself with evidence given for the different endings to phrases 3 and 4 in the sources Mellon and Casanatense.

Part I examines the deployment of the two key phrases in six contexts, Chapter 2 showing how large-scale structures are erected on them, and the next revealing a consistent pattern for using phrase 4 imitatively. Sounding of the two phrases simultaneously (and at times one of the outer portions of the ternary melody against the central one) is explored in Chapter 4. The influence of the motivic make-up of the polyphony on the choice of phrase is investigated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 deals with their manipulation for a musical portrayal of the Mass text. Part I concludes by reviewing where cadential contexts and the desire for full sonorities governs the choice of either phrase 3 or 4.

Part II examines the question of the pitch levels upon which different Masses deliver the source melody, starting with the G Mixolydian mode of the original. Settings presenting the song on G (either Mixolydian or transposed Dorian) are considered the norm and are not reviewed. The exceptions are the six Naples Masses - a case is presented as to why not one Mass is in this mode. Completely canonic *L'homme armé* Masses are scrutinised, showing how composers avoided a problem encountered in anonymous Naples VI, where the *comes* at the subdiapente dictated the mode of the Mass. Josquin's F Ionian setting is investigated, then Compere's and Obrecht's E Phrygian readings and finally the D Dorian deliveries of Regis, Pipelare and La Rue.



**For my mother Daisy Anne Walters  
whose great sacrifices and perpetual  
encouragement made it possible for me to  
study music against what seemed impossible  
odds**

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Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv provided microfilms of the Continental manuscripts needed for the research, and the National Library of Scotland that containing Carver's *L'homme armé* Mass. I am grateful for the assistance and courtesy shown by the staff of the British Library, Brunel University Library, Senate House Library of London University and Westminster City Library.

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## Abbreviations

### Journals

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>AF</i>	<i>Annales de la fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique</i>
<i>BAMS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>CM</i>	<i>Current Musicology</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JM</i>	<i>Journal of Musicology</i>
<i>JMT</i>	<i>Journal of Music Theory</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>KB</i>	<i>Kolner Beitrage zur Musikforschung</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>Music Review</i>
<i>PM</i>	<i>Perspectives in Musicology</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RBM</i>	<i>Revue belge de musicologie</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Studia Musicologica</i>
<i>TVNM</i>	<i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i>
<i>ZM</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft</i>

**Books** (full details may be found in the Bibliography)

<i>Antoine Busnoys</i>	<i>Antoine Busnoys Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music</i> , ed. Paula Higgins
<i>Aragonese Court</i>	Allan Atlas, <i>Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples</i>
<i>Atlas, Renaissance</i>	Allan Atlas, <i>Renaissance Music, Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600</i>
<i>Born for the Muses</i>	Rob. C. Wegman, <i>Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht</i>
<i>Brown, Renaissance</i>	Howard Mayer Brown, <i>Music in the Renaissance</i>
<i>Cantus Firmus</i>	Edgar, H. Sparks, <i>Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520</i>
CC	<i>Census-Catalogue of manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music: 1400-1550</i>
<i>CMRM</i>	ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows, <i>Companion to Medieval &amp; Renaissance Music</i>
<i>European Music</i>	Reinhard Strohm, <i>The Rise of European Music 1380-1500</i>
<i>EME</i>	ed. Iain Fenlon, <i>Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe</i>
<i>French Secular Theater</i>	Howard Mayer Brown, <i>Music in the French Secular Theater of the Fifteenth Century</i>
GR	<i>Graduale Romanum</i>
JC	ed. Richard Sherr, <i>Josquin Companion</i>
<i>Jacob Obrecht</i>	Otto Gombosi, <i>Jacob Obrecht: Eine stilkritische Studie</i>
<i>LMM</i>	ed. Stanley Boorman, <i>Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music</i>
LU	<i>Liber Usualis</i>
MS	<i>Musicological Studies</i>

- MSD* *Musicological Studies and Documents*
- Notation* Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*
- NG* *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd. ed.
- NOHM* *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. III ed. Dom Anselm Hughes
- Performer's Guide* *A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*  
ed. Jeffrey Kite-Powell
- Performance and Practice* *Performance Practice: Music before 1600*, eds  
Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie
- Perkins, Renaissance* Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*
- PJC* ed. Edward Lowinsky and Bonnie Blackburn, *Proceedings of the  
International Josquin Festival-Conference*
- Reese, Renaissance* Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*
- Renaissance Ferrara* Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505*
- Pierre de la Rue* Josef Robyns, *Pierre de la Rue (circa 1460-1518)  
Een Bio-Bibliographische Studie*
- Source Readings* ed. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*
- Studies* Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance  
Music*
- Vendrix,* ed. *Actes du XLe Colloque international d'étude humanistes*
- Walter Frye* Sylvia Kenney, *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise*
- Editions**
- Morton* ed. Allan Atlas, *Robert Morton. The Collected Works*
- CMM* *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*
- DMPLSER* *Documenta Majora Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae  
Romanae*

<i>EDM</i>	<i>Das Erbe deutscher Musik</i>
<i>MB</i>	<i>Musica Britannica</i>
<i>MMB</i>	<i>Monumenta Musicae Belgicae</i>
<i>MME</i>	<i>Monumentos de la Música Española</i>
<i>MMR</i>	<i>Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance</i>
<i>MRM</i>	<i>Monuments of Renaissance Music</i>
<i>MPLSER</i>	<i>Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae</i>
<i>Werken</i>	<i>Werken van Josquin Des Pres</i> , ed. Albert Smijers, et. al.

### **Manuscript Sigla**

B 9126	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 9126
Carver Choir-Book	National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms 5. 1. 15
Chigi 234	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms CVIII 234 ('Chigi Codex')
CS 14	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Cappella Sistina 14
CS 35	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms Cappella Sistina 35
CS 41	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms Cappella Sistina 41
CS 49	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms Cappella Sistina 49
CS 64	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms Cappella Sistina 64
E 40	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VI. E. 40
J 2	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 2
J 3	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 3

J 7	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 7
J 12	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 12
J 20	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 20
J 21	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 21
J 22	Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 22
M.1.2	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms <i>alpha</i> M. 1. 2
V 1783	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 1783

### **Pitches**

Pitch levels will be referred to as follows -  $c'$  middle c, and  $c''$ ,  $c$  and  $C$  respectively an octave above an octave below and two octaves below middle c.

## Introduction

The origin of this study was very modest and began as a revival of the techniques of transcription that I had employed in my Master's degree some years earlier. My subject then was the 1503 Petrucci publication of five four-part Masses by Pierre de la Rue. Included in the study were my editions of the three Masses, which at that time had not appeared in a modern edition. Apart from a copy of the Petrucci print I also had microfilms of Brussels 9126, Vienna 1783, Jena 22 and Chigi 234 which contained many of La Rue's other four-part Masses.

During my work on the Masses I was the Director of Music at St. Clement Danes school and I had at my disposal a competent choir. Thus there were always opportunities to sing the newly transcribed Masses and many occasions they were performed publicly, especially in the grateful acoustic of St. Clement Danes Church itself. From this grew a love for the beauty not only of La Rue's music but also that of the generations before and following.

My original intention was to transcribe the other La Rue Masses that I had on microfilm, solely for my own benefit in bringing the music to life; even restricted to a medium as imperfect as the piano, at least the notes on the paper became sounds. However, although I had no thought of making a detailed analysis of La Rue's handling of his chosen material, through the physical process of transcribing so many Masses certain regular patterns began to appear. As the information accumulated I felt that a focus was needed for my findings. I was surprised to learn just how little had been done on La Rue's cantus-firmus treatment in his four-part Masses, (although the subject had been treated in the ones for five and six voices). This led to the idea for presenting it as a subject for doctoral dissertation.

During my interview at Brunel I spoke enthusiastically about the manner in which La Rue had used the vocal force in his *Missa L'homme armé* to emphasise important structural presentations of the borrowed melody. Almost as an *obiter dictum* Dr. Aplin (my future supervisor) asked whether I had thought of widening my research, so as not to restrict it to one

composer but instead to look at aspects of the *Missa L'homme armé* tradition itself. Thus the seed was sown.

Initially the idea was to include all the complete surviving compositions in the *Missa L'homme armé* tradition. The work began by examining the Masses in relation to the three known secular settings of the *l'homme armé* melody. At this early point the study had no shape other than a list of individual composers and their particular manipulations of the secular song. But certain idiosyncratic treatments of the same parts of the borrowed melody began to recur with such regularity across the entire Mass tradition that they had to be addressed in more detail. So fruitful did this avenue prove to be that it became patently obvious that I had to limit my original plan of including all of the 34 Masses. Therefore the main focus became centred upon the most prolific period of *L'homme armé* Mass writing, that being within a very loose period of c. 1450-c. 1500 (but not neglecting those Masses by later composers). It is from this flexible time span that specific manipulations to which the secular song was subjected as a cantus firmus will be examined.

Individual *l'homme armé* Masses had received attention previously, some in detail (and others not in the same depth) and even comparisons made with their sister Masses structured on the melody. But there had been no published material examining this main body of Masses as a related group that used the secular melody as a cantus firmus.<sup>1</sup> The scenario appeared invitingly untouched.

Libraries proved invaluable with their access to the modern editions of the Masses. But having transcribed so many of the La Rue Masses and through that very process unconsciously

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<sup>1</sup> The exception is Walter Haass's, 'Studien zu den *L'homme armé*-Messen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *KB* (1984). Haass surveys the complete *L'homme armé* Mass complex but does not explore in detail the two main issues investigated in this dissertation. Caution must be taken over his library sigla, he gives CS 16 for the Regis Mass (should be CS 14), and J 3 for the anonymous four-part Mass attributed to La Rue, which should read J 2.



becoming aware of certain recurring features of his compositional techniques, I felt certain that the same direct approach might produce similar findings across the body of *L'homme armé* Masses central to the study. Therefore the corpus of Masses at the centre of the research was transcribed, even where good modern editions existed (the sources used will be acknowledged at the relevant places in the main text). Having transcriptions of the compositions allowed them to be permanently to hand. The three exceptions were the Masses by Du Fay, the four-part one by Morales (which although deeply pertinent to the discussion of the E Phrygian presentations of the original tune, nevertheless lay outside the boundaries of the central part of the dissertation) and the Regis motet *O admirabile commercium*. In all cases the musical examples are taken from the respective modern editions.

Gradually the fashion in which the two phrases which opened the middle portion of the *res facta* were delivered assumed an ever-increasing importance across the complete tradition. Their influence was multifaceted, from forming three sub-cultures within the whole corpus of the *L'homme armé* network, to influencing entire Mass structures and the free voices of the polyphony. So fertile did this avenue of investigation prove to be that the findings took on an importance to a larger number of Masses. It also raised the question as to how many of the versions of the *l'homme armé* melody an individual composer drew upon for the cantus firmus of a single Mass. Taken together these complementary issues quite naturally formed Part I of the dissertation.

In a similar manner the different modes in which individual composers placed the borrowed tune melody originally was meant to form a relatively small part of the study. But the floodgates were opened by the six anonymous Naples Masses. This related group of Masses provides the only occasion where the exact version of the secular tune used as the cantus firmus is known. But not a single Mass placed its cantus firmus in the G Mixolydian mode of the stated version. The anomaly had to be addressed as well as the corresponding one as to why so many

composers did not use the G Mixolydian mode of the three known versions of the song, and why the greater majority preferred a minor setting of the tune either in a Dorian or Phrygian mode.

This area (like that of phs. 3 and 4) proved so productive that the question of 'pitch' became Part II.

What was a surprising, and quite an accidental discovery, was that in certain contexts as a cantus firmus the *l'homme armé* melody presented composers with technical difficulties. At times the problems that had to be solved were so great that it caused one to wonder whether composers were aware of these disadvantages beforehand, so that the challenge of overcoming them became the real spur to the writing of a *L'homme armé* Mass.

In the *L'homme armé* literature it has been usual to label the constituent units of a single phrase as self-contained melodic cells.<sup>2</sup> I prefer to refer to the seven phrases intact, the rationale being that even when a single phrase is segmented in its cantus-firmus function the application of the technique only makes real sense in its relation to the complete phrase. Henceforth reference to a single phrase will be made to ph. 1, ph. 2 and so on, or if to more than one phrase as phs. 1 and 2. By this means I hope that the text will not become overburdened with abbreviations and labels. By the same token the three main parts of the vernacular tune will be identified as Ai, B and Aii and any deviations to this original sequence in an individual Mass will always be quite clear. Where other conditions prevail they will be explained in the relevant places.

I have deliberated long and hard as to the form the technical terminology should take. For the sake of clarity it has been decided to use terms which are common in present-day musical language. Therefore words such as 'harmony', 'harmonic', 'major', 'minor', 'triadic' and 'bar'

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<sup>2</sup> Lewis Lockwood, 'Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition', *PRMA* 100 (1973), 103, Judith Cohen, 'Munus ab Ignoto', *SM* 22 (1980), 187, Haass, 'Studien', 84 and Bonnie Blackburn, 'Masses on Popular Songs and on Syllables', *JC* (2002), 55.

together with Roman numerals for cadential progressions are used freely. This in no way is meant to suggest that they are used within the context of the tonally-formulated harmonic language of a later period, but within that of the compositional processes of the period when the Masses were written.

The very nature of the study means that there is much discussion of technical details. Nevertheless I have always endeavoured to keep the total musical context at the forefront of the discussion, for this has been my ultimate goal, a greater appreciation and awareness not only of the technical feats, but more of how they were employed to produce music of power and beauty. One of my early teachers made a remark which made such an impression that it has stayed with me, saying that 'a few bars of the music will explain more than half a page of words'. This is the reason for volume II. If at times I have erred with too many examples, or if some are rather long, it has not been because I have underestimated the perception of the reader, but results from my desire to complement the written word, which however elegantly and precisely used can never have the same impact as the music itself.

## Chapter I

### The L'Homme Armé Melody

#### *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* (For the Greater Glory of God)

This Jesuit acclamation succinctly describes the high status to which a humble secular melody rose to become a most favoured cantus firmus, and as such the fertile progenitor of a large group of some 34 extant compositions within the history of the polyphonic Mass Ordinary.<sup>1</sup> Across a span of around two hundred years the melody was the source of inspiration for some of the most technically brilliant and emotionally powerful compositions written within the tradition of the cyclic Mass.

The origins of the song itself are obscure. Three extant versions are preserved separately in Naples, Ms VI E. 40 (c. early to mid- 1470's),<sup>2</sup> the Mellon Chansonier (c. 1475-76),<sup>3</sup> and the Casanatense Chansonier (c. 1479-81).<sup>4</sup> E. 40 was the first source to be discovered in 1925 by Dragan Plamenac.<sup>5</sup> There it is preserved as a monophonic tune with (what was then) the only

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<sup>1</sup> This total includes only the surviving complete Mass cycles and not those, which are incomplete, or the Masses known to have existed from documentary evidence, but are presumably lost. When the latter two groups are included the final total is one of some 44 Masses. Modern Masses on the *l'homme armé* tune are Peter Maxwell Davies's *Missa super l'homme armé* based on Anonymous Naples II (1971) and *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* by Karl Jenkins (2000). My sincere thanks to Professor Fallows for his thoughtfulness and generosity for including his personal list of *L'homme armé* Masses with his reply to a question of mine.

<sup>2</sup> Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms VI E. 40 (E. 40 henceforth). The manuscript is devoted to six related anonymous Masses on the song. Only in the sixth Mass is the complete melody given. See Judith Cohen, *The Six Anonymous Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms VI E. 40, MSD 21* (1968), 72-74. For a dating of the manuscript see Cohen, *Munus ab ignoto, SM 22* (1980), 199-203, and Ronald Woodley, 'Tinctoris's Italian Translations of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and a (Possible) Context', *EMH 8* (1988), 178-87.

<sup>3</sup> Mellon Chansonier New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ms 91, no 34 in the edition, *The Mellon Chansonier*, eds. Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey (1979), from this point onwards referred to as Mellon. For a dating of the Chansonier see Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonier*, vol. I, 17-26 and Perkins, *Renaissance*, 764. This setting of the song is also to be found in Perkins, *Renaissance*, 303, and Jaap van Benthem, *Johannes Ockeghem, Missa L'homme armé, Masses and Mass Sections*, fascicle II, 2 (1999), 31.

<sup>4</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms 2856, shortened to Casanatense onwards. for the dating of Casanatense see Lockwood, *Renaissance Ferrara*, Table 7, 217. Mellon and Casanatense readings of the song are given in *Atlas Morton*, 7-10.

<sup>5</sup> Dragan Plamenac, 'La Chanson de *L'Homme armé* et le manuscrit VI E. 40 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Naples', *AF, Congres jubilaire*, 25 (1925), 229-30.

known stanza of text (ex. 1).<sup>6</sup> Since 1925 two hypotheses have been voiced as to the original setting of that version of the song; was it a monophonic composition, or the tenor of a polyphonic one? Otto Gombosi initiated the debate in 1928 contending that the single line of melody must have been the tenor of a three-part chanson, the words originally belonging to the superius and then grafted onto the tenor.<sup>7</sup> Plamenac believed that tune and text belonged together from the very beginning.<sup>8</sup> Eventually Gombosi agreed with Plamenac.

Suggestions concerning the primary purpose of the text and melody are varied. They range from it being a rallying cry to make battle with the Turks,<sup>9</sup> as protest against the military (where the 'armed man' represents the enemy),<sup>10</sup> to a *chanson rustique*,<sup>11</sup> or it being part of some theatrical entertainment involving both military and civilian characters.<sup>12</sup> The provenance of the melody has even been connected with the *Maison l'homme armé*, a canonical house in Cambrai patronised by Du Fay, le Breton, Regis, Caron and Ockeghem, all of whom had associations with the song in one form or another.<sup>13</sup>

As a Mass cantus firmus the song (with the military overtones in the text) would have provided a most apposite reference to some of the well-known soldier saints of the period such

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<sup>6</sup> Ex. and exs. mean example and examples. The version of the song in Reese, *Renaissance*, 73, duplicated in Apel *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (1969), 467, is said to follow the version in E 40, but there are discrepancies. Lockwood points out the differences between the Reese and the Apel versions and the authentic E. 40 one, 'Aspects', 104 n. 22. Archibald Davison and Willi Apel in their *Historical Anthology of Music* (1962), vol. II, 7 no. 66, give a version of the song minus the dropping fifth at the end of ph. 2. This too is not a true reading of the melody in E. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Otto Gombosi, 'Bemerkungen zur *L'Homme armé*-Frage', *ZM* 10 (1928), 609-12.

<sup>8</sup> Dragan Plamenac, 'Zur *L'Homme armé*-Frage', *ZM* 11 (1928-29), 376-83.

<sup>9</sup> Ruth Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *JAMS* 5 (1952), 168.

<sup>10</sup> Geoffrey Chew, 'The Early Cyclic Mass as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy' *ML* 53 (1972), 267.

<sup>11</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *French Secular Theater*, 105-13. concerning the *chanson rustique* Rob. C. Wegman writes '...but one needs to read the texts of only a few *chansons rustiques* to realise that their concern with matters political, sexual, and religious is decidedly tongue-in-cheek, if not downright coarse', 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys', *Antoine Busnoys*, 195.

<sup>12</sup> Lockwood, 'Aspects', 107.

<sup>13</sup> Craig Wright, 'Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions', *JAMS* 28 (1975), 211. Wegman shows that the phrase 'l'homme armé' was commonplace, there being a street of that name in Paris, a game of fighting a Turk's head, *jeu de l'homme armé* in France and the equivalent in Italy *la course à l'homme armé*, 'Mensural Intertextuality', *Antoine Busnoys*, 197, also see Cohen, 'Munus' 189.

as George, Michael and Martin. Lockwood links the tune with the military reforms initiated by Charles VII of France, the monarch who established the ‘compagnies d’ordonnances’ to bring his army under better control.<sup>14</sup> Charles brought Johannes Ockeghem into the royal chapel and nominated him treasurer of the Church of St. Martin of Tours. Ockeghem was at St. Martin’s from 1451 (or even earlier) until his death in 1497. Antoine Busnoys was in residence during the 1460’s and quite possibly was a student of Ockeghem.<sup>15</sup> Both men wrote Masses over the *l’homme armé* tune at the very beginning of the tradition. Perkins presents a hypothesis for the melody having been used early on in Masses in honour of St. Martin.<sup>16</sup>

Both the secular song and the origins of the Mass tradition have been linked with the demand for polyphonic liturgical music for the Order of the Golden Fleece, created in 1430 by Philip the Good (reigned 1419-67) and continued by his son Charles the Bold (reigned 1467-77). It was one of the most powerful institutions of political and chivalric power in late medieval Europe.<sup>17</sup> The Dukes of Burgundy commissioned polyphonic Mass settings for the weekly celebrations in the Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon in honour of the Order’s patron saint, Andrew.<sup>18</sup> Charles has been cited as the ‘armed man’ of the cantus tune. The military allusions in the song’s text would have been more than apposite to the warrior-like Charles who compared

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<sup>14</sup> Lockwood, ‘Aspects’, 106.

<sup>15</sup> Paula Higgins, ‘In *Hydraulis* Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois’, *JAMS* 39 (1986), 70-74.

<sup>16</sup> St. Martin was one of the most venerated saints of the age, a soldier-saint whose actual earthly existence is well documented, unlike the lives of Sts. George and Michael, see Higgins ‘In *Hydraulis*’, 72 ns. 112 and 113. Leeman Perkins suggests that with all the known evidence when it ‘...is woven together make a strand strong enough to sustain the hypothesis that the melody was used, early on, to compose polyphonic Mass Ordinaries for the celebration of his [St. Martin’s] feast’. (Personal communication from Professor Perkins).

<sup>17</sup> See William F. Prizer, ‘Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries, Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece’, *EMH* 5 (1985), 113-53. Flynn Warmington supplies another context that might have provided the impetus for the Mass tradition, namely the custom of holding a drawn sword aloft during the reading of the Gospel at certain Masses. See ‘The Ceremony of the Armed Man: The Sword, the Altar, and the *L’homme armé* Masses’, *Antoine Busnoys*, 89-130. Michael Long associates the origins *l’homme armé* song with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. See his ‘*Arma virumque cano: Echoes of a Golden Age*’, *Antoine Busnoys*, 133-54.

<sup>18</sup> Sylvia W. Kenney, *Walter Frye*, 37; also Howard Mayer Brown, ‘Music and Ritual’, *Antoine Busnoys*, 59.

himself with the great military leaders of history.<sup>19</sup>

The three-part Mellon setting has the *l'homme armé* tune serving as a tenor for two newly written additional voices (ex. 2). With a double text it is an example of a combinative chanson. The superius carries the rondeau text *Il sera pour vous combatu* and the two lower voices the *l'homme armé* verse. Topical allusions to the musician Simon le Breton doing battle with the 'doubté Turcq' in the top voice gives a possible date of 1464 for this version of the tune. The chanson may have been written for le Breton's retirement from the Burgundian court that year,<sup>20</sup> although this is not a conclusive date for the *l'homme armé* melody itself. Lockwood suggests 1450, or slightly earlier.<sup>21</sup>

Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511)<sup>22</sup> one of the most prominent theorist of the period not only composed a *Missa L'homme armé* but also was also closely connected with the Mellon Chansonnier itself, and maybe the Naples E. 40 manuscript as well.<sup>23</sup> From c. 1472-94 he was in the service of King Ferrante of Naples where the manuscript was compiled.<sup>24</sup> Perkins's and Woodley's investigations into the role Tinctoris played in putting together the Chansonnier show that the theorist himself most probably was the actual scribe of text and music.

The four-part setting in Casanatense largely corresponds with that in Mellon (ex. 3). As far as the *l'homme armé* tune itself is concerned the main difference between them lies in the first phrase of B (compare ph. 3 exs. 2 and 3). Later it will be shown just how significant the

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<sup>19</sup> David Fallows, *Dufay*, 201-02. Richard Vaughan in his *Charles The Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (1973), 197, quotes a dispatch from the Milanese ambassador at the Burgundian Court describing Charles:

All his pleasures, his very thought, is of men at arms... he fancied himself as a world conqueror... Everybody, including Charles himself seems to have thought of him as, or compared to Alexander the Great, or Charlemagne, or Hannibal, or Caesar. These were the objects of his tapestries, his reading, perhaps his dreams.

Also quoted by Cohen, 'Munus', 204.

<sup>20</sup> See Strohm, *European Music*, 456, n. 247 who quotes from David Fallows, *Robert Morton's Songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century*, Ph. D. dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1978).

<sup>21</sup> Lockwood, 'Aspects', 105.

<sup>22</sup> Ronald Woodley, 'Johannes Tinctoris', *NG*, vol. 25, 497-501

<sup>23</sup> Woodley, 'Italian Translations', 179-89.

<sup>24</sup> Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 17-26, and Atlas, *Aragonese Court*, 74.

difference is for the corpus of Masses erected upon this version of the melody. Like all the other compositions in the manuscript the *a4* reading of the song has no complete text, only an incipit. A convincing claim has been made that the contents were intended for instrumental use.<sup>25</sup> Of the three redactions this is the only one to carry a name, that of Borton. There is no available documentary evidence associating this name with any known composer of the period. It could be a corrupt scribal ascription, and David Fallows feels that it is the name of the English composer Robert Morton (c. 1430-76).<sup>26</sup> On the other hand Richard Taruskin claims that quite equally it could be a distorted spelling of Antoine Busnoys's name (c. 1430 d. shortly before 6th November 1492).<sup>27</sup> In general the quality of the calligraphy of French names in the manuscript is poor.<sup>28</sup>

Taruskin also draws attention to the fact that Busnoys is the most represented composer in Mellon, which contains a total of fifteen chansons (over a quarter of the codex's contents). More than half of these are not assigned in Mellon, but are known from other sources to be by Busnoys. Taruskin contends that a source containing over twenty percent of the composer's output, non-attributed compositions would likely to be by Busnoys. The reverse is true for Morton, represented with only three works including *Il sera pour vous combatu*, which is in any case a questionable Morton composition. The situation is paralleled in Casanatense with twelve assigned works of Busnoys and only two to Morton, again including the doubtful *Il sera pour vous combatu*.<sup>29</sup> Allan Atlas questions the attributions to Morton in this source.<sup>30</sup> He focuses attention on another composition in the manuscript also with an added bass part, *Cela sans plus*.

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<sup>25</sup> Lockwood, *Renaissance Ferrara*, 269-72.

<sup>26</sup> Strohm, *European Music*, 470, quoting from Fallows, *Robert Morton Songs*, also Fallows, 'Letters to the Editor', *JAMS* 40 (1987), 146-48, and Fallows, 'Robert Morton', *MG*, vol. 12, 596

<sup>27</sup> Richard Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme arme* Tradition', *JAMS* 39 (1986), 255-93, and Paula Higgins, 'Antoine Busnoys', *MG*, vol. 4, 660-69

<sup>28</sup> The name of Borton is not the only one to have been written incorrectly. Several times Josquin's name is spelt with a 'k' instead of 'qu'. See Lockwood, *Renaissance Ferrara*, 224 and 271.

<sup>29</sup> Taruskin, 'Busnoys', 265 n. 20, and 290-91

<sup>30</sup> Atlas, *Morton*, XXXV.



Here the scribe has entered the name of Johannes Martini above the bass, suggesting that Martini was responsible for that voice only. The fact that Morton's name was not entered in an analogous position in the *L'homme armé* composition may signify that the scribe regarded him as the composer of the original three-part version.<sup>31</sup>

Opinion is still divided on Morton as the composer of the Mellon setting. Atlas has shown that stylistically it is very different from Morton's other extant chansons. Moreover, it would be the only bi-textual chanson in his oeuvre, and also the only one to use a pre-existing melody (assuming Morton did not write the *l'homme armé* tune itself).<sup>32</sup> Considering all the available evidence, in conclusion Atlas concedes that there is no real incongruity in giving authorship to Morton. The chanson, he feels, might be a 'humorous celebration' of the composer's retirement from the Burgundian court.<sup>33</sup> Sylvia Kenney supports the attribution to Morton on the grounds that the composition bears some relationship to the English carol *Princeps serenissime*.<sup>34</sup> The same premise is used by Manfred Bukofzer to favour Morton.<sup>35</sup> Bukofzer places the Mellon version within the first half of the fifteenth century (the Du Fay-Binchois generation). His conclusions are drawn from the presence of archaic cadences derived from English descant and also the fauxbourdon-like passages. Endorsement for Morton also comes from Peter Gülke,<sup>36</sup> Brian Trowell,<sup>37</sup> Perkins and Garey.<sup>38</sup> Those who, with Taruskin, cast

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<sup>31</sup> Atlas, *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Atlas, *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Atlas, *ibid.*, XXXIV.

<sup>34</sup> Sylvia Kenney, *Walter Frye*, 173-74. Edition, *Medieval Carols*, MB 4, ed. John Stevens, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Bukofzer, *Studies*, 160-61, also see Bentzen, *Masses and Mass Sections*, XII-XIII.

<sup>36</sup> See his 'Das Volkslied in der burgundischen Polyphonie des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler* (1961), 182.

<sup>37</sup> *Invitation to Medieval Music*, (1976) III, 48.

<sup>38</sup> *The Mellon Chansonier*, 330.

doubt on Morton's authorship are Gustave Reese,<sup>39</sup> Judith Cohen,<sup>40</sup> and Lewis Lockwood.<sup>41</sup>

One authority has even suggested Du Fay as the composer based on the known fact that he and Maistre Symon were close friends.<sup>42</sup>

There is a greater consensus in accepting Morton as the composer of the four-part Casanatense version. Bukofzer makes a strong claim on the composer's behalf. Observing the close relationship between the two redactions he felt that Morton not only added a bass, but also showed that he also adjusted some of the *a3* cadences from VII6-I to *a4* V-I.<sup>43</sup> There are indeed cadential changes, but that was not unusual when re-working an *a3* composition into one for four voices. What Bukofzer did not note were the divergent endings between phs. 3 and 4 in the two settings. Whilst this is not significant in itself, in relation to the *Missa L'homme armé* complex the different closes to the two phrases had unimaginable implications for the structural organisation of a large body of Masses (see Chapter 2). If Morton did write the Casanatense version then he did more than add a bass and alter some of the cadences; melodic changes were made as well. Another contender for this four-part arrangement is promoted tentatively by Rob C. Wegman, namely Pieter Bordon (c. 1450-d. after 1484). Posterity remembers him mainly as a composer of song arrangements.<sup>44</sup>

So who did compose the *l'homme armé* melody? Taruskin quotes from Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello in musica* (1523)<sup>45</sup> supporting his claim for Busnoys:

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<sup>39</sup> Reese, *Renaissance*, 73

<sup>40</sup> *Six Anonymous Masses*, 19.

<sup>41</sup> 'Aspects', 100. However, Lockwood later states, 'Probably earliest is the setting in the Mellon Chansonnier, which largely corresponds to the setting by Morton in the Casanatense Chansonnier.', 'Aspects', 103.

<sup>42</sup> Ruth Hannas, 'Deletions', 168.

<sup>43</sup> Bukofzer, 'Popular and Secular Music in England', *NOHM* III (1960), 130.

<sup>44</sup> Rob. C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 70-72, and n. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Book I, Chapter 38, 55, translated Peter Berquist (1970).

per la qual cosa si esistima, che da Busnois fussi *trovato* quel canto chiamato lome arme, notato con il segno puntato, & che da lui fussi tolto il tenore; & perche esso era breve, che da lui per haver campo piu largo senza mutar segno fussi trasmutata la misura. [the italics are mine]

it is believed that Busnois wrote that song called *L'homme armé*, notated it with a dotted signature and the tenor was taken from him; and since it was short, that he altered the metre in order to fill out a longer interval without changing the signature.<sup>46</sup>

Rheinhard Strohm points to an error in the translation, stating that the passage should read ‘...it is believed that by Busnoys was *found* that song called ‘the armed man’, notated with a dotted sign and that by him was taken the tenor’<sup>47</sup> (again the italics are mine). Paula Higgins has shown that Busnoys could not have arrived at the Burgundian court earlier than the summer of 1465.<sup>48</sup>

Another name linked with the composition of the melody is that of Ockeghem. Tomaso Cimelli (fl.c. 1540) in his *Discorso sulle Prolazioni* makes two observations, one with regard to Ockeghem’s use of the major prolation and the other concerning the authorship of the tune itself:

Occheghen et Giosquino, che a loro tempi erano compositori di gran autoritade, quali non errarono in tal prolazione perfetta, ch’io l’ho inteso da discepoli di Giosquino c’havendo Occheghen composta une canzone detta l’Homme Armé, cipilose queste parole come canone *crescat in duplum* che l’Homme Armé si puo dir homo doppio di carne viva e di ferro, et cosi fecero addoppiare le note e le pause di tal canzone...  
Occheghen and Giosquino who in their time were composers of authority even if not perfect in the art of prolation. I learned this from disciples of Giosquino on the occasion

<sup>46</sup> Taruskin, ‘Busnoys’, 290.

<sup>47</sup> Strohm, *European Music*, 470, n. 282. He shows that the verb *trovato* means found (not composed) and the form of the verbs *chiamato* and *notato* suggest that the melody was already in existence with a name and a mensural sign. Lockwood translates *trovato* as ‘invented’, Lockwood, ‘Aspects’, 98 n. 4. Blackburn notes that a possible meaning for *trovato* can be ‘composed’, ‘Masses on Popular Songs’, *JC* 54 n. 12.

<sup>48</sup> Higgins, ‘*In Hydraulis*’, 75.

Ockeghen composed a song known as the L'Homme Armé. He made use of the words *crescat in duplum* so that the L'Homme Armé can be described as a man of full flesh and iron, in this way prolonging the notes and pauses of the song...<sup>49</sup>

This tune, with no known definite ancestry was also used in other genres, composers within the period of this dissertation, who did so were Johannes Regis (c. 1425-1496),<sup>50</sup> Johannes Tinctoris,<sup>51</sup> Philippe Basiron (c. 1449 d. shortly before 31st. May 1491),<sup>52</sup> Josquin des Prez (c. 1450-1521)<sup>53</sup> and Johannes Japart.<sup>54</sup>

### The Three Versions of the Melody

All three versions of the song share the same mode (G Mixolydian), a tripartite structure, initial rising fourths in Ai and Aii and descending skips of a fifth at the ends of phs. 1, 2 and 6. The B portions of the song although similar are not exact (see exs. 1-3). From two perspectives the differences are important, regarding the inter-relationships between the three versions themselves and individually as respective models for the Masses. Moreover the variant features will be given in evidence to demonstrate that the claim for Busnoys having written the two polyphonic settings is not a convincing one.

<sup>49</sup> Perkins, 'The L'homme Armé Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: A Comparison', *JM* III (1984), 381 n. 44.

<sup>50</sup> Sean Gallagher, 'Johannes Regis', *NG*, vol. 21, 103-05. Regis's six-part motet *Ave rosa speciosa* has the lowest voice singing the text *Ave regina celorum* to the *l'homme arme* melody. See Fallows, 'The Life of Johannes Regis c. 1425-1496', *RBM* 43 (1989), 143-72. Doubt as been cast on Regis's authorship of the motet, see Edward F. Houghton, 'A "New" Motet by Johannes Regis', *TVNM* 33 (1983), 49-74, and Fallows, 'Regis', 168 n. 122.

<sup>51</sup> In his *Proportionale musices*, c. 1472-75, trans. Albert Seay, 'The *Proportionale Musices* of Johannes Tinctoris', *JMT* 1 (1957), 22-75, Tinctoris quotes a two-voiced quodlibet. The beginning of the *l'homme arme* melody is combined with *O rosa bella*. See Lockwood 'Aspects', 100-102, and Strohm, *European Music*, 392-93 and 544.

<sup>52</sup> A four-part chanson combining the superius of Ockeghem's *D'ung aultre amer* with the *l'homme arme* song, see Howard Brown, *French Secular Theater*, 210 no. 85k, also Lockwood, 'Aspects', 103 and n. 22. Basiron's biographical details are almost non-existent, see Jeffrey Dean, 'Philippe Basiron', *NG*, vol. 2, 842-43. Paula Higgins has suggested that Basiron may have studied with Faugues, see her 'Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers. The Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges', *AcM* 62 (1990), 1-28.

<sup>53</sup> A puzzle canon, it opens Petrucci's *Canti B* (1502), ed., Helen Hewitt, *Ottaviano Petrucci, Canti B numero cinquanta*, *MRM* vol. 2 (1967). See also Jeffrey Dean, et alia, 'Josquin des Pres', *NG*, vol. 13, 220-6

<sup>54</sup> Japart has the *l'homme arme* tune as the bass of an *a4* chanson; superius and tenor carry the melody *Il est de bonne heure né*. See Brown, *French Secular Theater*, 226 no 165f, and Lockwood, 'Aspects', 103 n. 22. Little is known about Japart's life. From 1473-77 he was at the Sforza court in Milan. After the assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza on 26 December 1476, he was given freedom of exit from Milan. He was at Ferrarese court from 1477-81. See Lockwood, *Renaissance Ferrara*, 272, also Edward Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', *PJC* (1976), 40-41. Atlas has presented a tentative case that Japart may have been a pupil of Busnoys; see 'Busnoys and Japart: Teacher and Student?', *Antoine Busnoys*, 447-64.

The anomalies will be addressed first. On five different points one of the three versions of the melody agrees or disagrees with one of the other two on separate issues. They are:

- 1) tenor phrase structure
- 2) falling fifth closing ph. 1
- 3) falling fifth closing ph. 3
- 4) approach to the final d' of ph. 3<sup>55</sup>
- 5) distribution of the text itself.

Mellon and Casanatense agree on the first point for their tenors have only six phrases, placed symmetrically in three groups of two across the ternary design of the tune thus, Ai (phs. 1 and 2) B (phs. 3 and 5) Aii (phs. 6 and 7). Ph. 4 is given to the contratenor (see exs. 1 and 2, bs. 9-11). E. 40's monophonic tenor has all seven phrases in a 2-3-2 grouping, articulating the melody's three-part form. Regarding the second point, Mellon and Casanatense each have a rest before the falling fifth ending ph. 1. There is no corresponding rest in E. 40.

The third variant relates to the falling fifth closing ph. 3 in Mellon and Casanatense, but absent from E. 40. In all probability this fifth is the result of polyphonic elaboration, especially as it is sounded against ph. 4 in the contratenor. Even so the interval is an integral part of the tenor lines in Mellon and Casanatense.

Point four concerns the descent to the final d' in phs. 3 and 4. Mellon approaches the two endings by a step from e' to d' both times, E. 40 by a downward leap of a fourth from g' to d'. Casanatense employs both descents, ph. 3 with the falling fourth and ph. 4 via a step. The final point concerns the aspect of text underlay in Mellon and E. 40. The single voice of E. 40 carries the complete chanson text whereas when the contratenor quotes ph. 4 in Mellon and does so with the original text 'Que chascun se viegne armer'.

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<sup>55</sup> I became aware of this point when transcribing the La Rue's *L'homme armé* Mass. Subsequently it was found to have been mentioned almost as an *obiter dictum* by Taruskin, 'Busnoys', 292 n. 64, and Lockwood, 'Aspects' 103.

Regarding the three versions of the secular song (but not the three settings) and their relationship to the *L'homme armé* Mass tradition. E. 40 with the dropping fourths concluding phs. 3 and 4 could have served as a model for twelve Masses only, those by Busnoys, Caron (fl. c. 1460-75),<sup>56</sup> Bertrand de Vaqueras (c. 1450-1507),<sup>57</sup> anonymous Bologna Q 16, the six E. 40 Masses,<sup>58</sup> Jacob Obrecht (c. 1457/58-1505)<sup>59</sup> and Loyset Compere (c. 1445-1518).<sup>60</sup> Yet only two of these actually employ the G Mixolydian setting of the original tune found in E. 40, the anonymous Bologna Q 16 Mass,<sup>61</sup> and the one by Vaqueras.<sup>62</sup> A smaller number of Masses have a tenor with phs. 3 and 4 ending with descents of a step as in Mellon. These four settings are by Guillaume Faugues (fl. 1460-75),<sup>63</sup> two by Josquin (*Missae L'homme armé super voces musicales* and *sexti toni*) and Mathurin Forestier (fl. c. 1500-35).<sup>64</sup> A third group of Masses utilises the version of the song found in Casanatense. It includes those by Du Fay (1397-1474),<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> No direct documentation of Caron's life is known. In all probability the composer was a Firminus Caron who is recorded as having written an *L'homme armé* Mass, see Strohm, *European Music*, 451. For a detailed study as to which Caron was which see Barbara Haggh, 'Busnoys and "Caron" in Documents from Brussels', *Antoine Busnoys*, 295-309, and Fallows, 'Firminus Caron', *NG*, vol. 6, 180-84.

<sup>57</sup> See Richard Sherr, *Bertrandus de Vaqueras, Opera omnia, CMM 78* (1978), and the same author, 'Bertrand de Vaqueras', *NG*, vol. 26, 271.

<sup>58</sup> The six Masses contained in E. 40 are a special case and the aspect of the modal placements of their respective cantus firmi is explored in Part II, Chapters 8-10

<sup>59</sup> Rob. C. Wegman, 'Jacob Obrecht', *NG*, vol. 18, 290-306.

<sup>60</sup> Fallows, et alia, 'Loyset Compere', *NG*, vol. 6, 180-84.

<sup>61</sup> Jaap van Benthem feels that the notation of this Mass suggests that the mode of the melody is 'dorian-orientated', although the '...setting is transmitted without key signature', *Masses and Mass Sections*, XIV n. 4. On the other hand commenting on Feininger's application of *ficta* in his transcription of the Mass in *DMPLSER* vol. I, Atlas writes '...and here it is not a matter of quibbling over this or that editorial accidental but rather of Feininger having altered the modal framework of the Mass. Although Bologna Q 16 transmits the piece without flats in any voice. Feininger has flattened almost every *B* – including those in the cantus firmus – thus changing the mode from G Mixolydian to transposed Dorian', *Aragonese Court*, 129.

<sup>62</sup> Three other Masses outside the limits of this dissertation also use the E. 40 form of the melody. They are the four-part setting by Cristóbal de Morales (c. 1500-1553 see Robert Stevenson and Alejandro Planchart, 'Cristóbal de Morales', *NG*, vol. 17, 85-910) and the four-part and five-part Masses by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525-1594, see Lewis Lockwood, et alia, 'Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina', *NG*, vol. 18, 937-57).

<sup>63</sup> Little is known about the life of Faugues, but he has been traced to the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges during the year 1462-63, see Strohm, *European Music*, 440 and n. 210 for further literature, and Wegman, 'Guillaume Faugues', *NG*, vol. 8, 593-94.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas MacCracken suggests that Forestier was born around 1470 and possibly lived until the 1530's, see his 'Mathurin Forestier', *NG*, vol. 9, 809. There are three later Masses in this group by Ludwig Senfl (c. 1486-1542/43, see Martin Bente, 'Ludwig Senfl', *NG*, vol. 23, 79-87), Morales's five-part composition and the one by Francisco Guerrero (1527/28-1599, Robert Stevenson, 'Francisco Guerrero', *NG*, vol. 10, 500-503).

<sup>65</sup> Alejandro Planchart, 'Guillaume Du Fay', *NG*, vol. 7, 647-64.



Johannes Ockeghem (1410/25-1497),<sup>66</sup> Regis, Marbriano de Orto (c. 1460-d. 1529),<sup>67</sup> Basiron, Tinctoris, Matthaeus Pipelare (c. 1450-c.1515),<sup>68</sup> the two by Pierre de La Rue (c. 1452-1518)<sup>69</sup> and Antoine Brumel (c. 1460-c. 1512/13).<sup>70</sup>

What conclusions can be drawn from this evidence? At the very least doubt must be cast over Busnoys being the composer of *Il sera pour vous combatu*. My argument is built on two simple facts, firstly if indeed he had written the chanson, then why did he use the version of the tenor found in E. 40 for his cantus firmus and not that of Mellon?<sup>71</sup> Secondly, why did he employ a G transposed Dorian reading of the *res facta* for his Mass tenor, and not the G Mixolydian setting of both Mellon and Casanatense? From these standpoints even assigning the Casanatense setting to him is highly questionable. In this context Aaron's exact wording is most significant, in that Busnoys did not compose the tune, but found it and *altered* it to make it longer.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Leeman Perkins, 'Johannes Ockeghem', *NG*, vol. 18, 312-26.

<sup>67</sup> See Martin Picker, 'Marbriano de Orto', *NG*, vol. 18, 746-66.

<sup>68</sup> There are no known birth or death dates for Pipelare. The closest evidence we have for his death is the sign + next to his name in J 2 for his *Missa Fors seulement*. Karl Roediger in his *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena* of 1935 has shown that the manuscript could not have been copied before 1512 (61 n. 7). See also Ronald Cross, 'Matthaeus Pipelare', *NG*, vol. 19, 771-72.

<sup>69</sup> See Honey Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue', *NG*, vol. 14, 282-89. The four-part G Mixolydian setting is anonymous in J 2 and CS 34 (incomplete) and some doubt exists if it is indeed by La Rue. It was attributed to the composer by Josef Robyns in his *Pierre de la Rue* (64) on the grounds that in J 2 an authentic five-part La Rue Mass follows it, and in CS 34 by four authorised La Rue five-part Masses. Nigel Davison, in the introduction to his edition of the composition (*CMM* 97, vol. 7, D 3) favours La Rue as the author. In a personal correspondence with him he replied, 'You will see [from my comments in *CMM*] that I am inclined to think that this *L'Homme armé* Mass is by La Rue, and I give a few reasons; but any strong evidence to the contrary could persuade me that it is not his work.'

<sup>70</sup> See Barton Hudson, 'Antoine Brumel', *NG*, vol. 4, 494-98. The other Mass to use this particular version of the melody is the one by the Scottish monk Robert Carver (b.1484 d. after 1516), ed. Kenneth Elliott, *MB* 15 (1957), and *Opera omnia*, *CMM* 16, ed. Denis Stevens (1959). See Kenneth Elliott, 'Robert Carver (Carvor)', *NG*, vol. 5, 218-19.

<sup>71</sup> Taruskin addresses this issue with references to the views of other scholars, especially Michael Long. However, it did not dissuade him from his original claim of giving authorship of the chanson to Busnoys, to quote, 'I am grateful to my colleague Michael Long for raising the objection [that is the difference in the closes to pps. 3 and 4 in the chanson and Busnoys cantus firmus] and forcing me, by confronting it, to strengthen my case for Busnoys's authorship of the Mellon chanson.', 'Busnoys', 293 n. 64.

<sup>72</sup> Aaron, *Toscanello*, 55.

## Possible Reasons for the Different Versions

What were the origins of the variants in the three versions of the melody? It has already been suggested that the part writing was responsible for the dropping fifth at the end of ph. 3 in the two polyphonic settings. Did the differing closes to phs. 3 and 4 in the three sources come about in the same way?

The two different endings to phs. 3 and 4 in Casanatense appear to be an amalgam of those in E. 40 and Mellon. My research has shown that the change to ph. 3 in Casanatense was on account of the musical fabric, to avoid harmonic irregularities brought about, not so much because of the added bass, but as a result of a slight rhythmic difference in the superius parts of Mellon and Casanatense (exs. 2 and 3, b. 8). Consecutive fifths between the superius and contratenor are averted in Mellon by a rest inserted after the b` in the top voice. Instead of a rest the b` is repeated in Casanatense. A descent from b` to a` against e` to d` in the tenor creates parallelisms. These are possibly tolerable, but not the diminished fifth between the tenor's e` and the signed b` flat in the superius.

Two alternatives were open to the composer to produce error-free part writing, either to repeat the final d` (musically not really viable because the cadential effect of the end d` is weakened (ex. 4[a]), or, and in the given context the only possible solution, to repeat the g` in b. 8, closing the phrase on the downward interval of the fourth (ex. 4[b]). It appears that the tenor parts of Mellon and Casanatense were indeed meant to be exact, but regard for polyphonic propriety was responsible for the different conclusions to the first phrase of B.

In considering the form of the song in E. 40 from this aspect we start from the accepted Plamenac statement that the single line of E. 40 was the tenor of a polyphonic setting. There is the possibility that the falling fourths concluding phs. 3 and 4 in this source might also have come about for reasons of part writing in a similar manner to ph. 3 in Casanatense. This tentative



hypothesis opens the question as to whether the version of the tune in Mellon (not the actual setting) with the approach to the third and fourth phrases by a step was the original one with the other two forms being deviants of it.<sup>73</sup>

Perkins agreed with Plamenac that the tune was the tenor of a chanson. He went one step further stating that the chanson in question was none other than the three-part version in Mellon:

With the discovery of *Il sera pour vous/L'homme armé* which proved to be the work in question (in a version for three voices in the Mellon Chansonnier and with a fourth part added in the Casanatense manuscript) Plamenac's observations revealed themselves to be characteristically astute.<sup>74</sup>

Whist the solo line of E. 40 may well have been the tenor of a polyphonic work, from two perspectives it could not have been that voice in *Il sera pour vous combatu*. Firstly, it has all seven phrases of the *l'homme armé* verse (Mellon's tenor has only six). Secondly the conclusions to ph 4 in E. 40 and Mellon are different.

Plamenac also conjectured that the dropping fifths together with the repeated words 'l'ome armé' were not a part of the pre-existent melody. He considered them to be an ingredient within the creative process of the chanson composer.<sup>75</sup> Howard Garey's studies on the Mellon Chansonnier supports this thesis.<sup>76</sup> Perkins (his co-editor) sees the intervals of the fifth as pictorial, '... meant to evoke the trumpet calls that echoed back and fourth across the medieval battle field, to enliven the military context of the two complementary poems'.<sup>77</sup> Perkins

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<sup>73</sup> In all the literature read on the subject of the *l'homme armé* melody I have found no studies explaining the differences in these two phrases. In looking at the music itself at least the argument has feasibility.

<sup>74</sup> Perkins, 'Busnoys and Ockeghem', 376-77

<sup>75</sup> Plamenac, 381.

<sup>76</sup> Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, no. 34, vol. III, 334-35. He shows that the verse consists of four seven-syllabled lines (ph. 1-4) concluding with a line of six syllables (ph. 5). The strophe concludes with a repeat of the first two seven-syllabled lines. All seven phrases end with the same assonance rhyme. The words 'l'ome armé' with the downward intervals of a fourth disturb this regular structure.

<sup>77</sup> Perkins, 'Busnoys and Ockeghem', 373-74. Michael Long questions this fact. He feels that if they are pictorial their inclusion in the B section of the song would be more appropriate, where the text is far more war-like, see his '*Arma virumque cano*', *Antoine Busnoys*, 136-38.

constructs a Mellon-based hypothetical *l'homme armé* song, minus the falling fifths to illustrate his point.<sup>78</sup> A similar speculative re-construction can also be made from E. 40 and Casanatense with equal validity. Perkins also suggests that Masses incorporating the dropping fifth in both the tenor and contrapuntal dialogue provide compelling evidence that the composers were 'acquainted' with both the monophonic and polyphonic settings of the song in some way or other.<sup>79</sup> In the network of Masses every individual cantus firmus has a falling fifth after phs. 1 and 6. If the fifth is omitted it is always after ph. 2. However, the larger proportion of Mass tenors retain that fifth as well.

Concerning the dropping fifth closing ph. 2, Masses fall into three categories. One group omits the interval altogether and includes the Masses by Josquin (*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*), Caron, de Orto, Forestier and Compere. The second retains the interval but it is not given in its original setting; that is attached to the rest of the phrase. It is always separated from the beginning of ph. 2 by rests of varying values, found in the Masses of Busnoys, Naples III and VI, Bologna Q 16, Brumel, AJ2 and Obrecht. In the final group the falling fifth is employed with greater flexibility, sometimes used and sometimes not, these are the Masses by Du Fay, Ockeghem, Regis, Faugues, Vaqueras, Tinctoris, Basiron, Josquin (*Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*), Pipelare and La Rue.<sup>80</sup>

The reason for this varied treatment of the falling fifth of ph. 2 appears to have little to do with the presence,<sup>81</sup> or lack of, the interval in the borrowed material but with cadences - Masses in groups two and three attest to this fact. In the original melody ph. 2 comes at an important structural point, at the close of the first part of the ternary design Ai - significantly the

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<sup>78</sup> Perkins, 'Busnoys and Ockeghem', 379 n. 23.

<sup>79</sup> Perkins, *ibid.*, 374.

<sup>80</sup> Of the composers writing later in the tradition the two Masses by Morales, the one by Guerrero and the two by Palestrina fall into the first group, the one by Carver into the second and Senfl's into the third.

<sup>81</sup> Of course there is a strong possibility that the Masses in group one indeed may have drawn upon a version of the melody that did not have a fifth at the end of ph. 2.

corresponding phrase in Aii which ends the song (ph. 7), does not have a falling fifth. When translated into a polyphonic Mass setting ph. 2 is usually placed in two cadential contexts, internal, or terminal. If the phrase is delivered intact (that is with no break between the end interval and the opening of the phrase), then in a V-1 progression the falling fifth of the cantus-firmus-carrying tenor would be duplicated simultaneously with the bassus's cadential movement, giving parallel octaves. Composer's avoided the problem in two complementary ways. Where the cadence was internal it was placed over pitches six and seven not involving the falling fifth, which either followed on directly or separated from the close. When ph. 2 came at the close of a Mass section the same two notes were employed for the cadence and the interval of the fifth omitted.<sup>82</sup>

If a lost *ursatz* version of the melody had no fifths at all then to account for the presence of the interval in the Masses composers would have been more than 'acquainted' with the polyphonic arrangements: their knowledge would have been detailed. Why include such a ubiquitous interval, if it were lacking in the source material? Perhaps what is more germane to this dissertation is that this putative pristine melody has no real relationship to the *L'homme armé* Mass tradition, because according to Perkins it would lack an essential feature present in every single Mass cantus firmus - descending leaps of a fifth.

What can be said in the final analysis is that the three manuscripts containing the *l'homme armé* song were inter-linked politically and dynastically. The provenance of E. 40 was Burgundy, that of Mellon Naples (where E. 40 was eventually to reside). The two centres had strong cultural and political associations. Casanatense stemmed from Ferrara, which in turn had personal and political ties with Naples. At one time early in the history of the manuscripts E. 40

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<sup>82</sup> This is a summary of what originally was meant to be a self-contained chapter of the study called 'The Problem Fifth of Ph. 2'. However the other two aspects of the dissertation (phs. 3 and 4 and pitch) assumed such proportions that it became impractical to include the chapter on the falling fifth of ph. 2.

and Mellon were contemporaneously present in Naples.<sup>43</sup> Taking all the available evidence to hand as to the authorship and origins of the melody the question is as open as it was in 1925 when Plamenac discovered the E. 40 manuscript. All that can be concluded with any certainty is that this memorable little melody, that was to have such a colossal input into the history of the cyclic Mass, was Burgundian in origin.

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<sup>43</sup> See Cohen, 'Munus', 199-203, and Woodley, 'Italian Translations', 188, also Lockwood, 'Josquin at Ferrara', *PJC*, 104-05.

## **Part I**

### **The Deployment of Phrases 3 and 4 (Phs. 3 and 4)**

***Par Nobile Fratrum*  
(A Pair of Noble Brothers)<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Satires*, taken from James Morwood, *A Dictionary of Latin Words and Phrases* (1998), 140.

## Chapter 2

### Structural Manipulations

Tinctoris asserted that 'variety must be accurately sought for in all counterpoint'.<sup>2</sup> It has been shown that the change to the first phrase of B in Casanatense was certainly not introduced to provide 'variety', but to ensure correct counterpoint. Quite the reverse is true when this form of the song is translated into a Mass setting. The two different closes to the phrases were a spur that stimulated the creative powers of composers who manipulated them in a variety of ways (ex. 5). Perhaps most astonishing is how the two different phrase endings are employed to create a level of cohesion in a Mass over and above that supplied by the head motive and the complete cantus firmus itself. In this discussion Casanatense is regarded as the norm for every cantus firmus, no matter on how few or how many occasions it is employed in an individual Mass. Any other couplings of the opening two phrases of B will be considered as deviations from this arbitrary norm.

#### Guillaume Du Fay

Du Fay used the two phrases in his Mass<sup>3</sup> in two distinct patterns. From the *Christe* through the Gloria to the end of the Credo a two-fold ph. 3 or two-fold ph. 4 is given. The first quotation of the repeated phrase is always quoted in its original form, the second mildly elaborated. Across the Sanctus to the end of the Agnus the pattern is ph. 3 followed by ph. 4, neither phrase being decorated. Table 1 provides a point of reference for the following discussion.

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<sup>2</sup> *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, from 1477, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, *The Art of Counterpoint*, MSD 5 (1961), 155.

<sup>3</sup> Editions, MPLSER no. 1 (1947), Guillaume Dufay, *Opera omnia*, CMM I, vol. III ed. Heinrich Besseler (1951-62, reprint 1978).

Table 1

Distribution of phs. 3 and 4 in Du Fay's *Missa L'homme arme*

<b>Christe</b> 2x4 <sup>4</sup> (bs. 43-49)	<b>Et in terra</b> 2x3 (bs. 45-54)	<b>Patrem</b> 2x3 (bs. 59-68)
	<b>Qui tollis</b> 2x3 (bs. 138-50)	<b>Et incarnatus est</b> 2x3 (bs. 174-86)
		<b>Confiteor</b> 2x3 (bs. 250-56)
<b>Sanctus</b> 3&4 (bs. 37-46)		<b>Agnus I</b> 3&4 (bs. 17-25)
<b>Osanna</b> 3&4 (bs. 174-82)		<b>Agnus III</b> 4&3 <sup>5</sup> (bs. 91-98) 3&4 (bs. 120-23)

There is an almost exact symmetry in the design, with five quotations of 2x3 and five of 3&4.

An anomaly exists in the scheme (the *Christe*), which will be examined later.

The Gloria and Credo are paired, having similar tenors and exactly the same embellishments added to ph. 3.<sup>6</sup> In the initial appearance of B in these two movements (*Et in terra* and *Patrem*) a definite ph. 3 is delivered first, with its repeat decorated (ex. 6). Du Fay does not elaborate the main melodic line, and instead appends four descending notes after the end of the phrase. The addition is no more than a decorated repeated falling fourth, the

<sup>4</sup> 2x3 and 2x4 indicates ph. 3 or ph. 4 repeated, 3&4 ph. 3 followed by ph. 4, and b./bs. respectively bar and bars.

<sup>5</sup> 4&3 is a retrograde version of the melody followed by its original motion.

<sup>6</sup> This is also true of the third appearance of the melody in the Credo (*Confiteor*, beginning b. 238). The statement is derived from the previous one (bs. 146-237). A rubric instructs the tenor to omit all the long rests and halve the note values (*scindite pausas longarum, cetera per medium*). The exclusion of the long rests is no more than leaving out a cantus-firmus-free duet separating ph. 6 from ph. 7 which carries the falling fifth of ph. 6 as a prefix (bs. 205-22).

interval that closes ph. 3. As the extra pitches appear after the end of the phrase, the original melodic line is not obscured in any way. With the dropping fourth that distinguishes ph. 3 from ph. 4 left unadorned Du Fay makes clear his intention of delivering a two-fold ph. 3.

The second time that the two-fold ph. 3 appears in these two movements (*Qui tollis* and *Et incarnatus est*) the delivery is similar. However, on this occasion the conclusions to the two repeated phrases are not so clear; the same decoration that was previously added as a suffix to the phrase (see ex. 6 bs. 53-54) is now applied to the actual downward jump of the fourth (ex. 7 bs. 148-50). Therefore this could be either ph. 3 or ph. 4; ph. 3 with two additional notes between the  $g'$  and  $d'$ , or ph. 4 with one extra note between the  $g'$  and  $e'$  (see ex. 5).

But there is no doubt as to which phrase is embellished. The clue is present in the design of the complete cantus-firmus delivery across the Mass. A prospective look to the Sanctus and Agnus where phs. 3 and 4 are announced without decoration is an appropriate starting point. Du Fay's concept behind the declaration of the relevant phrases in these two movements is clear, namely presenting them in their original melodic form. In the *Et in terra* and *Patrem* his delivery is just as apparent, a repeated ph. 3. Quite deliberately the cadential falling fourth closing the second ph. 3 is not concealed by the ornamentation. Therefore Du Fay intentionally employed two ways of setting phs. 3 and 4. When delivered in their original sequence neither phrase is embellished, but when he immediately re-quotes a phrase the repeat is adorned in some way or other. This is axiomatic of either a duplicated ph. 3 or ph. 4, and is applicable throughout the whole Mass.

The second point provides a perfect segue to the *Christe*, the one exception in this scheme of announcing phs. 3 and 4 (ex. 8 [a]). Du Fay first quotes a definite ph. 4; the following phrase includes an extra pitch  $f$  in the descent to the cadential  $d'$ . Melodically the decoration is the same as that which was grafted onto the end of the repeated ph. 3, either as a suffix to the



phrase, or used to fill in the closing falling fourth (see exs. 6 and 7). Du Fay's method of delivering phs. 3 and 4 (namely that the second of a two-fold phrase is elaborated be it ph. 3 or ph. 4, and conversely that when a single ph. 3 is followed by a single ph. 4 no embellishments are added at all), means that on this premise alone there can be no doubt that the *Christe* holds a double ph. 4.

Whatever other techniques were imposed on the source material, its original phrase sequence is always preserved. Reversing the order of phs. 3 and 4 on their first appearance in the Mass is totally illogical in an otherwise cogent cantus-firmus plan. Moreover, it disturbs the regular pattern of quoting the two phrases across the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo. A minor adjustment to the bassus permits the tenor to sound ph. 3 instead of ph. 4 in the *Christe* (ex. 8 [b]). So without a doubt Du Fay wished to have ph. 4 in this particular location.<sup>7</sup>

Another apparent inconsistency appears in the scheme of affirming phs. 3 and 4 in Du Fay's composition in particular, as well as within the prevailing mode of cantus-firmus distribution in the cyclic Mass at this time. In the early history of the cantus-firmus Mass some subsections were source-material free and with reduced scoring. The *Christe* was flexible, either with or without the borrowed material, but omitting the cantus firmus from the *Pleni*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus II* was much the norm. Du Fay observed both customs in the *Pleni* and *Benedictus*; *Agnus II* is scored for fewer voices (superius, contratenor and bassus), but does include the cantus firmus.

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<sup>7</sup> A feature of the notation of this ph. 4 also occurs in the *L'homme armé* Masses of Pipelare and Basiron where the original sequence of ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 is not preserved. The last two notes of ph. 4 in Du Fay's composition are written in ligature. That aspect of notation cannot express a repeated pitch, (see Apel, *Notation*, 87-94). Although it cannot be proved that this was the original notation of the three composers, nonetheless the ligature does provide a protection against a ph. 3 replacing the intended ph. 4. The situations are the same in all three Masses, the ligature notation of ph. 4 occurring only when that particular phrase is placed in a context other than that of its original sequence in the secular song. In CS 14 (containing only the Kyrie and Gloria) Du Fay's *Christe* has the last three notes of the phrase in ligature, and only the last two in the Carver manuscript.

An eleven-bar cantus-firmus-free introduction opens *Agnus II*, which is then followed by a declaration of the complete *l'homme armé* song in the three voices (ex. 9). A clear ph. 3 is quoted first (ex. 9 bs. 61-64, bassus and contratenor) succeeded by a decorated phrase (ex. 9 bs. 64-66). Because the added pitches obscure the cadential ending again it could be either an embellished repeated ph. 3 or ph. 4. When viewed according to the template in which a repeated phrase was presented in the *Christe*, Gloria and Credo (where the repeat of a phrase was elaborated) then on this basis the decorated phrase in *Agnus II* is ph. 3. Du Fay's added notes to the second phrase are significant. They are exactly the same in pitch, rhythm and position (over the end of the phrase and not after it) as in the *Christe*. Another parallel exists; the *Christe* is the only section at the beginning of the Mass to declare a double ph. 4, the norm being a two-fold ph. 3. Conversely, *Agnus II* is the only section to carry a repeated ph. 3 where the rule was ph. 3 followed by ph. 4. Considered in isolation these similarities are not sufficient in themselves to conclude that there is a symmetrical design to the cantus-firmus structure based on the first two phrases of B.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the strongest evidence that there is a cohesive structure to the Mass, unified on different levels lies in the exact duplication of the complete musical texture of Aii at the conclusions of *Kyrie II* (bs. 80-84) and *Agnus III* (bs. 127-31). Du Fay quotes the borrowed song twice in *Agnus III*, first in retrograde then in original motion in halved values.<sup>9</sup> The end of *Kyrie II* is the only occasion when there is a partial quotation of the vernacular song. David Fallows feels that these final bars are almost in the manner of an afterthought, added to the end of the

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<sup>8</sup> Unity is given to the Mass also with a traditional head motive.

<sup>9</sup> Du Fay appends a piquant canon to the tenor part, *cancer eat plenus, sed redeat medius* (the crab goes forth whole, but returns halved). The Latin is taken from CS 14 and the translation is from Strohm, *European Music*, 467.

Kyrie after the Agnus had been written.<sup>10</sup> He writes:

There is only one reasonable explanation for this irrational aspect of cantus firmus usage in the Kyrie: that Dufay was consciously planning a symmetry with the Agnus and that the brief passage was added to the Kyrie after the Agnus had been conceived .... It is as though Dufay waited until the end before composing his Kyrie movements keen to include within them traces of everything that was to follow.<sup>11</sup>

So a desire for a tight cyclic design to the Mass is evident. Du Fay achieves his goal on four levels, the first three of which were fairly standard:

- 1) a single cantus firmus common to all five movements
- 2) a head motive
- 3) pairing of movements (Gloria-Credo, Sanctus-Agnus)
- 4) the same melodic cell used to decorate phs. 3 and 4.

The final point returns the argument smoothly to the central theme, namely phs. 3 and 4. What is the function of the respective repeated ph. 4 and ph. 3 in the *Christe* and *Agnus II*? Viewed separately they appear whimsical in their individual contexts; the *Christe* because it carries the only quotation of ph. 4 in the first three movement, and *Agnus II* because it is the only time elaboration is applied to the cantus firmus in the last two movements.

However, there is a rationale behind their locations. Although not an exact mirror image they do occupy corresponding positions in the Mass; the *Christe* as the second subsection of the Mass and *Agnus II* as the penultimate subsection. Accomplishing this symmetrical design meant that *Agnus II* had to carry the source material. The balance is too neat to be arbitrary, and is an essential part of the cyclic design with the two double phrases functioning as parallel (but not

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<sup>10</sup> It has been suggested that the order in which a Mass was written was not necessarily the performing sequence, a proposed compositional format being Gloria/Credo then Sanctus/Agnus and finally the Kyrie. See Fallows, *Dufay* (1987), 206 and Brian Trowell, 'Proportion in the Music of Dunstable', *PRMA* 105 (1978-79), 137.

<sup>11</sup> Fallows, *Dufay*, 206.

identical) pillars at the extreme ends of the Mass. It underscores the more obvious symmetry between the corresponding closes to *Kyrie II* and *Agnus III*. Consequently the two phrases, with different cadential endings, assume an important function in the structure of the Mass. A revised diagram (Table 2) including *Kyrie II* and *Agnus II* illustrates this finely conceived scheme.

**Table 2**

**Symmetry in the delivery of phs. 3 and 4 in Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé***

**Kyrie I**  
Ai

**Christe**  
**B 2x4**

**Kyrie II**

Aii (bs. 70-78), Aii (bs. 80-84 repeat of *Agnus III* bs. 127-31)

**Et in terra**

2x3

**Qui tollis**

2x3

**Sanctus**

3&4

**Osanna**

3&4

**Agnus I**

Ai, B 3&4, Aii

**Patrem**

2x3

**Et incarnatus est**

2x3

**Confiteor**

2x3

**Agnus II**

Ai, **B 2x3**, Aii

**Agnus III** Ai, B 4&3, then 3&4 Aii (the same material which closes *Kyrie II*)

## Johannes Regis

Regis delivers B in a highly fanciful manner.<sup>12</sup> The decorations he applies to phs. 3 and 4 at times are so dense and the original phrases so expanded that there is some doubt as to whether B is present at all. However, there is one constant feature which indicates that the middle portion of the *cantus prius factus* is indeed stated, it being the presence of the three-note tag which opens both phs. 3 and 4 (see ex. 1). However capricious this heavy elaboration may be, it is held in check by being placed in a tight cohesive structure stretching from the beginning of the Kyrie to the end of the Credo. Table 3 outlines the design.

**Table 3**  
**Cantus-firmus plan in the Kyrie, Gloria and**  
**Credo of Regis's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Kyrie I [a]</b> Ai (bs. 9-18) <sup>13</sup>	<b>Kyrie I [b]</b> B (bs. 19-26)	<b>Kyrie I [c]</b> Aii (bs. 33-40)	<b>Christe I [a]</b> Ai (bs. 51-68)	<b>Christe I [b]</b> B (bs. 69-86)	<b>Christe I [c]</b> Aii (bs. 98-111)
<b>Et in terra</b> Ai (bs. 19-32)	<b>Domine Fili</b> B (bs. 41-51)	<b>Qui tollis</b> Aii (bs. 61-70)	<b>Qui sedes</b> Ai (bs. 137-61)	<b>Tu solus</b> B (bs. 165-90)	<b>In gloria</b> Aii (bs. 202-23)
<b>Patrem</b> Ai (bs. 31-44)	<b>Qui propter</b> B (bs. 53-68)	<b>Incarnatus</b> Aii (bs. 77-86)	<b>Et iterum</b> Ai (bs. 165-89)	<b>Adoratur</b> B (bs. 193-218)	<b>In remissionem</b> Aii (bs. 231-50)

<sup>12</sup> Edition, *MPLSER* no. 5 and Johannes Regis, *Opera omnia*, *CMM* 9 (1956), ed. C. W. H. Lindenburg. It would appear that Regis wrote two *Missae L'homme armé*. There is record of a *L'homme armé* Mass of his being copied into a Cambrai choirbook in 1462-63. Tinctoris criticised Regis, along with Busnoys for the inappropriate use of the sign O2 (*modus perfectus, tempus imperfectum, perfect minor modus*) in their *L'homme armé* Masses, *Proportionale musices* of Johannes Tinctoris, translated Seay, 43. See Fallows, 'Regis', 168 and n. 121, and Strohm, *European Music*, 467; also Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Did Ockeghem Listen to Tinctoris?', in Vendrix, 597-640. The extant *L'homme armé* Mass by Regis does not contain this mensural sign. The one that is recorded as being copied into the Cambrai choirbook is probably lost, see Fallows, 'Regis', 168 and Strohm, *European Music*, 469.

<sup>13</sup> All examples are taken from my transcription based on CS 14.

A second three-fold *Kyrie* is missing from this design. Geoffrey Chew suggests that its absence be for the same reason as to why the *Filioque* clause was expunged from the Credo,<sup>14</sup> it being a major doctrinal difference between the Eastern and Western Churches.<sup>15</sup> The concept of the Trinity contained in the *Filioque* passage is also pertinent to the nine-fold *Kyrie*:

<b>Kyrie I</b> petitions 1-3 (Father)	<b>Christe</b> petitions 4-6 (Son)	<b>Kyrie II</b> petitions 7-9 (Holy Spirit).
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In spite of this great doctrinal gulf between the Eastern and Western Churches they did unite to combat the assault on Christendom by the Turks. Masses performed when both factions met had an adulterated Credo. These deletions were therefore conciliatory in nature, and the emendations made on political, and not liturgical, grounds.

The bellicose nature of the original text of the borrowed song is mirrored by the addition of the antiphon at the Magnificat in the Feast of Dedication of St. Michael the Archangel, *Dum sacrum mysterium*,<sup>16</sup> to that of the Mass Ordinary. Regis thus brings into union the characters of the 'standard bearer of the heavenly hosts' with that of the 'armed man' of the secular song. An even closer relationship between the two 'warrior men' is established in the Mass; when the inner voices sing the *l'homme armé* melody they have the words of the antiphon, but when cantus firmus free they carry those of the Mass Ordinary.

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<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey Chew, 'The Early Cyclic Mass', 262-63, also Hannas, 'Deletions', 155-86.

<sup>15</sup> The Western Church believed that the Holy Spirit was of the substance of both the Father and the Son:

Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: qui ex Patre Filioque procedit  
 (We believe in the Holy Spirit the Lord and Giver of Life who proceeds from the

Father and the Son). Latin and English taken from *A Simple Prayer Book*, Catholic Truth Society, first published in 1886, 58.

On the other hand the Eastern Church held that the Son was born of the Will of God, but not of his substance:

Et in Spiritum, Dominum et vivificantem ex Patre procedentem

(In the Holy Spirit Lord and Giver of life who proceeds from the Father),

Quoted from Hannas, 'Deletions', 181.

<sup>16</sup> *LU*, 1652. The plainsong itself is not used, but Regis does introduce other chants associated with the Feast, see Reese, *Renaissance*, 114.

But this dual reference to the defence of the Holy Mother Church (together with the possibility that the Mass might have been written in protest against the assault on Christendom) does not really provide a convincing explanation as to why the second three-fold *Kyrie* is lacking. What is puzzling is that the reference to the Trinity is implicit in the *Kyrie* (where there is an omission), but where the reference is explicit in the *Credo* the contentious *Filioque* clause is retained. There can be no coherence in the suggestion that a latent reference to the doctrinal differences between East and West is excluded, when the actual controversial clause itself is kept.<sup>17</sup> An examination of the music itself strongly suggests that the six-fold polyphonic *Kyrie* was needed for structural and not political reasons. The evidence comes from the manner in which Regis elaborates B and then the way he repeats the embellished central part of the borrowed song over the first three movements of the Mass.

*Kyrie I* [b] quotes a possible decorated ph. 3 or ph. 4. The likelihood of it being ph. 3 comes from the presence of the pitch  $\underline{c}$ ' at the end of the phrase. For it to be ph. 4 a  $\underline{b}$  needs to be present among the final closing pitches (ex. 10 b. 21).<sup>18</sup> Therefore it may be assumed that a single ph. 3 is stated and ph. 4 omitted. Of interest is the falling fifth in the expanded phrase, reflecting the dropping fifths closing phs. 1, 2 and 6 (ex. 10 b. 22). The inclusion of one of the most dominant intervals of Ai and Aii in the embellishments of B tightens the relationship

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<sup>17</sup> The concept of the three-fold *Kyrie* being associated with the Trinity was not Church dogma; Amalarius of Metz advanced the theory in the 9th Century. My thanks to Father Allen Morris of Allen Hall Seminary Chelsea for this information. He gave support to my own conclusions that there was no logic in excluding an oblique reference to the Trinity in a Mass setting when the *Filioque* passage itself was set.

<sup>18</sup> Acknowledging the presence of the source material when only the majority of its original pitches can be identified is reasonable. But a highly fanciful imagination like that of Regis (and also Ockeghem) which at times pays a mere lip service to the chosen material subsequently using it as a springboard from which creativity can then take flight also needs to be taken into consideration when identifying cantus-firmus material. Such a flexible attitude has been adopted when identifying the borrowed song in the Regis *L'homme armé* Mass.



between the three sections of the original song in its version as the cantus firmus for the Mass.<sup>19</sup> That Regis constantly applies the technique of perpetual variation to phs. 3 and 4 becomes apparent in the *Christe I* [b]. The ornamented phrase (ex. 11 bs. 69-73) is a free variation of its previous sister phrase (ex. 10 bs. 19-22). Pitch-wise both have the same endings with d' falling to a via c'.

Individually, and combined, the melodic cells (marked w, x, y, and z) assume a structural function in the Gloria and Credo. They become the components of all the embellishments applied to the B in these two movements. All the elements of decoration that were present in the *Kyrie I* [b] are repeated in the first appearance of B in the *Et in terra* (ex. 12 bs. 41-51). Regis creates a new pattern by incorporating another y giving a sequence of w, y, x, y. The extra y is more expansive; the top e' is now approached step-wise by three ascending notes, and the descent to the final note a is longer; via two interlocking fourths e'-b and d'-a. A rest is inserted between the two notes of the falling fifth of x, now the final note d is not elaborated but is repeated four times. Segment y is then given in the identical version of the *Kyrie*, except for the value of the final note (compare exs. 10 and 12). The complete passage is then re-quoted almost exactly in the Credo at the words 'Qui propter nos homines' (bs. 53-68). Minor variations are a result of the differences in the two texts.

The embellishments to B in the *Qui tollis* are derived from those of the *Kyrie* and

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<sup>19</sup> Carver attempts a similar process but his objective is clearly intentional. The rising interval of the fourth beginning phs. 1 and 6 is appended to the starts of phs. 3 and 4. See *MB* 15, Gloria (bs. 19-25 and 122-25), Credo (bs. 52-60, 117-20, and 147-53), Sanctus (bs. 23-32), Agnus (bs. 24-28). There is no polyphonic Kyrie. English Mass cycles frequently lacked polyphonic Kyries and their absence was common enough to conclude that the English Mass tradition preferred a four-movement polyphonic setting with the Kyrie sung to plainsong. However polyphonic Kyries by Dunstable have been discovered and included in John Dunstable, *Complete Works*, rev. edn., Margaret Bent, Ian Bent and Brian Trowell, *MB* 8 (1969). There are three Kyries all troped and edited by Trowell (69, 70 and 71). They bear the names of three known Masses *Kyrie super da gaudiorum premia* (by Dunstable), the other two have doubtful authorship *Kyrie super Rex saeculorum* (attributed both to Dunstable and Leonel Power), the third *Kyrie Missa sine nomine* is ascribed to Dunstable, Power and Benet. Whoever did compose them, the three Kyries are clearly related to the Masses of the same names.



*Christe*. B occurs at the words 'qui sedes' in the *Qui tollis* with the sequence of the melodic cells being **z, w, x, y** (ex. 13). Rhythmic variants in **w, x** and **y** are mainly a result of the change from *tempus imperfectum* to *perfectum* (see ex. 10). Regis makes the descent to the final note of **w** direct by including a **b**. The falling fifth of **x** is completely transformed, the two **d** naturals are separated from the initial **a**, and also from the beginning of the next segment by longer rests (ex. 13). Again it is **y** that is re-cast the most, the extra ascending pitches in the *Et in terra* (ex. 12 b. 45) are now heard in a descending form (ex. 13 bs. 183-90). This re-fashioning of the descent from **e** to the final **a** is not only reminiscent of the *Et in terra* but also of the *Kyrie* (see ex. 10 bs. 23-25 and ex. 12 bs. 44-47 and 49-51). As well as combining the segments as they appeared in the *Kyrie*, *Christe* and *Et in terra*, new dimensions are added at the words beginning with 'qui sedes'. Moreover, just as the passage in the *Et in terra* was translated into the Credo, so too is the 'qui sedes' passage transplanted into the 'simuladoratur' (Credo bs. 193-218).<sup>20</sup> Regis is constantly re-inventing his decorations, but the new embellishments are always derived from those elements already present in the elaborations previously applied to the cantus firmus.

What is so striking about the Regis Mass is the cohesive pattern in which B is delivered from the *Kyrie* to the Credo. The sequence and distribution of the four segments **w** to **z** across the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* is not whimsical but is placed in a tight symmetrical design giving logic to the highly fanciful presentations of ph. 3 (the Credo being a repeat of the *Gloria*). Regis creates a ternary plan to the announcements of B over the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and Credo, the *Et in terra* being the central part. Diagrammatically it appears as follows (**X**, **Y** and **Xi** marking the three parts of

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<sup>20</sup> The *Gloria* and Credo were obviously conceived as a complimentary pair of movements. Pairing was one of the earliest techniques unifying the individual movements of the Mass, leading to the complete cyclic Mass. The pairings were *Gloria/Credo* and *Sanctus/Agnus*. See Bukofzer, *Studies*, 220-23, Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 94-95, 99, 102-04, 181-83, 446-47 and ns. 19 and 20; Philip Gossett, 'The Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs', *JAMS* 19 (1966), 208-13, and Gareth Curtis, 'Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass', *CMRM*, 154-64.

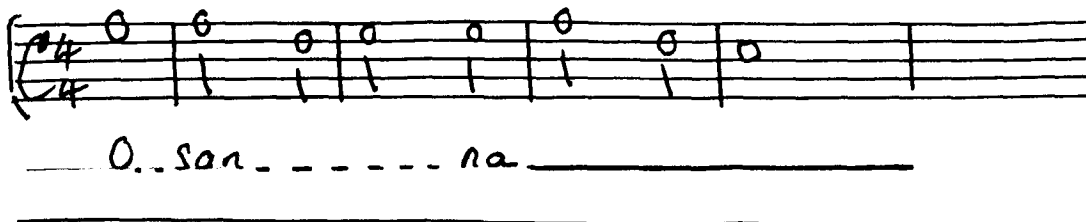
the design):

<b>X</b>		<b>Y</b>	<b>Xi</b>
Kyrie	Christe	Et in terra	Qui tollis
w x y	z	w y x y	z w x y.

Although not exact mirror images of one another there is a parallel in **X** ending with z and **Xi** beginning with it. The central section **Y** is set apart in two respects, by not having a z segment, and in being the only part to repeat y. In one other respect the delivery of B differs from those of Ai and Aii in that it is never given in canon, whereas the other two sections are consistently canonic. After the last quotation of B in the Credo there is no further definite references to it in the Sanctus and Agnus. This makes the concentrated treatment given to B in the first three movements even more noteworthy.<sup>21</sup> The Gloria/Credo and Sanctus/Agnus pairing with the respective emphasis on the B and A portions of the *l'homme armé* tune is reminiscent of the suggested compositional sequence of the Du Fay Mass. The Regis Kyrie also might possibly have been the last movement to be written.

Conveniently, this returns the discussion back to the question of the missing second three-fold *Kyrie*, having rejected Geoffrey Chew's hypothesis that it was left out on political-liturgical grounds. Re-considering the proportional design of B the claim for the

<sup>21</sup> There is one possible place where an identifiable phrase of B might be quoted, a ph. 4 in *Osanna* II (bs. 40-50), first given by the bassus then freely imitated by the contratenor:



With the third note *f* left out there is a clear ph. 4 on *g*. Its position within the movement is correct, placed between Ai and Aii. Nevertheless the rigorous formal design within which the highly embellished third, fourth and fifth phrases are declared makes it unlikely that this phrase is ph. 4 of the cantus firmus, but a product of the polyphony. Also the fact that it is announced imitatively militates against it being part of the borrowed song, when the three phrases of B are never given within that context.

omission being for structural reasons is now substantiated. Essential to the balance of the ternary design in the complete presentation of B are two interdependent elements - decorations and the number four. Individually the three sections have four melodic segments that are varied on repetition. The two outer portions of the plan correspond by having the segment z, which is omitted in the second of the three-part scheme and replaced by a second sounding of y.

This compact design is not feasible with a second tripartite *Kyrie*. So standardised is Regis's distribution of B across the first three movements of the Mass that there can be little doubt that he would have adopted the same method for the second triple *Kyrie* (see Table 3). An extra setting would require a new level of decoration thus increasing the number of segments to at least seven that is if the second triple *Kyrie* mirrored the first. This would destroy the arch design based on the number four. All factors dovetail so neatly into each other that the sequence in which the four segments are conveyed cannot be merely adventitious but consciously calculated.

That the second *Kyrie* was not performed during the celebration of Mass is most unlikely. Two alternatives are probable that it was either sung in plainsong,<sup>22</sup> or *Kyrie I* was repeated. Both would preserve the form of the Mass and also retain Regis's design of B across the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Credo*.

## Pipelare

Pipelare adopts a rigid schema to the distribution of pbs. 3 and 4 in his *L'Homme armé* Mass<sup>23</sup> one that underpins the complete cantus-firmus design. The *Et resurrexit* is the central point of the plan, flanked either side by three sections delivering pbs. 3 and 4. There is a

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<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Bloxam suggests that textual omissions in Credos (that is other than the *Filioque* clause) might have been sung in plainsong. See her 'In Praise of Spurious Saints: The *Missæ Floruit egregiis* by Pipelare and La Rue', *JAMS* 44/2 (1991), 190-92.

<sup>23</sup> Edition, Matthæus Pipelare, *Opera omnia*, CMM 34 (1966-67), ed. Ronald Cross. Musical examples are taken from my own transcription, based on J 22.

reciprocal balance between the two groups of three; although not mirroring one another each single group is palindromic. See Table 4:

<b>Table 4</b> <b>Distribution of phs. 3 and 4 in Pipelare's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i></b>		
<b>Christe</b> 2x4 +ph. 5 (bs. 16-56) bassus/superius	<b>Kyrie II</b> 2x3 +ph. 5 (bs. 57-69) contratenor	<b>Qui tollis</b> 2x4 +ph. 5 (bs. 89-113) bassus
<b>Et resurrexit</b> Central point B (bs. 128-204) bassus		
<b>Confiteor.</b> 2x3 +ph. 5 (bs. 227-44) canon, tenor/bassus	<b>Osanna.</b> 2x4 +ph. 5 (bs. 29-54) canon, bassus/superius	<b>Agnus III.</b> 2x3 +ph. 5 (bs. 32-66) canon, bassus/bassus.

B is presented seven times, the bassus announcing it on six occasions, twice alone and four times with another voice, and once by the contratenor alone.<sup>24</sup> Pipelare makes a clear difference in the announcements of B in the sections preceding and following the central *Et resurrexit*. Except for the *Christe* the sections before the midpoint declare B in a single voice, whereas the sections that come afterwards always announce it in canon.

The only part other than the bassus to quote B alone is the contratenor in *Kyrie II*.

<sup>24</sup> Nor is the tenor the major carrier of Ai. Out of a total of eight quotations it is the prime presenter four times only, at the openings of the first four principal movements (*Kyrie I*, *Et in terra*, *Patrem*, *Sanctus*), and once with the bassus delivering the complete secular melody (*Confiteor*). Twice the bassus is the chief bearer of Ai (*Qui tollis* and *Agnus I*) and the contratenor once (*Kyrie II*). Aii occurs four times across the Mass and is always given in imitation each time the bassus is involved; *Cum Sancto* (bs. 114-27, tenor and bassus), *Confiteor* (bs. 245-61, tenor and bassus) *Osanna* (bs. 54-68, bassus and superius) and *Agnus III* (bs. 66-111 two bassi). The concept of the tenor Mass loses its meaning in this composition. Of the nineteen appearances of the three parts of the secular song (either singly or in combination with another voice) the bassus is involved thirteen times, tenor eight, superius three and contratenor twice.

Generally when the *Christe* carried the cantus firmus in the *L'homme armé* Masses the pattern was to place the three parts of the vernacular tune in the three sections of the Kyrie; *Kyrie I* (Ai), *Christe* (B) and *Kyrie II* (Aii). Pipelare's cantus-firmus design in his Kyrie bridges its ternary pattern by having four sections, *Kyrie II* quoting Ai and B. Yet in a sense the three-fold Kyrie scheme is emphasised by the three different contexts in which the *res facta* is given. *Kyrie I* has the tenor stating Ai, then after the initial ph. 4 in the bassus the *Christe* is underscored with an imitative delivery between bassus and superius of the second ph. 4 and ph. 5. Then *Kyrie II* has just the contratenor presenting Ai and B. Thus in the first movement of the Mass all four voices are involved in announcing the borrowed material in a manner which underlines the three-part Kyrie pattern:

<b>Kyrie I</b>	<b>Christe</b>	<b>Kyrie II</b>
Ai	B (2x4)	Ai, B (2x3)
tenor	bassus ph. 4 alone, then bassus/superius phs. 4 and 5 in imitation	contratenor.

When viewed within the context of the complete delivery of B, presenting Ai and B in *Kyrie II* was inevitable (see Table 4). A second statement of B is needed so that there is a three-fold delivery of it before the focal point in the *Et resurrexit*. Pipelare always preserves the sequence of the ternary structure of his model, so to present Aii followed by B in *Kyrie II* would destroy this pattern.<sup>25</sup> The existing situation not only accomplishes all these points but additionally gives symmetry to the Kyrie itself: Ai-B-Ai B. With the quotation of B in *Kyrie II* then a two-fold ph. 3 was inevitable. A repeated ph. 3 was necessary at this point in the Mass to maintain the rotating sequence of a double ph. 4 then ph. 3.

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<sup>25</sup> That Ai is repeated still has logic in relation to the original song. Ai and Aii are identical except for the falling fifth ending ph. 2 but absent in ph. 7. So in a fashion the complete song has been quoted, but in a manner which then allows B to follow sequentially.

Now to consider the apex in the design of the alternating phs. 4 and 3, the *Et resurrexit*. This is the first (but not only time) when the cantus firmus is elaborated; decoration is applied to two of the four cantus-firmus phrases. Because the added notes are incorporated into the phrase endings viewing them in isolation does not make clear as to whether ph. 3 or ph. 4 is stated. But when placed in the two contexts of the *Et resurrexit* itself, and also the whole Mass, the evidence is strong enough to show that the embellishments are added to ph. 4.

On each occasion the elaborated phrase is followed by an unadorned ph. 3 (ex. 14, ph. 4 - bs. 128-40 and bs. 176-82; ph. 3 - bs. 158-67 and bs. 190-94). If the case were that the two adorned phrases are both ph. 3, then at the very centre of the Mass (and for that matter the only time) Pipelare interrupts his consistent sequence of ph. 4 followed by ph. 3. In this situation the end result would be a four-fold ph. 3, which has no structural logic to it at all. On the other hand working from the premise that both times the decorations are applied to ph. 4 makes sense in the context of the overall structure of the Mass. Then not only is the *Et resurrexit* underscored with single deliveries of phs. 4 and 3 (and not successive two-fold statements either side of it) but also the consistent scheme of declaring ph. 4 then ph. 3 alternately across the Mass is not interrupted. Added to which the numerical sequence of deliveries of the two phrases over the entire *Et resurrexit* is complementary. The scheme of announcing phs. 3 and 4 over the complete Mass, including the *Et resurrexit*, is as follows:

<b>Christe Kyrie II</b>	<b>Qui tollis</b>	<b>Et resurrexit</b>	<b>Confiteor</b>	<b>Osanna</b>	<b>Agnus III</b>
2x4	2x3	4 3-4 3	2x3	2x4	2x3.

The *Et resurrexit* then becomes the watershed of the entire plan. Here for the first and only time, and at the very heart of the design, ph. 3 is followed by ph. 4, the order in which they are found in Casanatense (indicated by 3-4 in the diagram above). The accompanying text begins

with the words 'cujus regni non erit finis', underlining one of the great beliefs of the Christian Faith (Whose Kingdom will have no end, ex. 14 bs. 158-82). Not only is this moment emphasised by the structure of the music, but because all the previous and succeeding two-fold phs. 3 and 4 gravitate towards and move away from this point the liturgical text is also accentuated. Added to this (although not mathematically exact) the principle of diminution is in evidence between the first quotation of phs. 4 and 3 and the second (ex. 14 bs. 128-67 and bs. 176-94).

With regard to the actual need for elaborating the phrase for the first time at this relatively late point in the Mass - it is curious that a decorated phrase is given before an undecorated one, for the reverse was usually the case. If the extra notes were added only to underline the central part of the Credo, then it would be emphasised four-fold if all four phrases were treated similarly. Clearly this is not the case; cadential considerations are responsible for the adorned endings to the two fourth phrases. The decorated phrases close in the same A Aeolian mode as do those with no embellishments. Strong plagal progressions with the bassus falling a fourth from d to A close the two ph. 3 statements (ex. 14 bs. 165-66 and bs. 193-94). The elaborated phrases close in VII6-I cadences (ex. 14 bs. 138-39 and bs. 181-82). Adding a c natural between the d and b of the original ph 4 creates stronger drives to the weaker VII6-I cadences, giving to the bassus a strength comparable with the plagal conclusions.

The two pairs of cadences function within a far larger organisation over and above their immediate location, which spans the complete *Et resurrexit*. Operating on three levels it is seen in the changes of vocal ensemble, cadential settings and modal contexts. To illustrate the symmetry of the total design ph. 5 must also be taken into consideration. All cantus-firmus statements are  $\alpha^4$ ; the intervening passages are in reduced scoring for an alternating duo-trio format (ex. 14, duos - bs. 140-58 superius and contratenor and bs. 183-90 tenor and contratenor,

tenor and superius, superius and contratenor; bassus-free trios - bs. 167-72<sup>26</sup> and bs. 195-97).

The sections for reduced scoring function in the manner of ritornelli separating the *a4* cantus-firmus passages.

Two modal levels are expressed in an interlocking fashion. Four-part passages begin in D Dorian and end in A Aeolian, whilst those for the smaller number of voices reverse the modal sequence, opening in A Aeolian and closing in D Dorian. Pipelare then summarises the pattern across ph. 5 (ex. 14 bs. 197-204). Following on from the end of the second ph. 3 is a short trio, which moves from A Aeolian to D Dorian for the sounding of ph. 5 which is delivered *a4* closing in a VII6-I A Aeolian cadence (ex. 14 bs. 195-202). One bar of a repeated three-voiced D minor harmony ensues. Re-entering in the final bar, the bassus on A sounds the root of the final harmony of the concluding A Aeolian plagal cadence (ex. 14 bs. 203-04). Therefore in the final ten bars Pipelare recapitulates all the elements of the preceding 67 bars in what is no more than a codetta to the entire *Et resurrexit*. See Table 5:

<b>Ph. 4</b>		<b>Ph. 3</b>		<b>Ph. 4</b>		<b>Ph. 3</b>
<i>a4</i>	duo	<i>a4</i>	trio/duo	<i>a4</i>	duo	<i>a4</i>
D-A <sup>27</sup>	A-D	D-A	A-D	D-A	A-D	D-A
VII6-I		IV-I		VII6-I		IV-I
	duo		<b>Ph. 5</b>			
	A-D		<i>a4</i>	trio	final <i>a4</i> bar	
			D-A	D minor-A minor		
			VII6-I	IV-I		

<sup>26</sup> A three bar superius and contratenor duo follows this trio (ex. 14 bs. 173-76), however, in terms of the macro-design of the *Et resurrexit* these few bars do not have any real effect at all.

<sup>27</sup> D and A indicate D Dorian and A Aeolian the modes in which each phrase begins and ends; Roman numerals denotes the cadential progression closing each phrase.



The evidence is strong enough to suggest that the scheme underlying the distribution of phs. 3 and 4 across the Mass was planned down to the minutest detail. In addition the apex of the design was the centre of the Mass, the *Et resurrexit* with its own systematic alternation of single fourth and third phrases in conjunction with changes of vocal forces, cadential endings and modal levels.

## Pierre de la Rue

Jennifer Bloxam in her study of Pipelare's *Missa de Sancto Livino* and La Rue's *Missa de Sancto Job* demonstrated that the latter composition was modelled directly on the former.<sup>28</sup> It will emerge how close is La Rue's distribution of phs. 3 and 4 in his *L'homme armé* Mass<sup>29</sup> (which also leads to and away from the Credo) to that of the Pipelare pattern. The similarities in the structural designs of phs. 3 and 4 in both Masses is strong enough to suggest the possibility that La Rue was acquainted with Pipelare's work.<sup>30</sup> There is also the same D Dorian mode, the similar exploration of the low bassus register and the equivalence of the other voices as co-presenters of the cantus firmus. The pivotal point in La Rue's design is broadly over the passage of the Credo text corresponding to that chosen by Pipelare. However, La Rue was no slavish imitator, every aspect of his scheme bears the hallmark of an individual creative imagination so that the culmination of his conception is not at the *Et resurrexit* as in the Pipelare Mass, but with the words 'Et in Spiritum'.

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<sup>28</sup> Bloxam, 'Spurious Saints', 202-12. Pipelare's Mass is a masterwork of multiple-cantus-firmi combinations, employing twenty different plainsongs in all. All the chants had a very local pertinence to Ghent, particularly to the Abbey of St. Bavo where the mortal remains of the spurious saint are supposed to rest. La Rue did not employ the original chants for his Mass, but took the versions to which Pipelare subjected them. Before Bloxam, Cross had also noted the similarity between the source materials of the two Masses in his Pipelare, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, x.

<sup>29</sup> Editions, *Das Chorwerk*, Heft 114, ed. Nigel Davison (1972), also *CMM* 97, vol. IV (1992), ed. Nigel Davison.

<sup>30</sup> In her article Bloxam produces an interesting fact concerning the musical life in Ghent. What little is known about it hints at a healthy thriving musical culture. One recorded occasion (having possible links with the origins of the *Missa L'homme armé* tradition) is the convening of the Knights of the Golden Fleece at Ghent in 1445 by Philip the Good (Bloxam, 195). There is no documentary evidence confirming that either Pipelare or La Rue were ever in Ghent, but the connections of La Rue emulating Pipelare's *Miss de Sancto Job*, their two *L'homme armé* Masses possibly being related, and the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece nevertheless is tantalising.

Willi Apel described La Rue's handling of the *l'homme armé* melody thus:

This composition may well be called 'the most brilliant example of contrapuntal virtuosity' before Bach's *Art of Fugue*. The method of using the cantus firmus in all the parts is applied here with an amazing virtuosity. Entire sections or extended passages are constructed exclusively out of motives of the *l'homme armé* melody.<sup>31</sup>

So dense is the concentration of the source material (particularly the settings of phs. 3 and 4) that there are very few places where the polyphony is free from the borrowed material.

The similar tight rhythmic patterns in which the two phrases are couched (never applied to Ai, Aii or ph. 5) give a third level of unity to the Mass beyond that of the complete cantus-firmus scheme and head motive. La Rue employs the concentrated delivery of phs. 3 and 4 as a drive to the climax of his cantus-firmus design, counterbalanced by a gradual lessening of the momentum away from it, with the two phrases given in more relaxed and leisurely contexts. In La Rue's scheme ph. 3 is generally used when the source material is present in a single voice and ph. 4 when it is carried in more than one part.<sup>32</sup> See Table 6:

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<sup>31</sup> Willi Apel, 'Imitation Canons on *L'homme armé*', *Speculum* 25, no. 3 (1950), 372.

<sup>32</sup> There are five apparent inconsistencies to this plan, the first two being *Kyrie I* and the *Christe*. Both sections are mensuration canons where the cantus firmus is notated once in the *dux* with two mensural signs, the *comes* being derived from the written part. Although the source material is placed in two voices it is in fact notated as a single voice. On this basis I see no inconsistency in my general observation of La Rue's delivery of phs. 3 and 4. The three other sections in the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus (marked + in Table 7) are special cases and will be considered in Chapter 4.

**Table 6**  
**Settings of phs. 3 and 4 in La Rue's *Missa L'homme arme***

**Kyrie**

**Kyrie I**

1x3 canon bassus/tenor  
 (bs. 11-15)

**Christe**

1x3 canon tenor/contra.  
 (bs. 33-40)

**Gloria**

**Domine Deus**

4x3 bassus  
 (bs. 39-53)

**Qui tollis**

2x4 superius  
 2x4 contra.  
 ph. 4, ph. 3, ph. 4 bassus+  
 (bs. 55-64)

**Credo**

**Qui propter**

4x4 superius  
 2x4 contra.  
 4x4 tenor  
 4x4 bassus  
 (bs. 41-54)

**Crucifixus**

2x4 superius  
 2x4 contra.  
 2x3 bassus+  
 (bs. 93-104)

**Et in Spiritum**

2x3 tenor  
 (bs. 157-68)

**Qui cum Patre**

2x4 superius  
 phs. 4 and 5 contra.  
 2x4 tenor  
 phs. 4 and 5 bassus  
 (bs. 174-86)

**Confiteor**

2x3 bassus  
 (bs. 204-10)

**Sanctus**

**Sanctus**

3x4 tenor (bs. 13-25)  
 2x4 bassus (bs. 15-23)  
 2x4 superius (bs. 22-28)  
 2x3 bassus (bs. 25-28)+  
 2x4 contra. (bs. 25-29)

**Pleni**

duo superius/contra.  
 decorated either  
 ph.3 or 4 (bs. 48-66)

**Benedictus**

3x3 bassus (bs. 125-30)  
 1x4 bassus (bs. 138-41)  
 2x4 superius (bs. 140-46)  
 4x3/or 4 bassus (bs. 146-61)  
 2x4 basus (bs. 163-71)

**Agnus**

**Agnus I**

2x3 bassus (bs. 23-29)

**Agnus III**

2x4 superius (bs. 62-72)

The distinctive rhythmic mode in which phs. 3 and 4 are framed for the greater portion of the Mass is applied first to ph. 3 at the end of *Kyrie I* (ex. 15).<sup>33</sup> Here La Rue concentrates his source material on a level other than that of the mensuration canon itself (bassus on D and tenor

<sup>33</sup> All examples are taken from my transcription of the Mass based on B 9126, J 22 and V 1783.

on d). Against ph. 3 in the tenor the contratenor quotes ph. 2 echoing the sounding of the phrase in the tenor (ex. 15 bs. 11-15). Even at this early stage in the Mass La Rue shows his predilection for setting different phrases of the *res facta* against one another. It is a procedure that he employs constantly across the Mass, the pinnacle of which is the dazzling feat of contrapuntal brilliance in the final *Agnus*.<sup>34</sup>

With ph. 3 concluding *Kyrie I* and ph. 4 declared in the *Christe* this is the only occasion when the two phrases are not quoted within the same Mass section.<sup>35</sup> Architecture is accountable for this one deviation, which in turn is founded on La Rue's idiosyncratic use of self-generating motives from which to build his polyphony.<sup>36</sup> Tenor and contratenor carry the second ph. 3 in canon at the fifth above in the *Christe*. It is the latter voice on d' which preserves the D Dorian mode of the source material (tenor is on g). An extended bassus-superius duo precedes the start of the canon. Ph. 4 opens the bassus's line (answered in an elaborated form by the superius) which, with variants, provides the material for the complete duet (ex. 17 bs. 19-30). Energetic rhythms in both voices drive the duo to a G Mixolydian cadence the point at which the canonic voices enter. The prolonged G major harmony halts the forward thrust in the music (ex. 17 b. 31). The superius then resumes the previous momentum by sounding a two-fold variant of its own opening phrase (ex. 17 compare bs. 20-23 with bs. 32-36). In counterpoint with the superius the tenor delivers phs. 3 and 5 and the contratenor ph. 3.

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<sup>34</sup> This particular method of manipulating the cantus firmus will be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>35</sup> However there are three occasions when La Rue breaks the progress of a single phrase. One is over the end of the *Et incarnatus est* and start of the *Crucifixus*. Ph. 6 concludes the former section and its falling fifth opens the latter. The other is *Kyrie II* where *Aii* is given in a mensuration canon (bassus in *tempus perfectum*, tenor *tempus imperfectum*). A rest is inserted between the third and fourth notes of ph. 6. Without the added rest the canon in the two mensurations is not possible (let alone the additional delivery of ph. 6 simultaneously in the superius). Consecutive sevenths and ninths result almost from the outset (see exs. 16 [a] and [b]). The third occasion occurs in the bassus of *Agnus I*, where a prolonged rest separates the third and fourth pitches. Again the rest is necessary so that a triple-simultaneous sounding of *Ai* on the pitches of e (contratenor), F (bassus) and d (tenor) can be achieved.

<sup>36</sup> See Walter Rubsamen, *Pierre de la Rue als Messenkomponist*, Ph.D. dissertation (Munich 1937) and Nigel Davison, 'The Motets of Pierre de la Rue', *MQ* 48 (1962), 19-35; also Rubsamen, 'Unifying Techniques in Selected Masses of Josquin and La Rue: A Stylistic Comparison', *PJC*, 373-79, 383-88 and 398-400.

La Rue then recapitulates the opening of the *Christe*, pitches being exact in the bassus and superius, but the context is different now - not imitative but with the two parts superimposed. The simultaneous sounding of the two free voices spans the end of ph. 3 and beginning of ph. 5 in the contratenor. Against the contratenor's ph. 5 the superius repeats its immediate previous material but varied (ex. 17 bs. 40-46). Gradually the compact delivery of the source material is lessened. Across the final a in the contratenor the other three voices are freely imitative with motives clothed in the rhythmic patterns of the *Christe*'s opening (bs. 46-54).

What emerges from the preceding discussion is that from the close of *Kyrie* I until the end of the *Christe* the whole of B is quoted intact, but in a very individual manner. Phs. 3 and 5 are always in canon; ph. 4 on the other hand generates the material for the cantus-firmus free voices. Diagrammatically the plan is:

<b>Ph. 3</b>	<b>Ph. 4</b>	<b>Ph. 3</b>	<b>Ph. 4</b>	<b>Ph. 5</b>
Kyrie I	Christe	Christe	Christe	Christe
(bs. 11-15)	(bs. 19-21)	(bs. 33-40)	(bs. 40-43)	(bs. 36-46)
bassus/tenor	bassus/superius	tenor/contra.	bassus/superius	tenor/contra
canonic		canonic		canonic.

Within this framework the G major harmony has a precise structural function (ex. 17 bs. 31-32). It is the watershed between the first quotation of phs. 3 and 4 (*Kyrie* I ex. 15 bs. 11-15, *Christe* ex. 17 bs. 19-21) and the subsequent canonic delivery of the rest of B (*Christe* ex. 17 bs. 33-46).

This pattern of cantus-firmus delivery is not the only reason for placing phs. 3 and 4 across two successive Mass sections. The composer's penchant for the simultaneous sounding of two different phrases of the borrowed song also needs to be taken into account. La Rue was

universally acknowledged for his contrapuntal brilliance.<sup>37</sup> Quite easily *Kyrie I* can close with the tenor's ph. 2, the bassus then having free material. Having recognised that ph. 2 against ph. 3 made a perfect combination he surely could not resist the temptation of setting the two phrases in counterpoint (see ex. 15 bs. 11-12).<sup>38</sup>

The three parts of the cantus firmus are placed in the three divisions of the Gloria.<sup>39</sup> Another feature of the borrowed tune is reflected in the Gloria setting. B has three phrases against two in Ai and Aii. This weighting is apparent in the Gloria; the delivery of B being longer as the combined lengths of Ai and Aii:

<b>Ai</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Aii</b>
38 bars	72 bars	26 bars.

With the technique of migration and four changes of mensuration the declaration of B is further underscored. On the other hand Ai and Aii are presented in one voice and under one mensural sign. See Table 7:

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<sup>37</sup> See John Evan Kreider, *The Masses for Five and Six Voices by Pierre de la Rue*, Ph.D. dissertation (Indiana University, 1974), 159-74, and Nigel Davison, *CMM* 97, vol. VII, XXXI-II

<sup>38</sup> The combination is repeated immediately in invertible counterpoint, tenor and contratenor ex. 15 bs. 12-15.

<sup>39</sup> Although this part of the dissertation concerns the presentation of phs. 3 and 4, in order to illustrate their structural function occasional reference to other phrases of the secular song need to be made.

**Table 7**  
**Distribution of the secular melody across the Gloria**  
**of La Rue's *Missa L'homme arme***

<p><b>Ai</b>  <b>Et in terra</b>            bs. 1-38  <i>a</i>4 c.f. in tenor            mensuration O</p>	<p><b>B</b>  <b>Domine Deus</b>            bs. 39-54  <i>a</i>3 c.f. in bassus            mensuration C2</p> <p><b>Qui tollis peccata mundi</b>            bs. 55-64  <i>a</i>3 c.f. in all voices            mensuration 3</p> <p><b>Qui tollis suscipe</b>            bs. 65-90  <i>a</i>4 c.f. in bassus            mensuration <math>\text{C}</math></p> <p><b>Miserere nobis</b>            bs. 91-110  <i>a</i>4 c.f. in all voices            mensuration 3</p>	<p><b>Aii</b>  <b>Cum Sancto Spiritu</b>            bs. 110-35  <i>a</i>4 c.f. in tenor            mensuration <math>\text{C}</math></p>
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Ph. 3 in the *Domine Deus* is stated as an ostinato, a technique greatly favoured by La Rue when presenting phs. 3 and 4. The bassus presents ph. 3 four times, on the same pitch  $\underline{d}$ , but with melodic and rhythmic variants, supporting a contratenor-superius imitative duo (ex. 18 [a] bs. 39-54). The delivery of ph. 4 with the text 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' is even more concentrated being sounded simultaneously in the three voices, each part on a different pitch (ex. 18 [b] bs. 55-64).<sup>40</sup> This compressed presentation is intensified further with each single

<sup>40</sup> This is not entirely correct because between its two statements of ph. 4 the bassus quotes a single ph. 3, which is necessary for the triple counterpoint to work. Not one of the three parts presents ph. 4 in its original form. La Rue freely repeats single pitches in each voice, but most extensively at the beginning of the superius's second ph. 4. This melodic line spans phs. 3 and 4 in the bassus. Except for four occasions the superius and bassus move in parallel tenths across the complete passage. In order to sustain this parallel movement only ph. 3 can work in the bassus across the first five notes in the superius. There is no place in b. 60 where a  $\underline{b}$  giving a ph. 4 can be sounded by the bassus. Incidental to these concerns for the polyphony the delivery of ph. 3 and ph. 4 in the bassus creates a miniature ternary design in that part:

**X**  
 ph. 4 (bs. 55-58)

**Y**  
 ph. 3 (bs. 59-61)

**Xi**  
 ph. 4 (bs. 61-64).



voice given in *ostinato*. Counterbalancing these dense settings of phs. 3 and 4 are the lighter presentations of the following fifth phrases from the 'Domine Deus' to the end of the *Sanctus*. *Ostinato* treatment is also applied to phs. 3 and 4 on four out of their five appearances in the *Credo*. They are given in similar rhythms as the statements in the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. The one quotation that differs (stated by the tenor alone) has a dual structural importance, within the *Credo* itself and also as the pivotal point of the complete *Mass*. See Table 8:

<b>Table 8</b>			
<b>Presentations of phs. 3 and 4 in the Credo of La Rue's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i></b>			
<b>Ai</b> <b>Patrem</b> c.f. in tenor (bs. 1-41)	<b>B</b> <b>Qui propter</b> ph. 4 <i>ostinato</i> <i>a4</i> (bs. 41-54) ph. 5 <i>a4</i> (bs. 54-61)	<b>Aii</b> <b>Et incarnatus est</b> c.f. in tenor (bs. 62-92)	<b>B/Aii</b> <b>Crucifixus</b> phs. 3&4 <i>ostinato</i> <i>a3</i> (bs. 93-104) ph. 5 <i>a4</i> (bs. 103-11)
<b>Ai/B</b> <b>Et resurrexit</b> Tenor (Ai bs. 111-56) (B bs. 157-74)			
<b>B</b> <b>Qui cum Patre</b> phs. 4 and 5 <i>ostinato</i> <i>a4</i> (bs. 174-86) ph. 5 <i>superius</i> (bs. 187-90)	<b>Ai</b> <b>Qui locutus est</b> c.f. in bassus (bs. 186-203)	<b>B</b> <b>Confiteor</b> ph. 3 <i>ostinato</i> in bassus (bs. 204-10) ph. 5 in bassus (bs. 211-15)	<b>Aii</b> <b>Et vitam</b> c.f. in bassus, tenor and <i>superius</i> (bs. 223-42)

The first appearance of B in the *Credo* ('*Qui propter*') presents ph. 4 in all four voices, imitatively and in *quasi-ostinato* fashion. Each of the three voices states ph. 4 four times, but only the tenor at a single pitch level, *g* (ex. 19 bs. 42-52). The bassus gives ph. 4 twice on *A* then twice on *d* (ex. 19 bs. 42-47 and bs. 48-54) and *superius* twice each on *d*' and *g*' (ex. 19 bs. 42-



46, bs. 46-48 and 51-53). A flexibility in the handling of pitch levels is characteristic of this Mass and of La Rue's style in general. To start with the octave difference between Ai (and Aii) and B is not preserved by the same voice. The tenor carries Ai on d but then presents B on g. It is the superius that first preserves the original pitch relationship between Ai and B by announcing the first two of its four-fold ph. 4 on d' (ex. 19 bs. 42-46).

Fundamentally this is still a tenor Mass, but in spite of the fact that the tenor voice is the only part to declare its four statements of ph. 4 on one pitch level at the 'Qui propter', significantly it is not in the D Dorian mode of the Mass. Nor for that matter is that mode expressed consistently by any one of the other three voices over the whole section. In total ph. 4 is heard fourteen times of which only six statements are on **D**,<sup>41</sup> two each by superius, contratenor and bassus (ex. 19 bs. 42-46, 47-51 and 48-54 respectively). There are also six quotations on **G**, tenor with four and superius with two (ex. 19, tenor bs. 42-52, superius bs. 46-48 and 51-53). But a real modal surprise is that neither **D** nor **G** is the mode expressed in the cadence concluding the passage. The pitch level used least - A (twice in the bassus) - has that distinction in a transposed A Phrygian progression (ex. 19 bs. 53-54). As a result of all this modal change together with the source material being placed in all voices (remembering that only the tenor is at a consistent pitch) the established concept as to which voice is the main bearer of the cantus firmus becomes quite blurred.<sup>42</sup>

When the unconventional intervals used for the imitation are added to these factors then the tension in the polyphonic fabric is further increased. As the third voice to enter on g the tenor

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<sup>41</sup> References to pitches with a capital letter in bold (but not underlined) does not indicate a fixed pitch level, but a general one across all possible octave levels.

<sup>42</sup> Tinctoris in his *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, and dedicated to Ockeghem and Busnoys, wrote: 'Hence when some Mass or chanson or whatever other compositions... is made from different parts carried through in different tones, if anyone asks of what tone such a composition may be, he (who is) interrogated ought to reply, for the whole according to the quality of the tenor because that is the chief part and the foundation of the whole relationship'. Translated by Albert Seay, *Concerning the Nature and Property of Tones* (1976), 85-86, also in *Source Readings*, 420 n. 6, and *Atlas, Renaissance*, 96.

creates the unusual intervals of a seventh above with the bassus's  $\underline{A}$ , and a second above with  $\underline{a}$  in the contratenor. The colourful contexts in which the openings of the thrice-repeated ph. 4 are placed are matched by their equally varied endings; F major harmonies in the superius and E Phrygian-like progressions in the bassus. Only the tenor alludes to the D Dorian mode of the Mass with VII6-I progressions. This kaleidoscopic treatment of ph. 4 is compressed into only two-and-a-half bars and is then immediately repeated almost exactly (ex. 19 bs. 44-47).<sup>43</sup> The tension created with the combined techniques of stretto-like imitations, ostinato and colourful pitch relationships is dispersed in the more relaxed delivery of the following ph. 5 in paired imitation.

One other passage before to the central 'Et in Spiritum' contains phs. 3 and 4. It occurs at the beginning of the *Crucifixus* and in length it is comparable with the 'Qui propter' (twelve bars as against thirteen). Rhythmically it is less frenetic than the 'Qui propter' but polyphonically is just as compact. Three separate elements of the *res facta* are combined. An anchorage to the

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<sup>43</sup> I believe that La Rue's choice of pitches has its rationale in the interval of the fourth, which opens Ai and Aii. It is present in both vertical and linear relationships. Linearly in the bassus and superius, the only two parts to quote ph. 4 on two different pitches, bassus on  $\underline{A}$  then  $\underline{d}$ , superius on  $\underline{d}$  and  $\underline{g}$ . The pitches of the superius are those that open the song in the D Dorian mode of the Mass. In the first four bars of the passage (ex. 19 bs. 42-45) the imitation is constructed on the cumulative entries of the three voices. Bassus and superius are at the eleventh below  $\underline{d}$  and  $\underline{A}$  (an extended fourth) and tenor on  $\underline{g}$ . From the tenor's third ph. 4 (ex. 19 b. 48) a flexible use of paired imitation comes into play, the voice pairing confirmed by the contratenor's first sounding of ph. 4 (ex. 19 b. 47). Tenor and bassus are on  $\underline{g}$  and  $\underline{d}$  (ex. 19 bs. 46-54) and superius and contratenor on the same two pitches but an octave higher (ex. 19 bs. 48-53). Once again the two pitches for the imitation are the two that comprise the opening fourth of the borrowed song in the D Dorian mode of the Mass D and G. Each pitch is stressed with a four-fold sounding, D twice each in the bassus and contratenor and G twice each in the tenor and superius. This scenario gives a probable answer for the unusual pitch relation of a seventh between bassus and tenor at the start of the passage. Pitches D and G are central to the design of the 'Qui propter'. D is necessary to give at the least a pitch continuity to the successive quotations of the three parts of the secular song, and G (a fifth below and a fourth above D), providing a conventional intervallic relationship with it. That the two pitches are those of Ai and Aii in the D Dorian mode of the Mass may be either coincidental or a deliberate choice by the composer. The evidence supports the latter conclusion. Given the one constant factor that the tenor is always stated on  $\underline{g}$  in conjunction with the voice grouping of the paired imitation being tenor/bassus and superius/contratenor (at the fourth on G and D), then  $\underline{d}$  is the only possible pitch on which the bassus can be placed at this point (ex. 19 b. 48). Given also that any changes of pitch between the individual quotations of ph. 4 in the superius and bassus (and also in the vertical relationships between them) is always governed by the fourth (ex. 19 superius bs. 42 and 47, bassus, bs. 42 and 48), then the only possible pitch on which the bassus can be sounded at the beginning of the 'Qui propter' is  $\underline{A}$ . This ensures that the bassus's relationships, both with itself (ph. 4 twice on  $\underline{A}$  and twice on  $\underline{d}$ ) and the other voices (superius at the beginning, tenor at the end) are the same as those of the other three voices, always governed by the interval of the fourth.

texture is the falling fifth of ph. 6, quoted twice in pedal-like values by the tenor. Around the tenor part the bassus announces ph. 3 twice on d, answered by superius and contratenor with a two-fold ph. 4 in parallel thirds (ex. 20 bs. 93-103).

So what conclusions can be drawn from the similar manner in which phs. 3 and 4 are announced from the Kyrie up to the point of the *Crucifixus*? In whatever ways they differ, all share the same technique of ostinato, applied either strictly or freely. Collectively the passages operate as a drive towards the 'Et in Spiritum' (the pivotal point of their setting in the Mass). The opening of the *Crucifixus* is part of that collective forward thrust to the 'Et in Spiritum', but apart from this role it has another individual purpose, that of an extensive introduction to the central delivery of Ai and B in the tenor.

In order to show the structural significance of the double ph. 3 in the 'Et in Spiritum' and also the special role of the *Crucifixus* reference to previous and following sections containing Ai is necessary. At the start of the 'Et resurrexit' there is a veritable explosion of cantus-firmus activity with all parts carrying Ai. The slower-moving tenor is in contrast to the livelier derived ph. 1 counterpoints of the other voices (ex. 20 b. 111). Ai is given in its most expansive treatment to date. Ph. 2 is quoted twice, and separating the two soundings is its falling fifth (also given twice extended over seven bars); but the interval is omitted from the close of the repeated ph. 2 (bs. 130-56).

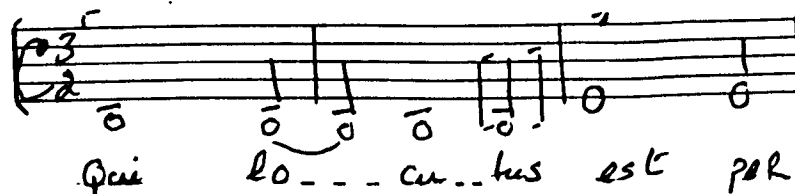
We return to the *Crucifixus* to show how it functions as an introduction to the 'Et resurrexit'. To separate the falling fifth that closes ph. 6 from the rest of the phrase over two successive Mass sections (*Et incarnatus est* and *Crucifixus*) appears whimsical to say the least, and then to combine it with phs. 3 and 4 (two phrases with which it had not even the remotest connection in the original song) seems yet more bizarre. But the bringing together of such disparate elements has a precise musical function. Against one *imperfect* breve in the tenor

(carrying the mensural sign of  $\text{C}$ ) the other voices have three semibreves under  $\text{C}_2^3$ . The tenor's internal pedal frustrates the forward motion inherent in the groups of three in the other voices. That movement is resumed only when the tenor begins quoting an extended ph. 7 as a counterpoint to a mildly elaborated ph. 5 given imitatively in other three voices (ex. 20 bs. 103-111).

Gradually the four-part texture is reduced to two (superius and tenor) by which time the tenor has the same mensural sign as the other parts. The whole *Crucifixus* feels as if it closing on an  $a_2$  D Dorian cadence, without any of the tensions and frustrations in the music really resolved. Then comes the surprise and final resolution of all the conflicts built up in the *Crucifixus*. Unexpectedly the two-part cadential progression closes  $a_4$ , all parts now carrying  $A_i$  and the start of the cantus-firmus activity on ph. 1; the *Et resurrexit* has begun (ex. 20 b. 111).<sup>44</sup> Only in terms of the following *Et resurrexit* does the *Crucifixus* have a musical sense, in that it is prelude to it.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Like Pipelare, La Rue follows B with  $A_i$ ; the same reasons apply here as there.

<sup>45</sup> I feel strongly that there is another element at work here, namely a portrayal of the general mood of the text. The consensus of opinion is that La Rue did not seek to express the individual words of his text in the music. See Davison, *Missa L'Homme Armé I*, ii-iii and Brown, *Renaissance*, 173. Quite the reverse is evident on occasions, his concern for a clear relationship between text and music is non-existent. At times single notes need to be subdivided to accommodate all of the syllables of the text. An example is found in the Credo of this Mass



Notwithstanding this there is sufficient evidence to show that the composer was not completely unaware of the moods of his chosen texts, and whilst not reflecting individual words in them he did express their overall emotions. Subjective as it might appear, I see the falling fifth of ph. 6 combined with phs. 3 and 4 not only as structural but also used as elements with which to portray the darkness of the *Crucifixus*. The slow moving falling fifths in the tenor have the quality of a funeral knell, their lugubrious sound enhanced by the predominantly minor harmonies surrounding them in the other voices. Greater darkness is added to the passage with the bassus moving down to low  $\underline{D}$  (ex. 20 b. 106) all the time the continuous heavy triplet movement giving an added sombreness to the music. In spite of the dark colouring of the harmony at the start of the 'Et resurrexit' ( $\underline{D}$  minor spaced across two octaves  $\underline{D}-\underline{d}$ ) the mood is considerably lightened with a uniform mensural sign of  $\text{C}$  and the lively rhythms in which ph. 1 is given in the free voices. This increased optimism in the music is dependent on context - that is the 'Et resurrexit' gains much of its lighter and more joyful feeling in relation to the heavier *Crucifixus*.

The apex of the cantus-firmus design is the *Et in Spiritum*, the two-fold ph. 3 being treated in a manner not used anywhere else in the Mass. The durations in which the notes are given are the longest in which it (or ph. 4) has hitherto been announced. La Rue accomplishes it quite simply by incorporating every repeated pitch into the value of the preceding one creating one longer value. This results in the tenor moving in a succession of perfect breves (grouped into four two-note ligatures) against the duple metre of the free parts. The overall effect is that of a manipulated *tempus perfectum* in the tenor against a notated *tempus imperfectum* in the other voices (ex. 21 bs. 157-68).

Following on from the 'Et in Spiritum' the final two settings of phs. 3 and 4 in the Credo are similar to the settings prior to the central passage. In the 'Qui cum Patre' ph. 4 is presented in paired imitation at the octave below, with all voices on G (ex. 22). Superius and tenor deliver a two-fold ph. 4, contratenor and bassus ph. 4 followed by ph. 5. This ensures that B is given complete, preserving the consistent pattern adopted throughout the Mass.

The bassus presents the final appearance of B in the Credo, a double ph. 3 at the 'Confiteor' (ex. 23). All the elements of the other announcements are present, ostinato treatment, short rhythmic patterns and the general scheme of delivering the two phrases; ph. 3 when a single voice states the source material, ph. 4 when presented polyphonically. It is the shortest statement of either of the two phrases from the Gloria up to this point, only seven bars.<sup>46</sup> A gradual decrease in the important structural function of these compact passages is now set in motion.

Ostinato treatment makes a brief appearance at the close of the *Sanctus*. Ph. 3 is stated three times by the tenor on d', imitated twice by the bassus on G (ex. 24 bs. 13-25). The delivery

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<sup>46</sup> Each section consists of the following number of bars, 'Domine Deus' 15, 'Qui tollis' 10, 'Qui propter' 13, *Crucifixus* 12, 'Et in Spiritum' 12, 'Qui cum Patre' 12 and 'Confiteor' 7.

is far more relaxed than the previous ones, with durations longer and rhythms less frenetic.

Tenor and bassus are a harmonic support to a faster moving superius-contratenor duo. Over the close of bassus's second ph. 4 the duet texture stops. Then the superius quotes ph. 4 on *g*' ,

(imitating the bassus) echoed by the tenor's third ph. 4 at the fourth below (ex. 24 bs. 22-24).

The final five bars function as a codetta both to the *Sanctus* and also to the concentrated delivery of phs. 3 and 4. During the tenor's final sustained *a* the other voices revert to ostinato technique and earlier energetic rhythms in which to announce phs. 3 and 4. A single ph. 4 on *f* in the superius and a two-fold ph. 3 by the bassus on *d* (ex. 24 bs. 25-28).

The contratenor is interesting because it alone affects the texture of the final harmony in the *Sanctus*. With its second ph. 4 on *f* it is the only moving part over the final prolonged cadential harmony. With no complications the *Sanctus* can conclude with an inexact second quotation of ph. 4 in the contratenor. Even with an *e* replacing the *c* of the original melody there is still a full terminal A minor harmony (the superius sounds *c*'). But La Rue cannot deny the contratenor its delivery of a repeated exact ph. 4. The fifth of the A minor harmony is requisite, so in order to accomplish this and a full ph. 4 the contratenor divides, sounding both *e* and *c* together (ex. 24 bs. 28-29). All the tensions created in the presentations of the two phrases at very close temporal distances, in ostinato and tight rhythmic patterns is absent in their final two announcements.<sup>47</sup> They provide a perfect foil to all the earlier deliveries leading up to, and away from the central 'Et in Spiritum'. The bassus first announces a double ph. 3 in *Agnus I*. Then in *Agnus III*<sup>48</sup> (couched in the dark glowing colours of the untransposed Dorian mode) the

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<sup>47</sup> This does not include the *Pleni*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus II*. The *Pleni* and *Benedictus* are built entirely from the borrowed song. As a duo for superius and contratenor in the *Pleni* the latter part only quotes Ai, but both voices state B. The *Benedictus* is a trio; once again the contratenor is the main carrier of Ai and the bassus of B. In both sections the concentration of the secular song is such there is hardly a single bar that either does not quote it directly, or is influenced by it.

<sup>48</sup> *Agnus II* is a unique case and will be considered in Chapter 3, and *Agnus I* and III in Chapter 4.

superius with a two-fold ph. 4 reveals a new facet of the phrase for the first time. A sustained top melodic line delivered in a calm tranquil context that brings the Mass to a serene close.

## Chapter 3

### Imitative Procedures

So we are left with a memorable tune whose  
contrapuntal possibilities were glaringly obvious  
to an unknown composer (who may have been,  
but probably wasn't, Busnoys).<sup>1</sup>

This succinct evaluation of the early secular settings of the melody pinpoints a special feature of it that was to be exploited in the Mass tradition, namely imitation. From early on in the Mass complex the song was deployed for imitative treatment, both strict and free. In fact the writing of a *L'homme armé* Mass became synonymous with a display of contrapuntal brilliance in one form or another, to the extent that entire Masses were constructed on complete canonic deliveries of the tune. What will be considered here are instances where imitative procedures (either strict or free) are responsible for the use of either a two-fold ph. 3 or ph. 4.<sup>2</sup>

#### Tinctoris

Tinctoris treats the complete *L'homme armé* melody in canon beginning with the words et incarnatus est'.<sup>3</sup> The three parts of the secular song are set with the following portions of text:

**Ai**  
Et incarnatus est... Maria Virgine  
(bs. 68-79)

**B**  
et homo... pro nobis  
(bs. 79-89)

**Aii**  
sub Pontio... sepultus est  
(bs. 90-100).

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<sup>1</sup> Fabrice Fitch, 'Busnoys the Bruiser', review of *Antoine Busnoys*, *EM*, May 2000, 283-84. During the course of the dissertation it will become apparent that in certain imitative contexts composers had to make significant changes to the secular song in order to produce good counterpoint. See also Chapters 4, 11, 13 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> Masses built entirely on a canonic delivery of the secular melody are discussed in Chapter 11.

<sup>3</sup> Edition, *MPLSER* no. 9, Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera omnia*, ed. W. Melin, *CMM* 18 (1976).



A rubric appended to the *superius part*<sup>4</sup> instructs the contratenor to begin first a fourth below (ex. 25). Ph. 4 is given at the temporal distance of a minim, with the *superius* entering over the contratenor's second pitch and conversely the contratenor ending over the penultimate note in the *superius* (ex. 25 bs. 80 and 82). A canonic statement with ph. 3 as the *comes* between bs. 79-82 is not possible at this short distance. Replacing the *e*' with *g*' in the *superius* creates unacceptable sevenths first with the contratenor and bassus and then just with the contratenor (ex. 25 bs. 82 and 85, the stemless notes indicate ph. 3). Also the two-part cadential progression between the *superius* and tenor (third to unison) which leads to the interrupted progression closing the phrase is destroyed (ex. 25 b. 82). By electing to place the borrowed song in canon Tinctoris had to abandon a faithful presentation of his cantus firmus (i.e. ph. 3 followed by ph. 4).

As regards B Tinctoris created a problem for himself by placing the higher canonic voice in the *superius*, the same difficulty that had to be faced by other composers in similar situations. The tessitura between *Ai* and *B* is wide at an octave. Had the composer retained the interval of an octave that bridges *Ai* and *B* in his canonic setting the *superius* would sound *B* in a range from *d*' to *a*''. Tinctoris's *superius* seldom goes above the highest note of the gamut *e*''.<sup>5</sup> His solution to the problem of the extreme upper range in the *superius* is simple. All three parts of the borrowed song are kept within the same octave, contratenor on *d*' and *superius* on *g*' (ex. 25

<sup>4</sup> *Absque mora prium/rait in dyatessaron ymun*, taken from my transcription based on CS 35, as are all the musical examples.

<sup>5</sup> The range of the Guidonian hand, *G* to *e*'' comprised seven overlapping hexachords all with a semitone between notes three and four. The lowest hexachord on *G* was called *durum*, or hard because the *B-C* semitone was indicated with a square *h*; the one on *F mollis* where a round *b* indicated the *A-B flat* semitone, and the one on *C*, *naturale*, or natural because the semitone needed no sign to mark it. The complete range was called the *Gamut*, a composite word, *Gamma*, the Greek sign for *G* adopted for the lowest note *G*, and *ut*, the syllable used for the first note of each hexachord. Tinctoris expounded the system in his *Expositio manus* (c.1472-73), English translation by Albert Seay, *JMT IX* (1965); see also Sarah Fuller, 'Renaissance Theory', *Performer's Guide*, 290-96 and Perkins, *Renaissance*, 987-92. Although outside the period of this dissertation (but nevertheless pertinent to the question of the *Gamut*, as the hexachord system was still basic to the study of music) are Thomas Morley's remarks. He writes: 'That compass [*G* to *e*''] was the reach of most voices, so that under *Gan ut* [the lowest note] the voice seemed as a kind of humming, and above *E la* [the highest] a kind of restrained shrieking.' *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musike* (1597). Quoted in Mead, 'Renaissance Theory', 291.

Ai bs. 68-79, B bs. 79-89, Aii bs. 90-100).

## Basiron

A comparable situation is found in *Kyrie II* and *Osanna II* of the Basiron Mass<sup>6</sup> where canonic procedures are responsible for the declaration of a two-fold ph. 4. The complete *res facta* is given on g in canon at the unison in *Kyrie II*, contratenor, *dux*, and tenor, *comes*, (ex. 26).<sup>7</sup> The consequence of two perfect breves separating the entries of the two voices is that in both quotations of ph. 4 the opening three pitches of the *comes* are set against the final three pitches of the *dux* (ex. 26 bs. 107-08 and 112-13). In turn the first pitch of the second ph. 4 in the *dux* is over the last note of the first ph. 4 in the *comes* (ex. 26 b. 110).

The reason for the two-fold ph. 4 lies in the quality of the harmonies over each perfect breve. There is never an occasion when one of the three semibreves comprising each tactus does not have a third in its vertical alignment. On the contrary, of the eleven perfect breves that make up the passage seven are entirely triadic; one perfect breve has two of its three semibreves with a third, and the remaining three breves has a third in only one of their three semibreves. The following diagram illustrates the pattern. Figures below the bar numbers indicate how many of the three semibreves of each tactus are triadic and the letters y and z respectively show the beginnings and endings of the fourth phrases:

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<sup>6</sup> It is known that the Basiron Mass was 'new' in 1484. A letter dated 16th. March of that year from Duke Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara to his ambassador in Florence asks for it to be sent to him without delay. He wrote, 'Furthermore we wish you to find as soon possible Cornelio, who was our singer and who is now there, and to tell him in our behalf to send us without delay the new l'Homme Arme Mass by Philippon (Basiron). And if it needs to be copied and paid for, please do so and advise me of everything, but send it to me without delay'. Quoted from Bain Murray, 'New Light on Jacob Obrecht's Development', *MQ* 43 (1957), 509. However, Jeffery Dean comments in his article in the *NG*, vol., 2, 842-43 that '1484 means no more than the mass was new to Ercole'. A complete edition of Basiron's works is in preparation by Dean.

<sup>7</sup> All examples of the Basiron Mass are taken from my transcription based on CS 35.

	b.105	b.106	b.107	b.108	b.109	b.110	b.111	b.112	b.113	b.114	b.115
	3	3	1	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	1
<i>dux</i>	y			z		y			z		
<i>comes</i>			y			z		y			z.

Ph. 3 can be substituted for ph. 4 within the existing polyphony, but the two relevant breves sounding a penultimate  $g'$  instead of  $e'$  would have no thirds (ex. 26 bs. 107 and 112, the stemless notes indicate a ph. 3). There is a further disadvantage in substituting ph. 3, namely each time the entry of the *comes* is weakened, and especially in the first instance (ex. 26 b. 107). The initial ph. 4 in the *dux* and the opening two notes of ph. 4 in the *comes* are in a prominent acoustic position, at the top of the polyphony. It is obvious that the beginning of the canonic structure of B was to be a distinct musical event, meant to be heard as such. This intention is diminished with a replaced ph. 3, which opening with a repeated  $g'$  has the same two pitches prior to the final  $d'$ . With the temporal distance of the canon being two perfect breves and the interval at the unison, the first two notes of the *comes* are in unison with the final repeated  $g'$  naturals in the *dux*. Sounding the first note of the *comes* in unison with the *dux* is not that detrimental to the entry of the second imitating voice because thereby that pitch is reinforced. But to repeat that unison  $g$  immediately really does weaken the start of the *comes*. On the other hand ph. 4 with  $e'$  as its penultimate note momentarily leaves that sound space free so that the second  $g'$  in the *comes* as the highest sounding part is quite distinct. From this point onwards there is no aural confusion as to which voice is sounding the second part of the canon.

The conditions governing the twice-repeated ph. 4 in *Osanna* II are slightly different. Only the interval of the unison is the same in the two canons. The tenor is now the *dux* and contratenor the *comes*, at the distance of three perfect breves (ex. 27). In *Kyrie* II the imitating voices overlapped, in *Osanna* II they interlock. The first two notes of the double ph. 4 in the *comes* enter against the final notes of the two-fold ph. 4 in the *dux* (ex. 27 bs. 24 and 30).

Subsequently the opening note of the second ph. 4 in the *dux* begins over the final pitch of the first ph. 4 in the *comes* (ex. 27 b. 27). This time the canonic structure is not so prominent as in *Kyrie II*. The contratenor never rises above the superius in *Osanna II*, although in three places the tenor is in unison with the superius and does rise above it with ph. 5 (ex. 27 bs. 27, 29 and 33). However, what is still evident is Basiron's predilection for full triadic harmonies. Once again part of each perfect breve has a third in its harmony. Out of a total of thirteen breves seven are triadic for their entire duration, four have two of the three semibreves with thirds in the harmonies and only two with one. The following diagram illustrates (all the symbols have the same meaning as those in the parallel diagram above):

	b.21	b.22	b.23	b.24	b.25	b.26	b.27	b.28	b.29	b.30	b.31	b.32	b.33
	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	3	2	1	3	3	3
<i>dux</i>	y			z			y			z			
<i>comes</i>				y			z			y			z.

Ph. 3 substituted for ph. 4 does not maintain this harmonic pattern, particularly at the end of the first ph. 4 in the *dux*, where a repeated g' cannot be accommodated into the polyphony (ex. 27 b. 23, the stemless note gives a ph. 3 and also in b. 26). On the deficit side, with any change to the superius and bassus, is the destruction of their melodic design. Basiron has been described as 'a master of pacing who could effortlessly control wide spans of time'<sup>8</sup> and it is in evidence here. The composer arches across the regular four-bar organisation of B, with the original three phrases now expanded to six because of the canon.

The two free voices are derived from the falling fifth of ph. 2 first sounded by the tenor, the first two d' naturals of which cadence *a*4 in G transposed Dorian. At this point the superius rests for two minims. In turn the superius, contratenor and then bassus echo the tenor's falling

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<sup>8</sup> Dean, *NG*, vol. 2, 843.

fifth (ex. 27 bs. 16-23). The superius line is one long elaboration of the fifth. Elegantly and economically the voice re-ascends to  $\underline{d''}$  (ex. 27 bs. 20-22); momentarily the forward motion of the music is held in check, the voice hovering between  $\underline{d''}$  and  $\underline{c''}$ , before descending again in gentle curves to  $\underline{g'}$  in a 'quasi' G cadential context (ex. 27 bs. 22-29). After a very brief rest the music is freely repeated, within the pattern of rising to  $\underline{d''}$  and descending to  $\underline{g'}$ , the superius then rises out of the limits of the fifth against ph. 5 in the contratenor (ex. 27 bs. 29-35). Constantly the superius spans the regular phrase endings of the cantus firmus always maintaining a continuous flow in the polyphony (ex. 27 bs. 23-24, 27-28, 32-33, and 34-35).

The bassus is equally thrifty, and just as graceful in its construction. After the dropping fifth (echoing the contratenor)  $\underline{a}$  and  $\underline{b}$  flat take the bassus to a thrice-repeated fourth (an inverted fifth) in a descending-ascending-descending pattern (ex. 27 bs. 24-31). Even the most insignificant of changes either to the superius or the bassus destroys this beautiful balance of line in both voices, a balance that is accomplished by a simple development of the falling fifth of ph. 2 creating a long arch of sound in the superius and an equally economic supporting bassus. Within the given context, all of this is possible only with a repeated ph. 4. A substituted  $\underline{g'}$  in the tenor (b. 23) is not possible within the context of the bassus's finely constructed line.

## **Pipelare**

Pipelare announces his cantus firmus in canon on more occasions than do either Tinctoris or Basiron. Yet still there is a preference for a repeated ph. 4 when the source material is given imitatively. There are always good reasons for the exceptions to this rule and they will be explained when the relevant situations are dealt with. Four of the seven presentations of B involve imitation, once before the central *Et resurrexit* (the *Christe*) and the other three instances after it (*Confiteor*, *Osanna* and *Agnus III*). Three of the imitative announcements conclude main

movements - Credo, Sanctus and Agnus.<sup>9</sup>

Before looking at the imitative settings of phs. 3 and 4 a reminder of the symmetrical design in which they are placed (excluding the detailed scheme of the *Et resurrexit*) will be a useful point of reference:

<b>Christe</b>	<b>Kyrie II</b>	<b>Qui tollis</b>	<b>Confiteor</b>	<b>Osanna</b>	<b>Agnus III</b>
2x4	2x3	2x4	2x3	2x4	2x3.

The double ph. 4 in the *Christe* is given to the bassus, both phrases being exact in every detail including the ligature notation, a two-note symbol followed by one of three notes (ex. 28). It is quite evident that a repeated ph. 4 was desired and the ligature notation provided a safeguard against a substituted ph. 3. As with the Tinctoris *Et incarnatus est* (ex. 25) the octave difference between Ai and B is not observed across *Kyrie I* and the *Christe*. The bassus states B on the same pitch d as the tenor quoted Ai.<sup>10</sup>

The closes of the two-fold ph.4 in the Pipelare Mass are complementary; the final notes are the bass of penultimate chords in V-I D Dorian progressions (ex. 28 bs. 22-24 and 32-34). On both occasions the bassus is silent in the second harmony. The first ph. 4 has a four-part chord V

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<sup>9</sup> In fact four of the main movements end with the source material in imitation. Aii concludes the Gloria in a free canon in the tenor and bassus. Pipelare re-quotes the same music at the conclusions of the last four movements of his *Missa Sancto de Livino*. Just as in the case of his *L'homme arme* Mass the end of the Kyrie does not conclude with the material of the other movements. Bloxam in her study of the 'Livinus' Mass says that the repeated material is omitted from the close of the Kyrie on performance grounds. She writes: 'The fact that the returning section is not introduced until the conclusion of the Gloria probably reflects the successive performance of the Kyrie and Gloria within the Mass celebration; the end of the first section of polyphony would thus be the end of the Gloria.' See 'In Praise', 187 n. 56. *Kyrie II* of Pipelare's *L'homme arme* Mass stands alone in another respect because the contratenor quotes B and Aii successively; the bassus is the only other part to do so, once in the *Qui tollis* and once in *Agnus III*. Whether Pipelare had knowledge of the Faugues Mass cannot be proven, but Faugues too repeats large segments of music at the closes of four of five movements in his *L'homme arme* Mass. This composition will be considered in Part II.

<sup>10</sup> This is not the only place in the Mass where this happens; the other sections where the octave difference between the two parts of the melody is not observed occurs when the bassus presents B alone after the tenor has given Ai in the previous section (*Et resurrexit* and *Osanna*). When the bassus states both Ai and B then the octave difference between the end of Ai and beginning of B is preserved (*Qui tollis*, *Confiteor* and *Agnus I* across to *Agnus II*). Because the contratenor declares the first two parts of the secular song, the interval of the octave difference is kept there also.

resolving onto a superius-tenor octave of  $\underline{d'}-\underline{d}$ . A single  $\underline{d'}$  in the superius closes the second ph. 4 (ex. 28 b. 34). It occurs over the third note of the first ph. 4 where (with ph. 5) the superius and bassus are in imitation (ex. 28 bs. 30-44). So rather belatedly in the *Christe* (after fourteen bars) the octave difference between Ai and B is preserved, not by the main bearer of the cantus firmus (the bassus) but by a secondary voice, the superius.

During the *Christe* tenor and contratenor are freely imitative. However, the imitation is more structured from the point where the bassus sounds the final three notes of the first statement of ph. 4 up to the end of the second. A motive is given consistently at the interval of a second, but the direction of the imitation (that is whether above or below) is not constant. The changes are not random but finely structured; the first and fourth appearances of the motive are at the second above, the middle two at the second below. The following plan illustrates:

<b>Bars</b>	<b>Higher Voice</b>	<b>Lower Voice</b>
24-28	contratenor	tenor
28-32	tenor	contratenor
32-35	tenor	contratenor
35-37	contratenor	tenor.

All four motives are variants of a descending fourth, with a repeated ph. 3 this compact design cannot be achieved. Yet it is inconceivable that concerns of notation, imitation and cadences were the initial impetus for choosing to announce a two-fold ph. 4 on the first appearance of B in the Mass. The repeated ph. 4 is necessary at the opening of the Mass to set in motion the consistent pattern of delivering a two-fold ph. 4 followed by a two-fold ph. 3, which is fundamental to the entire cantus-firmus blueprint.

To establish a reason for the double ph. 4 at the very beginning of the Mass it is necessary, paradoxically, to look at the final *Agnus*. If the *Et resurrexit* is the central point of the cantus-firmus scheme then the technical climax is *Agnus* II. A second bassus is added to the



texture and with the other bassus B and Aii are given canonically at the octave above.<sup>11</sup> The cantus-firmus pitches are given in very extended values and in terms of the transcription a single pitch of the cantus firmus covers three bars of the free voices (ex. 29).<sup>12</sup> In the two lowest parts these prolonged pitches function as pedal points.<sup>13</sup> On account of these very long values ph. 3 is stated only once in each of the canonic parts. If Pipelare had quoted a two-fold ph. 3 in the *dux* (with the consequent repetitions in the *comes*) ph. 3 would be heard four times covering 36 bars of *Agnus II*. Still to follow is ph. 5 plus the whole of Aii, so that a movement of inordinate length in relation to the Mass sections would result. The one notated ph. 3 (delivered twice by the canonic context) keeps *Agnus II* within practical lengths.

The choice of a twice-repeated ph. 3 was inevitable because of the manner of its delivery. With the retention of the ternary rhythm of the original melody each different pitch has the value of a perfect long, the repeated pitches becoming the final breve of each perfect long. Ph. 4 has an extra different pitch *e*, that is another perfect long which adds another three bars to B destroying a taunt ternary design based on changes of harmony. The two outer sections (labelled X and Xi)

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<sup>11</sup> The second bassus carries a written canon, *apprende arma et scutum et ex surge in adiutorum michi* (take up arms and shield and rise up to help me). This might be a direct reference to the military overtones of the original secular text.

<sup>12</sup> Pipelare uses augmentation notation, the single written bassus carrying the sign for *tempus perfectum* O, and the freely-composed voices *tempus imperfectum diminutum* C. This means that the breve semibreve relationship under the former sign is increased to the next higher level of long-breve under the latter sign. A small corpus of other *L'homme armé* Masses also use augmentation notation, but not the form adopted by Pipelare. They use major prolation where either O or C in the tenor is set against O or C of the other parts. The minim of the tenor with major prolation is equal to a semibreve of the other signs. The notation became part of the *Missa L'homme armé* tradition, composers who used it being Ockeghem, Busnoys, the six E. 40 Masses, Faugues, Tinctoris, Josquin (*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*), de Orto, Vaqueras, anonymous Jena 2 and Palestrina in his *a5* Mass. Ockeghem's use of it led Bessler to deduce that his *L'homme armé* Mass was older than Du Fay's (see Dufay, *Opera omnia*, vi). Jaap van Benthem supports this view on other grounds. He sees Ockeghem's uncomplicated setting of the melody (in relation to the other Masses in the complex) as being the composition that initiated the tradition and the consequent Masses with their more complicated treatments of the secular song being later. See his *Masses and Mass Sections*, XIII. Tinctoris vehemently castigated composers who adopted this notational procedure without adding an accompanying rubric such as *crescit in duplum*. See *Proportionale musices*, trans. Seay, 22-75.

<sup>13</sup> Within the history of the cantus-firmus Mass such extended values were of course not uncommon, indeed quite the reverse. At one stage in the chronology of the genre such long notes were synonymous with the term 'cantus-firmus Mass' and because they were usually in the tenor part the title 'tenor Mass' was also used. See Bukofzer, *Studies*, 217-26, Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 106, 110-111, 119-90, 416, Strohm, *European Music*, 68, 170, 228-30, 237, 240, 242, 248, 284, 402 and Gareth Curtis, 'Musical Design', 154-64.



are exact parallels; both in length and with the same extended D minor harmony. Equally compact is B (labelled Y) with three divisions of the same length, but internally varied with three different extended harmonies. See Table 9:

**Table 9**

**Design of harmonic change across B in *Agnus II*  
of Pipelare's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>X (6 bars)</b>	<b>Y (9 bars)</b>			<b>Xi (6 bars)</b>
bs. 29-34	bs. 35-37	bs. 38-40	bs. 41-43	bs. 44-49
D minor	C major (3 bars)	D minor (3 bars)	A minor (3 bars)	D minor

The three-part harmonic plan is underscored and given an even tighter cohesion by a motive common to the free voices, basically a descending D minor triad that then ascends stepwise. It is heard at the very beginning of the final *Agnus*, and in variant forms is consistently present thereafter (ex. 29 bs. 29-31 marked with a y).<sup>14</sup> The polyphony is organised so that the motive is given in a three-part design bridging the harmonic plan of the cantus firmus. Central to the motivic layout is the contratenor's augmented statement (ex. 29 bs. 41-45). Flanking this middle delivery are two complementary sections where the motive is presented in comparable ways (ex. 29 bs. 29-31 and 45-49).<sup>15</sup>

The *Confiteor* carries the complete vernacular song in canon. 'Flexibility' is the operative word in the canonic design; both parts are notated individually. Ai and Aii are delivered at the fifth below, *dux-tenor* on A, *comes-bassus* on D. That the second imitative voice

<sup>14</sup> Only the opening appearances of the motives are given, from these indications the other quotations of it can quite easily be followed.

<sup>15</sup> The question of the sequence in which Mass movements were written posed by Trowell and Fallows in the case of the Du Fay Mass and raised again here in relation to the Regis Mass as to whether the *Agnus* was conceived before the *Kyrie*, is once again very pertinent to the Pipelare composition. Was the idea of a canonic *Agnus* with all the implications for a two-fold ph. 3 conceived first and then the *Kyrie* written last with the initial two-fold ph. 4 in the *Christe* influenced by the double ph. 3 in the *Agnus*? Considered from this perspective the initial double ph. 4 in the *Christe* makes sense.

is in the D Dorian mode of the Mass is a necessary ploy allowing the *comes* to quote ph. 7 at the end of the *Confiteor* in this mode.<sup>16</sup> A double ph. 3 is given at the beginning of B and rhythmically is not differentiated from the other voices, the repeated phrase retaining its original melodic character. This presentation is the complete antithesis to the one in *Agnus II* where the melodic quality of the double phrase was lost in the very prolonged values (the primary function of the repeated phrase being a harmonic support for the motivic interplay of the other voices). It is rare for an intact ph. 3 to be given canonically in the two lowest voices of the polyphony. The distinguishing falling fourth at the ends of the two canonic parts impedes the even flow of the music with their strong V-I cadential implications twice in close succession. Tinctoris, Basiron and La Rue generally avoided placing ph. 3 in imitative contexts, using ph. 4 instead.

Pipelare had no option but to use a twice-repeated ph. 3 in the *Confiteor*, so that his scheme of rotating a two-fold ph. 4 with a two-fold ph. 3 was conserved. The delivery also had to be canonic so that this manner of closing his principal movements was always the same. A simple solution allows ph. 3 to be declared in canon by the two lowest voices without interrupting the flow of the polyphony. The two imitating voices of the canon are not melodically identical. Both times a three-note suffix is added to the end of the bassus's ph. 3 (ex. 30 bs. 230-31 and 236-37). Reminiscent of Du Fay, first a definite ph. 3 is quoted, then comes the three-note suffix, the last two notes descending step-wise like the close of ph. 4. In this manner the composer leaves no doubt at all that his ground plan was the announcing in alternation of a two-fold ph. 4 with a two-fold ph. 3. At the same time (with the step-wise approach to the final notes of the phrases) maintaining an uninterrupted motion in the musical

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<sup>16</sup> Even so Pipelare writes a cadential extension. The last two pitches E and D in the *comes*-bassus as the two lowest notes of the polyphony can support only a VII6-I progression. Clearly this was not a strong enough conclusion to such an extended movement. After the final note D the bassus rests; over a prolonged tenor A Pipelare writes a two-bar extension for superius and contratenor. The bassus re-enters in the final bar of the movement on D; the effect is of a bolder V-I cadence with the tenor's A feeling as if it falls to D in the bassus.

fabric.

As necessary as the suffix is to the bassus, so too is the reversal of the canonic roles of the two voices for the presentation of B; the tenor is now the *comes* with an intact ph. 3 and the bassus the *dux*. The bassus quotes the *cantus prius factus* firmly in the D Dorian mode of the rest of the Mass, with VII6-I D Dorian cadences closing phs. 1, 2, 6 (before their falling fifths) and 7. Phs. 1 and 6 place their initial pitches in D minor harmonies and phs. 2 and 7 in A minor ones (that of ph. 2 being the harmony of resolution of a VII6-I A Aeolian close). With the two-fold ph. 3 and single ph. 5 concluding in VII6-I A Aeolian cadences, their beginnings are couched either in a VII6-I D Dorian cadence or a simple D minor harmony.

Seldom is the untransposed Dorian mode of the Mass expressed by the tenor as firmly as it is in the bassus. Only two of its seven phrases close cadentially, ph. 2 in VII6-I A Aeolian and ph. 5 in an E Phrygian progression (ex. 30 bs. 240-41). However, D Dorian is established at the openings of phs. 1 and 6 with the tenor treating the initial rising fourths (A-d) as anacrusis (the fifth of the mode rising to the final, placed respectively in A and D minor harmonies).<sup>17</sup> Both phrases conclude in a D minor sonority. On the other hand phs. 2 and 7 start with an E minor chord and end in one of A minor.

A problem exists in the canonic delivery of B with the tenor as the *dux*, to confirm the Dorian mode of the Mass. The middle part of the secular song does not contain a distinctive interval like the opening rising fourths which can be manipulated in the same way as they were in Ai and Aii so as to confirm D Dorian. The mode expressed most by the tenor as a single line is A Aeolian, with all the related cadential closes. But, with a reversal of the canonic roles of the two voices this particular problem does not arise. The Dorian mode is vouchsafed in the bassus on d as the *dux*, by placing the initial pitches of its repeated third phrases in D minor and

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<sup>17</sup> This particular feature of the leaping fourths of Ai and Aii is given a more detailed treatment in Chapters 13 and 14.

accommodating the A Aeolian mode of the tenor's two-fold ph. 3 by closing in a VII6-I A Aeolian cadence each time. Having successfully declared ph. 3 in canon in the two lowest voices of the polyphony by an exchange of canonic roles and mild elaboration added to the bassus, for the delivery of ph. 5 and Aii the two voices revert to their original canonic functions. By this means the transition into Aii in the tenor from the bassus's fifth phrase is smooth and gentle (ex. 30 bs. 238-45). So over the *Confiteor* the blueprint of the changing canonic function of the two voices is as follows:

<b>Tenor</b>	Ai <i>dux</i> ,	ph. 3x2 <i>comes</i> ,	ph. 5 and Aii <i>dux</i>
<b>Bassus</b>	Ai <i>comes</i> ,	ph. 3x2 <i>dux</i> ,	ph. 5 and Aii <i>comes</i> .

The *Confiteor* is 59 bars long, 12 of which have the tenor and bassus exchanging their respective canonic roles, in conjunction with the brief suffix added to ph. 3 (applied only to the bassus for a smoother delivery of the phrase in canon). These aspects of cantus-firmus manipulation lend support to the view that a well thought-out plan based on the different endings of phs. 3 and 4 as found in Casanatense is at the very heart of Pipelare's cantus-firmus distribution. It is a plan so essential to the complete structure of the Mass that, to achieve his ends, Pipelare manipulates the strict form of canon by reversing the canonic roles of the two imitating voices twice and by making them different melodically.

The *Osanna* has the final repeated ph. 4 in canon; bassus (*dux*) and superius (*comes*). The interval between the two parts is at the octave above and the temporal distance is such that on both occasions the superius enters over the third-to-last pitches of the bassus's double ph. 4 (ex. 31 bs. 33 and 42). All four conclusions of the canonically presented ph. 4 are cadential. A minor is always the final harmony, but expressed in different contexts. The two closes in the *dux*

are the same, *a*4 VII6-I A Aeolian progressions (ex. 31 bs. 34-35 and 43-44). On the other hand the two endings to the two-fold ph. 4 in the superius are different. Both are *a*3, with the first cadence V-I in A Aeolian (ex. 31 bs. 38-39);<sup>18</sup> the second is a V-VI chord sequence of G major to A minor, implying an interrupted C Ionian progression (ex. 31 bs. 46-47).

The close to the second ph. 4 in the superius has a rare quality. Over the slower moving final notes in the superius, tenor and contratenor are freely imitative, the three-part texture converging into a dark sonorous A minor harmony, tenor and superius an octave apart, contratenor sounding the third, *c* natural (ex. 31 b. 47). This richly resonant interrupted cadence fulfils its function exactly, delaying the final goal of the polyphony, which, before it is reached descends into yet darker regions. Across the beginning of ph. 5 in the bassus Pipelare writes an unusual octave leap D Dorian progression (ex. 31 bs. 48-49). Sombre full triadic harmonies predominate; especially striking is the closely spaced three-part D minor chord (ex. 31 b. 49). Enhancing the dark effect in the nadir of the polyphony is the fact that the *c* naturals in the tenor cannot be sharpened because they leap to *f* natural in the following D minor harmony. Of the three parts only the tenor can provide the *f* natural needed to make the D minor harmony full.<sup>19</sup> Gradually the tessitura of the music ascends, the final two notes of ph. 5 in the bassus, with the first two pitches of ph. 5 in the superius, closing in a VII6-I A Aeolian progression (ex. 31 bs. 50-51). B concludes in a V-I A Aeolian cadence, the preceding rich full harmonies now replaced by a much starker octave *A-a* in the three voices as the final sonority of the close.

There can have been no question as to which of the two phrases was to be presented in

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<sup>18</sup> The *subsemitonium* cannot be applied because augmented seconds occur, tenor bs. 33-34 and 42-43, and contratenor bs. 37-38.

<sup>19</sup> The tenor's *c* naturals could have been sharpened if they had ascended to *d*; the subsequent open fifth *d-g* harmony is quite acceptable. But the dark full D minor harmony would be lost. That the sonority was consciously desired in this succession of full triadic harmonies is also seen in the manner by which it is achieved. Only with the octave leap in the contratenor were the two successive full sonorities of A and D minor possible at such a low pitch and in an identical range, if parallel fifths were to be avoided.

the *Osanna*. Only ph. 4 could preserve the consistent plan of interchanging phs. 4 and 3. Yet once again two other aspects concerning ph. 4 are in evidence. One is that the phrase is better suited to imitative treatment than ph. 3, especially when in the lowest part of the musical texture. The other is, generally speaking, two statements of ph. 4 with its step-wise approach to the final note is more effective than ph. 3 when placed in the top of the polyphony.

### Anonymous Jena 2 (AJ2)

Of the five completely canonic *L'homme armé* Masses<sup>20</sup> AJ2 is the only one not to declare the melody itself in canon. The free voices are canonic and it is their structure that determines the combinations in which the first two phrases of B appear.

B is quoted seven times within the Mass, but never with a two-fold ph. 3. Twice ph. 3 is followed by ph. 4 and a double ph. 4 is used on the other five occasions. Table 10 gives the overall pattern.

**Table 10**  
**Delivery of phs. 3 and 4 in AJ2**

<b>Kyrie</b>	<b>Gloria</b>	<b>Credo</b>	<b>Sanctus</b>	<b>Agnus Dei</b>
Christe	Qui tollis	Et resurrexit	Osanna	Agnus III
bs. 14-29	bs. 41-60	bs. 93-108	bs. 59-67	bs. 58-82
3&4	2x4	3&4	2x4	2x4
	Cum Sancto	Qui ex Patre		
	bs. 100-11	bs. 146-54		
	2x4	2x4		

Within this scheme the *Christe* and *Et resurrexit* appear to be the anomalous passages.

But in fact the reverse is true, because they alone quote the two phrases in what has been regarded as the norm (ph. 3 succeeded by ph. 4), so therefore the five other presentations are the

<sup>20</sup> The other four are number VI of E. 40 and the settings by Faugues, Vaqueras and Forestier, see Chapters 9 and 11.

deviations. The prime reason for the use of a two-fold ph. 4 appears to be for the cantus firmus to adjust to the harmonic and polyphonic requirements of the canonic voices.

In the *Qui tollis* of the Gloria the contratenor carries B. What begins as a rhythmically uniform delivery of the first ph. 4 is interrupted by pitches five and seven being given in double values. There is no esoteric scheme behind this, other than that the cantus firmus requires alteration to fit the needs of the canon.<sup>21</sup> With the *dux*-superius on  $\underline{d}''$  and *comes*-bassus on  $\underline{g}$ , the interval of the canon is at the twelfth below, four bars between the two entries. Ph. 4 in the contratenor coincides with the entry of the *comes* (ex. 32 b. 41). But the canonic structure commences in the second, not first, bar of the *Qui tollis*. The tenor (source-material free) opens the section. It is the organisation of this voice (together with the interval and temporal distance of the canon) that explains the two-fold ph. 4.

The first five bars of the tenor consist of the canonic subject. Always on  $\underline{d}'$ , it is repeated three times with minor changes. As one continuous line the thrice-repeated five bars cover the first and second statements of the canonic subject in the *dux* and the first quotation of it in the *comes* (ex. 32 bs. 36-49). Because the tenor precedes the *dux*-superius by one bar it anticipates the start of the true canon an octave below. Similarly (but at a shorter distance) the second of the tenor's three statements starts one crotchet before the entry of the *comes*, the rest of the imitation between tenor and bassus then being at the distance of a minim (ex. 32 bs. 36-40 and 40-45). Immediately following the tenor quotes the third repetition of the start of the canonic subject against the second phrase of the canon in the superius (ex. 32 bs. 45-49). The end of the tenor is modified to accommodate a cadence on  $\underline{g}$ . In addition to the tenor's opening fourteen bars being constructed from the canonic material, the whole passage is underlined by a neat design, where

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<sup>21</sup> The second ph. 4 has the same problem. Its values are not close to the first in anyway. The two semibreve  $\underline{f}$  naturals of the first ph. 4 are now minims, contained within one bar, and the following  $\underline{g}$  now just one minim. This allows the progress of the canon to continue unhindered.



the tenor is the only continuous sounding voice:

**bs. 36-40**

tenor lower voice *a2*, imitative with the superius at the octave above

**bs. 41-44**

tenor middle voice *a3*, imitative with the bassus at the fifth below

**bs. 45-49**

tenor lowest voice *a3*, freely imitative with the superius at the octave above.

The repetitive structure of the tenor is such that only ph. 4 with the step-wise descent to the final  $\underline{d}$ ' is workable. Quite obviously the source material has been manipulated so that it fits into the imitative structure. Because of the triadic nature of the other voices the contratenor's prolonged fifth pitch  $g'$  is essential so that the following cadence can be correctly located with the *comes* echoing the *dux*. On these grounds the  $g'$  cannot fall to  $\underline{d}$ ', giving a ph. 3 in its correct position. To prolong that  $g'$  for another bar (even with the requisite alterations to the tenor) so that it then fell to  $\underline{d}$ ' is not really practical. The superius part as it stands would then imply a complete bar of C major weakening the vital thrust forward to the cadence. Ph. 4 with that important penultimate note  $\underline{g}$ ' fits the situation perfectly. All imitative relationships between the other voices are preserved, and at the same time the strong harmonic progression of C major followed by A minor propels the music onto the traditional cadential progression between superius and tenor to the G Mixolydian conclusion over the next two bars (ex. 32 bs. 45-49).

A similar context dictates the contratenor's two-fold ph. 4 in the *Cum Sancto*. The canonic situation with the *Qui tollis* is close. Only the temporal distance between the two voices is different, now being four breves (ex. 33). The canonic subject consists of a series of falling thirds within the range of a fifth. The first two phrases are exact, with just a slight difference



between the values of the final notes.<sup>22</sup> The tenor's position is analogous to the one it had in the *Qui tollis*, it being the only voice of the four to be sounded continuously, whereby it covers the silent bars separating the entries of the *dux* and *comes* and also the places where the cantus-firmus-carrying contratenor rests. At the opening of the *Cum Sancto* the tenor appears to be the first voice of an imitative duo with the superius. In fact the initial four tenor notes are no more than an extended anacrusis following which the voice imitates the superius at the seventh below on  $\underline{e}$ , the four note suffix is absent in the superius (ex. 33 bs. 96-100). The tenor immediately repeats its previous three bars (from the pitch  $\underline{e}$ ) one note lower on  $\underline{d}$ , which are the same pitches of the superius voice (ex. 33 bs. 96-104). Beneath the initial minim at the start of the repeat of the tenor's phrase the bassus enters as the *comes*. Now the tenor's role in relation to the canonic voices is reversed; at the start it imitated the *dux* but here the bassus-*comes* imitates the tenor. In the same bar in which the bassus sounds, the contratenor commences quoting the first ph. 4 (ex. 33 b. 100).

During the concluding bars of this concentrated contrapuntal activity the superius begins the second phrase of the canon. Its triadic nature creates the same problem present in the *Qui tollis*. Delivering ph. 3 at this point the repeated  $\underline{g}$  clashes with  $\underline{a}$  in the superius (ex. 33 b. 103, the stemless note indicates ph. 3). The dissonance itself is not offensive, but a resolution of the  $\underline{g}$  falling to  $\underline{d}$  is. Sounding the interval of a second for the duration of a minim requires the  $\underline{g}$  to fall to  $\underline{f}$ . But this is not feasible when counterpointed against the canonic subject. Only  $\underline{e}$  of

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<sup>22</sup> The two phrases could well be derived from the source material. Aii is quoted in the previous section (*Quoniam tu solus* bs. 82-96) therefore ending with a mildly decorated ph. 7. In its original form ph. 7 is a scale-wise descent of a fifth from  $\underline{d}$ - $\underline{g}$ . Quite easily the canon subject of the *Cum Sancto* can be regarded as a further elaboration of ph. 7 - being within the range of a fifth but quoted in a series of falling thirds.

ph. 4 creates the conditions for a satisfactory inclusion of all factors.<sup>23</sup>

There is an important change to the canon of the *Qui ex Patre*; imitative voices (superius and bassus) and the interval between them (the twelfth) is still the same, but the direction of imitation is now above and not below (bassus *dux*, superius *comes*). From the *Et resurrexit* (where ph. 3 is followed by ph. 4) onwards to the end of the Credo all the canons are at the interval above. Once again the tenor is influential for the delivery of the double ph. 4 in the contratenor, not because of its relationship to the canonic voices, but on account of where it cadences over the cantus-firmus voice. The natural closing points (the final d' naturals) of the double ph. 4 are ignored. Instead the first three notes of the initial ph. 4, and then first two pitches of the second ph. 4 are placed cadentially, coinciding either with a break in the tenor line, or shortly before it. Both closes are D Dorian and the tenor has the syncopated figure and the *subsemitonium* (ex. 34 bs. 146-47 and 151-52). Replacing the first ph. 4 with ph. 3 (thus giving an exact reading of cantus firmus) does not work. Once more there would be a clash of g' of ph. 3 with the tenor a, and it was observed earlier that the g' must fall to f', giving a corrupt ph. 3. On the other hand ph. 3 is possible if the first tenor a is removed (ex. 34 b. 148). But this deprives the tenor line (and the complete polyphonic fabric) of an essential element, namely the impetus which maintains the forward movement of the music. In respect of the tenor itself the a is important acting as an anacrusis which propels the music on to the minim b from which it then gradually rises to d' of the D Dorian cadence, then descending to g where it rests. The a is

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<sup>23</sup> The distribution of B in the *Cum Sancto* is unusual, with the three phrases given in a sequence of ph. 4x2, ph. 5 then another ph. 4 (bs. 118-122). Viewed within the total cantus-firmus structure this ph. 4 feels like an afterthought, especially as it comes at the end of a main movement. One explanation that presents itself for this isolated ph. 4 is the structure of the canon. The final eight bars in the bassus are imitative of the previous eight in the superius (bs. 115-22 and 111-18). Quite conveniently the canonic phrase ends with a falling fifth. When sounded in the lowest part of the polyphony on d and G, and at the conclusion of a principal movement the two pitches provide the bass for a V-I cadence in the G Mixolydian mode of the Mass. The contratenor might have remained silent after completing ph. 5, re-entering in the final bar on d' providing the fifth of the final cadential harmony; this was a frequently adopted procedure when the quotation of the source material finished before the end of the movement. That ph. 4 fits nicely into the musical fabric is suggestive that maybe the canonic structure took precedence over logic behind the presentation of the borrowed song.

necessary to the polyphony because over the whole section there is always movement on the last part of the tactus. With the initial tenor a omitted then, for the first time, the continuous forward motion of the music is interrupted briefly, but long enough to make the polyphony static at an inappropriate place.

The choice of ph. 4 over ph. 3 is also influenced by its location within the voices. The first ph. 4 is the highest sounding voice in *a3* and *a2* textures. Here we see a repetition of a clear pattern that has emerged when B was placed in the highest sounding voice, where ph. 4 (with the gentler descent of a step to the final note) was preferred over ph. 3. The composer of *AJ2* is no exception in this respect.

A two-fold ph. 4 is placed in what is virtually a triple canon at the start of the *Osanna*. The true canon is in the tenor (*dux*) and bassus (*comes*) at the fifth below and at the distance of two bars (ex. 35). However, the *Osanna* does not begin either with the canon or the cantus firmus, but with the superius stating the music of the canonic voices twice in succession without a pause, creating a three-point imitative entry. First the tenor imitates the superius at the fourth below, and then the bassus enters a fifth below the tenor (that is an octave below the superius). The contratenor's twice-repeated ph 4 is slotted into this polyphonic framework (ex. 35 bs. 56-67).

In addition to the imitative texture giving cohesion to the non-cantus-firmus voices, there is an even tighter unity with the source material. The twice-repeated canonic subject is a series of falling thirds descending through a seventh, being little more than a decorated ph. 4 where the original repeated notes are replaced by pitches a third lower (compare superius, tenor and bassus parts with the contratenor). A desire for a close-knit texture is clear and is carried over into the delivery of ph. 5. After the initial rise of a step ph. 5 then descends step-wise from a' to d'. The previous ubiquitous falling thirds still pervade the composed voices (ex. 35 bs. 70-73). Shortly after the conclusion of ph. 5 *Aii* is given, and from this point onwards the concentrated use of the

third is absent.

Ph. 3 replacing the first ph. 4 is possible but there are factors militating against the substitution. To begin with the ever-present falling third in the free voices linking them to the cantus firmus is lost. Thus the tight bond between all four voices that dominated the whole of B is destroyed. Ph. 3 with a repeated  $g'$  also weakens the beginning of the superius's duplicated phrase, the second  $g'$  blurring the repeat of the quasi-triple canon (ex. 35 b. 61). Finally again there is the position of ph. 4 within the polyphony itself, mainly as the highest-sounding voice and also the canonic context in which it is delivered. The composer of *AJ2* once again returns to a well-trodden path, that of preferring to quote ph. 4 instead of ph. 3 when at the top of the musical fabric and also when declared imitatively.

A second contratenor is added to *Agnus III*<sup>24</sup> and the notes of the cantus firmus are given in extended durations. The ternary rhythms of the *res facta* are retained for the second ph. 4, but there is a slight change in the first ph. 4. The prevailing long-short rhythm is reversed to short-long over the penultimate  $e'$  and preceding  $g'$  (ex. 36 bs. 64-66). This together with the extended values in which the cantus firmus is given and the construction of the canon has a three-fold impact that ultimately led to the choice of stating a double ph. 4.

The long durations of ph. 4<sup>25</sup> results in the first of every two pitches functioning as an internal pedal, impacting upon the rate of harmonic change, the reason for the altered first ph. 4.

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<sup>24</sup> The second contratenor is necessary in *Agnus III* where B and Aii are quoted successively. Only the contratenor states B followed by Aii. Once only does the tenor quote Aii, in *Kyrie II*. This is the only time that there is a division between the two parts of the borrowed song (marked by a vertical line through the end of the staff). On all the other occasions the music is continuous after the announcement of Ai in the tenor, then the contratenor is the principal carrier of the other two parts of the borrowed song. The range of the tenor is from  $c$  to  $e'$ , but mainly within the octave  $d$  to  $d'$ , therefore the voice never ascends to the higher range of the middle part of the pre-existent melody. On the other hand the contratenor has a far wider range from  $d$  to  $a'$ , able to deal with the octave and one note compass of the secular song. Therefore having placed the canonic structure in the contratenor and superius an equivalent voice was needed to state B and Aii in the final *Agnus*, and that had to be a second contratenor. On these grounds alone the extra voice needed to have been added to the final *Agnus* only. If nothing else the composer of *AJ2* was consistent for having once set a scheme in motion it is carried out to the ultimate conclusion. Thus he adds a second contratenor to the complete *Agnus*.

<sup>25</sup> Augmentation notation is used with  $\text{C}$  in the contratenor and C2 in the free voices.

Then there are the upper-canonic voices, which progress in a sequence of cadences in overlapping four-bar phrases. There are five cadences covering the complete first ph. 4, the first two of which place the long notes of the trochaic rhythm in the second cadential harmony and the shorter one in the first. A VII6-I C Ionian articulates the entry of the *comes* (ex. 36 bs. 57-58), followed by an implied V- VI in F Ionian (ex. 36 bs. 60-61), then comes a V-I G Mixolydian close (ex. 36 bs. 63-64). The fifth and final cadence is again a V-I in G Mixolydian occurring over the prolonged  $\underline{d'}$ , the cantus firmus being silent in the second harmony (ex. 36 bs. 69-70).

Now to consider the fourth cadence placed over the penultimate and final notes of ph. 4, the precise place where a change was made to the original rhythmic pattern of the borrowed song. Here the first harmony of the V-VI D Dorian cadence is placed at the end of the prolonged penultimate note  $\underline{e'}$  and the second across the final  $\underline{d'}$  (ex. 36 bs. 66-67). Adjusting the bassus to  $\underline{e}, \underline{e}, \underline{e}$  in the rhythm  $\downarrow \circ \downarrow$  (b. 65) allows for a sustained  $g'$  in the second contratenor giving ph. 3 in its correct position according to the version of the cantus firmus adopted in this Mass,<sup>26</sup> and also retaining the ternary rhythm of the source material. The substituted  $g'$  would be in a C major harmony, there then being two successive movements in the bassus of a falling fifth followed by a leaping fourth in two 'quasi' perfect cadential progressions. How much stronger are the existing G major and A minor harmonies which strengthen the move towards the syncopated cadential figure in the superius with the resulting discord between it and the bassus (ex. 36 bs. 64-66). This is achieved only with delivering ph. 4 instead of ph. 3 at this point and with the change from the prevailing long-short to a short-long rhythm in the cantus firmus.

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<sup>26</sup> See 137 for my reasons for believing that 3&4 is the norm for the cantus firmus of *AJ2*.

## Antoine Brumel

Phs. 3 and 4 are not placed in a similarly tight structure in Brumel's Mass.<sup>27</sup> Of eight appearances of B there are three with ph. 3 followed by ph. 4, the other five all being a two-fold ph. 4. As for all other Masses in this chapter, because the assumed norm is phs. 3 and 4 the incident of a two-fold ph. 4 will be considered the exception. See Table 11:

<b>Christe</b> bs. 45-55 2x4	<b>Et in terra</b> bs. 38-47 2x4	<b>Patrem</b> bs. 35-42 3&4	<b>Sanctus</b> bs. 19-26 3&4	<b>Agnus II</b> bs. 30-65 3&4
	<b>Qui tollis</b> bs. 128-47 2x4	<b>Crucifixus</b> bs. 70-76 2x4		
		<b>Confiteor</b> bs. 114-21 2x4		

Brumel's technique of imitation is quite simple; he prefers to set individual phrases thus and not the complete cantus firmus.<sup>28</sup> The two-fold ph. 4 in the *Christe* is treated in this way (ex. 37). Only the first ph. 4 is in imitation, given first by the bassus and echoed by the tenor. Rhythmically the two voices are not quite exact; the bassus's first three notes are a diminution of the corresponding values in the tenor (ex. 37 bs. 43-48). Excluding the opening octave, the two voices at the distance of one-and-a-half bars move in parallel tenths. Brumel adopts the prevailing preference of other composers writing in the *Missa L'homme armé* tradition of

<sup>27</sup> Antoine Brumel, *Opera omnia*, CMM 5 (1969), ed. Barton Hudson. Musical examples are taken from my transcription based on Chigi 234.

<sup>28</sup> The one place where he does so is at the end of his final *Agnus*, where Aii is given in free imitation between tenor and bassus.

electing to employ ph. 4 over ph. 3 because generally it is more suitable for imitative purposes. However, there are additional factors to be considered. To begin with the parallel tenths in the imitating voices are not possible with the falling fourth closing ph. 3, especially at this temporal distance. Then there are the two free parts (contratenor and superius) which are also in imitation (ex. 37 bs. 45-52). Combined, the two upper voices cover the complete first p. 4. The imitation never overlaps, for when the contratenor finishes the superius begins (ex. 37 bs. 48 and 49). Across the eight bars an *a3* texture prevails and the conclusions to the fourth phrases are D Dorian cadences (VII6-1 bassus bs. 46-47 and V-I tenor bs. 50-51); ph. 3 instead of the existing ph. 4 disrupts this cadential unity and also disturbs the exact imitation in the upper two voices. Moreover, with the bassus stating ph. 3 with *g* as the pre-final note does not provide the correct cadential conditions for the VII6-I D Dorian cadence. In the three-part texture a bare-augmented fourth results. Ph. 3 in the tenor can be placed within the existing polyphonic fabric, but yet again the clash of the penultimate *g*' with *a* in the bassus requires the *g*' to fall to *f* with a subsequent loss of a true ph. 3. This procedure would also disturb the tenor's close relationship with the bassus. After this imitative presentation of the first ph. 4 the tenor then states the second one alone and in shorter values.

The *Qui tollis* is unique in the presentation of phs. 3 and 4. Although the tenor is the principal bearer of the cantus firmus the other voices are also involved. A clear ph. 4 is quoted by the tenor first (ex. 38 bs. 128-38). Then in sequence (in counterpoint against the tenor) the superius on *d*', followed by contratenor on *c*' and then bassus on *g* begin what at first appears to be an *a4* point of imitation on ph. 4. But this is not the case for all three voices give a decorated phrase comprising a falling fifth, immediately followed by a leaping fifth, and then a step-wise four note descent to the final note (ex. 38 bs. 133-44). The phrase endings are obscured so that it is difficult to see if ph. 3 or ph. 4 is quoted. What is interesting is that the tenor then states this

decorated version an octave above the bassus (ex. 38 bs. 141-47). The two lower voices continue by quoting ph. 5 imitatively, exact in details of rhythm and with an extra note added before the end of the phrase. There can be little doubt that the decorated phrase is ph. 4. Brumel's delivery of the secular tune is, on the whole, quite straightforward. Within the predominant pattern of his cantus-firmus presentation, for him to reverse the original order of the phrases giving, ph. 4 before ph. 3 at this particular point in the Mass has no structural logic.

The intriguing question is why decorate only the repeated phrase and then place it in a concentrated imitative texture? No such expansion of the first ph. 4 is necessary; being presented in double augmentation, covering a total of eleven bars already extends it (ex. 38 bs. 128-38). By the time the tenor has completed ph. 4, the other three voices (at two-bar intervals) have entered with the decorated phrase. It is quoted in shorter durations than the tenor's first ph. 4 with one note per bar, except for the added pitches. Because of this uniform rhythm in the opening four notes in the decorated phrase and also the double augmentation of the tenor's ph. 4, at any one time at least three of the four voices are static. On each occasion only the decorations maintain the flow in the polyphony (ex. 38 bs. 137-43). The elaboration is calculated so precisely that its end in one voice coincides with its beginning in the next. Without these extra notes the forward motion of the music would be almost non-existent.

*Agnus II* presents phs. 3 and 4 in an individual manner, it being one of those rare occasions when ph. 3 is given imitatively by the two lower voices. But characteristic of Brumel's approach to his cantus firmus, the imitation is incidental to the main delivery of phs. 3 and 4. The tenor quotes ph. 3 followed by ph. 4, the latter phrase in augmentation of the first; this is unusual because the reverse was more common, a repeated phrase being a diminution of the first (ex. 39 bs. 36-65). But there is a balance (although not exact) between the announcements of the two phrases. Ph. 3 in the bassus opens *Agnus II* beginning as the lower part of a duo with the



contratenor (ex. 39 bs. 30-36). At the point where the contratenor rests (which is over the bassus's fifth pitch) the tenor enters with ph. 3 imitating the bassus at the octave above. This also is the place where the superius repeats the contratenor's line intact, but when the contratenor re-enters it imitates the superius at the octave below for four bars. So the tenor and superius duplicate the same duo as the bassus and contratenor, but now in an *a4* texture (ex. 39 bs. 36-42). So far as the durations in which the imitative ph. 3, and then the tenor's solo-ph. 4, are given the original ternary grouping of the notes is retained, in a recurring sequence of two semibreves (repeated note given as a prolonged one) followed by a single semibreve. In order to preserve this numerical pattern Brumel expands ph. 3 by one pitch with the repetition of the final note. The repeated notes of ph. 4 are absorbed into the previous pitches creating one prolonged value; five in total. Table 12 shows the plan.

<b>Table 12</b>								
<b>Values in which phs. 3 and 4 are given in <i>Agnus II</i></b>								
<b>of Brumel's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i></b>								
<b>Ph. 3</b>								
Pitches bassus:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Semibreves*:	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Pitches tenor:				1+	2	3	4	
Semibreves:				2	1	2	1	
				5	6	7	8	
				2	1	2	1	
<b>Ph. 4</b>								
Pitches tenor:	1		2		3		4	5
Semibreves:	4		4		2		2	2
* indicates the number of semibreves in each pitch								
+ the point where the tenor begins ph. 3								

The imitative announcement of ph. 3 covers eighteen bars (ex. 39 bs. 30-47) and the

single ph. 4 in the tenor fourteen bars, an almost exact balance. But one other factor needs to be considered, namely the fact that ph. 4 is not stated immediately after ph. 3, there being four bars rest (ex. 39 bs. 48-51). If these four bars are added on to the beginning of the tenor's ph. 4 then the symmetry exact, both phrases covering eighteen bars. The delivery of just one phrase in imitation had a practical function as well as an aesthetic one, to give it parity with the length of the ph. 4 quoted in pedal-like notes, thereby avoiding a double phrase in such durations which would make the passage over-long.

How does Brumel accomplish a successful presentation of ph. 3 in the two lower voices of the polyphony without problems? He adopts the procedure (and expands it) similar to that used by Pipelare in his *Confiteor*. The bassus does not rest after completing its ph. 3; in fact it is continuous until the end of ph. 5 in the tenor. That means it is sounded without a rest for 58 bars. Therefore the falling fourth at the close of its ph. 3 is not underlined in the same way as it is in the tenor, followed by rests. It is incorporated into this long expansive line and is not underscored in cadential contexts; that happens over the opening note of ph. 4 in the tenor eleven bars away (ex. 39 bs. 52-53).

A common pattern emerges in the presentation of phs. 3 and 4 in an imitative context, in that a twice-repeated ph. 4 (with the more conjunct approach to the final note) was found to be more suitable than ph. 3 followed by ph. 4. When ph. 3 was given imitatively (as in Pipelare's *Confiteor* and Brumel's *Agnus II*) then it was delivered in such a manner that the final cadential-like falling fourth did not impede the continuous flow of the polyphony.

## Chapter 4

### The Technique of Superimposition

Combining different melodies in a single work (whether sacred or secular) was a standard compositional technique within this period.<sup>1</sup> In Chapter 1 it was shown that the *l'homme armé* song was counterpointed against other melodies especially in the combinative chanson. The same process is also to be found in the subsequent Mass tradition. The suggestion has been mooted that Ockeghem may have quoted his own chanson *L'autre d'antan* in his *Missa L'homme armé* and also by Busnoys in his *L'homme armé* Mass. Moreover, there is a claim that the Ockeghem chanson was probably modelled on *Il sera pour vous combatu/L'ome armé* itself.<sup>2</sup> Attention has been drawn to the presence of what might possibly be the *Kyrie de Angelis* in some *L'homme armé* Masses.<sup>3</sup> All of these approaches lie within a well-established convention. What will be considered here is the superimposition of the same or different phrases of the *l'homme armé* melody upon one another and at times the sounding of Aī (or Aīī) simultaneously with B. I consider this technique not so much an extension of the device of imitation, but one within its own right.

Instances of the procedure occur in the polyphonic settings of Mellon and Casanatense. Against ph. 1 in the tenor the contratenor sounds a phrase that has all the essential elements of ph. 3, the opening three-note tag of g̃ - f̃ - g̃ and the closing distinctive falling fourth. Of course this could be a result of the polyphonic make-up, especially when both phs. 3 and 4 in Mellon end with ẽ falling to d̃ (ex. 2 bs. 1-3). But the relationship is far stronger with Casanatense where ph. 3 actually does close with a falling fourth (ex. 3 bs. 2-3). Then too there is the close

<sup>1</sup> See Reese, *Renaissance*, 957 under *Cantus firmus*, sub-heading 'multiple c. firmi'; Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 501, heading 'Quotation', sub-heading 'multiple c.f.'; Atlas, *Renaissance*, 188-89 and 309-14; Perkins, *Renaissance*, 285-89 and 575-78; and Rob. C. Wegman, 'Mensural Intertextuality', *Antoine Busnoys*, 195-99.

<sup>2</sup> Perkins, 'Busnoys and Ockeghem', 372-74.

<sup>3</sup> Lockwood, 'Aspects', 116-20.

overlap between the end of ph. 4 (contratenor) and start of ph. 5 (tenor) in both settings. As they stand the contexts are very simple (exs. 2 and 3 b. 10), but this overlap is expanded onto a larger canvass when transplanted to the Mass tradition.

### **The Superimposition of Single Phrases**

When dealing with two similar techniques like imitation and superimposition, parameters (however arbitrary) must be laid down to make clear the distinction between them. No real difficulty arises when the phrases involved are different, but when the same phrase is used the individual peculiarities that characterise the two devices can become blurred. The deciding factor in this dissertation will be that imitation is present when the second voice enters over the latter part of the phrase in the first voice, whereas superimposition is deemed to be present when the overlap in the two voices is at least at a point halfway through the first sounding of a phrase.

The manner by which Du Fay manipulates phs. 3 and 4 in his Mass illustrates the difference between the two procedures. Imitation occurs between tenor and bassus in the *Qui tollis*, the bassus entering beneath the final two notes of the tenor's first phrase and against the final note in its second phrase (ex. 40 bs. 138-55 and the paired passage in the *Et incarnatus est* bs. 174-91).

A slightly different situation is found in the *Sanctus*. The imitating voices are still tenor and bassus, but now the tenor follows the bassus and the distance separating them is shorter. Each time the tenor enters over the final three notes of the bassus. Phs. 3 and 4 each have seven notes, so on each occasion the tenor enters over the fifth note in the bassus; that is roughly halfway through the phrase (ex. 41 bs. 37-38 and 43-44).<sup>4</sup> According to the guidelines given above this passage is on the borderline between the techniques of imitation and superimposition.

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<sup>4</sup> The imitation between the two voices continues with ph. 5, bs. 46-51, so the whole of B is given in two voices, the bassus having free material for the final three bars, beneath the final long of ph. 5 in the tenor.



There are similar instances when the imitation is closer, but then the context is usually strictly canonic.

The device of superimposition is most evident in the delivery of B in the Ockeghem Mass.<sup>5</sup> It occurs in the Credo where the cantus firmus is transposed down a fifth.<sup>6</sup> A two-fold ph. 3 followed by ph. 5 is given to the bassus in the *Patrem* (ex. 42 bs. 37-50). Against the final three notes of the second ph. 3 in the bassus the contratenor quotes what seems to be ph. 5 (ex. 42 bs. 43-44). The latter voice then continues in one of those expansive unbroken melismatic lines so characteristic of Ockeghem's style, coming to rest just after the bassus begins to quote Aii (b. 60). Over this extended line ph. 5 is delivered three times, once each by the bassus, superius and tenor (ex. 42 bs. 47-52). These quotations are significant to what might be the actual presence of ph. 5 in the contratenor. It could be argued that any similarity that exists between the opening of the contratenor line and ph. 5 might be a product of the elaboration of the line itself.

Two factors make this unlikely. One is the manner in which the beginning of the contratenor containing the possible ph. 5 is couched. The first and last notes of the six-note phrase are both semibreves (minims of the transcription), giving to it a very distinct opening and close within the complete continuous melodic line. Furthermore, if this were not ph. 5 then over the whole passage the contratenor would be the sole voice not to state the phrase. Accepting that ph. 5 does open the contratenor's long melody, then it is this voice alone that gives the phrase first, and on g', the pitch at which the cantus firmus is delivered in the rest of the Mass. The other three parts quote it on the transposed pitch of C.

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<sup>5</sup> Editions, MPLSER, no. 6, *Collected Works*, ed. Dragan Plamenac (1959-66) and Jaap van Benthem's edition in *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Masses Sections*, fascicle II, 2 (1999). It has been suggested that the Ockeghem Mass was written for the celebrations in Tours marking the end of the Hundred Years' on 10<sup>th</sup> March 1454, see Agostino Magro 'Basilique, pouvoir et dévotion: Ockeghem à Saint-Martin de Tours', in Vendrix, 79-100, also Fallows 'L'homme armé', *NG*, vol. 14, 627-28.

<sup>6</sup> An inscription is appended to the tenor reading in Chigi *descendendo in dyapente*, and in CS 35, *In subdyapente*. Also see Benthem, *Mass and Mass Sections*, 9.

One other factor indicates that ph. 5 is actually present, namely the change to another version of the secular song in the bassus at this point. The bassus now quotes the first two phrases of B in the version of E. 40 where both phrases end with a falling fourth (the version used in most of the Mass is Casanatense, the first phrase ending with a falling fourth and the second via a downward step). If the bassus had stated ph. 4 within the extant polyphony with a falling to g, octaves would occur between it and the contratenor (ex. 42 bs. 43-44, the stemless note in the bassus gives ph. 4). A faithful reading of the source material as used in the rest of the composition with ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 surely would take precedence over any accidental resemblance the opening of the contratenor line might have to ph. 5. In such a context the contratenor would be adjusted to make acceptable counterpoint with the cantus-firmus-bearing bassus. There has to be an important reason for Ockeghem having changed to another reading. The explanation to my mind for the two-fold ph. 3 in the bassus lies in the fact that the contratenor actually does quote ph. 5 which is superimposed onto the end of the second ph. 3 in the bassus. It was shown earlier that within the existing context ph. 4 in the bassus with ph. 5 in the contratenor does not make good counterpoint. By adopting another redaction of the *l'homme armé* tune Ockeghem accomplishes two things without offending musical grammar, a faithful rendering of the source material (although according to another version of the song) and the superimposition of two different phrases of it.

If the technique of superimposition appears in an embryonic form in the *Patrem*, then a fully-fledged example is in evidence in the *Et resurrexit*. The cantus firmus is still transposed down a fifth to c; again a two-fold ph. 3 is given by the bassus, but rests separate the repeated phrase (ex. 43 bs. 80-85).<sup>7</sup> Over these cantus-firmus-free bars the contratenor (in the most prominently audible position possible at the top of the three-part polyphony) begins quoting ph.

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<sup>7</sup> Regarding the third note in the bassus b. 80. Chigi has a b the correct version of the song, but the resulting polyphony is crude, the editorial c gives a better reading. Bentheim makes the same adjustment in his edition.

4 ending against the third pitch b of the bassus's second ph. 3. As if this compact delivery of the cantus firmus were not enough, the texture becomes even more concentrated. Starting from the same point where the contratenor completes its ph. 4 the tenor then begins a presentation of ph. 4 that continues over to the first two notes of ph. 5 in the bassus (ex. 43 bs. 82-85).

Three different levels of organisation are present between the three lowest voices, the first being that they all carry the source material. The bassus as the official carrier of the cantus firmus announces a two-fold ph. 3; therefore in terms of the delivery of the source material the first two phrases of B have already been stated. Had both the contratenor and tenor quoted ph. 3 technically not only would they be in imitation with one another, but also with the bassus. However, the situation is not that simple. In spite of the contratenor and tenor also having declared the first two phrases of B, because they do not carry the same form as the bassus (they quote Mellon) in the strictest sense of the term they cannot be imitative of the bassus. Sharing the same form of the two opening phrases of B the contratenor and tenor are in imitation with each other, the second level of organisation. Instead the technique of superimposition is used, the Mellon version in the contratenor and tenor upon E. 40 in the bassus, the third level of organisation. What Ockeghem has accomplished here is to quote the first two phrases of B twice but in two different forms (E. 40 and Mellon). Surely (at the very least) the passage suggests that the composer had knowledge not only of the E. 40 and Mellon versions, but also the Casanatense redaction, which is used in the *Christe, Qui tollis* and *Sanctus*.<sup>8</sup>

This is no chance end product of the polyphonic make-up but a direct result of the composer using the two versions of phs. 3 and 4 at the same time quite consciously in the *Et*

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<sup>8</sup> Benthem's, gives the Mellon version of the song for the two opening phrases of B as in CS 35, noting that: '...if Va234's reading for the tenor in the Sanctus at m. 14 would be a result of a lapse of concentration by the scribe, then the various readings of the *cantus prius factus* seem to reveal Ockeghem's mass as the combination of a Gloria-Credo pair with that of a Sanctus-Agnus completed by a Kyrie setting.' *Masses and Mass Sections*, X. The variant readings of the two phrases in CS 35 and Chigi do give different plans of their distribution across the Mass (see Chapter 7 below).

*resurrexit*. A possible reason for the repeated ph. 3 in the bassus could be the same as it was in the *Patrem* to avoid parallel octaves with the contratenor. There is little room for manoeuvrability in the contratenor other than to rise to  $\underline{a}$ ', if the part remained on  $\underline{f}$  octaves occur with the tenor (ex. 43 bs. 84-85, the stemless note in the bassus gives a reading for ph. 4). The solution to this polyphonic difficulty was for the bassus to present ph. 3 again. Of course (technical problems apart) the fact also has to be taken into consideration that the contrapuntal combination of a two-fold ph. 3 in the bassus against ph. 4 in imitation between contratenor and tenor was the original inspiration for the complete passage.

Compere writes an extended passage involving the superimposition of the opening two phrases of B in his *Qui tollis*.<sup>9</sup> First the whole of B is quoted by the tenor, the principal carrier of the source material (bs. 71-89). B is then repeated with tenor, superius and bassus delivering ph. 3 (ex. 44 bs. 92-109). First tenor and superius (respectively on  $\underline{e}$ ' and  $\underline{g}$ ') announce ph. 3 a minim apart. For the combination to work successfully changes are made to the phrase in the two voices. Pitches are repeated liberally in both voices and the superius has an extra note  $\underline{a}$ ' (ex. 44 b. 96). Resting for a minim the superius then re-states ph. 3 on the same pitch  $\underline{g}$ ' but with no extra notes. Below the third note of the superius's repeated ph. 3 the bassus begins its statement of the phrase, but on  $\underline{d}$  (ex. 44 b. 102). The tenor then re-enters with its second ph. 3, above the third note of ph. 3 in the bassus, and below the third-to-last note of ph. 3 in the superius (ex. 44 bs. 104-09).

The delivery is reminiscent of a mensuration canon, with one important difference. In the mensuration canon the structure is predetermined, and once set in motion the music continues without change until its completion. But the technique of superimposition has no such rigid limits; it is far more fluid, occurring within the larger framework of the total polyphonic fabric.

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<sup>9</sup> Edition, Loyset Compere, *Opera omnia*, CMM 15 (1958-72), ed. Ludwig Finscher. Musical examples are taken from my transcription based on Chigi.



Perhaps the clearest example of the difference between superimposition and the mensuration canon can be seen in the mensuration canons that open La Rue's *L'homme armé* Mass (the *Christe* was dealt with in detail and the two *Kyries* briefly in Chapter 2).

Fundamentally the principle of the mensuration canon is that a single notated part carries two or more mensural signs, the *comes*-voices being realised from the additional signs. *Kyries* I and II in the La Rue Mass both have a written bassus; *Kyrie* I carrying the signs C and O and *Kyrie* II 3 and C. For the most part the same or different phrases are sounded against one another in a strict mathematical proportion. The first *Kyrie* is illustrative, here ph. 1 is counterpointed against itself in the tenor and bassus (ex. 45 bs. 1-6), the bassus then sounds ph. 2 alone and against the tenor's second phrase has ph. 3 (ex. 45 bs. 8-13). Although not part of the canonic structure nevertheless the contratenor states the source material. A mildly elaborated ph. 1 on a is counterpointed against that phrase in the bassus and tenor (ex. 45 bs. 1-5) Then ph. 2 in the contratenor bridges the end of the tenor's ph. 1 and the opening of ph. 2 in the bassus. (ex. 45 bs. 6-8). Finally the contratenor has a second ph. 2 set against ph. 3 in the tenor, duplicating the same combination heard immediately previously in the bassus and tenor (ex. 45 bs. 12-15).

Every movement of the La Rue Mass is dominated by the *l'homme armé* melody. *Agnus* II, by tradition free of the source material and also reduced in scoring, disregards both conventions being a canon 4 ex 1. According to Apel the composer 'freely modified' the melody to accomplish the extraordinary feat of contrapuntal virtuosity.<sup>10</sup> The case is not so clear-cut as Apel suggests. Having set the cantus firmus in every section of the Mass up until the point of

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<sup>10</sup> Apel, 'Imitations', 373 refers to the canon as the 'final *Agnus*'. This is based on the incorrect placement of the Mass section in near contemporary sources and perpetuated in publications up to and including Apel. Comprehensive lists of the sources are to be found in Rubsamen 'Messenkomponist', 65-66, Robyns, *Pierre de la Rue*, 160 and *CMM* 97, vol. IV. Nigel Davison finally corrected the situation in his edition of the Mass (*Das Chorwerk*). He showed that although the three supplications of the *Agnus* were placed in different positions in the early sources, nevertheless the designation of *Agnus primus* and the texts of *miserere nobis* and *dona nobis pacem* left no doubt as to the order of the individual portions of the *Agnus*.

*Agnus II*, it is clear that La Rue did not want to omit it from this one section. At the same time, if indeed he was emulating the 3 ex 1 canon of *Agnus II* in Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*,<sup>11</sup> it is evident that he also wanted to demonstrate his great contrapuntal skill in the parallel section. Realising that no one complete section of original song was possible in such a concentrated texture the composer fashioned a new melody that would work canonically, but which was also related to the *cantus prius factus*. The melody of *Agnus II* is constructed almost entirely from the two most salient features of the *l'homme armé* song, the intervals of the rising fourth and falling fifth and variants of them (ex. 46 tenor part). La Rue employs the two intervals in a manner that reflects the ternary design of the original song. Ai and Aii emphasise the fourth (ex. 46 bs. 35-36, 42-44, 44-45, 65-69, 70-73, 74-77). On the other hand B is based on the interval of the fifth (ex. 46 bs. 47-48, 49, 52-53). Moreover, the composer establishes a pitch relationship between two outer sections of the canonic subject, Aii opens with a very a distinct delivery of the same rising fourth as that which started Ai (ex. 46 bs. 35-37 and 65-67). In the canonic subject of Josquin's *Agnus II* there is no allusion to the *l'homme armé* melody at all.

Josquin also employed the mensuration canon for the setting of the secular melody in the Kyrie of his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* (*Kyrie I* superius and tenor, *Christe* contratenor and tenor, *Kyrie II* bassus and tenor). However, the end result is far removed from La Rue's Kyrie. The greatest difference between the two composers is that the voices in Josquin's canons overlap only once, that is in *Kyrie II* where phs. 6 and 7 in the bassus are sounded at the same time as ph. 6 in the tenor. Therefore superimposition is not a common feature of these canons, whereas it is constantly used by La Rue. These references to the mensuration canon have been made in order to clarify the differences between when phrases of the *res facta* are sounded

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<sup>11</sup> Willem Elders sees the three-part setting of Josquin's *Agnus II* as symbolic, a portrayal of the Trinity, 'the three different voice-parts as an image of the three Divine persons', 'Symbolism in the sacred Music of Josquin', *JC*, 535-36.

against one another in a strict setting and when they occur in the freer context of superimposition.

### The Superimposition of Different Sections of the Cantus Firmus

Impressive as the superimposition of single phrases of the cantus firmus is, even more striking is the simultaneous sounding of either Ai or Aii with B. In the *Et in terra* of the Tinctoris Mass the tenor carries the source material. The three other voices are also involved in its presentation, especially in the opening tenor-less section (bs. 1-9). Ai is given twice by the tenor; the second time highly elaborated and with frequent changes to the original pitch sequence. Following a superius-contratenor duo the tenor re-enters, quoting Aii not B with the accompanying text 'Domine Deus' (ex. 47). At first glance it appears as if this is a partial quotation of the cantus firmus B being omitted, the tenor stating Ai twice then Aii. But this is not so, for against Aii in the tenor the contratenor presents the whole of B. The ends of the first two phrases of B are decorated both times so the designations of phs. 3 and 4 in terms of their variant closes have no meaning in this particular context.<sup>12</sup> But for the sake of clarity they will still be designated phs. 3 and 4. Ph. 6 in the tenor is sounded with ph. 3 in the contratenor (ex. 47 bs. 49-52). Following on the tenor has a brief descending scale-like figure, no more than the falling fifth of ph. 6 elaborated. With ph. 4 in the contratenor the falling fifth in the tenor is then given in its original form (ex. 47 bs. 56-57). The *Et in terra* concludes with the combination of phs. 5 (contratenor) and 7 (tenor), the latter phrase is embellished (ex. 47 bs. 58-61).

Josquin in his two *Missae L'homme armé* employs the Mellon version of the song where the final notes of the opening two phrases of B are approached by a step. Yet once in his *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* a very clear ph. 3 with the closing falling fourth is quoted in *Agnus III*.

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<sup>12</sup> Three permutations of the phrases are possible, a two-fold ph. 3 or ph. 4 or ph. 3 followed by ph. 4.

The third *Agnus* is a *ne plus ultra* of polyphonic dexterity and cantus-firmus manipulation. Josquin increases the vocal force from four to six parts; the two lowest voices provide a double cantus-firmus scaffold supporting the four upper parts. The scaffold consists of the two portions of the melody superimposed, Ai in the bassus and B in the tenor.

The organisation of the two voices is completely symmetrical, a total of 74 bars divided into two equal halves of 37 bars. At the midpoint the two cantus-firmus-bearing voices rest for one bar (ex. 48 b. 115),<sup>13</sup> then the two parts repeat their previous music but in reverse motion, as mirror images of themselves. The bassus gives Ai in original form (the first sounding was in retrograde) and the tenor has B in retrograde (the first sounding in original motion). A considerable amount of engineering is needed in the presentation of the double cantus firmus for the two parts of the borrowed song to be combined in this way. To begin with there is an imbalance of phrases between the two parts of the secular melody; Ai has two phrases (phs. 1 and 2) and B has three (phs. 3, 4 and 5). To accomplish the exact symmetrical design of the cantus-firmus presentation a balance between Ai and B is achieved with the bassus quoting most of ph. 2 alone (ex. 48 bs. 86-95 and 135-43) and the tenor announcing a larger portion of ph. 5 in the same way (ex. 48 bs. 105-14 and 116-24). This means that ph. 3 is set against part of ph. 2 and ph. 4 against ph. 1. For the first and only time in the Mass Josquin states the Casanatense version of the melody ph. 3 closing with a falling fourth and ph. 4 by a step (ex. 48 tenor, ph. 3 bs. 78-85, ph. 4 bs. 96-104).

Josquin makes two other alterations to the original sequence of the three parts of the *l'homme armé* melody. The first is not that dramatic in itself: Aii is not quoted; Ai is given in *Agnus I* and then Ai and B in *Agnus III*. In practical terms it means ph. 2 of Ai is longer in that

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<sup>13</sup> Fallows believes that bs. 126-28, where the two lowest parts of the polyphony only are sounding, was prompted by the six-bar two-part passage in *Agnus III* of the Busnoys Mass, also in long durations. The Busnoys passage begins in the sixteenth bar of the final *Agnus*. See 'Letters', 147 n. 4.

its ends with a falling fifth whereas it is absent in the parallel ph. 7 of Aii. Because of the imbalance already present in the number of phrases between Ai and B, Josquin obviously did not want to increase that difference in their respective lengths by quoting Aii, which has four fewer pitches than Ai. With such a shortfall between B and Aii further complications in achieving a successful simultaneous sounding of the two parts of the vernacular tune would be created. By re-quoting Ai superimposed on B in *Agnus* III instead of Aii the resultant combination is far more fluent.

Regarding the original phrase sequence of the *res facta* perhaps one of the greatest changes made to it occurs in the bassus, where the two phrases of Ai are given in reverse order, ph. 2 cited before ph. 1. The original phrase sequence is preserved in the rest of the Mass. Had Josquin kept the original order of ph. 1 followed by ph. 2 either in original or retrograde motions, combining the two phrases with B in the extant reading would be quite impossible. Examining just three strategic points in *Agnus* III illustrates just how crude the results are. From the very outset ph. 1 in retrograde against ph. 3 in original motion creates unacceptable intervals in the two lowest voices, apart from any other imperfections (ex. 49 [a] bs. 80, 81, 82 and 84). Then after the midpoint of the *Agnus* (when both of the cantus-firmus voices reverse the procession of their respective materials) with ph. 2 if sounded first, against the end of ph. 5 awkward intervals again occur in the lower two voices that consequently affect the four upper canonic parts. Finally with ph. 1 stated last on F, it is totally at odds with the F and C major harmonies implicit in the canons (ex. 49 [b] and [c], the pitches [] are those of the original version). It is known that Josquin was a most self-critical composer and did not release his compositions until after revisions that could last over a long period of time. Therefore, with the simple device of giving the two phases of Ai in reverse order the composer achieved the technical feat, not only of the superimposition of Ai upon B but at the same time presenting both parts in original and

retrograde motions. Yet this in no way detracts from what might have been either a spontaneous stroke of inspiration or the result of a long process of deliberation. However conceived one cannot detract from the staggering technical edifice on which the third *Agnus* is built, or its thrilling climactic conclusion to the Mass.

Looking at the two lower voices independently of the polyphonic context the tenor quite easily can quote the Mellon form of the song with the approach to the final d naturals of the first phrases of B by a step. Thus the version of the song used in the rest of the Mass would be retained. To accomplish this all that needs to be altered is the end of the tied f natural in the upper cantus-firmus voice; the final tied minim value replaced with a d giving a two-fold ph. 4 (ex. 50 bs. 84-85, the suggested substituted d is circled). But the lowest two parts have to be considered within the six-voiced texture. Above this slow-moving foundation Josquin presents a dazzling feat of polyphonic virtuosity. He writes two independent two-voiced canons, both at the short distance of a crotchet. Each canon is at the unison, the lower one in the two contratenors on c, the upper one in the two superius parts on g.

The two canonic subjects are essentially triadic in nature and therefore determine the harmonic rhythm of the six-part texture. One harmony can last for as long as three bars. In this spacious harmonic palette ph. 4 with its descent to the end of the phrase by a step cannot be incorporated into the complex cantus-firmus structure (ex. 50 b. 85). The presentation of ph. 3 in the tenor against ph. 2 in the bassus takes eight bars; there is only one bar (b. 84) when the two phrases are not sounded together. If the continuation of ph. 2 is included then there is an exact symmetrical harmonic balance over the passage making nine bars in all; the scheme is as follows:

**bs. 78-80**  
F major

**bs. 81-83**  
C major

**bs. 84-86**  
F major.

So each single harmony lasts for three bars. Ph. 4 with a d before the final c cannot be accommodated within this design. Within the value of a minim it is too long to be used as a passing tone and needs to be an essential note of a harmony. This then destroys the balance of the C major harmony flanked on either side by F major sonorities and also affected is the continuation of ph. 2 in the bassus. Any changes made to the polyphony to accommodate ph. 4 has the result of altering the design of the two canons and consequently their smooth deliveries.

The falling fourth could be considered just as co-incidental, an appropriate choice of note used to make good polyphony, especially when all other announcements of the opening two phrases of B are fourth phrases. But taking into consideration other aspects suggests strongly that ph. 3 is indeed present and it is not just a by-product of the part-writing. Josquin consistently applies lavish embellishments to the secular song to the point of transforming it out of all recognition (see the Credo bs. 237-58). However, I can find no example of a corrupt reading of the source material, and everything points to the fact that ph. 3 was quoted intentionally. Because the structure of *Agnus III* is so unique, employing the Casanatense version of the melody on this single occasion should not seem that unusual. A faithful statement of the original melody indeed is given, albeit in a different version from that in the rest of the cycle. The real significance lies in the fact that Josquin must have had knowledge of both the Mellon and Casanatense versions, and that he had need to call on the latter version, just once, to meet the structural requirements of his final *Agnus*.

The apex of the technique of superimposition is found in the La Rue *L'homme armé* Mass. It was seen that from the very beginning of the composition the composer showed a predilection for sounding either the same or different phrases of the borrowed song at the same time. From the end of the Credo until the final *Agnus* the device assumes even greater proportions and is used with much complexity. The frequency with which it is employed almost

rivals that of all of the other manipulations applied to the cantus firmus.

La Rue gives the final appearance of the complete song in the Credo to the bassus starting from the 'qui locutus est'. Prior to the bassus entering at this point ph. 4 (and a single ph. 5 each in the bassus and contratenor) is delivered in paired imitation (see ex. 22). Whilst the bassus quotes the beginning of Ai on the low pitch of D, ph. 5 is given at the same time on a in the superius and on f in the tenor (ex. 51 bs. 186-90). Although the tenor is mildly decorated essentially the two parts move in parallel thirds. During the rest of the extended announcement of Ai in the bassus (the falling fifth of ph. 1 is given twice) tenor and superius present ph. 5 again, this time with the contratenor and in simple imitation. The tenor is the first voice to enter on e, the superius an octave higher is the third voice. On b the contratenor is the second voice to deliver ph. 5 but lacks the final note. Gentle decoration is added to the end of the contratenor's quotation, a replacing the original final f (ex. 51 bs. 191-97). The change of the final note is for cadential reasons; the whole passage ends in a VII6-I A Aeolian close. Over the second harmony of the cadence the superius and contratenor complete their respective fifth phrases, the tenor is cantus-firmus free and the bassus initiates a new musical event with the beginning of ph. 2 (ex. 51 bs. 196-97). For the A Aeolian cadence to be possible, with the superius ending ph. 5 on c' and the bassus starting ph. 2 on A in the second cadential harmony, the contratenor had to sacrifice sounding the correct final note of its ph. 5 replacing f with a.

*Agnus I* opens with the beginning of Ai in four-part imitation with the unusual pitch relationships of superius d', contratenor e, bassus F and tenor d (ex. 51 bs. 1-4).<sup>14</sup> Following on from the imitative opening most of the remainder of *Agnus I* is a superius-contratenor duet supported by the slower moving double delivery of Ai in the tenor and Ai and B in the bassus.

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<sup>14</sup> The reason for this unusual pitch relationship is that La Rue places the first entry of the bassus at the beginning of the five principal movements on the five pitches that comprise ph. 1 of the secular song when placed in mode of the Mass. However, not in their original order, but as follows: Kyrie D, Gloria A, Credo G, Sanctus E and Agnus F.



Having quoted Ai complete the tenor then continues with four more quotations of ph. 2 all on the same pitch a. So in total ph. 2 appears five times and only the first and second statements close with the falling fifth (ex. 52 bs. 10-16, 17-23, 25-28, 29-31 and 32-34). During the progress of first and second ph. 2 in the tenor the bassus finishes its declaration of Ai and begins its announcement of B (ex. 52 bs. 22-32). La Rue makes a distinct contextual division from this point onwards. The first part is with Ai given in free imitation between the tenor and bassus and the second where the repeated ph. 2 in the tenor is superimposed upon B in the bassus.

A second contextual change occurs just before the bassus begins quoting B and concerns the upper duo. The contratenor breaks off from its duet with the superius to deliver ph. 2 in imitation with the tenor (ex. 52 bs. 21-24). It has a definite structural significance, marking the end of one section and the beginning of another in one of La Rue's microstructures within the macrostructure of the cantus-firmus delivery itself.<sup>15</sup> After completing ph. 2 the contratenor then begins re-quoting earlier material. A mini-ternary design is created over the unfolding of the source material in the tenor and bassus:

<b>X</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>Xi</b>
bs. 1-11	bs. 11-25	bs. 26-33 (refer to ex. 52).

**Xi** occurs at b. 26 with the contratenor re-quoting Ai on its initial pitch e, and the superius freely restates some of its opening material (ex. 52, compare bs. 7-13 with bs. 25-32). It is within this recapitulatory section that the technique of superimposition occurs.

In the final *Agnus* La Rue writes his most extended passage of superimposition, counterpointing Aii in the tenor against B in the superius. The section is 39 bars long, 22 of which are taken up with the simultaneous sounding of the two parts of the secular melody (ex.

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<sup>15</sup> See also the *Qui tollis* of the Gloria and the *Et incarnatus est* of the Credo.

53 bs. 60-81). Considerable adjustments are required to make this combination possible. The changes are made to the tenor carrying Aii; first phs. 6 and 7 are given complete, then the falling fifth of ph. 6 and ph. 7 are repeated (ex. 53 bs. 60-78). Ph. 7 is then stated four more times, once on g (ex. 53 bs. 79-82) and three times on a (ex. 53 bs. 82-86, 87-91 and 93-97). There is an almost exact balance in the design of the tenor over the 39 bars. Over the opening 20 bars the tenor delivers Aii complete (but extended), the final 19 bars containing the four-fold ph. 7. La Rue marks the beginning of the second section with the only announcement of ph. 7 on a pitch other than a, namely g (b. 79). Table 13 shows the balance.

**Table 13**  
**Distribution of the two-fold Aii by the tenor**  
**in *Agnus III* of La Rue's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Aii (first quotation)</b>	<b>Repetition of ph. 7</b>
bs. 59-68 ph. 6 complete	bs. 79-82 on g
bs. 69-73 ph. 7	bs. 82-86 on <u>a</u>
bs. 74-75 falling fifth of ph. 6	bs. 87-91 on <u>a</u>
bs. 76-78 ph. 7	bs. 93-97 on <u>a</u>

B in the superius ends in b. 81 (that is one bar before the completion of the single quotation of the tenor's ph. 7 on g) the part then continues with a repeated seven-bar phrase. They are almost identical except that the ending to the second is altered to accommodate the final D Dorian cadence. The two-fold phrase may not be freely composed, but derived from ph. 7 with the opening five pitches descending almost scale-wise from a to d (ex. 53 bs. 84-86 and bs. 91-93).

As if this feat of contrapuntal brilliance is not sufficient in itself, La Rue goes one step further and introduces a completely new melody in the bassus, the first 16 bars of the folk song

*Tant que mon argent dura* (ex. 54 [a]).<sup>16</sup> Just as in the case of the tenor with its delivery of Aii, the composer does not quote the folk-song exact, but manipulates it in order for it to work in a triple coundrapuntal context. What is very much in evidence is the composer's motivic approach to his melodic lines. One of the recurring features in the folk song is a melodic cell of a falling third preceded by a rise of a step (ex. 54 [a] bs. 1-2, 3-4, 7-9). La Rue picks upon this melodic cell and incorporates it within almost every phrase of the bassus in the *Agnus* (it is marked with square brackets in ex. 54 [b]). A comparison with the individual phrases of the folksong and the bassus of the *Agnus* illustrates how the folksong is adapted to the bassus of *Agnus* III and also highlights the inclusion of the melodic cell. See Table 14:

**Table 14**  
**Comparison of the folk-song and bassus in**  
***Agnus* III of La Rue's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Folk-song</b>	<b>Bassus of <i>Agnus</i> III</b>
ph. 1 bs. 1-2	ph. 1 bs. 62-65
ph. 2 bs. 3-4	ph. 2 bs. 67-69
ph. 3 bs. 5-8	ph. 3 bs. 71-76
ph. 4 bs. 9-10	ph. 4 bs. 77-79
ph. 5 bs. 11-12	ph. 5 bs. 82-85
ph. 6 bs. 13-16	ph. 6 bs. 88-93
	free bs. 94-97

Superficial similarities between the canons in the Kyries of La Rue's Mass and Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* have been discussed. Such tentative comparisons also can be seen in the final *Agnus* of both compositions. In his *Agnus* III Josquin gives the complete *l'homme armé* melody to the superius. In accordance with the canon *Clama ne cesses*

<sup>16</sup> David Fallows brought this fact to the attention of the editors of *Pierre de la Rue, Opera omnia, CMM 97*, vol. IV. The musical example is taken from Gulke, 'Das Volkslied', 181.

(cry, cease not)<sup>17</sup> the superius omits all the rest of the cantus firmus and in addition gives the borrowed melody in double augmentation. In these extended values for most of the time the melody functions as an inverted pedal point, especially in Ai and Aii. With these extra-prolonged durations in which Josquin delivers the borrowed song its original melodic quality is entirely negated. It has also been observed that there is a correspondence between the final Agnus of Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* and the same section of La Rue's Mass, Josquin superimposing Ai (and La Rue Aii) upon B. In his Mass Josquin again presents the cantus firmus in extended durations in the two lowest parts of the polyphony and, just as in the case of his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, no traces of the original melodic character of the *res facta* remain.

If indeed there is an element of emulation between the La Rue *L'homme armé* Mass and the two by Josquin then the latter composer's compositions were no more than a spur to La Rue's own creative imagination. He goes further than mere imitation producing a highly individual composition that stands in its own right. For a start in his final *Agnus* he does retain the melodic quality of both Aii in the tenor and B in the superius. What is present in the La Rue Mass is that which is already in evidence in the two secular polyphonic settings of the original song. At the opening of both Mellon and Casanatense ph. 3 is superimposed upon ph. 1 (exs. 2 and 3). In the final *Agnus* of the La Rue Mass this is taken to its ultimate conclusion by superimposing Aii upon B, but at the same time preserving the melodic quality of the original tune.

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<sup>17</sup> For the biblical context of the rubric and also its relation to the text of the original song see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Masses on Popular Songs', *JC*, 59. Taruskin draws a parallel between the Latin rubric and the text of ph. 3 of the secular melody itself ('On a fait partout crier', 'everywhere I hear them wail'), Busnoys, 265 n. 19.

## Chapter 5

### Aspects of Motivic Structure

At times the motivic organisation of the free voices is the decisive factor as to the order in which the first two phrases of B are given; that is whether a two-fold ph. 3 or a two-fold ph. 4. Any number of the non-cantus-firmus voices can be influential on that decision, ranging from a single part to all of the free voices.

A single voice is responsible for the coupling in which the first two phrases of B are given in the final *Agnus* of the Ockeghem *Missa L'homme armé*. There are features contained in this section that give it a unique individuality. For the second time in the composition the source material is transposed downwards (formerly in the Credo by a fifth) now in the *Agnus* at the octave to  $\underline{G}$  following the rubric *descendendo in dyapason*. *Agnus* III is also the only section of the Mass to announce a double ph. 4. Additionally there is also a difference in the note values in which the double ph. 4 is given. During the course of the Mass prolation notation is used in the tenor, either  $\text{C}$  or  $\text{O}$  against  $\text{O}$  in the free voices to give simple augmentation. Twice in the cycle the sign of diminution is placed in the free parts  $\text{C}$  against  $\text{C}$  in the tenor giving double augmentation, first in the *Osanna* and here in *Agnus* III.

We also need to consider the mode of *Agnus* III. CS 35 transmits it in G Mixolydian with no flat signatures, but Chigi 234 has all four parts with a B flat signature.<sup>1</sup> This is the only Mass section where all voices carry a flat signature, locating it in the G transposed Dorian mode. Coupled with all these features is the unusual structure of the third *Agnus*. Ai is placed in the lowest sounding voice of the four-part texture in *Agnus* I. B is presented in a series of duos and

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<sup>1</sup> Benthem states that the  $\flat$  in the superius is in a second hand and omits it from his edition. See *Masses and Mass Sections*, VIII and 27. The contratenor and bassus of the *Et in terra* carry B flat signatures in Chigi 234, the former voice for the whole Mass section the latter one for the first two staves only. That is up to and including the first three notes of ph. 5 in that part (bs. 24-25). See Benthem's comments as to the mode of the Mass, whether Mixolydian or Dorian, *Masses and Mass Sections*, X.

trios at the opening of *Agnus III*, Ockeghem then mirrors his setting of *Ai* again by placing *Aii* as the lowest voice of the four-voiced ensemble. The design is as follows:

<b>Duo</b>	ph. 4 lower voice of a duo with the contratenor bs. 47-56
<b>Duo</b>	contratenor and superius, cantus-firmus free bs. 56-66
<b>Duo</b>	ph. 4 higher voice of a duo with the bassus bs. 66-77
<b>Duo/Trio</b>	ph. 5 in a duo alternating with the contratenor and superius, ending with a very brief trio bs. 78-86
<b>Trio</b>	tenor, contratenor and superius, cantus-firmus free bs. 85-91
<b>Quartet</b>	<i>Aii</i> in the lowest sounding part bs. 92-116
<b>Quartet</b>	cantus-firmus free bs. 117-32.

The ternary form of the source material is reflected in the textual design of the complete *Agnus*. *B* is placed in the lightest of polyphonic textures, a duo (except for the conclusion of ph. 5), and *Ai* and *Aii* are given in the lowest part of the denser four-voiced ensemble. Because of the additional long values in which *B* and *Aii* are given once again the original melodic character of the song is lost. However, as far as the first ph. 4 is concerned it functions as a harmonic support to one of Ockeghem's seamless melodic lines in the contratenor.

From the initial unison *g* with the cantus firmus the contratenor rises by step to *e* flat above, returning to the opening note almost in a direct scale-wise descent (ex. 55 bs. 47-49). Immediately it re-ascends, rhythmically different and this time rising only to *d*. Momentarily the music hovers between *c* and *d* before another step-wise descent to two *a* naturals, separated by a lower auxiliary note *g* (ex. 55 bs. 50-52). Then prefixed by an initial interval of a third two successive climbing fourths take the melodic line to its apex *g*, an octave above its starting point. The gradual descent to the cadential *d* a fourth below through two thirds is freely sequential; first step-wise from the *g* to *e* flat with a lower *d*, then from *d* to *b* flat returning to *d*, the closing pitch of the melody (ex. 55 bs. 52-56).

Re-placing ph. 3 with the closing falling fourth for the existing ph. 4 (on the premise that



the standard form of the cantus firmus is ph. 3 followed by ph. 4) disturbs two aspects of the duo. The penultimate pitch of g in ph. 3 instead of  $\underline{e}$  in ph. 4 requires the contratenor to be altered. A perfect fourth is created with g in the bassus and  $\underline{c}'$  in the contratenor (ex. 55 b. 55, third note). Within the overall sound context it is far too bare an interval over the value of a dotted minim (dotted crochet-quaver in the transcription). Moreover, against the replaced g in the lower part the suspended  $\underline{d}'$  in the contratenor also has no real harmonic logic. The forward motion of the music is held in check on a perfect fifth at a time when the opposite should happen, a push forward onto the cadential  $\underline{d}'$ ; the collision of  $\underline{d}'$  against  $\underline{e}$  flat in the extant reading certainly creates that drive and propels the music towards the conclusion of the duo (ex. 55 b. 55, the red-headed note gives a ph. 3). Any change in the melodic design to accommodate ph. 3 and also produce satisfactory part-writing violates the architecture of the duo.

The second aspect of the music to be affected is the cadence itself. Ockeghem does not obscure the close, which has bassus and contratenor sounding an octave  $\underline{d-d}'$  for almost a complete bar - the cadential octave clearly marks the end of the first duo and the beginning of the second one (ex. 55 b. 56). Ph. 3 with its penultimate g cannot fulfil the traditional cadential progression of the sixth expanding to the octave. But ph. 4 with  $\underline{e}$  flat can and at the same time the under-third melodic approach to the final note  $\underline{d}'$  can be incorporated, giving the under-third, or so-called 'Landini' cadence.<sup>2</sup>

Ockeghem treats the second ph. 4 in quite a different manner, although still in double augmentation. Instead of the phrase being a harmonic support to a more florid part above, its role is reversed; it now becomes the slower moving upper part in counterpoint against an elaborate melodic lower one. The structure of this duo reflects that of the preceding one. In the first duo the contratenor gradually moved its highest point g' over g the fifth note of ph. 4. Being

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<sup>2</sup> See Reese, *Renaissance*, 44.

quite independent of the contratenor's line in the first duo nevertheless, the lower voice in the second duo reaches its lowest note G exactly over the same pitch of ph. 4 (ex. 55 bs. 53 and 73). The final cadence is still an under-third one, but in D Dorian.<sup>3</sup>

Tinctoris preserves the ternary structure of the vernacular song throughout the Mass - that is Ai, B or Aii given individually in singly self-contained Mass sections. This general approach is broken in the Agnus. Ai and a single ph. 4 is given in *Agnus I* and *Agnus III* contains a second ph. 4 followed by ph. 5 and Aii. This particular division of the *l'homme armé* melody over *Agnus I* and *Agnus III* is not peculiar to Tinctoris. Busnoys and Vaqueras both interrupt the progress of the borrowed tune exactly at the same point and over the same two sections in their Masses. The reason for making a break in the source material at this particular point appears to be for a symmetrical presentation of the *l'homme armé* melody over the cantus-firmus-carrying *Agnus I* and *Agnus III*. An exact balance is impossible because the original song has seven phrases, so as near as possible a balance is achieved with the break between phs. 3 and 4 giving three phrases in *Agnus I* (phs. 1, 2 and 3) and four in *Agnus III* (phs. 4, 5, 6 and 7). Vaqueras actually strengthens the relationship by making the polyphonic context of the ph. 3 closing *Agnus I* very similar to that in which ph. 3 is placed in *Agnus III*, even to the point of incorporating the adumbration in the bassus of the canonically-delivered cantus firmus.<sup>4</sup> What else the three composers have in common is the use of a repeated phrase. For Busnoys and Vaqueras this is a two-fold ph. 3, for Tinctoris a repeated ph. 4.

Having broken the original phrase sequence of the cantus firmus at precisely the same point and over the same two Mass sections as did Busnoys and Vaqueras, why then did not Tinctoris also employ a repeated ph. 3 like the other two composers? Tinctoris's prime reason

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<sup>3</sup> The real positions of the two voices in the duo are reflected in the format of ex. 55 over bs. 66-76. As the higher voice of the duo the written bassus is placed in the tenor part of the transcription. Consequently the original tenor voice as the lower voice of the duet is placed in the bass part.

<sup>4</sup> *Agnus I* bs. 34-41 and *Agnus III* bs. 90-102.



for using ph. 4 at the conclusion of *Agnus I* is the motivic make-up of the free parts. A melodic cell consisting of an initial rising fourth followed in different ways appears in the non-cantus-firmus voices in variant forms. In the music of this period where the intervals of a fourth and fifth are prominent in both linear and vertical contexts it is quite easy to find relationships that are just accidents of the unfolding of the polyphony. At times this may also be true of the make up of the musical fabric of Tinctoris's *Agnus I*. However, the ensuing argument is based on the frequency with which the fourth is employed both in the melodic makeup of an individual part and the relationship between both free voices and the cantus firmus itself (ex. 56, the motive is marked with the letter 'm' in square brackets, the individual notes of the cantus firmus by circles).

Perhaps what is most pertinent is that the motive of *Agnus I* is derived from the beginning of the *l'homme armé* melody. The relationship is at its most obvious where the motive is delivered at the same pitch as the cantus firmus, namely G (ex. 56 superius bs. 1-3, and 5-7, tenor bs. 1-2 and bassus b. 5). Each of the principal movements opens with a rising interval of a fourth in variant contexts.<sup>5</sup> Within the musical fabric the fourth is omnipresent, sometimes followed by an upward rising scale (ex. 56 bassus b. 1) at other times the interval itself is filled in (ex. 56 superius bs. 5-7, bassus bs. 11-12). Over the final three notes of ph. 2 and the start of ph. 4 a pitch recapitulation of the motive takes place. First it appears in the superius where (on d') it takes the end of ph. 2 to a close in G transposed Dorian. This is a duplication of the earlier context where the melodic cell (also on d') brought the opening cantus-firmus-free beginning of *Agnus I* also to a G Dorian conclusion (ex. 56 compare bs. 3-5 with 13-14). The bassus then re-

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<sup>5</sup> I cannot agree with Cohen who states concerning the Tinctoris Mass '...even motto openings are absent', 'Munus', 197. All principal movements have different, but related, openings based on the leaping fourth of the original song - Kyrie with the superius on d', bassus on g and after an initial g tenor on d; Gloria, contratenor on g, superius on g', bassus on G; Credo, contratenor on d b. 2, superius on g' b. 3, bassus on g b. 3; Sanctus, contratenor on d, bassus on g; Agnus, superius on g, contratenor on g, bassus on G.

states earlier material in a free and compressed form, bridging the end of ph. 2 and the start of ph. 4. Tinctoris re-fashions the two forms of the motive and then reverses the original order in which they were given at the opening of the *Agnus I* (ex. 56 compare bs. 1 and 5 with 14-16). With the sounding of the first note of ph. 4 the composer concentrates the presentation of the motive by giving it imitatively between the bassus and superius (ex. 56 b. 16).

The final two notes of ph. 4 close in a V-I D Dorian cadence. Tenor and the source-material-carrying contratenor have the conventional two-part cadential progression (now in the inverted form of a third contracting to the unison), the tenor freely imitative of the superius (ex. 56 bs. 17-18). Ph. 3 in the contratenor would not provide the right conditions for the D Dorian cadence;  $g'$  instead of the extant  $e'$  would create a seventh with  $a$  in the bassus and diminished fifths with the inflected  $c'$  sharps of the tenor. Both intervals require the  $g'$  to fall to  $f'$  giving an incorrect reading of the borrowed song. The D Dorian cadence does not conclude *Agnus I*. Tinctoris re-states the final  $d'$  twice more, first as a separate perfect breve then in the traditional final long that covers the last two bars of the section. These extra  $d'$  naturals are essential, for by prolonging *Agnus I* they allow it to conclude in the G transposed Dorian mode of the Mass. During the extended contratenor  $d'$  rising fourths still dominate the free parts either as direct leaps or filled in. It is clear there are two determinant factors governing the choice of ph. 4 in *Agnus I*. One is the motivic makeup of the free voices (especially the superius and tenor) and the other the D Dorian cadence at the end of the phrase.

Basiron has no overall structural plan to the twelve deliveries of the first two phrases of B. The predominant sequence is of ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 (six times); a two-fold ph. 4 is given four times, a repeated ph. 3 once, and a single presentation of ph. 4 followed by ph. 3.<sup>6</sup> Quite unusually the cantus firmus is given complete in the three sections of the *Agnus*. Each of the

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<sup>6</sup> Ph. 3&4, *Christe*, 'Fili unigenite', 'Tu solus Sanctus', 'Et unam sanctum', *Osanna I*, *Agnus II*; 2x4, *Kyrie II*, 'de Deo vero', *Osanna II*, *Agnus III*; 2x3, *Agnus I*; ph. 4&3, 'Et iterum venturus'.

three supplications has a different combination of the opening two phrases of B (see n.6).

However *Agnus I* is the only section of the Mass to declare a two-fold ph. 3.

All four voices in *Agnus I* are in *tempus perfectum* and Basiron preserves the original rhythms of the borrowed melody. Individually both third phrases span four perfect breves of the free voices, the only two phrases to be announced thus. There is no such symmetry in the delivery of any other phrases of the cantus firmus. A motive in the composed voices spanning three perfect breves dictates the need for a two-fold ph. 3. It appears first in the structural tenor as a decoration to ph. 2 prior to the falling fifth (ex. 57 bs. 8-10, the motive and cantus firmus are marked in the same manner as in ex. 56). Immediately following on the superius sounds it, slightly modified, against the falling fifth of ph. 2 in the tenor. Basiron certainly concentrates his material for at the same time the contratenor quotes a very clear ph. 3 with all repeated notes omitted (ex. 57 bs. 10-12).

Against the final note of ph. 2 in the tenor the bassus begins quoting the motive that bridges the cantus-firmus-free bar marking the end of Ai and the beginning of B. The dovetailing of each successive presentation of the motive is consistent. One statement of it ends on the last breve of each group of three successive perfect breves and the following appearance of it begins within that third breve. Therefore on the completion of the motive in the bassus it is then taken up immediately by the contratenor coinciding with the start of the first ph. 3 in the tenor. Interlocking with the end of the motive in the contratenor is a second statement of it by the superius, spanning the end of the first ph. 3 and the beginning of the second (ex. 57 bs. 12-18). The motive is then given in a more compact form - in a stretto-like manner. First between the bassus and contratenor, then superius and contratenor in counterpoint to the second ph. 3 and the beginning of ph. 5 (ex. 57 bs. 18-23).

Even though there is a difference in the respective lengths of the motive and the two-fold ph. 3 (the motive covering three perfect breves and each one of the third phrases lasting four

perfect breves) no problems arise in their combination. So meticulous is the interlocking of the melodic cell that it bridges the rest of one bar between the repeated ph. 3. Consequentially because each succeeding statement of the motive begins a crotchet after the final pitch of the previous quotation, a feeling of a continuous melodic line always beginning on **B flat** is created across the polyphony. Variety is obtained with variants in the motives upon repetition.

The triadic nature of the melodic cell has harmonic implications both for itself and the polyphony. In relation to the two statements of ph. 3 there is a re-iteration of three harmonies over the three-bar motive that emphasises the mode of G transposed Dorian. Once only does the motive close in this mode where all the features of a cadential progression are present. That is at the end of its first appearance in the tenor in a V-VI conclusion (ex. 57 bs. 8-10). All the other situations are 'quasi' cadential contexts, implying either V-I (ex. 57 bs. 11-12) or VII<sup>6</sup>-I (ex. 57 bs. 13-14, and 19-20) or octave leap (ex. 57 bs. 15-16) progressions. Across each three-bar motive there is a succession of G, D and G minor harmonies (ex. 57 bs. 10-12 superius, first harmony is E flat, correcting a diminished fifth with the superius, bs. 14-16 contratenor). Or the final harmony of the three is F major allowing for the VII<sup>6</sup>-I progression (ex. 57 bs. 12-14, 19-20 bassus and bs. 16-18 superius).

This harmonic sequence is accountable for the second ph. 3; ph. 4 with the fall of  $\underline{e}'$ - $\underline{d}'$  in the tenor breaks the regular pattern. The only possible harmony with a replaced ph. 4 and the motive remaining intact in the superius is E flat major. A *ficta*  $\underline{e}'$  flat is required to correct the diminished fifth with the superius, but this results in a change to the beginning of the contratenor (ex. 57 b. 20). A second ph. 3 with  $\underline{g}'$  as the penultimate pitch allows for the continuation of the harmonic sequence and motive, both of which emphasise G transposed Dorian. Then comes the real surprise in the second genuine cadence of the passage where all the features of the close are present. Over fifteen bars Basiron gradually increases the tension in the music with the motive always announced on **B flat**. That tension is intensified over the second ph. 3 where it is given in

a stretto-like fashion. Because of its triadic nature the motive always implies G transposed Dorian; over its nine repetitions an expectation is created that this mode will be the final destination of the music. That expectation is frustrated and instead the music cadences in D Dorian over the first two pitches of ph. 5 (ex. 57 bs. 22-23).

Only once is the 'normal' sequence of ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 used by de Orto. But because its location is so strategically placed it can be argued that the Casanatense version of the melody is the one he chose for his cantus firmus, and that all the other couplings are deviations from it. It occurs over the same broad section of text in the Credo that was underscored by a unique treatment of the two phrases in the Masses of Basiron, Pipelare, La Rue and Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*. De Orto states the complete melody containing the phrase sequence in a self-contained section beginning with the text 'Et in Spiritum' until the final 'Amen'. Ph. 3 through to ph. 5 covers the words from 'qui locutus est' to 'remissionem peccatorum'.

Out of a total of ten appearances of B a two-fold ph. 3 is used seven times, a double ph. 4 and ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 once each, leaving a single ambiguous situation.<sup>7</sup> This occurs in *Agnus III* where the ends of the two phrases are embellished in such a fashion that it is impossible to say which version of the two phrases is used, but interestingly it is the superius that carries the borrowed material. Therefore the possibility exists that the composer is following the general pattern observed in other *L'homme armé* Masses, that of employing a double ph. 4 when the cantus firmus is carried by the highest-sounding voice - in this instance the more melodic close of ph. 4 is enhanced with mild elaboration.

Three times a two-fold ph. 3 is used because of the construction of the free voices; the first occasion is in the *Christe* whose own structure is quite unusual. It shares similarities with

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<sup>7</sup> 2x3, *Christe*, *Kyrie II*, *Et in terra*, *Patrem*, *Crucifixus*, *Osanna I* and *II*; 2x4, *Qui tollis*; 3&4, *Et in Spiritum*.

the *Christe* in the La Rue *Missa L'homme armé* in that prior to the official entry of the cantus firmus there is a long introduction based on the source material.<sup>8</sup> De Orto's *Christe* opens with a 32 bar trio, during the first 16 bars the bassus quotes ph. 3 three times twice on *g* and once on *ḍ*, and in longer durations than the upper two voices (ex. 58 bs. 25-40). Across the two deliveries of ph. 3 on *g* contratenor and superius are in imitation, sometimes strictly so but at other times more freely. De Orto does not quote the three-fold ph. 3 faithfully as each individual phrase is slightly altered; repeated pitches are omitted (ex. 58 bs. 25-28) or the final note of the phrase prolonged (ex. 58 bs. 34-35) and some notes are given an extra sounding (ex. 58 bs. 36-37). On the first and third deliveries of ph. 3 the final note is the bass of the first harmony of a V-I cadential progression, but the bassus does not sound in the second harmony. On both occasions the resolution to the cadence is on a single note in the contratenor, *g*' in the first quotation in G Mixolydian and *ḍ*' in the third one in D Dorian (ex. 58 bs. 29 and 41). There is no break between the first and second declarations of ph. 3 in the bassus, hence the reason for the prolonged final pitch of the repeated ph. 3. The bassus leaps an octave from the final note *ḍ* of its second ph. 3 to the first note *ḍ*' of the third ph. 3 in an octave leap G Mixolydian cadence (ex. 58 bs. 35-36).

During the remaining 16 bars of the trio ph. 3 is not given again, but each individual entry of the three voices begins with the three-note tag that opens the phrase (labelled tag in red-square brackets). The first appearance is in the bassus on *ḍ* (ex. 58 bs. 41-42) followed by the superius and contratenor both on *g*' (ex. 58 bs. 43-45). Subsequently bassus and superius have the melodic tag an octave apart on *ḍ*' and *ḍ*'', and the contratenor on *g*' (ex. 58 bs. 45-48). Finally the bassus gives a two-fold statement of the three-note melodic cell first on *ḍ* and then on *g*, the latter one adumbrating the entry of the tenor with ph. 3 an octave above (ex. 58 bs. 50-57).

De Orto certainly pits his cantus firmus against the free voices. Prolation notation is used

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 2.



for the source-bearing tenor (C) and *tempus imperfectum diminutum* in the composed parts (C) producing double augmentation. Moreover, the trochaic rhythms of the *l'homme armé* tune are preserved. De Orto exploits the contrast between the ternary rhythms of the *res facta* and the quadruple metre of the polyphony even more by sounding the openings of the two third phrases after the beginning of the tactus. This means that the natural cadential points in the vernacular song are ignored. Consequently the non-cantus-firmus voices then become a major influence, not only as to where cadences occur over the repeated ph. 3, but also for the two-fold ph. 3 itself.

The freely composed voices are not bound together by an obvious recurring motive. But they are freely imitative beginning either with a direct rising third, or a fourth, which then falls back one note (the beginning of each quotation is marked with a 'y'). It is first heard in the bassus at the point of the tenor entry, it is then given to the contratenor. A more expansive version follows in the superius over the third and second-to-last notes of the first ph. 3 (ex. 58 bs. 57-66).

From the midpoint of the second ph. 3 the superius begins a melodic line spanning eleven bars, opening in a similar manner as did the bassus, with a rising fourth which then falls back one note (ex. 58 bs. 57-58 bassus). Starting on a repeated a` the superius rises to d`` and then in a gentle spiral descends back to a` (ex. 58 bs. 69-72). The passage from d`` down to b`, including the intervening notes, is repeated but starting on b` (ex. 58 bs. 72-74). An e` (giving ph. 4) instead of the present g` as the penultimate note of the tenor (b. 71) would disturb the extant reading. Although an e` clashing against the d`` in the superius is acceptable in itself, that the superius subsequently falls to b` is not. Quitting the discord by such a direct fall is too harsh. Attention also needs to be given to the design of the extended melodic line in the superius. Not once are the first or last pitches of the double ph. 3 highlighted cadentially; however, other pitches are placed in C Ionian 'quasi' cadential progressions (ex. 58 bs. 62-63 and 65-66). The same situation exists for ph. 5 over the prolonged opening g the same 'quasi' C Ionian context.

superius to accommodate ph. 4 would not make this aspect of the context in which the double ph. 3 is placed feasible. The motivic make up of the free voices (especially the superius) creates one continuous arch of sound that does not find its final resting point until the end of the ph. 5. A V-VI D Dorian cadence is placed over last two notes of ph. 5 (ex. 58 bs. 78-79) it being the only time when the end of a cantus-firmus phrase is thus placed. The last tenor  $\underline{d}$ ' is prolonged in order that the terminal cadence has finality about it, the mode is still D Dorian, but the progression is VII6-I (ex. 58 bs. 81-82). The two-fold ph. 3 is essential to the whole design of the passage.

Three factors need to be taken into consideration for the presence of the double ph. 3 in the *Et in terra*. They are ph. 5, the values in which the repeated phrase is delivered, and the melodic design of the superius. We shall look first at the durations in which the double phrase is clothed. Although the statement of the second ph. 3 is not given in an exact ratio to the first ph. 3, nevertheless an element of diminution is present. This comes about because the composer treats his source material very liberally. In the first third phrase pitches are repeated freely, the whole phrase covering five bars of the transcription; the second ph. 3 is one perfect breve shorter. Once again some pitches are repeated, these always being the  $g$ ' naturals both times given in a two-fold minim-crochet rhythm, and  $\underline{f}$ ' and  $\underline{d}$ ' in the durations of dotted semibreves. With such a flexible use of diminution in the presentation of the double ph. 3 it is quite conceivable that the composer desired to emphasise that particular aspect of his delivery with a repetition of ph. 3 (ex. 59 bs. 29-39).

The construction of the superius is also a determinant factor on the announcement of the double ph. 3. Starting over the sixth pitch of the repeated third phrase the superius begins a melodic line that spans the end of this phrase and also the conclusion of ph. 5 (ex. 59 bs. 38-44, the beginning is marked with a 'y'). Opening on  $\underline{d}$ ' the melody gently rises to  $\underline{f}$ ' a tenth above, then descends step-wise to  $\underline{d}$ ' closing in a V-I D Dorian cadence. A three-note tag of  $\underline{d}$ '- $\underline{c}$ '- $\underline{d}$ '



(possibly derived from the opening three notes of ph. 3) at the very beginning gives cohesion to the melodic line, it is followed either by a leaping or ascending scale-wise fourth. The three-note tag is repeated twice more on  $g^{\flat}$  (b. 40) and  $c^{\flat\flat}$  (bs. 40-41) taking the melody to its apex  $f^{\flat}$ . From this point onwards the superius descends by step to  $c^{\flat\flat}$ , the pitch which becomes the raised *subsemitonium* of the V-I D Dorian cadence in which ph. 5 closes (the  $b^{\flat}$  is a note of decoration).

Had ph. 4 been substituted for the second ph. 3 then this long melodic line in the superius would not have been possible. What would be sacrificed to cater for a ph. 4 with the fall of  $c^{\flat}$  to the final  $d^{\flat}$  is the opening three-note cell in the superius. Quite easily in the three-part polyphony the dotted semibreve  $g^{\flat}$  in the tenor can be sub-divided into two dotted minims  $g^{\flat}$  and  $c^{\flat}$ . But the clash of a second between tenor and superius for the value of minim would need a change to the superius to resolve the discord elegantly.<sup>9</sup> Altering the opening in the superius by which the melody rises by intervals of a fourth for a ph. 4 deprives the music of an extended melodic line that takes the *Et in terra* to its climax. Only once before is the pitch  $f^{\flat}$  used (b. 20) and then in the value of just a crotchet, and it is not sounded again for the remainder of the *Et in terra*.

Once again it is the span of the superius's line that is primarily accountable for the repeated ph. 3 in the *Osanna* II. The conclusions to Ai, B and Aii are always cadential, but not the phrase endings that are internal to them; it is the superius that spans these original cadential conclusions. Ph. 2 (which closes Ai) is given in an  $a4$  V-VI G Mixolydian cadence, the superius is then silent for one bar; the bar in which the first two notes of ph. 3 are presented (ex. 60 bs. 159-60). The superius re-enters over the tenor's  $f^{\flat}$ , its subsequent  $f^{\flat}$  and  $g^{\flat}$  placed in a VII6-I C

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<sup>9</sup> Of course the prevailing rhythmic pattern of the tenor in b. 38 allows the final  $g^{\flat}$  to be replaced by  $e^{\flat}$ , and within the existing musical fabric, giving ph. 4. Two aspects would be lost thereby. Firstly the strong full C major sonority. (last crotchet b. 38). The interval of a third created with the tenor and superius sounding a unison  $e^{\flat}$  is not nearly as resonant. Secondly (excluding the final  $d^{\flat}$ ) the second ph. 3 is at the top of the polyphony. Substituting the penultimate note  $g^{\flat}$  with  $e^{\flat}$  weakens the end of the phrase; how much stronger is the extant reading with the  $g^{\flat}$  falling to  $d^{\flat}$ .

transposed Mixolydian cadence; the *ficta* b flats in the contratenor are necessary to correct diminished fifths with the tenor and superius. Within the range of a fifth (d` to a`, plus a *ficta* leading-tone c` sharp) the first phrase in the superius lasts seven bars ending in VII6-I D Dorian cadence over the second and third notes of the second ph. 3 (ex. 60 bs. 161-67). There is no break between the end of the repeated ph. 3 and the start of ph. 5 in the tenor. Following a brief rest the superius re-commences an octave above its previous cadential d` and then, for the first time in the delivery of B, the final two notes of a phrase are placed cadentially, ph. 5 closing in V-VI D Dorian progression (ex. 60 bs. 171-72). There then follows a statement of Aii. De Orto goes for variety in the two D Dorian cadences in the construction of his superius. The cadential progressions are different and so too are the pitches levels at which they are placed, the first on d` (VII6-I) and the second on d`` (V-VI). This final phrase in the superius opens at the point where the end of ph. 4 would occur with an e` instead of the existing g`. What results is the sounding of two successive sevenths, b and c`` contratenor and superius and e` and d`` tenor and superius. The repeated g` of ph. 3 avoids this discordant progression (ex. 60 b. 168).

One other point regarding the clarity and even flow of the polyphony needs mentioning, the movement of the contratenor and tenor. At the end of the second ph. 3 the two parts sound a unison d` approached in contrary motion from an octave, contratenor leaping a fifth from g to d` and the tenor falling a fourth from g` to d`. The movement of the two parts is lucid with ph. 3; ph. 4 with the penultimate e` in the tenor obscures the clarity in the crossing parts and the limpidity of the extant reading is lost (ex. 60 bs. 168-69).

Before leaving the de Orto Mass the two-fold ph. 3 in *Osanna* I requires some consideration. The context for this double phrase is similar to that which dictated the two-fold phrases in the *Et in terra*, the presence of diminution (ex. 61 bs. 63-75). Again not every individual value of the second ph. 3 is an exact diminution of its predecessor, but the repeated phrase is almost exactly half as long as the initial one. The opening third phrase covers a little

phrase is almost exactly half as long as the initial one. The opening third phrase covers a little over eight imperfect breves, the second only three. Within the extant polyphony ph. 4 with a penultimate  $\underline{e}$  in place of  $g$  is possible (ex. 61 b. 74, the  $\underline{e}$  is indicated by a stemless note). Presenting the first two phrases of B in this manner once again could have prompted the composer to make all things correspond, pitches as well. No other possible explanation offers itself when ph. 4 can be quoted within the existing musical framework, giving ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 the sequence from which all the other combinations are assumed to deviate.

The *Confiteor* of the Brumel *L'homme armé* Mass carries the complete secular song. It is borne by the tenor although references to it are made by the other voices, particularly in Ai and Aii. Quite the reverse happens with B where a two-fold ph. 4 is quoted; the free voices are independent of the cantus firmus but closely bound together by a three-bar counterpoint (ex. 62, where the counterpoint and cantus firmus appear together they are marked in the same manner as in exs. 56 and 57). The three deliveries interlock exactly, the final note of one statement coinciding with the first note of the next. First heard in the bassus it then appears in the superius an octave higher on  $g$ , the two deliveries cover the first ph. 4 and the beginning of the second (ex. 62 bs. 246-50). The quotation in the superius begins over the third to last pitch of the initial ph. 4, which means its third note  $\underline{c}$  sounds against the tenor's penultimate  $\underline{e}$ . Ph. 3 with  $g$  as the pre-final pitch does not work in the existing reading if the motive is to be exact in the superius; although a minor adjustment to the bassus with the minim  $g$  leaping to  $\underline{c}$  allows for the  $g$  (b. 248). But another consistent feature at the end of the motive would thereby be lost, namely its cadential implications. The bassus ends the motive in an implied VII<sup>6</sup>-I G transposed Dorian close, the sixth to octave progression between the bassus and tenor. There is the implication of the same cadence closing the motive in the superius, this time the two-part progression is inverted (third resolving to a unison) but in the expanded form of tenth to octave. The close of the motive in the contratenor is more direct, V-VI progression in G transposed Dorian (ex. 62 bs.

247-48, 249-50 and 251-52 respectively).

There is one more possible reason for the two-fold ph. 4, which is the span of the bassus. From the beginning of the *Confiteor* until the start of ph. 5 it is one continuous line of 30 bars (ex. 62 bs. 227-56). A pitch balance is present in this long passage which begins and ends on the same note d, the apex being d' used four times. Twice the d' appears in Ai as the first note of a falling fifth anticipating the fifths closing phs. 1 and 2 in the tenor, on each occasion the order of the voices is bassus, contratenor, tenor and superius. Both times the bassus delivers the first pitch of its dropping fifths in octave leap cadences (ex. 62 bs. 234-35 and 241-42). Aii has the final sounding of the d', the context similar to that of Ai.

The pitch d' appears only once during the delivery of B, as the highest note of the motive in the bassus. From this d' the voice then moves in a gentle curve through two fifths (d' to g and a to d) to the interrupted cadence closing the motive in the contratenor (ex. 62 bs. 246-52). Following on from this cadence is a leap of a fifth from c to g. The jump underscores the beginning of the quotation of ph. 5 on g in the bassus, which anticipates the statement in parallel sixths by the tenor and superius. After completing ph. 5 the bassus rests.

Any proposed change to the bassus to cater for a ph. 3 instead of the first ph. 4 disturbs the whole design this voice across the *Confiteor*. The bassus is far more disjunct during the presentations of Ai and Aii and that includes the falling fifths that bind it to the cantus firmus. Over the delivery of B there is only one relatively wide leap in the bassus, which is strategically placed so as to emphasise the start of ph. 5 in this voice. Combined with all the other considerations that required a two-fold ph. 4 there is one more, a symmetry in the design of the bassus itself over the whole *Confiteor*:

**Ai**  
disjunct (bs. 227-45)

**B**  
conjunct (bs. 246-56)

**Aii**  
disjunct (bs. 257-70).

in the cases of Tinctoris and Brumel) could influence the choice of couplings in which the first two phrases of B were delivered. Or as with de Orto the presence of the element of diminution could be the deciding factor. What is quite evident is that composers were very resourceful in the manner in which they presented the first two phrases of B.

## Chapter 6

### Relationship between Text and Music

Broadly speaking the abstract text of the Mass did not inspire composers to express either single words or groups of words in illustrative musical terms. There were two exceptions where some composers set the text ‘descendit de caelis’ to some form of descending figure and ‘et ascendit in caelum’ to a rising one. The other words which were given a special setting were from ‘Et incarnatus est’ to ‘et homo factus est’, usually in block harmonies. Here (not so much as a pictorial representation of the words in the music), but to provide an appropriate time space for the priest at the altar to genuflect, and at the same time to reflect on the awesome fact of Christ becoming man.<sup>1</sup>

What needs to be borne in mind is the general attitude of text underlay in the Mass repertoire. Obviously the placing of individual words varied from one source to another. In the melismatic movements of the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus the texting is not only random but also sparse. Even in the long-texted movements of the Gloria and Credo there is a similar inexact correspondence between words and music that does not exist in the text underlay of motets. Petrucci’s publications are prime examples; for in the Masses there is the merest hint as what words are to be placed over long spans of music in the Credo and Gloria, whereas the books of motets are more fully and precisely texted.<sup>2</sup>

Tinctoris was aware of all the evolving innovations in the music of both his own generation and the previous one. He perceived that a great stylistic change had occurred in the

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Father Noel Keane of St. Joseph’s Church Wealdstone for confirming this fact. This particular action is not observed in present-day celebrations of the Mass.

<sup>2</sup> Of course the Mass text would have been committed completely to memory by the fact of its daily repetition, whereas those of the motets would not have been familiar in the same way. But Petrucci’s publication of Masses raises the question as to how practical they were for performance purposes? Even with the maximum of rehearsal a choir with more than one person per part could not have been in consistent agreement as to the exact underlay with so little text indicated.

music of the English composer John Dunstable and his contemporaries, noting that:

At this time, consequently, the possibilities of our music have been so marvellously increased that there appears to be a new art, if I may call it, whose fount and origin is held to be among the English, of whom Dunstable stood forth as chief. Contemporary with him in France were Du Fay and Binchoys, to whom directly succeeded the moderns Ockeghem, Busnoys, Regis and Caron, who are the most excellent of all the composers I have ever heard.<sup>3</sup>

With such an open mind the theorist could not have been immune to the concepts of the humanist movement in Italy. The new attitude humanism had to the relationship between text and music did not escape him. His *Complex effectum musices* deals with the history, criticism, performance and the affects of music.<sup>4</sup> Tinctoris was at the court of Naples from the early 1470's until the early 1490's.<sup>5</sup> His residency coincided with that of the exiled Ascanio Sforza whose sojourn lasted from 1480-82.

Ascanio<sup>6</sup> was a great patron of music and among other things commissioned a comprehensive treatise on music from Florentius de Faxolis. The opening chapter lauds the power, utility, necessity and the effect of music, and in the dedication Florentius makes reference to the time he was in Naples with Ascanio.<sup>7</sup> In such a fertile atmosphere Tinctoris's creative imagination must have been stimulated by this fresh approach to the marrying of words and music. In addition he considered that of all the forms of composition it was the Mass that should contain a composer's loftiest musical conceptions.

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<sup>3</sup> *Proportionale musices*, translated Oliver Strunk in *Source Readings* (1998), 291-92, also in Perkins, *Renaissance*, 220-21. Atlas gives an alternative view, believing that this new beginning in music started even earlier with the *Ars Nova*. The author states that had Tinctoris been acquainted with the music of the 14th. Century he would have placed the origins of the new music back a hundred years. See Atlas, *Renaissance*, 705.

<sup>4</sup> The treatise was probably revised and incorporated into his *De inventione et usu musicae* (1481-83). See Ronald Woodley, 'Tinctoris's Italian Translations of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and a (Possible) Context', *FMH*, 8 (1988), 191-92, and Strohm, *European Music*, 594-95.

<sup>5</sup> Atlas, *Renaissance*, 233-34 and Woodley, *NG*, vol. 25, 497-501.

<sup>6</sup> For an appraisal of this cultured man's relationship with Josquin des Pres see Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', *JCP*, 31-75

<sup>7</sup> 'The Liber Musices of Florentius de Faxolis', trans. Albert Seay in *Musik und Geschichte, Music and History: Leo Schrade zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (1963), 71-95, also Lowinsky, *PJC*, 48-50.

It was noted earlier that Tinctoris ranked Regis as one of the leading composers of the period. How direct the influence of that admiration was on Tinctoris's own *L'homme armé* Mass is difficult to say, but like Regis he also adds extraneous texts to that of the Ordinary. Often the Mass is referred to as *Missa Cunctorum plasmator* after the words of the trope in *Kyrie I*. It is in *Kyrie I* and *II* that Tinctoris's concern for an exact underlay of text is first seen. Moreover, the desire for a precise declamation is the reason for his decision to deliver a two-fold ph. 3 in each case.

The contratenor carries a double ph. 3 in *Kyrie I*; there is no doubt as to correlation between text and music for the part is completely syllabic. The other three voices are also troped but the text is absorbed into the figural lines of the polyphony (ex. 63). In addition to the syllabic delivery of the words no other part rises above the contratenor during the twice-repeated ph. 3. The declamatory presentation of the words, together with the contratenor being the highest-sounding part of the musical fabric, suggests that Tinctoris desired the supplementary words to be clearly audible. In this context the two-fold ph. 3 with the closing falling fourth is a logical choice. Ph. 4 would disrupt the consistent declaration of one note per syllable, albeit only slightly. The final three notes of ph. 4 ( $g'$ ,  $e'$  and  $d'$ ) would require the first syllable of 'nator' to take two pitches,  $g'$  and  $e'$ . This two-note melisma prior to the close of the phrase weakens the percussive-like manner in which the rest of cantus firmus and text are delivered. But with a repeated ph. 3 the problem is averted. Ph. 3 has  $g'$ ,  $g'$  and  $d'$  for the three final notes, the penultimate  $g'$  does not necessarily have to be sounded (as would the  $e'$  of ph. 4). What Tinctoris does is to incorporate it into the first  $g'$  in a value of a dotted minim giving him exactly the right number of pitches to match the syllables of the text.

Nevertheless there is a possibility that Tinctoris makes a subtle reference to the ending of ph. 4, and in its correct position. The three florid voices are very closely bound to one another by a shared motive marked with the letter 'm' in ex. 63. It is present in variant forms in every bar. A



full sounding of it in the bassus overlaps with its conclusion in the superius. This is the point at which the contratenor announces the start of the first ph. 3. With modifications the motive is presented again by the superius and then passes into the tenor (ex. 63 bs. 15-18). A new version of it begins in the superius but this time with a prefix of a falling third  $g'$  to  $e'$  which is sounded against the final notes of the second ph. 3 in the contratenor (ex. 63 b. 18). Considered in isolation the two-note prefix has no real significance, although the precise location does in relation to the borrowed song and the cantus firmus. They occur over the end of ph. 3 - the exact place where the end of ph. 4 would have been had the contratenor quoted the phrase. Whether by accident or design Tinctoris states the two different endings of phs. 3 and 4 in counterpoint against one another.

The manipulation of a two-fold ph. 3 to achieve an exact underlay of the text is even more apparent in *Kyrie II* (ex. 64). A syllabic delivery of the words is given again and the second ph. 3 is the highest-sounding part of the polyphony that is except for the final pitch. Whereas the two third phrases were rhythmically exact in *Kyrie I* (excluding the penultimate and final  $g'$  naturals which were incorporated into one value), this is not the case in *Kyrie II*. There is not sufficient text to delivery the second ph. 3 together with all of the repeated notes of the borrowed song. Including the word 'Kyrie' the first ph. 3 can be delivered faithfully and with a syllabic presentation of complete text. On the other hand there are only two words beneath the second ph. 3 'sacrum spiranen'; in order to achieve a syllabic declaration five syllables of text have to be accommodated to the seven pitches of ph. 3. Tinctoris adopts the same procedure as in *Kyrie I*; that is creating one longer value from every repeated pitch. Only the first two notes of the second ph. 3 are given in their original form to take the two syllables of 'sacrum' (ex. 64 bs. 70-73). Once again because of the extra pitch  $e'$  in ph. 4 that cannot be absorbed into the previous  $g'$  it is not possible to employ the phrase for a declamatory delivery of the text in the cantus-firmus-carrying voice.

Tinctoris wrote in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* that, 'One should seek variety by using different note values and cadences by writing sometimes conjunctly, sometimes not, both with and without syncopation, canon, rests.'<sup>8</sup> In his *L'homme armé* Mass the composer certainly adhered to his own precepts. The setting of the first two phrases of B in the *Christe* clearly shows this striving after variety. So heavily embellished are the two phrases that it is impossible to say which one of the three secular versions of the song is actually used. The only feature that identifies the presence of the two phrases is the three-note tag that begins each phrase in their original settings (ex. 65 contratenor and superius). As we cannot here distinguish between ph. 3 or 4 because their distinctive endings are disguised, they will instead be referred to as the first and second phrases of B. In the *Christe* the source material is not stated in one voice as in the two *Kyries*, but migrates from contratenor (first phrase of B) to superius (second phrase of B) and finally to the bassus with ph. 5 (ex. 65 bs. 36-41, 42-47 and 46-50 respectively). The whole of B consists of duos in which each one of the three individual phrases is placed.

Yet this imaginative extravagance appears to be tempered by a tight cohesion between the three cantus-firmus phrases. Contratenor and superius are exact, except for the small detail of the shorter duration of the final note in the latter voice. Ph. 5 in the bassus is not elaborated, and a comparison of it with the lines of the contratenor and superius reveal similarities. After the initial three-note tag in the upper two voices, the melodic lines rise step-wise by a third to  $\underline{a}$ , and then descend scale-wise to  $\underline{d}$  (ex. 65 bs. 36-39 and 42-45); the same ambitus as ph. 5 (ex. 65 bs. 46-50). Of course the possibility exists that the relationship is accidental, a by-product of the step-wise elaboration applied to the opening two phrases of B. On the other hand it is not entirely out of the realms of possibility that Tinctoris gave unity to the three phrases of B by deriving the embellishments of the first two phrases from the material of the third.

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<sup>8</sup> *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. Albert Seay.

Interestingly enough within this delivery of B, where migration is just one of the manipulations to which the *cantus prius factus* is subjected, the tenor (as traditional bearer of the cantus firmus) does not quote any part of the secular song. Moreover, even with the diverse treatments Tinctoris applies to B he never obscures the closes to its three phrases - all are marked clearly in VII6-I D Dorian cadences. Added to which is the cogent design in which the initial two phrases of B are placed across the three divisions of the Kyrie. A broad ternary pattern gives cohesion to the diverse deliveries of the three portions of text with which the two phrases are underlaid:

**Kyrie I**  
syllabic

**Christe**  
melismatic

**Kyrie II**  
syllabic.

Only the text of the Ordinary is carried in the Gloria, and again a double ph. 3 is stated. As far as the cantus-firmus-bearing voices are concerned it is clear that again an exact declamation of the text is desired (ex. 66). The initial ph. 3 is first given by the superius to the words 'Qui tollis'. The phrase has seven notes whereas the text has three syllables. So changes needed to be made to accommodate the source material. Tinctoris ensures an exact text underlay by two means. To begin with he resorts to a device used previously, by omitting all the repeated notes from the *res facta* and then presenting the first three notes of the phrase in longs and the final d' as a breve. To make sure of the precise placement of the three syllables beneath the four notes the second and third notes are written in ligature. In theory (and Tinctoris was first and foremost the leading theorist of his day) a ligature is meant to take one syllable only. Therefore the text can be underlaid in only one way.

If, on face value, this appears an empirical evaluation of the situation, then the setting of the second ph. 3 in the contratenor at 'peccata mundi' brings additional evidence to support the hypothesis. There is the same problem of too many notes of the source material available for a

syllabic delivery of the text - seven pitches for five syllables. To make good the shortfall Tinctoris again creates one longer value from some of the repeated pitches (ex. 66 bs. 69-75). The rhythmic changes between the first and second quotations of ph. 3 are far too great just to be accidental or for the sake of variety. It is the form that the changes take in relation to the syllables of the text that clearly indicates the composer's concern for distinct word delivery. Moreover, each time ph. 3 is sounded it is always in the highest voice, further ensuring a clear delivery of both text and music.

Concern for correct declamation and for articulating the meaning of the words through music is seen at the close of the *Qui tollis*. B covers the text from 'Quoniam tu solus' to 'Jesu Christe' and is expanded with a three-fold delivery of ph. 3 (ex. 67 bs. 119-35). Each of the three acclamations of 'Thou alone art Holy...art the Lord...art the most High' is set to a ph. 3. However, each repetition of ph. 3 is delivered by a different voice to express the words 'Holy', 'Lord' and 'most High' in musical terms. 'Holiness' in the context it is used in the Gloria has the overtones of 'God on High', and the feeling of 'height' is mirrored in the musical setting in three ways. Firstly by the tessitura of three-part polyphony, where the tenor as the lowest voice briefly goes below c' to an a and b - but the values in which the pitches are given are not long enough to influence the overall high range of the part. Secondly the actual text 'Quoniam tu solus Sanctus' is declared syllabically, there being no doubt at all as to which note of the music corresponds to which syllable of the text. Finally, with the contratenor declaiming the first four g' naturals of ph. 3 at the top of the polyphony, descending below the superius only on the word 'Sanctus', the feeling of 'height', implicit in the context in which 'Holiness' is used, is vividly portrayed in musical terms.

The second ph. 3 is placed in the darker sound of the bassus to express the omnipotence and masculinity of the 'Lord' (ex. 67 bs 125-29). Having been silent for five bars the entry of the bassus with the second ph. 3 is greatly enhanced and consequently so to is the delivery of the

word 'Dominus'. Again the setting of the text is completely syllabic but it is not an exact duplication of the first ph. 3, which had to be adjusted to incorporate the opening word of the text 'Quoniam'. The rhythmic pattern in which ph. 3 is given by the bassus is a more faithful reading of the original song. In both quotations only ph. 3 can deliver a declamatory setting of the words, and with only one change to the pitches of the original melody. The penultimate g' in both instances is fused with the previous g' into one value. Once again ph. 4 with the penultimate pitch e' cannot provide a delivery of one syllable per note because the e' cannot be assimilated either into a previous or following pitch to create one longer duration.

Tinctoris places the third ph. 3 in the superius (again set syllabically) with the final salutation 'tu solus Altissimus' ('Thou art the most High', ex. 67 bs. 131-35). Again there is a perfect correlation between syllables and notes. A retrospective glance at the beginning of the passage shows the musical reason for why the contratenor presented the first ph. 3. Also it makes clear as to why it was placed as the upper voice of the musical fabric beginning with the text 'tu solus Sanctus', together with reasons for considering that 'height' was implicit in the word 'Holy' within the given context. Placing the first ph. 3 in the contratenor gave to the composer a still higher sound space in which to express the ultimate feeling of 'altitude' in the word 'Altissimus' ('most High'); and this is taking into account that the superius also quotes its ph. 3 on the same pitch of g' as did the contratenor. But there are two things that differentiate ph. 3 in the contratenor from the one in the superius, giving to the latter quotation a feeling of being delivered at a higher pitch. In contrast to the contratenor's delivery of ph. 3, the declaration in the superius sounds every note at the top of the polyphony. What also needs to be taken into account is the difference in the sound quality of ph. 3 on g' in the contratenor and its quotation on the same pitch in the superius - that alone gives a distinctive colouring to the final ph. 3.

Of the three third phrases that cover the whole passage, the last one in the superius might easily have been ph. 4, giving a reading of ph. 3 followed by ph. 4, the proposed sequence of the

two phrases. The seven syllables of text match the number of pitches in the original melody. An  $\underline{e}$  as the second-to-last note in the superius accommodates the text just as well as the existing repeated  $\underline{g}$ . However ph. 4 would require adjustments to the tenor and contratenor (ex. 67 b. 135). But even then this is not really feasible because beneath the third-from-last -pitch of ph. 3 in the superius two musical events take place. First the bassus closes in a VII6-1C Ionian cadence, and over the second harmony of the cadence the tenor begins a statement of ph. 5 on  $\underline{g}$ , a fifth above the cadential  $\underline{c}$  in the bassus.

Ph. 5 is the only phrase of B to be given in prolonged values and also with very mild decoration. Across the extended first two notes of the phrase the word 'Jesu' is placed and 'Christe' over the final part where there is one note of decoration (ex. 67 bs. 134-41). For three bars the harmonic movement slows down for the delivery of the beginning of ph. 5, one sonority per bar and with a corresponding slight retardation in the rhythmic movement - in minims (ex. 67 bs. 134-36). In the time of Tinctoris at this point in the celebration of the Mass the priest would have genuflected. The slowing down of the rate of change in the sonorities in conjunction with that in the rhythmic movement (slightly holding in check the forward motion of the polyphony), possibly might reflect the action of the priest on the altar.<sup>9</sup> Placing ph. 4 in the superius with  $\underline{e}$  as the penultimate note would disturb this important function in the existing harmonic equilibrium, requiring two different harmonies in b. 135. Additionally, the three acclamations gain extra rhetorical significance, and unity, by being set to the same phrase and on the same pitch G.

To appreciate the manner in which the two phrases of B are set in the *Et resurrexit* they have to be considered within the context of the treatment of the whole song. This is the place where the cantus firmus is transposed down a fourth to  $\underline{d}$ ; elsewhere in the Credo (*Patrem, Et*

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<sup>9</sup> My thanks to my supervisor Dr. John Aplin for initially raising this point, and consequently to Father Peter Preston of the Salvatorian Order in Wealdstone for confirming the fact.

*incarnatus est* and *Confiteor*) the source material remains in G transposed Dorian, the mode of the rest of the Mass. On d the bassus states Ai beginning with the text from 'Et surrexit' to 'secundum Scripturas'. With the words 'et ascendit in caelum' the superius quotes the first ph. 4, a fourteenth above the bassus on c'. The contratenor then presents the second ph. 4 and ph. 5, both on g', with the words 'sedet ad dexteram Patris'. Aii is then declared on the same pitch as Ai but not in the same voice; it is placed in the tenor with the words 'Et iterum venturus est'. Over this passage of 47 bars the source material undergoes a kaleidoscopic treatment. Every voice is involved in the presentation - bassus Ai, tenor Aii, superius and contratenor B. There are three changes of pitch with only the two outer portions of the secular song on d. B has two changes of pitch coinciding with the migration of the cantus firmus.

It is not too naive to claim that the parameters of pitch variation and tessitura are used to articulate the three portions of the text. The initial delivery on d in the bassus portrays the depth of the grave. Not only is that particular portion of text given to the lowest voice of the polyphony, it is also the exact point where the source material is transposed downward for the first and only time in the complete Mass (ex. 68 bs. 101-118). Then the superius with the first ph. 4 on c' depicts the ascent into heaven. In a sense it is difficult to give an unequivocal decision as to which phrase is employed (ph. 3 or 4) because the end of the word 'caelum' is clothed in a short melisma giving a halo effect. There is a fall of a third to the first g in the superius line, which is the final note of phs. 3 and 4. But it occurs between the third-to-last and second-to-last notes - not the penultimate and final ones as in ph. 4. This falling third (b' to g') is then repeated but filled in, creating the embellishment that ends the phrase. The high tessitura of the cantus firmus in the superius is paralleled by the contratenor's line. It complements the setting of the word 'ascendit' with a melodic line that gradually rises in a florid manner from g to g' closing in unison with the superius. In this three-part texture the slower moving bassus is a harmonic support to the upper voices (ex. 68 bs. 125-30).

By contrast the contratenor then brings more stability to the musical fabric with the words 'sedet ad dexteram Patris'. The voice is the highest-sounding one in the *a3* texture and now the two lower parts are not so rhythmically energetic. Text underlay is exact with one syllable per note and the presentation supports the feeling of being 'seated' (ex. 68 bs. 131-35). After a rest of one minim the contratenor then quotes ph. 5. This is the only time when a phrase is set entirely in the four-part texture, and also the only occasion when a phrase is underlaid with a single word. That the word is 'Patris' is significant, the right hand of the Father being the ultimate destination of the risen Christ. Apart from it being the only phrase to set one word melodically, and without the addition of any extra notes, it is also at the top of the polyphony with its highest pitch a an octave above the next lowest-sounding voice, the superius (ex. 68 bs. 136-40). Such detail in the setting of phs. 4 and 5 can only have been inspired by the text.

The transposition of Aii back to d mirrors the accompanying text 'Et iterum venturus', the coming again of Christ. It appears that Tinctoris is making a subtle point in his setting that is implicit in the text. On His Second Coming Christ does not descend to the same place from which He arose, namely the grave. That point was portrayed with a bassus delivery of the source material, in the lowest voice of the *a3* bassus-tenor-contratenor ensemble. Aii also opens with a three-part texture mirroring the start of Ai, but this time consisting of the three highest voices of the four-part polyphony, a tenor-contratenor-superius trio. Therefore, if the placement of the cantus firmus does indeed reflect the text 'Et iterum venturus' although it is sounded again by the lowest voice of the three-part polyphony there is a very nice difference. In Aii it is now placed in the voice above the bassus (which previously had delivered Ai with the text 'et resurrexit'), namely in the tenor with the words 'He shall come again' (ex. 68 bs. 142-47).

This is the only time in the Mass when the original pitch-sequences of the individual phrases of the *l'homme armé* tune are not preserved. That it should be broken four times in one Mass section is extraordinary to say the least. But when regarded in terms of a desire to translate



the sense of the words into musical terms there is logic behind the great variety of treatments to which the cantus firmus is subjected. The final bars of the *Et resurrexit* do not make reference to the transposed D Dorian source material. This gives to Tinctoris a freedom that enables him to end this Mass section in the same mode as all the others - G transposed Dorian.

A regular pattern has emerged consistently across the majority of *L'homme armé* Masses so far discussed, that of sounding a two-fold ph. 4 when the cantus firmus was delivered at the top of the musical fabric. Any departure from this constant approach was always accompanied by valid musical reasons. So far in the case of Tinctoris we have seen that a double ph. 3 was employed not only for a declamatory settings of his texts, but also to interpret the sense of the words in musical terms. In his *Sanctus* the third phrase is used with remarkable ingenuity to establish a relationship between text and music.

A trope from the *Te Deum* is carried by the tenor with extra words supplied by Tinctoris.

The bracketed words are those of the composer:

Cherubim et seraphim [ceterique Spiritus Angelici] incessabili voce

proclamant [Deo in altissimus] Sanctus: Sanctus: Sanctus.

Cherubim and seraphim [otherwise the angel spirits] continually do cry

[to God in the Highest] Holy, Holy, Holy.<sup>10</sup>

The secular song has the trope and text of the Ordinary distributed across it in such a manner that by the end of the *Sanctus* the trope and Mass text are merged with utter appropriateness. The design is as follows:

<b>Ai</b>	Cherubim and seraphim otherwise the angel spirits
<b>B</b>	God in the Highest
<b>C.F. free</b>	continually do cry
<b>Aii</b>	Holy, Holy, Holy.

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<sup>10</sup> GR, 838 and CS 35.

A three-fold ph. 3 is given by three different voices. But before pursuing that path the notation of the *Sanctus* needs consideration. It is one of the most influential aspects in the setting of the borrowed melody by which the text and music complement one another in quite an extraordinary way. Throughout the *Sanctus* the tenor is given in *prolatio perfecta* (C) against *tempus perfectum* of the other voices. With a syllabic setting of the words 'Deo in altissimus' the tenor presents the first ph. 3 (ex. 69 bs. 8-9). The prolation notation with the second ph. 3 is then transferred to the superius an octave higher on g', underlaid with one word 'Sanctus'. Although C in the superius against O in the contratenor and bassus (the tenor is silent) gives augmentation to the highest voice in fact there is a feeling of double augmentation. All the repeated notes are omitted and instead each single pitch of ph. 3 is given in the value of a dotted minim (ex. 69 bs. 9-10). Immediately after completing ph. 3 the superius reverts to *tempus perfectum* and states a decorated ph. 5 in diminution as a counterpoint to the third ph. 3. Announced by the contratenor the third ph. 3 is a duplicate of the second one in every detail. A five-note suffix having the features of ph. 5 follows and then the mensural sign changes back to O (ex. 69 bs. 11-14).

The setting of the word 'Sanctus' combined with the extra text is very evocative. First comes the tenor's presentation of the first ph. 3 on g in the original dance-like rhythms of the borrowed tune to the words 'God in the Highest'. It sounds as though the cry of joy comes from the terrestrial level. That cry is immediately answered by the delivery of ph. 3 in the superius and contratenor an octave above on g' thereby giving the feeling of 'height'. Placing the twice-stated word 'Sanctus' at the top of the sparse musical texture, in values that hint of double augmentation and an octave above the tenor, gives to deliveries of ph. 3 in the superius and contratenor a sense of the celestial. Fanciful as it may sound it appears that the 'cherubim and seraphim' are replying to the delight of the people on earth with their paean of praise, 'God in the Highest'. The 'angel spirits' then elevate their song onto a higher and more spiritual level.

Tinctoris deliberately manipulated the pitch difference of an octave between Ai and Aii

and the central part B to accomplish this affect. By keeping the quotation of Ai plus the first ph. 3 placed in the tenor all at the same pitch g, and then placing the second and third quotations of ph. 3 followed ph. 5 an octave higher in the superius and contratenor, he was able to create a feeling of 'height', necessary to reflect the meaning of the two texts in the *Sanctus*. The representation of the words in musical terms is responsible for the thrice-repeated ph. 3. A relationship is established between the terrestrials and celestials by them all singing their respective texts to the same phrase and on the same pitch G, but at different octaves.

The *Sanctus* with the extra text can be considered as an example of *musica caelestis* (heavenly music).<sup>11</sup> In its origins the three-fold 'Holy' is derived from an exclamation of the seraphim. In the Book of Isaiah there is a description of '...the Lord sitting upon a throne' and above it were 'the seraphims...and one cried unto the other and said holy, holy, holy'.<sup>12</sup> It is quite significant that Tinctoris gives the word 'Sanctus' under the sign C only twice - to the superius and contratenor at the top of the musical fabric. This in itself might possibly be a musical interpretation implicit in the text of there being only two seraphim. When all the individual treatments to which the cantus firmus was subjected in *Sanctus* are considered together, the case is strong for believing that Tinctoris manipulated both his source material and the extra texts (in conjunction with that of Mass Ordinary) to establish a unity between words and music.

Although Josquin used the Mellon form of the secular song in his *Missa L'homme arme sexti toni*, the manner in which he utilised B is pertinent to this chapter. It is relevant in two respects, firstly in relation to the manner of delivery of the rest of the source material in his own Mass, and secondly in relation to the Tinctoris Mass because of the use of B to deliver an almost declamatory setting of the words. Josquin's composition has been described as 'a fantasia on the

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<sup>11</sup> See Willem Elders, 'Symbolism in the Sacred Music of Josquin', *PJC*, 558-60.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from the King James's version of the Bible.

theme of the armed man'.<sup>13</sup> The melody is treated very liberally with heavy elaboration, rhythmic changes and (like Tinctoris) the consistent use of migration. Yet there is one place in the Mass where the composer resorts to a more antiquated technique for the delivery of the source material, namely the *Et resurrexit*, where B is presented in the manner reminiscent of an isorhythmic structure. In relation to the rest of the Mass the format of the notation is very striking, visually articulating the musical delivery of the three phrases. Suddenly the elaborated line of the superius ceases replaced by one statement of B written mainly in breves and semibreves (ph. 5 in semibreves and minims). Each single phrase is underlaid with four portions of text, which combined with the repeat sign at the end of the once-notated B indicates a four-fold repetition (ex. 70 [b] is the text given in Chigi).<sup>14</sup> The two-fold ph. 4 is quoted without decoration, but the middle part of ph. 5 is delicately embellished. In total there are twelve phrases (the three phrases comprising B repeated four times) although not every phrase is completely syllabic, in relation to the other voices the trend is towards a declamatory style in the superius. Occasionally more than one note covers a single syllable (ex. 70 [a]).

It was seen that the central part of the Credo was emphasised with special manipulations of either the first two phrases of B, or B complete. What is interesting in Josquin's *Et resurrexit* is that by reverting to an early method of cantus-firmus delivery the source material is not absorbed into a florid line that obscures its identity. Yet this is a Mass where continual elaboration is one of the main ways of treating the cantus firmus. There were other more dramatic and dazzling ways in which the original melody could have been presented in order to emphasise the middle portion of the Credo, but Josquin chose one in which the words would

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<sup>13</sup> Blackburn, *JC*, 63.

<sup>14</sup> CS 41 is texted thus:

**Ph. 4**  
Tertia Dei  
cum gloria  
et in Spiritum  
qui cum Patre

**Ph. 4**  
et ascendit in caelum  
vivos et mortuos  
et vivificantem  
et conglorificatur

**Ph. 5**  
sedet ad dexteram Patris  
cujus regni non erit finis  
qui ex Patre Filioque procedit  
qui locutus est.

have a clear delivery. Not only by being placed in the highest voice of the four-part texture, but also with four identical announcements of B in its entirety, the resulting twelve phrases give an almost declamatory setting of the words at the very core of the Christian Faith.

There is a very clear plan behind the delivery of the thirteen canons in *AJ2*. Eight are at the interval of the twelfth below, delivered by the superius and bassus - *Kyrie I*, *Christe*, *Kyrie II*, *Et in terra*, and *Patrem* (on  $g'$  and  $c$ ), *Qui tollis* and *Cum Sancto* (on  $d''$  and  $g$ ), and *Quoniam tu solus* (on  $b'$  and  $e$ ). Three are at the interval of the fifth below that is a contracted twelfth - *Sanctus* (contratenor and bassus on  $g$  and  $c$ ), *Osanna* (tenor and bassus on  $d'$  and  $g$ ) and *Agnus III* (superius and contratenor on  $g'$  and  $c'$ ). The *Et resurrexit* is at the fifth above and *Agnus I* at the fourth above.

It was shown that apart from the *Et resurrexit*, *Agnus I* of *AJ2* is the only other section of the Mass to deliver the canon at the interval above. Moreover, it is also the only time in the complete composition when the interval of the fourth is employed for the canonic structure and placed in the two highest voices of a five-part texture. The reason for the change to the interval of imitation is one of tessitura. Quite clearly the canon was intended to be like the other three in the last two movements of the Mass, at the fifth below. But by placing the strict imitative structure in the two highest voices created a problem of compass for the superius. Once only in the course of the whole Mass does that voice ever sound the highest note of the gamut  $e''$  (*Agnus II* b. 65). Consistently  $d''$  is the highest note. From the *Sanctus* to *Agnus III* there is a mirror image of the intervals of imitation in the final four canons:

**Sanctus**  
 $g$  and  $c$

**Osanna**  
 $d'$  and  $g$

**Agnus I**  
 $d$  and  $g'$

**Agnus III**  
 $g'$  and  $c'$

On account of the G Mixolydian mode of the Mass one of the canonic voices in *Agnus I* had to be on **G**, and to preserve the pitch relationship between the final four canons the other voice had to be on **D**.

The two final canons are placed in the highest two parts of the five-voiced musical fabric. Had the interval of the canon at the fifth below been kept in *Agnus I* and placed in the two highest voices - as in *Agnus III* - the superius would be placed on  $\underline{d}''$ . This would take the part well beyond the limits of the Guidonian Hand to  $g''$  and  $a''$ , and also beyond the upper limits of its own tessitura in the rest of the Mass. In order to preserve this arch design in the pitches of the canons (whilst also keeping the superius within its own consistent range) the anonymous composer makes a compromise. He retains the pitch levels essential to the scheme of the last four canons, **G** and **D**, but inverts the interval from the fifth below to the fourth above. By this means he retains the design in his last four canons and the superius does not exceed its established range.

The section of the Credo from 'Et resurrexit' to the end of the movement thereby becomes the focal point of the Mass. It contains the only canon in the entire composition that is given at the interval above without any of the compromises needed in *Agnus I*. The canon is at the twelfth, with bassus on  $g$  and superius on  $\underline{d}''$ , contratenor carrying the source material thus:

- B** (ph. 3 followed by ph. 4) with the text 'Et resurrexit' to 'vivos et mortuos'
- Aii** text 'cujus regni' to 'vivificantem'
- B** (with a double ph. 4) texted with 'Qui ex Patre' to 'Ecclesiam'
- Aii** text beginning with 'Confiteor'.

There is perhaps a pictorial reference here with a link between the canon at the interval



above and Christ rising from the tomb.<sup>15</sup>

This chapter began by noting the general absence of pictorial representation of the text of the Mass Ordinary in musical terms, other than the standard conventions for setting the words 'ascendit' and 'descendit' in madrigalian-like manner. Of all the composers who employed the *l'homme armé* melody Tinctoris consistently found ways of manipulating the secular song to portray the text in musical terms. This is particularly true of the middle section of the *res facta*, and especially its opening two phrases.

<sup>15</sup> If the model for the Mass had been Mellon where the opening two phrases of B close via a step (indicated by 2x4), the setting of the two phrases in the *Christe* (Casatense denoted by 3&4) does not make sense. Within the existing polyphonic fabric ph. 4 can replace ph. 3. Example A shows a substituted ph. 4 for ph. 3 in the contratenor by a filled-in stemless note; and example B is extant reading for the existing ph. 4.

It would seem that the anonymous composer states his chosen version of the *l'homme armé* song clearly at the very beginning of the Mass. This then makes the same sequence of the two phrases in the *Et resurrexit* even more intriguing. With no drastic consequences to the overall polyphonic texture the canonic voices can be adjusted to replace ph. 3 with a ph. 4, (see the example below the circled notes indicating the reconstructed canonic voices and a replaced ph. 4). The cantus-firmus carrying Mass sections would then be in accord by all quoting the Mellon version of the song. That the composer elected not state a repeated ph. 4 at the beginning of the *Et resurrexit* is then even more significant. For by quoting the sequence of ph. 3 followed by ph. 4 (for the second and last time in the Mass) and combined with the upward direction of imitation, thereby the central part of the Credo is emphasised two-fold.

## Chapter 7

### Cadences and Triadic Sonorities

The three different closes of the two opening phrases of B have been viewed in their long-ranged contexts. Next to be considered are the very restricted locations where those variant closes are employed, namely cadential contexts and instances where vertical sonorities containing thirds are desired.

#### Cadences

In the Credo of his *L'homme armé* Mass de Orto transposes the source material onto three different pitches. The mode of the Mass is G Mixolydian and he chooses the unusual interval of a seventh below (A) on which to present the complete song by the bassus in the *Patrem*. Ai is delivered twice in the *Et incarnatus est*, once on d and once on g, also in the bassus.<sup>1</sup> The entire melody again is placed in the bassus on A in the *Crucifixus*, but with an anticipatory statement of Ai in the contratenor on g. From the *Et in Spiritum* to the final 'Amen' of the Credo the G Mixolydian mode of the Mass is firmly re-established with the contratenor's delivery of the complete *re facta* on g.

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<sup>1</sup> The two separate pitches on which Ai is presented are the initial two notes of the secular song when placed in D Dorian. Taking either the whole or parts of the source material and repeating it on pitches reflecting the opening of Ai is a device favoured by de Orto. In the *Sanctus* ph. 1 (minus the closing falling fifth) is presented in the tenor five times, under five separate mensural signs in an almost exact mirror image pattern with *tempus perfectum* as the midpoint  $\Theta$ ,  $\mathcal{C}$ ,  $\mathcal{O}$ ,  $\mathcal{C}$ ,  $\Theta$  - the free voices carry  $\mathcal{O}$ . Each of the five mensural signs states the source material on the pitches of g, c, b, a and g. These are none other than the opening notes of ph. 1 in G Mixolydian. *Agnus* I announces Ai in the bassus three times on G, c and d under three mensural signs  $\mathcal{O}$ ,  $\mathcal{C}$ ,  $\mathcal{C}$  - the other voices are under the sign  $\mathcal{O}$ . The first two notes are the rising fourth that opens the secular melody again in G Mixolydian and the d is the highest note of Ai and Aii. *Agnus* III quotes Ai and B twice in the superius on g and c and under two mensural signs  $\mathcal{O}$  and  $\Theta$  against  $\mathcal{O}2$  of the free voices. Once more the interval of a fourth on which the two quotations are delivered forms the opening notes of the borrowed material in G Mixolydian. James Haar in 'Palestrina as Historicist. The Two *L'Homme Armé* Masses', *JRMA* 12 (1996), 199-200, suggests that the de Orto *Sanctus* could have been the inspiration for the *Benedictus* in Palestrina's five-part G Mixolydian *L'homme armé* Mass. There the four-part *Benedictus* has the superius presenting ph. 1 (minus the falling fifth) three times but all on the same pitch g. Each successive statement is given in progressively shorter values under three mensural signs  $\mathcal{C}$ ,  $\mathcal{C}$ ,  $\mathcal{C}$  - the other voices have  $\mathcal{C}$ .



A repeated ph. 3, on a, is underlaid with words beginning at 'et ex Patre' to 'lumen de lumine' (ex. 71 bs. 31-38). Rhythmic adjustments are made to the values of both third phrases allowing for a syllabic delivery of the text. Although the *cantus prius factus* is written in the bassus it is not always the lowest-sounding part, for the tenor frequently descends below the bassus to become the harmonic support to the four-part polyphony. Opening in a V-VI C Ionian progression the initial ph. 3 also closes with the same cadence but in G Mixolydian (ex. 71 bs. 33-34). The second cadence is interesting because the only part to fulfil the cadential conditions is the superius, which has the syncopated figure creating the discord with the bass of the harmony, d in the tenor. Instead of rising to e the tenor leaps to b; it is the bassus with the penultimate note a of ph. 3 that falls to the lowest note of chord VI, e. Regarding the siting of cadences de Orto treats the second ph. 3 quite differently. Only the beginning of the phrase is announced in a cadence, like the first ph. 3 in the second harmony of a V-VI C Ionian progression (ex. 71 bs. 35-36). Subsequent cadences are placed during and after the end of the phrase, first a VII<sup>6</sup>-I D Dorian progression (ex. 71 bs. 36-37) followed by a V-VI Aeolian cadence after the end of the phrase (ex. 71 bs. 38-39). Had de Orto employed ph. 4 (instead of a repeated ph. 3) then the cantus-firmus-carrying bassus would end with f falling to e placing the two notes in an E Phrygian conclusion. The extant reading does not emphasise the end of the phrase cadentially; there is an uninterrupted flow of polyphony from the D Dorian close to the interrupted A Aeolian cadence placed after the end of the phrase.

The second two-fold ph. 3 begins with the words 'Et iterum venturus' and the treatment of it is rather unusual; the first ph. 3 is quoted on a and the second on g (ex. 72). In this investigation of the *L'homme armé* Masses we have found no other instance where the opening two phrases of B (when stated successively) are given on two different pitches a tone apart, by the same voice. The initial ph. 3 concludes in an interrupted G Mixolydian progression, and like

the earlier interrupted cadence the tenor is the bass of the first harmony, but is silent in the second. It is the cantus-firmus-bearing bassus which provides the fundamental note of the E minor harmony, once more falling from a to e (ex. 72 bs. 121-22). But the real cadence where all the elements of the close are present is in C Ionian, the repeated ph. 3 beginning in the second harmony (ex. 72 bs. 123-24). At the close of the second ph. 3 (now on g) the bassus with final pitch d is the bass of the first harmony of the V-I G Mixolydian close, but is silent in the harmony of resolution, the tenor becoming the lowest part of the polyphony. Before the first cadential harmony of D major the two previous pitches of ph. 3 support a G major chord. Across the complete passage there is a regular pattern in the change of sonorities over each perfect breve, generally one across each tactus. Ph. 4 with the penultimate pitch of e would alter the consistent pattern at the end of the second ph. 3. Over the final three notes (covering two perfect breves) there would be a change of four different sonorities (ex. 72 bs. 126-27).

Concerning the change of pitch between the two quotations of ph. 3. In the *Crucifixus* A is given on three different tones, first by the contratenor on g (text 'Crucifixus'), then the superius on d (words 'et resurrexit') and finally the complete song is placed in the bassus beginning on A ('et ascendit'). The *Crucifixus* is a self-contained cantus-firmus-carrying section of the Credo, and so too is the final section immediately following the *Et in Spiritum*; G Mixolydian is the mode of the *Et in Spiritum* and also the Mass. With there being no intervening cantus-firmus-free section between the *Crucifixus* and *Et in Spiritum*, with the former section closing with the source material on A and the latter beginning with it on g, such a close juxtaposition of the two modes was clearly too abrupt for the composer. So an adjustment is made over the latter part of the *Crucifixus*, by stating the second ph. 3 and ph. 5 on g. By this means the G Mixolydian mode of the Mass is re-instated, preparing the ear for the start of the *Et in Spiritum*. But this does create a different pitch problem because the bassus then closes the

borrowed song on d. The note is wholly inappropriate as the lowest pitch in a final G Mixolydian close. Either the bassus could remain silent whilst the three upper parts closed the *Crucifixus* in G Mixolydian, then entering again on G as the lowest part of the final harmony, or it could sound with the other three parts having material free of the borrowed song. De Orto does neither, for he re-quotes ph. 5 (mildly elaborated) on c, which takes the bassus down to g, the final two notes of ph. 5 A and G becoming the bass of a VII6-I G Mixolydian cadence (ex. 72 bs. 134-39). The place where de Orto changes pitch is significant, for it is clear that he desired to give symmetry to the event. He repeats a formula used by Busnoys, Vaqueras and Tinctoris who also broke the secular melody between the first two phrases of B for reasons of balance (but in different contexts); this being the exact point where de Orto makes his change of pitch.

### **The Desire for Full Sonorities Influencing the Choice of Ph. 3 or 4**

The third and final appearance of the transposed cantus firmus in the Credo of the Ockeghem Mass begins with the words 'Et unam sanctum' (b. 102). Akin to the previous two statements of the vernacular song in this movement the opening of B delivers a two-fold ph. 3. Once only does the cantus firmus become the true bass of the polyphony, and even then it is unison with the tenor on c' (ex. 73 b. 126). Bearing in mind that the borrowed melody is in an internal voice the reason for the second ph. 3 appears to be for the sake of the sonority. Over the final two minims of b. 130 the tenor sustains the note c. The harmony is C major over both minims, the descending four notes in the superius giving an impetus to the forward movement of the music with (to extend the use of modern terminology) accented passing notes (ex. 73 b. 130).

Ph. 4 with a penultimate note a in this context gives an F major harmony with c as the fundamental note. The sonority is far too strong to place on the last semibreve-division of a perfect breve. With the previous harmony being C major the sustained c in the tenor functions as a brief pedal point supporting two different harmonies. What results is a slight hiatus in the flow

of the polyphony, quite the opposite effect to that which the existing C major harmony has with the clashes against the notes in the superius. Of course one other point needs to be considered, which is, that having delivered a two-fold ph. 3 in the earlier two statements of the original tune in the Credo, all that Ockeghem did was to sustain the same format for the complete movement.

Tinctoris tropes the *Osanna* of his Mass with a version of the two antiphons for Palm Sunday, *Pueri Hebraeorum*.<sup>2</sup> It is placed in the contratenor, which carries B with a two-fold ph. 4. As with the tropes in *Kyrie I* and *II* the added words in the *Osanna* are given a syllabic delivery (ex. 74). In examining this declamatory setting of the antiphon text it could have been accomplished with ph. 3 replacing the first ph. 4; thus the contratenor would have quoted the official version of the cantus firmus (ex. 74, b. 9, the stemless note gives a reading for ph. 3). Why then did Tinctoris elect to deliver ph. 4 instead of ph. 3? The answer lies in the regular pattern in the spacing of sonorities containing thirds. After an initial 'open' harmony<sup>3</sup>, from that point onwards the beginnings of the two semibreves of each imperfect breve include thirds in the vertical alignments. Ph. 3, delivered first with *g*' as the pre-final note, breaks this consistent pattern in the succession of sonorities. The resultant harmony at the beginning of b. 9 becomes an octave-plus-fifth chord. Ph. 4 (with *e*' as the penultimate note) allows for a harmony with a third in it.<sup>4</sup>

Basiron's reason for presenting a double ph. 4 in his *Patrem* is not just to allow for a sonority with a third, but also to preserve a regular harmonic rhythm over the complete passage. Ph. 3, with its repeated *g*', can be placed within the existing polyphonic context and still the harmony has a third in it (ex. 75 b. 52, the stemless note gives ph. 3). But this interrupts the

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<sup>2</sup> *GR*, 138-39 and 140.

<sup>3</sup> 'Open' and 'full' harmonies respectively mean sonorities consisting of an octave-plus-fifth and those containing thirds.

<sup>4</sup> The other 'open' harmony occurs at b. 13 in which the first note of the second ph. 4 is placed. This octave-plus-fifth chord complements the one in which the opening pitch of the initial ph 4 is placed in that it is the second harmony of a cadence.

consistent delivery of a change of harmony at the beginning of every perfect breve. With ph. 3 hypothetically replacing the extant ph. 4 the harmony at the end of b. 52 becomes the same as that at the beginning of b. 53. Again that one pitch  $\underline{e}$ ' of ph. 4 allows Basiron to maintain the design in his harmonic scheme, with a new sonority at the start of each perfect breve.

The two-fold ph. 4 in *Agnus III* of the Basiron composition similarly preserves a constant delivery of full harmonies. Unlike the *Patrem* it is not always at the beginning of each breve where the change occurs, but at some point within each perfect breve (ex. 76). During the five bars in which ph. 4 is presented, three times the third is supplied by the free voices (ex. 76 bs. 24, 27 and 28). The other two occasions it is furnished by the cantus firmus itself (ex. 76 bs. 25 and 26). Ph. 4 with the descent to the final  $\underline{d}$ ' via an  $\underline{e}$ ' again providing the third of the harmony in b. 26. Without a duplication of the polyphonic context the setting of the second ph. 4 is similar. But now only once is the cantus firmus solely responsible for supplying the third of the harmony, and in that particular case again it is the  $\underline{e}$ ' of ph. 4 (ex. 76 b. 31). The  $\underline{f}$ ' of the previous bar in the contratenor is doubled at the octave below by the tenor (ex. 76 b. 30).

Two factors account for the double ph. 4 in the *Qui tollis* of the de Orto Mass. Once more there is a preference for harmonies containing a third. At least one of the two divisions of each imperfect breve is a 'full' sonority (ex. 77).<sup>5</sup> Ph. 4 in the tenor with  $\underline{e}$ ' as the pre-final pitch supplies the third in the initial chord of b. 122. At first glance it appears ph. 3 would be possible with just the minimal adjustment to the musical context. Exchanging the notes of the contratenor and tenor keeps a harmony with a third and therefore presents the two phrases of B in the presumed original order. But on the deficit side would be a loss of clarity within the polyphonic texture. The crossing of the two parts, with  $\underline{e}$ ' rising to  $\underline{f}$ ' in the contratenor and  $\underline{g}$ ' falling to  $\underline{d}$ ' in

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<sup>5</sup> B. 118 appears to contradict this statement, but the first pitch of the cantus firmus is the second harmony of a V-I G Mixolydian cadence and these harmonies can be either 'open' or 'full'. Nevertheless the  $\underline{g}$ ' in the superius, although a brief unessential note, does give the third of an E minor harmony.

the tenor is inelegant and confused (ex. 77 b. 122, the stemless notes are the exchanged pitches in the two voices). Forfeited with a replaced ph. 3 is the limpidity at the end of the phrase, the crossing of the two parts obscures the line of the cantus firmus. The two-fold ph. 4 keeps the movement of the two melodic lines absolutely clear.

A similar pattern to those given above is present in the *Qui tollis* and *Crucifixus* of the Brumel *Missa L'homme armé*. Ph. 4 is stated twice in the *Qui tollis*. Harmonies incorporating thirds are much in evidence, either with a change of sonority at the beginning of every breve, or if the same harmony is repeated across two adjacent breves, then the second chord differs in some way or other. This is the function of the  $\underline{e}$ ' in ph. 4, to provide that change over two successive breves. From the midpoint until the end of the first ph. 4 there is a change in the musical fabric. Each one of the free voices (at the distance of two bars) quotes an embellished ph. 4, superius on  $\underline{d}$ '', contratenor on  $\underline{c}$ ', bassus on g and then finally tenor on g' (ex. 78 bs. 133, 135, 137 and 141 respectively). Beneath second and third pitches of ph. 4 in the superius and the first pitch of ph. 4 in the contratenor the constant disposition of 'full' sonorities is interrupted. Two 'open' harmonies on g and  $\underline{c}$  support the notes of the imitative altered ph. 4 in the superius and contratenor (ex. 78 bs. 134-35). The harmony following the second 'open' sonority is also on  $\underline{c}$ , the first ph. 4 in the tenor with  $\underline{e}$ ' gives that all-important change to the second harmony on  $\underline{c}$  preserving the plan of a different vertical alignment in the parts at the start of every tactus. Ph. 3 with the repeated g' (replacing ph. 4) gives another 'open' harmony at the beginning of the next breve (ex. 78 bs. 134-36, the stemless note gives ph. 3). The two 'open' chords (ex. 78 bs. 134-35) that break the sequence of harmonic delivery may have a structural function, in that they mark the precise place where the imitation of the decorated ph. 4 commences in all four voices.

Yet again the double ph. 4 in the *Crucifixus* is chosen for the same harmonic results. The

mensuration is *tempus imperfectum* in all voices, but the first ph. 4 in the tenor is notated in such a fashion as to suggest *modus perfectus*, a long followed by a breve.<sup>6</sup> This preserves the ternary rhythm of the secular song, but in extended durations. At least one part (if not the complete ‘perfection’) in the tenor has a third in the sonority. Once more it is the *e* of ph. 4 that provides the third for the ‘full’ harmony at the end of the penultimate ‘perfect long’ (ex. 79 b. 162). The ‘open’ chord in which the first note of ph. 4 is placed, again is in the second harmony of a C Ionian cadence, the sonority then being repeated for the second *g* (ex. 79 bs. 153-55). Generally speaking in cadential progressions where all the conventional elements of a close are present the second harmony is an octave-plus-fifth. The exceptions are V-VI progressions, and then the second harmony always contains a third.

In reviewing the findings on the manipulation of the two opening phrases of B in those Masses where the three variant endings are employed, what emerges are consistent patterns in their use. So constant are these patterns that any deviations from them can usually be justified. Long-ranged structural edifices are constructed on the different closes of phs. 3 and 4. There is a preference for placing a two-fold ph. 4 (with its more melodic fall to its final note) when quoted in the highest sounding part. Generally (but not always) a double ph. 4 is found to be more successful in an imitative context. When ‘full’ sonorities were required ph. 4 stated twice supplied the third of the harmony. Tinctoris freely uses a two-fold ph. 3 to accomplish a syllabic delivery of his added texts to that of the Mass Ordinary, and also for a pictorial representation of the words.

Important also is the technique of the superimposition of different phrases of the original song against one another. It is already present (albeit in an incipient form) in the Mellon and Casanatense settings, with the simultaneous sounding of ph. 3 beneath ph. 1. In the Mass

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<sup>6</sup> See Apel, *Notation*, 294.

complex the device is employed on a more expansive level, especially with the presentations of phs. 3 and 4. The technique reaches its apotheosis when the whole of B becomes a counterpoint to either Ai or Aii. There are places in some Masses where it is impossible to say which of the two phrases are quoted, or to offer reasons for their declaration even when they can be identified. It has been seen that the relevant phrases in the *Christe* of the Tinctoris composition are so heavily embellished that original outlines are totally obscured. The only thing indicating the two phrases are present is the characteristic repeated-note formula that starts both phrases in the *Christe*. As to whether it is ph. 3 or ph. 4 it is not possible to tell.

De Orto in his *Agnus III* adds decoration to the conclusions of what might be third or fourth phrases. In this case one can only hazard a guess based on the general pattern observed in the majority of the Masses investigated. That is because both phrases are placed in the highest sounding part (namely the superius) therefore, according to the blueprint found in the other Masses, both could well be a decorated ph. 4. There is the one occasion located at the centre of the Credo in the Basiron Mass, not in evidence in any other Mass in the complete tradition, where the original order of the two phrases is reversed, ph. 4 followed by ph. 3.

Ockeghem's Mass presents problems in two places concerning the announcement of phs. 3 and 4, during the *Qui tollis* (b. 104) and the *Sanctus* (b. 14). The two extant sources for the Mass CS 35 and Chigi 234 give different readings. Chigi has a two-fold ph. 3 in the *Qui tollis*, with the fall from g' to g' to the final notes. CS 35 has an e' at this point, presenting a sequence of ph. 3 followed by ph. 4.<sup>7</sup> What CS 35 has over Chigi is that it maintains a quite constant delivery of harmonies with a third. The *Sanctus* based on Chigi announces ph. 3 succeeded by ph. 4, CS 35 gives a double ph. 4. By replacing the e' in ph. 4 for the repeated g' of ph. 3 in Chigi the scribe of CS 35 once again obtains a 'full' harmony. What is of interest here is that the

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<sup>7</sup> See Benthem, *Masses and Mass Sections*, X. I wish to thank Professor Benthem for the generous gift of his edition of the Ockeghem Mass in response to a question of mine.



different readings of the two opening phrases of B in the two manuscripts show that the variant closes to phs. 3 and 4 must have been known to both scribes and musicians.

These two phrases with their different closes (which in Casanatense we feel came about to preserve pure part writing), however inconsequential their origins may have been, they did become a spur to the creative imagination of composers writing in the *L'homme armé* Mass tradition. What originally was a minor variant between the secular settings assumed proportions so large in the Mass complex that they influenced the whole design and ethos of individual Masses. By such transformations the humble origins of phs. 3 and 4 in the vernacular song were raised to a higher creative plain, and certainly became 'a pair of noble brothers'.

## **Part II**

### **Mode and Transposition *Mutato Nomine* (The Name being Changed)<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Satires*, Morwood, Latin Words and Phrases, 119.

## Chapter 8

### The Six Anonymous Naples Masses and the G Mixolydian Mode: Masses II, IV and V

The three secular settings of the *l'homme armé*<sup>1</sup> melody place it in G Mixolydian.

However very few of the Masses within the period under discussion (let alone amongst the extant complete works in the entire tradition) set both cantus firmus and polyphony in this mode. Leaving the Naples six aside for just a moment, in the rest of the repertoire there are just four: the anonymous three-part work in *BQ* 16,<sup>2</sup> de Orto, Forestier and *AJ2* (the total is actually five when the later *a5* *L'homme armé*<sup>1</sup> Mass by Palestrina is included). Eight Masses place the tune on G, but with a *b* flat signature giving a reading in G transposed Dorian, namely the compositions by Du Fay, Busnoys, Caron, Faugues, Basiron, Tinctoris, Brumel and Vaqueras. As we saw earlier, Ockeghem's Mass presents the vernacular song in both G Mixolydian and G transposed Dorian (*Et in terra* and *Agnus III*).<sup>3</sup>

The starting point for the following examination of the various pitches on which the secular song is delivered in the Masses is that G (being the pitch of the secular song) will be considered the norm, whether the context be G Mixolydian or transposed Dorian. All other pitch levels on which the *cantus prius factus* is given will be investigated in relation to that pitch.

<sup>2</sup> Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 16. The Mass is published in Feininger, *DMPLSER I* (1964) and in Atlas, *Aragonese Court*, 167-89. For Benthem's and Atlas's comments on the mode of this Mass see Chapter I, 16 n. 61.

<sup>3</sup> See Benthem: *Masses and Mass Sections*, X, 3 and 27. Of the two surviving sources containing the Ockeghem Mass (CS 35 and Chigi 234) CS 35 is the earlier of the two, compiled within the reign of Innocent VIII (1484-92). See Taruskin, 'Busnoys', 259, n. 6. Chigi is later, between 1495-1508, see Kellman, 'The Origins of the Chigi Codex', *JAMS II* (1958), 6-19, and also 'Josquin and the Courts of Netherlands and France', *PJC*, 210. Carver also presents the secular tune in both G Mixolydian and G transposed Dorian. Editions *MB* 15 (1957), ed. Kenneth Elliott and *CMM* 16 (1959), ed. Denis Stevens. Also see Kenneth Elliott, 'The Carver Choir-Book', *ML* 41 (1960), 349-57. Benthem erroneously states that the Carver setting is in E Phrygian, *Masses and Mass Sections*, IX, 4.

## Six Anonymous Naples Masses in E. 40<sup>4</sup>

The six Masses in Naples E. 40<sup>5</sup> are the only compositions in the *L'homme armé* complex where the version of the melody employed as a cantus firmus and the Masses themselves are contained in the same manuscript. Each one of the first five Masses employs a different successive portion of the melody as a cantus firmus, stated with its relevant portion of text. Only the sixth Mass has the complete melody with the full text.<sup>6</sup> This version of the song is in G Mixolydian (ex. 1),<sup>7</sup> but not one of the six settings is placed in this mode. For this reason each Mass (even when the individual cantus firmus is on g) needs to be examined.

Each of the five segments of the secular song (and then the complete tune) has a canon applied to it. Once the design has been announced in *Kyrie I* it is then set for the course of each complete Mass. Text is important in these Masses, and besides the elaborate canons applied to each one, every *Kyrie* has an extensive trope, as does the *Gloria* in the sixth Mass. The manner in which the borrowed melody is segmented indicates that this is for textual, not musical, reasons. Dividing the song in this way not only ignores its natural cadential points, but also produces portions of the melody with inherent melodic and cadential problems, especially when altered by the written rubric.

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<sup>4</sup> Taruskin makes a case for Busnoys being the author of the six Masses, see his 'Antoine Busnoys', 287-89, and ed. Taruskin: Antoine Busnoys, *Collected Works: The Latin-Texted Works*, (1990), Commentary, 22-27. Don Giller sets out a case on stylistic grounds for Caron having composed the Masses, 'The Naples *L'Homme armé* Masses and Caron: A Study in Musical Relationships', *CM* 32 (1981), 7-28. For further comments on Busnoys's authorship see Rob C. Wegman, 'Mensural Intertextuality' *Antoine Busnoys*, 196 n. 69, and on Caron's, see Perkins, 'Conflicting Attributions', *Antoine Busnoys*, 328. For a lively discussion between Taruskin and Giller on the subject, with contributions by Barbara Hagg and David Fallows, see 'Letters to the Editor', *JAMS* 40 (1987), 139-53. Judith Cohen in her study of the Masses and manuscript suggests a group collaboration with the general scheme designed by a 'master' who could well have been Busnoys, see Cohen: 'Munus', 203. For the history and provenance of the manuscript see Cohen *ibid.*, 199-203.

<sup>5</sup> Editions, Feininger, *MPLSER*, tome III and *CMM* 85 (1981), ed. Judith Cohen.

<sup>6</sup> For political and liturgical relationships plus aspects of *gematria* between the secular text, extensive *Kyrie* tropes and canons see Michael Long, 'Arma virumque cano', *Antoine Busnoys*, 133-54.

<sup>7</sup> Bentheim feels that the notation of the segmented melody and its format over the first five Masses indicate that the cycle was based on a G Dorian melody, *Masses and Mass Sections*, VIII, 2. I build my case on the premise that the extant G Mixolydian reading of the secular song in E. 40 is the true one; see also my 'Conclusions'.



That the composer (or composers) was prepared to set himself compositional difficulties by dividing the tune according to the non-liturgical text attests to the over-riding importance of a non-musical principal. Nevertheless, whatever the importance of the textual segmentation of the tune, implications for details of composition had then to be faced. The Masses will not be dealt with in the original numerical sequence, but according to the three different modes in which they are placed. First Anonymous II, IV and V, then Masses I and VI and finally Mass III.

### Anonymous II<sup>8</sup>

The second Naples Mass is set in G transposed Dorian, and all four parts carry a B flat signature. Pitches 5-13<sup>9</sup> of the secular tune provide the cantus firmus underlaid with the three-fold cry of *l'ome arme*; rests are not numbered (ex. 80 [a]). Of the six Masses the tenor of Anonymous II receives the most complicated treatment employing both retrograde and inverted-retrograde techniques in accordance with the tenor rubric.<sup>10</sup> There are five statements of the tenor, progressing in a sequence from an initial original motion (statement 1) followed by its

<sup>8</sup> Henceforward Masses will be referred to as Anonymous I, Anonymous II etc. The manuscript has been badly mutilated and every Mass has parts missing. A list of those parts will be given when each individual Mass is discussed. In supplying the relevant parts the approach is the same each time. Tenor parts are constructed from the surviving tenor lines in other sections of a single Mass, which is no problem because the presentations are exact in the five main movements. Where there are no free parts, when possible they have been derived from similar polyphonic situations in other sections of the Mass, by duplicating cadential contexts and equivalent settings of the tenor material. The parts lacking in Anonymous II are, *Kyrie I* - superius and tenor, *Agms II* and *III* - contratenor and bassus.

<sup>9</sup> The numbering of the pitches of each portion of the song used for the six cantus firmi will always begin with 1, and not those of the successive numerical sequence in which they occur in the complete borrowed tune.

<sup>10</sup> The canons (translations by Steven Moore Whiting) are taken from Professor Hagg 'Letters to the Editor', 140-42. Hagg presents the canons in consecutive lines as found in the manuscript. The division of the text into five different statements with the corresponding realisation of the tenor version is my own. The same layout will be used for the rubrics of the other Masses. Italics are those of Hagg, employed to emphasise the relationship between secular text and that of the canons.

#### Canon Anonymous II

Ambulat hic *armatus homo*,  
(This *armed man* goes forth)  
verso quoque vultu *arma* rapit; dexteram sequitur,  
(and with face averted takes up *arms* and pursues to the right)  
sic ut vice versa ad levam scandant.  
(just as, turned about, he might go up to the left.)  
Vultus sumendo priores ipse retrograditur:  
(Taking his previous *countenance* he steps back down.)  
respondent ultima primis  
(The end corresponds to the beginning)

**Statement 1**  
original motion  
**Statement 2**  
inverted retrograde of statement 1  
**Statement 3**  
retrograde of statement 2  
**Statement 4**  
inverted retrograde of statement 3  
**Statement 5**  
retrograde of statement 4.

own inverted-retrograde version (statement 2) which in turn is succeeded by a simple retrograde motion (statement 3). This pattern is then repeated, an inverted-retrograde of statement 3 followed by its own retrograde (statements 4 and 5) – except for two slight rhythmic differences the final statement being identical to the first (ex. 80 [b] [c] [d] [e] [f]). The full musical realisation of the canon has a mirror image design over the final pitches of the five manipulations, which gives a G minor harmony and therefore underscores the G transposed Dorian mode of the Mass. Statement 3 with its final pitch g is the midpoint (ex. 80 [d]). Reading from this note retrospectively through statements 2 to 1 (ex. 80 [c] and [b]) and forwards from versions 4 to 5 (ex. 80 [e] and [f]) in both directions a full G minor chord results.

The five statements of the cantus firmus can be placed in the G Mixolydian mode of the version of the secular song quoted at the beginning of the Mass. Moreover, with no dramatic upheaval the existing polyphonic context also can become G Mixolydian, imperfect intervals and melodic progressions being adjusted according to the principles of *musica ficta*. Why then was not the G Mixolydian mode of the source material retained in the Mass? The only part of the cantus firmus that has potential difficulties for a G Mixolydian setting is the thrice-repeated final d' (ex. 80 [f]). It is the long durations in which the three notes are delivered, when allied to their cadential context at the close of a Mass section that causes a problem. What needed to be addressed by the composer was how to maintain a momentum to propel the music on to the final harmony over a very prolonged internal pitch d' without a sense of anti-climax; particularly when that pitch is not only a part of the drive to the cadence, but also is included in the final harmony.<sup>11</sup>

Before examining this situation it will be productive to review a similar (but not exact) context, namely the three-fold repeated d at the close of statement 1. Although both cantus-

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<sup>11</sup> The same problem had to be faced in Masses IV and V.

firmus statements are the same, the situation differs because statement 1 is internal to a Mass section, thereby permitting a greater choice as to which cantus-firmus pitch to use cadentially - this is exploited fully by the anonymous composer.

There are twelve cadential locations either near to, or at the end of statement 1. Two are over pitches 4 and 5; they are V-I G Dorian closes, with the bassus silent in the harmony of resolution. The contratenor then becomes the lowest sounding voice in the final harmony (ex. 81 [a] bs. 6-7). Three closes occur over pitches 5 and 6: again two are V-I G Dorian progressions, the bassus once more silent in the second harmony, but this time it is the cantus-firmus-bearing tenor that provides the lowest note of the sonority (ex. 81 [b] bs. 108-09). The third close is a V-VI progression where both harmonies of the cadence are *a*4. The problem of a diminished fifth (**B flat** in the signature against e in the bassus) is avoided; chord VI does not have a fifth and instead features a thrice-repeated G in the three upper parts (ex. 81 [c] bs. 118-19).

Two cadences placed over pitches 8 and 9 are not in G transposed Dorian. The superius with the cadential syncopated rhythm implies a conclusion on A, but the g falling to d in the bassus gives a D Dorian plagal ending (ex. 81 [d] bs. 14-15). All of the five remaining conclusions involve only pitch 9 and are octave leap cadences. These are the only cadences where the cantus firmus is not sounded in the final harmony. The contratenor descends to g as the fundamental note of the chord and the bassus leaps an octave providing the fifth (ex. 81 [e] bs. 134-35). See Table 15:

**Table 15**  
**Cadential contexts closing statement 1 in Anonymous II**

**Pitch 9 Octave Leap**  
Kyrie II bs. 134-35\*  
Cum Sancto bs. 268-69\*  
Et unam bs. 278-79\*  
Osanna bs. 99-100\*  
Agnus III bs. 133-34\*

**Pitches 5 and 6**  
Kyrie I b. 7 V-I\*  
Qui tollis bs. 108-09 V-I\*  
Crucifixus bs. 118-19 V-VI\*

**Pitches 4 and 5 V-I**  
Sanctus bs. 6-7\*  
Agnus I bs. 6-7\*

**Pitches 8 and 9 IV-I D Dorian**  
Et in terra bs. 14-15  
Patrem bs. 14-15

\* indicates G transposed Dorian cadences

The pitches of statement 1 that are not cited in a cadence can be absorbed into the following polyphonic fabric because they do not come at the end of a section. This luxury of choice is not available to the composer at the end of statement 5 on account of it closing a Mass section. Therefore, if the cantus firmus is to be present in the final cadence, only pitches 8 and 9 can be used in that particular context. In this situation only one close is possible, that is G transposed Dorian with the tenor sounding the fifth of the final chord.

The three repeated  $\underline{d}$ ' naturals of the source material are delivered as internal pedal points of varying lengths. What the composer needed to solve was the problem of not frustrating the drive to the cadence generated over the sustained  $\underline{d}$ ' in the tenor with that pitch sounded by the same voice in the final harmony. What is employed is a technique here described as a 'harmonic ostinato', that is the alternation of D and G minor harmonies over the prolonged  $\underline{d}$ '. The number of times the two harmonies are repeated varies from three times to ten (see Table 16). With the largest number of alterations the *Crucifixus* is typical of the technique (ex. 82).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The successive repetitions of the same harmony are not counted, only the number of changes between D and G minors.



**Table 16**  
**Statements of D and G minor harmonies in Anonymous II**

<b>Three times</b> Et unam bs. 302-03	<b>Four times</b> Kyrie II bs. 158-60 Osanna bs. 123-25 Agnus III bs. 157-58	<b>Five times</b> Cum Sancto bs. 292-93 Sanctus bs. 57-59
<b>Seven times</b> Et in terra bs. 85-87 Qui tollis bs. 257-61 Patrem bs. 85-87 Agnus I bs. 56-58	<b>Nine times</b> Kyrie I bs. 55-58	<b>Ten times</b> Crucifixus bs. 266-70

The terminal cadences are either genuine octave leap progressions where the bassus actually leaps an octave taking the fifth of the final harmony, or jumps a sixth to sound b flat, the third of the chord. Eleven of the twelve terminal cadences (the exception is *Kyrie I*)<sup>13</sup> have an extension in the bassus. In skeletal form it is a G minor triad and appears in five variants (ex. 83). The significant note is b flat, given prominence by being placed in the only moving part in the final harmony of the concluding cadence, and not in a static sonority. In performance there were conventions for supplying unwritten accidentals at certain places, one of which was at the cadence to supply the *subsemitonium* and another being the practice of sharpening the minor third when present in the final harmony of a terminal cadence.<sup>14</sup> When this practice is applied to the eleven final cadences in Anonymous II, the notated b flat in the bassus becomes b natural in performance. If the Mass had been placed in G Mixolydian the final b natural would lose its

<sup>13</sup> There is no obvious reason for the absence of the extension in *Kyrie I*. The final cadence does differ from the others; it is the only one not to sound b flat in the final harmony, being an 'open' sonority. Nevertheless it still has a feeling of climax, because b flat is sounded eight times across the d pedal and the ear adjusts to it, so its absence in the closing harmony paradoxically still has a sense of release.

<sup>14</sup> See Aaron *Trattato*, Chapter 3, translated in Strunk's *Source Readings*, 421-28. Aaron's own examples of final cadential harmonies all have major thirds implicit in the tritus and tetrardus modes, but are inflected in the protus and deuterus; G Dorian is the protus mode transposed with a flat signature.

impact because it would have been adumbrated in the previous repeated G major harmonies. The sense of climax that an inflected the  $\underline{b}$  natural has in G transposed Dorian is only achieved by the incessant reiterations of  $\underline{b}$  flat in the previous G minor harmonies over the  $\underline{d}$ ' pedal.

### **Anonymous IV<sup>15</sup>**

Anonymous IV employs the first two phrases of B for its source material (ex. 84 [a]).

There are four statements again realised from a canon attached to the tenor.<sup>16</sup> The design is the original direction on  $g'$  followed by its retrograde, which then repeats completely a fourth below on  $\underline{d}$ ' (ex. 84 [b] [c] [d] [e]). Beginning on  $g'$  (the final) and ending on  $\underline{d}$ ' (the confinal) there is a modal unity of G in the tenor material. But within the polyphonic context the situation is not so clear cut. A number of aspects including 'partial' signatures, cadences (internal and terminal) and use of a head motive influence what is an interesting modal situation in the Mass.

The employment of 'partial' signatures in Anonymous IV is variable. Only the superius and tenor have consistent *dura* signatures. The contratenor has a  $\underline{b}$ ' flat signature for every section except the *Confiteor*, where it accords with the other three voices with a *dura* signature. Frequent alternation in the use of *dura* and *mollis* signatures is found in the bassus. Of the cantus-firmus-bearing sections the bassus carries a *dura* signature for the *Et in terra, Patrem* and *Et ascendit* and under a *mollis* one *Kyries* I and II, *Qui tollis, Tu solus Dominus, Confiteor*,

<sup>15</sup> Missing parts, *Kyrie* I – superius and tenor, *Agnus* II and III – contratenor and bassus.

<sup>16</sup>

#### **Canon Anonymous IV**

*Buccina clangorem voces vertendo reflectit*  
(The trumpet reflects its sound  
turning voices about.)

*Subque gradu reboat iterum clamando quaterno*  
(And resounds again, crying out at the fourth step below)

**Statement 1**  
original motion on  $g'$   
**Statement 2**  
retrograde of statement 1  
**Statement 3**  
original motion on  $\underline{d}$ '  
**Statement 4**  
Retrograde of statement 3

See Haggh, 'Letters', 140-41.

*Sanctus, Osanna and Agnus I and III.*<sup>17</sup>

We will first examine the cadential contexts in which the individual conclusions of the four statements of the tenor material are placed. The falling fourth at the close of statement 1 is difficult to set cadentially. So there is a variety in the choice of cantus-firmus tones that are set thus. Most favoured are notes 11 and 12 (f'-g') placed cadentially nine times. Seven are G Mixolydian, the superius sounding b' natural in the second cadential harmony in accordance with its *dura* signature (ex. 85 [a] bs. 164-65). Once there is a VII6-I C Ionian progression (ex. 85 [b] bs. 10-11). Another close is in C transposed Mixolydian where the *mollis* signature of the contratenor supplies the b flat (ex. 85 [c] bs. 109-10). There is a single instance where the final d' of the tenor is placed in the first harmony of a transposed A Phrygian close. The semitone descent from b' flat to a is covered by the flat signature in the bassus (ex. 85 [d] bs. 133-34). Twice the main cadence is placed after the final note of the tenor. Once the close is in C Ionian, and the other is in G transposed Dorian. In this latter instance the second harmony of the cadence is 'open', but immediately before the sonority b flats are sounded by both the bassus under its *mollis* signature, and the superius, whose b' naturals are inflected to correct augmented octaves with the bassus (ex. 85 [e] bs. 13-14). Table 17 lists the cadences over or after the final notes of statement 1.

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<sup>17</sup> Edward Lowinsky's hypothesis for 'conflicting' signatures is that the upper part has a *dura* signature to provide b' natural as the leading-tone for C Ionian cadences, and the bassus a b flat for transposed Phrygian cadences. Lowinsky contends that if a part had no **B** at all, a signature of **B flat** was superfluous, and if it had only one or a few **B flats**, they could more easily be indicated by individual accidentals than by a key signature that had to be repeated at the beginning of each line. He writes '...the medieval composer was eminently practical', 'Conflicting Signatures', *MQ* 31 (1945), 242-43, and Reese, *Renaissance*, 45-47. Richard Hoppin's case is on the basis that 'partial' signatures indicate modes and pitch levels a fifth apart, 'Conflicting Signatures Reviewed', *JAMS* 9 (1956), 97-117.



**Table 17**  
**Cadential contexts which close statement 1 in Anonymous IV<sup>18</sup>**

**G Mixolydian, notes 11 and 12 (f and g<sup>`</sup>)<sup>19</sup>**

Kyrie I bs. 10-11 VII6-I\*

Qui tollis bs. 105-06 V-I\*

Tu solus Dominus bs. 163-64 VII6-I\*

Patrem bs. 10-11 VII6-I\*

Et ascendit bs. 105-06 V-I\*

Confiteor bs. 163-64 V-I\*

Sanctus bs. 10-11 VII6-I\*

**C Ionian, notes 11 and 12**

Et in terra bs. 10-11 VII6-I\*

**C Mixolydian, notes 11 and 12**

Osanna bs. 109-08 VII6-I+

**A Phrygian note 14 (d<sup>`</sup>)**

Agnus III bs. 133-34

**Cadences after the final cantus-firmus note**

Kyrie II bs. 127-28 V-VI C Ionian\*

Agnus I bs. 13-14 VII6-I G transposed Dorian final harmony 8-5-8<sup>^</sup>

\* b natural in the superius covered by a *dura* signature

+ b flat in contratenor covered by the *mollis* signature

<sup>^</sup> b flat in the bassus covered by the *mollis* signature, present either in the cadential progression or in the previous polyphonic fabric

Although statement 2 is a retrograde of statement 1, the pitch levels used for the cadences are the same, f and g<sup>`</sup>. There is one notable difference, although not necessarily significant at this point, but is important for the final cadence in statement 4 (which will be addressed later). The difference is that the pitch numbers in statements 1 are 11 and 12, whilst in statement 2 they are 12 and 13, in other words the second and third notes of statement 1 (see ex. 84 [b] and [c]).

The other difference between the cadential setting towards the ends of the first two tenor statements is that in the second all the conclusions are on G. Eleven of the possible twelve closes are in G Mixolydian, eight being VII6-I with the b<sup>`</sup> natural in the superius. A single V-I close ends in an 'open' harmony but **B naturals** are in evidence in both the superius and bassus each with a *dura* signature (ex. 86). Two other closes in G Mixolydian are V-VI progressions, the

<sup>18</sup> In the *Qui tollis*, *Patrem*, *Et ascendit*, *Sanctus*, *Osanna*, and *Agnus I* all repeated pitches are omitted, now the numbering of the individual pitches changes from 11-12 to 7-8.

<sup>19</sup> There is a correspondence of the same musical events at the exact same points in the different Mass sections, especially (but not solely) at the beginnings of the five main movements. See also Tables 18, 19 and 21.

final cadence is perfect in G transposed Dorian with the b flat carried by the contratenor. Table 18 lists all the cadences at the end of statement 2.

**Table 18**  
**Cadential contexts closing statement 2, pitches f-g' in Anonymous IV**

**VII-I G Mixolydian\***

Kyrie I b. 27

Kyrie II b. 134

Et in terra b. 27

Qui tollis bs. 122-23

Patrem b. 27

Sanctus b. 27

Osanna b. 118

Agnus I b. 27

**V-I G Mixolydian final harmony 8-5-8**

Et ascendit bs. 122-23

**V-VI G Mixolydian\***

Confiteor b. 173

Agnus III bs. 140-41 (inflected b in the contra.)

**V-I G Transposed Dorian+**

Tu solus Dominus b. 172

\*b' natural in superius under *dura* signature

+b flat in contratenor under a *mollis* signature

Statement 3 lies a fourth below statement 1 and like it also employs pitches 11 and 12 for its cadences, but now the relevant notes are c' and d' (ex. 84 [d]). The leading-tone finalis relationship implicit in the f-g' of statement 1 was reflected in the preponderance of G cadences, seven out of a total of nine closes that occurred over notes 11 and 12 (see Table 17). This pattern is not duplicated in statement 3, where one might expect the majority of closes to be on D, the two notes c' and d' functioning as the leading-tone to the final. But the reverse occurs, for the greater percentage of cadences involving c' and d' are on G, seven times out of a total of eight. Four are G Mixolydian, three with the b' natural placed in the superius and one with a b natural in the contratenor inflected to correct a melodic tritone. The three other cadences on G are transposed Dorian progressions, the contratenor declaring the b flat in accordance with its *mollis* signature. Only one close actually occurs over the c' and d' and in fact is in D Dorian. The four remaining conclusions are placed after the final note of the tenor, two on G, one Mixolydian; another G transposed Dorian and the last two D Dorian. See Table 19:

Table 19

## Cadential contexts closing statement 3, pitches 11-12 (c'-d') in Anonymous IV

**VII6-I G Mixolydian**

Kyrie I bs. 42-43\*

Et in terra bs. 42-43\*

Qui tollis bs. 137-38^

Tu solus Dominus bs. 179-80\*

**VII6-I G Transposed Dorian**

Et ascendit bs. 138-39+

Sanctus bs. 42-43+

Osanna bs. 125-26+

**VII6-I D Dorian**

Patrem bs. 42-43

## After the final tenor pitch

**VII6-I G Mixolydian**Kyrie II bs. 143-44, 8-5-8 resolution, b' naturals in the superius prior to the cadence**VII6-I G Transposed Dorian**Agnus I bs. 45-46, 8-5-8 resolution, b flats in the bassus prior to the cadence**D Dorian**

Confiteor bs. 183-84 VII6-I

Agnus III b. 151 V-VI

\* b' natural in the superius under a *dura* signature+ b flat in the contratenor under a *mollis* signature, ^ inflected b natural in contratenor

To date the modal level that has been most asserted cadentially over pitches 11 and 12 of statements 1 and 3, and notes 12 and 13 of statement 2 is G, either as Mixolydian or transposed Dorian. Of the 36 closes to the three statements, 29 are placed over these pitches, 26 being on G (22 Mixolydian and 4 G transposed Dorian: see Tables 17, 18 and 19). For statement 2 pitches 12 and 13 were all cadential, and all on G. This is the retrograde version of statement 1, which also had the majority of its conclusions on G. Therefore with statement 4 being a retrograde of statement 3 a similar cadential parallel should also exist. But in statement 3 the final note of the tenor was given in a cadence only once, and that was not on G but in the first harmony of an A transposed Phrygian close (see Table 17, *Agnus III*).

But this situation cannot be duplicated at the end of statement 4, for at this point any correspondences between it and statements 1-3 cease because the conclusions to the first three

statements are internal to Mass sections and those of statement 4 end every Mass section. Yet as with Anonymous II, if the source material is to be sounded in the final cadences (especially those ending the five principal movements) a problem arises. As we have seen, placing the final repeated notes of the four tenor statements cadentially is not really feasible, that context had to be placed earlier over two different pitches. Statement 4 could have mirrored statement 3 by using pitches 11 and 12 (c' and d' see ex. 84 [d] and [e]) for cadences but this would then leave a final d' to be taken into account. The one solution open to the anonymous composer would be to incorporate the two final pitches of d' into one longer value, which he does on occasion, but never in the terminal cadences closing the five main movements. Twice the final d' is given in a relatively longer value forming the final G harmony of a VII6-I progression (*Kyrie I* and *Et in terra*).

In the ten other terminal closes the d' is treated in the same manner found in Anonymous II - it becomes an internal pedal and an increased momentum towards the final cadence is achieved by alternating G and D minor harmonies over it. There is also a similar extension containing b flat, seven times in the bassus and once in the contratenor (ex. 87 [a] and [b]). Of the four remaining cadences one has the contratenor sounding b flat in a static final harmony and the other three harmonies of resolution are 'open'. Where there is a b flat in the final harmony, either in the form of a cadential extension or a single note, it is covered by a *mollis* signature in the contratenor or bassus. What we have here is an exact parallel with Anonymous II.<sup>20</sup> There the tension created over the tenor pedal found relief in a final G major harmony, the b flat raised in accordance with performing conventions, so too it is in Anonymous IV. Particularly interesting is that, except for one occasion (the *Confiteor*), the bassus extension closing the other four

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<sup>20</sup> The treatment of the final d' as an internal pedal supporting alternating G and D harmonies, plus the presence of an extension mainly in the bassus, taken together is at the least suggestive of either some kind of collaboration or the work of a single composer. Cohen, 'Mumus', Taruskin, 'Busnoys' and Giller, 'Caron' do not include this prominent structural device in their evidence for a possible single composer, or of a 'mastermind' behind the whole project.



principal movements begins on b flat (only the close of *Agnus I* repeats this format). In these contexts the tension created over the previously repeated alternating G and D minor harmonies is immediately dissipated. Whereas the conclusions to the internal Mass sections begin the cadential extension on d' , leaping from a previous d in a genuine octave leap progression.<sup>21</sup> Here the modification of the authorised b flat is slightly delayed. Table 20:

**Table 20**

**Cadences concluding statement 4 in Anonymous IV**

**Terminal to main movements**

Kyrie II\*  
 Tu solus\*  
 Confiteor 8-5-8  
 Osanna\*  
 Agnus III\*

**Internal to the main movements**

Kyrie I VII6-I+  
 Et in terra VII6-I^  
 Patrem octave leap\*  
 Qui tollis V-I 8-5-8  
 Et ascendit V-I 8-5-8  
 Sanctus octave leap\*  
 Agnus I bassus leaps to b flat\*

**Statements of G and D harmonies closing statement 4**

**Five times**

Kyrie II bs. 151-52  
 Confiteor bs. 190-91  
 Osanna bs. 135-37

**Six times**

Agnus III bs. 158-59

**Seven times**

Qui tollis bs. 156-57  
 Agnus I bs. 59-63

**Eight times**

Et ascendit bs. 156-59

**Nine times**

Sanctus bs. 59-63

**Ten times**

Patrem bs. 60-63

**Eleven Times**

Tu solus Dominus bs. 189-90

\* extension, bassus leaping from b flat-d' + extension in the contratenor,

^ static contratenor b flat in the final harmony

We now need to return to the beginnings of the five principal movements to consider the modal anomaly. Although a modal relationship of final and confinal exists between the first and

<sup>21</sup> The situation with the bassus cadential extension in Anonymous II is more standardised. Eight of the eleven appearances of it begin on b flat, the other three on d' - one of which is the conclusion to the *Cum Sancto*, see ex. 83.



last notes of the complete cantus firmus, no such affinity exists between the openings and closes of the first sections of the five main movements (*Kyrie I, Et in terra, Patrem, Sanctus* and *Agnus I*). The same situation exists in all the subsections, only once is there an agreement between the start and end of a Mass section, at the *Et ascendit*. The principal reason behind the two different modal levels of C and G at the beginnings and endings of the first sections of each main movement is the cantus-firmus-derived head motive. All five mottoes in the superius are clearly related in spite of variants to the falling fourth, which never ends the opening gesture; each time it is followed in different ways, but always concludes with the superius ascending from  $\underline{b}$  to  $\underline{c}$  (ex. 88 [a]-[e]).

Considering the head motive only in relation to itself, the fact that it is fashioned from the tenor material (ph. 3) presents no problem. The dilemma is an appropriate pitch on which to declare it in relation to the first  $\underline{g}$  in the tenor. Conventional intervals between the opening notes of a source-material-derived head motive and the initial pitch of the tenor were either the unison, octave, fifth or fourth. If the motto and tenor were to be announced at the unison, then the end of the superius and beginning of the tenor would be on  $\underline{g}$ . Thus in a cadential context the tenor and superius would merge (the former voice reinforcing the note of resolution of the latter), and the opening of the tenor would not be a distinctive audible event. Of course if the entry of the tenor were to be delayed and the end of the head motive manipulated then the beginning of the cantus firmus could be announced clearly. But all five mottoes are exactly four bars long, leaving no space for manoeuvrability in which to place the superius on another pitch level.

Presenting the head motive an octave above the entry of the tenor is also not feasible, mainly on account of high tessitura of the source material itself. B is written in the upper fourth of the modal octave on  $\underline{g}$  ( $\underline{d}$  to  $\underline{g}$ ). That means the superius would be sounded on  $\underline{g}$ , taking the voice far beyond the range of the part in the rest of the Mass. In fact its pitch never exceeds the upper limit of the Guidonian hand,  $\underline{e}$ . There is also the fact that the interval of an octave

between the two voices places them both in the same authentic modal space. Aaron writes:

For we see that when a tenor and its cantus are far apart it causes, not pleasure, but little sweetness to those who hear it, something which arises from the distance that lies between the cantus and the contrabassus.<sup>22</sup>

The usual practice was to make the tenor range authentic and that of the superius plagal, or vice versa, that is with the superius a fifth higher than the tenor. In Anonymous IV the latter procedure is not possible because the head motive would then begin on  $\underline{d}''$ . Because the cantus firmus itself lies within the upper fourth of a modal octave then that means (with the head motive in its extant form) the superius closing with the two pitches  $\underline{c}''$  to  $\underline{d}''$ ; the two notes form an implied leading-tone to final in the mode on **D**. The pitches can quite easily be placed in a **G** cadential context, but only in an internal voice. What is then still required is the leading-tone to the final ( $\underline{f}$  to  $\underline{g}$ ) which in the opening *a3* texture would be carried by the superius. This brings the situation back to the same grounds on which the presentation of the head motive on  $\underline{g}$  was rejected; that is its final note would be sounded in unison with the opening pitch of the cantus firmus; thus weakening the impact of the latter part's entry.

The interval that now needs to be considered is the one actually used that of a fourth, the tenor on  $\underline{g}$  and superius on  $\underline{c}''$ . An authentic-plagal relationship still does not exist between the two parts when looked at in terms of the **G** mode of the Mass, but such a pairing can be accounted for. The openings of the head motives are firmly in **C** Ionian with the initial melodic tag of  $\underline{c}''$ - $\underline{b}'$ - $\underline{c}''$  in the superius, underscored by the polyphony. They all end in a V-I **C** Ionian cadence, the superius delivering the leading-tone to final,  $\underline{b}'$ - $\underline{c}''$  and the tenor announcing the first  $\underline{g}$  of the source material in the second harmony of the cadence. Regarding the opening of the Mass as being in **C** Ionian (instead of **G**) places the superius and tenor in authentic and plagal

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<sup>22</sup> Aaron, *Trattato, Source Readings*, 420.

positions. The end result is that the first tenor pitch is placed in a clear acoustic position at the conclusion of the trio in the free voices.

That the composer of Anonymous IV went to such lengths to incorporate a cantus-firmus-derived motto meant that the device (and its origins) was important to him. So vital was it to his conception of the complete cycle that even the cantus-firmus-carrying subsections of the main movements open with it in some form or other. On five occasions the opening motto is delivered by the bassus. Four of these are on  $\underline{c}$ ' beginning in C transposed Mixolydian (because of the *mollis* signature in that part), but three end in a V-I C Ionian cadence ( $\underline{b}$ ' natural supplied in the *dura*-signed superius), the opening  $g$ ' of the tenor placed in the second cadential harmony (ex. 89 [a]). The fourth instance also begins in C transposed Mixolydian but does not end cadentially, the tenor  $g$ ' being given in a G major harmony (ex. 89 [b]). On the fifth occasion the bassus delivers the head motive on  $\underline{d}$ ', a D Dorian presentation. This time the first pitch of the source material is sounded in a cadential G major harmony, the chord of resolution in a VII<sup>6</sup>-I G Mixolydian close (ex. 89 [c]). Of the remaining two appearances of the head motive at the beginning of subsections one is in the superius on  $\underline{c}$ ' and the other one on  $g$ ' in the contratenor. In both the first pitch of the source material is given in a G major harmony. With the exception of the last example (where it is supplied by the *dura* signature in the bassus) the  $\underline{b}$  naturals in the G major harmonies (be they cadential or non-cadential) are always in the superius under that voice's *dura* signature. Table 21 gives the contexts of the head motives.

**Table 21**  
**Settings of the head motive in Anonymous IV**

**On C closing in V-I C Ionian**

Kyrie I bs. 4-5\*  
 Kyrie II bs. 121-23+  
 Et in terra bs. 4-5\*  
 Patrem bs. 4-5\*  
 Sanctus bs. 4-5\*  
 Osanna bs. 105-07+  
 Agnus I bs. 4-5\*  
 Agnus III bs. 128-34+

**Non-cadential closes**

Qui tollis bs. 96-100 bassus on c'  
 Tu solus bs. 159-61 superius on c''  
 Et ascendit bs. 96-100 contratenor on g'

**On d' closing in VII6-I G Mixolydian**

Confiteor bs. 160-62 bassus

\*head motive C Ionian in the superius

+head motive in the bassus beginning in C Mixolydian and ending in C Ionian

Contemporary (and near contemporary) theoretical writings complement one another in stating that the mode of a composition was decided by the tenor.<sup>23</sup> According to theorists then the mode of Anonymous IV is on G. What the tenor does not reveal is whether that mode is G Mixolydian or transposed Dorian, there being no b pitches either natural or flat to define an exact modal level. In such a case the polyphonic context in which the tenor is delivered has to be considered, not the beginnings of the five principal movements with their C Ionian head motives and the announcement of the first tenor g' in that mode (that has already been explored), but the conclusions. All five (as well as the closes of the subsections) end on G.

A dominant factor that raises the question as to whether the mode is G Mixolydian or G transposed Dorian is the use of 'partial' signatures. Because the tenor does not sound the pitch b it has no need of a signature to qualify that note; the superius also sustains a *dura* signature

<sup>23</sup> Aaron states: 'The tenor being the firm and stable part, the part, that is, that holds and comprehends the whole concentus of the harmony, the singer must judge the tone by means of this part only.' *Trattato, Source Readings*, 420. Gallus Dressler in his *Praecepta musicae poeticae* (1564) when dealing with the order in which the voices are composed stresses the priority of the tenor writing, 'The ancients (theorists) judged that the tenor was to be found first... whence the tenor to have acquired its name from *tenere*, "to hold," because the other parts look to it as if it were the brain.' Quoted in Jessie Ann Owens *The Craft of Musical Composition 1450 -1600* (1997), 22. Owens comments in n. 27 of the same page 'Dressler recognized that the essence of the tenor derived not so much from its location in the overall sonority but from its role as the presenter of the given line (*thema*).' For Tinctoris's views see 51 n. 42.

principally to provide  $\underline{b}$ ' naturals for the leading-tone in the V-I C Ionian cadences. The bassus fluctuates between *mollis* and *dura*. For eleven of the twelve quotations of the cantus firmus the contratenor has a *mollis* signature. As regards the contratenor and bassus and their *mollis* signatures, these are the two voices that sound  $\underline{b}$  flats at the end of the main sections, either in cadential extensions, in a static final harmony or over the tenor's pedal  $\underline{d}$ '. With the constant sounding of  $\underline{b}$  flat in the contratenor and bassus the mode of Anonymous IV can only be G transposed Dorian. That it is not G Mixolydian of the source material is on account of the precise portion chosen for the tenor material and the manipulations applied to it. Once again the problem that the final prolonged  $\underline{d}$ ' in the tenor has is in maintaining the momentum in the drive to the final cadence that is not frustrated in the final harmony. It is solved in the same manner as in Anonymous II. That is by placing the polyphony in G transposed Dorian, so that a tension can be generated over the sustained  $\underline{d}$ ' with the constant reiteration of alternating G and D minor harmonies that finds its natural climax in the inflected  $\underline{b}$  natural in the final G major sonority.

### **Anonymous V<sup>24</sup>**

Anonymous V takes ph. 5 for its tenor material (ex. 90 [a]); the exact pitches of the secular song are retained but not its G Mixolydian mode. All four voices have a *mollis* signature placing the composition firmly in G transposed Dorian. The complete cantus firmus consists of five alternating forward and retrograde statements - three forward motions (statements 1, 3 and 5) separated by two retrograde versions (statements 2 and 4, ex. 90 [b]-[f]). As in the cases of Anonymous II and IV the scheme is realised from a written rubric applied to the single tenor

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<sup>24</sup> Missing parts, *Kyrie I*, *Qui tollis* and *Cum Sancto* – superius and tenor, *Et in terra* and *Agnus III* – contratenor and bassus.



line.<sup>25</sup>

The removal of ph. 5 from the secular setting changes its modal context. In the original song there is no doubt as to the G Mixolydian mode, the note a' being an upper auxiliary pitch. As a cantus firmus ph. 5 loses this modal identity by being detached from the other phrases of the *l'homme armé* tune. Now the pitch a' is an integral part of the phrase, and the six notes comprise the first species of fifth, the lower pentachord of D Dorian. Placed in the tenor and coming at the ends of phrases the pitches e' and d' (notes 5 and 6 of statements 1 and 5 ex. 90 [b] and [f]) become the lower two in a cadential progression of the sixth expanding to an octave in D Dorian. Considered by itself the tenor scaffold effectively is in D Dorian. The answer as to why this is not the mode of the Mass most probably lies in the modal relationship between the first and last pitches of the complete tenor structure. In D Dorian they have no modal affinity, but in G transposed Dorian they are respectively the final and confinal.

Nevertheless, whilst G transposed Dorian gives a kinship to the two notes this modal context creates difficulties for their cadential placement at the conclusions of Mass sections. Before reviewing those difficulties at the close of statement 5 we should look at the cadences which end the other forward versions of the tenor (statements 1 and 3), remembering that these conclusions are internal and not terminal ones. In statement 3 the final two notes a and g

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#### Canon Anonymous V

Per dyapente sonat subter remeando *lorica*  
(Let the *breastplate* sound  
turning back a fifth below,)

Post ubi finierit gressum renovando resumit  
(Afterwards, when it has finished, it resumes its course,)

Tuque gradu sursum cantando revertere quinto  
(And you, singing upward by fifth step, turn back,)

Principio finem da qui modularis eundem  
(Make a close, you who are singing, that is like the beginning.)

Haggh, 'Letters', 141.

#### Statement 1

forward motion on g'

#### Statement 2

retrograde of 1, a fifth below

#### Statement 3

retrograde of 2

#### Statement 4

retrograde of 3, a fifth above on d'

#### Statement 5

retrograde of 4, which is the same  
as statement 1.

(ex. 90 [d]) have the same cadential implication as the  $\underline{e}$ ' and  $\underline{d}$ ' of statements 1 and 5, being the lower two notes of the cadential dyad sixth to octave. However, this time the mode is G transposed Dorian. All thirteen appearances of statement 3 close in this mode. Eight are octave leap progressions; four are VII6-I and there is a single V-VI. Table 22 lists each individual location.

**Table 22**  
**Cadential contexts closing statement 3 in Anonymous V**

**Octave Leap**

Kyrie I bs. 35-36  
 Kyrie II b. 170  
 Et in terra bs. 35-36  
 Patrem bs. 35-36  
 Crucifixus bs. 101-02  
 Osanna bs. 129-30  
 Agnus I bs. 35-36  
 Agnus III bs. 158-59

**VII6-I**

Qui tollis bs. 101-02  
 Cum Sancto b. 148  
 Confiteor b. 148  
 Sanctus bs. 35-36

**V-VI**

bs. 102-03

The Table illustrates how straightforward the cadential conclusions of statement 5 would be were it to be declared on  $\underline{g}$ ' (and not  $\underline{d}$ ') as in statement 3. All conclusions of statement 5 could then close in an uncomplicated G transposed Dorian cadence. But to have gone down this avenue would disturb the design of the tenor itself.

Statements 1 and 5 are exact, differing only in the siting of their concluding cadences. In the former statement it is internal to a Mass section, whereas in the latter it is of course the final cadence. It was observed in Anonymous II where statements 1 and 5 were also exact that the modal levels and locations of closes in statement 1 were more varied than in statement 5. This was because of the internal locations of the closes in statement 1; any notes not employed in cadences were absorbed into the on-going polyphonic fabric. This flexibility in the cadential contexts at the close of statement I in Anonymous V is also in evidence, for eight times pitches 5 and 6 ( $\underline{e}$ ' and  $\underline{d}$ ') are treated as the lower two notes of the sixth-octave progression in D Dorian

cadences; four being V-I and four V-VI. In two further instances the cadences are G transposed Dorian octave leap progressions at the end of a prolonged final pitch  $\underline{d'}$ . Over this extended tenor  $\underline{d'}$  (no more than two bars of the transcription) the free voices alternate with G and D minor harmonies, reflecting the procedure employed in the equivalent cadences in Anonymous II and IV (ex. 91 [a] bs. 8-10). The remaining three cadences follow the final tenor note, twice in G transposed Dorian and once in D Dorian. Significantly they all occur in sections where the source material is presented in the shortest values, mirroring those of the secular song (ex. 91 [b]). See Table 23:

<b>Table 23</b>	
<b>Cadential contexts closing statement 1 in Anonymous V</b>	
<b>V-I D Dorian pitches 5 and 6</b> Christe bs. 74-75 Et in terra bs. 7-8 Qui tollis bs. 73-74 Crucifixus bs. 73-74	<b>V-VI D Dorian pitches 5 and 6</b> Patrem bs. 7-8 Sanctus bs. 7-8 Osanna bs. 98-99 Agnus III bs. 131-32
<b>Octave Leap G Dorian pitch 6</b> Kyrie I bs. 9-10 Agnus I bs. 9-10	<b>After the final tenor pitch</b> Kyrie II bs. 139-40 G transposed Dorian Cum Sancto bs. 137-38 D Dorian Confiteor bs. 136-37 G transposed Dorian

Because statement 5 appears at the end of Mass sections the same dilemma (of Anonymous II and IV) is again present, of how to treat the prolonged final tenor  $\underline{d'}$  so that the momentum created over it is not lost in the final harmony. The difficulty is once more solved by treating the  $\underline{d'}$  as an internal pedal with the free voices sounding alternating G and D minor harmonies over it. But there are differences between Anonymous V and Masses II and IV in that twice in Anonymous V two subsections of the main movements treat the final pitches  $\underline{e'}$  and  $\underline{d'}$  cadentially, closing in V-I D Dorian conclusions. The other difference also relates to the D Dorian mode implicit in these two pitches. Out of a total of thirteen announcements of statement



5, nine present the final two notes in either V-I or V-VI Dorian cadences prior to the final pedal  $d'$ . It is in the treatment of the pedal  $d'$  that similarities with Anonymous II and IV exist. Eight times the bassus has a cadential extension circumscribing a G minor harmony (ex. 92).<sup>26</sup> Akin to the situations prevailing in Anonymous II and IV, the  $b$  flat would have been raised in the final harmony whereby the tension created over the pedal point is not frustrated. The other three conclusions do not have a cadential extension but the final 'open' harmonies provide the same release of tension generated during the previous alternating G and D minor sonorities. The close of the *Christe* shows how effective is the release of the momentum created by following the alternating minor harmonies with a final 'open' one. An arpeggiated G minor harmony in the bassus supports the oscillating G and D minor chords over the three bars prior to the final 8-5-8 apotheosis (ex. 93). Table 24 lists all the terminal cadences.

**Table 24**  
**Terminal cadences of statement 5 in Anonymous V**

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Start of pedal D.</b>	<b>G/D chords</b>	<b>Final sonority</b>
Kyrie I bs. 63-67	V-I D Dorian bs. 63-64	10	bassus extension
Christe bs. 130-34	V-VI D Dorian bs. 130-31	4	8-5-8
Kyrie II bs. 166-70		7	bassus extension
Et in terra bs. 63-67	V-I D Dorian bs. 63-64	9	bassus extension
Qui tollis bs. 129-30			V-I D Dorian
Cum Sancto bs. 162-65		7	bassus extension
Patrem bs. 63-67	V-I D Dorian bs. 63-64	9	8-5-8
Crucifixus bs. 129-30			V-I D Dorian
Confiteor bs. 162-66	V-VI D Dorian bs. 162	11	bassus extension
Sanctus bs. 63-67	V-I D Dorian bs. 63-64	9	bassus extension
Osanna I bs. 159-60	V-I D Dorian bs. 157-58	5	8-5-8
Agnus I bs. 63-67	V-VI D Dorian bs. 63-64	9	bassus extension
Agnus III bs. 186-90	V-I D Dorian bs. 186-87	7	bassus extension

The source material presents one more problem, this time with the very first pitch  $g'$ . Of

<sup>26</sup> Excluding the *Cum Sancto* the cadential extensions closing the five principal movements begin on  $b'$  flat.

the seven phrases comprising the original song, ph. 5 is the only one not to start at the beginning of a tactus, sounding instead on the last part of a perfect semibreve. The end result is that when transplanted over into the Mass the opening *g*' of the tenor cannot be highlighted in a concluding cadential harmony because of its weak position within the rhythmic structure. Only in seven of the thirteen presentations of statement 5 is the opening *g*' placed in any kind of cadential context; even then each time it is in the first harmony of the progression. One is a D Dorian progression where the harmonic movement is from an *a*3 C major (in which the cantus-firmus *g* is placed) to a four-part D minor chord (ex. 94). Six others are A transposed Phrygian cadences (ex. 95). The other cadential locations are placed before the first tenor *g*'; five are D Dorian (two V-I and three V-VI) and one V-I G transposed Dorian. Whether or not the first *g*' of the source material is in a cadential context it is given in a G minor sonority eleven times (twice in C major). So the polyphonic settings of these *g*' naturals at least pay lip service to a modal affinity between the first and last notes of the underpinning tenor structure. Table 25 lists the cadential contexts at the beginnings of statement 1.

**Table 25**  
**Cadential contexts at the beginnings of statement 1 in Anonymous V**

<b>Tenor <i>g</i>' in a first cadential harmony</b>	<b>Cadence before the first pitch</b>
Christe bs. 72-73 V-I D Dorian+	Kyrie I bs. 4-5 V-I D Dorian*
Kyrie II b. 137 A Phrygian*	Qui tollis bs. 70-71 V-I G transposed Dorian*
Et in terra bs. 5-6 A Phrygian*	Patrem bs. 4-5 V-I D Dorian+
Cum Sancto b. 133 A Phrygian*	Osanna bs. 98-99 V VI D Dorian*
Crucifixus bs. 71-72 A Phrygian*	Agnus I bs. 4-5 V-VI D Dorian*
Confiteor b. 133 A Phrygian*	Agnus III bs. 128-29 V-VI D Dorian*
Sanctus bs. 5-6 A Phrygian*	

+ tenor *g*' placed in a C major harmony

\* tenor *g*' placed in a G minor harmony

In conclusion there appear to be two basic reasons as to why Anonymous II, IV and V did not present their respective cantus firmus in the G Mixolydian mode of the *cantus prius factus*.

The first reflects the manner in which the secular song is segmented to provide source material for the first five Masses of the cycle of six. Making divisions on textual grounds rather than for reasons of musical context created compositional problems when each segment of the song was apportioned to an individual Mass as a self-contained cantus firmus. Deprived of its original overarching G Mixolydian setting each cantus firmus brought to its respective Mass setting new cadential implications not present in the context of the complete *l'homme armé* melody. Added to the problems which were the result of the textual fragmentation of the *res facta* are also those created by the canons appended to the tenor. The manipulations were so devised that in each case the complete tenor structures ended on a prolonged  $\underline{d}$ . When placed in G Mixolydian the dilemma was one of how to create and maintain a drive towards the final cadence without this being thwarted in the final harmony of the Mass section.

The G transposed Dorian mode of the Masses is thus determined not by the original material but on two levels of text. Firstly by that of the secular song on which the tune itself was divided and secondly from the manipulations to which each portion was subjected in accordance to the rubrics appended to the individual tenors. That the mode was consistently G transposed Dorian is borne out by the *mollis* signatures of Anonymous II and IV. The tenor of Anonymous V would doubtless also have carried a  $\underline{b}$  flat had there been any  $\underline{b}$  pitches in its structure. G transposed Dorian was chosen over the G Mixolydian mode of the secular song because of the final pedal  $\underline{d}$  in the cantus firmus. With a constant repetition of G minor harmonies over the pedal  $\underline{d}$  the drive to the cadence was not nullified in a final harmony of either G major or an 8-5-8 sonority.

## Chapter 9

### C Ionian and Anonymous 1 and VI

#### Anonymous I

Whether by chance or design the first and last Masses in the Naples cycle share the same C Ionian mode, in both instances the original pitches of the secular tune being retained and placed in the C mode. Anonymous I is based on the first four notes of the borrowed song (ex. 96 [a]). The tenor canon gives two realisations,<sup>1</sup> a four-fold repeat of the leaping fourth in original motion followed by its retrograde (ex. 96 [b] and [c]).

The three factors which militate against a G Mixolydian mode for Anonymous I are the distribution of the cantus firmus over each principal movement, the head motive and the design of the tenor itself. Given three times in each main movement the tenor scaffold is a constant presence. On every occasion the ratio relationships are exact with an initial statement of 8 bars followed by 16 then 4 (see Table 26 columns 3, 5 and 7).<sup>2</sup> The tenorless passages preceding the two statements are also always in the same proportions - 16 bars followed by 16 and then 8 in the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus, and of 16, 32 and 8 in the Gloria and Credo (Table 26 columns 2 and 4). There is no such mathematical balance in the passages following the end of statement 2 (Table 26 column 6).

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<sup>1</sup>

<p><b>Canon Anonymous I</b>          Bis vicibus binis gradatim <i>vir</i> in ordine scandit          (In twice two turns the <i>man</i> climbs step by step in order)</p> <p>Ut prius incessit, ipse retrograditur          (When the former attacks, he steps back down.)          Haggh, 'Letters', 139.</p> <p>Missing parts, <i>Kyries</i> I and II and <i>Christe</i> - superius and tenor; <i>Agnus</i> II and III - contratenor and bassus.</p>	<p><b>Statement 1</b>          original motion, four-fold repetition          of the leaping fourth</p> <p><b>Statement 2</b>          retrograde of statement 1</p>
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<sup>2</sup> On each occasion read the figures vertically.

**Table 26**  
**Proportions in which the cantus firmus is delivered in Anonymous 1**

Movement	Free voices	CF 1	Free voices	CF 2	Free voices	Total
Kyrie I	16	<b>8</b>	16	<b>8</b>	6	<b>16</b>
Christe	16	<b>16</b>	16	<b>16</b>	8	<b>32</b>
Kyrie II	8	<b>4</b>	8	<b>4</b>	7	<b>8</b>
Et in terra	16	<b>8</b>	16	<b>8</b>	6	<b>16</b>
Qui tollis	32	<b>16</b>	32	<b>16</b>	18	<b>32</b>
Cum Sancto	8	<b>4</b>	8	<b>4</b>	8	<b>8</b>
Patrem	16	<b>8</b>	16	<b>8</b>	18	<b>16</b>
Et in Spiritum	32	<b>16</b>	32	<b>16</b>	14	<b>32</b>
Et exspecto	8	<b>4</b>	8	<b>4</b>	6	<b>8</b>
Sanctus	16	<b>8</b>	16	<b>8</b>	6	<b>16</b>
Osanna I	16	<b>16</b>	16	<b>16</b>	10	<b>32</b>
Osanna II	8	<b>4</b>	8	<b>4</b>	6	<b>8</b>
Agnus I	16	<b>8</b>	16	<b>8</b>	5	<b>16</b>
Agnus III	16	<b>16</b>	16	<b>16</b>	8	<b>32</b>
Dona nobis <sup>3</sup>	8	<b>4</b>	8	<b>4</b>	5	<b>8</b>

c.f. totals marked in bold type

First the cantus-firmus-free passages that follow the end of statement 2 will be examined.

These passages allow the Mass section to close on a strong cadence, a condition that is not possible over the final two notes of statement 2. However, two situations can accommodate these two notes in such a context, the first being a plagal cadence in G Mixolydian (C major to G major). This would only be possible with some manipulation applied to the bassus, so as to

<sup>3</sup> The treatment of the *Dona nobis pacem* as a self-contained cantus-firmus-carrying section is unusual. An alternative was open to the composer; the second of the three-fold tenor quotations might have been placed in *Agnus II*, retaining the usual division of the Agnus text; two with *miserere nobis* and one with *dona nobis pacem*. Anonymous II (and also Anonymous III see Chapter 10) has four divisions. *Agnus II* by tradition was cantus-firmus free and written for fewer voices. The reason for the four-fold design in the relevant Masses might have been for contrast. Had *Agnus II* been set *a4* with cantus firmus, then from *Osanna II* to the end of *Agnus III* there would have been four successive cantus-firmus sections all *a4*. Admittedly Du Fay places the source material from *Osanna II* and over a tripartite Agnus. But relief is given to the prevailing four-voiced texture in two ways. *Agnus II* is written for three parts (no tenor) and prior to the cantus-firmus entry there is a superius-contratenor duet of seventeen bars. So although the secular song is present in Du Fay's *Agnus II* there is contrast of vocal ensemble with a self-contained duet followed by a trio quoting the borrowed tune. Then too there is the manner in which the tenor material of Anonymous II is given over the Mass. The first two presentations are substantial and in long values; the third is more lightweight and in shorter durations. *Agnus II* when set in a tripartite design was a slight section. By placing a large cantus firmus delivery in *Agnus II* and a less substantial one in the concluding *Agnus* does not provide a convincing architectural design. But by delivering the second and third quotations of the tenor material in *Agnus III* with a corresponding subdivision of the text at 'dona nobis pacem' (and in the shortest values) has a feeling that this last declaration of the source material is a coda to the preceding one.



prevent parallel octaves with the tenor. In any case the plagal cadence was not a frequently used progression with which to close all the cantus-firmus-carrying sections of a single Mass. Far more usual was either a V-I or a VII<sup>6</sup>-I or octave leap cadences.<sup>4</sup> The first harmonies of the two conclusions contain the leading-tone of the mode, giving to the progressions a sharper articulation than is possible in the plagal cadence. The second option would be to treat the final tenor *g* as an internal pedal, in the same manner of the final *ḍ* in Anonymous II, IV and V. But this procedure is not an effective close for the final cadences in Anonymous I. If the drive to the final cadence is to be maintained over the tenor *g* that finds release in the last harmony, then the only two sonorities by which this can be accomplished is alternating C minor and G major harmonies with a concluding C major chord. But there are no **E flats** to give C minor sonorities, so the C harmonies across the pedal would be major and therefore the sense of climax at the end of the drive towards a final cadential C major sonority would be lost.

One alternative remains (the one adopted in Anonymous I) which is the exclusion of the tenor from the final bars. Three cadential approaches are used to conclude statement 2. One places the end of the cantus firmus in a cadence, another places the cadence before the end of the source material and the third locates it after. Of the fifteen conclusions to cantus-firmus-carrying Mass sections only two involve the last tenor *g* in the first harmony of a cadence, the voice being silent in the second sonority. Both are closes in C Ionian, one V-VI and the other V-I. Six cadences are given before the completion of the tenor over pitches 12 and 13, *a-c̣*' (see ex. 96 [c]); all are C Ionian plagal progressions (ex. 97). Of the remaining seven cadences placed after the completion of the source material five are in C Ionian, two V-VI, two V-I (ex. 98 bs. 151-52) and the other a two-part progression resolving on to an *a*<sup>3</sup> chord, the remaining two are V-VI cadences in G Mixolydian. See Table 27:

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<sup>4</sup> Using a plagal cadence with which to end a Mass section was not completely unknown, see the special circumstances regarding the E Phrygian *L'homme armé* Masses of Compere and Morales in Chapter 13.

**Table 27****Cadential contexts involving the end of statement 2 in Anonymous I****IV-I C Ionian over pitches 12-13**

Kyrie I bs. 46-47  
 Christe bs. 114-15  
 Et in terra bs. 46-47  
 Et in Spiritum bs. 195-96  
 Osanna II bs. 259-60  
 Agnus I bs. 46-47

**C Ionian cadences over pitch 16**

Osanna I bs. 149-50 V-VI  
 Agnus III bs. 167-68 V-I

**V-VI G Mixolydian after the final tenor note**

Cum Sancto bs. 193-94  
 Sanctus bs. 49-50

**C Ionian cadences after the final tenor note**

Kyrie II bs. 151-52 V-VI  
 Qui tollis bs. 153-54 V-VI  
 Patrem bs. 49-50 V-I  
 Et exspecto bs. 238-39 V-I  
 Dona nobis pacem bs. 200-01 (*a2* to *a3*)

The tenor re-enters in the final bar of every cantus-firmus Mass section in the C major harmonies of the V-I cadences. This in itself is not unusual but in Anonymous I a divisi tenor sounds the interval of a perfect fourth, *g* and *c'*. This has a greater significance over and above an enrichment of the final sonority. If this were its sole purpose then a single *g* would suffice, providing the fifth of the concluding 'open' harmony, the *c'*, already doubled in the contratenor, being superfluous (see ex. 98 b.157). Thus in the simultaneous sounding of the two pitches some other point is being made. That they are the two notes which open the borrowed song (and by extension are also the opening two tones of the cantus firmus) cannot be merely fortuitous. The design of the complete tenor structure is a series of leaping then falling fourths, which is underlined further by the final tenor interval. So in a sense the vertical fourth in the tenor at the close of every cantus-firmus section encapsulates both the preceding delivery of the cantus firmus and the opening two notes of the original song.

A head motive for superius and contratenor fashioned from the vernacular tune opens the five principal movements and is also partly influential on the C Ionian mode of the Mass. There

are variants in its five soundings. A subtle design lies behind the superius line, for what appears to be a simple C Ionian descending scale in reality is far more. The falling step-wise line circumscribes the two fourths that open and close each of the two statements of the tenor structure ( $\underline{g}-\underline{c}'$  and  $\underline{c}'-\underline{f}$ ). But in the head motive the two intervals of the tenor are now filled in scale-wise and given in descending form from  $\underline{c}'-\underline{g}$ , then  $\underline{f}-\underline{c}'$ . Even more significant is that both intervals are given in a retrograde version of statement 2 which began on  $\underline{f}-\underline{c}'$  and ended on  $\underline{c}'-\underline{g}$ . So at the very beginning, the head motive foreshadows the treatment the fourth receives in statement 2. Each time the motto is stated the beginning of the accompanying contratenor is an inversion of the superius. The affinity with the source material is therefore increased with the contratenor also derived from its pitches (ex. 99 [a]-[e], the two fourths are marked with square brackets).

The concentration of cantus-firmus-derived material is even denser. After the opening superius-contratenor duo another one follows for bassus-contratenor. Like the superius in the first duo the bassus in the second is again a descending C Ionian scale. Once more the two fourths are clearly outlined  $\underline{c}'$  to  $\underline{g}$  and  $\underline{f}$  to  $\underline{c}$  (the  $\underline{d}$  functioning as an upper auxiliary note). There are two exceptions to this format; in *Kyrie I* and *Sanctus* the second fourth is on  $\underline{b}$  flat (ex. 100 [a]-[e]). This second duo has all the properties of a subsidiary head motive.

This focusing on the cantus firmus to provide material for the polyphony is extended to the subsections of the main movements. They open with passages derived from the superius and contratenor lines, either individually or combined. The potential inherent in the opening interval of the rising fourth is exploited continuously, creating a level of unity in the Mass above and beyond the presence of the interval in the structural voice itself. Six of the subsections open in C Ionian where the relationship with the opening duos is strongest (ex. 101 [a]-[f]), compare with



exs. 99).<sup>5</sup> The beginnings of the other four subsections are in G Mixolydian and have contratenor parts derived from the contratenors of ex. 99. On each occasion the superius begins its counterpoint against the contratenor on  $\underline{b}$ ' (ex. 102 [a]-[d]). See Table 28:

**Table 28**

**Modal contexts in which each cantus-firmus Mass section opens in Anonymous I**

**C Ionian**

Kyrie I  
Christe  
Et in terra  
Qui tollis  
Patrem  
Et in Spiritum  
Et exspecto  
Sanctus  
Osanna I  
Osanna II  
Agnus I

**G Mixolydian**

Kyrie II  
Cum Sancto  
Agnus III  
Dona nobis pacem

The opening C Ionian modality is not reflected in the announcement of the initial pitch  $g$  of the cantus firmus. In fifteen possible contexts the first tenor note is given in a G major harmony fourteen times. On nine occasions the initial  $g$  is sited in the second harmony of a VII6-I G Mixolydian cadence, the G sonority followed by one of C in which the third note  $\underline{c}$ ' of the tenor is placed (see ex. 103). In five other contexts the cadence is delivered before the sounding of the cantus firmus - all are VII6-I C Ionian progressions, and then the leaping fourth of the tenor is announced in G and C major harmonies. Once the second  $g$  is given in a C major harmony - and the following  $\underline{c}$ ' in A minor (ex. 104 bs. 244-45). There is a problem when the initial fourth of the secular song is taken out of its G Mixolydian setting. In the case of

<sup>5</sup> The superius in exs. 101 [c], [e] and [f] (and ex. 109) features one of the motives presented by Don Giller to support his case for Caron being the composer of these six Masses, see his *Caron*, 8-20. But this motive is much in evidence across the *L'homme armé* Mass complex. For detailed information on this issue, with musical examples, see Chapter 13.

Anonymous I where it is placed in C Ionian, there is a feeling of the g being anacrusic to the c'.<sup>6</sup> *Kyrie I* is illustrative of this dilemma, particularly when the first tenor g is given in the second harmony of a C Ionian cadence. Either there needs to be a quick change of G and C major harmonies, or one prolonged C major harmony of the extant reading (ex. 105). This produces a feeling of a hold-up in the forward movement of the polyphony. Presenting the opening of the tenor in this context once might be acceptable, but any artistic merit the device has would soon wear thin if repeated across the fifteen relevant Mass sections. Table 29 lists all of the cantus firmus openings.

**Table 29**

**Contexts in which the first pitch of the cantus firmus is placed in Anonymous I**

**Pitch 1 in a VII6-I G Mixolydian**

Christe bs. 70-71\*  
 Kyrie II bs. 134-35\*  
 Cum Sancto bs. 176-77\*  
 Et in Spiritum bs. 134-35\*  
 Et exspecto bs. 220-21\*  
 Sanctus bs. 16-17\*  
 Agnus I bs. 15-16\*  
 Agnus III bs. 118-19\*  
 Dona nobis pacem bs. 183-84

**VII6-I C Ionian cadences placed before the cantus firmus**

Et in terra bs. 15-16\*  
 Qui tollis bs. 84-85\*  
 Patrem bs. 15-16\*  
 Osanna I bs. 100-01\*  
 Osanna II bs. 244-45+

**Pitch 1 in a VII6-I C Ionian cadence**

*Kyrie I* bs. 16-17^

\*indicates when the cantus firmus rising fourth is placed in G and C major harmonies: + C major to A minor: ^ in a prolonged C major harmony

Column 1 of Table 29 shows how straightforward it is to open the cantus firmus in G Mixolydian, the mode of the source melody. But this does not take into consideration the head motive based on the tenor structure. The device clearly defines C Ionian as a descending line, emphasising the two fourths on c' and f'. That the opening motto was one of the prime factors in determining the mode of Anonymous I there can be little doubt. Thus at the very beginning of

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 2 the section concerning the Pipelare Mass, and the reference to Compere, Morales and Obrecht in Chapters 13 and 14.

the Mass the free voices establish a close relationship with the tenor. The role is reversed at the end of every cantus-firmus section. After completing the source material the tenor is silent over passages of varying lengths, but always re-entering in the final bar with the two notes *g* and *c̣* in a vertical alignment. Not only is the final C harmony thus reinforced, the two notes are also retrospective in function, referring to the opening two notes of the tenor material and also the descending scale-wise fourth at the start of the superius head motive. Important too is the anacrusic nature of the *g* rising to *c̣* when the interval is isolated from its original G Mixolydian setting. As the interval framing the complete tenor structure the two notes have more of a relationship of confinal to final in C Ionian, than the first to the fourth notes of G Mixolydian.

## Anonymous VI

Anonymous VI is the crowning work in the cycle of six Masses. The individual fragments of the *l'homme armé* melody used as cantus firmi in the previous five Masses are now brought together with the whole song forming the structural tenor. A second tenor is added to the vocal force as the *comes* for a complete delivery of the source material at the subdiapente. Once again a rubric<sup>7</sup> is appended to the notated tenor from which the canonic structure is realised.

The interval of the canon being at the fifth below is a decisive factor in the choice for the C Ionian setting of the cantus firmus. To help see why this is the case we shall scrutinise the Mass without the canonic realisation; that is with only the notated tenor presenting the source

7

Arma virumque cano vincorque per  
arma virumque

Alterni gradimur hic ubi signo tacet.

Sub lychanos hypaton oritur sic undique pergit

Visceribus propriis conditur ille meis

### Canon Anonymous VI

I sing of arms and of a man, and I am bested through  
the arms of a man.

We step by turns, where this sign is silent.

He comes forth under the lychanos hypaton [which is  
D so the *comes* is on *c̣*] and so proceeds in every case:

He is fashioned out of my very own entrails

Haggh, 'Letters', 141. Both Cohen ('Munus', 30) and Haag note the reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* in the opening line. A more detailed reference to the line linking it to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is found in Morwood, *Latin Words and Phrases*, 21. Missing parts are, *Kyrie* I - superius and canonic-tenor; *Agnus* I - contratenor and bassus, *Agnus* II and III - all parts.

material.<sup>8</sup> As a single voice the written tenor can be accommodated into the existing polyphonic texture, and therefore in G Mixolydian. All that is required is some adjustment to the points where tenor I ends and tenor II begins. The upheaval would be minimal because the two voices are never sounded simultaneously, other than in a dovetailing of the end of the *dux* and beginning of the *comes*. This means that the extant reading of the cantus firmus with all of its G Mixolydian cadences can remain intact (see ex. 109 bs. 108-09, ex. 110 bs. 120-22, ex. 111 bs. 7-8).

With regard to the cadential settings that close phs. 1, 2, 6 and 7.<sup>9</sup> The end of ph. 1 and its following fifth are both expressed in G Mixolydian, either in a cadential context, or in a 'quasi' cadential setting (that is where all the elements of a cadential close are not present) or simply in a G major harmony. The two notes *a-g* of ph. 1 prior to the closing falling fifth are given in a complete G Mixolydian cadential setting eight times, three times in VII6-I closes, twice in V-VI progressions and a single octave leap conclusion. Twice a IV-I conclusion is placed over the final prolonged *g*, and this note is placed non-cadentially three times, but always in G major harmonies. Only twice is the falling fifth set cadentially, once in an octave leap close and once in a V-VI progression. Seven of the conclusions are set 'quasi' cadentially. Four are V-I, one V-VI and there are two octave leap endings. The remaining two contexts are not cadential, but again given in a G major harmony. Table 30:

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<sup>8</sup> See Bentham, *Mass and Mass Sections* (VIII, 2) for his hypothesis for a Dorian reading of the song in Anonymous VI, and his reason for it being notated in G Mixolydian. This issue is addressed in my 'Conclusions', 323-24.

<sup>9</sup> The B section of the borrowed song has no influence at all over the C Ionian setting. This is because of its higher range and even at the fifth below the *comes* lies comfortably internal to the musical fabric.



**Table 30**  
**Polyphonic contexts closing ph. 1 over pitches a and g in Anonymous VI**

**VII6-I**

Kyrie I bs. 7-8<sup>10</sup>  
 Sanctus bs. 7-8  
 Agnus I bs. 7-8

**IV-I (over a prolonged g)**

Et in terra bs. 11-12  
 Patrem bs. 11-12

**V-VI**

Cum Sancto b. 295  
 Confiteor b. 295

**Octave Leap**

Domine Deus bs. 119-20

**Non-cadential contexts, but the final g is in a G major harmony**

Kyrie II b. 161  
 Crucifixus b. 120  
 Osanna b. 119

**Polyphonic contexts of the falling fifth of ph. 1**

**G Mixolydian cadences**

Et in terra bs. 19-20 octave leap  
 Patrem bs. 19-20 V-VI

**Non-cadential, but final harmony is G major**

Osanna b. 112  
 Agnus I b. 13

**'Quasi' cadential settings**

Kyrie I b. 13 V-VI  
 Kyrie II b. 164 V-I  
 Domine Deus bs. 136-37 octave leap  
 Cum Sancto b. 298 octave leap  
 Crucifixus bs. 136-37 V-I  
 Confiteor b. 298 V-I  
 Sanctus b. 13 V-I

The situation is similar at the conclusion of ph. 2, where all the cadences function well within the musical fabric without contravening correct part writing. Over the pitches a-g before the falling fifth, octave leap cadences are in the majority; there are nine, and one a VII6-I, all in G Mixolydian; the remaining single cadence is IV-I in C Ionian. Seven of the conclusions to the falling fifth are cadential, three V-I, three octave leap and one V-VI. The final g in the remaining four appearances of the interval are 'quasi' cadential progressions. All these cadences are articulated in a definite G Mixolydian mode. Table 31:

<sup>10</sup> Yet again there is a correspondence between the same musical events occurring at the precisely the same points in the different sections of the Mass.

**Table 31**  
**Polyphonic contexts closing ph. 2 over pitches a and g in Anonymous VI**

<b>Octave leap*</b> Kyrie II bs. 165-66 Et in terra bs. 24-25 Cum Sancto bs. 299-300 Patrem bs. 24-25 Crucifixus bs. 146-47 Confiteor bs. 299-300 Sanctus bs. 16-17 Osanna bs. 113-14 Agnus I bs. 16-17	<b>VII6-I*</b> Kyrie I bs. 16-17	<b>IV-I C Ionian</b> Domine Deus bs. 146-47
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**Polyphonic contexts closing the falling fifth of ph. 2**

<b>V-I*</b> Et in terra bs. 34-35 Patrem b. 35 Confiteor b. 303	<b>Octave leap*</b> Crucifixus bs. 167-68 Sanctus bs. 23-24 Agnus I bs. 23-24	<b>V-VI*</b> Kyrie I bs. 23-24
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**'Quasi' cadential settings\***

Kyrie II b. 169 V-I  
 Domine Deus bs. 167-68 octave leap  
 Cum Sancto bs. 299-300 V-I  
 Osanna b. 117 V-I

\* indicates a G Mixolydian setting

Octave leap progressions are the commonest (four) over the a-g of ph. 6. Two of the remaining three closes are VII6-I and the other V-VI. One ending is a 'quasi' V-VI cadential close and the other three place the final g in G major harmonies. Three of the closes to the falling fifth of ph. 6 are expressed in this manner, whilst four are 'quasi' cadential closes and the remaining four genuine octave leap cadences. See Table 32:

**Table 32**  
**Polyphonic contexts closing ph. 6 over pitches a and g in Anonymous VI**

<b>Octave leap*</b> Kyrie II bs. 184-85 Et in terra b. 83 Crucifixus bs. 262-63 Sanctus bs. 55-56	<b>VII6-I*</b> Kyrie I bs. 55-56 Agnus I bs. 55-56	<b>V-VI*</b> Confiteor b. 319
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<b>Non-cadential final <u>g</u> in G major harmony</b> Domine Deus b. 265 Patrem b. 83 Osanna b. 133	<b>'Quasi' cadential setting*</b> Cum Sancto b. 319 V-VI
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**Polyphonic contexts closing the falling fifth of ph. 6**

<b>Octave leap*</b> Kyrie I b. 61 Domine Deus bs. 279-80 Patrem bs. 91-92 Crucifixus bs. 279-80	<b>'Quasi' cadential settings*</b> Et in terra bs. 91-92 V-I Cum Sancto b. 322 V-VI Sanctus b. 61 V-I (G Dorian inflected B flat) Osanna b. 136 octave leap
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<b>Non-cadential final <u>g</u> in a G major harmony</b> Kyrie II b. 187 Confiteor b. 332 Agnus I b. 61
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\* indicates a G Mixolydian setting

Finally we consider the cadential contexts closing ph. 7, but still excluding the *comes*. On all eleven occasions the *dux* concludes in an octave leap progression, the final pitch of the cantus firmus becoming the lowest part of the terminal G major harmony. We have seen already that with only one voice delivering the source material on g, all sections of the Mass could quiet easily end in these octave leap progressions in a G Mixolydian setting. As such it would be a fitting summation to the cycle of six Masses, in that the concluding setting not only presents the complete song, but does so in its original G Mixolydian mode. This point returns the subject to the position of the *comes* within the polyphony and consequently the reason for the C Ionian mode of Anonymous VI.

But in order to put this in its true perspective the openings of the five main movements

need to be considered. From the outset C Ionian is firmly established with a cantus-firmus based head motive on  $\underline{c}'$  in the contratenor. Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus present ph. 1 - minus its falling fifth in the first two movements but decorated in the third - all are four bars in length (ex. 106 [a] [b] [c]). The head motives in the *Et in terra* and *Patrem* are slightly longer at six bars; ph. 1 is delivered complete followed by ph. 2 which lacks its falling fifth (ex. 107 [a] and [b]).

This clear C Ionian start to the five main movements is not reflected in the announcement of the first  $\underline{g}$  of the source material. C Ionian is declared once within a 'quasi' cadential context in an altered V-I progression (*Kyrie I*). The bassus has  $\underline{b}$  as the fundamental pitch of the three-part G major harmony which, instead of rising to  $\underline{c}'$ , descends to  $\underline{e}$  as the lowest note of the  $\alpha 4$  C major sonority, the entry of the *dux* on  $\underline{g}$  supplying the fifth of the chord (see ex. 106 [a] bs. 4-5). *Kyrie II*, the *Osanna* and *Agnus I* are given in a genuine V-I C Ionian close (exs. 108 and 109 bs. 2-3). Three other movements give the first note of the *dux* in a G Mixolydian progression (*Et in terra*, *Patrem* and *Sanctus*) which, although not completely conventional, does begin with what appears to be a VII6-I with the bassus on  $\underline{a}$ . The upper two parts follow their correct linear progressions,  $\underline{c}''$  in the superius falling to  $\underline{b}'$  and the  $\underline{f}'$  in the contratenor rising to  $\underline{g}'$ . The expected fall of  $\underline{a}$  to  $\underline{g}$  in the bassus does not happen, instead it leaps to  $\underline{d}'$ , the first  $\underline{g}$  of the tenor then becoming the bass of the G major harmony (see ex. 106 [b] bs. 4-5 and ex. 107 [a] and [b] bs. 6-7). Four of the six subsections also announce the first tenor note in this progression. Table 33 lists the contexts of the first tenor  $\underline{g}$ .



**Table 33**  
**Contexts in which the first pitch *g* of the *dux* is announced in Anonymous VI**

<b>C Ionian V-I</b>	<b>G Mixolydian progression bassus leaps from <u>a</u> to <u>d'</u></b>
Kyrie II bs. 159-60	Et in terra bs. 6-7
Osanna bs. 107-08	Domine Deus bs. 110-11
Agnus I bs. 4-5	Cum Sancto bs. 293-94
	Patrem bs. 6-7
	Crucifixus bs. 110-11
	Confiteor bs. 293-94
	Sanctus bs. 4-5
<b>C Major Harmony</b>	
Kyrie I b. 4	

Eight of eleven appearances of the *comes* gives the first note in C Ionian cadences. But only twice is the progression conventional, both being VII6-I (ex. 109 bs. 109-110). Five times the first tenor pitch is placed in a 'quasi' cadence in that some part of the traditional cadential progression is changed. In these five cases the first G major harmony has b in the bassus (conventionally it would have been g) which rises to c', the tenor sounding the first note of the cantus firmus an octave below on c in the second harmony (ex. 110 bs. 122-23). The other setting is also a 'quasi' cadential, a VII6-I progression - d' is placed in the bassus of the first sonority, which by convention should fall to c', but instead rises to e'. Entering on c the *comes* becomes the bass of the major harmony (ex. 111 bs. 8-9). The three remaining contexts in which the initial c in the second canonic voice is delivered are non-cadential, and are placed in a simple C major harmony. See Table 34:

**Table 34**  
**Contexts in which the first pitch c of the *comes* is announced in Anonymous VI**

**VII6-I cadences**

Patrem bs. 12-13

Osanna bs. 109-110

**'Quasi' VII6-I cadence**

Sanctus bs. 8-9

**'Quasi' cadential bassus sounding b in the G major harmony**

Kyrie II bs. 161-62

Et in terra bs. 12-13

Domine Deus bs. 122-23

Crucifixus bs. 122-23

Agnus I bs. 8-9

**Expressed in a C major harmony**

Kyrie I b. 9

Cum Sancto b. 296

Confiteor b. 296

We now come to what is perhaps the most influential factor for the C Ionian setting of the *l'homme armé* melody, the position of the *comes* within the five-part polyphony. On the whole the complete polyphonic fabric lies well within the limits of the Gamut, the superius exceeding the upper limit of the Guidonian hand e'' only seven times with f''.<sup>11</sup> At the other extreme the lowest pitch in the bassus is c, descending to b only nine times.<sup>12</sup> There are no extended passages of five-part writing, for only where the two canonic voices overlap and at terminal cadences do all five parts sound together. So each voice of the canon is given in a predominantly four-part texture. For the most part the *dux* remains internal to the polyphony, occasionally with the opening and closing pitches g becoming the bass of the musical fabric (ex. 112 bs. 83-84, 92, 97-98). Whereas with c being the lowest note of the *comes* (which is also the most frequently employed lowest note of the polyphony) and in a four-part texture, that voice is always the bass of the polyphony (ex. 112 bs. 85-90). We have already seen that all the terminal

<sup>11</sup> Gloria b. 235, Credo bs. 5, 67, 235, *Osanna* I b. 128, *Benedictus* b. 180 and *Agnus* I b. 3

<sup>12</sup> Gloria bs. 2, 70, Credo bs. 4, 5, 206, *Sanctus* b. 2, *Osanna* b. 175 (signed b flat), *Agnus* I bs. 2, 23.

cadences of the *dux* are octave leap closes (see Table 30), and such they can conclude all the cantus-firmus-carrying sections of the Mass.

There is not a parallel situation in the *comes*, because the second voice of the canon does not deliver ph. 7. The final bars of each cantus-firmus section are manipulated to include the *comes*. All the terminal cadences to the main movements end with the same C Ionian progression (*Kyrie II, Cum Sancto, Confiteor, Osanna*)<sup>13</sup> as does the internal closing cadence of the *Et in terra* (ex. 112 bs. 97-98). In the internal closes the *comes* states a repeated *g* in the final octave leap cadences of the *dux*, whereby the existing G Mixolydian endings are retained (ex. 113).

This treatment of the octave leap G Mixolydian cadences in the *dux* in order that the *comes* can be present in the final cadences of the main movements shows that the C Ionian conclusions are somewhat artificial. All the Mass sections could include the second canonic voice in the final cadences and conclude in G Mixolydian in the manner of ex. 113. But so far as the closes to the five main movements are concerned there would be no modal correspondence with the C Ionian head motive in the contratenor.

The same situation would still need to be addressed even if the *comes* had quoted ph. 7, because its context within the polyphony would be the same as the deliveries of all the other phrases in the *comes*, the functional bass. But there are two other drawbacks; one is that with ph. 7 in the lowest sounding voice each final cadence can only be VII6-I the *d* falling to *c*. This is not a particularly strong progression on which to end a substantial canonic Mass movement (neither for that matter would be the octave leap endings in the presentations of the original melody in the *dux*). The second drawback is that the *dux* would have either free material or remain silent over ph. 7 in the *comes*, re-entering in the final harmony of the cadence. However,

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<sup>13</sup> So standard are the conclusions to the principal movements that had *Agnus III* not been lost, there is no doubt that it too would have closed in the same manner. The manuscript ends with *Agnus I*.

there was a third option (adopted by the composer) that of allowing the two canonic voices to quote the source material in the final cadence, namely through altering the original form of the *res facta*. Ph. 6 is delivered in both voices with the falling fifth separated from the beginning of the phrase. After the completion of the first part of ph. 6 in the *comes*, the *dux* then states the falling fifth of its own ph. 6. The upper canonic voice then quotes ph. 7 ending with a prolonged final *g*, over which the *comes* states the falling fifth of its sixth phrase. All five conclusions to the main movements (and the *Et in terra*) deliver this falling fifth (*g-g-c*) in V-I C Ionian cadences. Only the initial *g* naturals of the falling interval are employed at the ends of the subsections, in G Mixolydian conclusions.

Anonymous VI as the last of the cycle of six Masses would seem to have needed to surpass the manipulations of inversion and retrograde-inversion applied to the segments of the secular song in the previous five settings. There could not be a more appropriate summation to all the previous technical artifices than a sustained canonic delivery of the whole song through the entire Mass. What had to be decided upon was the interval of the canon and whether it should lie above or below the *dux*. Taking into consideration the total range of the polyphony the choice was limited. If the interval were to be above then the result places the superius above its prevailing upper pitch *e*'' more frequently. The interval at the fourth below is not practical because the overlap of the two canonic voices does not work smoothly, whilst a canon at the octave below on *G* is excluded because the pitch is completely below the lower range of the polyphony. Only the fifth below on *c* is left, the interval employed in Anonymous VI. It is apparent that because the *comes* announces the source material on *c* as the bass of the polyphony, it was a predominant factor in determining the C Ionian mode of the Mass. The other point which emerges is that this particular canonic setting of the *l'homme armé* melody presented a problem that had to be addressed by other composers who set the vernacular tune

completely in canon (see Chapter 11). That was how to retain the lower voice of the imitative structure internal to the polyphony when given at the interval below the first part.



## Chapter 10

### F Ionian and Anonymous III<sup>1</sup>

Anonymous III is the only Naples setting which places source material and the resultant polyphony in a mode far removed from the original G Mixolydian, namely F Ionian. Alongside Anonymous II it also shows the most advanced techniques in the treatment of the canon, imitation and the source material penetrating the free voices. Moreover, Taruskin has noted that the number 31 underpins the structural design of Anonymous III and also Anonymous IV, the same number that governs the design of the central portion of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé*, the *Et incarnatus est*. On this basis Taruskin attributes a possible authorship to Busnoys of at least Anonymous III if not the whole cycle of six.

To date, there has been no detailed comment or investigation into the choice of the F Ionian mode. It is the earliest of four *L'homme armé* Masses to place the secular song in that mode. But there is a fundamental difference between Anonymous III and the three later Masses, for they actually transpose the complete secular song to F Ionian, whereas Anonymous III employs just a portion of the vernacular tune whilst retaining the original pitch levels. The final eight notes of Ai are used as its cantus firmus (ex. 114 [a]). Five statements of the eight-note tenor are deployed in an alternating pattern of original direction followed by its retrograde,

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<sup>1</sup> Missing parts, superius - *Qui ex Patre, Benedictus*; superius and tenor - *Kyrie I, Et exspecto, Osanna II*; contratenor - *Et incarnatus est, Pleni sunt caeli, Agnus II*; contratenor and bassus - *Et resurrexit, Osanna I, Agnus III*; contratenor, tenor and bassus - *Dona nobis pacem*.

the cantus-firmus structure being realised from a rubric appended to the tenor<sup>2</sup> (ex. 114 [b]-[f]).

The design is as follows:

**Statement 1**

original motion on c'

**Statement 3**

original motion a fourth higher on f

**Statement 5**

original motion a fifth lower on b flat.

**Statement 2**

retrograde of statement 1

**Statement 4**

retrograde of statement 3

Except for one pitch (g' in statement 3) the complete tenor scaffolding lies within the modal octave of **F**, beginning on c' and ending on f. Statement 5 is the overriding factor for the **F** Ionian mode. Beginning on what is b natural in the borrowed song the first four pitches descend step-wise to f natural creating a melodic tritone. A b flat (either as a supra-script accidental or as a *mollis* signature) is required to temper the interval; a *mollis* signature is carried by the three lowest voices. This places statement 5 firmly within the modal octave on **F**. Such is the design of the tenor that the harmonic division of the octave is stressed in the combined final pitches of statements 2 to 5 (ex. 114 [c] to [f]).

Strong cadential implications are inherent in the three falling fifths that occur on d' , g' and c' (ex. 114 [b] [d] and [f] respectively). That is because they circumscribe the bass progressions of V-I closes. This characteristic of the falling intervals is exploited in Anonymous

<sup>2</sup>

*Sic metuendus eat gressum*

(Let the *fearful* one proceed thus,  
rependingo ne pausat

(lest he pause before turning back his step.)

Demum scandendo per dyatessaron it.

(At length he proceeds by climbing a fourth,)

Ast ubi concendit vice mox versa remeabit

(but soon as he mounts, he will quickly come back with his fortune reversed.)

Descensus finem per diapentem facit.

(He makes his final descent by a fifth.)

Haggh, 'Letters', 140.

**Canon Anonymous III**

Statement 1

Statement 2

Statement 3

Statement 4

Statement 5

III where they are always placed in definite cadential contexts. However, only one of the three pitch levels on which the interval appears is used in terminal endings, namely that on  $\underline{c}'$  at the end of statement 5, and this is placed at the conclusions of all Mass sections carrying the cantus firmus.

Thus the ubiquitous falling fifth  $\underline{d}'$ -g in the secular song, when transposed to  $\underline{c}'$ , and in conjunction with the **B flat** signature, becomes a significant factor for the form and mode of the final cadences of all the cantus-firmus-carrying sections and consequently the mode of the complete Mass. In the four-part texture these falling fifths located within the musical fabric in a V-I close create potential parallelisms, tenor and bassus simultaneously duplicating the interval. The difficulty is avoided by employing the octave leap close on every occasion. In this context the bassus leaps from  $\underline{c}$  to  $\underline{c}'$ , allowing the tenor to fall a fifth from  $\underline{c}'$  to  $\underline{f}$  with no infringement of harmonic rules. Aurally the effect is that of a perfect close with the tenor falling a fifth instead of a tone as in the traditional octave leap progression.

Fourteen of the fifteen final F harmonies are underlined with a cadential extension in some way or other. The one exception is the *Qui tollis* where the final harmony of the cadence includes a third, presented by a divisi contratenor on  $\underline{f}$  and  $\underline{a}$  (ex. 115 [a]). Four of the extensions deliver the final falling fifth imitatively between the tenor, bassus and contratenor, offering an instance in the early history of the cyclic Mass when the source material began to pervade the free voices (ex. 115 [b] bs. 176-77). Six other conclusions expand the final harmony in two voices, bassus and contratenor (ex. 115 [c]). In the four other closes the contratenor is the only moving part over the final F harmony (ex. 115 [d]). On all fourteen occasions the cadential extension is not step-wise but intervallic therefore emphasising the individual notes of an F major harmony. There is also a correlation between the placings of the cadential extensions with the same format. The contratenor-bassus extension concludes the first, that in the contratenor alone the second, cantus-firmus-carrying sections of each principal movement. With the



exception of *Osanna II* (which has the contratenor-bassus extension) the imitative falling fifth is delivered at the end of the main movements. Table 35 lists the treatments of all the final cadences.

**Table 35**  
**Terminal cadences in Anonymous III**

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Extension</b>	<b>No extension</b>
Kyrie I bs. 62-64 <sup>3</sup>	contratenor-bassus	
Christe bs. 157-60	contratenor	
Kyrie II bs. 176-77	imitative falling fifth	
Et in terra bs. 62-64	contratenor-bassus	
Qui tollis bs. 189-90		divisi contratenor <u>f-a</u>
Cum Sancto bs. 208-10	imitative falling fifth	
Patrem bs. 62-64	contratenor-bassus	
Et resurrexit bs. 192-95	contratenor	
Et exspecto bs. 269-70	imitative falling fifth	
Sanctus bs. 62-64	contratenor-bassus	
Osanna I bs. 127-28	contratenor	
Osanna II bs. 201-03	contratenor-bassus	
Agnus I bs. 62-64	contratenor-bassus	
Agnus III bs. 216-19	contratenor	
Dona nobis pacem bs. 235-37	imitative falling fifth	

There is an almost exact correspondence in the number of times one pitch is used to deliver the falling fifth in statements 1 and 5. In the former statement fourteen of the fifteen quotations of the interval are on **G** (the *Qui tollis* is on **D**), and in the latter they are all on **F**. One important difference diminishes this consistency. Statement 5 has all declarations of the interval in F Ionian, whereas statement 1 announces them on two modal plains - G Mixolydian and G transposed Dorian. This comes about yet again because 'conflicting' or 'partial' signatures' are employed. Anonymous III (like Anonymous II) has the superius with a *dura* signature and the three lower parts carrying one of **B flat**.

Each of the G major harmonies in the G Mixolydian cadences contains a third, the b'

<sup>3</sup> Once again there is an exact correspondence of musical events at the equivalent places in different sections of the Mass.

natural carried by the superius under its *dura* signature. Three are V-I progressions, the bassus not sounding in the second harmony and the other is an octave leap cadence (ex. 116). There is a single V-I close in G transposed Dorian (ex. 117, *Christe* bs. 85-86). The cadence concludes on an 'open' harmony, but before and after the close **B flats** are so much in evidence that the ambience of G transposed Dorian is very prevalent. Three more G transposed Dorian cadences are V-VI and the final six are octave leaps. The one exception is in the *Qui tollis*, a plagal progression in D Dorian, where the two *ḍ* naturals prior to the final *g* are placed cadentially. Yet still the end of the statement is like the others in that the D minor harmony of the cadence is followed by one of G minor in which the final *g* of statement 1 is placed (ex. 118). Table 36 shows the modal levels, and cadential contexts, for the falling fifths ending statement 1.

**Table 36**  
**Cadential contexts of the falling fifths ending statement 1 in Anonymous III**

**G Transposed Dorian**

Kyrie II b. 164 octave leap

*Christe* bs. 85-86 V-I

*Et in terra* bs. 14-15 octave leap

*Cum Sancto* b. 196 octave leap

*Patrem* bs. 14-15 V-VI

*Et resurrexit* bs. 120-21 octave leap

*Et exspecto* b. 257 V-VI

*Agnus I* bs. 14-15 octave leap

*Agnus III* bs. 144-45 V-VI

*Dona nobis pacem* b. 223 octave leap

**G Mixolydian**

Kyrie I bs. 14-15 V-I

*Sanctus* bs. 14-15 V-I

*Osanna I* bs. 102-03 V-I

*Osanna II* b. 189 octave leap

**D Dorian**

*Qui tollis* bs. 116-17 IV-I

In statements 1 and 5 the respective falling fifths outline the mode in which they were placed, respectively G and F. Statement 5 placed all quotations of the interval in F Ionian, statement 1 (with the one exception the *Qui tollis*) either in G Mixolydian or G transposed Dorian. The situation is similar, but not exact, for the falling fifth (*g' - c̣'*) closing statement 3; twelve cadences are in C Ionian, and all involve the falling fifth, and the other three are V-I F Ionian progressions placed in three different contexts. One is located across the repeated *c̣'* that

ends statement 3 and begins statement 4 (ex. 119 [a], *Et in terra* bs. 40-41); the second is situated over the last two pitches of the falling fifth at the beginning of statement 4 (ex. 119 [b], *Osanna* II bs. 196-97). The third treats the final  $\underline{c}$ ' like a brief internal pedal with a succession of C and F major harmonies (ex. 119 [c], *Agnus* III bs. 180-82).

Of the C Ionian cadences two are plagal progressions. The last note of the falling fifth  $\underline{c}$ ' is prolonged becoming the fifth and then the fundamental note (an octave above the bassus) of the progression (ex. 119 [d]). The final ten cadences are either V-VI or V-I progressions, requiring a **B natural** in chord V. This pitch is always in the superius, hence one of the reasons for the *dura* signature in that part. The seven V-VI cadences all occur over the final  $\underline{g}$ ' that drops to  $\underline{c}$ ' (ex. 119 [e]). Two of the three V-I closes are also placed over the final two pitches of the falling fifth (ex. 119 [f]). The *Qui tollis* has the perfect cadence set across the two  $\underline{g}$ ' naturals preceding the  $\underline{c}$ ' of the falling fifth of statement 4. (ex. 119 [g]). Table 37 lists all of the cadential contexts of the falling fifths of statement 3.

**Table 37**  
**Cadential contexts of the falling fifths of statement 3 in Anonymous III**

**C Ionian V-VI**

Christe bs. 121-22

Kyrie II b. 170

Cum Sancto bs. 202

Et resurrexit bs. 156-57

Et exspecto b. 263

Sanctus bs. 38-39

Agnus I bs. 38-39

**C Ionian V-I**

Qui tollis bs. 161-62\*

Patrem bs. 38-39

Dona nobis pacem b. 238

**C Ionian IV-I**

Kyrie I bs. 39-40

Osanna I bs. 115-16+

**F Ionian V-I**

Et in terra bs. 40-41+

Osanna II bs. 96-97\*

Agnus III bs. 180-82

\* indicates that the cadence is located over the beginning of statement 4

+ indicates that the cadence is located over the end of statement 3 and beginning of statement 4

F Ionian as the mode for the Mass is affirmed at the beginnings of statements 1 and 3 (the

openings of statements 2 and 4 are not so important in this respect as they run on directly from the ends of statements 1 and 3). In total there are 30 appearances of the first note of statements 1 and 3; fifteen on c` (statement 1) and fifteen on f` (statement 3). All of the opening cadences have an *a3* first cadential harmony followed by one for four voices in which the initial note of the source material occurs. Over half of the combined settings of the opening cantus-firmus pitches in statements 1 and 3 are VII6-I F Ionian cadences - ten in the former and eight in the latter. The contratenor sounds the b flat and the superius the leading tone e (ex 120 [a] bs. 112-13). Two of the opening cadences in statement 1 are octave leap progressions in C Ionian, the contratenor leaping the octave from g to g`, the bassus descending to c` via d` and the superius carrying the leading-tone b` natural (ex. 120 [b] bs. 194-95). Four of the initial pitches of statements 1 and 3 are non-cadential; three of which occur in statement 1 where each time the harmonic progression is A minor to F major (ex. 120 [c] bs. 162-63). The single instance in statement 3 places a V-VI D Dorian cadence over the second and third pitches (ex. 120 [d] bs. 34-35). All of the remaining six openings to statement 3 are VII6-I D Dorian cadences (ex. 120 [e] bs. 32-33). Table 38:

**Table 38**

**Contexts in which the initial pitches of statements 1 and 3 are delivered in Anonymous III**

**Octave Leap in C Ionian statement 1**

Christe bs. 76-77  
Cum Sancto bs. 194-95

**Non-cadential statement 1**

Kyrie II bs. 162-63  
Et exspecto bs. 255-56  
Dona nobis pacem bs. 221-22

**VII6-I D Dorian statement 3**

Et in terra bs. 32-33  
Qui tollis bs. 144-45  
Et resurrexit bs. 147-48  
Sanctus bs. 32-33  
Osanna II bs. 193-94  
Agnus I bs. 32-33

**Non-cadential statement 3**

Kyrie I bs. 34-35

Table 38 continued

**VII6-I F Ionian Statement 1**

Kyrie I bs. 8-9  
 Et in terra bs. 8-9  
 Qui tollis bs. 108-09  
 Patrem bs. 8-9  
 Et resurrexit bs. 11-12  
 Sanctus bs. 8-9  
 Osanna I bs. 99-100  
 Osanna II bs. 187-88  
 Agnus I bs. 8-9  
 Agnus III bs. 134-35

**VII6-I F Ionian Statement 3**

Christe bs. 112-13  
 Kyrie II bs. 168-69  
 Cum Sancto bs. 199-200  
 Patrem bs. 32-33  
 Et exspecto bs. 261-62  
 Osanna I bs. 111-12  
 Agnus III bs. 172-73  
 Dona nobis pacem bs. 227-28

What now needs to be considered are the contexts in which the ends of the retrograde versions of statements 1 and 3 are placed, or in other words the conclusions of statements 2 and 4. The final two notes of statement 2 (b flat to c´) are never underlined in a cadence, which is always placed after the final two notes. Seven of the closes are in C Ionian, where the leading-tone b´ natural again is supplied by the superius with its *dura* signature (ex. 121 [a] bs. 28-29). Four other cadences are in F Ionian, the superius once more sounding the leading tone c´ and the *mollis* signature of the contratenor supplying the b flat (ex. 121 [b] bs. 200-01). Of the four remaining closes two are in G transposed Dorian and the other two in D Dorian (ex. 121 [c] bs. 26-27 and [d] bs. 193-94).

That the two pitches b flat to c´ are not placed cadentially is an indication for the asymmetrical design of the tenor which will be considered shortly. What is evident is one reason for the ‘partial’ signatures in the Mass. When the cadences are F Ionian the superius carries e´ natural as the leading tone and the b flat is covered by the *mollis* signature of the lower parts, and when they are C Ionian the superius still has the leading-tone, b natural. However in this context *musica ficta* is not required to deliver a sharpened leading tone, the ‘open’ signature of the superius provides it. See Table 39:

Table 39

## Cadential contexts after the final pitches of statement 2 in Anonymous III

**C Ionian  $\underline{b}$  natural in the superius**

Kyrie I bs. 25-26 V-VI

Christe b. 106 VII6-I

Et in terra bs. 28-29 VII6-I

Patrem bs. 25-26 V-VI

Osanna I bs. 108-09 octave leap

Agnus I bs. 29-30 VII6-I

Agnus III V-I bs. 163-64

**F Ionian  $\underline{b}$  flat in the contratenor**

Kyrie II bs. 168-69 VII6-I

Cum Sancto bs. 200-01 VII6-I

Et exspecto bs. 261-62 VII6-I

Dona nobis pacem bs. 227-28 VII6-I

**G Dorian**

Et resurrexit bs. 143-44 VII6-I

Sanctus bs. 26-27 VII6-I

**D Dorian**

Qui tollis bs. 144-45 VII6-I

Osanna II bs. 193-94 VII6-I

Yet on the other hand at the close of statement 4 either the final two pitches or the third and second to last notes are in a cadential setting. Ten of the fifteen conclusions cadence over the final two notes  $\underline{e}$ '- $\underline{f}$ ' ; nine are in F Ionian, either VII6-I, V-I or V-VI, and one is in D Dorian, a VII6-I cadence. Transposed Phrygian progressions on  $\underline{A}$  account for five other cadences set over the two notes  $\underline{d}$ ' and  $\underline{e}$ '. In each case the syncopated cadential formula  $\underline{a}$ '- $\underline{g}$ '- $\underline{a}$ ' is in the superius and the resultant discord is with the  $\underline{b}$  flat in the bassus (ex. 122). Table 40 lists all the closes at the conclusion of statement 4.

Table 40

Cadences over pitches  $\underline{e}$ '- $\underline{f}$ ' and  $\underline{d}$ '- $\underline{e}$ ' at the close of statement 4 in Anonymous IIIPitches  $\underline{e}$ '- $\underline{f}$ '**F Ionian**

Christe bs. 134-35 V-I

Qui tollis bs. 166-67 V-VI

Cum Sancto b. 204 VII6-I

Et resurrexit bs. 169-70 VII6-I

Et exspecto b. 265 VII6-I

Osanna I bs. 118-19 V-VI

Osanna II b. 197 VII6-I

Agnus III bs. 193-94 VII6-I

Dona nobis pacem b. 231 VII6-I

**D Dorian**

Agnus I b. 47 VII6-I

**Table 40 continued**

**Pitches d`-e`**

**A Phrygian**

Kyrie I bs. 45-46

Kyrie II b. 172

Et in terra bs. 47-48

Patrem bs. 47-48

Sanctus bs. 46-47

A parallel (although not exact) situation is present with the initial b flat of the last forward motion of the tenor, statement 5. It is not exact in that seven of the fifteen quotations of statement 5 announce the entry of the tenor in a cadence. But it is parallel in the sense that the other eight quotations place the cadence before sounding the first note of the cantus firmus. Only two modal plains can incorporate the initial b flat into the second harmony of a cadence, either G transposed Dorian or B flat Ionian. The second hypothetical possibility is not used as the consequent extra pitch inflexions needed to establish the mode would disturb the main polyphonic fabric so close to the conclusion of a Mass section. G transposed Dorian is used seven times. Of the eight cadences that are placed before the entry of the tenor five are expressed in the prevailing F Ionian mode (corresponding with statement 1 and 3). The remaining three also reflect the other modal levels employed in the cadential settings of the cantus firmus, D Dorian, C Ionian and A transposed Phrygian. Table 41:

**Table 41**

**Cadential contexts at the beginning of statement 5 in Anonymous III**

**Cantus firmus b flat placed in G Dorian**

Kyrie I bs. 56-57 V-I

Kyrie II bs. 174-75 VII6-I

Cum Sancto b. 207 VII6-I

Patrem bs. 55-56 VII6-I

Et exspecto bs. 267-68 VII6-I

Agnus I bs. 56-57 VII6-I

Dona nobis pacem bs. 233-34 VII6-I

**Cadence before the tenor entry**

Et in terra bs. 55-56 VII6-I F Ionian

Qui tollis b. 180 VII6-I F Ionian

Et resurrexit bs. 182-83 V-VI F Ionian

Sanctus bs. 55-56 VII6-I F Ionian

Agnus III bs. 206-07 VII6-I F Ionian

Christe bs. 146-47 VII6-I D Dorian

Osanna I bs. 122-23 VII6-I C Ionian

Osanna II bs. 188-89 A Phrygian

There is an anomaly at the very core of the Mass, namely the apparent lack of symmetry in the structure of the cantus firmus. The skeletal structure of the tenor scaffolding is a forward direction original on  $c'$  (statement 1) immediately followed by its retrograde. This format is then repeated complete a fifth higher on  $f$  and then a final forward motion a fifth lower on  $b$  flat. For a perfectly balanced cantus-firmus design what is missing is a retrograde of the original statement on  $b$  flat, giving six instead of five statements.

At first sight the missing cancrizans is incomprehensible in relation to what is an obvious penchant for symmetry in other parts of the Mass. There is a correspondence between the points of entry of the tenor at the beginning of the five main movements, sometimes exact and sometimes with one bar's difference. In each of the five principal movements the complete tenor structure is given three times. To accomplish this equilibrium certain conventions were ignored. At this period in the Mass it was normal (but not an unbreakable rule) to set one *Osanna* with cantus firmus which was then repeated after the *Benedictus* in accordance with the standard rubric *osanna ut supra*. Anonymous III sets the *Osanna* twice in order that the Sanctus could deliver a three-fold quotation of the source material.

This striving for a symmetrical presentation of the source material is also discernible in the employment of parallel mensural signs for the three deliveries of the complete cantus firmus in the five principal movements. The first of each set of three statements is under  $O$ , the second  $\text{C}$  and the third  $C3$ . Thus each of the five declarations of the cantus firmus under the same mensural sign all have the same note values. With such a concern for a detailed balance in the different parameters of the Mass, there must be a good reason why a fondness for exactness was not applied to the construction of the tenor material itself by employing a six-fold instead of the existing five-fold manipulation.

A sixth version of the cantus firmus would necessarily have had to have been a retrograde of statement 5 to give complete symmetry to the tenor structure, three presentations of



the original format being followed by their retrogrades. This means that the last two pitches of the cantus firmus would be a-b flat (ex. 123). Cadential problems in relation to the F Ionian mode of the Mass are inherent in these two pitches because they come at the conclusion of every section quoting the source material.

Only two closes are possible over these two pitches, B flat Ionian or G transposed Dorian, and in each the tenor cannot be sounded in the sections in an F Ionian mode. In such a situation the concluding bars must be tenor free. But this is really not feasible because it is clear that the tenor was intended to be present in the terminal cadences. So to give a modal unity to the manipulation of the eight-note cantus firmus an exact balance of six statements is forfeited for five. By this means the cantus firmus can be present in the conclusions to sections and additionally gives to the borrowed material a modal unity, beginning on the confinal c' and ending on the final f. Therefore the G Mixolydian mode implicit in the falling fifth d'-g, which is also the range of the eight notes of statement 1, had no influence on the F Ionian mode of Anonymous III at all. That is decided by the transposition of statement 1, first up a fourth to f (statement 3) and then down a fifth to b (statement 5). Because the augmented fourth in the tenor required the b natural to be tempered, the choice available being either with *musica ficta*, or a *mollis* signature. The latter option was the practical solution, not only for the tenor but also for the contratenor and bassus. **B flat** signatures in conjunction with the falling fifths c' to f of statement 5 as the bass of the four-part texture at the conclusions of the principal movements implied V-I F Ionian cadences. Therefore with the initial need to correct the melodic tritone at the opening of statement 5 - a direct result of the manipulations applied to the cantus firmus - was responsible for the F Ionian mode of Anonymous III.

## Chapter 11

### Complete Canonic Treatments

Anonymous VI is a suitable springboard from which to begin an examination of those Masses that employ the complete transposed *l'homme armé* melody for their cantus firmi. We saw that the borrowed melody itself was not transposed in Anonymous VI, but was placed in a polyphonic fabric other than its original G Mixolydian mode, namely C Ionian. However, the Mass contains three factors that combined serve as a yardstick against which the need for a transposed *cantus prius factus* may be measured. They are 1) a complete canonic delivery of the source material, 2) an increase in the standard four-voiced texture to five and 3) the sounding of the *comes* below the original pitch *g* of the borrowed tune. But first attention needs to be given to three other Masses, which, like Anonymous VI, set the whole original song on *g* and entirely in canon. They are by Faugues,<sup>1</sup> Vaqueras<sup>2</sup> and Forestier.<sup>3</sup> Although not in the correct chronological order the Vaqueras and Forestier Masses will be discussed first because they, like Anonymous VI, are for five voices, whereas the Faugues composition is *a4*.

#### Vaqueras

Vaqueras keeps the borrowed song on *g*, not in the original G Mixolydian but G transposed Dorian, like Anonymous II, IV and V. The composer also employs the E. 40 version of the song which was used in the six Naples Masses, where the opening two phases of B close with falling fourths. There are two factors in the Vaqueras Mass that do not allow the canonic structure to

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<sup>1</sup> Edition, Guillaume Faugues, *Collected Works*, ed. George C. Schuetze Jr. (1960). The work survives in two known sources, an early version in CS 14, c. 1472 (CC vol. IV, 28), and a later version in Modena, Ms *alpha* M.1.13, c. 1481 (CC vol. II, 167-68, also see Lockwood, *Ferrara*, 217).

<sup>2</sup> Edition, Bertrandus de Vaqueras, *Opera omnia*, ed. Richard Sherr, *CMM* 78 (1978). Source CS 49, c. 1492-1504 (CC vol. IV, 50-51). The manuscript was compiled for the use of the Sistine Chapel choir. Vaqueras was a member of the Papal choir from 1483-1507 (see Reese, *Renaissance*, 136). In 1484 he is described as 'alias de Bassia', see Jeremy Noble, 'New Light on Josquin's Benefices', *PJC*, 78 n. 10. The composer was contemporaneous with Josquin and de Orto, both of whom composed *Missae L'homme armé*.

<sup>3</sup> Edition, Mathurin Forestier, *Opera omnia*, eds. Nors S. Josephson and Thomas G. MacCraken, *CMM* 104 (1996).

influence the mode of the composition in the manner of Anonymous VI. One is the lower range of the five-part polyphony and the other is the manner in which the canonic design is controlled.

Vaqueras takes his bassus down to E, these extra five tones (not employed in Anonymous VI) are important because it means that the two imitating parts lie comfortably inside the musical fabric; consequently the G mode of the Mass is not affected by the lower voice of the canon becoming the foundation of the polyphony.

The approach to the canonic delivery of the borrowed song is far more flexible in the Vaqueras Mass than the immutable design of Anonymous VI; it being varied from one Mass section to another. Yet as far as Ai and Aii are concerned (and like Anonymous VI) he always states the cantus firmus on g irrespective as to whether that part is the *dux* or *comes*. On some occasions this results in the *dux* being derived from a written *comes*. A typical example is the *Et in terra*, the notated tenor part is on g, but a *signum congruentiae* is placed over the rests preceding the first pitch of this voice, indicating that the first voice of the canon is to begin on d before the tenor (see ex. 124).

Significantly, only four Mass sections have the written tenor as the *dux* (*Kyrie I Ai*, *Kyrie II Aii*, *Sanctus Ai* and *Osanna B and Aii*). There is an important point here that determined the C Ionian setting of the G Mixolydian cantus firmus in Anonymous VI, where the *dux* was constantly on g and the *comes* at the fifth below. Vaqueras's procedure is quite the reverse, he never places the *comes* at the interval below when the *dux* is sounded on g. By adopting this approach to the scheme of his canons, and combined with the lower range of the bassus, Vaqueras secured for himself a double indemnity that kept the canonic structure internal to the musical fabric.

There is a definite pattern underlining the distribution of the three parts of the secular song in the Mass. From the Kyrie to the Credo each one of the three portions of the original melody is

placed in a separate Mass section,<sup>4</sup> but from the Sanctus to the Agnus the design is different. Ai is placed in one Mass section and B and Aii in another.<sup>5</sup> To keep the discussion lucid the sections where Ai, Aii and B are given separately in canon will be considered first, and then those sections where B and Aii are given successively in one form or another. The four appearances of Ai pose contrapuntal difficulties as regards the pitch and interval of the canons, although it must be stressed they never influence the mode of the Mass as did the *comes* of Anonymous VI. For example the canon of *Kyrie I* is quite conventional in terms of interval, at the fifth above (*dux* on *g*, *comes* on *d'*), the two parts being notated individually (ex. 125). Ai is not presented intact by either voice; the falling fifth closing ph. 2 is lacking in the *dux* and the *comes* presents only ph. 1 with its final fifth omitted. In order for the two parts to work contrapuntally (and at the same time for both voices to sound in the final cadence) the start of ph. 2 in the *comes* is expanded. Pitches 1 and 2 then 3 and 4 are repeated - in other words the two notes comprising the opening rising fourth are given a four-fold successive repetition (ex. 125, tenor I bs. 11-14).

A more significant change takes place in the canon of the *Et in terra*, where there is a change of interval and direction of imitation between the two voices. The canon opens at the fifth below (*dux* on *d'* and *comes* on *g*, see ex. 124 bs. 31-32). Then from the beginning of the falling fifth closing ph. 1 until the end of ph. 2 the *dux* is placed an octave lower on *d*, the *comes* continues stating the secular tune on *g*. Now the interval of imitation is at the fourth above. To seek a possible reason for this course of action, the *Qui tollis* and *Cum Sancto* (respectively carrying B and Aii) must also be included.

The *Qui tollis* presents B at the fourth below, the two canonic voices exchanging their imitative roles, tenor II is now the *dux* on *g'* and tenor I the *comes* on *d'* (ex. 126). At the *Cum*

<sup>4</sup> *Kyrie I* Ai, *Christe* B, *Kyrie II* Aii; *Et in terra* Ai, *Qui tollis* B, *Cum Sancto* Aii; *Patrem* Ai, *Qui propter* B, *Et exspecto* Aii.

<sup>5</sup> *Sanctus* Ai, *Osanna* B, Aii. The pattern is slightly different in the Agnus, the opening of B is divided over the end of *Agnus I* and the beginning of *Agnus III*.

*Sancto* the two canonic voices return to their original roles and like the latter part of *Ai* at the interval of the fourth above. Therefore (excluding the opening bars of the *Et in terra*) the rest of the cantus firmus is given canonically at the interval of the fourth. So what is different about the start of the *Et in terra* for the first seven pitches of *Ai* to be given imitatively at the fifth below? The answer appears to be two-fold, the vertical sonority in which the first note of the *dux* is placed and the temporal distance of the canon. In the *Cum Sancto* tenor I (the *dux*) is the lowest-sounding part with its opening two pitches being a fifth then an octave below the contratenor (ex. 127). A clear delivery of the secular song is given. Compare this with the *Et in terra* where the initial two *ḍ* naturals are not the lowest part of the polyphony, for *G̣* is in the bassus (see ex. 124 b. 31). On *ḍ* the two cantus-firmus notes are quite clear of the bassus's deep pitch and additionally they also stand above the contratenor making their announcement distinct. If the two notes are placed an octave lower (as in the *Cum Sancto*) there is not the same clarity. The lower *ḍ* becomes muffled between the pitches in the bassus and contratenor, and also there is the disadvantage of the tenor voice not being so penetrating its lower as in the higher register. Moreover, with a less audible beginning to the *dux* the following two pitches (being in unison with the entry of the *comes*) would be obscured.

Admittedly the same pitches are in unison with the start of the *comes* in the *Cum Sancto*. But here there are factors to ensure that both parts of the canon have a lucid delivery. By placing the first two notes of the *dux* as the bass of the three-part texture the opening voice of the canon is not concealed. Once the beginning is established the following two unison *g* naturals are not completely absorbed into the polyphony, and they receive additional emphasis with the bassus entering on *G̣* at the octave below (ex. 127).

With the greater portion of the canonic structure being on *ḍ* in the Gloria (and therefore below the written tenor on *g*) the same problem occurs that was present in Anonymous VI where the lower canonic voice became the bass of the polyphony. The closes to phs. 1, 2 and 6 (including

the ends of their falling fifths) and also ph. 7 in the *Et in terra* and *Cum Sancto* of the Vaqueras Mass are similarly placed. On every occasion the final pitch d of the *dux* descends into the register of the bassus and if in a four-part texture would become the actual bass of the polyphony (ex. 128). These particular endings to the phrases where the *dux* is sounded below the source pitch g shows how essential is an *a5* polyphony if the canonic structure is to be contained within the musical fabric. The advantage of an extra voice in these situations is quite evident, and more so is the lower range of the bassus. This means that when placed in cadential contexts the final d naturals of the phrases comprising Ai and Aii in the *comes* never become the lowest-sounding part of the musical texture. Set in G harmonies they are always supported by G naturals in the bassus; or the two voices have a unison d, the bassus then falling to G.

An almost exact parallel exists between the Credo of the Vaqueras Mass and the complete Anonymous VI so far as the interval of the canon is concerned. The *Patrem* and *Et in Spiritum* of the Vaqueras composition (like Anonymous VI) have the canonic interval at the fifth, on g and c. However, Vaqueras avoids the problem experienced in Anonymous VI (where the falling fifth g-g-c circumscribed V-I C Ionian cadences as the lowest sounding part of the polyphony) by presenting the *dux* on c and *comes* on g. The implication of this arrangement is far reaching for the retention of the G transposed Dorian mode of the Mass. With the presentation of the *comes* on g the final notes of phs. 1, 2 and 6 and those of their falling fifths (g) remain well within the *a5* texture.

Even with the *dux* on c and the lower bassus range the *Et in Spiritum* shows how strong is the pull to C Ionian of both the g-c falling fifths and also the ends of the phrases prior to the intervals. In reality on this pitch the *dux* becomes a second bassus (ex. 129), at cadential points the c descends below the written bassus, either in genuine or 'quasi' octave-leap progressions (ex. 129 bs. 141 and 143). On the other hand with the *comes* on g shows how easy it is to maintain the G Dorian mode of the Mass at the end of sub and main sections (ex. 129 b. 142). Additionally the arrangement of placing the *dux* on c and the *comes* on g gives a flexibility allowing the latter



canonic voice in internal cadences to close in the mode of the first (ex. 129 b. 144).

Two settings of Aii (*Cum Sancto* and *Et in Spiritum*) have already been considered in the discussions of Ai where the question of pitch was relevant. Now all three presentations of Aii where it is quoted alone will be viewed in relation to their manner of delivery. A clear pattern underlines the declaration of phs. 6 and 7. When the *dux* is given on g, as in *Kyrie II*, the *comes* does not quote ph. 7, but instead the Mass section finishes with ph. 6. So that the two imitating voices can be present in the final cadence, ph. 7 in the *dux* is expanded considerably. It is accomplished in two ways, in *Kyrie II* by appending the falling fifth of ph. 6 to the beginning of ph. 7 and then by adding a single g to the start of that fifth (ex. 130). Also the *comes* is extended in the same manner as *Kyrie I*, the opening two notes of Aii delivered in a successive four-fold repetition.

The other two statements of Aii have both canonic voices quoting ph. 7, with the phrase fragmented at exactly the same place each time. In the *Cum Sancto* the distance between the two voices is a perfect breve, the interval being at the fourth above *dux* on d *comes* on g. At this close temporal distance and interval ph. 7 cannot be delivered intact canonically, for almost immediately parallel fifths occur g-d' and f-c' (ex. 128 bs. 150-51, omitting the rest in the *dux*), apart from the final *dux*-d not fitting into the existing musical fabric. In this segmented form the final d of the *dux* becomes an internal pedal and the final notes of ph. 7 in the *comes* are given in two G minor harmonies, separated by one of D major (the superius's final f adjusted for the *subsemitonium*). Once again the advantage of a five-part texture and lower range of the bassus is apparent, in keeping the prolonged d internal to the polyphony and consequently maintaining the smooth progress of the vertical sonorities.

Similar conditions prevail for the presentation of ph. 7 in the *Et in Spiritum*, but the pitches between the imitating voices are now c and g. Preserving the same distance between the two voices as in the *Cum Sancto*, with no changes to the original melody gives rise to clashes of sevenths (ex. 131 b. 152 again omitting the rests in each line of the melody). Even by adapting ph. 7 the *dux* is

completed before the end of the movement. So that the two canonic voices can be sounded at the close of the Mass section the final harmony is prolonged. During the final note of the *comes* a brief extension in the free-contratenor ascends step-wise from b flat to d' , then immediately the b flat and d' are sounded as a sustained divisi interval as part of the extended terminal G minor harmony in the free voices. The *comes* then rests, at which point the *dux* re-enters on g, and at the beginning of the following tactus the *comes* is sounded again on d' - the two pitches are those on which the two voices began quoting ph. 7 (ex. 131 bs. 155-56).

The situation is completely different at the close of the *Sanctus*. With the canon at the second above (g and a) there is no context in which the *comes* can be placed in the final G harmony. Both of the canonic parts complete their respective quotations of the cantus firmus before the close of the section. After the falling fifth of ph. 2 the *comes* remains silent, only the *dux* on g entering again in the terminal G minor harmony (ex. 132). Although the *comes* is on a, the mode of the voice is not Aeolian, but A transposed Phrygian on account of the b' flat signature.

Three times B is set alone in a subsection. Twice there is a change to the canonic structure in relation to the deliveries of Ai and Aii either side of it. Only the *Qui tollis* of the Gloria retains the same interval between the voices of the canon over the complete movement (bearing in mind the one anomaly at the start of the *Et in terra*). Additionally the two imitative voices are the same - tenor I and II - whereas in the other two Mass sections the canonic design is moved up one voice to tenor I and contratenor.

The interval of the canons in *Kyrie* I and II is the fifth above, but in B of the *Christe* there is a radical change. To begin with the interval of the canon is now at the fourth below, but the individual roles of the each canonic voice is retained, *dux* on g' and *comes* on d' (ex. 133). All that has happened is that B in the *comes* is not placed on d'' an octave higher than Ai and Aii as in the original melody, but is kept on the same note d' . The procedure prevents the contratenor from constantly sounding in the same range as the superius (a' -e'') and also that of the *dux* (which does



preserve the octave difference) with a similar compass to the superius (d'-a'). The end result is that there is clarity between the three upper voices, and congestion at the top of the polyphony is avoided. Moreover, the source material is not given complete by either of the two imitating voices, but is between them. Tenor I (*dux*) presents phs. 3 and 5, the contratenor (*comes*) declares only ph. 3 but in augmented values spanning the end of ph. 3 and the start of ph. 5 in the *dux* (ex. 133 bs. 25-43).

It was observed in the Credo presentations of Ai and Aii (*Patrem* and *Et in Spiritum*) how the pitch of the *dux* on c (a fifth below the Mass-pitch of g) had a strong pull towards the mode of C Ionian. How much stronger that pull would have been if the *comes* had been the last voice to deliver the cantus firmus on the pitch c in terminal cadences. But the same problem is not present with B in the *Qui propter*, where the *comes* is on c' and the *dux* on g'. The interval of the canon is now at the fifth below (it was at the fifth above in Ai and Ai) and in this case the octave difference between the middle and two outer portions of the secular song is retained. There is a distinct advantage in reversing the original roles of the two imitating parts, in that both voices can be present in the final harmony with the source material. Ph. 5 is basically a scale-wise descent of five notes, therefore the final d' of the *dux* can be repeated and prolonged whilst ph. 5 in the *comes* can cadence on g below it (ex. 134). The quotations of phs. 3, 4 and 5 are not continuous but are separated by rests. These canon-free bars are not however cantus-firmus free, for over the ends of the first two phrases of B in the imitative voices the bassus presents a statement of their phrases (with repeated pitches omitted) that bridges the rests.

The *Osanna* presents B and Aii successively for the first time in the work. Also, for the first time, the order of the canonic voices is constant over the successive quotations of the three portions of the cantus firmus (Ai is in the *Sanctus*). With the canonic interval at the second above, B in the *comes* rises to b' flat, the highest pitch to which the cantus firmus ever ascends. Actually, at any one time the two voices of the canon lie above the contratenor and occasionally even above the

superius (ex. 135 [a] b. 71). Conversely, at one place, the contratenor becomes the foundation of the harmony (ex. 135 [a] b. 73).

Before the *Osanna* Vaqueras assiduously avoids placing B in this high register. When the interval of the canon was above in Ai, it was given at the interval below in B, the *comes* becoming the *dux* and vice versa. The difference between the earlier deliveries of B and the one in the *Osanna* is that B and Aii are given as a complete statement. Had Vaqueras so chosen B could quite easily have been given alone, with Aii then placed in a second *Osanna*. Regarded just within this context then the high tessitura of the B seems extraordinary, but there might be a possible reason for it, in a desire to express the text. The high compass of the polyphony reflecting the words 'in excelsis'.<sup>6</sup> A problem arises for a delivery of ph. 5 intact, with the canonic interval being at the second and the temporal distance a perfect breve. Without any manipulation being applied to the phrase inappropriate fourths and seconds occur (ex. 135 [b]). Vaqueras re-fashions it with fragmentation.

The approach to the distribution of the source material in the *Agnus* is different yet again, Vaqueras following convention with *Angus* II being free of the cantus firmus and consequently written for fewer voices. Whether consciously or not the composer adopts the same design used by Busnoys in his *Agnus* (and as we have seen also Tinctoris). He divides the original melody into two parts breaking it after ph. 3 - that is with *Angus* I closing with the first ph. 3 and *Agnus* III beginning with the second ph. 3. Vaqueras goes further in his desire to relate *Angus* I and III by repeating the anticipatory quotation of ph. 3 in the bassus of *Agnus* I before ph. 3 in the *dux* in the parallel position in *Agnus* III, and re-using the harmonies.

Stating one of the canonic voices on  $\underline{f}$  creates a major-minor modal conflict both between the two canonic parts, and also with the mode of the Mass; namely F Ionian with G transposed Dorian. Reconciliation between the major and minor modes is achieved by placing the beginnings

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<sup>6</sup> Forestier places tenor I of his *Osanna* in an equally high register, see below.

and endings of phrases of the F Ionian *dux* in D minor harmonies. Generally these harmonies function as a chord V in either V-I or V-VI G transposed Dorian progressions, in which the opening and closing g naturals of the *comes* are placed (ex. 136, bs. 110-11).

Vaqueras's treatment of his canonic structure is not rigid. In contrast to Anonymous VI he varies the interval between the two imitating voices, and within one complete statement of the *res facta* he may reverse the order of the imitative voices. As far as B is concerned he does not change their respective pitch levels. Nevertheless, what Vaqueras and Anonymous VI demonstrate is the need for a five-part texture when the interval of the canon falls below the original pitch g, so that the complete imitative structure is kept internal to the musical fabric, therefore the lower canonic voice does not influence the mode of the Mass.

### Forestier

Forestier's Mass like Anonymous VI and the one by Vaqueras presents the *l'homme armé* melody on g, but retains the G Mixolydian mode of the original song in common with Anonymous VI. The Mass is a *tour de force* of strict contrapuntal writing. A five-voiced texture is the norm from *Kyrie I* up to the close of the *Sanctus*, from which point the standard ensemble is *a6*. All sections of the Mass employ the source material canonically, even in the subsections with reduced scoring (*Et incarnatus est a3*, *Pleni a4*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus II a5*). A presentation of the cantus firmus in triple canon occurs in the *Benedictus* and *Agnus I* and II. The crowning point in this virtuosic delivery of the source material is *Agnus III* where seven voices are derived from one notated part. As regards the canonic delivery of the secular melody, Feininger considered this Mass to be the climax of the *l'homme armé* complex,<sup>7</sup> although his calculation of the number of canons

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<sup>7</sup> See his, *Die Frühgeschichte des Kanons bis Josquin des Prez (um 1500)*, (1937), 64.



at face value appears to be incorrect, he gives one too many.<sup>8</sup>

The original tune is modified greatly as a cantus firmus for the Mass. Following the falling fifth of ph. 1 that interval is repeated with a  $\underline{b}$  between the two outer notes and placed at the beginning of a re-designed ph. 2. The final pitch  $g$  of the G major triad leaps to  $\underline{c'}$  (mirroring the leaping fourth that opens the *res facta*) and rises to  $\underline{d'}$  from which point the tune proceeds scale-wise down to  $g$ . After a pause the re-modelled Ai closes with a step-wise descent from  $\underline{c'}$  to  $g$  (ex. 137). Thus in the design of this newly-constructed version of the Ai and Aii the opening leaping fourth is referred to twice again (ex. 137 bs. 11-12 and 14-15).

If the apex of the canonic delivery of the cantus firmus is *Agnus III*, in terms of the interval at which the canon is delivered the *Et resurrexit* is the watershed. The preceding cantus-firmus-carrying sections progress towards it and those following recede from it. At this midpoint the values in which the cantus firmus is given are the longest of the whole Mass, in exact augmentation, a perfect breve of the other presentations becomes a perfect long in the *Et resurrexit*. Together with the prolonged values the interval of the canon is the unison, the only time when it is used in the Mass. Textual reasons are responsible for this particular announcement of the source material. The *Et resurrexit* is the climax of the Mass, expressing the belief at the very heart of the Christian Faith.<sup>9</sup> The symbolism underpinning the two techniques is not difficult to see. With its doubled values the *Et resurrexit* stands as a central pillar flanked on either side by the other sections, and the uniting of the two canonic voices on the same pitch being symbolic of the unity of the Christian Church. This view gains support from the design of the other canons. At its most obvious the plan

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<sup>8</sup> Feininger notes one canon *a* 7 (*Agnus III*), one *a* 4 (*Benedictus*), three *a* 3 (*Osanna*, *Agnus I*, and *II*), and ten *a* 2 (*Kyrie I*, *Christe*, *Kyrie II*, *Et in terra*, *Qui tollis*, *Patrem*, *Et incarnatus est*, *Et resurrexit*, *Sanctus*, and *Pleni*). If his calculation is based on the premise that all canons are strict, then the *Et incarnatus est* cannot be included for it is partially canonic. Ai is carried by the contratenor, against it the bassus and superius are freely imitative of one another, although exact at some points (bs. 47-74). B is placed in the superius, contratenor and bassus being partially canonic (bs. 75-89). The section ends with a delivery of ph. 6, given briefly in imitation between contratenor and bassus (bs. 90-103). On this basis the number of strict two-part canons is nine.

<sup>9</sup> My sincere thanks to Father Allen Morris, lecturer in liturgy at Allen Hall at the diocesan seminary of Westminster, for his views on this matter and also to my local priest Father Peter Preston of St. Joseph's Wealdstone.

is seen in the traditional cantus-firmus-bearing sections. Of the six canons placed over *Kyrie I* to the close of the *Patrem* five are given at the interval below with the *dux* on *g*, and one above with the *comes* on *e*. After the *Et resurrexit* three of the four remaining canons lie above and the other one below. There is a correlation between the different pitches on which the canons are announced. The unison canon of the *Et resurrexit* is on *g*. Starting on *c* the pitches on which the preceding canons are placed get progressively closer to the *g* and then away from it in the final four canons.

See Table 42:

**Table 42**

**Pitches and directions of the canons in Forestier's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Pitch in relation to G of the Melody</b>	<b>Direction</b>	<b>Interval</b>
Kyrie I	<u>c</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	below	5th
Christe	<u>c'</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	below	5th
Kyrie II	<u>c</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	below	5th
Et in terra	<u>d</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	below	4th
Qui tollis	<u>e</u> ( <i>dux</i> ) <sup>10</sup>	above	3rd
Patrem	<u>d</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	below	4th

**Et resurrexit unison on g**

Sanctus	<u>a</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	above	2nd
Osanna	<u>c'</u> and <u>d'</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	above	4th/5th
Agnus I <sup>11</sup>	<u>c</u> and <u>d</u> ( <i>comes</i> )	below	5th/4th
Agnus III	<u>G</u> ( <i>dux</i> )	above	4th

An exact ascending step-wise approach on which the *comes* delivers the cantus firmus to the

<sup>10</sup> See note 12, 216.

<sup>11</sup> A possible reason for *Agnus I* being at the interval below is connected with the pitches on which the canon of the *Osanna* is given. If the canon of the *Osanna* had been delivered on *b-c'* then the natural sequence of the canonic pitches of *Agnus I* would have been *c'-d'*. To place the canon of *Agnus I* on the subsequent two notes *d'-e'* creates problems for the concluding G Mixolydian cadence (see the *Qui tollis*). The necessary changes in the pitches of the canons between the *Osanna* and *Agnus I* is brought about by the simplest of means (and with no problems for the G Mixolydian polyphony), that is by using the same two pitches as in the *Osanna*, but an octave lower.



midpoint *g* unison canon in the *Et resurrexit* is not possible. After *e* for the *Qui tollis*,<sup>12</sup> *f* could not be used in the *Patrem*. Employing this pitch level for the second voice of the canon has dramatic consequences; *ficta b* flats are required to temper the melodic tritone beginning phs. 1 and 6. Additional chromaticism would then be needed to adjust the imperfect intervals created between the secular melody on *f* and other parts of the polyphony. Such a heavy application of accidentals would destabilise the prevailing G Mixolydian mode. Just as important is the fact that the *Patrem* then could not close convincingly in G Mixolydian, therefore (like the *Qui tollis*) disturbing the modal unity at the close of the traditional tenor sections.

A similar situation exists in the *Osanna* where the two *comes* parts should be on *b* and *c'*, but are on *c'* and *d'*. Sounding one of the parts on *b* places it in the much-avoided Locrian mode with the subsequent requirements of *supra script* accidentals. Moreover, the same situation is created as envisaged in the *Patrem*, an undermining of both the G Mixolydian mode and the destruction of the consistent G Mixolydian endings to the cantus-firmus sections.

The *g* pitch level of the borrowed song is fundamental to the overall plan of the canons. As the central *g* of the Gamut its position is ideal for the different pitches of the *comes* to progress up to and then beyond it within an evenly spaced polyphony. Significantly, Forestier keeps his five-part texture within the limits of the Guidonian hand. Nevertheless, tenor II still descends below the written bassus seven times - five times as the *comes* of the canon and twice as the *dux*. On the five occasions when tenor II is the *comes* it is pitched on *c* and the final *c* expressed in a C major harmony. Two are octave leap C Ionian progressions, one at the close of ph. 1 prior to the falling fifth (*Kyrie* I), and the other at the conclusion to ph. 2, *Kyrie* II (exs. 138 [a] bs. 4-5 and [b] bs. 53-54). A further two involve the falling fifths themselves, one expressed in a V-I C Ionian close *Kyrie*

<sup>12</sup> The reason for this change (that is the *comes* presenting the melody on *g*) is on account of the terminal cadence. If Forestier had adhered to his scheme exactly in the *Qui tollis* with the *comes* on *e* then the section could not close in G Mixolydian, which would interrupt the consistent modal level concluding all the other traditional cantus-firmus-bearing Mass sections. As it is the *dux* finishes before the end of the section.

I (ex. 138 [c] bs. 8-9) and the other is non-cadential, but with the final  $\underline{c}$  of the interval in a C major harmony *Kyrie* II (ex. 138 [d] bs. 44-45).

On the fifth occasion when the source material goes below the bassus it is the third voice of a triple canon in *Agnus* I on  $\underline{d}$  (in tenor III). Once again it occurs over the same portion of ph. 1, just before the following falling fifth. The first *comes* part (tenor II) is pitched one note lower on  $\underline{c}$ , the final note of which is also  $\underline{c}$  and clothed in a V-VI C Ionian cadence. A very expressive dissonance is created in the A minor harmony of the close by the  $\underline{f}$  of the source material in the second *comes* voice (ex. 139 bs. 4-5). Subsequently the final pitch  $\underline{d}$  of the second *comes* is now the bass of the first harmony in a V-I G Mixolydian cadence, the written bassus ascending above the second *comes* sounding the fifth of the D major harmony (ex. 139 bs. 6-7). The final two occasions when the *dux* is not stated on  $g$  are in the *Qui tollis* where it is given on  $\underline{e}$  making this the lower voice of the canon. On both occasions the final  $\underline{e}$  (first of ph. 2 and then ph. 7) is placed in a V-VI G Mixolydian progression. The  $\underline{e}$  of the cantus firmus becoming the bass of the polyphony sounding in unison with the  $\underline{e}$  in the bassus (ex. 140 b. 104).

Emphasis has been placed on the manner in which Ai and Aii in a canonic structure are contained within musical fabric. The delivery of B in canon at the interval above  $g'$  also creates problems, that of a high tessitura for the tenor. Forestier resolves that difficulty nicely in the *Sanctus* by citing only Ai; the *dux* is on  $g'$  and *comes* on  $\underline{a}$ . B is placed in the following *a4 Pleni* where both tenors are absent, and instead there is a second superius with the source material given canonically between the two superius parts. The high  $\underline{b}$ ' of ph. 5 in the *comes* lies more comfortably in the register of a superius than of a tenor (ex. 141 b. 34).

A similar compromise is not available in the *Osanna* to avoid extremes of tessitura in one part. This is because the complete melody is notated once with the other two canonic voices derived from it. Under these conditions it would be impractical for the voices of the triple canon to change during the *Osanna*, on paper at least (but that is not to exclude the possibility of some

agreed adjustment in actual performance). The vocal ensemble is increased to six parts and the canon delivered by three tenors - tenor I the *dux* on *g*, tenor II the first *comes* a fourth above on *c'* and tenor III the second *comes* on *d'*. In spite of the six-part polyphony the scoring is light, and except for the very final cadential *G* the bassus never goes lower than *c*. In fact out of a total of 36 bars the bassus is present in only 13. The contratenor functions as the foundation of the polyphony giving to the musical texture a much lighter sound and at the same time underlining the presentation of the cantus firmus - a two-fold ph. 4 delivered by the three canonic voices (ex. 142).

Tenor I lies within a tenor range, but tenors II and III (a fourth and fifth higher) ascend to *d''* and *e''* which is at the top of the Gamut and also compass of the superius in this Mass. Considered in isolation the high registers of *comes* I and II do not pose a problem (a contratenor or a superius easily taking either part), but the notation of the canon does. The three voices being derived from tenor I implies that all three are tenors. It is highly unlikely that in a normal situation this would have been feasible in performance. However flexible a performing pitch might have been an extreme tessitura still remains, for a lower pitch creates problems in the lower range. We know that there was not an interchange of voices, each different part being sung by a specialist voice.<sup>13</sup>

But if the arrangement of the singers around the lectern is given consideration, then perhaps the problem of the extreme range of the tenor parts was not that difficult to solve in performance. Superius and tenor music were on the same page; it seems entirely possible that for the *Osanna* a superius might simply read from the tenor line. If indeed this were to be the case then the superius taking the two higher parts of the canon in B underscores the light texture of the *Osanna* even

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<sup>13</sup> Tinctoris in his *De inventione et usu musicae*, 'Indeed some (singers) are called *tenoristae*, some *contratenoristae* and some *supremi*. Moreover: among *tenoristae* and *contratenoristae* some are lowest, normally called basses, and some are high. *Tenoristae* we call those who sing the parts in music that are called tenor; *contratenoristae* those who sing the contratenor; and *supremi* those who sing the supremus.', quoted by Fallows in 'Specific Information', *LMM*, ed. Boorman, 115.



more, and (similar to the exact position of B in the *Vaqueras Osanna*) possibly reflecting the words 'in excelsis'.

A desire to illustrate the text is probably fortuitous, the prime reason for the high range of the tenors I and II being the design underpinning the choice of pitches for the canons across the complete Mass; below g before the central *Et resurrexit* and above after it. The *Osanna* is a turning point in the composition, and not just by being the first section to present the canon at the interval above. From this point onwards the number of canonic voices is increased from the original two (between *Kyrie I* and the *Et resurrexit*) to three in the *Osanna* and *Agnus I*, four in the *Benedictus* six in *Agnus II* to seven in *Agnus III*.

The *Benedictus* is an essay in dark rich sonorities, with the four lower parts in canon and the fifth free. The complete borrowed melody is employed (ex. 143). As with the *Benedictus* the tenor is silent in *Agnus II*, but the vocal force is reduced by one voice from six to five parts. Replacing the three tenors in *Agnus I* are three contratenors announcing the whole of the borrowed song in triple canon on e, d' and g, the high tessitura of the canon being in a comfortable contratenor range.

The consummation to this ever-increasing display of contrapuntal mastery is *Agnus III*. Only the bassus is notated on *gamma G*, the other six parts being realised from the written rubric.<sup>14</sup> Rather like La Rue in his *Agnus II*, Forestier writes what is virtually a new melody containing the salient features of the original tune (ex. 144). The interval of imitation is a perfect breve and the seven-overlapping parts create some beautifully expressive sonorities. These are enhanced by the two deliveries of the canonic subject on F, requiring **B flats** to correct the melodic tritone and further **B flats** and **E flats** to temper imperfect intervals created with the other parts (ex. 145, bs. 3, 4, 6 and 7). That Forestier was able to write a fluent canon 7 *ex 1* would be sufficiently impressive, but at the same time to produce an effortless flow of rich sonorities is probably the greater of the

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<sup>14</sup> *Septemarius ut sum, omnes post me venite, sequens alter alterum, tempus unum sumite* (a verse of seven feet as I am; all come after me, the one following the other; take one time).

two achievements.

## Faugues

The Faugues *L'homme armé* Mass is probably the first completely canonic Mass in the tradition, and may even be the earliest surviving such work within the history of the cyclic Mass itself. Chronologically the composition is the earliest of the complete canonic Masses already discussed, but it is receiving attention last because it is the only *a4* work. We shall discover how Faugues contains the imitative structure within the four-voices, where it proved difficult to do so in the other three compositions without the addition of an extra voice.

Faugues places the *res facta* in G transposed Dorian, and in a similar way to Anonymous VI sets the canon always at the subdiapente. However there is one crucial difference that required five-part polyphony in Anonymous VI and only four voices in the Faugues work. Anonymous VI places the *dux* on g and *comes* on c, whereas Faugues has a notated *comes* on g in the tenor and a derived *dux* on d in the contratenor. The result of this arrangement means that the lowest pitch of the cantus firmus g rarely descends below the true bass part. It does so only when quoting the first and final tones of pbs. 1, 6 or 7 (ex. 146, bs. 22 and 30).

The problem of an extreme tessitura resulting when B is delivered in canon at an interval above g' is not present in this Mass, simply because the two imitating voices are not tenors. By making the contratenor the *dux* the high tessitura of B (rising to e'') lies well within the range of that voice. Nevertheless when B is announced in this register the two canonic voices do ascend above the superius (ex. 147, bs. 19-20 and 23-24). Presenting the canon at the fifth above the original source pitch g in four parts creates a high-lying polyphonic texture.

The composer must surely have had virtuoso singers at his disposal for the compasses of the superius and bassus are especially wide. The superius lies predominantly within a compass of c' to e'', twice rising to f'' (*Et in terra* and *Sanctus*) and once to g'' (*Patrem*). The lower pitch c' is twice extended down to a (*Sanctus*), giving a range of two octaves, less one note. The contratenor's

prevailing range is  $\underline{d}'$  to  $\underline{e}''$ , five times going lower, twice to  $\underline{a}$  (*Sanctus*) and three times to  $\underline{g}$  (*Sanctus* twice, *Agnus I* once). A more constant compass is found in the tenor  $\underline{d}$  to  $\underline{a}'$ , but it does descend to  $\underline{c}$  (*Sanctus* and *Agnus I*). Of the four voices the bassus has the widest range from  $\underline{c}$  to  $\underline{e}'$ , mirroring the superius but at the octave below. The lowest pitch is constant, but the normal highest pitch  $\underline{e}'$  is exceeded, ten times ascending to  $\underline{g}'$  (*Christe* and *Sanctus* once each, *Et in terra* twice, *Patrem* six times) and once to  $\underline{a}'$  (*Patrem*). A passage from the *Sanctus* illustrates how the extended lower range of the superius and the upper one of the bassus converge and then either of the two canonic voices becoming the harmonic support for the current polyphonic fabric (ex. 148).

Faugues's solution in keeping the canonic structure at the interval below and containing it within the four voices was simple. He placed the *dux* on  $\underline{d}'$  and the *comes* on the source pitch  $\underline{g}$ , so that in the event of the second voice going below the written bassus the G mode of the Mass remained intact. This was not feasible in an *a4* texture when the interval of the canon had the *dux* on  $\underline{g}$ , with the *comes* below. As we saw in the settings of Anonymous VI, Vaqueras and Forestier a fifth voice was needed to keep the *comes* internal to the musical fabric. Even then because the lowest pitch of the bassus in Anonymous VI is  $\underline{c}$ , that also being the lowest note of the *comes*, the part did influence the mode of the Mass.

Not one of these Masses actually transposes the original song to another pitch as an individual voice. So we turn now to consider those cases where the *l'homme armé* song is completely transposed and employed as a cantus firmus for an entire Mass.

## Chapter 12

### Josquin's F Ionian Mass (*Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*)

The Masses discussed thus far in Part II fall into three categories with respect to a pitch change from the G of the secular originals. There are those works where the different pitch level is brought about by particular manipulations applied to the tenor via a rubric, such as transposition, inversion, retrograde or retrograde-inversion. Then also there is the group of Masses where the secular song was delivered in canon when one of the imitating voices is sounded on a pitch other than G. Finally there are those settings where the borrowed song is transposed in a voice other than the tenor (normally the bassus) for individual Mass sections. We now review those cycles whose *cantus firmi* are transposed throughout. As the secular sources are in G Mixolydian, Masses will here be examined in a descending pitch sequence from g, first with the one setting on f, then the two on e and finally those on d.

#### *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*

Josquin places the vernacular song on f in his *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*, but any hypothesis for his reason for doing so only makes sense in relation to his earlier composition on the secular tune *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*.<sup>1</sup> The principal formal device applied to the source material is transposition, which occurs not once but six times on each degree of the natural hexachord.<sup>2</sup> Commencing on c the scheme then ascends step-wise to a,

<sup>1</sup> Edition, *Werken*, ed. Albert Smijers, *Missen* vol. I (1926, reprint 1969).

<sup>2</sup> For analytical details see Reese, *Renaissance*, 236-38, Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 313-17, John Lovell, *The Masses of Josquin Des Prez*, Ph. D. dissertation (University of Michigan, 1960), 69-79, Arthur Mendell, 'The Performance and Interpretation of Josquin's Masses', *PJC*, 706-09, and Richard Sherr, 'The Performance of Josquin's *L'homme armé* Masses', *EM* 19 (1991), 261-68.



resulting in statements on c Kyrie, d Gloria, e Credo,<sup>3</sup> f Sanctus, g *Agnus* I and a *Agnus* III.

During the course of the Mass the *res facta* gradually changes its position within the musical fabric as it ascends through the six transpositions. This progress of an upward movement through the polyphony reaches its zenith in *Agnus* III where the borrowed song on a is placed in the superius.

The majority of composers chose to notate the tune on g for their respective Masses, either Mixolydian with a 'major' flavour or transposed Dorian with a 'minor' colouring. Three other modes onto which the vernacular tune was transposed for Masses also have a minor flavour - D Dorian, E Phrygian and A transposed Phrygian. By beginning each quotation of the melody on a different pitch Josquin exploits its 'major/minor' duality within the single Mass. Josquin alters the original melody for his cantus firmus, the final two pitches of ph. 1 are repeated and the end of ph. 2 is expanded, but its falling fifth omitted. Once the new form of the melody is established in the Kyrie, it is then repeated without change in all the other source-material-bearing sections. However, although the same shape of the melody is preserved consistently, it is not always identical. Because the borrowed material is presented on six different pitches there is the alternation between the 'major' (Kyrie, Sanctus and *Agnus* I) and 'minor' contexts (Gloria, Credo and *Agnus* III). Within this 'major/minor' grouping the Credo on e has a distinct colouring of its own with the *mi-fa* semitone occurring between the first and second notes. Therefore in terms of the positions of the *mi-fa* semitone (which is responsible for the distinctive sound quality) the cantus firmus exists not in one version, but three - the statements on c, f, and g (major) those on d and a (minor) and the one on e (minor) but with the semitone occurring between the first two notes.

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<sup>3</sup> Josquin does not set the text between 'et in Spiritum' and 'et apostolicam'. The section is spurious (surviving in CS 154) written with a *si placet* fifth voice by a Jo Abbat after Josquin's death in 1521. See Arthur Mendell, 'Criteria for Chronology and Authenticity', *PJC*, 303, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Masses on Popular Songs', *JC*, 53 n. 6.

In spite of the constant shift of pitch in the cantus firmus from one Ordinary section to another the Mass is not a series of loosely connected movements. In addition to the cantus firmus itself there are other levels of unity that bind the five movements into a coherent whole, including a common opening motto.<sup>4</sup> There also is the issue of the mode of the polyphony. Attention has been drawn to the fact that all five movements end in D Dorian.<sup>5</sup> Excluding *Agnus III*, the cantus firmus is completed before the conclusions of movements in order that those presenting the source material on a pitch foreign to D Dorian might close in that mode. To achieve symmetry between the movements Josquin even drops the borrowed song before the close of the Gloria where, because it was stated on d, the cantus firmus could have been present at the end. On the other hand, of the five beginnings only three are in D Dorian (Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus). The other two delay the establishment of the mode, the Credo by four bars and *Agnus III* by five. *Agnus I* does not have a definite D Dorian cadence until B is quoted (ex. 149 bs. 22-23).<sup>6</sup>

There is a further level of cohesion in the cantus-firmus delivery, in fact the only consistent one across the Mass. This is crucial to a hypothesis as to why the mode of D Dorian (rather than any other) was chosen for the Mass. The premise is based on the contention that from the outset the final appearance of the cantus firmus on a was intended to be present in the terminal cadence of *Agnus III*. Apart from this aspect it is also the only cadence to close on a four-part 8-5-8 sonority, the other four conclusions being *a3* bare **D** octaves. Within the context of a final cadence the last a of the tune can be placed in two modes only, as the fifth of D Dorian or third of F Ionian.

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<sup>4</sup> Three of the five movements begin with a head motive derived from ph. 1 of the borrowed song, combined with the same counterpoint (Kyrie, bassus-contratenor; Gloria, superius-bassus; Agnus superius-contratenor). The superius carries the adapted ph. 1 in the Sanctus with a different countermelody. In the Credo the cantus-firmus-derived opening motto in the bassus is delayed, allowing the movement to open with a quotation of the Credo I Gregorian chant in the contratenor and superius.

<sup>5</sup> See Reese, *Renaissance*, 237, and Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 314.

<sup>6</sup> All examples are taken from my transcription based on Modena, Ms *alpha* M.1.2.



A review of the cadences in which the first statements of the six notes of the hexachord are placed demonstrates the advantage of D Dorian polyphony over F Ionian for the free voices. It will be shown that there is a consistent cadential plan in which the initial tones of the source material are delivered, either A Aeolian or D Dorian,<sup>7</sup> and the beginnings of the subsections reflect the mode of their main movements. Table 43 highlights the plan.

**Table 43**  
**Modes in which the beginnings of the cantus firmus are placed**  
**in Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales***

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Cantus-firmus pitch</b>	<b>Opening cadences</b>
Kyrie I	<u>c</u>	A Aeolian
Christe	<u>c</u>	A Aeolian
Kyrie II	<u>c</u>	A Aeolian
Et in terra	<u>d</u>	D Dorian
Qui tollis	<u>d</u>	D Dorian
Patrem	<u>e</u>	A Aeolian
Confiteor	<u>e</u>	A Aeolian
Sanctus	<u>f</u>	D Dorian
Osanna	<u>f</u>	D Dorian
Agnus I	<u>g</u>	A Aeolian
Agnus III	<u>a</u>	D Dorian

That the design is carefully conceived is evident from the manner in which the first two pitches of the borrowed song are treated in the *Patrem*, *Agnus I* and *Agnus III*, which are different from the openings in the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Sanctus*. In the *Patrem* and *Agnus I* and *III* the first two notes of the borrowed tune are treated as anacrusis proceeding to the third pitch in a progression circumscribing a V-I cadence. Thus the e-a fourth in the *Patrem* is placed in an E major harmony followed by one of A minor, and the g - c of *Agnus I* given in E and A minor

<sup>7</sup> The material for this chapter had been researched and written in draft in early 1999, so the findings were made independently of those of Bonnie J. Blackburn in her article, 'Masses on Popular Songs', *JC*, 59-60.



chords (exs. 150 [a] bs. 7-8 and [b] bs. 7-8).

*Agnus III* delivers the cantus firmus in extended values with the first a in the superius lasting for three bars. All four parts could quite easily have begun in a D minor harmony, but Josquin does not follow this obvious path. The extended a is treated essentially as one long up-beat to the second pitch d'. But the sonority is not a prolonged one on A, for beneath the sustained superius a the harmonies move from A to D to A to the V-I cadence in which the d' of the cantus firmus is couched (ex. 151). By starting *Agnus III* in this manner the composer encapsulates in one extended interval the complete design of the tenor declarations across the cycle. Moreover, by treating the first two notes of the secular song as anacrusis in the *Patrem* and *Agnus I* Josquin shows a conscious intent to supply a symmetry to the openings of the cantus firmus. By adopting this procedure the beginnings of the source material can be placed in the alternating sequence of A and D minor harmonies over the setting, which is then summarised in the opening of *Agnus III*.

There is a distinct disadvantage within a hypothetical F Ionian polyphony, for however the musical fabric is modified, the six successive steps of the hexachord cannot be presented with the same symmetrical design as in D Dorian. The first pitch c in *Kyrie I* can be given only in a C major harmony, either in its own terms or treated as an anacrusis in a V-I F Ionian progression. Only a D minor harmony can present the d of the *Et in terra*; the e of the *Patrem* again in the context of F Ionian is only possible in a C Major sonority. There is no problem in the *Sanctus* for the cantus firmus is sounded on f. The opening g naturals of *Agnus I* can be anacrustic as the fifth of a C major harmony and the following c' the fifth of F major. Finally the initial a of *Agnus III* is only feasible in an F major chord. What then would be lost is the momentum that propels the music forward onto the second pitch d which is present in the D Dorian reading. Table 44 shows how crude is the design of the opening cantus-firmus cadences if projected in an F Ionian polyphony compared with the more elegant existing D Dorian

reading.

**Table 44**  
**Design of cadences in a hypothetical F Ionian polyphony**  
**for Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales***

Movement	Cantus-firmus pitch	Opening cadences
Kyrie	<u>c</u>	C or F
Gloria	<u>d</u>	D
Credo	<u>e</u>	C
Sanctus	<u>f</u>	F
Agnus I	<u>g</u>	C
Agnus III	<u>a</u>	F

With an F Ionian mode serious conflicts arise between the **B flat** signature and the **B naturals** in four of the transpositions, especially during the Phrygian delivery in the Credo. The falling fifths of phs. 1 and 6 and the b naturals closing the three phrases of B cannot be tolerated in F Ionian.<sup>8</sup> *Mollis* inflection cannot be applied to the b naturals without altering the pitches e as well. Further modification would be needed to correct imperfect progressions created by these flattened notes. Such a level of chromaticism would destroy the essential elements of the Phrygian mode. Correspondingly the A Aeolian declaration in *Agnus III* would become A transposed Phrygian in an F Ionian polyphony. By the same token applying flats to the b naturals of the borrowed song changes the G Mixolydian mode of *Agnus I* to G transposed Dorian.

Also to be considered in this light are the *Christe, Et in terra* and *Qui tollis* where B is quoted. The *Christe* sounds B on c', all three phrases contain b naturals which in F Ionian become b flats. This would change the C Ionian presentations of *Kyrie I* and *II* to C transposed Mixolydian for the *Christe*. Likewise b flats applied to B in the *Et in terra* and the *Qui tollis* alter the D Dorian announcements of *Ai* and *Aii* to G transposed Dorian for B. A consistent practice of *ficta* accidentals applied to the six deliveries of the cantus firmus to conform to an F Ionian

<sup>8</sup> Josquin avoids a chromatic alteration to the b natural at the close of the scale-wise diminished fifth of ph. 5 in the *Patrem*. The *dura-b* is placed in an E minor harmony within an E Phrygian plagal cadence (bs. 32-33). The descent of the diminished fifth is softened in the *Confiteor* with the final b sounded against a sustained superius a' and bassus d. This discord pushes the music onto the V-I A Aeolian close.

polyphonic texture devastates Josquin's unique conception. Only D Dorian is the mode that can provide a neutral musical fabric in which the six transpositions of the cantus firmus can be expressed in an unadulterated form, devoid of extra chromaticism. Therefore it is the only mode in which the full potential of Josquin's imaginative approach to his borrowed material finds its complete realisation.

### *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*<sup>9</sup>

Compared with the *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* the *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*<sup>10</sup> adopts a far more flexible approach to the source material.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to the one version used in the former Mass, the cantus firmus in the latter one is presented with rich ornamentation that changes with every statement; the version in *Kyrie I* illustrates (ex. 152).<sup>12</sup> This is an appropriate point to correct an error made by Smijers,<sup>13</sup> and duplicated by Lovell.<sup>14</sup> Both authors state that Josquin used the E. 40 version of the melody, but in fact Mellon is employed. There can be no doubt about this because on all four announcements of B very gentle elaboration is added to the opening two phrases only once. That is in the *Confiteor* where one note of decoration is added between the third and fourth pitches, so that the distinctive closes of the step-wise descents to the final notes of the phrases are not obscured.<sup>15</sup> The whole of B is given in canon between superius and bassus (ex. 153).

<sup>9</sup> The title of the Mass suggests that the cantus firmus is delivered on *c* with a **B flat** signature. But is given on *f* in the fifth not sixth mode. The tenor never announces the three parts of the song in its original pitch sequence (that is with the octave difference between B and Ai and Aii), it is either transposed down a fourth or placed in another voice. Richard Sherr writes, 'By restricting itself [tenor] in this way, it can interpret the opening *f-c*' range of the tune not as the lower pentachord of the fifth mode, but as the upper pentachord of the sixth', 'The Performance of Josquin's *L'homme armé* Masses', 261-68, and Blackburn, 'Masses on Popular Songs', 62.

<sup>10</sup> Edition, *Werken*, vol. I no. V.

<sup>11</sup> Cantus firmus usage is discussed in Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht eine Stilkritische Studie*, (1925), 55, Reese, *Renaissance*, 238, Lovell, *Josquin Des Prez*, 80-86, Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 315-17 and Sherr, 'The Performance of Josquin's *L'homme armé* Masses', 261-68.

<sup>12</sup> All musical examples are taken from my transcription based on CS 41, and Chigi 234.

<sup>13</sup> *Werken*, vol. I, vii.

<sup>14</sup> Lovell, *Josquin Des Prez*, 81.

<sup>15</sup> *Christe* bs. 21-36, *Qui tollis* bs. 92-106, *Et resurrexit* bs. 84-179 (cantus firmus carried by the superius) and *Confiteor* bs. 109-28.

The mistake made by both authors can be understood as their respective work appeared before the editions of Mellon and Casanatense, and in fairness to both the form of the melody they give is described as being 'after VI E. 40'. Yet both commentators give the correct form of the tune for *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* (which is also Mellon), where the version of the secular melody must have been drawn from the Mass itself with no other model to hand. Why then they did not follow the same procedure for *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* is not clear because the form in which it is used in the Mass is quite distinct in all four quotations.

Returning to the Mass itself, there is also a greater flexibility in the handling of the motto in this Mass than in its predecessor *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* where (excluding the Sanctus) the head motive was combined consistently with a countermelody. The head motive in *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* is a variation of ph. 1 - twice it is placed in the contratenor with different counterpoints, on each occasion in the superius (Gloria and Credo). In the Agnus it is placed imitatively in the three upper voices and in paired imitation by all four parts in the Kyrie. The Sanctus presents it in the bassus simultaneously with the beginning of a canonic delivery of Ai by tenor and contratenor.

This less rigid approach is also discernible in the placing of the source material. There are fifteen appearances of the cantus firmus as a structural voice, of which nine are given by a single part. Five are given by the tenor (*Kyries I and II, Et in terra, Patrem, Agnus I*), three by the bassus (*Christe, Qui tollis, Cum Sancto*) and once by the superius (*Et resurrexit*). Twice the tenor presents the melody in strict canon with the contratenor (*Et unam, Sanctus*), in free imitation with the bassus twice (*Et vitam, Osanna*) and once with bassus when Ai and B are superimposed (*Agnus III*). A single declaration has the borrowed tune in canon at the octave above between bassus and superius (*Confiteor*). This breakdown of the cantus-firmus announcements shows that the tenor's traditional role as the principal bearer of the source material is eroded. As a single carrier the tenor has only one more statement of the borrowed



material than the bassus and superius combined (five against four). With the delivery of the cantus firmus by more than one voice the situation is the same, five involving the tenor against four with the bassus. Table 45 clarifies the situation.

**Table 45**  
**Distribution of the cantus firmus in Josquin's**  
*Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*

<b>Tenor</b>	<b>Bassus</b>	<b>Superius</b>
Kyrie I	Christe	Et resurrexit
Kyrie II	Qui tollis	
Et in terra	Cum Sancto	
Patrem		
Agnus II		
<b>Tenor-contratenor</b>	<b>Tenor-bassus</b>	<b>Bassus-superius</b>
Et unam	Et vitam	Confiteor
Sanctus <sup>16</sup>	Osanna	
	Agnus III	

It is time to consider the pitch at which the *l'homme armé* melody is delivered. A useful starting point is a retrospective look at the setting of the melody in *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*. There it was seen that the six statements on each degree of the natural hexachord gave three major and three minor presentations of the tune, but all six quotations were expressed in minor contexts (either D Dorian or A Aeolian). *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* announces the *res facta* on one pitch  $\underline{f}$ , automatically placing it in F Ionian. Accepting the premise that having explored the possibilities of a minor setting of the original song in *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, it is conceivable to contemplate that Josquin desired to balance this by investigating the potentials inherent in a major delivery of the melody in *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*. Of the eight modes available to Josquin only two allowed a major context for the vernacular tune, G Mixolydian or F Ionian.

<sup>16</sup> An inscription in CS 41 attached to the source material reads very aptly, *Duo seraphim clamabant alter ad alterum* (two Seraphim were crying out one to the other).

At first sight G Mixolydian would appear to be the more obvious choice it being the mode of the melody in the three known versions. If the premise is accepted that indeed the composer did desire a complete major reading then what advantages are inherent in F Ionian (but absent in G Mixolydian) that met Josquin's compositional requirements? The principal disadvantage of G Mixolydian lies in B, where all three phrases contain the seventh of the mode, in G Mixolydian a tone below the *final* ( $\underline{f}$ - $g'$ ), but in F Ionian a semitone ( $\underline{e}$ '- $\underline{f}$ ). A flattened seventh produces a minor dominant, a real problem for a complete major reading.

Vertical and linear imperfections occur between the seventh and third tones of G Mixolydian (F and B) that do not exist in F Ionian where the equivalent interval is perfect (E and A). The offending interval in its simplest situation can be corrected with a supra-script *signa mollis* with no far-reaching influence, just momentarily changing the major harmony of the F Ionian setting to a minor one in a constructed G Mixolydian reading (ex. 154 [a] Josquin's setting, [b] hypothetical G Mixolydian setting). Where B is concerned the effect of a supra-script flat can have far more dramatic consequences.

Two essentially opposing theories exist as how far forward the influence of an added accidental is extended. One I will term the Lowinsky-Bent theory promoting a chain reaction of added accidentals from the initial inflection. The other, which I call the Berger-Bentham approach, states that the initial offending imperfection is left intact if its modification causes

subsequent heavy *ficta* application.<sup>17</sup> An illustration of the differing amounts of chromaticism based on both theories in a G Mixolydian setting is the second ph. 4 of the first statement of B in the superius of *Et resurrexit* (ex. 155 [a] Josquin's F Ionian setting, [b] G Mixolydian reading with supra-script accidentals according to Lowinsky-Bent). By tradition the third b natural in the contratenor would be inflected to correct the diminished fifth with the superius, consequently the two previous b naturals would also be modified (ex. 155 [b] bs. 93-94). This creates an augmented octave with B natural in the bassus, which now becomes *mollis* (ex. 155 [b] b. 94). The b natural in the bassus against the f in the superius also needs to be tempered. Which then effects the following e (requiring a flat) and the **B** and **E naturals** in all four voices (ex. 155 [b] bs. 95-98). A reading based on the Berger-Benthem theory would leave the initial diminished fifth (and the subsequent one in b. 95) intact. On all accounts Josquin's F Ionian setting (in terms of *ficta* application) presents no problems, as diminished fifths do not occur between seventh and third steps of the mode.

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<sup>17</sup> Lowinsky and Bent propose a chain reaction (or spiral sequence) where the initial accidental sets in motion a series of further chromatic notes related by a fourth or fifth. See Lowinsky, 'Secret Chromatic Art Re-examined', *PM* (1972), 91-135, and his 'Matthaeus Greiter's *Fortuna*: An Experiment in Chromaticism and in Musical Iconography', *MD* 42 (1965), 500-79, and Bent's 'Diatonic Ficta', *EMH* 4 (1984), 1-50. Lowinsky and Bent part company regarding the ultimate extent to which extra accidentals related by fourths and fifths can be taken. Bent proposes that the extra accidentals be taken to their ultimate conclusion. Her example from the Kyrie of Obrecht's *Missa Libenter gloriabor* shows that on the basis of the spiral sequence theory a movement beginning on **F** could end on **F flat** ('Diatonic Ficta', 35-39). Lowinsky rejects this, stating that the Kyrie then becomes disjunct with the start of the Gloria ('Secret Chromatic Art Re-examined', n. 63a). However, Lowinsky's remarks apply only to multi-movement compositions such as a Mass. His applied *ficta* to two secular compositions by Rossetti and Greiter have them respectively beginning on **G** and **F** and ending **G flat** and **F flat**, see his 'Matthaeus Greiter', 500-02 and 505-08.

Karol Berger refutes the spiral sequence hypothesis writing, '...we may infer that the idea that one internally introduced *fa* could lead to another at a place distant by a fourth or fifth in a kind of "chain reaction" was alien to them [the theorists], since they recommend in such cases that the originally offending tritone is left uncorrected', 'Musica Ficta', *Performance and Practice*, 107-25; further literature is given on 123, n. 46. Berger is also at odds with Bent's submission (and therefore Lowinsky's) that it is possible to begin and end a movement on two different pitches, however small the difference between them might be. Berger states, '...Bent's hypothesis...that for instance, if a melody started on G and ended with what for us is Gb, early musicians would not think of the two pitches as being different. This, however, neglects the fact that for an early musician a step was identified not by a letter alone, but by a letter combined with a syllable. He would assign to the last G a syllable from a different hexachord than that of his first G, and his choice of syllable would depend on the syllables and mutations taken since the melody first started. This shows that his definition of a step did depend on a standard established at the beginning of the performance of a work.', 'Musica Ficta', 120, n. 11. Lowinsky's and Bent's theory has also been challenged in two articles by Jaap van Benthem, 'Fortuna in Focus: Concerning "Conflicting" Progressions in Josquin's *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*', *TVNM* 30 (1980), 1-50, and 'Lazarus versus Absalon: About Fiction and Fact in the Netherlands Motet', *TVNM* 39 (1989), 54-82.



Sequence is used with great effect throughout the Mass with *Agnus I* constructed almost entirely on the device. Ph. 1, minus the falling fifth, opens the section given in three-part imitation by the upper three voices. Subsequently the fifth itself is then repeated five times, the final four of which are given in a striking descending sequence spanning a seventh (ex. 156 [a]). The bassus is the *dux* of a canonic structure underpinning the sequence at the seventh below, first with the superius and then (when the music moves out of that part's range) with the contratenor (ex. 156 [a] bs. 12-17 and then from b. 19). This point is articulated in two ways, by the falling fifth in the tenor delivered with no embellishments and couched in a V-VI F Ionian progression (ex. 156 [a] bs. 17-18). Whilst imitative with the contratenor the bassus moves in parallel tenths first with the superius and then the tenor. Harmonically the complete sequence is a series of VII6-I progressions ('actual' or 'implied') with a delayed bassus.<sup>18</sup> There is one deviation to an otherwise consistent pattern at bs. 20-21 where the close in the superius is marked by an A transposed Phrygian cadence.<sup>19</sup>

Transposed to G Mixolydian the limpidity and elegance of the sequence is lost (ex. 156 [b]). Once again the flattened seventh of G Mixolydian is largely responsible for the different polyphonic reading compared with that of F Ionian. From the very beginning the mode changes from major to minor the bassus needing a b flat to correct a diminished fifth with the superius (ex. 156 [b] b. 12 second-to-last crotchet). The influence is retrospective, affecting the first bassus b natural and then those in the superius and tenor. G Mixolydian (F Ionian in Josquin's setting) now becomes more like G transposed Dorian. A comparable context occurs at the point of the strategic Phrygian cadence (bs. 20-21). The final bassus b needs to be a flat to temper the diminished fifth with the contratenor (b. 21), which means that the first b natural must also be

<sup>18</sup> For example, b. 13 (last minim) to b. 14 (first minim) is an 'actual' VII6-I F Ionian cadence, the mode of the *Agnus*. The others, although duplicating the two sonorities on other pitches, are 'implied' because they remain in F Ionian, and are not transposed to other modes.

<sup>19</sup> Each individual harmonic progression is marked with a square bracket in the bassus.

inflected and those in the tenor and contratenor. Instead of the smoother Phrygian progression in which the superius closed in the F Ionian context this gives the much sharper 'implied' one of B flat Ionian.<sup>20</sup>

Persistent applications of **B flats** and changes in the positions of the semitones in the transposed reading disturb the even flow of Josquin's original descending sequence. Frequently the constant pattern of VII6-I progressions is altered, replaced on four occasions with Phrygian-like ones the bassus falling by a semitone (ex. 156 [b] bs. 12-13, 15-16 and 21-22). At one point there is neither a VII6-I or Phrygian progression 'actual' or 'implied', an E minor harmony moves onto one of F major (ex. 156 [b] bs. 14-15).

The final VII6-I progression of the sequence is in F Ionian; the crucial semitone e to f is diatonic (ex. 156 [a] bs. 22-23). In G Mixolydian the f natural must be sharpened to duplicate the progression exactly. Yet there is no theoretical evidence to allow for it because the context is not completely cadential; missing are the two features of syncopation and the resultant discord. Therefore a *ficta* sharp cannot be applied on the grounds of *causa pulchritudinis*. The progression happens at an important pivotal point and the absence of the semitone between the seventh and eight tones of G Mixolydian weakens the original structural significance. It marks the end of the canon in the bassus and contratenor and also the end of the sequence in the two voices. Only the tenor continues sequentially, sounding its final falling fifth. A new musical event begins over the VII6-I progression that can be considered as a 'codetta'. From the second harmony of the progression Josquin reverses his approach to the treatment of the falling fifth and instead of an elaborate expansion he now concentrates it. All four voices deliver the fifth at the same time but in different guises. A simple interval in the bassus and two scale-like versions

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<sup>20</sup> The diminished fifth at the end of b. 19 does not contravene the rule prohibiting the simultaneous sounding of *mi contra fa*. If followed by a major third, with *mi* rising a diatonic semitone and *fa* falling by one the interval was acceptable.



with ornamental notes, ascending in the contratenor and descending in the superius, are combined with the end of its sequential announcement in the tenor (exs. 156 [a] and [b] bs. 23-26).

The *Agnus* closes on a V-I cadence with an extension in the contratenor. Coming three bars after the VII6-I it is essential that the finality of the terminal cadence not be undermined in anyway. On the other hand, just as imperative is that the point at which the canon concluded and the 'codetta' began should be clearly articulated, though not to the extent of isolating it from the closing bars. The diatonic semitone  $\underline{e}$  to  $\underline{f}$  in F Ionian is the agent which achieves both aims giving an edge to the VII6-I progression (therefore marking the watershed between the two musical events) but not detracting from the closing cadence. Without a sharpened  $\underline{f}$  in a G Mixolydian translation the effect (and therefore the function) of the VII6-I progression is almost nullified and any affinity with the end V-I cadence lost. Table 46 outlines the harmonic movement across the sequence in both modes.

**Table 46**  
**Sequential harmonic movement over *Agnus I***  
**in Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni***

		<b>F Ionian</b>			
B	12-13 <sup>21</sup>	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-17
H	F+6 <sup>22</sup> -G-	Ed6-F+	D-6-Eb+	C-6-D-	Bb+6-C+
C	VII6-I G	VII6-I F	VII6-I Eb	VII6-I D	VII6-I C
B	17-18	18-19	19-20	20-21	21-22
H	C+-D-	Bb+6-C+	A-6-Bb+	G-6-A-	F+6-G-
C	V-VI F	VII6-I C	VII6-I Bb	A Phrygian	VII6-I G
B	22-23	24-25			
H	Ed6-F+	C+-F+			
C	VII6-I F	V-I F			

<sup>21</sup> B 12-13 etc. means the harmonic progression at the end of the first bar number over to the beginning of the next. H the harmonic progression and C the cadential progression, 'actual' or 'implied'.

<sup>22</sup> + indicates a major harmony, - a minor one and d diminished. The figure 6 denotes a first inversion harmony.

Table 46 continued

## G Mixolydian

B	12-13	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-17
H	G-6-A-	F+6-G+	Ed6-F+	D-6-E-	C+6-D-
C	A Phrygian	VII6-I G	VII6-I F	E Phrygian	VII6-I D
B	17-18	18-19	19-20	20-21	21-22
H	D- -E-	C+6-D-	Bd6-C+	A-6-Bb+	G-6-A-
C	V-VI E	VII6-I D	VII6-I C	VII6-I Bb+	A Phrygian
B	22-23	24-25			
H	F+6-G+	D+-G+			
C	VII6-I G	V-I G			

Three times *Ai* is given in strict canon, in the *Et unam*, *Sanctus* and *Osanna* and each time the canonic voices are in a major mode. At the unison in the *Sanctus* the two canonic parts remain major when transposed to a G Mixolydian context, but the situation changes in the other two sections. The *Et unam* has the canon at the fourth below on  $\underline{f}$  and  $\underline{c}$ . When placed a tone higher the *comes* sounds *Ai* in a minor mode (D Dorian) and not a major one of the F Ionian setting. A similar situation is present in the *Osanna* where, with the imitation at the fifth below (*dux* on  $\underline{c}$  and *comes* on  $\underline{F}$ ), the beginning of the canon sounds in a minor mode. There are other implications inherent in a G Mixolydian polyphony in the *Osanna*. In addition to the change from a major to minor sounding of the *dux*, namely the *ficta* applications are once again set in motion by the linear augmented fourth involving the seventh and third steps of the mode (ex. 157 [a] and [b]).

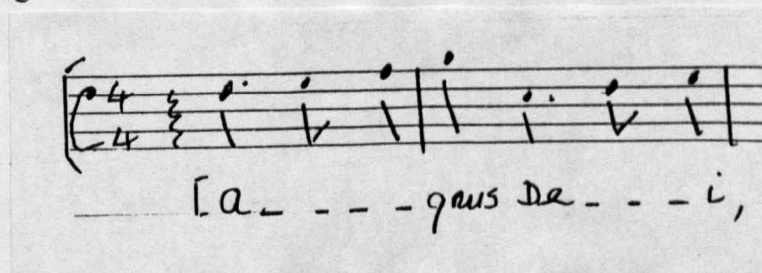
On the Lowinsky-Bent spiral sequence theory radical *ficta* adjustment is needed to free the section from imperfect progressions. A direct melodic tritone in the superius has to be tempered with a  $\underline{b}$  flat and as a result the  $\underline{b}$  natural in the contratenor must also be *mollis*, correcting the augmented octave with the superius (ex. 157 [b] bs. 61-62). The following E naturals in the superius and contratenor become flats and consequently so do the A naturals

thereby correcting imperfect melodic fourths and fifths (superius and contratenor) and a vertical diminished fourth in the tenor (ex. 157 [b] bs. 63-64). The spiral sequence continues with further modifications to the pitches **D, A, E, G** and **C** (ex. 157 [b] bs. 65-67). The situation becomes kaleidoscopic, the music moving from an opening on **D minor** to a close on **G flat**, just seven bars later.<sup>23</sup> A consistent major setting of the *l'homme armé* tune in the two imitating voices is impossible. A less complex reading is obtained based on the proposals of Berger-Benthem. On these grounds the initial tritone in the superius would be left intact, but the end result is crude and is the antithesis of Josquin's graceful melodic style.<sup>24</sup> What emerges is that, of the two major modes **F Ionian** offers fewer complexities for a major presentation of the secular song and the surrounding polyphonic context (ex. 157 [a]).

Not every cadential context translates comfortably from **F Ionian** to **G Mixolydian**. The problematic progression is the transposed Phrygian cadence on **A** in **F Ionian** where the bassus descends a semitone **B flat** to **A** supporting two minor harmonies of **G** and **A**. **G Mixolydian** still has a semitone in the bassus (**c** to **B**) but not with the accompanying two minor harmonies; they

<sup>23</sup> Interestingly enough this reading of the *Osanna* is analogous to Bent's version of the Obrecht *Kyrie*, 'Diatonic Ficta', 34-40.

<sup>24</sup> The composer's music is not entirely free from troublesome progressions. Aaron in his *Toscanello* quotes the following passage from the bassus of *Agmus III* in the *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*:



If the **b** is flattened to avoid the tritone with the initial **f**, then the **b** flat forms a diminished fifth with the following **e**. The opening **f** cannot be sharpened because it is sounded against a prolonged cantus-firmus **c** in the superius. If the **b** and **e** are flattened then imperfect intervals are created with the cantus-firmus **b** in the superius. Aaron's solution to the problem is the same as that advocated by Tinctoris, namely leaving the melodic tritone untouched, preserving the vertical perfection over the linear one. But there is a very important contextual difference between the two settings. In *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* the strident sound of the tritone is very much diminished by being placed in the lowest part of the musical texture. On the other hand, in the hypothetical **G Mixolydian** reading of *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*, it would be sounded in the most exposed location possible, at the top of the polyphony in the superius. Within this context if the tritone is left intact, the consequential aural effect is far harsher.

are replaced with a minor and diminished one (A minor and B diminished). The implied cadence is in the Locrian mode; the added chromaticism needed to side-step a Locrian close not only alters the modal level at the beginning and ending of a complete cantus-firmus phrase in some places, but on one occasion at the opening and close of an entire section. A striking illustration of both is the conclusion of the *Et resurrexit* where the superius announces ph. 5 (ex. 158 [a] Josquin's setting, [b] G Mixolydian reading).

To prevent the concurrent sounding of *mi contra fa* the **B naturals** in the bassus and contratenor must be inflected and the previous b in the contratenor also modified (ex. 158 [b] bs. 185-86). The adjusted **B naturals** affect the **E naturals** in the bassus, tenor and superius; consequently the previous B in the bassus becomes a flat correcting the melodic tritone created by the *mollis e* (ex. 158 [b] bs. 184-85). Ph. 5 began in G Mixolydian but as a result of the added accidentals ends in B flat Ionian; lost is the Phrygian cadence in the F Ionian setting, replaced by the sharper VII6-I. This change of mode at the end of the *Et resurrexit* affects the smooth change to the following *Et unam* in the Josquin setting, which opens with ph. 1 in imitation, contratenor on f and tenor on c. An easy transition is achieved in the Josquin context because the terminal cadence of the *Et resurrexit* is Phrygian on A, and the beginning of ph. 1 in the *Et unam* shares that pitch. On the other hand a real wrench is felt across the two sections in G Mixolydian where there is a conflict between the **B flats** of the *Et resurrexit* and b naturals in the contratenor.

Perhaps the greatest damage that the **F natural** in G Mixolydian causes to the original F Ionian polyphony is its function in a dominant harmony. In F Ionian it is part of a major sonority, whereas it is minor in G Mixolydian. Within a cadential context the **F natural** can be sharpened, creating a major chord V. But Josquin employs major dominants in situations which are not cadential and in G Mixolydian, because they do not require a *ficta* **F sharp** remain minor and subsequently lose their structural impact.

Two particularly apt examples are the *Christe* and *Qui tollis*. B is carried by the bassus in

the *Christe* (ex. 159 [a] Josquin's reading, [b] G Mixolydian reading). The cantus firmus is delayed by two bars which combined with its being placed in the lowest part and clothed in a C major harmony for the duration of two bars emphasises its entry in a distinctive way (ex. 159 [a] b. 21). Josquin calculates the impact of the bassus's entry very precisely. B is declared on  $\underline{c}$  a fourth below the pitch at which Ai and Aii are presented in *Kyrie* I and II. The *Christe* could begin quite easily with the source material and still in a C major harmony, the transition from the F major sonority closing *Kyrie* I being just as smooth. What is forfeited is the distinct entry of the only delayed voice (the bassus) sounding the cantus firmus, which is expressed in the first harmonic change of the *Christe*, namely C major. Taken together the combined power of these features would be severely constrained in G Mixolydian because of the minor dominant harmony (ex. 159 [b] bs. 19-21). The flattened leading tone of G Mixolydian also alters the position of *mi-fa* in the respective polyphonies. It is diatonic in F Ionian ( $\underline{e}'-\underline{f}$ ) and  $\underline{e}$  as the leading tone contributes to the even flow of the superius. The  $\underline{e}'$  is a moment of repose in that voice but on account of the strong pull up to the  $\underline{f}$  there is a feeling of anticipation sustained across two bars; there is no corresponding feeling of expectancy in the G Mixolydian texture (ex. 159 [a] and [b] bs. 21-22). The arch of the original line is reinforced by the supporting harmonies all major in F Ionian. C major is highlighted by being the first four-part harmony, the bright major sound being totally absent in the D minor harmony of G Mixolydian. Table 47 shows the harmonic progressions in both modes.



**Table 47**  
**Harmonic progression at the opening of the *Christe***  
**in Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni***

**F Ionian**

B	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
H	F+.....	F+ <sup>25</sup>	C+.....	C+	Bb+....	Bb+	C+

**G Mixolydian**

B	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
H	G+.....	G+	D-.....	D-	C+.....	C+	D-

A C major sonority is used in the *Qui tollis* in what I consider to be Josquin's intention to emphasise the text 'Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram', ('Thou who bearest the sins of the world, receive our prayer', ex. 160 [a] and [b]). The beginning of the word 'Suscipe' is set *a*4, homorhythmically and in a V-I F Ionian progression, the bassus sounding the falling fifth of ph. 1, the first two syllables underlaid with two C major harmonies and the final syllable with F major (ex. 160 [a] bs. 73-75). Either side of this brief *a*4 passage are ones for reduced scoring. Following is a brief bassus-free trio then a superius-tenor duo (ex. 160 [a] bs. 76-77). The contratenor-tenor duo before closes on a semibreve unison g, and the four-part blaze of C major separated from this duo even more by minim rests in all four voices (ex. 160 bs. 72-73). The supplication of 'suscipe' is underscored in a dramatic manner. Contrast of ensemble and the general rest are left untouched in G Mixolydian. What is not reinterpreted is the major flavour of the setting of the word 'suscipe'. The reading now becomes minor, with the duo preceding the word 'suscipe' closing in A Aeolian and the blaze of the *a*4 C major harmony of the F Ionian context lost in the more sombre replaced D minor harmony (ex. 160 [b] bs. 71-74).

We saw in Chapter 2 how the original and retrograde forms of Ai and B in *Agnus III*

<sup>25</sup> The dotted line shows that the harmony is sustained over two bars. All other symbols and abbreviations have the same meaning as in Table 46.

mirrored themselves exactly, coupled with an exact reflection of the harmonic pattern.<sup>26</sup> The harmonic rhythm increases towards the midpoint where the two cantus-firmus-carrying voices rest (b.115), and decreases away from it. Therefore the longest durations occur at the beginning and end of the *Agnus*, with the emphasis on F and C major harmonies. Table 48 shows the design from the start to the midpoint of the *Agnus*.

**Table 48**  
**Harmonic pattern of *Agnus III* in Josquin's**  
*Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*

B	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
H	F+	F+	F+	C+	C+	C+	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+G-
B	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
H	G-	A-	A-Bb+	Bb+	C+	C+	C+	F+	F+	F+	C+
B	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110
H	C+F+	F+	G-	G-A-	A-	Bb+	Bb+F+	F+	G-	G-	F+
B	111	112	113	114	115						
H	Eb+	D-	D-	C+	midpoint						

The mirror image of the design is from bs. 116-53

Major sonorities are predominant (30 compared with 12 minor) and of these F and C major prevail with 16 and 9 respectively. The durations in which the major harmonies are expressed are the most prolonged. Even at their most extensive minor sonorities cover little more than two bars whereas the major ones can sound over four-and-a half bars. Combined with the ebullience and rhythmic vitality of the free voices these factors bring the *Agnus* to an exuberant close. A setting such as this is not possible in G Mixolydian with the prolonged C major harmonies of F Ionian changing to D minor (ex. 161 [a] F Ionian, and 161 [b] G

<sup>26</sup> The one exception is b. 111, which carries a signed  $\flat$  in the bassus perfecting diminished fifths in the two contratenors, the corresponding bar (119) has an  $\natural$ .

Mixolydian). The joyful triadic melody of the second canon loses its zest in a D minor harmony. Moreover the melodic tritone  $\underline{f} - \underline{b}$  in the upper canon requires modification with a *mollis*  $\underline{b}$  and also  $\underline{e}$  (ex. 161 [b] superius I and II, bs. 83-84). Consequently the  $\underline{b}$  and  $\underline{e}$  naturals in the two contratenors must be also be inflected to correct the augmented octaves with the upper two parts (ex. 161 [b] bs. 83-86). As the *Agnus* incorporates retrograde versions of Ai and B, the corresponding bars at the close are also affected.

Josquin increases the tension in the drive to the cadence by treating the canons in the manner of a stretto. Although independent of each other the two canons now share similar material. The general plan is that when one canon is triadic the other is scale-wise, but with both outlining the same harmonies. So alike are the melodies that the effect is of a quadruple canon, each individual voice being at the temporal distance of a *minima*. Over the closing eleven-and-a-half bars the four canonic parts tumble over one another in a veritable orgy of F and C major harmonies, the last seven bars being no less than a highly decorated V-I cadence. The excitement finally dissipates in the concluding two bars (ex. 162 [a] bs. 144-53).

The F and C major harmonies that propel the music towards the terminal cadence would be replaced respectively with G major and D minor in G Mixolydian (ex. 162 [b]). Duplicating the same power that was generated in the F Ionian reading calls for the **F naturals** in the D minor harmonies to be sharpened. The tradition governing the circumstances for the application of added accidentals does not cover this particular context. Left unaltered the **F naturals** inhibit the momentum in the approach to the final harmony of the *Agnus* and therefore also to the close of the Mass.

In conclusion the obvious point must be made that had Josquin set this Mass in G Mixolydian by necessity the polyphony and technical structures would have been different. Consequently the heavy inflections given in the hypothetical G Mixolydian reading become superfluous. We have worked on the premise that a consistent major context of both the *cantus*

*prius factus* and polyphony was central to the design of the Mass. Josquin had recourse to two modes only in which to accomplish his intentions, and furthermore to demonstrate that of the two modes available G Mixolydian had internal characteristics that militated against it delivering a complete major setting, the most troublesome issue being the flattened seventh. Only F Ionian was capable of fulfilling all the conditions for a prevailing major context of the secular song.



## Chapter 13

### Compere, Morales and E Phrygian

Three composers place the *l'homme armé* melody in E Phrygian, two settings are within the boundaries of this study, those by Compere and Obrecht; the later one is the four-part Mass by Cristóbal de Morales. To give as complete a picture as possible of the problems inherent in placing both the borrowed song and the polyphony in E Phrygian, alongside the attention given to the Compere Mass consideration will also be given in this chapter to that by Morales.

The opening of Compere's Mass<sup>1</sup> quotes the beginning of that by Pipelare. From the point at which Compere ceases to quote Pipelare, the rest of the Mass is entirely his own. Ludwig Finscher casts doubt on whether Compere actually quotes Pipelare, suggesting instead that there might be a common source on which both composers drew:

This correspondence together with an occasional repetition of fixed motives and polyphonic sections at identical c. f. passages may possibly point to a common polyphonic model, perhaps a chanson, which however could neither be identified or reconstructed. On the other hand the identical S [superius] beginnings of the two Masses could either be explained by conscious or unconscious reminiscences of the Gregorian *Kyrie Deus sempiternus*.<sup>2</sup>

If a relationship does exist between the openings of the two superius parts and the Gregorian chant, it is very tenuous (ex. 163 [a] *Kyrie Deus sempiternus*, LU, 22-23, [b] Compere, [c] Pipelare). Any similarities with the plainsong do not account for the duplication of the polyphony. The suggestion that the two openings might be taken from a common polyphonic model begs the question as to why the passage appears in these two Masses only and not in any

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<sup>1</sup> The Mass was written within the decade 1480-90, the two sources containing it are Chigi 234 and CS 35. See Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compere (c. 1450-1518): Life and Works*, MSD 12 (1964), 56. Edition, Loyset Compere, *Opera omnia*, CMM 15, ed. Ludwig Finscher (1958-72).

<sup>2</sup> Finscher, *Loyset Compere*, 59 n. 11.

of the other *Missae L'homme armé*. The duplication of the polyphonic structure at identical cantus-firmus places in the Compere Mass, in most situations, is controlled by the Phrygian delivery of both the melody and the polyphony. It is interesting that the same procedure does not occur in the Pipelare D Dorian Mass.

Finscher also remarks on the close connection between the start of *Kyrie I* of Obrecht's *L'homme armé* Mass and Compere's *Christe* (ex. 164 [a] *Kyrie* Obrecht and [b] *Christe* Compere)<sup>3</sup>:

Judging from the identical rhythmic forms of the two motives conscious citation seems highly probable but it is possible that Obrecht took his motive from the same source which perhaps influenced the identical opening sections by Compere and Pipelare.<sup>4</sup>

His view is at odds with that of Gombosi who explains it as a 'coloration of the c.f.'<sup>5</sup>

An examination of the Masses relevant to this dissertation shows that the motive is not peculiar just to Pipelare, Compere and Obrecht, for in a high proportion of settings there is a predilection to involve the free voices in quoting the secular melody at the beginnings of the principal movements. Du Fay, Ockeghem and the composer of *AJ2* all open with the same superius motive, and in just the same manner as the Pipelare and Compere compositions, a ph. 1 derived counterpoint is given in another voice (ex. 165 [a] Du Fay, [b] Ockeghem and [c] *AJ2*). Caron<sup>6</sup> states the initial fourth of the *cantus prius factus* against itself in the superius and bassus, whilst the contratenor has a variant of the motive under discussion. After the opening, lasting one perfect breve, the tenor initiates the cantus-firmus delivery (ex. 166).<sup>7</sup>

Busnoys counterpoints ph. 1 against itself, mildly decorated in the superius and with no

<sup>3</sup> All the Compere examples are taken from my transcription based on Chigi 234.

<sup>4</sup> Finscher, *Loyset Compere*, 60 n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht*, 60.

<sup>6</sup> Edition, *MPLSER* no. 3, and *Oeuvres complètes de Philippe (?) Caron*, ed. James Thomas, Institute of Medieval Music (1971-77)

<sup>7</sup> All examples for Caron are taken from my transcription based on CS 14.



extra notes in the contratenor.<sup>8</sup> Basiron uses a similar opening-superius as Busnoys at the start of his Mass but now as a superius-contratenor imitative duo. Brumel employs the same opening five tones placed imitatively between bassus and superius. He also cites an elaborated and fragmented ph. 1 against the bassus a fifth higher in the contratenor (exs. 167 [a] Busnoys, [b] Basiron, [c] Brumel). In fact this particular combination does not originate in any one Mass but in the two polyphonic secular settings where the superius carries the gently embellished melody and the tenor the unadorned ph. 1 (exs. 2 and 3 bs. 13-14). Its frequent appearances in the Mass tradition would appear to be more than mere chance.

References are made to ph. 1 at the start of other Masses. Regis places it in the bassus with one extra note, Vaqueras in the three free voices simultaneously in triple counterpoint. Tinctoris adopts the same approach as Vaqueras but in his case the concurrent sounding of ph. 1 in the free voices overlaps with its true cantus-firmus delivery in the tenor (exs. 168 [a] Regis, [b] Vaqueras and [c] Tinctoris). Simultaneous deliveries of the *res facta* are used by La Rue at the beginnings of his principal sections. Josquin quotes ph. 1 as anticipatory statements in his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* and in pervading imitation in *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* (exs. 169 [a] La Rue, [b] Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* and [c] Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*).

The point being made is that composers actively sought ways in which they could present the borrowed material from the outset of the Mass. From the various methods outlined above it is not a large step to presenting ph. 1 with the initial leaping fourth filled in scale-wise in the manner of exs. 164 [a] and [b], and exs. 165 [a], [b] and [c]. On this evidence we can concur

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<sup>8</sup> Taruskin feels that the beginning of the *Sanctus* in the second version of the Faugues Mass was 'deliberately revised' so that Faugues could quote the head motive from the Busnoys Mass, 'Antoine Busnoys', 263. The earlier version of the Faugues Mass is found in CS 14 (dated c. 1472-81, CC, vol. IV, 28) and the later one in Modena Ms *alpha* 1. 13 (c. 1481, see Lockwood, 'Aspects', 111, and *Renaissance Ferrara*, 217. For the differences between the two versions see Reese, *Renaissance*, 112.



with Gombosi that the motive at the beginning of the Compere *Christe* and the Obrecht *Kyrie* are elaborations of ph. 1. On this basis so too are the superius parts of Pipelare's and Compere's *Kyries*. Indeed if the superius parts by Du Fay, Ockeghem, Pipelare and AJZ are transposed onto E, the subsequent melodic cells are the same as the Obrecht *Kyrie*. Perhaps it maybe only a point of compositional procedure but the Obrecht *Kyrie* has a stronger relationship with the *Kyries* of the four last named composers than with Compere's *Christe*. They all announce the motive in *tempus perfectum* and at the beginning of a principal movement, whereas the Compere presents it in *tempus imperfectum*, at the start of a subsection.

There is no glaringly obvious reason why Compere should quote only the opening of Pipelare's Mass other than as a tribute to the work of the older composer. The choice of E Phrygian over Pipelare's D Dorian might have been made on four possible counts, the first being a wish not to make the Mass completely identical with the Pipelare work. Quoting Pipelare's opening in E Phrygian permitted Compere to duplicate exactly only the first Pipelare sonority. The different locations of the semitones in the two modes gave to Compere a new sound context. Pipelare's polyphony moves in a mixture of major and minor sonorities, whereas Compere's progressions are mainly minor. Additionally the first close of ph. 1 is different, Pipelare a V-I in D Dorian, Compere IV-I in A Aeolian, Table 49:

**Table 49**  
**Sonorities and cadential closes over ph. 1 in Pipelare's and Compere's *Kyrie I***

		<b>Pipelare</b>							
		1	2		3	4			
B		D-	G+	G+	C+	D-	A-	D-	
H									
C								V-I D Dorian	
		<b>Compere</b>							
		1	2		3	4			
B		E-	A-	A-	D-	G+	D-	A-	
H									
C								IV-I A Aeolian	
B= bar, H=harmony, C=cadence, - indicates a minor harmony and + a major one									

A second possible reason for the choice of E Phrygian is the overall tessitura. Other than a very few pitches in the bassus Compere's polyphony is within the range of the Guidonian hand. When the bassus does descend below *gamma* G the situation is always cadential with the *extra manum* notes of the bass being in the second cadential harmony. Except for one occasion the cadences are terminal and the pitch E appears as a divisi octave in the bassus (*Qui tollis* b. 147 and *Crucifixus* b. 253), or the bassus sounding E an octave below the contratenor (*Osanna* I b. 103). Once only does the bassus exceed the pitch G in an internal cadence that is in *Agnus* I where a repeated F is the bass of a V-I F Ionian close (ex. 170 bs. 8-9). At the top of the polyphony the superius never goes beyond c'. In every respect Compere's Mass is not so dark as Pipelare's setting, and had he placed his cantus firmus also in D Dorian his bassus would have exceeded the lower range of the Guidonian hand in contexts other than cadential ones more frequently.

There is a third possibility that might explain the E Phrygian setting of the cantus firmus, which is the large-scale structure of the Mass. It is built on the traditional tenor axis, with the exception of the canonic delivery of the source material from the Sanctus to the Agnus there being no other places where a voice other than the tenor is the sole carrier of the borrowed song. However, there are occasions when one or more of the free parts are involved in its presentation (*Kyrie* II all voices bs. 43-52, *Qui tollis* tenor and superius bs. 92-100, superius, bassus, tenor bs. 101-09, bassus, tenor bs. 109-18 and *Crucifixus* superius bs. 116-135). Therefore there is no practical reason for general lowest pitch level of the Mass to be other than G, as the bassus never announces the secular tune alone. This is in direct contrast to Pipelare, and also La Rue, where it was necessary for the pitch of the Mass to be lower precisely on account of the bassus sounding the secular song almost as often as the tenor.

Finally, the reason for the choice of E Phrygian also might possibly lie in Compere's approach to composition itself. The composer is described as 'a natural experimenter who

enjoyed setting himself technical and aesthetic problems and resolving them for their own sake.<sup>9</sup> This feature of Compere's approach to composing is very evident in his *Missa L'homme armé*, where he creates problems for himself by placing both the *cantus prius factus* and polyphony in E Phrygian. Retaining that mode in the four-part texture requires great resourcefulness, especially when expressing structurally important beginnings and endings of the *cantus firmus*. An examination of these important structural situations reveals how infrequently the source material is established convincingly in E Phrygian cadential contexts. What also emerges is that there are similar difficulties in placing the polyphony in strong E Phrygian closes. Before looking at the whole situation a caveat must be given. Cadential variety is an important process in setting the *cantus firmus*, meaning that because the borrowed song is in E Phrygian it does not necessarily follow that every cadence should also be in that mode. On the other hand by necessity there have to be sufficient Phrygian conclusions for that mode to be secured as the principal one.

The falling fifth of the *res facta* has inherent in it the properties of a V-I cadence firmly establishing the mode of the song melodically. Compere exploits this feature of the song, although he uses only the falling fifths at the ends of phs. 1 and 6 (omitting the one after ph. 2). In total there are 26 citations of the interval, twelve that close ph. 1 and fourteen ending ph. 6 (these include a two-fold repetition in *Kyrie II*, bs. 49-51, and a three-fold one in the *Qui tollis*, bs. 127-35 and 138-39, the second statement is filled in scale-wise). Twice the complete interval is placed in a VII6-I A Aeolian cadence (ex. 171 [d]). On the nine other occasions only the first note of the falling fifth is given in the second harmony of a cadence. Seven are in G Mixolydian, either VII6-I, V-I or V-VI (exs. 171 [a-c]). And one each of a genuine E Phrygian close (ex. 171 [e] the only time in the Mass) and a V-VI F Ionian progression (ex. 171 [f]). Table 50 lists the

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<sup>9</sup> Joshua Rifkin, *Loyset Compere, NG* (1st ed.), vol. 4, 595-98.

cadences.

**Table 50**  
**Cadential contexts in which the initial note of the falling fifths**  
**closing phs. 1 and 6 are placed in Compere's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Mode</b>	<b>Cadence</b>
Kyrie I bs. 6-7	1	G Mixolydian	VII6-I
Et in terra b. 14	1	G Mixolydian	V-I
Patrem bs. 41-42	1	G Mixolydian	V-I
Crucifixus bs. 146-47	1	G Mixolydian	V-VI
Crucifixus bs. 154-55	1	G Mixolydian	VII6-I
Sanctus bs. 11-12	1 ( <i>dux</i> )	E Phrygian	VII6-I
Kyrie II bs. 49-50	6	A Aeolian	VII6-I*
Qui tollis bs. 138-39	6	A Aeolian	VII6-I*
Crucifixus bs. 227-28	6	G Mixolydian	VII6-I
Sanctus bs. 33-34	6 ( <i>comes</i> )	F Ionian	V-VI
Agnus III bs. 80-81	6 ( <i>comes</i> )	G Mixolydian	V-VI+

\*indicates that the complete interval forms a VII6-I cadence

+indicates a 'quasi' cadential progression

Voice leading is not conventional in the 'quasi' interrupted cadence of *Agnus III*. The final d of the falling fifth in the tenor does not rise to e, instead the voice rests. It is the bassus that falls to e from its previous a (ex. 172 bs. 80-81). The canonic structure of *Agnus III* is responsible for this progression (tenor, *dux* on d, contratenor, *comes* on e). Both falling fifths in the two imitating parts are separated from the start of ph. 7 by rests. Consequently both textures at the close of the tenor's falling fifth and the start of the one in the contratenor are *a3* (ex. 172 bs. 80-81). The three-part polyphony, caused by the canon, is the reason for the deviation in what would otherwise have been a conventional G Mixolydian interrupted cadence.

In the final fifteen appearances of the falling fifth the first note is not given in any cadential context whatsoever, and the sonorities are varied with six of E minor, four each of G major and D minor and one of A minor. See Table 51:

**Table 51**  
**Non-cadential contexts of the openings of the**  
**falling fifths in Compere's *Missa L'homme armé***

**E minor**

Kyrie II ph. 6 b. 50  
 Qui tollis ph. 6 b. 127  
 Qui tollis ph. 6 b. 120  
 Osanna II ph. 6 (*dux*) b. 161  
 Agnus I ph. 1 (*comes*) b. 13\*  
 Agnus III ph. 6 (*comes*) b. 81\*

**D minor**

Sanctus ph. 1 (*comes*) bs. 13-14  
 Osanna II ph. 6 (*comes*) b. 165  
 Agnus III ph. 1 (*comes*) b. 60  
 Agnus III ph. 6 (*dux*) b. 80\*

**G major**

Et in terra ph. 1 b. 12  
 Crucifixus ph. 6 b. 244  
 Sanctus ph. 6 (*dux*) b. 32  
 Agnus III (*comes*) ph. 1 b. 61

**A minor**

Agnus I ph. 1 (*dux*) b. 11

\* indicates a 'quasi' cadential context

Two different contexts distinguish the cadential and non-cadential treatments. When cadential there is an appreciable length of time of up to 14 breves before the tenor enters. On the other hand, when the situation is non-cadential there is either no break at all or at the most just a rest of a minim. The one exception is *Kyrie II*, where all four voices present the source material described by Finscher thus: '[*Kyrie II*] is strictly constructed in through imitation the melodic substance of the outer voices being derived from the c.f.'.<sup>10</sup> *Kyrie II* opens imitatively with ph. 6 in the tenor (ex. 173 bs. 43-50), followed at the distance of a perfect breve by the contratenor on a and then superius on d'. After completing the opening of ph. 6 the tenor rests before presenting the falling fifth. So precisely are the points of imitation calculated in the first three voices that the contratenor enters on a repeated unison with the tenor and the superius on the same interval with the contratenor. Had Compere continued with this pattern then the bassus would have sounded on g an octave below the superius and with adjustments to the free voices. How much

<sup>10</sup> Finscher, *Loyset Compere*, 161.

more fluent is the extant reading with the bassus entering two perfect breves after the superius (breaking the temporal distance of one perfect breve between the entries of the first three voices) and placed on A an octave below the contratenor. The reason for separating of the falling fifth of the tenor's ph. 6 from the beginning of the phrase becomes clear; the interval and the sixth and seventh pitches of ph. 6 in the bassus can close in a clear VII6-I A Aeolian cadence (ex. 173 bs. 49-50).

There is the same dearth of E minor harmonies at the end of the falling fifths. Just once the final note of the interval is given in a genuine cadential context, a D Dorian octave leap cadence in the *comes* of the *Sanctus* (ex. 174, bs. 36-37, Compere fills in the interval scale-wise). The harmony most commonly employed is A minor (eight times, but if the two complete cadential presentations of the interval in VII6-I A Aeolian closes are included then the number is ten). E minor is employed six times, D minor five (including the octave leap cadence), C major four and G major once. From a possible 24 occasions the E minor harmony implicit in the drop from b-e is employed only six times in which to express the last note of the falling fifth, whereas the combined totals of the other sonorities used number 18. See Table 52:

**Table 52**

**Contexts of the final pitches of the falling fifths in Compere's *Missa L'homme armé***

**A Minor**

Kyrie II ph. 6 b. 51  
 Crucifixus ph. 6 b. 229  
 Crucifixus ph. 6 b. 245  
 Sanctus (*dux*) ph. 6 b. 34  
 Osanna II (*dux*) ph. 6 b. 164  
 Agnus I ph. 1 (*comes*) b. 14  
 Agnus III ph. 1 (*comes*) b. 62  
 Agnus III ph. 6 (*comes*) b. 81

**E Minor**

Et in terra ph. 1 b. 15  
 Qui tollis ph. 6 b. 128  
 Qui tollis ph. 6 b. 130  
 Crucifixus ph. 1 b. 156  
 Sanctus (*dux*) ph. 1 b. 12  
 Osanna II ph. 6 (*comes*) b. 168

**C Major**

Kyrie I ph. 1 b. 7  
 Et in terra ph. 1 b. 13  
 Patrem ph. 1 b. 46  
 Crucifixus ph. 1 b. 149

## Table 52 continued

**D Minor**

Kyrie II ph. 6 b. 53  
 Sanctus ph. 1 (*comes*) b. 14  
 Agnus I ph. 1 (*dux*) b. 12  
 Agnus III ph. 6 (*dux*) b. 80

**G Major**

Agnus III ph. 1 (*comes*) b. 61

**Cadential**

Sanctus ph. 6 (*comes*) b. 36 octave leap D Dorian

What is interesting here is that in comparison with the Masses where the *l'homme armé* melody was set in G (Mixolydian or transposed Dorian), the falling fifths in those compositions were usually placed in contexts that outlined the mode of the Mass. The difficulty in E Phrygian is with the first note of the falling interval, the  $\underline{b}$ . It can be used in either a V-I or V-VI progression; but chord V is diminished in E Phrygian. If placed in the first harmony of a cadence, the F would need to be sharpened to perfect the diminished fifth with the B, and in most situations also the D as the *subsemitonium*. A cadential situation allowing chromatic alteration to both pitches is rare. Compere's solution was to place the  $\underline{e}$  in another sonority or in an A or C cadence, for in both cases there is no diminished interval to correct and the sharpened leading tone can be accomplished without difficulty.

Ph. 3 marks the beginning of B, and usually coincides with the start of a structurally important point in a Mass. Out of a total of fourteen appearances of B, an E minor harmony is employed only twice in which to signal the opening of ph. 3. One of these is in the *Christe* where the initial note  $\underline{e}$  is given in an octave with the bassus (ex. 175), the principal cadence is placed before the tenor note, in a VII6-I A Aeolian progression in the bassus and contratenor. The



second instance is in *Agnus II*,<sup>11</sup> which opens on an octave ( $\underline{e}$  and  $\underline{e}'$ , bassus and tenor). During the tenor's sustained notes two cadences are placed on two different modal levels of A Aeolian and D Dorian (ex. 176 b. 22 and bs. 23-24).

The beginning of B is emphasised four times by a cadence, two in C Ionian, and one each in G Mixolydian and D Dorian. Including the *Christe* instance a main cadence is placed prior to the first pitch of ph. 3 four times, with another A Aeolian progression and one each of G Mixolydian and D Dorian; the remaining six announcements of the phrase are not placed in or close to a cadential context. See Table 53:

**Table 53**

**Contexts in which the openings of ph. 3 are given in Compere's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Cadential</b>	
Patrem bs. 71-72	V-I C Ionian
Crucifixus bs. 166-67	V-VI G Mixolydian
Osanna I ( <i>dux</i> ) bs. 71-72	IV-I D Dorian <sup>12</sup>
Agnus III ( <i>comes</i> ) bs. 67-68	V-I C Ionian
<b>Cadences before the cantus-firmus entry</b>	
Christe b. 19	VII6-I A Aeolian first c.f. pitch E minor b. 22
Qui tollis bs. 91-92	V-I G Mixolydian first c.f. pitch C major b. 92
Sanctus ( <i>dux</i> ) b. 16	octave leap D Dorian first c.f. pitch A minor b. 16
Osanna II ( <i>comes</i> ) bs. 144-45	VII6-I A Aeolian first c.f. pitch A minor b. 146
<b>Non-cadential contexts</b>	
Qui tollis b. 71	C major
Sanctus ( <i>comes</i> ) b. 18	G major
Osanna I ( <i>comes</i> ) b. 74	C major
Osanna II ( <i>dux</i> ) b. 142	A minor
Agnus II b. 21	E minor
Agnus III ( <i>dux</i> ) b. 67	D minor

<sup>11</sup> The quotation of B in *Agnus II* (one of the Mass sections traditionally cantus-firmus free, and written for fewer voices) is necessary to give symmetry to the delivery of the source material across the tripartite Agnus. *Agnus I*, Ai; *Agnus II*, B; *Agnus III*, Ai, B, Aii

<sup>12</sup> Superius and contratenor sound the traditional cadential format syncopated figure with resultant discord, with the interval  $\underline{b-g'}$  expanding to an octave  $\underline{a-a'}$ . This gives a close on A, but the bassus enters on  $\underline{d}$  changing the cadence to D Dorian.

Where the beginning of ph. 3 is not underscored with a cadence Compere does not obscure its entry, for it is placed either as the top note of the musical fabric as the sole voice or in unison with the superius. Where the context is canonic then whichever one of the two imitating voices delivers the source material on e` is generally placed at the top of the polyphony.

The most crucial portions of the Mass where the principal mode needs a secure delivery are the beginnings and endings of the five Ordinary movements. A cantus-firmus-based head motive links four of the five movements. Only in the Kyrie is it announced in an unambiguous E Phrygian polyphony, all four voices starting together in an E minor harmony (see ex. 163 [b]). The Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus present the motto in two-part imitation; contratenor and bassus in the Gloria (ex. 177 [a]) and bassus and superius in the Sanctus and Agnus (exs. 177 [b] and [c]). Each time the distance between the two imitating voices is a perfect breve, which creates a problem in confirming the E Phrygian modality. In the Gloria the first pitch A of ph. 1 in the bassus enters against the third note a in the contratenor. The octave is a strong interval, strengthened further by being the first time when two voices are sounded together. This emphasis on A (and not the opening e) gives a sense of the Gloria beginning in A Aeolian, lending to the contratenor's two initial e naturals the feeling of being anacrusic, functioning as the fifth of the mode leaping to the final (ex. 177 [a] bs. 1-2). There is the same perception of A Aeolian in the Sanctus and Agnus where the imitation is at the octave above. This time the resulting interval between the two parts is a perfect fifth, which nonetheless is still suggestive of A Aeolian with the two initial e naturals again heard as a repeated upbeat (exs. 177 [b] and [c] bs. 1-2).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Excluding the Kyrie and Sanctus, Pipelare presents his cantus-firmus-derived head motive *a2*. By the contratenor and superius in the Gloria and Credo - the counterpoint in the upper voice underscores the D Dorian mode of the Mass. However, Pipelare's Agnus has the same problem as Compere's opening motto, in that ph. 1 is given imitatively between tenor and superius, at the octave above and at the temporal distance of a perfect breve. The first sounding of the two parts together is on a perfect fifth g-d`. This does not confirm D Dorian, but rather G transposed Dorian, the two d naturals feeling like two unstressed pitches leading to the following emphasised fifth.

E Phrygian is verified firmly at the beginning of the Credo, but not through the presentation of the *l'homme armé* melody. The free voices are in imitation with a motive containing a semitone between the first two pitches, first heard on  $\underline{e}$  in the bassus, then in the contratenor a fifth higher on  $\underline{b}$  and an octave above in the superius on  $\underline{b}'$ . For the only time at the start of a principal movement the first instance of polyphony sounds a perfect fifth  $\underline{e}$  and  $\underline{b}$  which, with the initial semitone leaves no doubt as to the E Phrygian mode (ex. 178). The motive is actually the beginning of the first Gregorian Credo melody.<sup>14</sup> With mild elaborations and on different pitch levels it is sung in imitation by superius and contratenor. So E Phrygian is confirmed only twice at the openings of the five principal movements, and then only once with the borrowed song in the Kyrie, it being the only occasion when all four parts begin together.

There is a similar lack of confirming E Phrygian with the announcement of the tenor's initial cantus-firmus note at the openings of the main movements. The two duos that open the Gloria and Sanctus both close in a VII6-I Aeolian cadence the first  $\underline{e}$  of the borrowed tune placed in the second harmony of the progression. By this procedure the A Aeolian start suggested in the opening two-part counterpoint is emphasised (see exs. 177 [a] bs. 4-5 and [b] bs. 5-6). E Phrygian is not expressed at all in the opening of the canonic *Agnus I*, and in fact is not securely stated until near the end of the section. Imitation is at the second below, tenor (*dux*) on  $\underline{f}$  and contratenor (*comes*) on  $\underline{e}$ ; the pitch level of the tenor dominates the musical fabric. Although the first note of the *dux* is not truly cadential, nevertheless it does have the features of a VII6-I progression in F Ionian (ex. 170 bs. 5-6). Similarly, the initial note  $\underline{e}$  of the contratenor is given in an A minor sonority preceded by G minor, having the effect of an interrupted progression; the second  $\underline{e}$  of the contratenor is then actually placed in a C major harmony. But this is not the mode of the *comes*, for the C major harmony, which includes the penultimate  $\underline{g}$  of the *dux*,

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<sup>14</sup> LU, 64. See Finscher, *Loyset Compere*, 61.



functions as chord V in a perfect F Ionian cadence, on which the tenor ends the first part of ph. 1 (see ex. 170 bs. 7-9).<sup>15</sup>

We have seen that E Phrygian is verified twice at the start of the Credo, once with the three-note tag of the first Credo melody and then by the following perfect fifth e-b. Yet the first note of the cantus firmus is expressed in a C major harmony. A clear-cut cadence involving the cantus firmus does not occur until later, then there are two A Aeolian progressions in quick succession (see ex. 178 bs. 9-10 and 11-12).<sup>16</sup> So only *Kyrie I* places the opening tenor e firmly in an E Phrygian context.

This examination of Compere's presentation of both the *l'homme armé* song and his polyphony in E Phrygian ends with a consideration of the conclusions to the five main movements; that is with ph. 7 where the final two notes descend by a semitone f-e. A confirmation of E Phrygian at these points is crucial for the modal stability of the cyclic

<sup>15</sup> Compere structures the five canons from the Sanctus to the Agnus with a central canon at the fifth flanked either side by ones at the second:

Movement	Dux	Comes	Interval	Direction
Sanctus	tenor <u>e</u>	contratenor <u>d</u>	second	below
Osanna I	bassus <u>d</u>	tenor <u>e</u>	ninth (extended 2nd.)	above
Osanna II	tenor <u>a</u>	contratenor <u>e</u>	<b>Fifth</b>	above
Agnus I	tenor <u>f</u>	contratenor <u>e</u>	second	below
Agnus III	tenor <u>d</u>	contratenor <u>e</u>	second	above.

The composer certainly gave himself difficulties with the intervals of his canons. On four occasions the *comes* is sounded on the pitch of the Mass E. This is to allow the Mass sections to end in E Phrygian, or a related mode such as A Aeolian. At the close interval of the second with the *comes* on d or f problems arise for the Mass sections to conclude in an appropriate mode. This is evident in the *Sanctus* where the *dux* is on e and the *comes* on d; an adjustment is needed to the canonic structure for an E Phrygian close. In this case the *comes* does not quote ph. 7. Compere had to set a second *Osanna* to bring about the design of his canons. An odd number of canons was needed so that either side of the central one were two at the second, one at the interval above and the other below.

<sup>16</sup> Although subsections, both the *Crucifixus* and *Agnus III* quote the borrowed melody complete. The *Crucifixus* opens with a two-fold delivery of ph. 1, minus the falling fifth, by the superius. A cadence is placed over the fifth and sixth pitches of the phrase, VII6-I in D Dorian (bs. 120-23). At the distance of seven breves from the first ph. 1 its repeat opens in an A minor harmony, in a 'quasi' V-VI interrupted progression (bs. 129-30). Compere then duplicates the cadential context of the first ph. 1, VII6-I D Dorian over notes five and six (bs. 133-35). The opening note of ph. 1 in the tenor (the main presenter of the cantus firmus) is not articulated cadentially (but placed in an E minor harmony b. 140), that occurs later where the first b of the falling fifth of ph. 1 is placed in the second harmony of a V-VI G Mixolydian interrupted close (bs. 146-47).

*Agnus III* does not even have a nodding reference to the E Phrygian mode of the Mass. It opens with ph. 1, again minus its falling fifth, in the bassus and superius (bs. 54-55). On d the superius feels as if it is in D Dorian, but with the bassus entering on e against the third note g in the superius the mode is more like C Ionian. This leaning towards C Ionian is maintained with the subsequent entry of the two canonic voices, tenor on d, contratenor on e in a 'quasi' VII6-I C Ionian progression (bs. 56-57).

structure of the Mass. Unlike the closes to the internal sections there is not the same flexibility in choice of modal level. Therefore it goes almost without saying that these five terminal conclusions must be E Phrygian, but how to bring this about in a four-voiced musical fabric was the main problem that Compere had to solve.

Originally the three-part Phrygian progression had the semitone interval  $\underline{f-e}$  in the lowest part. When these two pitches were located internal to the polyphony they were couched respectively in D and A minor harmonies, in all practical senses not an E Phrygian cadence but a plagal conclusion in A Aeolian (exs. 179 [a] and [b]).<sup>17</sup> However, as a terminal close at the conclusions of the five main movements ex. 179 [b] confirms not the E Phrygian mode of Compere's Mass, but A Aeolian. A hybrid cadential form is employed at the ends of *Kyrie* II and *Agnus* III. The penultimate pitch  $\underline{f}$  of ph. 7 is given in a D minor harmony, a third above  $\underline{d}$  in the bassus; this voice then rests and  $\underline{e}$  in the tenor becomes the bass of a three-part E minor harmony. So in effect what the ear perceives is the internally placed  $\underline{f}$  falling to  $\underline{e}$  at the bottom of the *a3* E minor harmony, rather in the manner of the original three-part Phrygian close. The bassus then re-enters with a cadential extension; the format is similar in both conclusions. Whatever the aesthetic qualities of the extension might be, its real importance is to strengthen the final E minor harmony (and consequently the E Phrygian mode of the Mass) which it does in two ways. The initial pitch is always  $\underline{g}$ , giving a full E minor harmony, and then the brief extension clearly circumscribes E minor, either as a falling third  $\underline{g-e}$  (*Kyrie* II), or with the interval filled in with an  $\underline{f}$  (*Agnus* III, ex. 180).

Three factors militate against the bassus moving directly from  $\underline{d}$  to  $\underline{e}$ . D minor moving onto E minor implies a V-VI G Mixolydian cadence, is not a terminal close. Furthermore, the superius always carries the upper part of the traditional two-part cadential progression of the

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<sup>17</sup> Examples taken from Lowinsky, 'Conflicting Signatures', 227-60, also found in Reese, *Renaissance*, 45 ex. 8 II, and 47 ex. 12 V.

sixth expanding to an octave; that is with d' moving up to e'. With the bassus also progressing from d-e parallelisms result between the two parts. Thirdly, any alteration to the superius to avoid octaves with the bassus robs the top voice of an essential feature in the cadential progression, the syncopation with the resulting discord thus weakening the forward thrust onto the final harmony. The *Qui tollis* and *Crucifixus* treat the semitone f-e with the same two minor harmonies of D and E, but then the final cadences are different. Both have the cadential extension in two voices, bassus and contratenor which move over prolonged E naturals in tenor and superius concluding in IV-I E Phrygian closes (exs. 181 [a] and [b]).

For *Osanna* II to close on a strong E Phrygian plagal cadence modifications had to be made to the delivery of the cantus firmus. B and Aii are announced in canon, tenor *dux* on a and contratenor *comes* on e'. So in theory the last two pitches sounded by the contratenor as the second voice of the canon are f and e, with the same potential cadential restrictions and resolutions as at the conclusions of the other principal movements. But those closes are not possible for the canonic conclusion of *Osanna* II. To accomplish an E Phrygian close the composer makes a slight alteration to the borrowed material. An extra note is added to ph. 7, e in the *dux* and b in the *comes*, thus avoiding an abrupt ending on A to ph. 7 in the tenor. The leap up to the extra note e rounds off the end of the phrase, providing a prolonged pitch over which the contratenor can conclude ph. 6 on b and begin ph. 7 on the same note (ex. 182 bs. 168-69 tenor, and b. 172 contratenor).

Additionally, before the terminal cadence two major changes are made to the original pitch levels of the imitating parts. This accommodates the simultaneous soundings of the end of B (ph. 5) in the contratenor and the beginning of Aii (ph. 6) in the tenor (ex. 182 bs. 156-57). At the start of *Osanna* II the tenor quotes B on g; therefore if the pitch sequence of the borrowed tune is to be preserved Aii should be given an octave lower on A. But presenting ph. 6 on this pitch (and at the short distance of a minim) at the same time that the contratenor declares ph. 5 is

not possible in terms of the polyphony. This is because of the similarity in the endings of five of the seven phrases of the original song (phs. 1, 2, 6 minus their falling fifths and phs. 5 and 7).

When placed at the distance of a fifth three of the respective closes are duplicated at the octave; this is also true of phs. 5 and 6 (ex. 183 [a]). In Compere's note values and short temporal distance of the minim the octaves become parallel sevenths (ex. 183 [b]).

Compere cannot change the interval of imitation because it is the pivotal point in the design of the five canons (see 257 n. 15). Instead he begins the tenor's quotation of Aii on e, the E Phrygian pitch of the contratenor's quotation of B. So whilst the tenor is delivering ph. 6 and the contratenor ph. 5, the interval between the two voices has changed from the fifth to the octave (ex. 182 bs. 156-57). The original interval between the two voices of the canon is restored when the contratenor announces Aii, not on e, but b (ex. 182 b. 160). This is also out of synchronisation with the contratenor's delivery of B, which was on e'. Even so with this change of pitch delivery in the two voices the octave difference between Ai (Aii) and B is preserved, not in the same part but in two different ones - B on e' contratenor, Aii tenor on e.

One further change is made to the pitch levels between the imitating voices with ph. 7. What Compere does is very simple, but its influence on the final cadence has great significance. The tenor ends the scale-wise filled in falling fifth of ph. 6 on e and the contratenor on b. Both voices are then restored to the original pitch levels on which they opened *Osanna* II, tenor on a and contratenor on e'. There is no great upheaval to the polyphony; all that is required is to begin the respective phs. 7 on the same pitches on which two elaborated falling fifths of ph. 6 ended (ex. 182 b. 164 tenor, and b. 168 contratenor). This is necessary in order that the *comes* can state the cantus firmus in E Phrygian at the very end of the Sanctus, the same as the conclusions to the other four principal movements. Had the contratenor quoted ph. 7 on the same pitch level as its ph. 6 the final cadence would have been the same plagal in E Phrygian (the penultimate e' in the A minor harmony and the b in E minor). But the end result would be the



contratenor ending a direct scale-wise diminished fifth with an implied Locrian mode for the cantus firmus, and E Phrygian for the polyphony, the only main movement to end thus.<sup>18</sup>

In spite of the problems Compere faced in placing both the *l'homme armé* melody and the polyphonic fabric in E Phrygian where the five conclusions to the five principal movements are concerned a symmetrical design is applied to them. The two outer movements Kyrie and Agnus are similar with the use of a hybrid Phrygian cadence and bassus extension, and the inner three movements all with E Phrygian plagal cadences. There is a double extension for bassus and contratenor in the *Qui tollis* and *Crucifixus*; *Osanna* II stands apart by having a direct plagal progression and lacking a cadential extension. See Table 54:

<b>Table 54</b>	
<b>Terminal cadences to the five principal movements in Compere's <i>Missa L'homme armé</i></b>	
	<b>Kyrie</b>
Hybrid E Phrygian	D-E minor, extension in the bassus, a falling third g- <u>e</u>
	<b>Gloria</b>
Plagal E Phrygian	D-E minor, then a bassus-contratenor extension giving a plagal close
	<b>Credo</b>
Plagal E Phrygian	D-E minor, then a bassus-contratenor extension giving a plagal close
	<b>Sanctus</b>
Plagal E Phrygian	A-E minor no extension
	<b>Agnus</b>
Hybrid E Phrygian	D-E minor, extension in the bassus, scale-wise falling third g- <u>e</u>

<sup>18</sup> Although not closing a principal movement *Kyrie* I and the *Sanctus* have the same problem with their terminal cadences. *Kyrie* I ends with ph. 2, therefore having the same f-e semitone as ph. 7. Compere prolongs the final tenor e, over which he writes the harmonic sequence of A and E minors. Over the last semibreve of the final perfect breve the bassus is silent, the extended e in the tenor now becoming the bass of the penultimate E major harmony. The bassus re-enters on A in the final bar, giving a V-I A Aeolian ending (bs. 11-12).

A different context is present in the *Sanctus*, which has the first of the canonic deliveries of the source material. The problem is that as the *dux*-tenor presents the *res facta* on e, and the contratenor as the *comes* on d. If the imitative voices quote the exact same portions of the cantus firmus, then with the contratenor as the last voice to sound means that the *Sanctus* would begin on e and end on d. Adjustments are made to the progress of the canon, with the contratenor closing with the falling fifth of ph. 6, filled in scale-wise in an *a3* octave leap D Dorian cadence. The tenor states the source material complete (ending with ph. 7), concluding in an A Aeolian plagal close, the contratenor re-entering in the final harmony on a, the pitch on which it would have stated ph. 7.

In a similar manner to Compere, Morales also derives his head motive from *ph. 1* in his *Missa L'homme armé*.<sup>19</sup> However, in complete contrast to Compere, he establishes the E Phrygian mode from the very outset. Four of the five principal openings begin in two-part counterpoint with *ph. 1* in the superius. On all occasions the counterpoint involves the contratenor, three times beginning an octave below the *e'* in the superius (Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus) and once on a unison *e'* in the Gloria (exs. 184 [a], [b], [c] and [d]). Even in the case of the Gloria with its unison beginning, the rising fourth *e' - a'* does not have the feeling of A Aeolian. The first two *e'* naturals do not function as upbeats (as they do the Compere composition) because they, and not the following *a*, are sounded polyphonically first. Beneath the second *a'* in the superius the contratenor has *f'* falling to *e'*, the *a'* in the superius descending to *g'*. The tenor enters an octave below the contratenor with the first *e* of the source material. Although the rise of *d' - e'* is absent in the superius in every other respect it has the sound of an E Phrygian progression, with the two initial *e* naturals of the secular song securely confirmed in that mode.

Only the *Patrem* opens just with the tenor sounding the first *e* of the borrowed tune. The bassus on *A*, imitative of the tenor, enters below the second cantus-firmus *e*, the two voices sounding a perfect fifth *A* and *e* (ex. 185). On this occasion there is the sensation of the tenor's *e* acting as an anacrusis to the following perfect fifth, with a feeling of A Aeolian. This mode is emphasised even more by the third note *a* in the tenor also being placed in an A minor harmony (ex. 185 b. 2). Although the beginning of the *Patrem* cannot be thought of as imitative in the strictest sense of the term, nevertheless it does open with delayed entries. This is the only time the procedure is used with the head motive and the only occasion when E Phrygian is not conclusively established at the beginning of a principal movement. The reason for this one

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<sup>19</sup> Edition, Cristóbal de Morales, *Opera omnia*, ed. Higinio Anglés, *MME* vol. 22 (1952).

deviation to the pattern of the opening gestures is to allow for a quotation of the first Gregorian Credo melody, in imitation between contratenor and superius. Morales's presentations of the opening motto have parallels with those in Compere's Mass. There also E Phrygian was not firmly installed when the cantus-firmus-derived head motive was given imitatively, but the mode was unambiguously secured when a movement began with more than one voice (Kyrie in Compere's work and the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus of Morales's composition). What is clear from the treatments of the opening mottoes in these two Masses is, that when cantus firmus and polyphony are delivered in the same mode there are inherent difficulties in the opening of the original song when it is given imitatively and at the conventional intervals of the fifth or octave, so as to inhibit a confirmation of the principal mode. This is on account of the initial leaping fourth of the secular song, especially when the temporal distance between the first pair of imitating voices is close, meaning that the first two pitches have a feeling of a repeated anacrusis as the fifth of a mode moving onto the final.

E minor is used only once for the sonority in which the first e of the cantus firmus is placed, the *Et in terra* (see ex. 184 [b]). Three times the first e is delivered in C major harmonies, non-cadentially in *Kyrie I* (ex. 184 [a] b. 4) and the *Sanctus* (ex. 186 [a]) and in the second harmony of a mildly decorated VII<sup>6</sup>-I cadence in *Agnus I* (ex. 186 [b]). By convention the d in the bassus should descend directly to c. It was shown earlier that because the first Credo melody was incorporated into the polyphony the *Patrem* began with the first cantus-firmus e as a single note in the tenor, the second e in a perfect fifth with A in the bassus, suggesting an A Aeolian context. Table 55 lists the modal levels opening the five main movements and the harmonies in which the first pitches of the source material are announced.

**Table 55**  
**Modes of the head motive and harmonies of the initial**  
**cantus-firmus pitches in Morales's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Mode of the head motive</b>	<b>Harmony of the first cantus-firmus pitch</b>
Kyrie I	E Phrygian	C major
Et in terra	E Phrygian	E minor
Patrem	A Aeolian	A minor
Sanctus	E Phrygian	C major
Agnus I	E Phrygian	C major*

\*denotes that the first pitch is in the second harmony of a cadential progression

The terminal cadences to the five main movements are all plagal with an A minor moving onto an E minor harmony. Two have the cadence placed across an extended final  $\underline{e}$  of ph. 7 (*Kyrie* II bs. 39-40 and *Agnus* III bs. 53-54), and two others over the final two pitches of ph. 5,  $\underline{c'}$  and  $\underline{b}$  (*Qui tollis*. bs. 75-76 and *Et in Spiritum* bs. 131-32). The fifth conclusion, the *Osanna* closes with ph. 3 (exs. 187 [a] [b] [c]). *Agnus* III is the only movement to close on a 8-5-8 sonority (ex. 187 [d]).<sup>20</sup> A symmetrical design controls which phrase of the *cantus prius factus* ends which principal movement. The three central movements close with B whilst the two outer ones with Aii:

<sup>20</sup> Morales concludes the *Osanna* on ph. 3, and constructs the following *Benedictus* on ph. 5, presented by the contratenor. It is delivered five times on  $\underline{e}$ , each statement separated by an imperfect-breve rest. This is reminiscent of the treatment Morales gives to B in the Credo of his *a5 L'homme armé* Mass from the text 'Et in Spiritum' to 'et vitam' (bs. 188-249). The tenor quotes B four times in the manner of an isorhythmic tenor, the parallel with the similar technique to which Josquin subjects B in the Credo of his *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* is too close to be accidental (see Chapter 6). However there are differences, Josquin always quotes the three phrases of B in their original sequence, whereas Morales varies the phrase order thus:

**bs. 188-97**  
phs. 4, 4, 5

**bs. 200-17**  
phs. 4, 4, 5

**bs. 219-32**  
phs. 4, 4, 5

**bs 234-49**  
phs. 4, 5, 5

Owen Rees has shown that Morales did indeed model his *a5 F Ionian* Mass on Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*, however he does not mention the striking structural parallel between the two works. Rees also shows that the Josquin and Morales Masses were models for Francisco Guerrero's (1528-99) four-part F Ionian *L'homme armé* Mass. See his, 'Guerrero's L'Homme Armé Masses and Their Models', *EMH* vol. 12 (1993), 25 and 38-39. A modern edition of the Guerrero Mass is to be found in Francisco Guerrero, *Opera omnia*, ed. José María Llorens Cisteró, *MME* vol. 38 (1982).



<b>Kyrie II</b>	<b>Qui tollis</b>	<b>Et in Spiritum</b>	<b>Osanna</b>	<b>Agnus III</b>
Aii	B	B	B	Aii.

Four of the subsections also conclude with the cadential pattern of exs. 187 [a] [b] [c], *Christe* bs. 27-28, *Et in terra* bs. 26-27, *Benedictus* bs. 43-44 and *Agnus I* bs. 24-25.<sup>21</sup> One close is different from the others, the *Sanctus* where the tenor finishes its second quotation of ph. 2 before the end of the section, resting for one bar prior to the final cadence.<sup>22</sup> Across the tenor-tacit bar and the final one the free voices have a three-part E Phrygian cadence. The bassus falls a semitone from  $\underline{f-e}$ , the tenor entering again in the final harmony in unison with the bassus (ex. 188). This is another parallel with the Compere who also has only one genuine E Phrygian cadence, also in the *Sanctus*.

<sup>21</sup> The *Benedictus* is the only cadence not to have the decoration and suspension in the superius; they are carried by the tenor. When the elaboration is in the superius then the spacing of the final harmony is always the same - tenor with the source material, and the resolution of the superius's  $g'$  creating a third with  $e'$  in the contratenor. This format cannot be duplicated in the *Benedictus* because the contratenor and not the tenor bears the source material. The superius-contratenor cadential formula is transferred to the tenor and bassus respectively. *Kyrie II* has a different spacing also, closing with ph. 7 the final  $e$  is in unison with the bassus, the contratenor supplying the fifth of the harmony,  $b$ .

<sup>22</sup> The distribution of the text in the *Sanctus* is unusual. By convention there were four sections, *Sanctus*, *Pleni sunt caeli*, *Osanna* and *Benedictus*, which could be expanded to five if for some reason the composer needed to write a second independent *Osanna*. Morales includes the text 'pleni sunt caeli' at the close of the *Sanctus*, to a repeated ph. 2 (bs. 18-21). The only reason which suggests itself for this break in the traditional division of the *Sanctus* text is the design in the distribution of the cantus firmus across the Mass. All sections carry the borrowed song, twelve in total. The key to the scheme is where, and on how many occasions, the complete tune is used (Ai, B, Aii). There are three, spaced evenly across the Mass, at the beginning, middle and end. At the centre is the two-fold division of the Credo, *Patrem* and *Et in Spiritum*. Before this point the complete *res facta* is delivered in the *Kyrie* and after it in the *Agnus*. All other cantus-firmus-bearing Mass sections are structured on Ai and B. A separate setting of the text 'pleni sunt caeli' would disturb this symmetry. A longer cantus-firmus statement is required in the Credo because of the greater amount of text. Morales achieves this with a second declaration of B. The complete design is as follows:

<b>Kyrie I</b>	<b>Christe</b>	<b>Kyrie II</b>	<b>Et in terra</b>	<b>Qui tollis</b>
Ai	B	Aii	Ai	B
		<b>Patrem</b>		
		Ai, B, B, Ai		
		<b>Et in Spiritum</b>		
		Ai, B		
<b>Sanctus</b>	<b>Osanna</b>	<b>Benedictus</b>	<b>Agnus I</b>	<b>Agnus III</b>
Ai	B, phs. 3 and 4	B, ph. 5	Ai, B	Aii.

The conclusions to the five principal Mass sections are strong E Phrygian plagal progressions. Where the closes involve B the cadence occurs over the final two notes c and b, with ph. 5. The exception is the *Osanna*, which closes with ph. 4; nevertheless the effect is the same because the end interval of the phrase is filled in scale-wise so the final two notes are the same as those of ph. 5. Where Ai (ph. 2) and Aii (ph. 7) are concerned the cadence is placed over a prolonged final e of the cantus firmus. Eight of the twelve terminal closes share the same decorated endings, the other four conclude on 8-5-8 sonorities.

Morales establishes E Phrygian at important structural positions in the Mass on every occasion more convincingly than does Compere, particularly at the beginnings and conclusions of the five main movements. However, what is apparent in Morales's achievement is the duplication of a set formula in parallel positions across the Mass. Whatever imperfections might exist in some of the cadential and polyphonic contexts to secure a strong confirmation of the E Phrygian mode in the Compere composition, by way of compensation there is certainly a greater variety of treatments. These situations do not necessarily reflect a lack of technical competence on the part of Compere, but rather an inventive mind seeking ways of handling the difficulties inherent in the f-e semitone of the E Phrygian mode when placed in a four-part terminal cadence.

## Chapter 14

### Jacob Obrecht's Dual-Modal Mass

On the evidence available it can be assumed that Obrecht's *L'homme armé* Mass<sup>1</sup> was written between c. 1485-1490.<sup>2</sup> One of the most striking features of the Mass is the relationship it has with that by Busnoys, going far beyond the tenuous thread of their both using the same secular melody for their respective tenors. Obrecht takes over the entire plan of Busnoys's tenor and, excluding the final longs, its complete rhythmic scheme even to the point of duplicating the number of rests preceding the entries of the cantus firmus. Tenor-tacit sections (*Christe, Pleni, Benedictus* and *Agnus II*) are the same lengths as the corresponding ones in Busnoys.<sup>3</sup> Such is the reliance of Obrecht on Busnoys that his Mass has been termed a 'colossal parody' of the

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<sup>1</sup> Editions, *Werken*, ed. J. Wolf (1908-21; reprint Farnborough, 1968), vol. 5; *Opera omnia editio altera*, ed. Albert Smijers and M. van Crevel (1954-64), vol. 4, and *NOE* no. 6, *Missa L'homme armé/Missa Libenter gloriabor* (1986), ed. T. Noblitt.

<sup>2</sup> The date of c. 1490 is suggested by Strunk when Busnoys and Obrecht were known to be in Bruges at the same time, *Essays on Music in the Western World* (1974), 68-69. Rob C. Wegman gives a similar tentative date, placing the composition in the transitional level of the mature period of Obrecht's Mass oeuvre, *Born for the Muses*, 216 and Table 1, 283. Wegman presents a case for the relationship between the two composers being more than on a professional level, it being personal as well, on the grounds that Busnoys knew Obrecht's father (*Born for the Muses*, 63). The earliest known source containing the Mass is M.1.2, copied by a single scribe during, or shortly after, the reign of Duke Ercole I d'Este (1471-1505) for the use at the ducal court. It is on record that Ercole preferred '...the musical compositions of *magister* Jacob over all other compositions', *Born for Muses*, 139 and n. 20. Such was the esteem in which the Duke held Obrecht that he gave a personal invitation to the composer to come to Ferrara. Obrecht was at the court from December 1487 to June 1488, Wegman, *ibid.*, 139-45 and Bain Murray, 'New Light on Jacob Obrecht's Development - A Biographical Study', *MQ* 43 (1957), 500-16, especially 505 and 512. There was something of a cult for the *l'homme armé* melody and Masses based on it at the Ferrarese court. Apart from M.1.2 the polyphonic choirbook M.1.13 (compiled in 1481) contains Faugues's *L'homme armé* Mass, and a fragmentary source of three leaves part of the *Agnus Dei* of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé*. Then there is the secular manuscript Casanatense Ms 2856. One of the court singers at the time was Jean Japart who wrote a combinative chanson on the *L'homme armé* melody (see Chapter 1). Additionally there is a letter of 1484 from Ercole asking for the new *L'homme armé* Mass of Philippon (Basiron) to be sent to him from Florence with the greatest speed, Lockwood, 'Aspects', 111, and Murray, 'Jacob Obrecht', 500. There is also the professional relationship between Faugues and Basiron, the former composer being the teacher of the latter, see Paula Higgins, 'Tracing the Careers of Late medieval Composers'. The case of Basiron of Bourges', *AM* (1960), 14. Concerning the manuscript M.1.2. being compiled for the 'use' at the Ferrarese court. It is difficult to see how the manuscript could have been used for performance, because only the superius is fully texted, the other voices bear the first two or three words of the relevant sections of the Mass.

<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of the Obrecht Mass and its relationship to Busnoys's see Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht*, 59-61, Reese, *Renaissance*, 197-98, Arnold Salop, *The Masses of Jacob Obrecht (1450-1505), Structure and Style*, Ph.D. dissertation (Indiana University, 1959), 42-44, Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 248, 458, Larry Todd, 'Retrograde, Inversion, Retrograde-Inversion and Related techniques in the Masses of Jacob Obrecht', *MQ* 64 (1978), 50-78, 56-58, Taruskin, 'Busnoys', 274-75 and Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 59-61.



earlier one.<sup>4</sup> There are several details concerning the organisation of Obrecht's tenor which show that he was more than a mere imitator who slavishly duplicated every aspect of his model. The disposition of the tenor is different in Obrecht's Credo and Agnus, yet the composer still refers to his model by applying equivalent procedures to the tenor in accordance with similarly written canons.<sup>5</sup>

Why did Obrecht change the mode of his model's cantus firmus, which he followed in such close detail in other respects? One answer which presents itself centres on how the composer could duplicate the minor flavour of the Busnoys Mass, without making his own composition a mere copy of its model. If Obrecht had chosen the Dorian mode, either on D or transposed onto G, despite the application of the greatest of technical skill very close parallels (or even exact replicas) of the musical fabric and cadences would have been very difficult to avoid, even allowing for the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the two composers. Having as it does the same distribution of tones and semitones as the two Dorian modes, A Aeolian too was not a viable solution.

Two options were open to Obrecht through which he could express his own individuality whilst employing the adopted tenor scheme. He could place the borrowed song in a major mode (C Ionian, F Ionian, G Mixolydian) or keep the relationship as close as possible to Busnoys with a minor setting. Having chosen the latter option there was only one mode available to him, namely E Phrygian. The location of the semitone between the first and second pitches in E

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<sup>4</sup> See Strunk, 'Origins of the *L'Homme armé* Mass', 68. Strunk discovered the relationship between the two *Missaes L'homme armé* in 1937. The term 'parody' is not used in its usual technical compositional meaning, Obrecht never uses any other voice of the Busnoys Mass either singly or together, it is rather 'a tribute on Obrecht's part to the "authority" of his model', Strunk, *ibid.*, and also Reese, *Renaissance*, 197. The Obrecht *L'homme armé* Mass is not the only composition to be modelled on the Busnoys *Missa L'homme armé*; there is also the *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista*. In this composition only the rhythmic scheme of Busnoys's tenor is used, not the *L'homme armé* melody itself. In the only known source, CS 160, *Missa de Sancto Johanne* is anonymous, but Wegman has made a convincing case for the composer being Obrecht, see his 'Another Imitation of Busnoys's *Missa L'Homme armé*', *JRMA* 114 (1989), 189-202 and the same author's *Born for the Muses*, 213-17.

<sup>5</sup> Explanations for these deviations from the Busnoys tenor scheme will be dealt with below.

Phrygian gave a sound quality to the source material that was different from Busnoys, whilst retaining the essential feature of the older composer's cycle, namely the minor colouring of the cantus firmus. Although the original song is given in E Phrygian (unlike Compere and the later Morales), Obrecht places the musical fabric in A Aeolian. This was the mode frequently used by Compere and Morales to overcome the problems inherent in the presentation of both the cantus firmus and polyphony in E Phrygian. In particular, the setting of the  $\underline{f-e}$  semitone in convincing four-part Phrygian cadences, as well as declaring the opening leaping fourth imitatively at a close distance without the initial two pitches feeling like a repeated upbeat. We saw that Morales avoided the latter difficulty by presenting the cantus-firmus-based head motive in two-part counterpoint.

By adopting two modal planes Obrecht takes the best from the Phrygian and Aeolian modes, emphasising the relationship between them, that on E being the plagal companion to the authentic one on A. More importantly the two problems of the  $\underline{f-e}$  semitone and an imitatively presented source-material-based opening motto are solved. So in fact Obrecht does retain the Dorian colouring of Busnoys's Mass, not with the borrowed song but by placing the free voices in A Aeolian.<sup>6</sup>

Aeolian is clearly established at the beginnings of the five principal movements, three of which start with a common head motive. On each occasion the opening of the cantus firmus is given on  $\underline{a}$  in the contratenor, but not alone. In the *Et in terra* it appears  $a^3$  with the superius and bassus, followed by a second delivery by the bassus an octave lower on  $\underline{A}$ , also in a three-part

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<sup>6</sup> In the system of the eight modes the one on A was the Hypodorian with a final on D. What the Swiss theorist Heinrich Glarean did in his *Dodecachordon* (1547) was to add two more authentic modes on A and C. Therefore the mode on A became one in its own right with its corresponding plagal form on E. So what Obrecht did well before Glarean's explication of the system of twelve modes was to combine the authentic mode on A for the polyphony with the plagal form on E for the source material. The mode on A, whether considered as authentic A Aeolian, or plagal Dorian on D, in its distribution of tones and semitones is the same as authentic D Dorian, or G transposed Dorian with a B flat signature (which is the mode of the Busnoys Mass). Except for the difference pitch levels the aural effect is the same.

texture (ex. 189).<sup>7</sup> A similar procedure is pursued in the *Sanctus*; the borrowed melody is in the contratenor again on a in counterpoint with the superius, it then transfers once more to the bassus an octave lower on A with free material in the contratenor (ex. 190). *Agnus* I also has the contratenor delivering Ai on a, in alternating three and four-part textures (see ex. 210).

There are two exceptions to the head motive plan. *Kyrie* I begins with the rising scale motive e-a discussed earlier in the contexts of the *Christe* in Compere's *L'homme armé* Mass (see ex. 164 [a]).<sup>8</sup> The superius imitates the contratenor at the octave above and at the distance of a perfect breve. Two bars after the superius the tenor sounds the cantus firmus, also on e. Across four bars of perfect time three of the four voices have entered, all on E at different octave levels. Despite this there is a sense of A Aeolian, because the first sounding of more than one voice in the second bar is on a perfect fifth a-e. Duplicated is the same feeling found in the Compere Mass, of a repeated anacrusis in the initial pitches of the fifth of the mode, which then rises to the final. The entry of the tenor itself is not articulated cadentially, but is placed in a perfect fifth with the contratenor, e and b (ex. 164 [a] b. 4). It is the bassus that is emphasised cadentially, the opening A in the second harmony of a V-I A Aeolian close, an octave below the third pitch of the cantus firmus. The relationship that existed between the contratenor's first three pitches and the start of the following two-part polyphony with the superius is also present between the tenor's opening two cantus-firmus notes and the first bassus pitch, that is the fifth step of A Aeolian progressing to the first (ex. 164 [a] bs. 4-5). Therefore although the borrowed

<sup>7</sup> All examples are taken from my transcription based on M.1.2

<sup>8</sup> Wegman draws attention to this motive appearing in other works by Obrecht, namely *Ave regina celorum*, *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista* and *Adieu mes amours*. He writes, 'This motif seems to have had a special significance for Obrecht', *Born for the Muses*, 214-15. The examples given by Wegman (215) are similar in that all are in an imperfect mensuration, sharing similar rhythmic values and placing of ligatures. Just looking at the *L'homme armé* Mass there are instances of the motive at the beginnings of sections but in perfect time (*Kyrie* I, *Christe*, *Qui tollis*, *Pleni sunt caeli*, *Agnus* II). The motive might well have had a 'special significance' for Obrecht; but in relation to the *Missa l'homme armé* tradition we have shown elsewhere that it was such a common motive in general use, especially at the openings of movements, that it was derived from the source material itself. This is surely also the case in the *L'homme armé* Mass of Obrecht.



material is not given on a as part of the head motive, the A Aeolian mode of the polyphony is clearly articulated by emphasising the first sounding of the pitches a and A in the contratenor and bassus polyphonically and cadentially respectively.

There is a structural reason for Obrecht not having used the same form of the head motive in the Kyrie as in the Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus. Having adopted Busnoys's tenor intact Obrecht had only three bars before the cantus-firmus entry. For Busnoys there was no problem because the source-based head motive and the polyphony were in the same mode. By working on two modal levels three tenor-tacit bars at the beginning of *Kyrie* I did not give Obrecht sufficient musical space in which to express a source-material-derived motto in one mode and the entry of the cantus firmus in a different one smoothly.

The *Patrem* starts with an extended tenorless introduction of 27 bars (corresponding exactly with Busnoys). Both composers transpose the cantus firmus downwards by means of canons attached to the tenor, Busnoys by a fourth from g to d and Obrecht a fifth from e to A. However, the long introductory musical paragraphs are organised differently. Busnoys begins with the superius-contratenor head motive, source material in the lower voice (bs. 1-7). There follows three duos; superius-bassus (bs. 7-10), contratenor-bassus (bs. 10-18) and superius-contratenor (bs. 18-25). A two-bar trio rounds off the introduction (bs. 26-27). On account of the transposed tenor, for the first and only time in the Busnoys Mass, the head motive and cantus firmus are on different pitches, the former on g and the latter on d.

The reverse is found in Obrecht. Excluding the Credo and Agnus (where valid structural reasons exist for them being the same) all the other openings of the principal movements have the beginnings of the head motive and the polyphony on different pitches. Transposing the *cantus prius factus* down to A in the Credo means that for the first time in Obrecht's Mass the cantus firmus and free voices are both on the same pitch level. Announcing the cantus-firmus-based head motive on a (as in the Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus) takes away an essential structural

element of the Mass, the dual modal levels between the E Phrygian tenor and the A Aeolian polyphony. Notwithstanding this, the A Aeolian musical fabric is firmly established at opening of the *Patrem*. A scale-wise descending motive beginning on a in the bassus is imitated by the superius at the octave above. There is no ambiguity over the modal level of the motive, the first sounding of the two voices together is at the interval of a tenth (f-a) in a 'quasi' V-VI cadential progression (ex. 191 bs. 1-2).

Obrecht's organisation of the extended cantus-firmus-free opening passage is structured on alternating duos and trios, each ensemble closing in an A Aeolian cadence in the following manner:

Texture	Voices	Bars	Cadence	Mode
Duo	superius-bassus	1-8	VII6-I	A Aeolian
Trio	superius-contratenor-bassus	8-16	V-I	A Aeolian
Duo	contratenor-bassus	16-21	VII6-I	A Aeolian
Trio	superius-contratenor-bassus	21-27	V-I	A Aeolian.

However, the opening passage for the free voices is not entirely unrelated to the cantus firmus, for within the final duet and trio mainly the bassus (but also the contratenor) quotes parts of the borrowed song. The clearest initial reference to it begins in the bassus with a falling fifth, e-A followed by a scale-wise descent from e-A, ph. 2. Then comes a modified ph. 3 with its characteristic closing falling fourth and finally ph. 5 (ex. 192 bs. 19-25). The sequential succession of the phrases suggests that the initial falling fifth is that which closes ph. 1. An octave higher the contratenor then re-states the quotation of the falling fifth and ph. 2 - the tenor entering below the final note of the contratenor's ph. 2 (ex. 192, last beat b. 25 to first beat b. 28).

Musical considerations are behind the absence of a head motive fashioned from the secular song in the *Patrem*. This is not so much because it would pre-empt the first sounding of the borrowed material, for that was a normal practice and one of the prime reasons for having a

cantus-firmus-based opening motto. What is important in Obrecht's *Patrem* is that such a course of action would weaken the dramatic impact of the cantus firmus entering on an entirely different pitch from that in the previous three movements, and also as the bass of the polyphony. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the purely technical device of the downward-transposed cantus firmus was secondary to the musical effect of it placed in such a low register. The quotations of the borrowed song in the bassus and contratenor do not really detract from the surprise element of the new pitch on which the source material is delivered. They are not highlighted in any way such as in imitation, or values that are longer than those of the other two parts. Generally the beginnings and endings of the individual phrases are placed after cadences. These cantus-firmus statements are incorporated subtly into the polyphonic web. What they do in an artful way is to hint at the tenor entry, keeping the ear aware over the long introduction of the material on which the movement is based. Busnoys did not have the same difficulty at the start of his *Patrem* because the head motive is at a different pitch from that of his transposed tenor (g and d respectively). At the very outset of his extended opening passage the secular song is stated very clearly but in no way does it adumbrate, and thereby diminish, the affect of the new pitch on which the tenor begins its delivery of the borrowed melody. The freshness and newness of his transposed cantus firmus is not impaired at all.

Placing the *l'homme armé* melody in E Phrygian and the polyphony in A Aeolian resolves many of the cadential problems that confronted Compere and Morales in their complete E Phrygian settings. However, a comparison with these two Masses with Obrecht's cycle cannot wholly correspond. Compere and Morales preserve the phrase structure of the original song; the individual phrases are never broken across the subsections of the five principal movements, unlike Obrecht who mirrors Busnoys. The *res facta* is always interrupted at some point over phs.



3 and 4.<sup>9</sup> Moreover Obrecht's *Christe*, like Busnoys's, is tenor free. Compere and Morales use the source material in their respective *Christe* sections. Thus the division of the borrowed material across the complete Kyrie is different between Obrecht and the other two composers, and different portions of the secular tune occur in concluding cadences.

For the moment we will leave aside the Credo and Agnus which do not duplicate Busnoys's tenor scheme exactly, and look instead at the cadential situations in the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus to see how compatible are the two modes of the source material and polyphony in these sections. The starting point for investigating Obrecht's handling of the  $\underline{f}$ - $\underline{e}$  semitone will be phs. 1, 2 and 6 (ph. 7 will be dealt with later). In total there are twelve appearances of the interval across the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus; each time the falling fifth is separated from the beginning of the phrases. Consequently the semitone is placed at the end of an artificially-constructed phrase. Obrecht places the semitone in two contexts, either cadentially or non-cadentially. Twice the latter situation is employed, both involving ph. 6, in the *Qui tollis* and *Tu solus*. Each time a genuine cadential situation follows; an A Aeolian VII6-I in the *Qui tollis* after the conclusion of the final  $\underline{e}$ . Although not strictly cadential the semitone itself is given in what we have designated an 'altered' cadence. In this instance the  $\underline{f}$  in the tenor is given in a D minor harmony, the  $\underline{d}$  in the bassus then falls to  $\underline{G}$  in the manner of a V-I G Mixolydian cadence. The expected G major harmony, according to the movement of the bassus, is not forthcoming, and instead an E minor harmony is sounded, the  $\underline{e}$  supplied by the cantus firmus. What results is the sound of a G Mixolydian deceptive cadence within a V-I G Mixolydian bass progression (ex 193 bs. 103-04, the A Aeolian cadence occurs at bs. 107-08).

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<sup>9</sup> *Kyrie* I, Ai, ph. 3, *Kyrie* II, phs. 4, 5, Aii; *Et in terra*, Ai, ph. 3, ph. 4 minus falling fourth, *Qui tollis*, falling fourth ph. 4, ph. 5, Aii, *Tu solus*, Ai, B, Aii; *Patrem*, Ai, ph. 3, *Et incarnatus est*, phs. 4 and 5, Aii, *Confiteor*, phs. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 minus falling fifth; *Sanctus*, Ai, phs. 3 and 4, *Osanna*, ph. 5, Aii; *Agnus* I, Ai, ph. 3, *Agnus* III; phs. 4, 5, Aii, *Agnus* III. Ph. 2 appears to be missing in the two *Missae L'homme armé*, but it may be present in another voice, minus its falling fifth. In the Busnoys composition stated by the contratenor on  $\underline{d}$  instead of  $\underline{a}$  (bs. 163-65), by the bassus in Obrecht's Mass on the correct pitch of  $\underline{e}$  (bs. 161-63).

A similar procedure is adopted in the *Tu solus* where the semitone is given non-cadentially (ex. 194 b. 141). However, the duration of the e is so short that it hardly qualifies as a point of punctuation in the musical fabric and on this occasion the bassus moves from d-e. A cadence follows immediately an *a3* to *a4* E Phrygian close. In the second harmony the first pitch of the falling fifth is sounded (ex. 194 bs. 141-42). Twice the semitone is placed in an A Aeolian plagal progression *Kyrie I* and *Et in terra* (ex. 195 [a] *Kyrie I* ph. 2 bs. 11-12, and 195 [b] *Et in terra* ph. 1 bs. 21-22). Once it is expressed in a VII6-I C Ionian progression in the *Osanna* (ex. 196 bs. 98-99), an A Aeolian cadence follows across the prolonged final e of ph. 6 in the tenor (ex. 196 bs. 99-100).

The remaining settings of the semitone are *a4* E Phrygian cadences. They all follow a similar pattern where the tenor and bassus are on a unison f. Then the two voices cross, the tenor taking the bass of the second harmony of the cadence. In its simplest context the crossing of the two parts is direct, the tenor's f descending to e and the one in the bassus rising to g (ex. 197 [a] *Kyrie I* ph. 1 bs. 6-7). Three times there are slight variants to this general format, the simplest being in the *Tu solus* where the bassus moves from its f to a and then to g (ex. 197 [b] ph. 2 b 130). More elaborate is the form in the *Sanctus*; the f in the bassus ascends scale-wise to b, which then falls to e (ex. 197 [c] ph. 1 bs. 15-16). The greatest change to the basic formula is in the *Et in terra*. Here the bassus has a d against the tenor's f, the bassus then leaping to g (sounding a third above the e in the tenor) then falling a third sounding in unison with the tenor (ex. 197 [d] ph. 2 bs. 28-29).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> In the settings of Compere and Morales genuine E Phrygian cadences were achieved in an *a3* texture, or with three parts moving to four. The difficulty they had to face was how to express an E Phrygian close in four parts. As we have seen Obrecht's solution was to place the tenor f in unison with the bassus, and then allowing those two parts to cross, so that the f-e semitone as the bass of the original *a3* Phrygian close remained the bass of those two parts to cross. Obrecht's approach does not compromise the scheme of his cantus firmus delivery in the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Sanctus*. It remains internal to the musical fabric, briefly moving to the bass in these E Phrygian cadences. Nevertheless, what is still in evidence is that with an E Phrygian setting of the *l'homme armé* song some degree of manipulation is needed to the lower parts in order for the f-e semitone to become the bass in *a4* E Phrygian cadences.

Not once do the twelve settings of the semitone occur at the end of a Mass section; they are all in medial cadences, emphasising the two modal levels of the Mass E Phrygian and A Aeolian. The E minor harmony of the Phrygian mode on nine occasions, in seven genuine E Phrygian cadences, and implied twice in V-VI G Mixolydian progressions, with two A Aeolian cadences and one C Ionian progression. In the terminal cadences the reverse is to be found, with the E Phrygian cantus firmus placed in the context of the Aeolian mode of the free voices. Modal duality is a significant feature of the Mass, with the conflict finally resolved in the Agnus. We have found no instance where this view of the simultaneous use of the Phrygian and Aeolian modes respectively to define the tenor material and musical fabric has been argued previously. Table 56 lists the contexts in which the  $\underline{f-e}$  semitone appears in the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus.

**Table 56**  
Contexts in which the  $\underline{f-e}$  semitone is placed in the Kyrie,  
Gloria and Sanctus in Obrecht's *Missa L'homme arme*

Movement	Phrase	Cadential	
		Cadence	Mode
Kyrie I bs. 6-7	1	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Kyrie II bs. 58-59	6	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Et in terra bs. 28-29	2	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Tu solus b. 127	1	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Tu solus b. 130	2	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Sanctus bs. 15-16	1	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Sanctus bs. 21-22	2	VII6-I	E Phrygian*
Kyrie I bs. 11-12	2	IV-I	A Aeolian
Et in terra bs. 21-22	1	IV-I	A Aeolian
Osanna bs. 98-99	6	VII6-I	C Ionian
<b>Non-cadential</b>			
Qui tollis bs. 103-04	6	V-VI	G Mixolydian progression <sup>11</sup>
Tu solus b. 141	6	V-VI	G Mixolydian progression

\* indicates that the bassus and tenor cross, allowing the latter voice to become the bass of a four-part E Phrygian cadence

<sup>11</sup> Another example of an 'altered' cadence. The first harmony of the progression has the bassus falling a fifth from  $\underline{d}$  to  $\underline{G}$  in the manner of a V-I close. In this instance the second harmony is not G major, but E minor, the final note  $\underline{e}$  of the cantus firmus in the tenor altering the mode of the progression.



Ten times only are the initial notes of the falling fifths closing phs. 1, 2 and 6 announced cadentially, and included are the fifths in the Credo. E Phrygian and G Mixolydian are used in equal number, four times each, and D Dorian twice. Each of the Phrygian cadences delivers the first  $\underline{b}$  of the interval  $a4$  and in the second cadential sonority. The  $\underline{f}$  of the Phrygian progression is actually placed in the bassus as the lowest note of the first harmony (ex. 198 [a] *Et in terra* ph. 1 bs. 24-25). Two of the four G Mixolydian cadences refer to the E Phrygian mode of the secular song in interrupted progressions, the first pitch of the falling fifth is given in an E minor harmony. Again there is another instance of an 'altered' cadence in the *Osanna*. The first harmony of the close suggests VII $\underline{6}$ -I in G Mixolydian, but the bassus jumps down from  $\underline{a}$  to  $\underline{e}$  implying a plagal progression in E Phrygian. What is given within this context is a hybrid V-VI cadence in G Mixolydian (ex. 198 [b] ph. 6 *Osanna* bs. 107-08). Twice the initial  $\underline{b}$  of the falling fifth is given in the second harmony of a D Dorian V-VI progression, both harmonies are  $a3$ , but not for the same combination of voices (ex. 198 [c] ph. 1 *Sanctus* bs. 17-18).

On four occasions only the final  $\underline{e}$  of the fifth is treated cadentially, three in A Aeolian and one in C Ionian, and all are in the Credo. Twice both the first and last notes of the interval are cadential, each time opening in V-VI G Mixolydian progressions and ending in VII $\underline{6}$ -I A Aeolian ones (ex. 199 ph. 2 *Et in terra* bs. 33-35). Although G Mixolydian is used on the greater number occasions in which to place the first notes of the falling fifths cadentially, actually E Phrygian is referred to most, eight times. Four times directly in Phrygian cadences and alluded to four times in the E minor harmony of G Mixolydian V-VI progressions. Interestingly enough the other main mode of the Mass, A Aeolian, is employed five out of six occasions in which to express the final  $\underline{e}$  of the fifth cadentially. Table 57:

**Table 57**  
**Cadential contexts in which the first and last pitches of the falling fifths are placed in Obrecht's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Beginnings of the interval</b>			
<b>Movement</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Cadence</b>	<b>Mode</b>
Kyrie I bs. 7-8	1	VII6-I	E Phrygian
Et in terra bs. 24-25	1	VII6-I	E Phrygian
Tu solus b. 142	6	VII6-I	E Phrygian
Sanctus bs. 23-24	2	VII6-I	E Phrygian
Kyrie II bs. 59-60	6	VII6-I	G Mixolydian
Tu solus b. 128	1	VII6-I	G Mixolydian
Kyrie I bs. 11-12	2	V-VI	G Mixolydian
Patrem bs. 33-34	1	V-VI	G Mixolydian
Qui tollis bs. 112-13	6	V-VI	D Dorian
Sanctus bs. 17-18	1	V-VI	D Dorian
<b>Ends of the interval</b>			
<b>Movement</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Cadence</b>	<b>Mode</b>
Tu solus b. 131	2	V-I	C Ionian
Patrem bs. 43-44	2	VII6-I	A Aeolian
Et incarnatus est bs. 135-36	6	V-I	A Aeolian
Confiteor bs. 160-61	1	V-I	A Aeolian
<b>Beginnings and endings of the interval</b>			
<b>Movement</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Beginning</b>	<b>End</b>
Et in terra bs. 33-35	2	V-VI G Mixolydian	VII6-I A Aeolian
Osanna bs. 107-10	6	V-VI G Mixolydian	VII6-I A Aeolian

Obrecht's settings of the beginnings of the seven phrases of the borrowed song (28 in total) show a marked contrast in modal emphasis to the settings of the phrase endings. Of the cadential situations, eleven instances sound the first note of a phrase in the second harmony of either a V-I or VII6-I A Aeolian cadence, one being a V-VI 'altered' cadence. The second note of ph. 5 (f) changes the expected A minor harmony of a V-I progression into an F major sonority (ex. 200 [a] *Tu solus* bs. 137-38). Twice an E Phrygian cadence is used at the beginning of ph. 7 (ex. 200 *Kyrie II* b. 61) and ph. 3 (*Et in terra* bs. 39-40). Both times the vocal force changes across the two cadence chords from *a3* to *a4* in the *Kyrie* and from *a2* (superius-contratenor) to

*a3* in the *Et in terra*. An interrupted G Mixolydian progression is employed once for the delivery of the first note of ph. 7 (ex. 200 [c] *Qui tollis* b. 117), and in the same section there is a single appearance of an A transposed Phrygian close with ph. 6 (ex. 200 [d] *Qui tollis* bs. 94-95). A change of mode occurs on account of the diminished fifth  $\underline{b-f}$  between the bassus and superius; a  $\underline{b}$  *mollis* is needed in the bassus to perfect the offending interval, giving the descending semitone of the Phrygian conclusion. Three times ph. 5 opens in VII6-I D Dorian progressions (ex. 200 [e]). Table 58:

**Table 58**  
**Cadential contexts in which the first note of a**  
**phrase is placed in Obrecht's *Missa L'homme armé***

**A Aeolian**

Kyrie I b. 15, ph. 3, V-I  
 Kyrie II bs. 55-56, ph. 6, VII6-I  
 Et in terra bs. 18-19, ph. 1, VII6-I  
 Et in terra bs. 48-49, ph. 4, VII6-I  
 Tu solus bs. 132-33, ph. 3, V-I  
 Tu solus b. 135, ph. 4, V-I  
 Tu solus bs. 137-38, ph. 5, V-VI (altered cadence)\*  
 Tu solus bs. 139-40, ph. 6, V-I  
 Sanctus bs. 12-13, ph. 1, VII6-I  
 Sanctus bs. 30-31, ph. 4, V-I  
 Osanna bs. 89-90, ph. 6, V-I

**D Dorian**

Kyrie II bs. 50-51, ph. 5, VII6-I  
 Qui tollis bs. 79-80, ph. 5, VII6-I  
 Osanna bs. 71-72, ph. 5, VII6-I

**E Phrygian**

Kyrie II b. 61, ph. 7, VII6-I  
 Et in terra bs. 39-40, ph. 3, VII6-I

**G Mixolydian**

Qui tollis b. 117, ph. 7, V-VI

**A Transposed Phrygian**

Qui tollis bs. 94-95, ph. 6, VII6-I

\* with ph. 5 the first two notes comprise the cadential progression

The openings of the remaining ten phrases are not articulated cadentially. Five are given in an E minor harmony, three in G major harmonies, and one each in a C major and A minor sonority. Cadences are placed either directly before or after the first note of a phrase, five in



each location. Of the four E Phrygian closes three occur before the first note of a phrase. The two A Aeolian cadences are cited after the sounding of the first note of a phrase. In the same place are two G Mixolydian cadences and one E Phrygian. There is one each of G Mixolydian and D Dorian prior to the start of a phrase. Table 59:

**Table 59**  
**Non-cadential contexts in which the first notes of a phrase are given in Obrecht's *Missa L'homme arme***

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Harmony of the first note</b>	<b>Cadence before the first note</b>
Kyrie I b. 9, ph. 2	E minor	E Phrygian bs. 7-8
Et in terra b. 26, ph. 2	G major	E Phrygian bs. 24-25
Tu solus b. 129, ph. 2	E minor	G Mixolydian b. 128
Tu solus b. 142, ph. 7	G major	E Phrygian bs. 141-42
Sanctus b. 19, ph. 2	E minor	D Dorian bs. 17-18
<b>Movement</b>	<b>Harmony of the first note</b>	<b>Cadence after the first note</b>
Kyrie I b. 4, ph. 1	E minor	A Aeolian bs. 4-5
Kyrie II b. 46, ph. 4	A minor	E Phrygian b. 47
Tu solus b. 126, ph. 1	C major	G Mixolydian bs. 126-27
Sanctus b. 27, ph. 3	E minor	A Aeolian bs. 28-29
Osanna b. 112, ph. 7	G major	G Mixolydian bs. 113-14

The emphases of the sonorities in which the openings of the individual phrases of the secular song are placed (whether cadential or non-cadential) are quite clear. Of the 28 statements of the openings of the phrases of the secular song, A minor is used thirteen times, E minor eight, D minor three, G major three and C major once (see Tables 58 and 59).

It was completely impractical for Obrecht to transpose his source material in his Credo by the same interval as had Busnoys in the Credo of his Mass. Busnoys put his tenor down a fourth from g to d thereby retaining the Dorian mode of the source material. With Obrecht's cantus firmus on e a downward transposition by a fourth then places it on B, in the Locrian mode with all of the inherent problems with the *diabolus in musica*, especially exposed in the falling

fifths of  $\underline{f}$  -  $\underline{b}$  at the ends of phs. 1, 2 and 6. Instead Obrecht transposes the source material down a fifth to  $\underline{A}$ . Scholars have been almost unanimous in stating that Obrecht placed the original song in A Aeolian for his Credo. Sparks writes, 'Obrecht states it [the *l'homme armé* melody] in E Phrygian, Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus, and in A Aeolian, Credo.'<sup>12</sup> Larry Todd notes, 'Though Obrecht casts the *l'homme armé* tune in the Phrygian mode, he just as consistently executes the principal cadences not on E but on A. Therefore a statement of the melody in its A Aeolian form seems particularly appropriate (namely in the Credo)'.<sup>13</sup> Salop says quite simply that '...the tenor of the entire Credo is to be read a fifth (rather than a fourth) lower.'<sup>14</sup> Gustave Reese is the one observer to hint at the real situation commenting, 'Obrecht introduces a delicate touch in the Credo from the *Et resurrexit* on, by recalling the Phrygian character of the cantus firmus in other movements through the occasional flattening of the note  $\underline{b}$ .'<sup>15</sup>

Whilst true, this does not give the complete picture. According to M.1.2, the tenor has a  $\underline{B}$  flat signature for the *Patrem* and *Et incarnatus est*. Therefore the mode of the cantus firmus in these sections is not A Aeolian, but A transposed Phrygian. The two  $\underline{b}$  flats in the tenor part to which Reese refers are applied both times to ph. 5 (*Et incarnatus est* b. 92, *Confiteor* b. 173).<sup>16</sup> In the *Et incarnatus est* the  $\underline{B}$  flat in the signature applies to that pitch only and not to the upper octave. That in the *Confiteor* is required for correct part writing because the tenor does not carry a *mollis* signature. Therefore the Phrygian mode in the Credo is more than a delicate touch, but a direct parallel with the other four principal movements.

Todd is correct in saying that the main cadences are 'executed' on A, but the Phrygian mode of the source material is not entirely forgotten. With the transposition of the cantus firmus

<sup>12</sup> Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 248.

<sup>13</sup> Todd, 'Retrograde, Inversion', 57.

<sup>14</sup> Salop, *The Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, 42.

<sup>15</sup> Reese, *Renaissance*, 197.

<sup>16</sup> The five voices, which do not have a **B flat** signature, do have authorised *mollis B flats* - *Patrem*, contratenor b. 11, bassus, bs. 11, 13, 24; *Et incarnatus est*, superius b. 78.

down to A, Ai and Aii become the functional bass of the polyphony. Transposed A Phrygian cadences in a four-voiced texture cause no problems. This is because the semitones B flat-A of phs. 1, 2 and 6 in the *Patrem* and *Et incarnatus est*<sup>17</sup> are carried by the tenor as the lowest sounding parts of the *a4* texture (see ex. 192 bs. 30-31).

The two closes of phs. 1 and 7 in the *Confiteor* also have the cantus firmus tenor as the functional bass. These cadences are A Aeolian on account of the tenor's 'open' signature.<sup>18</sup> The four presentations of the falling fifth in the Credo emphasise the mode of A Aeolian. Three times the beginning of the interval is not cadential, whereas the final note A is lodged in either V-I or VII6-I A Aeolian progressions (ex. 201 [a] *Patrem* b. 43-44). On the other occasion the first note of the interval is placed in a second cadential harmony another example of an 'altered' cadence. The three free voices have the ingredients of a VII6-I G Mixolydian close, but by entering on e the tenor changes the progression to V-VI (ex. 201 [b] *Patrem* b. 33-34).

A Aeolian is the mode most articulated at the beginnings of the seven phrases in the Credo either in a VII6-I, V-I or IV-I progression, seven times.<sup>19</sup> Four other modes are used once each; C Ionian, D Dorian, G transposed Dorian and G Mixolydian. Only once is the beginning of a phrase not cadential (*Confiteor* b. 155, ph. 1). However, A Aeolian is clearly established by the imitative figure in the free voices and the VII6-I A Aeolian cadence in which the contratenor's imitative entry is announced one bar before the cantus firmus. A Aeolian is confirmed again shortly afterwards with ph. 1 closing in the mode. Table 60:

<sup>17</sup> *Patrem*, ph. 1 bs. 30-31, ph. 2 bs. 37-38. *Et incarnatus est*, ph. 6 bs. 124-25, ph. 7 bs. 145-46.

<sup>18</sup> *Confiteor*, ph. 1 bs. 157-58, ph. 7 bs. 181-82.

<sup>19</sup> The plagal progression in the *Et incarnatus est* is another example of an 'altered' cadence (bs. 115-16). Between the contratenor and bassus is the two-part cadential progression for an E Phrygian close. The interval of the sixth in the two voices resolves onto an octave E. Entering on A the lowest voice of the polyphony (the tenor) changes the expected E Phrygian conclusion to an A Aeolian one, a 'hybrid' IV-I progression.

**Table 60**  
**Contexts in which the first notes of the seven phrases are placed in the Credo of Obrecht's *Missa L'homme armé***

<b>Movement</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Cadence</b>	<b>Mode</b>
Patrem bs. 27-28	1	V-I	A Aeolian
Patrem bs. 46-47	3	VII6-I	A Aeolian
Et incarnatus est bs. 73-74	4	V-I	A Aeolian
Et incarnatus est bs. 115-16	6	IV-I	A Aeolian
Confiteor bs. 162-63	3	VII6-I	A Aeolian
Confiteor bs. 167-68	4	VII6-I	A Aeolian
Confiteor bs. 178-79	6	V-I	A Aeolian
Patrem b. 35	2	VII6-I	C Ionian
Et incarnatus est bs. 91-92	5*	V-VI	D Dorian
Et incarnatus est bs. 137-38	7	V-VI	G Mixolydian
Confiteor bs. 172-73	5	VII6-I	G transposed Dorian
Confiteor b. 155	1		non-cadential

\* the first two notes of ph. 5 form the cadential progression

A pattern emerges in Obrecht's manipulation of the two different modal levels employed for the source material and polyphony from the Kyrie to the Sanctus, and which finally finds its apotheosis in the structure of the Agnus. The A Aeolian mode of the free voices is used most in which the first note of a phrase is placed cadentially, in 18 of 30 occasions. Reference to the Phrygian flavour of the source material (either 'directly' or 'indirectly')<sup>20</sup> in a cadential progression occurs only four times. Of the other eight phrase openings four are D Dorian, with one each of C Ionian, G transposed Dorian and A transposed Phrygian and one non-cadential context (see Tables 58 and 60). When the first note of a phrase is not delivered cadentially Obrecht tends to give it in an E minor harmony, reflecting the Phrygian mode of the cantus firmus. This pattern in the delivery of the opening pitches of a phrase is also discernible in the beginnings of the placements of the falling fifths (see Tables 57 and 59).

Two locations at the ends of phs. 1 and 6 before their falling fifths have not been

<sup>20</sup> 'Indirectly' means that the first pitch of a phrase is placed in the E minor harmony of a V-VI G Mixolydian interrupted cadence.

included (ph. 7 will be considered later). These occur in the *Confiteor* (bs. 157-58 ph. 1 and bs. 181-182 ph. 6) and are the only two occasions when those parts of the relevant cantus-firmus phrases in the Credo close not with a semitone, but a tone, B-A. Therefore the two cadences in which the pitches are clothed are not Phrygian but VII6-I A Aeolian, on account of the tenor in the *Confiteor* not having a B flat signature. So why does the tenor of the *Patrem* and *Et incarnatus est* have *mollis* signatures, but not in the *Confiteor*? The answer is to be found in the conclusions to the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus. These three movements close on ph. 7, with the f-e semitone as the cadential pitches in the tenor, but in an internal voice. It was seen in the *L'homme armé* Masses of Compere and Morales that to give a sense of finality to an *a4* cadence in E Phrygian on these two notes a certain amount of manipulation was required over a prolonged final tenor e. Obrecht faced the same problem with the semitone in the tenor, but because the free voices are in A Aeolian he does not need to strengthen an E Phrygian cadence but just effect an A Aeolian close. He gives coherence to the terminal closes of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and Sanctus by adopting a very similar (but not always an exact) pattern. All four close on a V-I in A Aeolian at the end of an extended final cantus-firmus e. Before the terminal perfect close the f-e semitone is given first in a less sharply-focused cadential progression. In *Kyrie II* (bs. 63-64) and *Osanna* (bs. 119-120) it is a plagal progression in D and A minor harmonies (ex. 202). The Gloria declares the two pitches in a four-part E Phrygian context, an *a4* D minor harmony moving onto a three-part E minor harmony with the source material as the bass of the three voices. After resting for one crotchet the bassus re-enters on A as the bass of an A minor harmony, so basically the pattern is the same (see ex. 194 bs. 143-45).

This brings the discussion back to the close of the Credo and the lack of a B flat in the tenor's signature. As in all the Masses which transposed the *l'homme armé* melody down to A or lower, Ai and Aii becomes the bass of the four-part texture. Therefore at the conclusion of Obrecht's Credo the source material is the real bass of the polyphony, with the final two pitches



of the cantus firmus being B-A. B flat would have destroyed the modal unity with the conclusions of the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus, giving a transposed Phrygian cadence. B natural allows for an A Aeolian conclusion that corresponds with closes of the other four movements. Obrecht also repeats the other pattern of these movements, by placing a weaker cadence over the last two notes of the tenor and then ending with the stronger V-I progression. First the B and A are delivered in a VII6-I A Aeolian close. However the final A cannot be prolonged in the same manner as the final e in the terminal cadences of the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus. Instead Obrecht rests his tenor, the three free voices continuing and concluding with a V-I A Aeolian cadence with the notated bassus sounding the e of chord V; the tenor enters again in the final bar on A in unison with the bassus. For this reason it was necessary to place the source material in the Aeolian mode in the *Confiteor* (the only time in the Mass when it is so placed) to achieve a modal accord across the conclusions of the first four principal movements (ex. 203 *Confiteor* bs. 181-85).

Obrecht's second major change to the tenor scheme of the Busnoys Mass is in the Agnus. Where Busnoys inverted the melody, Obrecht applied both inversion and retrograde techniques to his tenor. Why go further than the simple inversion of his model? There are two main reasons, the second (the more important) being dependent on the first. Todd has shown the crucial position Obrecht holds among his contemporaries in his consistent employment of the techniques of inversion, retrograde motion and especially retrograde-inversion as structural devices within his Masses. He was one of the few composers of his own generation and the previous one to use retrograde-inversion consistently.<sup>21</sup> Concerning the employment of the device in the Agnus of Obrecht's *Missa L'homme armé* Todd writes:

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<sup>21</sup> Todd, 'Retrograde, Inversion', 71-76.



The *l'homme armé* tune, as Obrecht quite possibly realised, is well suited to both inversion and retrograde procedures. Characterised by an alternating pattern of disjunct and conjunct motion ... Since the disjunct motion is limited to fourths and fifths inversion of the melody provides a comparable intervallic structure... and because of the unique construction of the melody, the adoption of retrograde is equally appropriate. ... This highly symmetrical pattern is formed by the series of intervals that remains fairly constant even when performed in *canonizans*. It may be on account of this and other features that Obrecht decided to depart from the model of Busnoys.<sup>22</sup>

What Todd is saying is that the intervals of the fourth and fifth in the original melody remain fourths and fifths when subjected to the two techniques. But there is far more to it than just the suitability of the *l'homme armé* melody as a subject for retrograde-inversion. The composer's choice of the device is the summation of the *raison d'être* for having placed the cantus firmus in one mode and the polyphony in another.

It was noted earlier that the theorists considered the mode of a polyphonic composition was determined by the tenor, and based on this evidence Obrecht's Mass is Phrygian (E in the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus, and transposed to A in the *Patrem* and *Et incarnatus est*). However, what gradually becomes evident over the progress of the Mass is a sustained conflict of modal levels (or duality of modes), that of the cantus firmus (E Phrygian) with that of the polyphony (A Aeolian). The clearest examples of this duality are to be found between the head motive on a and the first presentation of the source material at the beginnings of the five main movements, on e (between A transposed Phrygian and A Aeolian in the *Patrem*).

The structural importance of the application of retrograde-inversion to the source material in E Phrygian is that with that technique the mode is never expressed, whereas when only inverted E Phrygian is clearly evident. A comparison with the inverted and retrograde-inverted forms of the original song is revealing. When the melody is inverted only five of the

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<sup>22</sup> Todd, *ibid.*, 57-58.

seven phrases begin either on e or E. Twice the initial e falls to b clearly implying an E Phrygian beginning (phs. 1 and 6). On the other three occasions (phs. 3, 4 and 5) the characteristic E-F semitone of the Phrygian mode is so prominent at the openings that the ambience of that mode is in no doubt. In an inverted context the falling fifths of the original melody become leaping fifths a-e (phs. 1, 2, and 6). Occurring at the ends of phrases IV-I E Phrygian cadences are implied (ex. 204 [a]).

Quite the reverse is to be found in retrograde-inverted version; the falling fifths remain as such circumscribing the mode of A Aeolian. Three phrases begin on a either as the first note of a falling fourth (phs. 3 and 4) or the complete phrase is a scale-wise descent from a-e via a lower d (ph. 5). The other four phrases follow a similar pattern, phs. 1, 2 and 6 start with fallings fifths e'-a, and the descending step-wise ph. 7 also being within the compass of e'-a. Moreover, all seven phrases end on a pitch which can be included in a final A minor harmony in A Aeolian, either e or a (ex. 204 [b]). One other aspect needs consideration why an inverted E Phrygian presentation of the cantus firmus was not suitable for Obrecht's Agnus. The bassus of the Mass never goes below *gamma* G, the retrograde-inverted form of the borrowed song lies well above this pitch. However, the opposite occurs in the inverted presentation (excepting the final A naturals and one G) B is sounded within the range of D-F (exs. 204 [a] and [b]).

If it were not known that the tenor of the Agnus is the *l'homme armé* tune placed in E Phrygian and subjected to the technique of retrograde-inversion, there is no evidence to suggest that this is mode of the tenor. All aspects of the source material in the Agnus indicate that the mode as A Aeolian. Not only do the intervals of the fifths circumscribe A Aeolian but they are located at the beginning of a phrase with the first note placed in V-I or VII6-I A Aeolian cadences (*Agnus* I bs. 10-11 ph. 2, bs. 17-18 ph. 1, *Agnus* III bs. 85-86 ph. 6, ex 205). A Aeolian is also employed in which to announce the first notes of three of the individual seven phrases, V-I (*Agnus* I bs. 2-3), VII6-I (*Angus* III bs. 91-92), V-VI (*Agnus* III bs. 106-07; exs. 206 [a] and [b]).

Even when phrases do not open in A Aeolian that mode is established shortly afterwards. Ph. 1 of *Agnus* I begins in the second harmony of a V-VI D Dorian cadence over *bs.* 19-20, the A Aeolian close occurring two bars later. In the same section the descending line of ph. 2 opens in the second harmony of an E Phrygian cadence (pitch *e* b. 14), but directly afterwards the following two notes (*d'*-*c'*) are delivered in a VII6-I A Aeolian cadence (b. 15).

Ph. 4 begins with the tenor on *a* entering in the fourth bar of a six-bar *A* pedal point in the bassus (ex. 207 *Agnus* III b. 119). The complete six bars sound an A minor sonority initiated with the VII6-I A Aeolian cadence in which the final *e* of ph. 5 is placed (ex. 207 b. 116). Each individual pitch of ph. 4 is notated in perfect longs. A Aeolian is again confirmed over the prolonged second pitch *e* in a V-I close (ex. 207 *bs.* 123-24). Thus Obrecht establishes this mode on two levels, with the first *a* placed in an extended A minor harmony, then shortly afterwards by a V-I A Aeolian cadence.

*Agnus* III opens with a formidable twelve-bar tenor *e* pedal. The initial *a3* sonority is E minor, the contratenor entering two bars later (ex. 208 *bs.* 65-67). Placed so prominently at the beginning of the final section of the Mass, this is not a confirmation of the mode of the cantus firmus but rather a springboard for the sounding of the A Aeolian mode of the polyphony. *Agnus* II (tenor-tacit) had concluded on a V-I Aeolian cadence. The transition to *Agnus* III is smooth with the opening E minor harmony coming straight after the closing A Aeolian perfect cadence of *Agnus* II. A Aeolian is sounded consistently over the internal pedal - with a V-I A Aeolian cadence almost at mid-point (ex 208 *bs.* 72-73).

Table 61 shows the prevalence of A Aeolian cadences supporting the seven phrases of the *l'homme armé* melody in the *Agnus*.

**Table 61**  
**Cadential beginnings of cantus-firmus phrases and falling fifths**  
**in the Agnus+of Obrecht's *Missa L'homme armé***

Portion of Song	Cadential beginnings		
	A Aeolian	E Phrygian	D Dorian
Ph. 3	V-I bs. 2-3		
Falling fifth ph. 2	V-I bs. 10-11		
Ph. 2		VII6-I bs. 13-14	
Falling fifth ph. 1	VII6-I bs. 17-18		
Ph. 1			V-VI bs. 19-20
Falling fifth ph. 6	VII6-I bs. 85-86		
Ph. 6	VII6-I bs. 91-92		
Ph. 5	V-VI bs. 106-07		
	Non-cadential beginnings		
Portion of song	Opening harmony		
Ph. 7	E minor b. 65		
Ph. 4	A minor b. 119		

+ The order of the phrases are those in which they are presented in the Agnus - phs. 3, 2, 1 *Agnus I*, phs. 7, 6, 5, 4 *Agnus III*

The retrograde-inverted version of the E Phrygian vernacular melody has another interesting feature pertaining to the A Aeolian mode of the free voices, namely the position of the f-e semitone, so important to the unity of the terminal cadences in the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus. In the retrograde-inverted form the descending semitone occurs only twice (phs. 3 and 4), not four times as in the original version of the melody (phs. 1, 2, 6 and 7). Ph. 3 opens *Agnus I* and ph. 4 closes *Agnus III*. Thus the conclusion of the retrograde-inverted cantus firmus in *Agnus III* closes with the same two pitches as the Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus. It also concludes with a similar cadential pattern as those three movements and also the Credo. But there is a slight difference giving to the very last cadence of the Mass a unique character of its own, and at the same time strengthening the supremacy of the A Aeolian mode. A D minor harmony is used to support the beginning of the perfect long of the penultimate f; the final part of this prolonged note is in a B flat major harmony (ex. 209 bs. 125-127). In M.1.2. the contratenor carries a signed b flat to correct the simultaneous sounding of an augmented fourth (tenor and

contratenor), and diminished fifth (tenor and superius, ex. 209 b. 127).

In order to describe the effect (and therefore the aesthetic quality) of the concluding cadence, anachronistic terminology is used deliberately. This is not to suggest how Obrecht conceived the progression, but nevertheless the aural effect cannot be denied. If Obrecht had preserved the D minor harmony across the entire sustained  $\underline{f}$ , then the  $\underline{f}$ - $\underline{e}$  semitone would be given in harmonies of D and A minor reflecting the closes in the Kyrie and Sanctus. Moreover, it would also duplicate the other pattern ending the four previous movements; a less sharply defined cadence for the semitone followed by the stronger V-I A Aeolian over a prolonged final  $\underline{e}$ . B flat major moving to A minor is not a cadential progression, but the major sonority is a harmonic spur in the drive to the final V-I cadence. It has the aural effect of what would later be described as the Neapolitan sixth. In terms of tonally-formulated harmony this describes a flattened supertonic harmony which normally moved onto a I-V-I progression. Although conceived in completely different terms all the elements of that strong cadential progression are present, and it also fulfils the same function. Obrecht makes the B flat sonority even stronger by repeating the  $\underline{d}$  in the bassus and not prolonging it in the same way as the  $\underline{f}$  in the tenor (ex. 209 b. 127).

Following the B flat major harmony is a sustained A harmony; the two E minor sonorities are not structural but decorative in the manner of a *nota cambiata* in a melodic line (ex. 209 bs. 128-29). The forward drive to the cadence is sustained by a short motive first heard on  $\underline{c}$ ' in the superius. In counterpoint the contratenor states its opening on  $\underline{a}$  slightly elaborated and then one bar later the bassus on  $\underline{A}$  takes up the melodic cell rising to  $\underline{e}$  and then falling back to  $\underline{A}$  in a V-I Aeolian cadence (ex. 209 bs. 128-31). Although in its general plan the final V-I cadence of *Agnus III* is closely related to the conclusions of the other four movements it is sufficiently different as to form a climax to the complete Mass. How easy it would have been to sustain the D minor harmony for another breve over the penultimate tenor  $\underline{f}$ , making the end of the *Agnus*

almost a duplicate of the conclusions to the other four movements. But by the inclusion of the B flat major chord at the end of the tenor's  $\underline{f}$  the conclusion to the Agnus, and therefore to the Mass itself, is raised to a much higher musical level.

During the course of the Mass the conflict of the E Phrygian-placed cantus firmus (A transposed Phrygian in the first two divisions of the Credo) and the A Aeolian polyphony were presented like two protagonists in a drama. It was especially acute in the delivery of the head motive and the announcement of the first tenor note in the Gloria and Sanctus. There the contratenor carried the opening motto on  $\underline{a}$  in opposition to the E minor openings of the cantus firmus. Reasons for the same procedure not being duplicated at the beginnings of the Kyrie and Credo have been given, but even so the same polarity between modal levels were still in evidence.

The conflict between E Phrygian and A Aeolian is resolved at the beginning of the Agnus. Corresponding with the openings of the Gloria and Sanctus the contratenor has the head motive on  $\underline{a}$ ; two bars later the tenor enters with the retrograde-inverted secular song also on  $\underline{a}$ . This is the first time in the Mass when there has been such a pitch agreement between the opening motto and the declaration of the first cantus-firmus note at the beginning of a principal movement. It is also the only occasion when the secular tune is in counterpoint with itself, albeit in two versions, original and in a retrograde-inverted version (ex. 210).

A feature of the beginning and ending of the Obrecht first *Agnus* is not shared with the parallel movement in the Busnoys's Mass. In all other aspects the reliance of Obrecht on Busnoys for his tenor scheme is clear. Others have demonstrated the two obvious deviations Obrecht made to Busnoys's tenor in the Credo (degree of transposition) and to the complete Agnus (retrograde-inversion). Reasons for the two deviations have been given above, and significantly the two alterations both place the source material on the same pitch but an octave apart, Credo on  $\underline{A}$  and Agnus on  $\underline{a}$ . The further change Obrecht made in his first *Agnus* to the



Busnoys tenor pattern has not been noted previously. Busnoys opens his first *Agnus* with an extended tenorless section of thirteen bars; Obrecht delays his tenor for only two. Busnoys closes his *Agnus* I with two tenor-tacit bars;<sup>23</sup> Obrecht concludes his first *Agnus* with thirteen non-cantus-firmus bars, the tenor re-enters in the fourteenth bar sounding in the final harmony. Tracing the progress of the two *Agnus* movements (Busnoys from beginning to end, Obrecht from the end back to the start) there is a correspondence. Apart from adopting Busnoys's inverted tenor and to the technique of inversion adding retrograde motion as well, Obrecht also placed the metrical scheme of Busnoys's *Agnus* I in *cancrizans*. Obrecht does not actually reverse the values of the individual pitches of Busnoys's tenor but only the order of the cantus-firmus and tenor-tacit sections. There is just one minor difference between the two forms of the tenor (bs. 23-24 and b. 13); otherwise the reversal is exact. Table 62:

**Table 62**  
**The tenor schemes in *Agnus* I of Busnoys's**  
**and Obrecht's *Missae L'homme armé***

<b>Busnoys</b>				<b>Obrecht</b>	
bs. 1-13	13 bars	tenor-tacit	13 bars	bs. 35-23	
bs. 14-22	9 bars	cantus firmus	9 bars	bs. 22-14	
bs. 23-24	2 bars	tenor-tacit	1 bars	b. 13	
bs. 25-26	2 bars	cantus firmus	2 bars	bs. 12-11	
bs. 27-30	4 bars	tenor-tacit	4 bars	bs. 10-7	
bs. 31-34	4 bars	cantus firmus	4 bars	bs. 6-3	
bs. 35-36	2 bars	tenor-tacit	2 bars	bs. 2-1	

It is impossible to say if Obrecht was making an additional reference to his model by employing a *cancrizan* version of the cantus-firmus and tenor-tacit sections of Busnoys's *Agnus*, or quite simply whether he found it suited his need for presenting both the head motive and the

<sup>23</sup> In the transcription of the Mass there are three tenorless bars, the last is editorial. Chigi 234, from which the transcription was made has the tenor of *Agnus* I concluding with two perfect breves.

opening of the cantus firmus in close juxtaposition and in the same mode. Perhaps the two aspects were part of the same creative thinking. Whatever the reasons the whole process demonstrates Obrecht's formidable technical skill in erecting a complex structure as a context in which to create music of such haunting beauty.

Considered together in relation to the rest of the Mass, the technical procedures that are applied to the cantus firmus in the Agnus have a compelling structural logic. On the most fundamental level the two different modal contexts in which the cantus firmus and the polyphony are placed can be seen as means for facilitating strong terminal cadences with the  $f-e$  semitone of the source material in a four-part texture. It was observed in the Masses of Compere and Morales that frequently the semitone interval would be placed in a plagal A Aeolian progression (D minor to A minor), and beneath the prolonged tenor  $e$  the final cadence would be a plagal in E Phrygian (A minor to E minor). The skeletal three-part Phrygian cadence, with the  $f-e$  semitone in an internal voice, was also in an A Aeolian plagal progression (ex. 179 [b]). By placing the original melody in E Phrygian in an internal voice, and the musical fabric in A Aeolian, Obrecht translated the basic  $a3$  Phrygian cadential structure onto a far larger canvas, that of the entire Mass.

Whether this was the prime force behind Obrecht's decision to adopt a dual modal level for the Mass in a sense is not that important. What is astonishing is the manner in which he consistently pits the two modes against each other over the course of the work. This was most clear at the beginnings of the main movements with the two different modal levels of the head motive and the first entry of the tenor, the supremacy of A Aeolian being confirmed in the terminal closes to the principal movements. Obrecht's intention is quite obvious, even to the extent of placing the transposed A Phrygian tenor of the Credo in A Aeolian for the final section of that movement.

All the conflicts of the dual modality of the Mass are resolved in the Agnus. The

*l'homme armé* melody is still in E Phrygian, but on account of subjecting it to the technique of retrograde-inversion any reference to that mode in the original song is completely lacking - instead the source material is now expressed in A Aeolian. For the first and only time there is now a modal agreement between the head motive and the beginning of the cantus firmus in *Agnus I*, brought about by Obrecht placing the general ground plan of Busnoys's *Agnus I* in a retrograde form. Except in a very few instances all the cadences are A Aeolian. Nowhere else in a single Mass section is such an emphasis given to this mode. There is a feeling of a final 'arrival' in the *Agnus*, with a synthesis and resolution of the E/A duality found through the rest of the Mass.

## Chapter 15

### The D Dorian Masses

The final three Masses to be considered all transpose the *l'homme armé* melody down to  $\underline{d}$ , which places it in the untransposed Dorian mode; these are the settings by Regis, Pipelare and La Rue.<sup>1</sup> Although only three in number within the limits of this study they form the second largest group of *l'homme armé* Masses after those that place their cantus firmi on  $\underline{g}$ . They also fall into a consistent pattern found through the entire Mass tradition in that the major G Mixolydian mode of the secular originals normally changed to minor when employed as cantus firmus.

#### Johannes Regis

Regis wrote his *a4* Mass in canon at the fifth below.<sup>2</sup> The feature by which the text of the Ordinary is combined with that of 'Dum sacrum mysterium'<sup>3</sup> was mentioned earlier, and that the melody of the antiphon itself is not used. But although he does not quote this particular plainsong, he does weave other chants associated with the Feast into the fabric of the polyphony, namely the Tone for mode I of *Factum est silentium* beginning at the verse *Milia milium*,<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> The number is four when Palestrina's *a4* D Dorian Mass is included.

<sup>2</sup> The Mass survives in CS 14, along with four other *Missae l'homme armé*, beginning with the one by Du Fay, and followed in a chronological sequence with those by Busnoys, Regis, Caron and Faugues. Lindeburg places the Mass within, what was then thought to be the last decade, of the composer's life 1481-92 (*CMM* 9, i). However, CS 14 has been dated c. 1472-81 (*CC* vol. IV, 28), therefore the Mass had to have been written before that date. Fallows in his 'Johannes Regis', 143-72, shows that the composer died in 1496.

<sup>3</sup> *LU*, 1652, 'Dum sacrum mysterium cerneret Joannes, Archangelus Michael tuba cecinit: Ignosce Domine Deus noster, qui aperis librum, et solvis signacula ejus, allelulia' (Whilst John was beholding the sacred mystery, the Archangel Michael sounded a trumpet: Forgive us, O Lord our God, who openest the book and loosest the seal thereof, Allelulia).

<sup>4</sup> *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, facsimile edition, with introduction by W. H. Frere (1901-25). 553, col. 1.

antiphon *Dum committeret bellum*<sup>5</sup> and the melody for Palm Sunday of the *Pueri Hebraeorum*.<sup>6</sup> Later it will be shown that text was very important in Regis's creative process, and so far as this Mass is concerned is a possible reason for the transposed *cantus prius factus*.

Regis's Mass is the first in the tradition to carry the complete secular song transposed through an entire cycle. The tenor as the *comes* is placed on d (untransposed Dorian mode) and the *dux*-contratenor a fifth higher on a. In this one detail Regis corresponds with Faugues by placing the *dux* in the contratenor a fifth above the *comes*-tenor. Even with the lowering of the *res facta* by a fourth the bassus never descends below *gamma* G. In fact the range of each individual line is quite modest. The superius spans a tenth a-c' (but mainly remains within the octave a-a'); similarly the contratenor's line is an eleventh (c-f) but employs the highest and lowest pitches infrequently. A tenth (d-f) is the compass of the tenor and the bassus that of a ninth (G-a). Thus the complete range of the Mass is two octaves and three notes. A typical sonority in which the first section of the *res facta* is delivered is that of the *Et in terra* (ex. 211).

It seems somewhat paradoxical that, despite the downward transposition Regis did not explore the sound space below G, particularly as he is otherwise noted for this feature:

His [Regis's] use of low registers has been compared with Ockeghem's, but the similarity is no more than a surface one. Ockeghem, who thinks linearly, allows basses and baritones to intertwine and to crowd closely together even in the lowest reaches. Regis, who thinks harmonically, treats the bass as a harmonic support and conducts the other parts with constant regard to spacing and chordal resonance. His exploration of the bass regions is not so much an imitation of Ockeghem as it is an expansion of his own harmonic resources.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 557, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *GR*, 138-39, 'Pueri Hebraeorum, portantes ramos olivarum, obviaverunt Domino, clamantes et dicentes: Hosanna in excelsis' (The Children of the Hebrews, bearing branches of olives, went forth to meet the Lord, crying and saying: Hosanna in the Highest).

<sup>7</sup> Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 202.



His other surviving Mass *Ecce ancilla Domini* has a slightly wider compass with the bassus going down to  $\underline{F}$ , the superius rising to  $\underline{b}$  flat. It is in his motets where the sound space below  $\underline{G}$  is explored most extensively. *Lauda Sion* and *Clangat plebs* both have a range of  $\underline{D-a}$  and *Lux solemnus adest* employs the widest compass of  $\underline{D-c}$ .<sup>8</sup>

What then were the reasons for Regis once having decided to transpose the *l'homme arme* tune down a fourth to  $\underline{d}$ , and also utilising the lower ranges of the individual voices, but subsequently not taking his bassus beyond  $\underline{G}$ ? A good starting point would be to find a possible explanation for the level of transposition. A survey of the compasses of his compositions show that they were chosen in order to reflect the all embracing mood of the texts. The low ranges of *Clangat plebs* and *Lux solemnus* have already been referred to. When the text implied a serene or bright ambience, Regis responded accordingly with a higher compass. The superius of his motet *Ave Maria* does not exceed  $\underline{e}$ , but correspondingly the lowest pitch of the bassus is relatively high for Regis, namely  $\underline{c}$ . The Christmas motet *O admirabile commercium* also has a bassus with a lowest note of  $\underline{c}$  (with an occasional  $\underline{B}$  as a note of decoration), on the other hand the superius ascends to  $\underline{g}$ . The words, which open the final three lines of the motet 'Sus, vallasus' are set particularly evocatively, syllabically combined with a high tessitura (ex. 212).<sup>9</sup>

This same concern for words is present in the *Missa L'homme armé*. Evidence for this supposition is present in the three-voice head motive. Small differences occur between its appearances in the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus, but they all share the same salient feature

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<sup>8</sup> *Opera omnia*, CMM 9. The motet *Clangat plebs* was singled out by Tinctoris as an illustration of the rule 'variety must be most accurately sought for all in counterpoint'. Five other compositions are also cited - Du Fay *Missa L'homme armé*, Faugues *Missa Vinus vinna*, Busnoys's motet *Congaudabant*, and the chansons *Ma maistresse* and *La tridaine a deux*, respectively by Ockeghem and Caron, see Strohm, *European Music*, 471.

<sup>9</sup> Rebecca Stewart writes 'Sus, vallasus ("Shush, little child"): with these nonsense syllables - similar to "shush" in English, or "sujé" in Dutch - does Regis rock the baby Jesus, softly and gently to sleep.' Quoted from the booklet accompanying the CD *I Fiamminghi*, IV (1999), 20.



of an opening 8-5-8 harmony on A (confirmed as A minor by the following chord) which progresses to a fermata-marked A major sonority (see ex. 168 [a]).<sup>10</sup> All four movements carry what can be regarded as relatively 'placid' texts, 'Kyrie eleison', 'Et in terra pax', 'Sanctus' and 'Agnus Dei'. The motto of the Credo is conspicuously different, moving from the same openings as the other four movements, but the fermata-marked A major harmony now being replaced by C major (ex. 213). That this one deviation from the other four openings might possibly be capricious has to be considered, but this seems unlikely when Regis's approach to composition is taken into account. Even with the minor variants between the four other mottoes, the only one real difference between them and the Credo are the moods of the opening texts. It has to be significant that the final two harmonies of the Credo-motto is a C Ionian VII6-I cadence, the only one of the five head-motive openings that actually moves to another modal level. The two cadential harmonies are underlaid with the final two syllables of the word 'omnipotentem'. Progressing from the initial A minor harmony to the closing C major cadence colours the whole conception of 'God the Father Almighty' in a very striking manner.

The move from A minor to A major in the four openings can be explained quite simply as the raised third in the fermata A major harmony. Three times the c' sharp is signed; the lack of a sharp in the Kyrie is obviously a scribal error. The authorised c' sharp is idiosyncratic of Regis's notation, for he was very liberal in the use of specific written accidentals, especially sharps. Sparks remarks:

The interest in the sound of individual harmonies may also explain Regis's habit of indicating sharps more freely than was customary at the time. By specifically notating F#s, C#s, and G#s, he assures the presence of major triads which would

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<sup>10</sup> Strohm, *European Music*, terms it a 'major dominant', 469 and n. 279.

not necessarily be produced through the application of the rules of *musica ficta*.

In some cases he creates a major tonic chord by sharpening the third of a minor triad  
 ... in others he insures strong dominant chords by the same means... In yet other cases  
 his intent is apparently to sustain harmonic interest through colorful progressions.<sup>11</sup>

It is within this context that the harmonic idiom of the head motive should be viewed. On first impression the closing A major harmony sounds like a tonic major in relation to the opening A minor one. The motto does not establish the D Dorian mode of the Mass, but almost immediately following the A major harmony (this also includes the C major chord in the Credo) D Dorian is secured in a decisive cadence followed by a substantial passage in that mode. Having established D Dorian as the main modal level, the music then gravitates back towards A (but A Aeolian) for the entry of the *dux* on a. Within this context the design of the head motive is not a quixotic gesture. Its function goes far beyond that of a device just giving linked unity to the beginnings of the movements, for it also establishes a relationship with the initial vertical sonorities in which the two canonic voices are placed. The opening A minor harmony is the sonority in which the a of the *dux*-contratenor is placed, and the sustained A major sonority becomes chord V of the D minor harmony in which the *comes*-tenor is embraced.

Returning to the scheme of the canon, from the beginning of the *Sanctus* to the end of *Agnus I* the *res facta* is transposed downwards again by another fourth and also with a change in the two imitative voices and canonic roles. The contratenor is now the *comes* (on e instead of a),

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<sup>11</sup> Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 202-03. The examples given by Sparks are taken from the motet *Lux solemnis*, but similar harmonic progressions with notated sharps are in evidence in the *L'homme armé* Mass. A few examples will suffice. Major tonics created by notated C sharps (*Sanctus*, bs. 8 and 11, *Osanna I* b. 32), and F sharps occur in all the terminal cadences of the Mass sections. Major dominants with C sharps (*Et in terra* b. 11, *Agnus III* b. 52 and the head motive), with G sharp at the text 'gloria Dei Patris' (*Gloria* b. 107). B flats are also notated, but not always to correct imperfect progressions. The final four bars of *Agnus III* have authorised C and F sharps and also a B flat. An A major harmony (c' sharp in the superius) moves to G minor (B flat in the bassus) preventing the g in the contratenor from a sharp inflexion to provide the leading-tone to the following fermata-held A major chord (c sharp in the superius). What Regis has created is a Phrygian-like progression but the second harmony being major, not minor (b. 53). The second A major harmony then becomes the dominant for the final D cadence, with a signed f sharp in the contratenor (b. 54).

the tenor forfeiting its canonic function by becoming a free voice; it is replaced by the bassus as the *dux*, sounding the borrowed material on A. Regis's manipulation of his source material in the contratenor at this particular location is so extraordinary that it can be explained only in terms of its illustration of the text. On the new pitch level of e the *comes*-contratenor should sound the falling fifth of ph. 1 and the subsequent ph. 2 on b, if original pitch sequence of the pre-existent song is preserved. Not only does Regis ignore the original pitch sequence between phs. 1 and 2 at this point, but also breaks it within a single phrase (namely ph. 1). Both the falling fifth of ph. 1 and ph. 2 are sounded on e, the same pitch as they were given in the preceding movements. Regis makes great play with the dropping fifth, repetition being combined with a stretto-like effect.

There are three different texts (and two pre-existent melodies) in the *Sanctus*; the superius is free with the text of the Mass Ordinary. The tenor has the antiphon melody and text of 'Dum cerneret belli dracho cum Michael Archangelo audita est vox: milia milium dicentium: salus Deo nostro' (While the dragon of war was [striving] with the Archangel Michael a voice was heard: thousands of thousands saying 'Salvation to our God'), and the canonic voices cite the *l'homme armé* melody underlaid with a third text, in the fashion of a trope; 'laudes Dominum quem laudant angeli cherubim et seraphim sanctus, sanctus Dominus' (Praise the Lord whom the angels, seraphim and cherubim praise, Holy, Holy Lord). This 'trope' is a combined précis of the sentiments contained in the other two texts, reflecting the paean of praise of the Mass Ordinary and that implicit in the final overthrow of Satan by St. Michael. At an octave apart the interchange between the two voices on the falling fifth is so spaced that the effect is like an antiphonal fanfare on the words 'quem laudant angeli cherubim' driving the music towards the climatic declamatory setting of the words 'sanctus, sanctus Dominus' at the top of the texture in the contratenor on e. This effect would not be feasible had the contratenor presented the whole of the transposed Ai in the correct pitch sequence. The falling fifth on b



does not work canonically at such a short distance with the bassus on A. But also on that pitch level the dramatic antiphonal effect of the falling fifth in the contratenor and bassus is lost; the contratenor becoming entangled with the other plainchant in the tenor (ex. 214 [a] *Sanctus*, 214 [b] plainchant).<sup>12</sup>

Why then did Regis opt to transpose his source material down for a second time placing the canon in the bassus and contratenor, and not bassus and tenor? One reason has already been given: that the antiphonal delivery of the falling fifths is clearer between bassus and contratenor than between tenor and contratenor. We also feel that a second reason (and just as important as the first one) lies in Regis's penchant for incorporating additional texts and melodies in his compositions.<sup>13</sup> It has already noted that the tenor does not state the *l'homme armé* melody in the *Sanctus*, but nonetheless the voice may not be source-material free. The text of the antiphon *Dum cerneret belli drachocum Michael archangelo* is divided between the *Sanctus* and *Osanna* I. Moreover the melody of the plainsong may be present in a highly elaborated form. Remembering the treatment Regis gave to the B section of the *l'homme armé* melody in the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Credo* that he should also expand the *Dum cerneret* chant in a similar manner should not be that surprising.

Regis transposes the chant up a fifth from c to g<sup>14</sup> and elaborates it modestly on the word 'belli' and extensively on 'Michael archangelo'. This quoting of the antiphon in the tenor surely is the principal reason for the second downward-transposition of the canon by a fourth, the *comes* is now the bassus. The lower sound space of the polyphony is now widened so that not only is the delivery of the falling fifths in the canon distinct, but the expansion of the polyphony downwards by four extra notes creates a wider gap between the bassus and tenor. As a result the

<sup>12</sup> The notes of the chant in the tenor are marked with circles.

<sup>13</sup> See Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 202 and Strohm, *European Music*, 329 and 483.

<sup>14</sup> In order that the plainchant can be incorporated within the prevailing polyphony, Regis begins his statement of the chant on the third note d (the first two pitches are c), so in transposition the opening pitch in the Mass is a.

florid announcement of the antiphon melody in the tenor stands well above the bassus and is quite audible (see ex. 214). This is an apt illustration of Regis's texture as described by Sparks:

Like Dufay he [Regis] spaces individual chords carefully to produce a clear, resonant effect, his interest in this aspect of harmony being especially apparent in those works where he proceeds beyond the medium range which Dufay preferred.<sup>15</sup>

This second downward transposition of the borrowed song to A in the latter part of the Mass could explain why Regis does not use the range below G - that being for the same reason as to why Obrecht did not use the head motive in the Credo of his *L'homme armé* Mass. There the opening motto and newly transposed cantus firmus would have been on the same pitch of A, as a consequence the musical effect of the source material on a different pitch (and in the lowest voice) weakened. So too had Regis explored the compass below G before the Sanctus in his Mass, then the dramatic impact of the *l'homme armé* tune on A in the bassus would have been greatly diminished. By keeping the lower compass of the bassus within the Gamut then the second transposition of the cantus firmus to the lowest part of the musical fabric is not impaired at all.

*Osanna* II does not use the antiphon *Dum cerneret belli*, but instead quotes the opening nine tones of the melody *Pueri Hebraeorum* for Palm Sunday. For the first five measures the tenor is free, and from the sixth bar the contratenor and bassus begin sounding the falling fifths in the same manner as found in the *Sanctus* and *Osanna* I. At this point the tenor appears to quote another chant. Sparks feels that it is of the first mode but offers no identification.<sup>16</sup> However, there does appear to be a parallel between the Mass-tenor and the first nine tones of the *Pueri Hebraeorum* chant, transposed upwards by a fifth (ex. 215 [a] *Osanna* II, chant tones marked with circles, [b] chant).

<sup>15</sup> Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 202.

<sup>16</sup> Sparks, *ibid.*, 183.



Reese remarks that the quotation of the *Dum cerneret belli* antiphon in the *Agnus* is incomplete,<sup>17</sup> although *Agnus* I and *Sanctus* are exact (but with four additional notes in *Agnus* I, which allow the tenor to cadence with the other voices).<sup>18</sup> In terms of the extra chant itself Reese is correct, for *Agnus* III should parallel *Osanna* I and quote the same portion of the *Dum cerneret belli* plainsong. But the partial quotation of the chant cannot be viewed just within this context; it has to be considered in relation to the overall D Dorian modality of the Mass. If the opening D Dorian mode of the Mass is to be restored in the final *Agnus* - giving a modal unity to the complete cycle - then the *l'homme armé* song has to be restated on d. In this situation if the bassus were to remain a voice of the canon sounding the secular song on d (and consequently the contratenor re-placed on a to maintain the canonic interval of the fifth) then the *Dum cerneret belli* chant cannot be incorporated into the final *Agnus* in a convincing manner. The voices of the polyphony are too close to allow the tenor a clear delivery of the conclusion of the *Dum cerneret* plainsong so as it matches the presentation in *Osanna* I. To restore the *l'homme armé* song to D Dorian in a credible manner the only option open to Regis was to place the two parts of the canon in the original voices of the contratenor on a and tenor on d. An exact correspondence between the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* (so far as the antiphon is concerned) is thus forfeited for a far more important structural reason, that of re-establishing the D Dorian beginning of the Mass at the end by stating the primary borrowed material on d.

A desire to reflect the 'extra' texts is probably the main reason for the transposed secular melody. The Mass as it stands is totally workable on g in the transposed Dorian mode. However,

<sup>17</sup> Reese, *Renaissance*, 114 n. 100a.

<sup>18</sup> Lindenburg's final harmony is incorrect (a bare fourth), superius on d' and the three lower voices on a, contratenor and tenor respectively moving from f sharp-a and d-a, duplicating a pattern at the closes of other Mass sections. However the notation in CS 14 is very clear, the two notes f sharp-a in the contratenor are written either in a two-note ligature (*Kyrie* Ic, *Et in terra*, *Qui tollis*, *Osanna* II and *Agnus* III) or as two separate pitches (*Christe* Ic and *Et iterum venturus*). *Agnus* I on the other hand has the contratenor and tenor carrying the two notes vertically aligned, the former part with f sharp-a and the latter d-a, giving a closing sonority of d-f sharp-a-d'.



lost would be the dark sonorities mirroring the blackness of war implied in the combined texts.

The 'marriage' between the secular music and the sacred text might possibly have an even stronger significance. What is suggested here admittedly is speculative, but perhaps it not without some interest. The *Dum sacrum mysterium* antiphon opens with the two pitches of  $g$  to  $\underline{d}$ , written in a liquescent neum (termed either *cephalicus* or *liquescent clivis*) - in performance the upper note is sounded first (ex. 216).<sup>19</sup> The two pitches are the same as in the *l'homme armé* melody when presented on  $\underline{d}$ , but in reverse order. Additionally ph. 1 of the plainsong and ph. 1 of the secular melody are both within the same ambitus of a fifth. This is not unusual in the chant repertoire, but nevertheless the fact that the initial two pitches and also the ranges of opening phrases of plainchant and secular tune correspond is at the least suggestive. It is quite feasible that having decided to combine the 'Dum sacrum' text with that of the Mass Ordinary, the opening two pitches of the plainsong might have given Regis the notion that the two different texts could also be related musically. Or perhaps the musical link prompted a textual one in that having decided to transpose the secular melody down to  $\underline{d}$ , and being aware of the similar openings between the plainchant and vernacular melody motivated him to use the antiphon text in the Mass. What cannot be denied is that the transposition of the *l'homme armé* melody onto  $\underline{d}$  meant that the two opening pitches of sacred and secular melodies were the same, and the pitch level reflects the dark texts of both plainsong and secular melody.<sup>20</sup>

### Pipelare and La Rue

The final two Masses to be considered transpose the melody down to the lowest pitch found within the whole Mass tradition, namely to  $\underline{D}$ . A very close correspondence between the

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<sup>19</sup> *LU*, xxij.

<sup>20</sup> Regis's other Mass *Ecce ancilla Domini-Ne timeas Maria* also employs multiple cantus firmi. In addition to these two chants Regis employs five more Marian antiphons, four of which have musical similarities. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 183 writes, '...there is, however, no evidence from the way in which the *cantus firmi* are employed that Regis took these relationships into account. It is apparent that the selection of the seven melodies was governed solely by liturgical considerations.'

structural edifices based on pbs. 3 and 4 in the *L'homme armé* Masses by Pipelare and La Rue has been demonstrated, as well as the modelling of La Rue's *Missae Sancto Job* on Pipelare's *Missa Floruit egreriis* and comparable settings of the villancico *Nunca fue pena major*.<sup>21</sup>

Charles van Borren comments that '... [Pipelare] seems well entitled to claim a position in the first rank by virtue of his qualities of profundity, of power, of delicacy which relate him strongly to Pierre de la Rue.'<sup>22</sup> Other parallels exist between the two *L'homme armé* Masses so it seems appropriate to investigate them together in searching for a possible reason for the low pitch on which their respective cantus firmi are placed.

There are nine extant Masses by Pipelare, eight *a4* and one *a5*. Six have pitches that go below *gamma G*. On the other hand the superius does not exceed the upper limit of the Guidonian hand *e''*. The one exception is *Missa sine nomine* II where the superius ascends to *a''*, but the bassus is correspondingly high, never descending below *c*. Table 63 shows the ranges in Pipelare's Masses.

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<sup>21</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>22</sup> Charles van Borren, *La Musique en Belgique du Moyen Age a nos jours* (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1950), quotation and translation taken from Cross, 'The Life and Works of Matthaeus Pipelare', *MD* 17 (1963), 98.

**Table 63**  
**Compasses of the individual Masses of Pipelare**

Mass	Lowest Pitch	Highest Pitch	Number of Pitches
De Feria*	<u>D</u>	g'	18
Dicit Dominus*	<u>G</u>	e''	20
Floruit egregiis*	<u>E</u>	d''	21
Fors seulement+ <sup>23</sup>	<u>C</u>	a'	20
Johannes Christe*	<u>F</u>	e''	21
L'homme armé*	<u>C</u>	b flat'	21
Mi mi*	<u>E</u>	c''	20
Sine nomine I*	<u>B</u>	e''	18
Sine nomine II*	<u>c</u>	a''	20
* four-part			
+ five-part			

Of the Masses where the source material has been identified only two transpose the borrowed material for an entire composition, namely *Floruit egregiis*<sup>24</sup> and *L'homme armé*. Because of the composer's preference for preserving the original pitch of his source material this makes these two exceptions the more remarkable.

Dark sonorities and correspondingly low registers are a hallmark of La Rue's style.

Twelve of the 24 *a4* Masses have their lowest notes below *gamma G*.<sup>25</sup> Two have C as their lowest note, one each go down to D and E respectively, and eight descend to F.<sup>26</sup> Of the remaining eight Masses four sound G as the bottom note, two A and the other two c. Excluding

<sup>23</sup> Pipelare uses the tenor of his own four-part chanson *Fors seulement*. Although not borrowing literally from the Ockeghem chanson of the same name, Pipelare nevertheless does make unmistakable references to it, see Reese, *Renaissance*, 275. The two Masses share other features, both are *a5*, pitched on d, and for the Kyrie and Gloria have almost the same tessitura from C to a'. Ockeghem's Gloria has one higher pitch b' flat. There is another difference, the Pipelare Mass has a constant range across the five movements. In the extant movements of the Ockeghem work (Kyrie, Gloria and Credo) the last movement's compass is a fifth higher than the other two (G-e''). Regarding the different ranges in the Ockeghem Mass see Kenneth Kreitner, 'Very Low Ranges in the Sacred Music of Ockeghem and Tinctoris', *EM* 14 November (1986), 473-74.

<sup>24</sup> Bloxam in her study of the Mass states, 'Considerations of modality do seem to have played a part in the selection of these chants; but with the one exception (apparently including cantus firmi whose models are not known), Pipelare selected melodies in the first and second modes (in each case transposed to place the *finalis* on G)', *The Missae Floruit*, 185.

<sup>25</sup> The Requiem descends to B flat<sup>2</sup> that is two octaves below c'

<sup>26</sup> Of the five and six-part Masses, *Alleluia* and *Conceptio tua* have C for their lowest notes, *Septem doloribus* and *Ista est speciosa*, D, *de Feria* and *Pascale* E, *Ave Sanctissima Maria*, F, *Incessament* G, and *Sancta Cruce* a.



the Requiem Mass for a moment, the compass of a single composition in the remaining 20

Masses ranges from between 19 to 22 steps. The *Missa de Beata Virgine*<sup>27</sup> is the one exception

with a range of 23 notes. See Table 64:

**Table 64**  
**Compasses in La Rue's a4 Masses**

Mass	Lowest pitch	Highest pitch	Compass
Assumpta est Maria	<u>C</u>	<u>b'</u>	21
L'homme armé	<u>C</u>	<u>b'</u>	21
Tous les regrets	<u>D</u>	<u>d''</u>	22
Sub tuum praesidium	<u>E</u>	<u>d''</u>	21
Almana	<u>F</u>	<u>c''</u>	19
O salutaris hostia	<u>F</u>	<u>e''</u>	21
Cum jucunditate	<u>F</u>	<u>d''</u>	20
De Beata Virgine	<u>F</u>	<u>g''</u>	23
De Sancta Anna	<u>F</u>	<u>f''</u>	22
De Sancto Job	<u>F</u>	<u>d''</u>	20
De Virginibus	<u>F</u>	<u>f''</u>	22
Tandernaken	<u>F</u>	<u>f''</u>	22
Numquam fuit	<u>G</u>	<u>f''</u>	21
Puer natus	<u>G</u>	<u>f''</u>	21
Sancta Dei Genitrix	<u>G</u>	<u>d''</u>	19
Sine nomine	<u>G</u>	<u>e''</u>	20
Ave Maria	<u>A</u>	<u>g''</u>	21
De Sancto Antonio	<u>A</u>	<u>g''</u>	21
Inviolata	<u>c</u>	<u>g''</u>	19
O gloriosa Margaretha	<u>c</u>	<u>g''</u>	19

Though the source material of a number of Masses has not been established, the editors of La Rue's *Opera omnia* do note that the composer preferred to retain the original pitch level of

<sup>27</sup> Editions, *Drei Missen van Pierre de la Rue*, eds. Rene Bernard Lenaerts and Josef Robyns, *MMB*, vol. III (1960), and *CMM 97* vol. II (1992), ed. T. Herman Keahey. The reason for the extended range of this Marian Mass is the employment of five different cantus firmi. Each movement is based on a plainsong taken from the appropriate Mass Ordinary chant cycle for the Marian feasts. They are Kyrie, Gloria and Sanctus IX (*LU*, 40-42), Credo IV (*LU*, 71), and Agnus XVII (*LU*, 60). The absence of modal congruence (and also of an opening motive) does not lead to a total lack of cyclic unity. La Rue relates the different chant in a semi-cyclic manner. He achieves a level of unity by pairing, Gloria-Credo, Sanctus-Agnus. See Nors Sigurd Josephson, *The Missa de Beata Virgine of the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, 1970), 65-81.

level of his source material. In this respect he is like Pipelare.<sup>28</sup> Only 10 of the 20 four-voiced Masses have identifiable models and just six of these transpose their respective original material. The other 10 Masses cannot be included in the discussion on La Rue's employment of a transposed cantus firmus, because there is no decisive evidence as to the origins of their respective models.<sup>29</sup> They are *Almana*,<sup>30</sup> *de Sancta Anna*,<sup>31</sup> *de Sancto Antonio*,<sup>32</sup> *de Virginibus*,<sup>33</sup> *O gloriosa Margaretha*,<sup>34</sup> *O salutaris*,<sup>35</sup> *Sine nomine*,<sup>36</sup> *Sancta Dei Genitrix*,<sup>37</sup> *Sub tuum praesidium*,<sup>38</sup> and *Tandernaken*.<sup>39</sup>

Of the Masses where the source material is known three transpose their respective cantus firmus upwards these being the *Missae Ave Maria*,<sup>40</sup> *de Beata Virgine* and *Inviolata*. A desire to express the general mood of the texts appears to be the reason for the upward transposition.<sup>41</sup> These three Masses share another common feature in that within the complete corpus of La Rue Masses they are also the ones to sound the highest pitch of g<sup>4</sup>, used only twice elsewhere (see Table 64).<sup>42</sup> All three Masses are in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary with similar optimistic texts. Yet the pitch levels of the original plainsongs are low, with *Missae Ave Maria* and

<sup>28</sup> *Opera omnia*, CMM 97, vol. V, XVIII and vol. VI, XXIV.

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed discussion, including identification of models and transposition of the respective cantus firmi in the five and six-part Masses, see Kreider, *The Masses For Five and Six Voices*, vol. 1, 23-62.

<sup>30</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. I.

<sup>31</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. II.

<sup>32</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. III.

<sup>33</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. III.

<sup>34</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. V.

<sup>35</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. V.

<sup>36</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. VI.

<sup>37</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. VI.

<sup>38</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. VI.

<sup>39</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. VI.

<sup>40</sup> Edition, CMM 97, vol. I, model *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, LU, 1861.

<sup>41</sup> For details on La Rue's approach in expressing individual words in an appropriate musical setting and also the general mood of his texts, see Chapter 2.

<sup>42</sup> *Missae de Sancto Antonio* and *O gloriosa Margaretha*. The upper ranges of the superius parts in the five and six-part Masses are, *Conceptio tua* a<sup>4</sup>, *Alleluia* and *Ave Sanctissima Maria* c<sup>4</sup>, *de Feria, Ista est speciosa, Pascale* and *Septem doloribus*, d<sup>4</sup>, *Incessament* e<sup>4</sup> and *Sancta Cruce* f<sup>4</sup>, see Kreider, *The Masses For Five and Six Voices*, vol. I, 93-96 and CMM 97, vols. I-V.

*Inviolata* on  $\underline{f}$  and the *Kyrie* of *Missa de Beata Virgine* on  $\underline{d}$ .<sup>43</sup> If transferred intact into a polyphonic setting the resulting tessitura of each Mass would be correspondingly low. To match the positive moods of the texts in a bright four-part musical fabric the three relevant plainsongs are transposed upwards by a fifth, *Ave Maria* and *Inviolata* to  $\underline{c}$  and the *Kyrie* of *de Beata Virgine* to  $\underline{a}$ .

Three Masses transpose the borrowed material downwards (one more than Pipelare), the *Missae Pro Fidelibus Defunctis*,<sup>44</sup> *Assumpta est Maria*<sup>45</sup> and *L'homme armé*. The Requiem Mass is constructed on various plainsongs taken from the Office for the Dead<sup>46</sup> and like other Masses based on multiple chants there is no modal unity between the various plainsongs. La Rue widens this disparity between the different pitch levels of the original chants by transposing some and not others.<sup>47</sup> The pitch changes together with contrast in the vocal forces and the tessitura of single sections clearly are employed to reflect the varying moods of the text. These disparate elements are moulded into a loose mirror-like design. Table 65 shows the design in La Rue's Requiem.

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<sup>43</sup> There appears to be a contradiction to the logic behind the transposition of the source material in this Mass. The Credo chant is also on  $\underline{d}$ , and that pitch is retained when transplanted to the polyphonic composition. Preserving the original pitch  $\underline{d}$  of the Kyrie plainsong would have given a modal unity between it and the Credo, in an otherwise modally diverse Mass (the only two movements related by mode are the Sanctus and Agnus). One possible reason for the transposition of the Kyrie chant, which presents itself to me, is that it gives to the five Mass movements an arch-design based on tessitura. The Credo set as the central movement with the lowest top note, being a third (Kyrie) and a fourth (Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus) below the other four movements. The scheme is as follows:

<b>Kyrie</b>	<b>Gloria</b>	<b>Credo</b>	<b>Sanctus</b>	<b>Agnus</b>
$\underline{A-f}$	$\underline{c-g}$	$\underline{G-d}$	$\underline{B\ flat-g}$	$\underline{F-g}$

<sup>44</sup> Editions, *Pierre de la Rue Requiem und eine Motette*, ed. Friedrich Blume, *Das Chorwerk, Heft II* (1931), transposed up a fourth, and *CMM 97*, vol. V

<sup>45</sup> Editions, *Musica Divina XVIII* (1968), ed. Ludwig Finscher, and *CMM 97*, vol. 1, ed. Nigel Davison.

<sup>46</sup> *LU*, 1807-15. Prior to 1570 there was no standard form for the Requiem Mass. Local practices decided what items were to be included or omitted. Reflecting the reforms of the Council of Trent in 1570 Pius V issued a new Missal standardising the format. Therefore the text of the La Rue Requiem is not in complete agreement with that in *LU*. See Atlas, *Renaissance*, 311-12.

<sup>47</sup> Introit-Kyrie, transposed from  $\underline{f}$  down to  $\underline{B\ flat}$ 2, Sanctus from  $\underline{b}$  to  $\underline{A}$ , and the Agnus from  $\underline{g}$  to  $\underline{c}$ . the *Sicut cervus* (on  $\underline{g}$ ), Offertorium (on  $\underline{d}$ ) and Communion (on  $\underline{a}$ ) are not transposed.



**Table 65**  
**Compasses of the individual sections in La Rue's Requiem**

Movement	Number of Voices	Lowest Pitch	Highest Pitch	Compass
Introit	4	<u>B</u> flat2	<u>f</u>	19
Kyrie	4/5	<u>B</u> flat2	<u>f</u>	19
Tract	4	<u>G</u>	<u>b</u> '	17
Offertory	4/5	<u>C</u>	<u>c</u> ''	22
Sanctus	4/5	<u>C</u>	<u>c</u> ''	22
Agnus	5	<u>B</u> flat2	<u>g</u> '	20
Communion	4	<u>G</u>	<u>c</u> ''	18

*Missa Assumpta est Maria* is the only Marian Mass to transpose its source material downwards by a fifth from g to c, but the Mixolydian mode is retained transposed onto C because all four voices carry a *mollis* signature.<sup>48</sup> The range of 21 notes (see Table 64) is not really representative of the predominant compass. Low C naturals are used sparingly, only in terminal cadences, either as a single pitch in the bassus (*Kyrie I, Christe, Kyrie II* and *Agnus I*) or as a divisi octave in that part (*Et resurrexit, Sanctus* and *Agnus II*). For the most part F is the lowest pitch, but six times D is used and four times E flat.<sup>49</sup>

The downward transposition of the borrowed material does not produce a dark sombre texture. The high bright texture of other Marian Masses is replaced here with warm glowing sonorities, fewer 8-5-8 harmonies and a narrower tessitura with a more evenly-spaced four-voiced polyphony complementing the all-embracing mood of a vespertinal antiphon.<sup>50</sup> Although the proportions are not mathematically exact, a comparison of the *Kyrie I* of *Missa Assumpta est Maria* with those in *Missae Ave Maria, de Beata Virgine* and *Inviolata* illustrates how fewer

<sup>48</sup> The source material is the Antiphon at Second Vespers on the Feast of the Assumption (August 15th). The editor of the Mass in *CMM 97* (Nigel Davison) notes that the plainchant corresponds with the modern equivalent in *LU*, 1605. But there are similarities with other versions of the plainsong, and because of the various decorations La Rue applies to the source material a precise identification of the original chant the composer used cannot be verified, *CMM 97*, vol. I, XLI.

<sup>49</sup> D natural - *Qui tollis*, bs. 72, 79, 110, *Sanctus*, bs. 14, 19, *Agnus III*, b. 20. E flat - *Patrem*, b. 27, *Et resurrexit*, b. 138, *Sanctus*, bs. 18, 30. Bar numbers without example numbers refer to *Pierre de la Rue, Opera omnia, CMM 97*, vol. I.

<sup>50</sup> The text is, 'Assumpta est Maria in caelum: gaudent Angeli, laudentes benedicunt Dominum (Maria has ascended into Heaven, Angels be joyful, the Lord's praises and blessings).

'open' harmonies occur in *Missa Assumpta est Maria* compared with the other three Marian Masses.

The question that now needs to be addressed is why both composers announced the *l'homme armé* melody in their respective Masses on the same very low pitch. From the evidence given earlier it is quite clear that because both men so seldom transposed their borrowed material when adopted as the tenor of a Mass, the exceptions to the rule are significant. Taken in conjunction with all the other known correspondences in their music, the fact that they were the only two composers in the *L'homme armé* Mass complex to transpose the *cantus prius factus* to the lowest pitch of D seems to be more than coincidental. Stylistically the Pipelare composition is the earlier of the two, although this is not in itself sufficient verification of an earlier date for the Mass. However, there is also manuscript evidence to consider. Four extant sources compiled within the life spans of both composers contain their *L'homme armé* Masses. J 22 has both settings, dated c. 1498-1514 (probably 1500).<sup>51</sup> Two sources have only the La Rue Mass, B 9126, c. 1504-1505<sup>52</sup> and V 1783, c. 1504-1506.<sup>53</sup> One earlier source includes just the Pipelare cycle CS 41, c. 1482-1507.<sup>54</sup> All facts point to the Pipelare composition being the earlier of the two. La Rue's use of the same low pitch on which to deliver the *l'homme armé* song, the way in which he employed pns. 3 and 4 in a similar manner as did Pipelare and the equivalency of the tenor and bassus as presenters of the source material seems more than coincidental. When this is considered together with the other instances of La Rue emulating Pipelare, it is strong evidence to suppose that the older composer's *Missa L'homme armé* influenced La Rue's.

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<sup>51</sup> CC, vol. I, 294-95, and vol. IV, 414.

<sup>52</sup> CC, vol. I, 94, vol. IV, 296

<sup>53</sup> CC, vol. IV, 84-85

<sup>54</sup> CC, vol. IV, 96. The manuscript contains only one La Rue Mass, *de Beata Virgine*, see Robyns, *Pierre de la Rue*, 157, and *CMM* 97, vol. II, IL and LII-LIII.

In the light of all this evidence there can be little doubt that even if individual words of the Mass text were not frequently portrayed in musical terms, the fact nevertheless remains that Regis, Pipelare and La Rue were not oblivious to the moods of the texts of their borrowed material. Their general ambience was then reflected in the polyphonic setting of the more abstract words of the Mass Ordinary. Our prime belief for why the two composers chose such a low pitch on which to deliver the *l'homme armé* melody is based on this premise, that the darkness of the sacred polyphonic settings reflect the equally dark undertones of the secular text.

However frivolous the *Il sera pour vous combatu* text in the superius of the Mellon setting might be regarded there are darker connotations. The references to make 'war with the dreaded Turk' reinforced with the overtly military mood of the *l'homme armé* text had more underlying serious implications, both political and liturgical. The assault by the Turks on Christendom with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 was a threat to what was then considered as the centre of civilisation. Choosing such a low pitch on which to declare the secular tune captures the colouring of the darkness of war expressed in the secular texts.

Table 66 shows two very interesting facts concerning the Pipelare Mass.

<b>Table 66</b>				
<b>Cantus-firmus distribution and pitch levels</b>				
<b>in Pipelare's <i>Missa L'homme arme</i></b>				
<b>Movement</b>	<b>Part of Melody</b>	<b>Voice</b>	<b>Voices</b>	<b>Pitch</b>
		<b>Kyrie</b>		
Kyrie I	Ai	tenor		<u>d</u>
Christe	B		bassus/superius	<u>d/d'</u>
Kyrie II	Ai	contratenor		<u>d</u>
	B	contratenor		<u>d'</u>
		<b>Gloria</b>		
Et in terra	Ai	tenor		<u>d</u>
Qui tollis	Ai B	bassus		<u>D*/d</u>
Cum Sancto	Aii		tenor/bassus	<u>d/D</u>

Table 66 continued			
		<b>Credo</b>	
Patrem	Ai	tenor	<u>d</u>
Et resurrexit	B	bassus	<u>d</u>
Confiteor	Ai B Aii	tenor/bassus	<u>A/D</u>
		<b>Sanctus</b>	
Sanctus	Ai	tenor	<u>d</u>
Osanna	B	bassus/superius	<u>d/d'</u>
	Aii	bassus/superius	<b><u>D/d</u></b>
		<b>Agnus</b>	
Agnus I	Ai	bassus	<b><u>D</u></b>
Agnus II	B	bassus I/II	<u>d/d'</u>
	Aii	bassus I/II	<b><u>D/d</u></b>

\* the capital **D** in bold type is to indicate the frequency that pitch is used for the cantus firmus

The pattern in Pipelare's Mass (and we shall see a similar one in the La Rue Mass) shows that the low pitch level of D is used for the delivery of Ai and Aii. Of the five movements only the Kyrie does not employ the pitch D at any time. The complete movement is constructed with the original song on d placing it in D Dorian that is (like the Regis Mass) a fourth below G Mixolydian of the secular settings. Even the octave difference between Ai and B is ignored between *Kyrie* I and the *Christe*, the bassus stating B in the latter section on the same pitch d of the tenor's Ai in *Kyrie* I. The openings of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus duplicate this pattern with the tenor announcing Ai alone and on d; the reason for the difference at the beginning of *Agnus* I will become clear a little later.

Excepting the Kyrie every other movement employs the low D on which to declare Ai or Aii in the bassus, either as a single voice or in an imitative texture. The quotation of the entire *cantus prius factus* from the *Qui tollis* to the *Cum Sancto* is typical of the general design. What is quite clear is the solo delivery of Ai and B and the canonic context of Aii. In fact this is a self-contained Mass section, there being no continuous line through each stave of the individual part

marking the end of the *Qui tollis* and beginning of the *Cum Sancto*. However, there is a change from *tempus imperfectum* of the *Qui tollis* to *tempus perfectum* of the *Cum Sancto*. Aii is given canonically to correspond with the imitative presentations of it which conclude the three following movements. So what Pipelare has given for the first time is a statement of the complete secular song on D in the bassus from the *Qui tollis* onwards to the end of the Gloria.

The Credo ends in a similar manner, but now with the whole of the melody in canon in the *Confiteor* (see Chapter 3). From the Kyrie up to, and then beyond, the *Confiteor*, whether in a single voice, or in a canonic context, the pitch on which the cantus firmus is delivered was always D. This regular pattern changes for a single sounding of the complete *res facta* in the *Confiteor*. For the first and only time in the Mass a different pitch is used on which to present the whole of the cantus firmus, on A in the tenor. Not only is it the lowest pitch on which the tenor (or any other voice other than the bassus sounds the secular song) but it is also the second lowest pitch on which the cantus firmus is ever declared in the Mass. There is a third factor concerning the interval used in which to present the canon, for excluding the *Confiteor* it is always at the octave. The canon in the *Confiteor* is at the fifth and placed in the lowest register of the polyphony bassus on D, tenor on A. Never again does the tenor present the borrowed song on such a low pitch, or the canon being at any other interval than the octave; nor thereafter is the original melody ever delivered on any other pitch but D.

These events taken together (especially when combined with their location at the conclusion of the central movement the Credo) have a significance independent of the structural design based pns. 3 and 4.<sup>55</sup> This has to do with the delivery of the original song on D. From the Sanctus onwards the dark colour of the bassus is explored with increasing frequency. Even in the *Osanna* where the borrowed song is in canon with the superius, where the upper part sounds the

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<sup>55</sup> See Chapter 2.

borrowed song on d, giving to the voice a prevailing compass of an octave. Only once does the superius rise above d', that is to e' as the second pitch of ph. 5.

The ultimate destination of the increased deployment of this dark sombre sound is the Agnus. Earlier in the Mass the whole of the vernacular tune had been given on D, but never by one voice. Pipelare presents the entire secular song on D in the Agnus, again in two voices, but with one very important difference, it being delivered in a single vocal colour, namely the bassus. Ai is declared by a single bassus, but B and Aii are articulated in canon in the sepulchral tones of two bassus parts. Viewed in hindsight there now appears a logic to the pitch level of the Kyrie. Comparatively speaking, of the five movements the Kyrie is the lightest and brightest one, for as far as the source material is concerned it is never announced on D. The midpoint in the pitch design is the *Confiteor* with the declaration of the canon in the two lower voices of the four-part texture. The complete process finds its ultimate fulfilment in the *Agnus III* with the lugubrious delivery of the *l'homme armé* melody in the darkest possible context and canonically, bassus I (*dux*) on D and bassus II (*comes*) on d. Pipelare spaces his final 8-5-8 sonority across two octaves (D to d') in such a manner so as to give it the darkest possible sound; two superimposed fifths, topped by a fourth - D-A (bassus I-tenor), then d-a (bassus II-contratenor) and the final fourth a-d' (contratenor-superius).

If the pitch of the Pipelare Mass was decisive on La Rue's choice of the same pitch for his Mass (rather like the parallel structural organisation of phs. 3 and 4) then this is the point where any similarity between the two compositions regarding pitch ends. La Rue's design in which he delivers the complete *res facta* on D is quite individual - the pitch level is employed very sparingly. Table 67 gives a complete listing of the pitch levels on which the source material is given.



**Table 67**  
**Pitch\* levels on which the source material is**  
**given in La Rue's *Missa L'homme armé***

Movement'	Part of Melody	Voice	Voices	Pitch
<b>Kyrie</b>				
Kyrie I	Ai, ph. 3		bassus-tenor	<u>D-d</u>
Christe	phs. 4 and 5		tenor-contratenor	<u>g-d'</u>
Kyrie II	Aii		bassus-tenor	<u>D-d</u>
<b>Gloria</b>				
Et in terra	Ai	tenor		<u>d</u>
Domine Deus	ph.3	bassus		<u>dx4</u>
Qui tollis	ph. 4		superius	<u>f x2</u>
	ph. 4		contratenor	<u>ax2</u>
	phs. 4, 3, 4		bassus	<u>d</u>
Suscipe	ph. 5	bassus		<u>d, Gx2</u>
Miserere	ph. 5		superius	<u>f x2</u>
			contratenor	<u>c' x2</u>
			tenor	<u>gx3</u>
			bassus	<u>dx2, G</u>
Cum Sancto	Aii		tenor-bassus	<u>d-A</u>
<b>Credo</b>				
Patrem	Ai	tenor		<u>d</u>
Qui propter	ph. 4		superius	<u>d' x2</u>
				<u>g' x2</u>
			contratenor	<u>d' x2</u>
			tenor	<u>gx4</u>
			bassus	<u>Ax2</u>
Descendit	ph. 5			<u>dx2</u>
			superius	<u>g'</u>
			contratenor	<u>d'</u>
			tenor	<u>g</u>
			bassus	<u>d</u>
Et incarnatus	Aii		tenor	<u>d</u>
Crucifixus	ph. 4		superius	<u>f x2</u>
	ph. 4		contratenor	<u>d' x2</u>
	ph. 3		bassus	<u>dx2</u>
Passus et	ph. 5		superius	<u>g'</u>
			contratenor	<u>d'</u>
			tenor	<u>g</u>
			bassus	<u>G</u>
Et resurrexit	Ai	tenor		<u>d</u>

Table 67 continued

		TENOR	
Et in Spiritum Filioque	ph. 3 ph. 5	contratenor tenor bassus	<b>gx2</b> <u>d'</u> <b>g</b> <u>d</u>
Qui cum_	ph. 4 phs. 4 and 5 ph. 4 phs. 4 and 5	superius contratenor tenor bassus	<b>g`x2</b> <b>g</b> <b>gx2</b> <b>g</b>
Qui locutus	Ai/B/Aii	bassus	<b>D</b>
<b>Sanctus</b>			
Sanctus	Ai/B Ai ph. 4 ph. 4 ph. 4 ph. 3 ph. 5	tenor bassus bassus superius contratenor bassus superius contratenor tenor bassus tenor-bassus	<b>d</b> <b>E</b> <b>Gx2</b> <b>f</b> <b>fx2</b> <b>dx2</b> <b>d'</b> <b>b-g</b> <b>gx2</b> <b>dx2, G</b> <b>d-A</b>
Osanna	Aii		
<b>Agnus</b>			
Agnus I	Ai Ai/B	tenor bassus	<b>d</b> <b>F</b>
Agnus III	B Aii Tant que mon	superius tenor bassus	<b>d'</b> <b>d</b> <b>D</b>

\*Pitches **D** and **G** are given in bold type to emphasise the two modal levels of the cantus firmus, text given in red is the midpoint in the design of the complete cantus-firmus structure

There can be doubt as to the purposefully sombre colouring of La Rue's Mass. From the beginning of the Kyrie the *l'homme armé* melody is treated in the way in which Pipelare ended his Mass. La Rue mirrors the dark colouring of Pipelare's final *Agnus* in his first *Kyrie* by also placing the secular melody on **D**, in canon (but a mensuration canon) in the two lowest voices of the four-part polyphony, bassus and tenor, and also an octave apart. What Pipelare accomplished with an increasing frequency in the sounding parts of the secular tune on **D**, La Rue achieves with only two presentations of the complete borrowed song on this pitch. But in common with

Pipelare there is a clear design in the delivery of the source material on **D** that also finds its consummation in the final *Agnus*.

The La Rue Mass has a feature in common with that of Obrecht's, although on a different level. We described the Obrecht Mass as being 'dual-modal', the two different modes being that of the cantus firmus and the other that of the polyphony. La Rue's composition is constructed around two pitch levels, which affects the delivery of the cantus firmus. The first indication of the opposing pitch levels first occurs in quite an innocuous setting, in the *Christe* where B is placed in the second mensuration canon of the Kyrie. With the canons of *Kyries* I and II being on **D** at the octave, the expectation at this early stage of the Mass is for the canon of the *Christe* also to be at the octave on **D**, in whatever voices. But it is the contratenor that delivers the *comes* of the canon on **d**, with the tenor as the *dux* on g.

After the *Christe* the tenor never presents B again until the closing sections of the Gloria; its one presentation of the borrowed song is of Ai on **d** in the *Et in terra*. But towards the end of the Gloria the pitch **G** begins to be given a greater emphasis. From the text 'miserere quoniam' to 'Jesu Christe' the tenor states ph. 5 three times on g and the bassus once on **G**. Increasingly all four voices begin to state the middle portion of the *res facta* on **G**, the tenor constantly so. It declares ph. 4 four times on g at the words 'qui propter' and the superius has it twice an octave higher on g'. The centre of the design of the complete Mass is the 'et in Spiritum'.<sup>56</sup> Coupled with the individual rhythmic presentation of the cantus firmus (the only time it appears in the work) is also the pitch on which it is delivered, namely g, and not that of the D Dorian mode of the Mass.

The climax of these presentations of the middle section of the secular tune on g in the tenor is at the 'qui cum Patre' where all four voices in paired imitation are on **G**, first bassus and

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<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 2 and Table 67, 316.

tenor then superius and contratenor. This leads into the second announcement of the whole secular song on D by the bassus alone, from 'qui locutus est' until the end of the Credo (where Pipelare also presented the complete song on D, but canonically with the tenor on A beginning with the text 'Confiteor'). There is symmetry between the opening of the La Rue Mass and the conclusion of its central movement, Kyrie announcing the complete original melody on D and the Credo closing with it on the same pitch.

Across the Sanctus again there is an emphasis of B being announced on G, with bassus sounding phs 4 and 5 on G. Interestingly this is the only time when the tenor states B on d', the mode of the Mass. It appears that by quoting Ai and Aii on D, and B on G La Rue is making a deliberate reference to the rising interval of the fourth opening Ai and Aii in his D Dorian Mass setting. With his highly constructive turn of mind he then created a design from contrasting the two pitch levels when presenting the two portions of the *l'homme armé* melody, which by extension implies a dual modal level D Dorian and G (either transposed Dorian or Mixolydian, there being no pitch **B** to confirm either mode). But the real mode of the Mass is never in doubt as D Dorian, it being confirmed at strategic points with a delivery of the complete vernacular song on the low pitch of D and always involving the bassus.

The conflict between the **D** presentations of Ai and Aii and the **G** declarations of B finds its synthesis in *Agnus III*, where the D Dorian mode and low pitch of D is emphasised in a very individual manner. La Rue, acknowledged as one of the greatest contrapuntist of his generation, saves for the conclusion of the Mass what is perhaps his most dazzlingly feat of melodic combination in the composition. Clothed in the dark colours of the preceding strategically placed D-bassus deliveries of the *l'homme armé* melody itself, as a counterpoint to the simultaneous delivery of Aii and B in the tenor and superius the composer introduces another secular melody in the bassus, *Tant que mon argent dura* also on D. La Rue creates a pitch balance between the beginning and end of the Mass. At the opening the bassus presents the

*l'homme armé* melody on D as the lower voice of the mensuration in *Kyrie* I, and at the close it delivers the second secular melody (*Tant que mon argent dura*) also on D in the final *Agnus*.

## Conclusions

One of the by-products of this research, resulting from transcribing works spanning a period of about 50 years, has been a heightened awareness of the changing musical syntax over what Thurston Dart once called a 'hinge period' in the history of music.<sup>1</sup> The techniques deployed to present the cantus firmus are many and varied, at times with Masses later in the complex reverting to older methods of delivering the tune. Vestiges of the isorhythmic tenor (where the source material is given in long values in a strictly repetitive pattern) is evident in the six Anonymous Naples Masses. Although later composers adopted a similar procedure with only one manipulation of the tenor, the context in which it is placed is more flexible, as for example in Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*. In other Masses the tenor delivers the borrowed melody in different guises on repeated appearances. With the gradual downward extension of the bassus range beyond *gamma*  $\underline{G}$ , increasingly this voice challenges the tenor's role as the prime presenter of the source material, either as a single part or with another voice. The development of pervading imitation leads to all voices of the polyphony participating in presenting the vernacular melody.

During this period of great change in musical syntax, it has been possible to draw definitive conclusions about specific aspects of the presentation of the *l'homme armé* song. For example, the differences in the opening phrase of B between Casanatense and Mellon came about to permit correct part-writing. There was no rest at the corresponding points in the two sources, which coupled an authorised  $\underline{b}$  flat in the superius of Casanatense meant that without modification both parallelisms and a diminished fifth were created.

It has become clear that composers employed variant couplings of phs. 3 and 4 with their different endings of Casanatense in order to erect large-spanned edifices as a second layer of

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<sup>1</sup> Thurston Dart in his syllabus for the London B. Mus (1970).



unification over and above that provided by the presentation of the complete melody itself. And evidence has been presented to suggest that with the beginnings of Humanism these two phrases were employed in various ways to support an interpretation of text in musical terms, previously confined to pictorial treatments of words like 'ascendit' and 'descendit'.

The simultaneous sounding of two different phrases of the original melody was present in a simple form at the beginning of the original song. In the Mass tradition the device of 'superimposition' becomes a favoured manner by which some composers present the cantus firmus, at times reaching moments of great complexity when Ai (or Aii) was sounded together with B. Ph. 4 with the more melodic descent of a step to its final note was favoured over ph. 3 when placed at the top of the musical texture or in imitative contexts.

*L'homme armé* Mass composition increasingly becomes synonymous with a display of imitative writing, either strict or free. In certain imitative contexts the vernacular tune carries weaknesses as a cantus firmus, not present in its original context. Especially problematic is the opening fourth of ph. 1 when presented imitatively as a head motive at the beginnings of the five principal movements. The temporal distance between the first two voices has to be long enough for the initial two notes of the interval not to assume the quality of a repeated anacrusis, with the consequence that the third and fourth pitches feel as though they, and not the first two notes, are the final of the mode of the Mass.

Alterations have to be made to the original melody in certain imitative circumstances, especially when the superius is involved. The octave difference between Ai (Aii) and B creates a problem of range for the superius within an imitative texture, in some situations taking it out of its own compass for the rest of the Mass. The solution is simple - B is kept at the same octave as Ai and Aii.

Where a strict technical manipulation is applied to the source song composers adjust the tune to meet its needs, as does Josquin in his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*. As a

complete canonic delivery of the entire melody in its original form is not possible, where composers desire such deliveries, modifications need to be made to the *cantus prius factus*. Some changes are minor, such as the repetition of single notes or the omission of part or a complete phrase from one of the canonic voices, to meet the needs of a local situation. Other changes are more radical where a new melody is fashioned from the salient features of the *l'homme armé* melody, such as La Rue's solution for the 4ex1 canon of his *Agnus II*, or as in the case of Forestier, who for his wholly-canonic Mass twice remodels the borrowed song. Other entirely-canonic Masses faced different difficulties, especially if *Ai* and *Aii* as the *comes* of the structure is presented at the interval below. The cantus firmus in this position is the most telling reason for selection of the C Ionian mode of Anonymous VI. Composers find various ways of avoiding this problem. What is clear is that however the display of contrapuntal skill arose as a tradition in the *Missa L'homme armé* complex, in its original form the vernacular song was not naturally suited for complex imitative treatment in some contexts.

But there are some more open issues where conclusions could be argued differently, namely the choice of mode in which individual Masses place the secular song. The thesis presented for the modes of the Naples six Masses differing from the G Mixolydian mode of the version of the melody contained in the manuscript E. 40 is at odds with that proposed by Jaap van Benthem. He feels that the cycle was constructed on a Dorian melody writing '... in that manuscript all sections of the melody that include the interval of a third over the final are notated with a *b*-flat signature.'<sup>2</sup> My thesis started from the opposite premise that the G Mixolydian reading of the *l'homme armé* song in E. 40 was the true one. It was argued that the *mollis* signatures in Masses II, IV and V were necessary so that the drive to the final cadences in the five principal Mass sections would not be frustrated, the final third being raised. The flat for

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<sup>2</sup> Benthem, *Masses and Mass Sections*, VIII.

Mass III was to temper the tritone inherent in the segment of the source material itself.

Benthem's reason for the C Ionian reading of Mass I is that there is no third 'over the final.'<sup>3</sup> However the final fourth *g-c̣* in the tenor was shown to have a unifying function over and above of merely to enrich the final cadence. Regarding Mass VI where the canonic structure is built on the complete *cantus prius factus*, Benthem proposes that:

Although the absence of this signature [that is an 'open' one] in the sixth mass suggests a *mixolydian* rendering of the melody, such a notation might have been chosen only to make sure that the imitation of the *cantus prius factus* '*sub lychanos hypaton*' - a fifth lower with the final on *c fa ut* - was performed with a major third. Such a disposition could be easily read from the notation by the exchange of the *c*-clef for the *f*-clef. Most probably the singer of the *cantus prius factus*, notated in the alto clef, had to remain faithful to the original *dorian* rendering in its previous settings; an interpretation with - from time to time - considerable consequences for the surrounding voices!<sup>4</sup>

However valid this view might be it does not detract from the problem created when the *l'homme armé* tune is presented at the fifth below, with the *dux* on *g*, in either a four or five-part texture. Consequently the lower imitating voice becomes the major factor in determining the mode of the complete Mass. With the G Mixolydian reading of the borrowed song in E. 40 considered the authentic one 'considerable consequences for the surrounding voices' do not occur. Moreover the C Ionian settings of Masses I and VI give to the complete cycle an opening and concluding modal unity.

The most intriguing Masses are the E Phrygian settings by Compere and Obrecht (and the later one of Morales). No definitive answers can be offered as to why Compere places the borrowed song in this mode with all the inherent difficulties of the *f-e* semitone for *a4* E Phrygian cadences (although E Phrygian does have a particularly haunting quality). What is

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<sup>3</sup> Benthem, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Benthem, *ibid.*,

undeniable is Compere's ingenuity in dealing with the difficulties. The reasons offered for Obrecht's Phrygian setting of the song are more concrete and his solution to the  $f-e$  semitone problem is the dual modal level of his Mass. What was incipient in the cadential situations of Compere's Mass with their strong A Aeolian pull, was transferred to the larger canvass of Obrecht's polyphony.

We have noted the disadvantages that exist for a complete major polyphonic setting of the original tune in its original G Mixolydian mode, although in the case of Anonymous VI in this mode it works perfectly well when placed in a C Ionian polyphony. The tone between the pre-final and final notes of G Mixolydian is our basis for suggesting that Josquin placed his *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* in F Ionian with its diatonic *subsemitonium* ( $e-f$ ). Explanations have been offered for the D Dorian settings of Regis, Pipelare and La Rue.

This particular line of research has not always been able to resolve how and why composers arrived at certain fundamental decisions, such as when the source material should be present or absent, or how it is to be manipulated. When the original pitch level of a model is not retained when used for a cantus firmus (particularly in the case of the *l'homme armé* melody), seeking reasons for the change takes us into the realms of the creative process itself. However much supporting material is drawn from the music, the area is so tenuous that in the final analysis any conclusions drawn are speculative. But whether conscious or unconscious there have to be reasons as to why a composer changes the original pitch of the *l'homme armé* melody when he employs it as a cantus firmus. Part II of this study has endeavoured to give some answers to these matters.

This returns us to the spur for this dissertation, the *l'homme armé* melody itself. What were the origins of the song and what its original setting are still open questions. We have offered answers as to why a group of five Masses omitted the falling fifth after ph. 2 completely. But an equally valid question could be posed: are we looking at another version of the song, in

accord with the views of Perkins and Garey, in that originally this fifth (and therefore also those closing phs. 1 and 6) were not an integral part of the melody, but the result of polyphonic elaboration? And tantalisingly still not resolved is the reason as to why this tune was chosen as a cantus firmus in the first place, as well as the conditions which led to the writing of the first *L'homme armé* Mass (whichever one it might have been). As to the mode of the song, all three known versions of it have a 'major' flavour G Mixolydian, but the greater number of Masses use a 'minor' version, Dorian or Phrygian. That the tune as a monophonic line sounds equally attractive in both a Mixolydian and Dorian mode is intriguing. Perhaps it existed in two forms, Mixolydian and Dorian.

Clearly there is still much work to be done and perhaps some of these issues will eventually be addressed successfully. But despite deep gaps which still exist in our knowledge of the *l'homme armé* melody and the Masses erected upon it, we are privileged to have access to the most important element of the whole issue, the music itself. There are Masses within the complex which compare on every level in technical brilliance, architectural inventiveness and stunning emotional power with anything that has been written in the history of Western art music.

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