

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

Guillaume de Machaut's
Messe de Nostre Dame
in the Context of
Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Music
for the Mass Ordinary

by

Christina Linklater

Presented to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master in Music (M.Mus.)

May, 2000

© **Christina Linklater, Ottawa, Canada, 2000**



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-57131-9

Canada

Abstract

It is widely held in the scholarly literature of music history that the *Messe de Notre Dame* of Guillaume de Machaut is unique. While several other examples of polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary dating from approximately the same era do survive, they are distinct from Machaut's Mass in at least two respects. The *Messe de Notre Dame* is attributed to a single, named composer, whereas most fourteenth-century Mass cycles are anonymous, or are thought to have been assembled from the repertoires of several composers, or both. Further, few contemporary medieval cycles are copied as such, preserving instead the traditional organization of the *kyriale*, in which several *Kyrie* movements are grouped in one section, followed by a group of *Gloria* movements, and so on; Machaut's Mass, however, survives complete in five manuscript versions, all of which present its six movements in uninterrupted succession. Despite the comparative difficulty of assembling cycles from the largely anonymous and physically separate movements described above, though, a convincing case may be made (and has been) for the existence of several pre-modern polyphonic cycles besides the *Messe de Notre Dame*. The most familiar of these are the four cycles found in the manuscripts known as *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne* (formerly *Besançon*). Certain movements in the codices *Ivrea* and *Apt*, the earliest known sources of polyphonic music for the Mass, also share some traits, although no complete cycles may be discerned in these sources.

It is the contention of this thesis that, among these sources of fragmentary or whole (that is, five- or six-movement) Mass cycles, a historical context may be found for the *Messe de Notre Dame*, a work which has traditionally been approached as though it possessed no such context. There was probably no knowledge on the part of any of these composers that their experiments in setting the Ordinary to polyphonic music were not novel: only two cycles, that of Machaut and that found in the *Tournai* manuscript, seem to have employed even remotely similar techniques, and the evidence for these composers's (or, in the latter case, composer's and/or compiler's) awareness of one another's work is conjectural at best. This context, then, is truly a modern invention which, rather than attempt to divine an evolution for a genre, aims more pragmatically for an understanding of fourteenth-century approaches to the shared challenge of setting, in polyphony, the Ordinary of the Roman rite. In order to furnish such a context for the *Messe de Notre Dame*, the present thesis evaluates the movements preserved in the codices *Ivrea* and *Apt*, the four anonymous cycles *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne*, and Machaut's Mass, assessing each according to approximately common musical and physical criteria. With such controls imposed upon these six Ordinary cycles and collections of Ordinary movements, this thesis thus achieves a more comprehensive view of fourteenth-century music for the Mass than has heretofore emerged in the music-historical literature.

Acknowledgments

I should like to thank the following institutions and individuals for their assistance in the preparation of this thesis: the cathedrals and libraries in France, Belgium, and Spain, named throughout, for their generous provision of microfilms and facsimiles of many of the sources discussed here; Professor Daniel Leech-Wilkinson (King's College, London), for his advice on the location of same; the libraries of Harvard University, Columbia University (particularly its music librarian, Elizabeth Davis), and the University of Ottawa (particularly its Inter-Library Loan service), for the inquiries and arrangements which they conducted on my behalf; my thesis advisor and mentor, Professor Paul A. Merkley, for his seemingly endless support and wisdom; his colleagues at the University of Ottawa, notably Professors Lori A. Burns, P. Murray Dineen, and Nicole Labelle, for their helpful suggestions; Professors Thomas Forrest Kelly and Christoph Wolff (Harvard University), Anne Walters Robertson (University of Chicago), Edward H. Roesner and Stanley Boorman (New York University), Leeman Lloyd Perkins and Ian D. Bent (Columbia University), Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Judith A. Peraino (Cornell University), and Jessie Ann Owens and Eric Chafe (Brandeis University), in conversation with whom the original idea for this work developed; and Sylvain Gauthier and Justin Kurtz, who facilitated the preparation of the transcriptions.

Though it is far removed from his own field, my father, J. Brian Linklater, has always sought to maintain an informed interest in my work, and his advice throughout the execution of this study was as rigorous and as essential as ever. It is to him that I owe a large measure of my success as a scholar, and so it is to him that I dedicate my thesis with love and gratitude.

Table of Contents

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Chapter One: Survey of Secondary Literature and Introduction of Analytic Criteria</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter Two: The Mass Movements of the Codices Apt and Ivrea</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Chapter Three: The Mass of Tournai</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Chapter Four: The Mass of Toulouse</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>Chapter Five: The Mass of Sorbonne</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Chapter Six: The Mass of Barcelona</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>Chapter Seven: The Messe de Nostre Dame</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Epilogue</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Appendix</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>151</i>

Chapter One: Survey of Secondary Literature and Introduction of Analytic Criteria

It is widely held in the scholarly literature of music history that the *Messe de Nostre Dame* of Guillaume de Machaut is unique. While several other examples of polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary dating from approximately the same era do survive, they are distinct from Machaut's Mass in at least two respects. The *Messe de Nostre Dame* is attributed to a single, named composer, whereas most fourteenth-century Mass cycles are anonymous, or are thought to have been assembled from the repertoires of several composers, or both. Further, few contemporary medieval cycles are copied as such, preserving instead the traditional organization of the *kyriale*, in which several *Kyrie* movements are grouped in one section, followed by a group of *Gloria* movements, and so on; Machaut's Mass, however, survives complete in five manuscript versions, all of which present its six movements in uninterrupted succession. Despite the comparative difficulty of assembling cycles from the largely anonymous and physically separate movements described above, though, a convincing case may be made (and has been) for the existence of several pre-modern polyphonic cycles besides the *Messe de Nostre Dame*. The most familiar of these are the four cycles found in the manuscripts known as *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne* (formerly *Besançon*). Certain movements in the codices *Ivrea* and *Apt*, the earliest known sources of polyphonic music for the Mass, also share some traits, although no complete cycles may be discerned in these sources.

It is the contention of this thesis that, among these sources of fragmentary or whole (that is, five- or six-movement) Mass cycles, a historical context may be found for the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, a work which has traditionally been approached as though it possessed no

such context. There was probably no knowledge on the part of any of these composers that their experiments in setting the Ordinary to polyphonic music were not novel: only two cycles, that of Machaut and that found in the *Tournai* manuscript, seem to have employed even remotely similar techniques, and the evidence for these composers's (or, in the latter case, composer's and/or compiler's) awareness of one another's work is conjectural at best. This context, then, is truly a modern invention which, rather than attempt to divine an evolution for a genre, aims more pragmatically for an understanding of fourteenth-century approaches to the shared challenge of setting, in polyphony, the Ordinary of the Roman rite. In order to furnish such a context for the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, the present thesis evaluates the movements preserved in the codices *Ivrea* and *Apt*, the four anonymous cycles *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne*, and Machaut's Mass, assessing each according to approximately common musical and physical criteria. With such controls imposed upon these six Ordinary cycles and collections of Ordinary movements, this thesis thus achieves a more comprehensive view of fourteenth-century music for the Mass than has heretofore emerged in the music-historical literature.

Before such an exercise may be undertaken, its position within the field of existing scholarship must be established. Therefore, a summary of some of the most relevant literature is made by way of introduction to this thesis. The objective of this inventory is twofold: while situating the present study in relation to those which have informed it, it also synthesizes the issues addressed in subsequent chapters. A selection of the scholarship surrounding Machaut's Mass is discussed first, particularly for the development of the aforementioned myth of the uniqueness of this work. Next, the comparatively slight body of

criticism pertaining to other Masses of the later medieval era is considered, with close attention paid to the emergence of a criticism specific to the issue of the integrity of Mass cycles. Finally, the analytic strategies implemented in this study are introduced and explained, and their origins acknowledged.

Unusually among medieval composers, Guillaume de Machaut took pains to ensure that his works would survive him. One hundred and forty-three of his musical compositions are known to have been copied under his supervision, possibly representing his entire musical production. His poetic and prose works, though less numerous, are also thought to be complete. It is disconcerting, then, that there is no mention of the *Messe de Notre Dame* in any of his autobiographical writings, since the Mass was by far his most ambitious undertaking. In the absence of an account by the composer himself of the genesis of his Mass, many have attempted to uncover the reasons for its composition and title as well as for the occasion of its composition. Responsibility for the picturesque but totally unsubstantiated legend that Machaut wrote the Mass specifically for the coronation of Charles V at Reims in 1364 has been laid with the eighteenth-century Abbé Lebeuf¹; while Machaut and his brother, Jean, were canons at the Reims Cathedral and are interred there, there is no evidence to indicate that Guillaume was even present at the coronation. Another eighteenth-century Reims functionary, Canon Weyen, produced a catalogue of his predecessors, among them the brothers Machaut. Weyen's catalogue has proven intriguing to historians for its observation that Jean and Guillaume's joint will stipulated that a "*Messe de Beata*" be celebrated in their

¹Discounted by Gilbert Reaney in "Machaut," *The New Grove*, 431.

memory.²

Biographies of Machaut and historical surveys of medieval music written in the first half of the twentieth century established and perpetuated the hypothesis that the *Messe de Nostre Dame* was peerless. In his *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music*, Manfred Bukofzer asserts that the early modern Mass "was the focal point on which all the artistic aspirations and technical achievements of the composer converged,"³ a form whose prevalence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries he likens to that of the symphony in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dismissing the movements of the Mass of *Tournai* as "composed separately and...only later arbitrarily combined,"⁴ Bukofzer cites the *Messe de Nostre Dame* as a mere precursor to the early modern cyclic (to him, rhythmically and/or motivically unified) Mass. "The first cycle known to have been composed as a unit comes from the pen of the French composer-poet Guillaume de Machaut," he writes.

There can be no question that in this work the Ordinary is in a certain sense a six-section cycle....It has sometimes been claimed that Machaut's Mass is unified musically by recurrent motives, but this claim is open to question because the motives seem to be figures and formulae that are not characteristic enough and are not placed conspicuously enough to serve a really unifying function. Actually some of the movements are composed freely in conductus

²The task of establishing the possibility that the "*Messe de Beata*" to which Canon Weyan makes reference was in fact the *Messe de Nostre Dame* was at last executed by Anne Walters Robertson in "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims", her contribution to the collection *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Robertson's study is discussed presently as well as in Chapter Seven for the means whereby it arrives at the conclusion that Machaut's is indeed a Marian Mass intended for use at Reims Cathedral.

³Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1950), 217.

⁴Bukofzer, 218. This equation of movement compilation with a lack of integrity is discussed in Chapter Three, and is particularly relevant in the case of the Mass of *Tournai*.

style without use of plainchant, while others are written like isorhythmic motets with the proper plainchants in the tenor. The unity displayed by this Mass is primarily that of the liturgy, not of musical material.⁵

In 1952, Sarah Jane Manley Williams published a broad study entitled *The Music of Guillaume de Machaut*⁶. Williams provides a synopsis of all of Machaut's musical works, with the *formes fixes* (*ballades*, *rondeaux*, and *virelais*) and motets attracting the greater share of her comments. Although she devotes only eighteen pages to the Mass itself, her comments remain useful here as a means of invoking some prevalent modern attitudes towards Machaut's Mass. Williams inaugurates her commentary with the observation that "Machaut's Mass, although it has a kind of stylistic unity, is not unified by repetition of thematic material, or by the maintenance of the same *cantus firmus* for all movements as are the fifteenth century masses."⁷ After a summary of the history of the Ordinary genre as it was then known, she turns to Machaut's secular works in an effort to establish a date for the composition of the Mass. Assuming that it was written in the thirteen-forties or thirteen-fifties (thus dating it well before the coronation of Charles V), Williams explains that Machaut had formulated a mature style of motet and *ballade* composition by the middle of the fourteenth century, and that the presence in the movements *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est* of the hallmarks of that style, coupled with the evidence of the mid-fourteenth-century copying of its most reliable source, the manuscript *Vogüé*, supports such a general chronology. Williams dismisses an earlier argument by Otto Gombosi that there is a

⁵Bukofzer, 218.

⁶Sarah Jane Manley Williams, *The Music of Guillaume de Machaut* (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1952).

⁷Williams, 298.

sort of Golden Mean at work in the *Gloria* and *Credo*⁸, suggesting instead that "Machaut preserves the rhythmic unity of the mass first, by maintaining the same tempus and prolation in all movements" and that there is a "stylistic unity" shared by isorhythmic and homophonic movements alike, achieved by a "style...of marked consonance" in which "linear counterpoint is subordinated to the basic chord progressions and cadences" resulting in an "effect of severity and strength".⁹

Also of interest to the present study is the succinct history of the polyphonic Ordinary genre with which Williams begins her chapter on the *Messe de Notre Dame*. Williams shares Bukofzer's belief in the singularity of Machaut's Mass, but offers a more elegant summary of its historical position.

Machaut's polyphonic setting of the ordinary of the mass occupies a paradoxical position in the history of music....in Machaut's own repertory, and that of fourteenth century music as a whole, it holds a comparatively obscure place. While, in a sense, it has historical importance as the first known complete setting of the ordinary by a single composer, its actual influence is difficult to assess. It has no immediate imitators in the fourteenth century, and it is doubtful whether the creators of the great fifteenth century masses even knew it. The later unified mass cycle, which was not firmly established until nearly a century later, seems to have taken a different starting point and line of development.¹⁰

Armand Machabey devotes nearly twenty pages of close analysis to the *Messe de Notre Dame* in *Guillaume de Machault: 130?-1377: La vie et l'oeuvre musicale*¹¹. Adopting

⁸Otto Gombosi, "Machaut's *Messe Notre-Dame*", *The Musical Quarterly* 36/2.

⁹Williams, 307 (rhythmic unity), 308 (linear counterpoint).

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 292.

¹¹Armand Machabey, *Guillaume de Machault: 130?-1377: La vie et l'oeuvre musicale* (Paris: Éditions Richard-Masse, 1955). Machabey sought (unsuccessfully) to introduce a spelling of Machaut's name identical to that of the town in Champagne whence the composer

an original strategy, Machabey attempts to prove the integrity of the Mass through its very diversity. He associates the homophonic, rhythmically-simple motion of its *Gloria* and *Credo* movements with the *Ars antiqua*, and the *quasi*-isorhythmic intricacies of its four other movements with the *Ars nova*, suggesting that Machaut intentionally cultivated both primitivism and modernity in a single work in order to display his exceptional compositional skill.¹² Also remarkable is Machabey's casual but apparently unprecedented reflection that, while the Mass found in the manuscript *Tournai* may not have exerted a direct influence upon the *Messe de Notre Dame*, similarities between the two cycles invite speculation that these composers and their contemporaries may have been observing "a tradition already established at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a tradition whose precise date and location of origin we have yet to determine."¹³

The first systematic treatment of this tradition was executed in 1962 by Hanna Ståblein-Harder in the form of a companion volume to her edition of the movements found in twenty-five fourteenth-century sources from Avignon and its environs¹⁴, including those

may have come.

¹²Machabey, 170. "*Guillaume est donc très civilisé—et très musicien, très artiste—sa spontanéité, sa simplicité apparentes de «primitif» résultent de sa science toujours en éveil.*" All translations of foreign-language texts may be assumed original unless otherwise specified.

¹³*Ibid.*, 130. "*Il n'en faut pas conclure que Guillaume se soit inspiré de la Messe de Tournai mais que les auteurs de cette Messe, comme Machaut et comme les compositeurs, anonymes ou non, des Gloria, Sanctus ou Agnus observaient une tradition déjà établie au début du XIV^e siècle, tradition dont nous n'avons pas encore déterminé avec exactitude la date ni l'origine géographique.*"

¹⁴Hanna Ståblein-Harder, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 13-4: "In the present study the Mass compositions originating in or near Avignon in the 14th century will be discussed...as a collection. Apart from the

which are the subjects of this thesis. The critical text to *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, however, is not merely a list of variations and emendations, but a global commentary on the repertory itself, prefaced by the author's remarks on the possible origin of the polyphonic Mass Ordinary cycle and an explanation of her methods of classification and analysis. Stäblein-Harder's comments on this context for Machaut's Mass prove invaluable later in this chapter, but their acceptance here must be qualified by the omission of the *Messe de Notre Dame* from *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*. By way of explanation, Stäblein-Harder cites the then-recent publication of three other editions of the *Messe de Notre Dame*, then, referring to her original conspectus, observes that its "movements are not found in any MS in the Avignon orbit."¹⁵ Summarizing her findings in a later chapter, Stäblein-Harder aligns her view of the *Messe de Notre-Dame* with that of Otto Gombosi, praising his essay for demonstrating "in an illuminating manner that the Gloria and the Credo of the Mass are to a large extent regularly constructed."¹⁶

While she does not deal with the *Messe de Notre Dame* at length, Hanna Stäblein-Harder's approach to other fourteenth-century Mass cycles and movements set a standard for the treatment of this repertory. The first modern text to summarize later medieval Mass

great Mss Ivrea and Apt, which most probably contain the music of the Papal chapel at Avignon, all those smaller Mss will be taken into account which maintain a close relationship with Apt and Iv, like the Mss of fragments Barc[elona] A, B, C, Barc-Ger, BG, Cambrai 1328, Ger; this also includes Tou[rnai] and the Sorbonne and Toulouse Masses."

¹⁵Stäblein-Harder 1962, 14.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 99. Perhaps since Machaut's Mass is outside the immediate purview of her work, she does not attempt to correct Gombosi's complex "schemata of the form", which "seem(s) at times a little forced".

composition inclusive of Machaut's Mass, Richard H. Hoppin's *Medieval Music*¹⁷ is heavily reliant upon *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* for its stylistic, harmonic, and rhythmic criteria of analysis, as well as for excerpts, which are reproduced throughout the chapter devoted to fourteenth-century liturgical polyphony. Like Stäblein-Harder, Hoppin regards Avignon as an important centre of Mass composition; he even includes a photograph of "the fortress-like Palace of the Popes in Avignon"¹⁸ in the introduction to the chapter. *Medieval Music* is also noteworthy for its summary, in the chapter devoted to Machaut, of the *Messe de Nostre Dame* as it was then commonly understood. Unassailable are Hoppin's observations that the Mass is the largest work in the composer's repertory and the only one with a particularly liturgical function (a number of Machaut's motets may also have been intended to serve in a paraliturgical capacity, as may have the *Hoquetus David*). The comments which follow are less acceptable to this study, which seeks to question and problematize them:

...it is the first complete setting of the Ordinary that is known to have been written as a unit by one composer. In length it far exceeds any of the compilations of individual movements that make up other Masses in the fourteenth century. Machaut's Mass was the only one of its kind, and not until some fifty years after his death did complete Masses begin to appear in the works of early Renaissance composers.¹⁹

The *Messe de Nostre Dame* is indeed longer than all other contemporary Ordinary settings, and is unique for the reasonably reliable identification of Machaut as its sole composer

¹⁷Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1978).

¹⁸Hoppin, 376.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 414-5.

(evidence to the contrary has been presented in an essay by Elizabeth A. Keitel, which is discussed presently). In comparing Machaut's Mass to "compilations of individual movements", however, Hoppin establishes a dualist relationship between the single-author Mass he supposes to have been conceived and executed as a unit and the Masses of *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Sorbonne*, and *Barcelona*, cycles whose integrity must therefore be assumed to be less convincing; this implication is congruent with Hoppin's earlier assertion that "(m)ost fourteenth-century Mass movements are independent pieces and show no evidence of being composed to provide a complete polyphonic setting of the Ordinary."²⁰

By way of introduction to his proof of the integrity of Machaut's Mass, Hoppin cites the use of two different textures among its six movements. The *Gloria* and *Credo* movements, as noted above, employ strict homophony, while the four other Ordinary texts are set in a modified isorhythm (Hoppin calls them "isorhythmic motets in all but their use of the same text for each voice"²¹). The *Amen* passages which end the *Gloria* and *Credo* are considered by Hoppin as devices of unification, their motet-like rhythm "establish(ing) a relationship with the rest of the Mass"²², that is with the isorhythmic *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est*. Further, Hoppin dismisses chant sources as a possible unifying device in the *Messe de Notre Dame*, but remarks that there is a system of modes which promotes the unification of the Mass.²³ At a closer level of musical analysis, Hoppin cites

²⁰Hoppin, 385.

²¹*Ibid.*, 415.

²²*Ibid.*

²³"A further contrast between the movements in different styles is less readily apparent to the ear. The *Gloria* and *Credo* seem to make no use of preexisting melodies, but

the textless passages which link sections of the *Gloria* and *Credo* as support for a musical relationship between these two movements. Finally, he considers melodic motivicity, dismissing the significance of the "generating cell" which makes frequent appearance in Machaut's Mass as well as in the Mass of *Toulouse* and opting instead to emphasize the more remote device of metrical organization; finding minor prolation throughout, Hoppin suggests that it is present even in those movements which are more triple than duple at the level of the *breve*, comparing it to "the basic structure of a Gothic cathedral" for the "unobtrusive but unshakable support for its wealth of decorative detail."²⁴

Several studies of Machaut, the *Messe de Notre Dame*, and the later medieval Mass Ordinary repertory have emerged since the publication of *Medieval Music*, chronologically first among them an essay by Elizabeth A. Keitel.²⁵ While Keitel is in agreement with Hoppin in her opening statement that "Guillaume de Machaut's Mass is stylistically and functionally an anomaly with respect to his other compositions and to those of his predecessors and contemporaries"²⁶, she explicitly challenges Hoppin's notion of the Mass as unified and, implicitly, his proposal that the entire work may have been intended for

each of the other movements takes a corresponding chant of the Ordinary for its tenor melody. Machaut's choice of chants on which to base his isorhythmic movements may have determined, or been determined by, the overall modal scheme of his Mass. The first three movements, at any rate, are all in the Dorian mode ending on D, while the last three have Lydian or Hypolydian tenors and end on F." Hoppin, 415.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 419.

²⁵Elizabeth A. Keitel, "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Guillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate", *The Musical Quarterly* 68 (1982). This essay was originally read at the 1977 meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Chapter of the American Musicological Society under the title "Problems in Dating Machaut's Mass".

²⁶Keitel, 307.

performance at a single, significant occasion. Summarizing Keitel in the introductory remarks to his *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson writes that she "questioned the relevance of any Great-Work-Great Occasion assumptions, emphasizing inconsistencies in the Mass in order to propose that it was assembled...from movements composed at various periods."²⁷ These "inconsistencies" are presented in two classes. First, Keitel analyzes the material evidence of the five manuscripts in which the *Messe de Nostre Dame* is preserved, concluding that the manner of copying may be interpreted as proof that there was "a compositional or temporal separation"²⁸ between the movements of the Mass. Upon consideration of the liturgical evidence (that is, of chant sources and of local liturgical practices), she arrives at a theory which addresses two problems in the scholarship of the Mass. Keitel finds a place for its performance, Avignon, on the basis of its similarity to the Roman Mass which would have been celebrated there during the papal schism. More informed by physical evidence is Keitel's suggestion that the Mass is a composite work, its six movements collected and possibly even plagiarized. These findings are interpreted by Keitel as leading to the conclusion that Machaut

...was not a northern maverick so much as an active participant in the finest southern tradition of compiling a Mass from previously unrelated sections. Perhaps, with further study, a compromise may be reached on the disputed dates of the Mass, and Machaut may be finally dissociated from a fifteenth-century compositional procedure he did not invent.²⁹

These final remarks affirm Keitel's radical position among scholars who have considered

²⁷ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 9.

²⁸Keitel, 314.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 323.

Machaut's Mass. The first author to dispute the integrity of the *Messe de Notre Dame*, Keitel remained unchallenged for over a decade.

Begun by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson as part of a study of fourteenth-century isorhythmic techniques and published independently in 1990, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction* may be the most ambitious (or, indeed, the only) single volume ever dedicated to a musical composition of the medieval era. A critical edition whose author consulted all but one major Machaut manuscript (the Codex *Vogüé*, notoriously unavailable to scholars), the redaction is prefaced by four chapters of history and analysis. The first of these, "Introduction: Machaut and the Mass", offers a brief biography of the composer, lingering on the precious few events which may be related to specific compositions. Citing Hoppin for the then-persistent belief in the Mass as a highly original experiment in liturgical polyphony and promising to include an exploration of "(e)xactly how it relates to those other 'compilations of individual movements'"³⁰, Leech-Wilkinson closes this introductory chapter with speculation on the date and occasion for the composition and performance of the Mass. He concludes, on the basis of style, that it was composed in the thirteen-sixties and locating its "destination" at Reims after consultation of the cathedral's liturgical tradition and Machaut's own involvement with that religious community.

It is in its three next chapters that Leech-Wilkinson's work is particularly crucial to this thesis. Aligning himself with Hoppin in asserting the uniqueness of the Mass, Leech-Wilkinson dismisses extra-musical matters altogether, stating that "we must turn from the 'external' evidence of documents, context and traditions, to examine the music itself. If even

³⁰Leech-Wilkinson, 7.

that cannot answer all the 'Whys'...it may at least help us towards some understanding of the equally intriguing 'How'.³¹ It is unfortunate that Leech-Wilkinson so completely ignores the possible historical situation of a work whose scholarship is rendered incomplete by the absence of such a context, but the three chapters of analysis which complete the prose introduction to *Machaut's Mass* more than compensate. Leech-Wilkinson begins with the most basic issues of form and harmony, treating each movement for its use of chant, internal structure, and text setting as these reveal "Machaut's musical priorities"³². Finding in the foundations of the Mass proof that Machaut was "a composer of great skill who knew exactly what he was doing, and who was doing it in a more sophisticated way than has generally been expected of a medieval musician"³³, he dispels Keitel's earlier suggestion that the Mass is a musically-disparate collection of individual movements. Leech-Wilkinson also supports his own dismissal of other later medieval Mass cycles and movements, with the assertion that Machaut's Mass was masterly and those of his anonymous contemporaries less so.

Chapter 3, "Elaboration", considers the "filling-in" with counterpoint of the very basic harmonic and formal framework to which the Mass was reduced in Chapter 2. Leech-Wilkinson finds contrapuntal procedures with striking similarities among the two homophonic and the four *quasi*-isorhythmic movements. At the close of this chapter, he arrives at a totally unprecedented deduction.

In sum, Machaut's technique of prolongation and progression seems to tie together sections of music which at a superficial level appear strikingly

³¹Leech-Wilkinson, 17.

³²*Ibid.*, 52.

³³*Ibid.*, 53.

different. Attitudes to four-part handling, to the need to plan for upper-voice characteristics from an early stage, to the uses of focal sonorities, prolongations and their large-scale melodic ordering, and to the primacy of treble and bass all seem consistent across the apparent modal and textural divides which have traditionally fragmented our view of the Mass. Could it be that we are, after all, dealing with a coherent whole?³⁴

It is to this matter, musical unity, that Leech-Wilkinson commits the final chapter of *Machaut's Mass*. Initially rejecting on largely codicological grounds Keitel's conclusion that the Mass was not composed as a unit, Leech-Wilkinson further substantiates his contrary opinion with a close reading of all six movements for musical likeness. Evaluating the Mass for mode change, lower-voice counterpoint, four-part harmony (and particularly the treatment of dissonance therein), rhythmic coherence, motives, and quotations (all his own terminology), he arrives at a unique proof for the integrity of the *Messe de Notre Dame*. While some of the specific elements of this proof are discussed in Chapter Seven, the section of this thesis devoted to Machaut's Mass, it may be worthwhile to reproduce the final paragraph of this study here as a summation of some important scholarship on the Mass.

Is Machaut's a cyclic mass? Certainly not in the sense that a late fifteenth-century mass was cyclic: there is no single thread which runs through every movement--no one cantus firmus, no parody model. But it is coherent--in technique, in style, and perhaps in intention (although we cannot know that). More important--and more certain--is its status as a masterpiece, one of the greatest achievements of any medieval composer. If we must make a special claim for it in our historical mythology, that should be enough.³⁵

Two years later, Anne Walters Robertson would tacitly concur with Leech-Wilkinson in an essay more concerned with determining the relationship between the *Messe de Notre*

³⁴Leech-Wilkinson, 79.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 95.

Dame and the cathedral in which Machaut and his brother lived, worked, and are buried. Robertson finds evidence for the Mass as commemorative of the Virgin and congruent with the Marian tradition at Reims. She cites musical, manuscript, and even architectural evidence in her argument (this last is the construction of the cathedral, itself parallel to the general allusions made by both Hoppin and Leech-Wilkinson to Gothic cathedrals as corollaries of the musical architecture of Machaut's Mass). She accepts it as a unified work, and refers directly to Leech-Wilkinson in stating that

...unlike its predecessor in Tournai, Machaut's Mass is both coherent in harmonic and rhythmic language and unified in terms of the choice of tenor chants. If the work was composed as a unit, it prefigures two kinds of fifteenth-century polyphonic Masses based on *cantus firmi* and inspired by the desire of composers to ensure their own salvation: the Marian devotional Mass and the *Requiem*.³⁶

As illustrated by this reference, the work of Leech-Wilkinson has entered the scholarly domain as a thorough treatment of the *Messe de Notre Dame*. His was the first comprehensive study of the work, and its findings have been enormously influential. Many of these may also be endorsed by the present thesis. Leech-Wilkinson separates later medieval and early modern polyphonic Mass composition without condemning the former as a rudimentary model, as does Hoppin in his assignment of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century music for the Mass to a status somewhat beneath that of the next generation.³⁷ Resisting the imposition of a fifteenth-century standard on a largely fourteenth-century

³⁶Robertson, 137.

³⁷Hoppin, 395. "...neither tonal nor melodic nor even stylistic unity is to be found in the one fourteenth-century Mass known to be wholly original and the work of a single composer, Guillaume de Machaut. It remained for composers of the following century to develop the concepts and techniques that would make the musically unified Mass cycle the crowning achievement of Renaissance choral polyphony."

practice, he manages to develop a critical stance particular to this repertoire and very effective for its evaluation.

He does so, however, with little concern for the circumstances of the conception, execution, and circulation of the Mass. Alluding to a greater tradition of fourteenth-century polyphony for the Ordinary and even allowing that Machaut may have been aware of this tradition, Leech-Wilkinson nevertheless considers the *Messe de Nostre Dame* without contemplating Masses contemporaneous and subsequent. He does, however, concede that the early fifteenth-century English composer Leonel Power may have known and been influenced by Machaut's Mass, as evinced by some similar techniques of Power's *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater*. By way of justification for this omission, Leech-Wilkinson writes that

...there is a limit to how much we can understand about (Machaut's Mass) simply by comparing it to others, by siting it in its musical and liturgical context, and by finding for it an historical reason for being. A great work of music survives the obsolescence of all these, continuing to fascinate and reward the listener long after information about them is lost. If we wish to understand—in an intellectual way—how this is so, then we must turn from the 'external' evidence of documents, contexts and traditions, to examine the music itself. If even that cannot answer all the 'Whys'...it may at least help us towards some understanding of the 'How'.³⁸

Confronted with a repertory of Mass music which is even less datable than the *Messe de Nostre Dame* and whose integrity is still more difficult to establish, Leech-Wilkinson opts to confine his study to its titular subject, a project which yields a convincing if narrow account of what may well be one of the first musical masterworks. Indeed, as demonstrated in more detail in the final third of this chapter (that is, the section devoted to the introduction of analytic criteria), this work serve as a model for the analysis of this repertory, even if

³⁸Leech-Wilkinson, 17.

Leech-Wilkinson himself is not particularly concerned with fourteenth-century music for the Mass beyond the *Messe de Nostre Dame*.

By way of explanation for his greater interest in Machaut's Mass, Leech-Wilkinson lists several problems: the sheer impossibility of establishing dates or even locations for the composition, compilation, and performance of virtually all other later medieval Mass cycles; the supposedly comparatively modest degree to which they may be said to be musically integral; and, apparently most importantly for Leech-Wilkinson, the influence they had upon Machaut or Machaut upon them. This last seems to be the deciding factor, with the only two plausible relationships among the repertory (that of the Mass found in the manuscript *Tournai* to Machaut's Mass, and of Machaut's Mass to the Mass movements of Leonel Power found in the manuscript *Old Hall*) summarily rejected, although not without the tantalizing suggestion that "it is quite likely that Machaut was aware of this larger tradition."³⁹ Leech-Wilkinson is willing, though, to ignore the aforementioned problems with respect to Machaut's Mass. In a passage already excerpted twice here, he claims a greater concern for 'How' than for 'Why', then proceeds, over the course of the chapters 'Construction,' 'Elaboration,' and 'Coherence,' to develop what must be the most careful treatment ever of a single musical composition of the medieval era. He does so without apology for his failure to simultaneously develop any historical context, for such a context is not necessary to his understanding of the Mass. It is unfortunate, then, that Leech-Wilkinson is unwilling to do the same for the repertory besides Machaut's Mass, which he acknowledges, then dismisses, ostensibly because "hardly any of it is datable, and...because little of it is at all like

³⁹Leech-Wilkinson, 16.

Machaut's setting in style."⁴⁰ This repertory is only interesting to Leech-Wilkinson as it relates to Machaut's Mass, and since such a relationship is almost impossible to prove except in the two rather tenuously-proven instances cited earlier, the Masses of *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne*, the fragments of cycles found in *Ivrea* and *Apt*, and even the Masses of Leonel Power, Antonius Zacharias de Teramo, and Johannes Ciconia are listed, then left in the great, mystical domain of a "larger tradition" not quite worthy of the same attention as the *Messe de Nostre Dame*.

Conflating position within an imaginary Mass Ordinary evolution with worthiness for scholarly attention in order to support his decision to discuss no other later-medieval music, Leech-Wilkinson employs different criteria in deeming Machaut's Mass a suitable subject for study. The present thesis may thus be read as a direct response to Leech-Wilkinson's unvoiced challenge: if *how* is really more interesting than *why*, then *why* not approach this mysterious repertory beyond the *Messe de Nostre Dame* (and include even that much-discussed but still not entirely-understood work, in order to ensure an optimally complete portrait of the genre) in an effort to at least begin to understand *how*?

As has already been noted, there are considerable obstacles inherent to this enterprise, impediments whose absence from the study of Machaut's Mass render it a subject particularly attractive to modern scholars. More is known about the life and works of Machaut than those of many other medieval artists, his literary and musical works carefully recorded in several well-preserved manuscripts and the events of his life less extensively but still reliably documented. Little or nothing is known about the authors and compilers of the

⁴⁰Leech-Wilkinson, 14.

Masses of *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne*, and the fragments in *Ivrea* and *Apt* are generally either unnamed or attributed to obscure composers. Lastly, no other medieval Mass is coherent to precisely the readily-apparent extent of the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, and if the task of proving that work's integrity is onerous, these cycles and fragments pose an even greater challenge. While a great deal of work remains to be done, however, several scholars have begun to meet this challenge, and their efforts must be acknowledged before the present inquiry may be launched, for this thesis is truly unique only for the breadth of its scope, and is informed by a number of previous studies.

The majority of these are devoted to the laborious work of discovery, cataloguing, and transcription. These preliminary excavations made, the assessment of their results were only recently embarked upon, with passing references in general historical surveys gradually expanded in whole essays and monographs dedicated to the later medieval Mass repertory. The earliest effort at an understanding of this repertory may be found in a revisitation of Manfred Bukofzer's *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music*, which searches for the germ of the fifteenth-century motivically-unified Mass in the Ordinary movements of the fourteenth century. Bukofzer finds no unification at all in these antecedents, dispatching the Mass in the manuscript *Tournai* as a compilation of unrelated movements and the unity of Machaut's Mass as "primarily that of the liturgy, not of musical material."⁴¹ He suggests instead that the Mass Ordinary settings of the fifteenth century are the earliest true cycles, finding techniques of unification, which he limits to the head-motive and *cantus firmus* devices, only in repertory from *circa* 1410 onwards.

⁴¹Bukofzer, 218.

Leo Schrade refutes Bukofzer in his detection of uniformity among some of the Mass movements in the manuscript *Toulouse* as well as in two other manuscripts, *Barcelona* and *Tournai*, also thought to have originated in mid-fourteenth-century Avignon. His primary objective in his essay "The Mass of Toulouse"⁴² is the correlation of chant cycles of the Ordinary with polyphonic settings, and he confines the repertory discussed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the course of his argument, he offers considerable insight into polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary, and his comments on the *Masses of Toulouse, Tournai, and Barcelona* are particularly useful here. Siding with Bukofzer in his conclusion that "in the 14th century it is the compiler, most certainly a musician, who performed a creative act in producing a cyclic Mass,"⁴³ Schrade nevertheless finds musical similarities among these three polyphonic cycles on grounds other than authorship. In the case of the Mass of *Toulouse*, Schrade notes that the *Triplum* voice is consistently texted while the *Discantus* is always in a position of melodic dominance. The *Tournai* cycle employs discant or conductus style in all five of its movements (exceptionally, the sixth, *Cum venerint*, is a motet), while *Barcelona's* Ordinary movements display unparalleled variety and, Schrade contends, seem unified only in their disparity. In each instance, Schrade considers style and rhythm among chief determinants of unity, with the presence or absence of text also meriting frequent comments. Ultimately, Schrade does not contest Bukofzer in the matter of intent. While he allows that no thirteenth- or fourteenth-century composer, not even Machaut, conceived of the cyclic Mass as it was practiced in the fifteenth century, Schrade still insists

⁴²Leo Schrade, "The Mass of Toulouse," *Revue belge de musicologie* 8 (1954).

⁴³Schrade 1954, 95.

that the cycles forged from these fourteenth-century movements and pairs "are not arbitrary combinations; nor are they responsive to liturgical demands, but to artistic considerations. In each of the cycles a different artistic problem has been solved."⁴⁴

Also responsive to Bukofzer is Roland Jackson in his essay "Musical interrelations between fourteenth century mass movements,"⁴⁵ a work whose very title contests the concept of discreteness throughout this repertory. Jackson seeks in fourteenth-century Mass music the origins of both musically-integrated Mass cycles (or at least of such pairs) and of the borrowing technique then called parody. He situates his argument in opposition to Bukofzer's text and to a more obscure essay by one R.B.M. Lenaerts, and extrapolates from another essay of Leo Schrade⁴⁶ to identify parody among Mass movements in the manuscripts *Cambrai*, *Barcelona*, and *Sorbonne*. Admitting the limited extent to which any of these manuscripts may be fixed in a geographical locale or temporal era, Jackson instead traces the order in which they were copied by assessing their musical relationships. He does so according to a precise method, comparing them for form (particularly for repetition), texture (that is, the florid or simple nature of the polyphony), motivic treatment (here, "motive" seems to mean "harmony," as in "The opening three chords, for example, provide Cambrai with a certain pristine clarity by recurring unaltered six times at regular intervals throughout the composition"⁴⁷), and literal quotation. The conclusions drawn by Jackson are not

⁴⁴Schrade 1954, 95.

⁴⁵Roland Jackson, "Musical interrelations between fourteenth century mass movements (A preliminary study)," *Acta musicologica* 29 (1957).

⁴⁶Leo Schrade, "A fourteenth century parody mass," *Acta musicologica* 27 (1955).

⁴⁷Jackson, 57.

essential to the present thesis, preoccupied as his essay is with "interrelations" among Masses, but his essay is worthy of note for the careful fashion in which it approaches a repertory which had so recently been cast as a primitive forerunner to the physically- and musically-unified early modern Mass cycle. It is indebted to Schrade, who seems to have been the first to question the assumptions of which Bukofzer may be considered representative, and also indicates a new direction for Mass scholarship in the mid-twentieth century.

The critical text published as a companion to *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* has already been mentioned here for Hanna Stäblein-Harder's salient if brief comments on the *Messe de Notre Dame*. Also noted earlier were her identification of papal Avignon as the most important centre for Mass composition in the fourteenth century, and her preoccupation with repertory emanating from that milieu. A brief review of her discussion of these compositions may be appropriate now, for if she is reticent on the subject of Machaut's Mass, hers was the next significant scholarly work on the rest of the repertory after those of Schrade and Jackson.

Appropriately, the organization of *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* reproduces that of a *kyriale*, with its first section devoted to settings of the *Kyrie* text, its second to *Gloria* settings, and so on. Within this scheme, Mass movements are further classified according to style. Stäblein-Harder finds just three styles in the whole of this repertory, each of which she identifies as derivative of secular styles. "Motet-like" are the three- and four-voice compositions with "elaborate upper voices...and a more tranquil instrumental *T(enor)*." The discant style, or *Diskantliedstil*, features a particularly active

uppermost voice, and the style called *conductus*-like (or simultaneous, or synchronous) is characterized by "simultaneous text declamation involving all the voices throughout a composition."⁴⁸ This exposition affords Stäblein-Harder support for her eventual speculation that the integrity of supposed cycles is at least partially dependent upon their consistent use of style; the three cycles then known to the author, *Sorbonne*, *Toulouse*, and *Tournai*, have a "uniformity of performance...perhaps to be explained by the fact that only one type of performance...was possible or customary where the Masses were performed."⁴⁹

Extrapolating from Stäblein-Harder's work in *Medieval Music*, Richard H. Hoppin also bases upon style his assessment of cyclicity in fourteenth-century music for the Mass; consider, for example, his conclusion that "to judge from their divergent styles...the movements of the Tournai Mass may have been composed over a time span of nearly fifty years"⁵⁰, a remark intended to eliminate the possibility of *Tournai*'s composition as a unit.

In his own research into late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Mass music originating beyond the so-called "Avignon orbit," Charles Hamm, too, considers style an essential criterion for the identification of pairs among settings of the Ordinary texts. At the outset of his essay, the title of which refers to a Mass cycle attributed to the Italian composer Johannes Reson, Hamm acknowledges the difficulty of discerning relationships among movements which predate the cyclic Mass common by the middle of the fifteenth century. He insists, however, that some of the "devices used to establish musical unity among the

⁴⁸Stäblein-Harder 1962, 16-8.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 97-8.

⁵⁰Hoppin, 386.

sections later in the century...were already practiced early in the century"⁵¹. He then proceeds to promote several such devices as evidence that the five movements of this early fifteenth-century Mass cycle and other pairs of the same approximate era have some unifying characteristics. These include: common head-motives; similar combinations of clefs; common usage of mensuration (either identical, or following identical patterns); number of voices; harmony (particularly of final chords); and "general type of setting."⁵²

Concurrently with Hamm, Andrew Hughes found similar techniques in English Mass music of the same era, although Hughes criticizes Hamm's analysis as limited to "the most fundamental features...that later composers would have taken for granted, and would hardly have considered when trying to make one piece of music match another piece."⁵³ Hughes suggests two additional criteria: placement within the manuscript, and "musical likeness", the latter a term which seems to refer variously to melodic and rhythmic figures and to the division of text between the upper voices. He joins Hamm in rejecting the pairing of an anonymous *Gloria* and a *Credo* by Leonel Power for their dissimilar use of isorhythm, then supports Hamm's pairing of a Leonel *Gloria* and anonymous *Credo* on the vaguely-stated grounds of the "absence of any divergent points."⁵⁴ Finally, he finds the very different cadential approaches of a *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* attributed to Leonel mitigated by their

⁵¹Charles Hamm, "The Reson Mass," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18/1 (1965), 5.

⁵²Hamm, 7.

⁵³Andrew Hughes, "Mass Pairs in the Old Hall and Other English Manuscripts," *Revue belge de musicologie* 19/1 (1965), 15.

⁵⁴Hughes, 18.

identical time-signature changes, clefs, and physical appearance (that is, their placement in the manuscript and the hand in which they are copied). To these pairs already discussed by Hamm, Hughes adds three more, of which the matching of a Leonel *Sanctus* with an anonymous *Agnus Dei* is the most tenuous. Hughes observes no "structural correspondences" between these two movements; that is, no similarity of "clefs, ranges, time-signatures (or) arrangement of duets."⁵⁵ Nor are their respective chant quotations found to have been made in a similar fashion. Rather, Hughes determines the analogy of these movements on musical motives alone, asserting that "a number of them are quite distinctive and very unusual."⁵⁶ Unfortunately, Hughes refrains from further speculation, and vaguely rests this pairing on the "length" and "complexity" of certain musical figures. Stronger is the case made for the pairing of a *Gloria* and *Credo* by Cooke and a *Gloria* and *Credo* by Damett, both of which are made on the evidence of obviously-related musical material, and in the case of the Damett pair may even indicate a precursor of later-fifteenth-century motivicity.

Philip Gossett further explores the inception of the musically-unified Mass in his study of pairs and cycles in the manuscript *Bologna, Museo Civico, Bibliografia musicale Q15 (BL)*.⁵⁷ His choice of subject governed by the preservation in this source of several early-fifteenth-century settings of Ordinary movements, Gossett begins his essay with a summary of previous scholarship on later medieval pairs and cycles. As already cited here,

⁵⁵Hughes, 19.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Philip Gossett, "Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19/2 (1966).

Bukofzer comments very globally on this repertory, identifying the motto and the common tenor as the only legitimate unifying procedures. To these, Hamm adds some structural elements such as clefs, signatures, and mensurations, thus expanding the definitions of pair and of cycle and allowing the identification as related of several compositions from among the vast pool of seemingly-distinct Ordinary movements. Gossett contributes an application of Bukofzer's and Hamm's methods to a previously-unexamined repertory, but his essay is also valuable for the careful fashion in which it attempts to broaden these criteria.

Acknowledging that the procedures of pairing two Ordinary movements or of collecting four or five into a cycle are not always undertaken according to the same principles, Gossett prefaces his findings on *Bologna Q15* with a veritable catalogue of unifying techniques. He divides these into four classes: compositional acts (including compilation); musical content (Bukofzer's legacy of motto and tenor treatments, and Hamm's structural agreements of clefs, signatures, and so on, along with shared "essential musical characteristics" and "similar...musical style"⁵⁸); various kinds of external and/or internal relation (such as derivation from a shared model or employment of liturgically- or otherwise-related music or texts); and manuscript evidence.

This introduction made, Gossett proceeds to examine several Ordinary settings in *Bologna Q15*, assessing each on slightly different grounds and demonstrating a constant sensitivity to their particular problems. His essay culminates in an acknowledgment of this intentional inconsistency, which, he argues, is essential to the successful analysis of this repertory.

⁵⁸Gossett, 207.

If we are to understand the development of the cyclic Mass...(o)ur conclusions must be based on a thorough investigation of each pair, not on general criteria alone, and we must remain aware that these conclusions are at best relative probabilities. The compositions discussed here should whet our curiosity, for the period was one of experimentation in techniques of musical unification. The notion that early pairing involved only mottoes or borrowed tenors is clearly inadequate. An adequate description would certainly be far more complex than has been suspected until now.⁵⁹

Gossett is careful to remind the reader that the Ordinary settings which are the subject of his essay date from slightly before the era of cyclic Masses, and must thus be approached with an awareness of their experimental nature. In this caveat, he is almost excessively cautious: the cycles of Dufay and Josquin were not too far in the future, and some of the cycles and pairs he discusses may be identified as such simply by their common musical figures. His concluding remarks, however, are eminently pertinent to this thesis. The repertory addressed here cannot be treated as typical or even prototypical of the early modern cyclic Mass, for attempts at such analysis (Bukofzer's cursory remarks, for instance) have found these compositions lacking for their failure to conform to a later standard. Those authors who have customized their approach to this specific repertory, though, have enjoyed some success, and have provided encouragement, if not an exact model, for this study, which may perhaps best be described as an effort to approach each of these six Mass cycles on terms which reveal a particular response to the challenge of setting the Mass Ordinary to polyphonic music. This thesis draws especially upon techniques already used by Leech-Wilkinson, Stäblein-Harder, Hamm, Hughes, and Gossett, supplementing these with some much-needed commentary on the physical nature of the manuscripts which preserve this

⁵⁹Gossett, 231.

repertory. It extends the work of these authors into territory never charted in quite this manner, and, in so doing, aspires to accomplish for the study of the fourteenth-century Mass something similar to Gossett's "thorough investigation of each pair (of *Bologna Q15*), not on general criteria alone."

Chapter Two: The Mass Movements of the Codices Apt and Ivrea

Following an intense period of polyphonic composition for the Mass at and around Notre-Dame de Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, settings of both the Proper and the Ordinary seem to have been neglected in favour of secular composition during the first half of the fourteenth century. No musical sources are known to attest to any such activity, yet the rite must have continued to have been celebrated with polyphony. Hanna Stäblein-Harder posits that, in this "period of decay of scholarly church music,"¹ the choirs and soloists whom cathedrals continued to retain were prone to improvise polyphony, a practice which, if it did exist, would explain this lack of written polyphonic music for the Mass.

The edicts of an early-fourteenth-century papal bull lend support to her theory. In an undated document, the publication of which has been variously cited as occurring in 1322, 1324, and 1325, Pope John XXII forbids any "enrichments" which might distract the faithful from the devotional purpose of the rite. His *Docta sanctorum patrum* begins,

Certain disciples of the new school, much occupying themselves with the measured dividing of the *tempora*, display their prolation in notes which are new to us, preferring to devise methods of their own rather than to continue singing in the old way; the music therefore of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims, and with these notes of small value every composition is pestered. Moreover, they truncate the melodies with hockets, they deprave them with discants, sometimes even they stuff them with upper parts (*triplis et motetis*) made out of secular songs. So that often they must be losing sight of the fundamental sources of our melodies in the Antiphoner and Gradual, and may thus forget what that is upon which their superstructure is raised. They may become entirely ignorant concerning the ecclesiastical Tones, which they already no longer distinguish, and the limits of which they even confound, since, in the multitude of their notes, the modest risings and temperate descents of the plainsong, by which the scales themselves are to be known one from another, must be entirely obscured. Their voices are

¹Stäblein-Harder 1962, 15.

incessantly running to and fro, intoxicating the ear, not soothing it, while the men themselves endeavour to convey by their gestures the sentiment of the music they utter. As a consequence of all this, devotion, the true end of worship, is little thought of, and wantonness, which ought to be eschewed, increases.²

The *aegis* of a papal bull is, of course, not limited to the immediate surroundings in which it is composed, but this particular document was created in an environment of special significance. John XXII was the second pope at Avignon, replacing Clement V in 1316 and heading the schism papacy until 1334. During his eighteen-year tenure, he wrote extensively on the need for moderation in a clergy already acquiring a reputation for excess, and was exceptional among Avignon popes for the control which he sought to exert over his church.³

²"*Nonnulli novellae scholae discipuli, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere suas quam antiquas cantare malunt; in semibreves et minimas ecclesiastica cantantur, notulis percutiuntur. Nam melodias hoquetis intersecant, discantibus lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnumquam inculcant; adeo ut interdum antiphonarii et gradualis fundamenta despiciant, ignorent super quo aedificant; tonos nesciant quos non discernunt, imo confundunt cum ex earum multitudine notarum, ascensiones pudicae descensionesque temperatae plani cantu, quibus toni ipsi cernuntur adinuicem, obfuscentur. Curunt enim et non quiescunt, aures inebriant et non medentur, gestis simulant quod depromunt; quibus devotio quaerenda contemnitur, vitanda lascivia propagatur.*" This transcription and translation are taken from H.E. Wooldridge, *Oxford History of Music*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1929), 294-5. See also Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 20-2, for another translation. The complete original text of the bull is taken from *Extravagantes tum viginti d. Ioannis pape XXII* (Venice: 1615), Liber tertius, Titulus I, cap. unicum.

³For a brief summary of the activities of the antipopes at Avignon as these affected musical practice, see also an essay by F.X. Haberl entitled "Die römische *schola cantorum* und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts" in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* III (1887), especially pages 212-4, and, for a more detailed account of the effects of various popes (including John XXII) on contemporary liturgy and music, see Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon: 1309-1403* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983). Tomasello concludes that John XXII was a "man who lived in moderation" (8) and a pope whose legacy consists of "a clear set of decrees treating liturgical practice and a strong centralized church government firmly ensconced in the city of Avignon." (9)

Extreme though John XXII might have been, however, the implications of his cautionary edict are clear: polyphony, even if it was not yet recorded, was already being practiced at papal Avignon.

It is on the strength of this and other, less descriptive accounts that fourteenth-century Avignon is now recognized as an important centre for the composition and criticism of church music. Such an impression has also been informed by the existence of several manuscripts and codices, suffused with monophonic and polyphonic music for the Mass Ordinary (and, to a lesser extent, for the Mass Proper) and attributed to composers, named and unnamed, known to have lived and worked at Avignon. Between the well-documented experiments undertaken at Notre-Dame de Paris until the thirteenth century and the spate of later-fourteenth-century activity described in this thesis, the music ascribed to papal and other chapels at Avignon constitutes an important link. This evidence of the earliest known attempts at musically-related Mass movements is adopted here as a point of entry into the study of fourteenth-century music for the Mass. At the inception of this inquiry, though, it must be again noted that no direct development may be traced from pairs and small groups of movements to such complete cycles as the Mass of *Tournai* and the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, or the *Caput Masses* described by Bukofzer. In fact, the codices *Apt* and *Ivrea*, which are the most substantial known sources of later medieval collections of Mass movements, may not even have been compiled until several decades after a reliable *terminus post quem non* for *Tournai*.⁴ The movements contained in these codices are contemplated here, then, for their

⁴See, for example, Stäblein-Harder 1962, 15: "(The codices *Apt* and *Ivrea*) contain compositions of the Ordinary written for the most part in the middle and later half, but some of them not before the turn, of the century..."

response to the common problem of the musically-integral Ordinary setting, and not for any influence which they may have exerted or received in relation to other Ordinary settings.

Both *Apt* and *Ivrea* are named for cathedrals outside Avignon, although these communities were, in the terms of Stäblein-Harder, culturally situated within the "Avignon orbit" in the later medieval era. *Ivrea*, popular synecdoche for the manuscript whose proper name is now *Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115* and which has also been referred to as *Ivrea CXV* and as *I-IV 115*, is an immense collection of music both polyphonic and monophonic. It is famous now for its thirty-seven *Ars nova* motets, the greatest known number in a single fourteenth-century volume of French origin. It also transmits four *chaces*, eleven *chansons*, some chant, a text-only exegesis on hexachords, a setting of the Mass Proper, and twenty-five Mass Ordinary movements. These last could scarcely be more diverse: they include movements monophony and polyphony, troped and untroped settings, newly-composed and borrowed music, in which *antiqua*-like simplicity alternates with *nova*-esque complexity.

The Ordinary settings of *Ivrea* include four settings of the *Kyrie*, two of the *Sanctus*, and nine each of the *Gloria* and *Credo*; a tenth, single-voice *Credo* is typically considered the twenty-fifth polyphonic movement, for it may be a fragment of a composition originally conceived for multiple voices. *Ivrea* groups nine of these movements in the order of celebration, but neither is its organization precisely congruent with the *kyriale* model. Rather, the Ordinary movements of *Ivrea* are concentrated within Gathering VI⁵, and seem to have

⁵That is, Gathering VI according to Karl Kügle's study *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 1997). This work is cited frequently throughout this chapter for such crucial information as the organization and contents of *Ivrea* and, less often, for Kügle's own analysis, which, though fascinating, is not precisely relevant to the present study.

been copied into that gathering less in a discernible artistic or practical fashion than as they became available to the scribe. Thus are settings of the *Kyrie* distributed among *folios* sixteen (*verso*) to seventeen, thirty-six, fifty-three (*verso*) to fifty-four (*verso*), and sixty-one, with little in common besides their text. The first of these is in discant style, the next in strict homophony, the third in motet style, and the last (which, incidentally, is repeated, with no significant alteration, in *folio* fifty-six) in discant style.

Most of the nine *Gloria* settings of *Ivrea* tend towards complex polyphony evocative of the motet, but rarely do two movements employ identical compositional techniques, and, like the settings of the *Kyrie* cited above, they appear in no discernible order. Five true motets and motet-like compositions on the *Gloria* text appear in *Ivrea*, including a four-part motet on *folios* twenty-nine (*verso*) to thirty, a particularly expansive movement which features frequent embellishments in all voices. Two more of the *Gloria* movements of *Ivrea* have discant properties. That which appears on *folios* thirty-six (*verso*) to thirty-seven is heavily troped and is distinguished by its alternation between the standard *Et in terra pax* text and passages from another Latin prayer, *Qui sonitu melodie Virginis matris Marie*. This movement is also found in the codex *Apt* and in the manuscripts *BF (Rochester)*, *Padua B. Univ. 684/1475*, and *Strasburg M. 222 C. 22*, although only *Apt* is complete; Stäblein-Harder transcribes this *Gloria* with consideration of its other versions in the musical companion to *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*. (This instance serves as a useful introduction to Stäblein-Harder's practice of conflating concordances. Linking this three-voice *Gloria* of *Ivrea*--that is, that found on *folios* thirty-six *verso* to thirty-seven--with a four-voice *Gloria* in *Padua*, she adds the extra part, an untexted *Contratenor*, to the *Ivrea* version in her musical

edition. Such interpretation is of course possible, but is noted here as a reminder to the reader that both Stäblein-Harder and Kügle practice and therefore implicitly endorse such conflation.) The other discant-like *Gloria*, on *folios* fifteen (*verso*) to sixteen, is a three-voice movement with a highly-ornamented, unlabelled upper voice, a slightly less ornate *Contratenor*, and a slow *Tenor*. To complete this set of nine *Gloria* settings in *Ivrea*, there are two simultaneous settings: one, on *folios* fifty to fifty-one, is heavily melismatic in all parts, and its mensural changes are highlighted in red; another, less-ornamented *Gloria* appears on *folios* forty-nine to forty-nine *verso*, an odd arrangement which would necessitate an awkward page-turn in performance. Both of these homophonic movements feature the *Et in terra pax* texts as well as other Latin texts, *Spiritus et alme* and *Et verus homo deus* respectively.

The *Credo* settings of *Ivrea* appear as more of a unit than does any other class of movement. Of the nine complete enough to be confidently termed polyphonic, seven are true or *quasi*-motets, some even employing such sophisticated *Ars nova* techniques as hocket and isorhythm. Those which begin on *folios* thirty (*verso*), thirty-two (*verso*), thirty-four (*verso*), forty-one (*verso*), forty-three (*verso*), and forty-four (*verso*) are all three-voice motets, one of which, that beginning on *folio* forty-one (*verso*), is signed "*Orles*" in the upper left margin of the first *folio*. A four-voice motet appears on *folios* forty-six (*verso*) to forty-seven, and bears the name "*Guayrinet*" in small letters at the inception of the *Contratenor* part. There are also two discant-like settings. One, for three voices, is heralded by an obscured signature at its beginning on *folio* thirty-eight (*verso*)⁶. The other, which occupies *folios*

⁶The reader is referred to Stäblein-Harder 1962, 149 for a facsimile.

forty-seven (*verso*) to forty-eight, is preceded by the word (possibly a name) "*Sortes*".

A summary of the Ordinary movements of the codex *Ivrea* must also include the *Sanctus* settings, which are somewhat less grand than the *Credo* motets or the lengthy *Glorias*. They number just two, and are both in the simultaneous or homophonic style: one begins on *folio* forty-six, and declaims its text in three-voice polyphony, while the other begins on *folio* sixty-two (*verso*) and is given in a version for four voices.

Among this collection of seemingly disparate and unordered movements, there are few obvious connections. Consecutive works rarely share range, mode, or even such basic characteristics as style or text. From this source, as from the *kyriales*, the celebrant or choirmaster might have chosen an Ordinary cycle at random; perhaps it was even preferable to enliven the liturgy by selecting dissimilar movements rather than to seek out a cycle with comparatively little internal variation.⁷ The purpose served by the codex is also initially unclear. Kügler describes it as a modest repository for all manner of musical contents.

I-IV 115 is visually unassuming. The parchment is of average to low quality, and the grade of the skins varies from gathering to gathering. The sheets are relatively thick, and range in color from a light yellow (flesh sides) to a dark or medium brown (hair sides). Parchment of this quality is typically encountered in documents of a utilitarian nature, whereas it is relatively uncommon among the major sources of fourteenth-century polyphony. The fact that holes...and sewing stitches...are not unusual in the writing surface underscores the unpretentious character of the book.

I-IV 115 contains no illuminations. Ink shades are limited to red and dark hues (the latter ranging from a faded yellowish brown to a blackish brown). Decorations are restricted to Lombard capitals in red ink and initials in black ink embellished by grotesques or simple ornaments, in many cases involving a sprinkle of red ink. A decorative pattern resembling a chessboard, always executed in dark ink,

⁷This hypothesis, while irrelevant in the case of the movements of the codex *Ivrea*, figures prominently in the chapter devoted here to the Mass *Barcelona*.

is reserved for music copying, where it is commonly found at the ends of individual parts.

Corrections and erasures are plentiful throughout *I-IV 115*. Many of the corrections match the ink shade of the music, suggesting that the text was routinely proofread in conjunction with the copying.

The six gatherings of the manuscript are generally in a well-preserved state, although the volume does not come down to us entirely undamaged....⁸

This last is a particularly revealing comment, for it alludes to the intention of *Ivrea* as a practical, referential work, and not simply for the preservation of compositions which might not have been performed on a regular basis.

Apt, Trésor de la Basilique Sainte-Anne, MS 16 bis 4 is, like *Ivrea*, at once an historically-significant codex of diverse contents and a functional manuscript which seems to have enjoyed regular use in the ritual life of the cathedral where it was copied and where it now resides. Only *Ivrea* is comparable to *Apt* in number of Mass Ordinary movements it contains. The latter has thirty-five polyphonic settings for two, three, and four voices, among them ten of the *Kyrie*, ten of the *Gloria*, ten of the *Credo*, four of the *Sanctus*, and one of the *Agnus Dei*. Polyphonic settings of Mass Ordinary texts constitute the greater part of *Apt*, which transmits forty-eight pieces in its forty-five *folios* (thirty-seven parchment, eight paper), and which may be further divided into six gatherings, each representing a different period of the codex's compilation.⁹

These polyphonic Mass Ordinary movements are contained within *folios* one through forty-two (*verso*) of *Apt*, with other types of compositions interspersed according to no

⁸Kügler, 4-5.

⁹Stäblein-Harder 1962, 92-6.

apparent order. Appearing first are the *Kyrie* settings, among which are represented the motet-like texture (those beginning on *folios* one and nine, both in three voices, the second attributed to Guymont), the simultaneous style (one movement, which is found on *folio* four (*verso*) here and is shared with *Ivrea*), and, overwhelmingly, the discant texture. All but one of these discant-like *Kyries* are transmitted here in versions for three voices. (However, Stäblein-Harder suggests a five-voice conflation for one, in *folios* two (*verso*) to three of *Apt* and in *Padua*. Since this would be the only instance of five-voice polyphony in a medieval setting of a Mass Ordinary text, it is doubtful that Stäblein-Harder's intriguing suggestion is a valid one.)

Just one *Kyrie* movement is shared between *Apt* and *Ivrea*, but these codices transmit four identical *Gloria* settings. Two of these are in the discant style, and one, which appears in a two-voice version on *folio* eighteen (*verso*) of *Apt*, is given with an additional voice on *folios* fifteen (*verso*) to sixteen of *Ivrea*. (This is one of the more convincing conflations in the musical companion to *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, where it appears as transcription number twenty-eight on page forty-five.) Two others are in motet style, both for three voices. *Apt* further contains a three-voice, discant-style *Gloria* which is also found in the Mass *Barcelona* and five *unicum* settings of the *Gloria*, one discant-like and attributed to Baudet Cordier, two motet-like, and two in the simultaneous style.

Of the *Credo* movements in *Apt*, two are shared with *Ivrea*: a three-voice, motet-like setting from *folio* forty-one (*verso*) of *Ivrea*, where it is attributed to Orles, appears in a two-voice version in *Apt*, beginning on *folio* nineteen. The codex *Apt* seems to have suffered some damage in its first gathering, and the missing *folio* eighteen may have supplied the

missing uppermost part. The other *Credo* concordance between *Apt* and *Ivrea* is a three-voice, discant-like movement attributed to Sortes. *Apt* also contains three additional discant-like *Credo* movements, two of which are *unica* and one of which also appears in the manuscript *Barcelona, Biblioteca central, M. 971*, the principal source of the Mass of *Barcelona*. The remaining *Credo* movements in the codex *Apt* are in the simultaneous style, and include an unusual instance of four-part polyphony; this last, attributed to the otherwise-unknown composer "*Bonbarde*", occupies *folios* twenty-nine (*verso*) to thirty-two.

The *Sanctus* settings in *Apt* are scattered among settings of the *Gloria* and *Credo*, and are all for three voices, and all but one in the discant texture. Two of these, beginning on *folios* eleven and thirty-five (*verso*), are attributed to Fleurie and Tapissier respectively.

The sole *Agnus Dei* setting in *Apt* begins on *folio* twelve. It is a discant-style setting for three voices, and has no known concordances. *Agnus Dei* settings seem not to have been of great interest to fourteenth-century composers, with just six found in the whole repertory discussed by Stäblein-Harder; by contrast, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* makes reference to nineteen settings each of the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*, fifteen of the *Credo*, and eleven of the *Sanctus*. Three settings of the *Ite, missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino* are discussed in that work, but this sixth movement has not always been considered an element essential to the Mass Ordinary, and so its relative unpopularity as a subject for polyphony is more understandable than that of the crucial *Agnus Dei* text.

As demonstrated in the list immediately above and in the earlier discussions of the contents of *Apt* and *Ivrea*, the longer texts of the *Gloria* and *Credo* predominate these codices, and seem to have garnered more intricate settings. The above lists might also serve

as evidence for a relationship between the codices, which have several concordances and which are both believed to have emanated from schism Avignon. This relationship is not necessarily confined to such commonalities, however, and so this chapter culminates in an exploration of the possibility that an incomplete cycle may be discerned from among the polyphonic Mass Ordinary movements of the codices *Ivrea* and *Apt*.

A fragmentary *Kyrie* appears on *folios* sixteen (*verso*) to seventeen of *Ivrea*, with only the inception of an upper part and a complete *Tenor* part given; Stäblein-Harder suggests that a third voice, without which this movement sometimes seems harmonically-incomplete, is absent due to scribal omission.¹⁰ What is given of this partial movement is in imperfect time, major prolation, and transcribes to twenty-two measures of two-voice polyphony, with the upper voice dominating the *Tenor*, followed by an additional forty-eight measures of the *Tenor* alone. It is the first statement of *Kyrie eleison* which is the relatively complete portion, and the *Christe eleison* and final *Kyrie eleison* for which only the *Tenor* is given. This *Tenor* part is not identical to that of the first *Kyrie eleison*, and so the first upper-voice *Kyrie* melody may not be repeated at the end of the movement. A transcription of the first third of the *Kyrie* of *Ivrea*, *folios* sixteen (*verso*) to seventeen, made in consultation with the transcriptions of Stäblein-Harder and of Kügler and with the codex itself as inadequately transmitted on microfilm, appears as Figure 1.1 of the Appendix.

Later in *Ivrea*, over *folios* thirty-eight (*verso*) to thirty-nine, a three-voice *Credo*

¹⁰"It is quite possible that this composition was not planned à 2, but à 3, as was Iv 52. Then the *Ct* on fol. 17 would have had enough room, too, following on the *C*. Remarkably enough, however, the copyist did not complete his work." (28) Stäblein-Harder uses her own numbering to denote these movements, and means the *Credo* of *folios* thirty-eight (*verso*) to thirty-nine (*recto*) of *Ivrea* by "Iv 52".

appears, a discant-style movement in imperfect time, major prolation with a melodically-ornate uppermost voice supported by unusually active *Contratenor* and *Tenor* parts.

Transcribed in alternating 6/4 and 3/4 metres, it may be realized in one hundred and fifty-seven modern measures, twenty of which are devoted to an *Amen* rich in hocket and dissonance. Owing to the unusual length of this movement, only an excerpt from its transcription is given in the Appendix as Figure 1.2.

The passage given is the very beginning, measures one through twenty-two, from the opening "*Patrem omnipotentem*" to the first syllable of the "*patre*" from the phrase "*Et ex patre natum ante omnia secula*". Immediately obvious even upon casual inspection is the near-identical *Tenor*, which is embellished with a flurry of *minimae* in the *Credo* and which experiences no such melodic ornamentation or change in durations in the *Kyrie*. This varied inception aside, these movements share a common *Tenor*, as well as a related uppermost voice. In the *Credo* version, the pitch *c* is usually raised, while in the *Kyrie* it is never raised. There is also some melodic discrepancy between the *Kyrie* and *Credo*, but, in both, the uppermost and *Tenor* voices (that is, the two surviving voices in the *Kyrie*, and the outer parts in the *Credo*) tend to share fifths and octaves as harmonic intervals, with thirds and sixths only rarely intruding on these pure sonorities. The *Credo* thus seems modern compared to the *Kyrie*, for its harmony is enriched by a *Contratenor* which often adds significant harmonic interest, as in the resolution of the second transcribed measure to the third with a pair of raised tones.

These two movements are copied in the same gathering of the same codex if not in succession, and are thus easily identified as bearing a musical relation of indeterminate

significance. Their connection is only enhanced, then, by the appearance of another, similar movement in the codex *Apt*. The *Sanctus* which occupies *folio* seventeen of that volume is also in the discant style, and is also given in a version for three voices. Among the three discant-style, three-voice settings of the *Sanctus* which are contained in *Apt*, that on *folio* seventeen is not particularly noteworthy, although it is distinguished from the other two by its anonymity (these are those attributed to Fleurie and to Tapissier).

Its significance here derives instead from its striking similarity to the aforementioned *Kyrie* and *Credo*. With some alteration, the *Tenor* of that *Kyrie* reappears as the *Tenor* of this *Sanctus*, occupying the same number of transcribed measures and conveyed in the same range, mode, and meter. Figure 1.3 offers this *Tenor* alone, and may be compared with Figures 1.1 and 1.2, which excerpt the *Tenor* parts of the *Kyrie* and *Credo*. As revealed by such a comparison, these certainly employ the same melody, slightly amended to accommodate different texts but retaining an immediately-recognizable character. Also shared by the *Credo* of *Ivrea* and the *Sanctus* of *Apt* is the technique of the linking passage, which is further discussed in Chapters Three and Seven for its appearances in the Mass of *Tournai* and in Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame*. The *Sanctus* is in eight sections, which are separated by seven textless *Contratenor-Tenor* duets. The *Credo*, too, makes use of such passages on eleven occasions, also placing the duet in the two lower parts.

The evidence for the relationship of this *Kyrie*, *Credo*, and *Sanctus*, to summarize, is as follows: they share a common *Tenor* and a similar three-voice texture (implied, in the case of the *Kyrie* of *Ivrea*) in the discant style, while the *Credo* of *Ivrea* and the *Sanctus* of *Apt* both rely upon the textless, lower-voice duet to bind together their many sections. Whether

this is a fragment of a once-complete cycle of five or six movements (probably five, since there are few settings of the *Ite, missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino* to be found in the codices *Apt* and *Ivrea*) is not clear. Stäblein-Harder suggests that the codices are derived from a common exemplar¹¹, a theory which hints appealingly at a source in which these movements are complemented by related *Gloria* and *Agnus Dei* settings. Even in the absence of such a development, however, these three movements speak to the young but growing concern in the fourteenth century with the invention of a musical parallel to liturgical unity.

¹¹See Stäblein-Harder 1962, 43 for a tentative genealogy.

Chapter Three: The Mass of Tournai

At the Cathédrale Tournai in the present-day Belgian province Hainault, there exists a musical manuscript the latest contents of which may date from as early as 1349, and in which are preserved diverse monophonic and polyphonic settings of liturgical texts. On twelve of the forty parchment pages of this volume, which is now known as *Tournai A 27* and which was previously called *Tournai 476*, a three-voice, polyphonic Mass Ordinary appears, the movements *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* (and alternate settings, one each, of the *Kyrie* and *Sanctus*) and a motet on *Ite, missa est*, copied not in the form of the *kyriale* but as a continuous Mass, a physical and, to some extent, musical unit. This chapter explores the integrity of the Mass of *Tournai*, beginning with an analysis of each of its six movements (truly eight, but the second *Kyrie* and *Sanctus* settings are not normally included in the performance or criticism of this Mass, and are also excluded here). It then considers the presentation of these in the manuscript; physical appearance is particularly crucial in the case of the Mass of *Tournai*, and so special attention is paid here to the manner in which this work is preserved. Ultimately, as the case of this unusual specimen demands, this chapters evaluates the implications of copying and compiling versus composing as creative acts.

The *Kyrie* is apparently without any concordances among other fourteenth-century polyphonic or chant settings of the text, and its tenor melody bears no resemblance at all to any of the *Kyrie* chants which appear elsewhere in the manuscript. This *unicum* movement appears in the right uppermost corner of *folio* twenty-eight, copied in score form, with the *Triplum*, *Motetus*, and *Tenor* voices all texted and each occupying two staves of five coloured

lines each. All three voices are in strict and synchronous modal rhythm, rendering the texture overwhelmingly homophonic (or, in Stäblein-Harder's terms, in simultaneous style). The late Franconian notation of the movement, which alternates between *breve* and *longa*, prompts Gilbert Reaney to suggest that it may date from approximately 1330¹.

The text of the *Gloria* proper (that is, from the words "*Et in terra pax*" to "*Gloriam* (sic) *dei Patris*") is allotted a generous expanse of parchment. It is copied over the bottom half of *folio* twenty-eight (*recto*), the whole of the following *verso* side, and the *recto* surface of *folio* twenty-nine. Also employing modal rhythm but more modern in its notation, this movement is rich in *minim* and *plica* durations in its imperfect time, major prolation. All three voices tend to move simultaneously, with occasional, brief melismas in the *Triplum* and *Motetus* parts. Beneath these, the *Tenor* provides constant harmonic support, lapsing from the fourth rhythmic mode in only eleven of two hundred and thirty-one transcribed measures². In another hiatus from this texture, a duet occasionally and briefly sounds, between the *Motetus* and *Tenor* in transcribed measures twenty-one and twenty-two, one hundred and thirteen and one hundred and fourteen, and two hundred and twelve and two hundred and thirteen. Also paired are the *Tenor* and *Triplum* in measures forty-three and

¹Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (ca 1320-1400)* (München: Henle Verlag, 1969), 48-51. The reasoning employed by Reaney is convoluted at best, but is worth at least noting here, for speculation on the dating of the Mass of *Tournai* is hardly plentiful.

²In 1988, the polyphonic Mass of the manuscript *Tournai* was made available, in both facsimile and transcription, in Jean Dumoulin, Michel Huglo, Philippe Mercier, and Jacques Pycke, editors, *La Messe de Tournai: Une messe polyphonique en l'honneur de Notre-Dame à la Cathédrale de Tournai au XIVe siècle: Étude et nouvelle transcription* (Tournai: Archives du Chapitre Cathédrale), a volume which also contains valuable history and criticism of the rite as it was and is celebrated at the Cathédrale.

forty-four, one hundred and forty-four and one hundred and forty-five, and one hundred and eighty-seven and one hundred and eighty-eight (these passages are given in the Appendix as Figure 2.1.). At the turn of *folio* twenty-nine to its *verso* face, the concluding *Amen* appears, in a compact arrangement that places the *Tenor* immediately after the *Motetus*. Thus far, no part has shared a staff with another, but here the equivalent of one hundred and sixty-nine measures of modern notation are relayed in a single page of manuscript, an arrangement facilitated by the absence of a prolix text; this scribe laboriously copies every word of even the most lengthy Ordinary texts, albeit with many truncations.

No less ambitious is the *Credo*, which also receives a luxurious allotment of parchment. It may be realized in three hundred and ninety-seven measures of modern notation, and is copied into four full faces of manuscript, rendering it the most expansive movement of the Mass of *Tournai* and, indeed, the longest Mass movement of all the repertory addressed in this study; the *Credo* of the *Messe de Notre Dame*, by comparison, is less than two hundred modern measures long, and concludes in a long, complex *Amen*, while the *Credo* of *Tournai*, which ends in a relatively succinct *Amen*, sets the preceding text with far more music. Both texts consist of the standard Nicene Creed, but the musical rendition of this avowal of faith in *Tournai* features many long sonorities, and two-measure *Motetus-Tenor* duets or, more frequently, solo *Tenor* passages, also of two measures, occur even within textual phrases. While silences in the *Triplum* are clearly indicated in the manuscript *Tournai* version and are logical in the division of the movement, the two concordances of this *Credo* found in the manuscripts *Apt* and *Madrid* suggest additional pitches which would fill these gaps, particularly in the *Tenor*, and very occasionally offer pitches immediately

above or below those found in *Tournai*.³

These first three movements are copied in a kind of modified score format, with surfaces judiciously allotted so as to present equal portions of each part in an arrangement which suggests an intended facilitation of performance by soloists or by a small choir of trained musicians. Before halving, the leaves of the manuscript measure just thirty-five by twenty-two and a half centimetres, and florid passages such as the embellished *Triplum* part in the *Gloria* and *Credo* are so tiny as to be almost invisible except upon close inspection. The *Kyrie* features two staves of *Triplum*, two of *Motetus* beneath it, and two of *Tenor* beneath that. The *Gloria* gives each part until "*adoramus te*" on the *recto* of *folio* twenty-eight, then to "*dei patris*" over the *verso* of that *folio* and the *recto* of *folio* twenty-nine, and the final "*Amen*" on the following *verso*. However, the *Sanctus*, which takes up the *recto* of *folio* thirty-two, is copied in the manner of a motet, with the *Triplum* in the left column, the *Motetus* in the right, and the *Tenor* beneath. Modal rhythm reappears, in anachronous Franconian notation as in the *Kyrie*, and this movement concludes, as have the previous three, with an elongation of the final syllable (the "*sis*" of "*excelsis*"), permitting a virtuosic display of rhythmic if not of melodic complexity. To this movement, the scribe (or, more probably, another copyist) has appended four lines which appear to be the *Tenor* of a different *Sanctus*. No other parts are given, and the cramped hand and clef changes, unique

³*Apt, Trésor de la Basilique Sainte-Anne, MS 16* is discussed in Chapter Two; *Madrid Biblioteca Nacional*, Va 21-8, though a fascinating source of medieval music for worship, is not addressed here except as its contents relate to *Tournai*. For a study of *Madrid*, the reader is referred to Higinio Anglés, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (Catálogos de la Música antigua conservada en España)*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: 1945), and an essay by the same author entitled "Una Nueva Versión del Credo de Tournai," published in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 8 (1954), 97-9.

to this movement, suggest a later addition, possibly made out of concern for the economical usage of a quarter-*folio* of blank parchment.⁴

In the *Agnus Dei*, a movement of mostly syllabic declamation in the third rhythmic mode, the scribe returns to the score-like notation of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Credo*, placing the three lines of the *Triplum* in the upper right quarter of the *recto* of *folio* thirty-three, the three lines of the *Motetus* below these, and the three of the *Tenor* in the third quarter of the *folio*. Three versions of the incipit "A" (for "Agnus") are given, with the first line of music in all three voices preceded by a large, square capital letter, the second line in each part begun with a more elegant "A", identical to those of the "Amen" passages which closed the *Gloria* and *Credo*, and a lower-case "a" beginning the final phrase, "*Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*". Also identical are the expanses of parchment allotted to the penultimate syllable of each part at the end of the second line: "nobis", which was initially set melismatically in each part, is sung on just one note in its second audition, but occupies enough space for several modern measures's worth of music. Such an arrangement allows the scribe to begin the next line on a fresh staff, however, and attention has been paid to the appearance of this movement, with its three sets of initials at the extreme left and phrase endings "-bis", "-bis", and "-cem" aligned at the extreme right.

Another foreign accretion appears in the bottom quarter of the *recto* face of *folio* thirty-three, a *Kyrie*, the second-line C clef of which is found in only one other movement of

⁴Dumoulin *et al.* even speculate that this is a kind of homage by an admirer of the scribe who copied the four previous movements and the *Agnus Dei* which follows: "*Un second Sanctus...a été introduit sur un bas de page restée blanche, par une main contemporaine qui a tenté d'imiter celle qui a copié le premier Sanctus...*" (20)

this twelve-page polyphonic section of the manuscript *Tournai*, the alternate, single-voiced *Sanctus* on the *verso* side of *folio* thirty-two. Where the Franconian notation of that movement was awkward, this *Kyrie* is conveyed in a confident hand. Dumoulin *et al.* agree that this is a contemporaneous addition, "if not in the same hand" as that other insertion.⁵

The Mass of *Tournai* ends with a three-voice motet, presented, on the *verso* of *folio* thirty-three, in the motet format of the *Sanctus*. The *Triplum* text is of unknown origin but certainly secular in character.⁶

*Se grasse n'est à mon maintien
contraire et vraie amours
garnie de désir de plaisamment
servir pour souscours faire bien
me devist madame retenir
mès tant ne puis pryer
ne requerre sa grant valour
que ie li puisse plaire ce m'est
avis or m'en estuet retraire du tout
en tout & mendre*

*poursivir u lessier ent boine amour
convenir avoech francise
et pite de bonnaire qui pooiront
de tous cuers adouchir*

If grace is not opposed to maintaining
me and true love
adorned with the desire to serve pleasantly
to succour (her), to do good
she must retain me
nonetheless as much as I can
I do not ask for her great worth
that I may please her, that is my
mind. Or, if I cannot please her,
I shall withdraw and falsely say
that I do not love her.
To pursue her or to leave her in good love
with honesty
and pity of happiness, that can
sweeten all hearts.

This *Triplum* takes up ten half-staves plus three full lines of *folio* thirty-three *verso*, its lengthy text and florid melody dominating the *Motetus* and *Tenor* both in immediate physical appearance and, when realized, in musical texture. The *Motetus* occupies just nine half-staves, its Latin text imploring the powerful not to ignore the less fortunate. Like the

⁵Dumoulin *et al.*, 20. "Un second *Kyrie* à trois voix (f° 33) a été ajouté ici en bas de page, apparemment à la même époque, sinon de la même main que précédemment (f° 32v)."

⁶In this and the next transcription, orthography and line endings are preserved, accents and punctuation are normalized, and abbreviations are resolved without comment.

version of the *Triplum* which appears above, the *Motetus* is reproduced, with a transcription which observes the line divisions of the manuscript at the left and a translation, with some punctuation and elaboration of truncations added, at the right.

*Cum venerint miseri dege
tes ad ostium vestrum
succurite continuo domini
potentes vel adminus
clamantes dicite ne pereat*

*quod quidam valentes sibi
forsan conferent cedit*

When the degenerate poor
come to your door
succour them at once for God,
you powerful one, or assist
those who call, do not
tell them "Perish"
for they might bring (you) something,
strong in its own right.

Beneath these, the *Tenor* twice intones the same "*Ite, missa est*" melody, a tune which seems not to belong to any plainchant repertory and so must be presumed original. This repeated melody is narrow in range, venturing only as high as f⁷ and as low as a. Relayed almost entirely in *longae*, it culminates in the midst of the third statement of a simple *talea*, a pattern which might be described as equivalent to one half-*ordo* of the fifth rhythmic mode (that is, three *longae*) and one *ordo* of the third mode (a *longa*, a *breve*, and a double *breve*), terminating in one final *longa*. This isorhythmic gesture in the slow-moving *Tenor* is all but obscured by the upper voices, which briskly declaim their much lengthier texts and occupy almost all of the *verso* surface of *folio* thirty-three. The *Tenor* is inserted into the half-staff below the *Motetus*, not even written out twice but ended with two vertical strokes similar to those which end all parts in the *Kyrie*. (Since these markings must imply the repetition standard to that text, which typically consists of three incantations of "*Kyrie eleison*", three of "*Christe eleison*", and another three of "*Kyrie eleison*", they may be interpreted as having the same function here.) Slight though it is, however, the *Tenor* provides a crucial harmonic foundation for this movement, usually providing tonic support for the *Motetus* and *Triplum*

and occasionally adding a harmonic third to vertical sonorities otherwise consisting solely of perfect intervals.

Contrast characterizes this last movement of the Mass of *Tournai*. After five homophonic settings of the Ordinary texts, a motet appears, with one voice relaying an unknown but religious Latin text, another a French and definitely secular poem, and the last the brief, standard words of dismissal. The verbally-protracted and melodically-complex *Motetus* and *Triplum* parts are set against a *Tenor* of modest length and proportions, the intricate duet of these upper voices playing out above a voice so elongated it cannot complete even three statements of its simple *talea*. Indeed, the very bitextuality of the motet is perplexing. The liturgical function of an *Ite, missa est* movement is that of dismissal: its text literally means "Go, the Mass is ended." The *Motetus* text is in keeping with a parting sentiment, as it admonishes the wealthy among the congregated faithful to perform their Christian duty by attending to the poor. More speculatively, it may have had some special significance on Maundy Thursday, the communion day when alms are distributed to the poor in observation of the anniversary of Christ's institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. Whatever the precise role of the *Motetus* text, however, the text set in the *Triplum* voice is a clever secular parallel. In a situation typical of *amour courtois* poetry, a frustrated lover claims that he would rather affect a lack of romantic interest than endure rejection, and implores the object of his attention to allow him to serve her if he cannot love her. In modern transcription, the "*souscours*" of the French-language *Triplum* appears in measures twenty-six and twenty-seven. Almost immediately, it is answered by the "*succurite*" of the Latin *Motetus*, which sounds over measures twenty-nine to thirty-six. The "-*me*" of the word

"madame" in the *Triplum* is also sung to a *longa* duration, so motion in all three voices is suspended here for one *longa* or for the equivalent of three full measures. (The relevant measures are reproduced as Figure 2.2.) Such wordplay is ingenious, to be sure, but would it really fulfill its ostensible purpose, the adjournment of the Roman rite with the message of farewell contained in the *Tenor* text?

The manuscript *Ivrea* discussed in Chapter Two preserves the motet *Se grasse-Cum venerint-Ite, missa est* in precisely the same format and with the same texts as does the manuscript *Tournai*, and also in the context of music for the Mass, although the former manuscript observes the organizational principle of the *kyriale*. Amidst the monotextual, homophonic *Ite, missa est* movements which are found in *Ivrea*, this motet is even more incongruous than it is in *Tournai*. To extrapolate, then, this motet is a work imbued with both secular and sacred characteristics, yet placed, at least twice, in a decidedly liturgical context.

Confronted with the problem of this conflict, Dumoulin *et al.* suggest, the trained singers for whom this challenging work was probably intended may simply have sung all three parts to "*Ite, missa est*" or "*Benedicamus Domino*" (a text with the same sentiment and the same number of syllables). In this contention, these authors may be understood to imply that the manuscripts *Tournai* and *Ivrea* thus served more as convenient repositories for the motet than as literal examples of music appropriate for the conclusion of a Mass Ordinary celebrated in the church.⁷

⁷Dumoulin *et al.*, 21. "*Quelle signification a donc cette pièce polyphonique (that is, the motet *Se grasse-Cum venerint-Ite, missa est*)? Quelle est sa fonction? Il faut répondre que le diacre lançait sa monition, en plain-chant ou sur cette mélodie, et que la réponse Deo*

This study now offers another explanation, one which, since it is not the true subject of this work, can only begin to imply the need for further research, but which is included here as an alternative to the attractive but unsubstantiated theory of Dumoulin *et al.* Since there was no more significant ceremonial for a medieval secular ruler than the observation of the Mass, and as even the scholars recently employed by the Cathédrale Tournai to examine the holdings of that parish's library have refrained from identifying the manuscript *Tournai A 27* as originating in the Cathédrale, it seems only logical to wonder whether the entire manuscript, or at least the polyphonic Mass Ordinary, was intended for performance at a court. Such a context would explain the presence of the secular French text in the *Triplum* of the motet, and the intricacy of the polyphony on the whole and in such instances as that given as Figure 2.2 (that is, the reply of "*succurite*" with "*souscours*"). Within the French text itself, such phrases as "*plaisamment servir*" allude to literary conceits typical of *amour courtois*, and would not have been out of place in a secular environment. To summarize, the motet *Se grasse-Cum venerint-Ite, missa est* may have been performed as written, and, if so, may constitute evidence for the performance of the Mass at court, the significance of which possibility might better be explored elsewhere.

Finally, it is in the matter of manuscript organization that this consideration of the Mass of *Tournai* must end, for this Mass and the *Messe de Notre Dame* of Guillaume de Machaut are relatively unusual among Ordinary settings of the premodern era for their

gratias, qui compte le même nombre de syllabes, était chantée par les choristes en polyphonie. Mais est-il vraisemblable que ces paroles profanes en latin et en français du motet et du triple aient pu être chantées à la fin d'une messe solennelle, que ce soit à la Chapelle papale d'Avignon ou à la Cathédrale de Tournai ou ailleurs?"

physical presentation as cycles. Beyond this integrity, Machaut's Mass is unified by means of devices both overt and subtle, discussed in detail in Chapter Seven; indeed, the unity of the *Messe de Notre Dame* has proven nearly as contentious as have its dating and authorship, and so the musical- and liturgical-historical literatures, as suggested by the summary of secondary sources which forms the first portion of Chapter One, have already begun to address the means by which its cyclic appearance is amplified by musical cyclicality. In keeping with the mandate of this study, the integrity of the Mass of *Tournai* is here assessed independently of the possible relationship between this work and the *Messe de Notre Dame*. (Again, such comparison has only been possible since the publication of *La Messe de Tournai*, as Dumoulin *et al.* made available a facsimile of the twelve *folios* which contain the Mass *Tournai*, augmented by a modern transcription and an extensive critical commentary. For the first critical study of Machaut's Mass which was informed by the Mass *Tournai*, the reader is referred to Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*.⁸⁾

That the anonymous Mass of *Tournai* is a compilation and not an original composition (or, to restate this description more cautiously owing to the perpetual problem of a lack of evidence, not an entirely newly-conceived work) is indisputable: the *Credo* survives in at least two other versions, the motet in at least one; the sudden, apparently-unnecessary

⁸Leech-Wilkinson, 39-40. "It seems probable that...familiarity lies behind Machaut's references to the Tournai setting (of the Mass Ordinary). There is no consistent use of the Tournai material (in Machaut's Mass), but its melodic figures and harmonic progressions surface unpredictably throughout....All this suggests that Machaut was falling into similar phrases through the habit of associating text with familiar music, rather than that he was systematically reusing the Tournai model."

adoption of a motet formation in the presentation of the first *Sanctus* of *folio* thirty-two suggests a model different from that or those which provided the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and Agnus Dei*. Though the same hand almost certainly wrote all six movements which are here taken as the Mass of *Tournai*, no author is named for the cycle or even for any of its constituent movements.

If the Mass of *Tournai* is at least a partially-compiled and assuredly not an absolutely novel work, though, might not its compilation represent a creative act worthy of some contemplation? From diverse sources, some of which may not yet be known, and perhaps also from the compiler-scribe's own musical imagination, appears a six-movement Mass which foreshadows that of Machaut in physical if not in musical unity. The degree to which the Mass of *Tournai* may be said to be musically-unified, however, demands an evaluation of the sensitivity of the unnamed fourteenth-century scribe who copied it and who perhaps added her or his own compositions, as needed, to complete the cycle. This chapter concludes, then, with a brief inquiry into the musical unification of the Mass as *Tournai*, a cycle which has already been shown here to have been preserved with careful attention to physical unity.

While she identifies the Mass *Tournai* as a "predecessor" of (but not a precedent for) the *Messe de Notre Dame* of Machaut, Anne Walters Robertson distinguishes the latter for its unification "in harmonic and rhythmic language and...in terms of the choice of tenor chants."⁹ The melodies of *Tournai* which may be traced to chant sources have already been shown here not to have originated in related traditions, and so this potential unifying device

⁹Robertson, 137.

need not be taken into consideration. More compelling, to be sure, is the matter of style: setting aside the motet because of its inherent stylistic independence, the five movements which form the rest of the cycle are consistently simultaneous in the declamation of their respective texts, all five moving in near-absolute homophony. Each movement begins with one modern measure's worth of all three parts, in perfect consonance, vocalizing the same syllable for exactly the same duration. The *Kyrie* does not break from strict homophony until its ninth transcribed measure, already well into the first statement of "*eleison*". The *Gloria* does not abandon simultaneous motion before the word "*terra*", where the embellishment of the *Triplum* with a rush of *minimae*, a device employed extensively in this movement, is initiated. In the *Credo*, long passages of homophony are very briefly interspersed with fleeting episodes of autonomy on the part of one voice, frequently the *Triplum*, which often prepares for the next sonority with some aureola-like figure. The duets, already remarked upon here, may constitute linking passages similar to those found in the *Messe de Nostre-Dame*, or may in fact result simply from *lacunae* which are may be filled from the concordant sources *Apt* and *Madrid*, additions rendering this movement almost perfectly simultaneous in its broadcast of the Creed, apart from the occasional *Triplum* elaborations noted above. The *Sanctus*, from its inception until the exhortatory "*Pleni sunt caeli*", lapses from its overwhelming simultaneity only for individual voices to fill in melodic intervals greater than the second, as on the "*-nus*" of "*Dominus*", where the *Motetus* and *Tenor* move gradually from their unison *a* to the fifth on which they will begin to sing "*Deus*". The hocket with which the first and second "*Osanna*" passages and the "*Benedictus qui venit*" are infused are thus quite unexpected, although they are gradually revealed to

operate in a strict rhythmic pattern, a device which returns to these sections some of the earlier continuity of this *Sanctus*. The *Agnus Dei*, too, tends to be scrupulously homogeneous in its motion, with its first (and only its first) "*Miserere nobis*" sung with some hocket.

Consistent in texture, the Mass of *Tournai* is also unified by its use of modal rhythm. The movements *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* are each relayed in a rhythmic mode (fourth, modified third, and third, respectively), lapsing from these patterns only briefly and at textually-significant moments such as the ends of phrases. For instance, on the final syllable of each statement of "*eleison*" in the *Kyrie*, all three voices revert to two *breve* durations followed by a *longa*, with the sole exception of the *Triplum*, which states the first "*eleison*" without deviation from its already-established rhythmic pattern. By contrast, the *Gloria* and *Credo* employ no such rhythmic device, although they do both tend towards imperfect time, major prolation, and often herald important words of the text with more prolonged durations.

It is chiefly by virtue of the above-described consistency of texture and rhythm that this cycle, forged from diverse materials, emerges as a convincing musical entity. The compiler and potential composer who copied out all six of its movements, left no name or other personal information, and so remains as mysterious as the motet *Se grasse-Cum venerint-Ite, missa est*. Surely this is the work of a single scribe, though, one who paid careful attention to both musical unity and physical presentation, and who, at least ten years before the appearance of the earliest source for the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, sought to assemble the six movements of the Mass Ordinary as a single work.

Chapter Four: The Mass of Toulouse

Currently housed in the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, the manuscript now known as *Toulouse 94* is an enormous collection of music for the Mass. Its first section, a *Missale Romanum* from the first half of the fourteenth century, is composed exclusively of the texts, formulæ, and chants of the rite, written into three hundred and forty-two parchment *folios*¹ by a scribe or scribes whose careful attention ensured near-absolute legibility and uniformity, rendering this *Missale* an eminently practical resource for daily liturgical observance. Two additions to the manuscript, however, speak to its later treatment as a repository for liturgical music, perhaps added because they were too slight to warrant the expense of a separate volume.

The final fascicle of *Toulouse*, contributed by a scribe whose hand seems not to appear in the *Missale* section, consists of ten sets of *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est* chants, introduced by the heading "*ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem romane curie*". Nearly all of these are found, with no variants at all, in the *Editio Vaticana*, and so their very identity is not unusual. The manner in which they are transmitted, however, is most remarkable. Rather than copying these chants in the much more common fashion of the *Kyriale*, with a group of *Kyrie* settings followed by a group of *Gloria* chants and so forth, this scribe has assembled ten near-complete cycles, organized according to liturgical usage ("*in festis duplicibus, semi-duplicibus, simplicibus*", "*in dominicis diebus*",

¹There has been some disagreement regarding the foliation of *Toulouse 94*. This thesis observes that established by Jacques Handschin and Hanna Stäblein-Harder and corroborated by Leo Schrade.

and "*in commemoratione beatæ Mariæ*"²) and presented in uninterrupted succession. The musical uniformity of these cycles has already been commented upon at length by Leo Schrade and need not be reviewed here, but may be summarized as consisting primarily of consistency of melodic patterns or *centos*, or, as Schrade would call them, "motifs".³

A third class of liturgical music is contained in *Toulouse*. Throughout the original *Missale* section of the manuscript, a polyphonic Mass Ordinary appears, its five movements (its *Gloria* was either part of a now-lost fascicle or was never present at all) entered separately and with no discernible organizational strategy, apart from the constant concern for the economical usage of parchment; just two movements appear in succession, and the remaining three are separated from this pair and from one another by dozens of chant and text-only pieces. It is this haphazard method of transmission that prompts Richard H. Hoppin to speculate that the Mass "has been preserved in a strange way that leaves some doubt as to whether it was intended to be a complete polyphonic setting of the Ordinary." Later, Hoppin likens it, oddly, to the Mass of *Tournai*, which, though copied as a unit, is assuredly at least partially-compiled rather than a cycle newly-composed in its entirety. He writes, "Despite differences in age and style, the Tournai and Toulouse Masses resemble each other....Both are compilations of musically independent movements..."⁴

As Chapter Three demonstrates, the Mass of *Tournai* was assembled by a scribe who

²These rubrics are only barely legible on the only microfilm copy available as of the writing of this thesis, and so the transcriptions found in Schrade, 1954 are used instead.

³Schrade 1954, 86. "Thus, a melodic «motif» becomes an element of fusion among the individual chants of the cycle. The force of the melodic «motif» gave the cycle an artistic unity."

⁴Hoppin, 387 (copying of *Toulouse*) and 388 (*Tournai* and *Toulouse* as compilations).

had at least some awareness of the artistic significance of her or his act of compilation, and emerges as a convincing musical unit despite the disparity of its original sources. In this chapter, a similar case is made for the five polyphonic Ordinary movements which constitute the Mass of *Toulouse*. Following an examination of each movement for its style, compositional techniques, and treatment of text, and, in the special case of the *Credo*, concordances with other sources, this survey will find its conclusion in the degree to which the Mass of *Toulouse* may be said to be musically unified.

Occupying the *recto* face of *folio* one hundred and forty-five and the *verso* of *folio* one hundred and forty-seven, the *Kyrie* is an untroped movement in imperfect time, minor prolation, conceived and executed for three voices. The first of these, though in a high enough register to be called *Triplum*, bears no such designation, although it is the only texted voice; the considerably lower second and third voices are labelled "*Contratenor*" and "*Tenor Kyrie*" respectively. The absence of a text in its middle voice prompts Stäblein-Harder to comment that this *Kyrie* may have been intended for instrumental performance:

But it is also conceivable that the text of the second voice was intentionally omitted, so that, if not the structure, at least the performance would correspond with the discant-like *Credo*-, *Agnus*-, and *Ite*-movements of the Mass....The second voice would moreover appear quite suitable for instrumental performance, thanks to its low pitch, a thing fairly rare in motet-like compositions of the Avignon circle.⁵

As Stäblein-Harder indicates, the style of the *Kyrie* is not unequivocally discant-like. The *Contratenor* part is too active to be heard as subordinate to that of the uppermost voice, and the *Tenor*, while tending to move slowly and rarely leaping, accelerates to the same rate

⁵Stäblein-Harder 1962, 26.

as the upper voices on four occasions, lending a temporarily homogeneous texture to a movement otherwise dominated by its upper voices. The reader may find evidence in support of these last remarks in Figure 3.1 of the Appendix, which reproduces a transcription of the middle or *Christe* section of this movement. Particularly relevant here are: the syncopation of the *Contratenor* in measure thirty-five (the inception of this movement, *Kyrie*, is transcribed as measure one); the hocket interplay between the uppermost voice and *Contratenor* in measures forty-two to forty-five and sixty-four to sixty-seven (inclusive); and, in the same passages, the movement of the *Tenor* in the equivalent of quarter notes. The *Christe* section, like the rest of the movement, is nominally motet-like, with a slow-moving *Tenor* and more active upper voices, but this section and those surrounding it all tend, as they unfold, towards a more discant-like texture. Stäblein-Harder is justified, then, in finding a correspondence between the *Kyrie* and the other movements of the Mass of *Toulouse*. This relation, however, is not entirely dependent upon the instrumental performance of the middle voice; despite its obvious allegiances to the motet, the *Kyrie* may be heard as a composition in the discant style even in strictly vocal interpretation.

The *Credo* which appears on *folio* one (*recto*) of *Toulouse* is but a fragment, a *Tenor* part, given exclusively in *breve* and *longa* durations, which begins "*Crucifixus*," continues to "*seculi*," and lacks a concluding "*Amen*." This archaic melody is the only musically-incomplete movement of the Mass of *Toulouse*. It is also one of only two *Toulouse* movements with any known concordances (the other is the *Agnus Dei*, which is discussed presently). This *Tenor* is found in three-voice *Credo* settings in the codices *Apt* and *Ivrea* discussed in Chapter Two, with the composer identified in the former as Sortes and

the rubrication "*de rege*" preceding the *Credo* in the latter. It was also copied into these three manuscripts: *Barcelona C*, *Biblioteca Central de Catalunya, M 971* (formerly *M 946*); the so-called Fleischer Fragment, which is now owned by the Sibley Musical Library in Rochester, New York and also known as *BF*, *Berlin-Fleischer*, or the *Fleischer Fragment*; and the manuscript which belonged to the Duchess de la Trémoille at Château de Serrant, a source which is commonly known in the academic literature as *Trémoille* and whose index lists a *Patrem omnipotentem* by Sortes on *folios* which are now missing from the manuscript.

There was certainly space adequate in the first *folios* of *Toulouse* for the copying of the entire *Credo* as it is preserved in these four other available sources (that is, the five listed above less the lost portion of *Trémoille*, which, even if still extant, is, of course, inaccessible), so the omissions, of the upper and *Contratenor* voices and of the first half and "*Amen*" of the *Tenor*, are indeed puzzling. Schrade wonders whether the scribe was simply forgetful or was somehow prevented from completing her or his work, an observation which leads to broader speculation on the identity and intentions of that copyist.

The odd way of beginning the *Tenor* of the *Credo* with the *Crucifixus* should indicate that the scribe had planned to copy the rest of the *Credo Tenor* together with the two other parts on other pages of the manuscript. He apparently did not get around to it; nor did he complete the cycle, even though enough pages were vacant to copy both the *Credo* and the *Gloria*. We cannot reconstruct the succession in which the copyist entered the individual movements; at all events, by the strange distribution he tore the cycle apart....In view of all the odd features and partial omissions, the scribe was probably not the compiler of the Mass.⁶

Accepting the *Credo* of *Apt*, *Ivrea*, *Barcelona C*, and the *Fleischer Fragment* as the intended *Credo* of *Toulouse*, the style may be easily identified as discant-like: the two lower

⁶Schrade 1954, 88.

voices use only the durations *breve* and *longa*, and tend to move in contrary motion and in identical or nearly-identical rhythm. Above these, the uppermost voice (which, as noted on page 60, is not designated "*Triplum*" in any of these sources, although the *Contratenor* is so named in four, and the *Tenor* in five) rapidly declaims the text of the Creed, dominating the *Contratenor* and *Tenor* with its discant. Figure 3.2 gives a transcription of the first three phrases of the *Credo* as its found in the codex *Apt*; that is, from "*Patrem omnipotentem*" to "*unigenitum*". The attentive reader will note that the sequences and syncopations which infuse this excerpt are typical of the three- and four-voice Mass Ordinary movements of *Apt*, some of which are contemplated in Chapter Two. The concordant *Credos* of *Apt* and *Toulouse* and the appearance, in *Toulouse*, of a movement whose style would have been associated with the Avignon repertory as amply represented in *Apt*, again raises the problem of the unknown genealogy of *Toulouse*. Its *Credo* is the most reliable proof for the inclusion of the Mass of *Toulouse* among the other products of Stäblein-Harder's "Avignon orbit", but aspects of other movements, as will be shown presently, may also be interpreted (and have been, by both Stäblein-Harder and Schrade) as further evidence for the association of this Mass with others produced in fourteenth-century Avignon and its environs.

Like the *Kyrie*, the three-voice *Sanctus* copied into *folios* two hundred and twenty-five (*verso*) and two hundred and twenty-six of *Toulouse* possesses some motet-like characteristics. Again, the uppermost voice, which could easily have been called "*Triplum*", is unnamed, and is the only part with a text underlay. The middle voice, untexted, is given as "*Contra*"(*tenor*), and the lowest is marked "*Tenor Sanctus*". The melodies of these upper parts move conjunctly and rapidly, sometimes producing surprising harmonies. The reader is

directed here to Figure 3.3 for a transcription of the first twenty-eight measures of the movement, in which the first "*Sanctus*" is declaimed; to measures four (fourth eighth note), seven (third eighth note), and nine (fourth eighth note) therein for particularly compelling examples of passing harmonic dissonance between the two upper voices; and to measures four, seven, and nine for acute dissonance between the held notes of the *Tenor* and some of the ornamental notes of the upper voices. As Figure 3.3 indicates, the upper voices dominate the *Sanctus* by the twin means of aurally-attractive melodies and sometimes-harsh vertical sonorities. Below the upper voice and the *Contra(tenor)*, the *Tenor* provides a base which tends to move slowly and predictably, although it occasionally leaps, as in measures two, eleven, and, most strikingly, twenty-seven. The final statement of "*Sanctus*" features an even more laconic *Tenor*, which is written entirely in ligated notes and consists almost exclusively of *longa* durations until, in measure sixty-seven, it becomes nearly homorhythmic with the much more active upper and *Contra(tenor)* voices. Figure 3.4 reproduces this third "*Sanctus*" of the Mass of *Toulouse*; the reader is instructed to observe the syncopation of the upper voice in measures fifty-three to sixty and the hocket of the *Contra(tenor)* in measures sixty-two to sixty-five and of both upper voices in measures sixty-seven to sixty-nine as motet-like attributes.

Stäblein-Harder, however, only reluctantly includes this *Sanctus* in the section of *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* devoted to "*Sanctus* compositions in motet style".

"In the *Sanctus* of the *Toulouse* Mass," she cautions,

we are confronted with one of the few pieces in which the structure does not correspond to the treatment of the text. The duet in the upper voices shows the composition is motet-like (note the discant range in both voices and the hockets); the absence of the text in the second voice, on the other

hand, shows it to be like a discant composition.⁷

She is also careful to make this distinction in her 1953 essay "*Die Messe von Toulouse*," writing, "the *Toulouse* Mass appears to be the oldest discant cycle which we possess, although the motet-like elements in the *Sanctus* and *Kyrie* should not be overlooked."⁸

Schrade, too, groups the *Kyrie* and *Sanctus* together as movements with elements both motet-like and discant-like. More willing than Stäblein-Harder to interpret the significance of this mixture of styles, Schrade speculates that the "artistic uniformity of the Mass of *Toulouse* is the result of the superior idea of style which governs each individual movement even to the extent that the controlling conception of a discant composition causes various discrepancies," and even wonders whether the "duet composition(s)...cease to function in accordance with (their) structure"⁹.

The discant texture previously heard in the *Credo* is again in evidence in the *Agnus Dei*, which appears, directly after the *Sanctus*, on *folio* two hundred and twenty-six (*verso*). Of the standard text, only the opening words "*Agnus Dei*" and the terminating "*misereri nobis*" are given. The phrases "*qui tollis peccate mundi*" and "*ora pro nobis*" are omitted altogether and replaced with the following text, given only in the uppermost voice: "*Agnus dei Rex immense pietatis deus alme splendor patris pia prece pie matris miserere nobis. Agnus dei rex benigne rex sanctorum rex virtutum rex celorum rex omnium seculorum*

⁷Stäblein-Harder 1962, 69.

⁸Stäblein-Harder, "*Die Messe von Toulouse*," *Musica Disciplina* 7 (1953), 105-6: "*Vielmehr stellt die „Messe von Toulouse“ den ältesten Diskant-liedzyklus dar, den wir besitzen, wenn auch motettenmässige Elemente im Sanctus und besonders im Kyrie nicht zu übersehen sind.*"

⁹Schrade 1954, 96.

miserere nobis. Agnus dei rex qui sedes super tronum verum lumen summum bonum a quo summum datur, dona nobis pacem." The three-voice version which appears in the manuscript *Gerona, Archivo de la Catedral* is also incomplete, but its *lacunae* are left unfilled; also, the *Contratenor* part was given music for only the first third of the standard tripartite text.¹⁰

Allegiances to the motet style are immediately apparent in this movement. The *Tenor* is influenced by isorhythm; although it does not seem to have a single *color*, its melody is organized according to a flexible *talea*. Above the *Tenor*, the upper voices of this passage (representative of the texture of this whole movement) might be heard as a duet, for they are more rapid and more embellished than the lowermost voice. More subtle but, ultimately, more arresting than these motet-like characteristics, though, are the discant-like traits of this movement. The uppermost or "*Triplum*" voice is the most active, its intricate melody dominating those of the *Contratenor* and the *Tenor* more than the "*Triplum*" and *Contratenor* govern the *Tenor*. Schrade further suggests that the lack of a *Contratenor* text indicates the

¹⁰Since there was no facsimile or microfilm edition of *Gerona, Archivo de la Catedral* extant at the time of writing, the following remarks, made by Stäblein-Harder upon consultation of the manuscript, are admitted, although the author has not been able to check them or assess them critically: "In the Ger version of this composition the *Ct* is missing in the second and third *Agnus*, while the *Ct* of the first *Agnus* shows a certain relationship with the Toul *Ct*. A few measures are very similar (1/2, 9), others are utterly different (7/8), but a common basis is undeniable. Melodically, the *Ct* of Ger 5 [that is, the fifth composition of *Gerona*, the *Agnus Dei* which is concordant with the *Agnus Dei* of *Toulouse*] is more vivid, and follows the outer voices less in rhythm. It avoids pairs of *Sb* where they occur in the outer voices. It occasionally forms clashes and unisons with the upper voices which are not to be found in Toul. All these features seem to indicate that Toul has the older version of the *Ct*, whereas the version of Ger is a variation, but at present nothing more definite can be said on account of the incomplete *Ct* in Ger 5. The outer voices of both versions are very similar. The text in measure 27 is confused in Ger 5, which is again evidence of Toul's precedence." (1962, 76)

position of that voice as subordinate to the uppermost, thus promoting the identification of this movement as discant-like.¹¹

After the conclusion of the *Agnus Dei* at the bottom of *folio* two hundred and twenty-six (*verso*), the scribe indicates where a "*motetus super ite missa est*" may be found. Copied into the page after the *Kyrie* (*folio* one hundred and forty-seven, *verso* surface), this *Ite, missa est* is the final movement of the Mass of *Toulouse*, although the scribe-compiler's designation "*motetus*" is paradoxical if taken as a generic identifier as this is the most overtly discant-like movement of the Mass. The two lower voices, neither of which is texted, unobtrusively support the more florid upper part, which relays a troped "*Laudemus Jhesum Christum*" text of unknown origin. This uppermost voice is the dominant one, the middle voice tending to indulge in durations briefer than the *breve* only when the discant above it is at rest on a longer duration, and the lowermost voice moving even more slowly. Figure 3.5 reproduces the first textual phrase (or first twelve transcribed measures) of the *Ite, missa est*, in which compelling evidence for the greater fidelity of this movement to the discant model than to that of the motet may be observed. Particularly convincing is the relief of the middle voice's longer durations only in the instance of the uppermost voice's arrested motion on the words "*-stum modo*" and the comparatively measured pace of the lowermost voice throughout.

All five of the movements which constitute the Mass of *Toulouse*, then, may be said

¹¹Schrade 1954, 93. "With the assumption that the scribe merely forgot the text of the *Contratenor*, we attempted to supply the second upper part with the text; but the result, though successful for many passages, was not wholly satisfactory. Hence we believe that by omitting the text for the *Contratenor*, the composer intentionally aimed at discant composition, without realizing his (*sic*) intention in the musical structure."

to have discant qualities. In the case of the *Credo*, the *Agnus Dei*, and the *Credo*, the lower voices are clearly subordinate to the upper line. In that of the *Kyrie* and the *Sanctus*, the texture is less obviously discant-like, owing to the more active middle voice, which can function almost as independently as does the uppermost voice. There is also, however, the issue of text: the uppermost is consistently the only voice given any text at all beyond an *incipit*, and its texts seem unexpurgated, with the obvious exception of the *Credo*, which must be completed from other sources. On the whole, this is a Mass whose movements all seem to fit, either immediately or with some adjustments, into Stäblein-Harder's discant-style category, and whose common tendency toward treble-directed harmony ensures the reception of the Mass of *Toulouse* as a musically-unified cycle.

Chapter Five: The Mass of Sorbonne

This cycle was dubbed the *Messe de Besançon* by Jacques Chailley, who posits that the manuscript in which it appears may have been used at the Cathédrale Besançon in the Franche-Comté. He traces one era of the manuscript's history to the area of Dambelin, and concludes that only the Cathédrale could have provided a suitable home for the volume¹. Leo Schrade, however, takes issue with this nomenclature. Since Chailley himself admits to conjecture in his tentative attempt to reconstruct the manuscript's ownership, Schrade suggests that the Mass within it ought to be known as the Mass of *Sorbonne*, for Chailley discovered the manuscript at the Institut de Musicologie of the Université de Paris in 1952.² So is this cycle now called, in the greater musico-liturgico-historical literature as well as in this chapter.

The manuscript, though it is thought to have once been a great and rich one, is now but a "fragment", as Schrade writes. The parchment *bifolio* occupied by the Mass suffered particularly severe damage through its usage in the sixteenth century as the cover of a register, an unfortunate practice which is the most probable cause of the near-illegibility of

¹Jacques Chailley, "La Messe de Besançon et un compositeur inconnu du XIV^e siècle: Jean Lambelet," *Annales musicologiques* II (1954), 95-6: "*Le seul centre de la région qui puisse s'y prêter avec vraisemblance semble bien être la cathédrale de Besançon. (...) C'est pourquoi nous proposerions dans un but pratique et sans préjuger de recherches ultérieures...le nom de messe de Besançon.*"

²Schrade 1955, 15: "The fragment must not be named the Mass of Besançon. The Mass of Tournai is so named for its present owner, not with regard to the origin of the composition. For the Mass of Tournai did certainly not originate in Tournai. Also titles such as the Mass of Toulouse or Mass of Barcelona refer to present owners. Hence for the new fragment the proper analogy would be the title Mass of Sorbonne." Of course, Chapter Three of this thesis does not accept Schrade's view that the Mass of *Tournai* was not compiled at or in the vicinity of the Cathédrale of Tournai.

the outer parchment page. Ironically, it is this first page which seems to have generated the most attention in studies of the Mass, for it contains not only the *Kyrie* and the first half of the *Gloria*, but also a cryptic emblem, perhaps a name. In the upper half of *folio* one, the *Triplum* and *Motetus* of the *Kyrie* appear in two columns of four staves each. Beneath these, the *Tenor* appears in a single staff, completing the motet-like appearance of the movement. Between the "e" and "leyson" of the final line of the *Motetus* are inserted the letters "Johês Lābuleti". Chailley interprets these as an abbreviation of "Johannes Lambuleti", which name he translates as "Jean Lambelet", attributing to this unknown the authorship of "the Kyrie...or the entire Mass, which may well be, next to the Mass of Tournai and that of Machaut, one of the oldest known polyphonic Masses."³ Schrade dismisses this theory altogether, suggesting instead that the "Lābuleti" is in fact a flawed and crossed-out "leyson", and that "Johês", while plausible as "Johannes", may instead be the first of a litany of saints's names.⁴ The matter of the authorship of the Mass lies well outside the scope of the present study, but an attempt to formulate a reply to a concomitant question raised by the Chailley-Schrade debate may provide a useful focus for this chapter. That question, then, is: even if it is anonymous, does the Mass of *Sorbonne* not remain compelling for the presentation of its five movements in uninterrupted succession, and to what degree may these movements be said to be related?

³Chailley, 98: "Et, que Jean Lambelet soit seulement l'auteur du Kyrie ou celui de l'ensemble de la Messe, celle-ci pourrait bien être, aux côtés de la messe de Tournai et de celle de Machaut, l'une des plus anciennes messes polyphoniques connues."

⁴Schrade 1954, 15: "This does not make much sense, it must be admitted. If the word, or words, after Johannes represent a name, why an "etc."? And why a period after Johannes? In any case, the inscription could not possibly be read as "Lambuleti."

The *Kyrie* is one of the better-preserved movements of the Mass of *Sorbonne*. As noted above, its three parts are copied in motet formation, with the *Triplum* in the top left half of *folio* one, the *Motetus* in the top right half, and the *Tenor* below. Both upper voices are underlaid with a full, troped text, which they declaim in durations consisting almost exclusively of *minimae* and *plicae*, their elaborate melodies replete with hocket and syncopation. Below these, the *Tenor*, labelled "*Tenor-kyrie-Expurgator*", moves in slower durations of *breves*, *longae*, and double *longae*, livened three times with *minimae*. This *Tenor* is shown in the Appendix as Figure 4.1.1.

The identification of both the physical presentation and the musical content of this movement with the motet style is hardly problematic. It is interesting, however, that this composition has its origin in another *Kyrie* which is decidedly unlike a motet. The sixty-first *folio* of the codex *Ivrea* contains a two-voice, fragmentary *Kyrie*, the *Tenor* of which is identical to that of the *Sorbonne Kyrie*, but for occasional discrepancies of *musica ficta* and durations. For comparison, the *Tenor* of the *Ivrea Kyrie* is reproduced in the Appendix as Figure 4.1.2. The text of the *Kyrie* appearing in *Ivrea* is extensively troped: each *Kyrie* and *Christe* is different, resulting in a nine-stanza text. The same music is given for each of the first three *Kyries*, but no more music is given for the three *Christes* or for the three final *Kyries*. Only the upper voice is texted, rendering this movement truly discant-like for having just one texted voice, and that with a melody tending towards the intricately melismatic. The removal of its *Tenor* to a motet-like *Kyrie*, then, is an intriguing development, and is not an isolated instance of a relationship between these sources, as will be documented throughout this chapter.

The first half of the *Gloria*, from "*Et in terra pax*" to *gloriam tuam*", appears in the bottom half of *folio* one. Three voices, all fully-texted, are given in this portion of the *Gloria*, which is generally in simultaneous style, although the *Tenor* occasionally lags behind the two upper voices in rapidity and complexity. As in the Mass of *Tournai* and the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, some phrases are separated by untexted, two-voice interludes. Figure 4.2 gives an example of these, an episode of *Motetus-Tenor* duet between the first and second phrases of the *Gloria* (the duet, then, is transcribed as measure nine).

The *verso* face of *folio* one contains a complete *Triplum* setting of the remainder of the *Gloria* text, from "*Domine deus*" to a lengthy "*Amen*". Below the *Triplum* is a *Motetus* setting of the text, from "*Domine deus*" to "*Qui tollis*". The rest of the *Motetus* and the *Tenor* were presumably copied onto the original *folio* two, which appears to have been missing from the manuscript since it was donated to the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique in Paris in 1870 (it is not known when or how it came to reside at the Université de Paris). Despite this hiatus, enough of the *Sorbonne Gloria* survives to permit comparison with the *Credo* which is found on *folios* thirty-four (*recto* and *verso* faces) and thirty-five (*recto*) of the codex *Ivrea*. The first two measures of these movements, given as Figures 4.3.1 (*Sorbonne*) and 4.3.2 (*Ivrea*), are virtually identical, with some dissimilarities of durations not unlike those seen in Figures 4.1.1 and 4.1.2. Beyond this initial parallel, the *Tenor* parts of these movements are alternately closely-related and not at all alike; Figures 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 give the complete *Tenors* of the *Gloria* of *Sorbonne* and the *Credo* of *Ivrea* respectively for comparison.

Either the *Ivrea Credo* influenced the *Sorbonne Gloria*, or the former must once have

been part of the Mass of *Sorbonne*, or *vice versa*. In his essay "Musical interrelations between fourteenth century mass movements", Roland Jackson formulates a precise model for the genealogy of these manuscripts.⁵ He suggests another source, *Cambrai, Bibliothèque Communale 1328*, as an exemplar for *Ivrea*, and, in turn, posits *Ivrea* as a model for *Sorbonne*. Acknowledging the shared traits of their *Kyries* and of the *Sorbonne Gloria* and the *Ivrea Credo*, Jackson cites *Sanctus* settings of *Ivrea* and *Sorbonne* as more substantial proof of *Cambrai* as their antecedent. Particularly relevant to the present study is Jackson's evidence for the Mass of *Sorbonne* as a systematic attempt to synthesize *Ivrea* repertory into a single Mass cycle. As will now be revealed, the fundamental tenet supporting this chapter's conclusion, that the Mass of *Sorbonne* is unified by compositional procedure if not by purely musical means, is supported by Jackson's genealogy.

Part of the *Sanctus* of *Sorbonne*, along with the rest of the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, were probably contained in the lost *folio* two. The middle part, from "*Benedictus qui venit*" to "*Osanna in excelsis*", and the complete lower part, begin the *folio* which was originally the third and which is now commonly called the second. This movement, like the *Gloria*, tends towards the simultaneous style, or may at least be so called, since no upper voice, discant-like or not, exists to demand another appellation. The *de facto* upper voice, however, which occupies the range more typically associated with the middle voice throughout the Mass, engages in syncopation hocket against the foundational *Tenor* voice too often for this categorization to be an entirely suitable one, an assertion supported by the excerpt reproduced as Figure 4.5.

⁵Jackson, 56.

The four-voice *Sanctus* of the codex *Ivrea*, *folios* sixty-two (*verso*) to sixty-four is also difficult to categorize. Its three lower voices are consistently homophonic, at least in their declamation of the original *Sanctus* text; in its troped passages, the *Ivrea Sanctus* is so complex that it must have perplexed even trained singers. (Such *ars subtilior* traits are hardly crucial here, but, in the spirit of providing as much information as possible on an under-researched and little-understood repertory, a particularly intricate passage from the *Ivrea Sanctus* is given in the Appendix as Figure 4.6.) Troping aside, the lowest voices of the *Sorbonne* and *Ivrea* settings of the *Sanctus* are identical from "*Benedictus*", as indicated by the transcriptions which constitute Figures 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 (again, *Sorbonne* is displayed first, then *Ivrea*).

Jackson finds in *Ivrea* a model for *Sorbonne*, reasoning that the former codex is the second in the family relation of *Cambrai*, *Ivrea*, and *Sorbonne*:

Cambrai is a three-voices composition in the note-against-note style of the polyphonic conductus. *Ivrea* was written for four voices, but the three lower voices belong together as a unit, as though appropriated from some other composition, and it is only in these three lower voices that it relates to Cambrai. The quadruplum differs musically as well as textually from the other voices; because of its rapid movement and independence it appears to have been added. (The extremely long text of this quadruplum--it is a *Sanctus* trope, *Sanctus sanans fragilia*--probably influenced, in turn, the structure of the three lower voices and is probably responsible for many of their changes and musical insertions.) This hybrid texture of *Ivrea* points to its being a later version. *Sorbonne*...appears to be the latest version, for it is the most *florid*--at points of correspondence its duplum has smaller note values than the dupla of the other two versions. Furthermore, it is the only one of the three pieces to make use of a hocket, which is introduced at the conclusion of the *Benedictus*. The texture, then, of the three compositions--Cambrai with its note-against-note style, *Ivrea* with its added quadruplum, and *Sorbonne* with its increased floridness--seems to point to the priority

of Cambrai and to suggest that Ivrea was composed second and Sorbonne last.⁶

Although it cannot be described in great detail here, the *Agnus Dei* of the manuscript *Cambrai* may be succinctly presented as a movement in the simultaneous style, a very compact composition which may be transcribed into just eighty modern measures. It features plentiful sequence and repetition, receiving from Stäblein-Harder the criticism that "(e)ven though the clarity of structure is admirable, there is an undeniable monotony, on the other hand, caused by the repetition of identical or similar passages."⁷ The *Sanctus* of *Ivrea* is, indeed, more "florid" than the *Agnus Dei* of *Cambrai*, although the former movement, as remarked above, may still be said to be in the simultaneous style. The *Sanctus* of *Sorbonne*, too, is only tentatively identifiable as homophonic. As seen in Figure 4.5, the middle voice (that which Jackson terms the *duplum*) seems to operate independently of the lower or *Tenor* voice, an arrangement which, if further complicated by an equally-complex uppermost voice, would beg the label "motet-like" for this movement. Accepting Jackson's genealogy (truly, it must be accepted, at least for now, as no other study of *Cambrai's* history has emerged since the publication of his essay nearly a half-century ago), the original *Tenor* of *Cambrai* seems to have permuted into a progressively more remote style, with the *Sorbonne Sanctus* only distantly related to its more restrained antecedent. On the basis of its *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Sanctus* movements, then, the Mass of *Sorbonne* begins to emerge as characterized by the borrowing and alteration of preëxisting music. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the *Agnus Dei* and *Benedicamus Domino* movements of *Sorbonne*, which are

⁶Jackson, 56-7.

⁷Stäblein-Harder 1962, 78.

also derived from other (and very different) sources.

A two-voice setting of the *Agnus Dei* appears on *folio two (verso)* of *Sorbonne* (new foliation). Judging from their ranges, these two parts might have been intended for rendition by the singers who had performed the middle (or *Duplum*, or *Motetus*) and *Tenor* parts in earlier movements. Stäblein-Harder calls this a simultaneous-style movement, a description perhaps valid for the first third but less convincing for the second setting of "*Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*" and apparently quite unfounded for the setting of the concluding "*Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*". This last section finishes with a flurry of hocket in the upper of the two voices, while the second-last, though very brief, is replete with virtuosic leaps and syncopations. This movement might better be termed discant-like, in the same sense that the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* fragments tend towards slower-moving *Tenors* and more agile upper voices.

Stäblein-Harder may have elected to include the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass of *Sorbonne* in the portion of her study devoted to "Agnus compositions in simultaneous style" out of concern for continuity, for also found in that section of *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France* is the *Sanctus* from the codex *Ivrea* which has already been cited here for its similarity to the *Sorbonne Sanctus*. The second-highest and lowest parts at the inception of that four-part composition are all but identical to the opening of its two-part relation, as the reader may verify in comparing Figures 4.8.1 (*Ivrea Sanctus*) and 4.8.2 (*Sorbonne Agnus Dei*). This is not the only borrowing in the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass of *Sorbonne*, either. Its third section is a near-literal reproduction of the outer voices of the *Kyrie*, as may be observed in the transcriptions given as Figures 4.9.1 (complete *Kyrie*) and 4.9.2 (*Agnus Dei*,

final third).

Almost obscured by grime and water damage, a simple two-voice setting of the *Benedicamus Domino* appears at the bottom of new *folio* two. While it may have been written in the same cramped, round hand that copied the four other surviving movements of the Mass of *Sorbonne*, this composition does not seem to fit with the rest of the cycle. Its presence is liturgically nonsensical, for, in a Mass which includes a *Gloria*, as does the Mass of *Sorbonne*, the *Benedicamus Domino* is omitted. It is a musical misfit as well.

Exceptionally among the other Mass movements discussed previously, the durations of the *Benedicamus Domino* are exclusively *breve* and *longa*. Also, it bears no resemblance to any Mass music in the codex *Ivrea*, whose contents seem to have inspired most of the Mass of *Sorbonne* thus far. Its upper voice only has one known relative: the *Benedicamus Domino* published as the second of that genre in the *Editio Vaticana* or *Liber Usualis*, which begins on c' where this version begins on f' but which is otherwise an almost exact replica.

It is on the basis of this borrowing that this thesis includes the *Benedicamus Domino* in the Mass of *Sorbonne*. This is a cycle whose integrity is achieved not necessarily through the consistent appearance of a single melody but rather through the perpetual reworking of preëxisting musical material. Its *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei* movements are derived from compositions contained in the codex *Ivrea*, and the surviving fragments of its *Gloria* and *Sanctus* are related to *Ivrea* and may be further traced, as demonstrated by Roland Jackson, to *Cambrai*. For its appropriation of a *Liber Usualis* melody, the *Benedicamus Domino* may be considered a typical *Sorbonne* Mass movement, as this procedure is in keeping with the cycle's predilection for adaptation.

While no other study unreservedly endorses the inclusion of the *Benedicamus Domino* in the Mass of *Sorbonne*, most do acknowledge this cycle as one unified by borrowing. As indicated by its title, Leo Schrade's essay "A Fourteenth Century Parody Mass" contends that what he terms "parody", a technique normally associated with fifteenth-century music, is at work in the Mass of *Sorbonne*. Schrade summarizes the problem of terminology as follows (this lengthy passage is reproduced here for its historical importance as an example of mid-century musicological scholarship, for its corollary significance to the case of compilation as a creative act, discussed in Chapter Three, concerning the Mass of *Tournai*, and for its reference to the Mass of *Toulouse*, which is discussed in Chapter Four).

One of the movements of the so-called "Mass of Toulouse", subject of a recent study, exposed a peculiar technique of composition, or rather a procedure, which the 14th century composer was not known to have practiced. The *Ite missa est*-motet: *Laudemus Jhesum Christum* appeared to employ material drawn from the music for the verse "Laudamus te" of the *Gloria Qui sonitu melodie* (Ivrea, No. 50). In addition to the identity of the incipits of both compositions, various other contacts proved the relationship between the two works to go far beyond what we ordinarily call a stylistic association. The procedure of taking musical material from the midst of another composition, possibly on account of a certain similarity of the text, but mainly because of the intention to render the style of the "Diskantlied" common to both works, surely was striking enough to be recorded with a fair measure of emphasis. Although the intimate relationship suggested one and the same composer for the two works, the procedure itself appeared to be considerably more important than any problem of authorship, provided the latter could have been solved. While the procedure strongly indicated a technique which we associate with the "parody," within the 14th century it seemed so strange and isolated a phenomenon as to recommend caution as the wisest counsel, hence complete avoidance of the familiar term "Parody Mass."

Now that the discovery of a new fragmentary 14th century manuscript [*Sorbonne*] discloses an even more striking example, the application of the term "parody" to the Mass turns out to be fully justified...⁸

⁸Schrade 1955, 13.

Stäblein-Harder dismisses the Masses of *Tournai* and *Toulouse* as compilations and, therefore, as mere collections of musically-disparate movements, assembled for the sake of convenience rather than for that of art. "Of these three Masses," she writes, "only the Sorbonne Mass is 'cyclic' in the true sense of the term, since musical relationships appear between the individual movements of it."⁹ Ever cautious, Richard H. Hoppin concludes that "(w)e may use the Sorbonne Mass...to illustrate some of the ways in which composers used borrowed material to create *related but different* Mass movements."¹⁰

It is the recommendation of this study that, as elucidated above, the five surviving movements of the Mass of *Sorbonne* are enough alike to permit their reception as a musical unit. Even without a previous familiarity with the precedent of *Ivrea* (and, according to Jackson's extension, of *Cambrai*), and dismissing for lack of evidence the possibility of a "signature" in the first *folio*, the near-identical *Tenors* of the Mass and its consistent use of a discant-like texture convince the auditor of a kind of homogeneity which, as Schrade notes, is "peculiar" and unexpected in a fourteenth-century work.

⁹Stäblein-Harder 1962, 98.

¹⁰Hoppin, 392. Italics added for emphasis.

Chapter Six: The Mass of Barcelona

The Biblioteca Central de Catalunya in Barcelona, Spain is the present owner of a fragmentary manuscript, twelve *folios* in length, containing a Mass Ordinary cycle, two anonymous motets entitled "*Cum vix artidici*" and "*Zodiacum Signis*", an anonymous *Kyrie* motet with the troped texts "*Dulcis potens*" and "*Rex immense magestatis*", and a *Gloria* attributed in the manuscript itself to a Peliso. The last face of the fragment is blank, a curious omission given the high quality of the parchment and the coloured initials and lavish calligraphy found in its completed pages. This blank page has prompted speculation that the manuscript, called *Barcelona MS 946* by the Biblioteca and known among scholars as *Barcelona*, *Barcelona C*, *Barc*, or *Barc C*, was originally intended as but one gathering of a codex. Richard H. Hoppin wonders whether this was meant to be "a large and important collection of late fourteenth-century polyphony;"¹ Leo Schrade concludes that

...the beautiful as well as careful handwriting might be an indication that a considerably larger repertory was originally planned for *Barc C*. Indeed, the manuscript has all the earmarks of having been designed as a major source of 14th century polyphony. Either the copyist failed to continue his (*sic*) work, or else only the initial senaria of a larger manuscript has been preserved.²

The provenance of *Barc C* is also enigmatic. As this chapter documents, the manuscript has two known concordances in the "Avignon orbit"; however, neither the date nor the location of its copying may be ascertained. While there is no reason to assume that this is a Spanish source, the published history of *Barc C* at the time of writing consisted of

¹Hoppin, 389.

²Schrade 1954, 88.

Schrade's assertion, without any evidence to the contrary, of "the likelihood that the manuscript (was) copied in Northern Spain."³ It ought to be noted here that the absence of such a history for the medieval manuscripts currently owned by Spain constitutes a significant *lacuna* in the music-historical literature. Since a history of each of the sources consulted in the preparation of this thesis would be too onerous a task, *Barc C* may only be examined here *ex tempore*, with the cautionary remark that source studies of this and other manuscripts discussed here are in some cases long overdue, and would have provided a welcome and useful amplification of the present work.

The Mass Ordinary cycle occupies the first eight *folios* of *Barc C*. Its *Kyrie*, which appears on the *recto* face of *folio* one, is an *unicum* movement for three voices, all of which are texted. The first statement of *Kyrie* is in strict homophony, breaking from its simultaneity only for the occasional held note in the uppermost voice, as in the excerpt reproduced in the Appendix as Figure 5.1. The *Christe* is somewhat more complex than the *Kyrie*. Though it, too, begins in the simultaneous style, hocket soon appears in the two upper voices, which are supported by a *Tenor* with sequential tendencies. Owing to its brevity, the entire *Christe* may be reproduced here; it is Figure 5.2 in the Appendix. This first movement of the Mass ends with the restatement of *Kyrie eleison* with hocket in all three voices. Beginning with an equal three-voice texture and ending with an independence of parts which even recalls the motet, this is certainly not an absolutely simultaneous composition, though Stäblein-Harder designates it as such in *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music*

³Schrade 1954, 89.

*in France.*⁴

The *Gloria* is more immediately identifiable with a single style, in this case that of a discant-like composition. Copied into the *verso* of *folio* one, all of *folio* two, and the *recto* of *folio* three, only the uppermost of its three voices is texted, and that part is the most rapid and elaborate. This is the longest movement of the Mass of *Barcelona*, for the text declaimed by the highest voice is a variation on the standard *Gloria*, separating each phrase of that text with a phrase of trope text. Below this upper voice, the *Contratenor* and *Tenor* tend to move only in *longae*, or, occasionally, in shorter durations, but never as quickly as the uppermost part. The texture to which this movement tends may be observed in Figure 5.3, which gives the first textual phrase of the standard *Gloria*, followed by the first textual phrase of the trope, or transcribed measures one through thirty-three.

This is one of the two movements of the Mass of *Barcelona* known to appear in a concordant source, although the relationship is, in this case, based more upon a shared text than a shared music. The *Gloria* found in *folios* twenty-two through twenty-three (*verso*) of the codex *Apt* is also a *Splendor patris* trope, and also gives the text in only the highest of a three-voice arrangement. In the *Apt* version, however, the *Tenor* and *Contratenor* parts are more active, rendering the movement more motet-like than discant-like. Positing that *Apt* contains the original version and that the *Barcelona Gloria* is a later variant, Hoppin asks if "this modification resulted from a deliberate effort to enhance the stylistic contrasts of the Barcelona Mass...."⁵

⁴Stäblein-Harder 1962, 69.

⁵Hoppin, 390.

The *Credo*, too, is related to *Apt*, as well as to *Toulouse*, *Ivrea*, *Trémoille*, and the *Fleischer Fragment*. This is the *Credo* already discussed in Chapter Four, preceded in *Barc C* by the rubric "*De rege*"⁶ and given in a version quite different to those listed above (again, *Trémoille* and the *Fleischer Fragment* may not be taken into consideration, for the former is lost and the latter contains only the *Triplum* part; *Toulouse* is also unsuited to comparison, since it is fragmentary as well). The *Barc C* version of the *Credo* is not significantly different from those contained in *Apt* and in *Ivrea*. The *Gloria* concordance is a difficult one to prove beyond the shared text, for the styles of the *Apt* and *Barc C* versions are markedly distinct. This *Credo*, however, is virtually identical in *Apt*, *Ivrea*, and *Barc C*, which are really only differentiated by their use of ligatures: where *Apt* and *Ivrea* tend to gather the same pitches under ligatures, except at the ends of staves, the scribe of *Barc C* produced combinations not seen in the other sources. Issues of notation notwithstanding, essentially the same *Credo* emerges on *folios* three (*verso*) through six of *Barc C*. A more succinct movement than the *Gloria* of the Mass of *Barcelona*, its occupation of a greater proportion of the manuscript is due to unusually great space allotted it by the scribe, who renders the *Gloria* in tiny script and the *Credo* in comparatively large notes.

The *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* which complete the Mass of *Barcelona* are believed to be *unica*. The *Sanctus* appears on *folios* six (*verso*) to seven, a three-voice, bitextual setting with classically *Ars nova* motet traits. The uppermost and middle voices (although they are

⁶No satisfactory explanation has yet been offered for this title, and it is not the aim of this study to address such intriguing but difficult problems. The interested reader is instead referred to Schrade 1954, 90 for a summary of his efforts and those of other scholars to determine the origin of the *Credo De rege* of the Mass of *Barcelona*.

not so labelled here, they are in the same range as *Triplum* and *Contratenor* parts of earlier movements) each have their own texts, the upper the trope "*Sacro sanctus pater ingenitus*", the middle the trope "*Sanctus miro gaudio in celesti solio*". Below these, the *Tenor* (or rather, the lowest voice, since it is not so designated here) is strictly isorhythmic in durations, completing six statements of a thirty-eight-measure *talea* over the course of the movement.

The *Agnus Dei* is quite unlike any other movement of the Mass of *Barcelona*. The *Kyrie* is generally discant-like, the *Gloria* much more so. The *Credo* has discant-like traits, although its texture is much simpler than that of the *Gloria*. The *Sanctus* is truly a motet, for two of its voices are given different but equally-elaborate melodies, and are sustained against a slower-moving and at least semi-isorhythmic lower voice. This last movement, though (that is, the *Agnus Dei* copied into *folios* seven [*verso*] to eight of *Barc C*, for the Mass of *Barcelona*, lacking a concluding *Ite, missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*, has just five movements), is in four-part polyphony, a texture rare in fourteenth-century music and almost completely absent from music for the Mass, except in the case of the *Messe de Nostre Dame* of Guillaume de Machaut, whose six movements are all for four voices. The very highest part of the *Barcelona Agnus Dei*, which might have been called *Triplum* if the scribe had continued to make voice-type designations after the first movements, is replete with hocket, and sometimes moves in syncopated, brisk rhythm for as many as fourteen transcribed measures at a time. Below it, the second-highest or *Motetus* voice is only slightly less active, usually imitating the *Triplum* at a more sedate pace. The part of the second-lowest voice is characterized by long durations and only occasional leaps, although its rate does

quicken at the ends of each of the three sections. Below these three voices, the lowermost part moves in *longae* and in double *longae*, with sporadic two-measure rests. Following two statements of "*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*" in such a texture, the final third of the text, "*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*", is realized in polyphony equally florid in all three upper parts, providing an unexpected and memorable conclusion to the Mass of *Barcelona*.

Since its five component movements appear in *Barc C* in uninterrupted succession, this cycle may at least be said to be physically unified. The matter of its musical integrity, however, is somewhat more perplexing. Two of its movements appear in other sources, these among the most complete repositories for the ritual music of the papal court at Avignon. These settings of the *Gloria* and the *Credo* seem unrelated to their companions in *Barc C*, a discrepancy which prohibits the association of the entire cycle with Avignon. One might wonder, then, how this scribe came to bring together two well-known Mass movements and three obscure and mutually-distinct movements. Were the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* newly composed to complete the cycle, and, if so, why did this composer-scribe not strive to emulate the pre-existing movements? And, if the Mass of *Barcelona* is, conversely, solely a compilation from some known and some unknown sources, a strong possibility given the daunting amount of research which remains to be undertaken into medieval Spanish sources, why bring together these particular movements?

Leo Schrade admits that "(t)he uniformity of a cyclic Mass is most difficult to prove for the Mass of Barcelona. The varieties of style and structure seem to exclude uniformity." However, he continues,

the variety is as deliberate as the sameness....There is an intentional rise from the older conductus-like form, over two different types of discant composition, a modern manifestation of the isorhythmic structure, to the most advanced Discant-Tenor organization.⁷

The key to the success of this hypothesis would seem to be the demonstration of a "deliberate" arrangement of varied styles, something Schrade does not really supply. In any case, the advancement of an argument on criteria quite different from those employed in the other cycles speaks to an important point within the overall intention of this thesis: to question the development and application of standards to a repertory which may well have emerged in the absence of, or even in opposition to, these or any standards.

⁷Schrade 1954, 96.

Chapter Seven: The Messe de Nostre Dame

Guillaume de Machaut is exceptional among medieval composers for the great care he devoted to the preservation of his works. One hundred and forty-three of his musical compositions have survived, quite possibly his entire *corpus*. Among these, the *Messe de Nostre Dame* is itself exceptional as his only multi-movement work (that is, without prose insertions), one of just a few in four-part polyphony, and one among even fewer copied into several sources before Machaut's death. This chapter begins with a survey of these sources of the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, then turns to the analysis of the music itself. Corollary issues such as the provenance and genealogy of manuscripts, liturgical sources, and authorship are not, then, to be discussed here, as a substantial literature has already dealt with these. A brief exposition of these recent writings will be made, however, since this chapter, unlike those before it, is extensively informed by previous scholarship.

Five manuscript preserve the *Messe de Nostre Dame* in its entirety. All five are of French origin, and four are now owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. They have been given the following shelfmarks and *folio* numbers: *F-Pn 1584 (A)* contains the Mass in *folios* four hundred and thirty-eight (*verso*) through four hundred and fifty-one; *F-Pn 1585 (B)*, *folios* two hundred and eighty-one (*verso*) through two hundred and ninety-four; *F-Pn 9221 (E)*, *folios* one hundred and sixty-four (*verso*) through one hundred and seventy; and *F-Pn 22546 (G)*, *folios* one hundred and twenty-five (*verso*) through one hundred and thirty-three (*verso*). There is a fifth French source, which is known as the Codex *Vogüé* for a previous owner, the Marquis of Vogüé, and which is now held in the Wildenstein Gallery in New York. It is from this last manuscript that the name of the Mass is taken, for its *Kyrie* is

therein preceded by the words "*Ci commence la Messe de Nostre Dame*"; the only other source to name it is the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript *A*, whose index refers to "*La Messe*". The Codex *Vogüé* preserves the Mass in *folios* two hundred and eighty-three (*verso*) through two hundred and ninety-six. A sixth source, owned by the Biblioteca Universitaria in Padua and called *I-Pu 1475* by that institution, contains the "*Ite, missa est*" on the *recto* face of its forty-fourth *folio*, and a seventh source, the codex *Quesnoy*, is now lost.

The exact occasion for and date of the composition of the Mass are not precisely known, although it is surely a mature work, but considerable progress in the investigation of its locale of origin has been achieved by Anne Walters Robertson. She places the *Messe de Nostre Dame* at the Cathédrale of Reims, where Guillaume de Machaut and his brother, Jean, were canons and where, until the eighteenth century, a Marian Mass was celebrated (and perhaps sung, although the records of the Cathédrale are vague on this point) in their memory. Suggesting that Machaut meant the *Messe de Nostre Dame* as his own memorial, Robertson concludes that "(f)or the first time, it seems, a composer specifically intended that his Mass outlive him, that it be sung not solely as a votive service to the Blessed Virgin, but also in 'pious devotion to [his] memory.'"¹

Robertson does not restrict her comments to the memorial aspect of the Mass, or, rather, she does not only consider extramusical evidence to find the *Messe de Nostre Dame* as a self-prescribed commemoration. She is also concerned with its integrity, for, she contends, Machaut would only have left one of his greatest works in his own memory, and the greatness of the Mass is enhanced by its cyclicity. "Machaut's Mass is both coherent in

¹Robertson, 137.

harmonic and rhythmic language and unified in terms of the choice of tenor chants," she writes. She continues,

...if the work was composed as a unit, it prefigures two kinds of fifteenth-century polyphonic Masses based on *cantus firmi* and inspired by the desire of composers to ensure their own salvation: the Marian devotional Mass and the *Requiem*.²

This matter of *cantus firmus* in the *Messe de Notre Dame* has been one of perennial concern, perhaps because, as Robertson remarks here and as the survey of secondary literature in Chapter One of this thesis sought to demonstrate, motivic integrity, a device more commonly associated with fifteenth-century Masses, is more familiar to music historians, whereas the sort of experimental integrity delineated in Chapters Two through Six may seem less convincing. Robertson correctly observes that the *Messe de Notre Dame*, rather than suffering from this anachronistic analysis as would the Masses of *Tournai*, *Toulouse*, *Barcelona*, *et al.*, might instead benefit from such an approach, as it could be treated as an early manifestation of *cantus firmus* technique, and may thus be found to have a kind of liturgical integrity, for, if the same *cantus firmus* does not appear in every movement, many have been successfully related to northern French chant repertoires. This is a connection satisfying both for its situation of the Mass at Reims and for its proof of its composer's grand unifying conception. To complicate matters, though, it must be allowed that Elizabeth A. Keitel makes a strong statement against *cantus firmus* as an integrative device in the *Messe de Notre Dame*. She concedes that all of the chants found in the Mass

²Robertson, 137.

are Marian devotions, but cautions that they were not all in use at Reims.³ Also impressive for its consideration of *cantus firmus* in the *Messe de Nostre-Dame* is *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*, in which Leech-Wilkinson analyzes each movement for its treatment of its chant source, if not for the history of that chant.

In the passage cited above, Robertson makes passing reference to an issue which, unlike that of chant treatment, is well within the purview of this thesis: the stylistic integrity of the *Messe de Nostre Dame*. This chapter, then, the last of this thesis, is concerned with the means by which this integrity is achieved. The sort of paleographic-codicological commentary found in other chapters will not be pursued here, since a substantial body of such criticism already exists; nor is any original transcription attempted here; Leech-Wilkinson's critical edition was verified against microfilm copies of the manuscripts *A*, *B*, *E*, and *G*⁴ and found utterly accurate. Excerpts of the *Messe de Nostre Dame* found in the Appendix of this thesis are therefore taken directly from *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*, although all of these have been checked thoroughly. Also, references to specific *folio* numbers and to the placement of music on the page are not made here, since no original transcription was made in this case and general information to this effect appears above. The

³Keitel, 317: "...it is interesting to note, however, that while the chants for Machaut's Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus, and Ite were never assigned a liturgical function in combination, at least by the later Middle Ages, all of them were nevertheless liturgically appropriate for a Mass dedicated to the Virgin, although, it would seem, not in any one locale."

⁴Despite the best efforts of Elizabeth Davis at Columbia University and Eliot Rowlands at the Wildenstein Gallery, no microfilm copy of the Codex *Vogüé* could be located before the writing of this thesis. Leech-Wilkinson did enjoy access to the microfilm, however: further grounds to accept his as the definitive edition of the Mass, for this is believed to have been the first version of the Mass to have been copied, and may even have been produced under the supervision of the composer himself.

reader wishing to know more is referred again to the notes to Leech-Wilkinson's edition, which scrupulously list these and other details for all five complete sources of the *Messe de Nostre-Dame*.

Machaut's Mass sets all six movements of the Ordinary: *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est*. All six movements are in four-voice polyphony, and all four voices are labelled "*Triplum*", "*Motetus*", "*Tenor*", and "*Contratenor*" in each source. Two styles are used in the *Messe de Nostre Dame*. Four of its movements are isorhythmic, while the remaining two declaim their texts in strict homophony. The isorhythmic movements, the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Angus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est*, are, appropriately, those with the shorter texts. The *Gloria* and the *Credo*, by contrast, have much longer texts, rendering simultaneous style the ideal texture for its promotion of greater audibility and for its allowance of more text sung to less music. For example, the first statement of "*Kyrie eleison*" takes the equivalent of twenty-seven measures of motet-like music, while the first twenty-nine measures of the *Gloria* traverse several phrases of text: "*Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis; Laudamus te; Benedicimus te; Adoramus te; Glorificamus te; Gracias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam*".

Machaut did not use precisely the same isorhythmic technique in each of the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est* movements, as each contains a different *cantus firmus* chant in its *Tenor* and must therefore employ a different technique to parse that chant into isorhythmic *taleae*. The analysis of these is problematized by the absence of a single, referential version of any of these chants, but it is still worth remarking that, in each isorhythmic movement of the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, there is only a repeating *talea* and no

repeating *color*, the chants being presented in their entirety, if given new (iso)rhythmic characters.

Beyond this shared aspect of compositional technique, there are other commonalities in the isorhythmic movements of Machaut's Mass. Each of the four begins and ends with a full measure of perfect sonority, as seen in Figure 6.1 of the Appendix. As well, all four tend towards perfect time, major prolation, with occasional but brief lapses into imperfect time, minor prolation. Finally, there are certain melodic formulas which recur in the non-*cantus firmus* voices of all four motet-like movements of the *Messe de Nostre Dame*. One of these, given in the Appendix as Figure 6.2, has been the occasion for comment by some scholars of the Mass. Machabey calls it the "*leitmotiv*" of the Mass⁵, Manfred Bukofzer dismisses this and other so-called motives in the *Messe de Nostre Dame* on the grounds that these are "formulae that are not characteristic enough and are not placed conspicuously enough to serve a really unifying function,"⁶ and Richard H. Hoppin, after tracing the melodic fragment given here as Figure 6.2 through all six movements of the Mass, and concludes that

...it proves to be part of the vocabulary of musical figures common to all music of that period. Machaut could have used the motive as an integrative device if he had placed it consistently and conspicuously at important structural points in the Mass. This he did not do. Instead, it seems to appear at random.... We should probably regard the motive as one of several clichés that Machaut used, almost without thinking, as a normal part of his melodic vocabulary. In a sense, of course, these clichés do contribute to the stylistic unity of the Mass, but it is a unity that we should be surprised not to find in a long work by one

⁵Machabey, ii, 122.

⁶Bukofzer, 218.

composer.⁷

Declining even to comment at any length on motivicity in Machaut's Mass, Leech-Wilkinson simply states, "(a)nother matter of debate has been whether the Mass uses any recurrent melodic motives as a means of cohesion. This is something of a distraction—a pseudo-problem."⁸

The shared traits of the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements are more immediately apparent. As has already been noted here, both movements are in the simultaneous style, the better to accommodate their lengthy texts. The *Gloria* itself is transcribed by Leech-Wilkinson in one hundred and four measures, the *Credo* in one hundred and sixty-two. As well, both culminate in elaborate *Amen* passages, *codae* which might recall (or, if the relationship of these Masses is to be inverted, may have inspired) the *Gloria* and *Credo* of the Mass of *Tournai*.

Another *Tournai*-esque characteristic appears in the *Messe de Notre Dame*. In the main passages (that is, the pre-*Amen* sections) of the *Gloria* and *Credo* of Machaut's Mass, several textless duets occur, always between the *Tenor* and the *Contratenor* and always of precisely two transcribed measures. The attentive reader will recall from Chapter Three a discussion of this device as it appears in the Mass of *Tournai*, where it is employed less uniformly. Here, the duet is identical in each of its *Gloria* appearances, which number four and the first of which is given in the Appendix as Figure 6.3, with the measures immediately previous and subsequent also included for some context. These duets experience greater

⁷Hoppin, 418.

⁸Leech-Wilkinson, 89.

alteration throughout the *Credo*, where they are six; these are given here as Figure 6.4, again with surrounding measures.

The *Gloria* and *Credo* of the *Messe de Nostre Dame* may thus be seen to have some common elements, generally in the matter of style and, more concretely, in the matter of the untexted *Tenor-Contratenor* duets. Further, these movements may be related to the isorhythmic *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, missa est* by means of their *Amens*, which are both *quasi*-isorhythmic. The *Amen* of the *Gloria* features a *Tenor* whose rhythmic character is subtly *talea*-like, while the *Credo* of the *Amen* has a *Tenor* which, though not strictly isorhythmic, does have a recurring rhythmic figures. Regardless of whether these *Amen* passages fulfill all of the requirements for designation as "motet-like", however, they are certainly distinguished from the simultaneous-style movements which precede them, and the *Amen* of the *Gloria* might, upon audition, prompt recollection of the isorhythmic *Kyrie*, while the *Amen* of the *Credo* could be heard as a harbinger of the motet-like *Sanctus*. Machaut's Mass thus exhibits coherence by means and to a degree unusual among the repertory discussed in this thesis, and, although it may be an imperfect candidate for ancestor to the cyclic Masses of Ockeghem and Dufay, it is not wholly unrelated to these more completely integrative works in conception or in execution.

Epilogue

It has been the aim of this thesis to demonstrate the many means by which fourteenth-century composers and scribes sought to bring together music for the Mass. Assessing each cycle or cycle fragment in relative exclusivity, this study has nevertheless made occasional reference to shared techniques (the textless "linking passages" of the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements of the Mass of *Tournai* and the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, for example) or to concordances (most notably the *Credo* of *Toulouse*, *Apt*, *Ivrea*, *Barcelona*, *Trémoille*, and the *Fleischer Fragment*). Now, with each Mass considered in near-independence, the commonalities which exist in this repertory might be more globally contemplated, by way of conclusion to this work and of summary of its findings.

Chapter Two found enough similarities in a *Kyrie*, a *Credo*, and a *Sanctus* of the Codices *Apt* and *Ivrea* to posit these as musically-related movements preserved in different sources, possibly the sole known surviving movements of a once-complete Mass Ordinary cycle or perhaps just the evidence of a chain of influence which caused one composer to imitate another, resulting in three related movements without a shared author. In the case of the *Apt-Ivrea* three-movement group, the relationship between movements was founded primarily on quotation, with mention made also of compositional technique; the latter was particularly relevant in the case of the *Credo* and *Sanctus*, which both employ textless "linking passages."

The Mass of *Tournai* was found in Chapter Three to be a compilation, possibly by a scribe who, with great sensitivity, collected six movements to form a cycle with both musical and physical integrity, perhaps adding movements as needed to complete the cycle. All six

movements of this Mass appear in a single section of the manuscript *Tournai A 27*, a practice also seen in the Masses of *Sorbonne* and *Barcelona* and in Machaut's Mass. The musical integrity of *Tournai* is achieved through the consistent use of the simultaneous style (except, of course, in the concluding motet *Se grasse-Cum venerint-Ite, missa est*) and the appearance in two of its movements of textless duets.

Style was also found to be a unifying device in the Mass of *Toulouse*, discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. All five of its movements are nominally discant-like, although some discrepancies do occur in the *Kyrie* and in the *Sanctus*. The assignment of the text to the uppermost voice in each movement is also an intriguing unifying element, although it must be admitted that this could bear witness only to the work of an artistic scribe.

The Mass of *Sorbonne* is cited by Stäblein-Harder as the only truly cyclic fourteenth-century Mass, and by Hoppin as a convincing compilation of related movements. Jacques Chailley may have indulged in wishful thinking with his assertion that Jean Lambelet was the sole composer of the Mass of *Sorbonne*, but his presentation of this as a unified cycle is acceptable, for these movements, even if they are not all the work of Lambelet or of any other single composer, all use a very similar *Tenor*, and consistently employ a modified discant texture.

A strange sort of unity was found in diversity, in the case of the Mass of *Barcelona*. Its *Kyrie* moves from strict homophony to a texture which recalls the motet; its *Gloria* is certainly treble-dominated; the *Credo* of *Toulouse*, *Apt*, *Ivrea*, *Trémoille*, and the *Fleischer Fragment* reappears, the motet-like *Sanctus* features two different troped texts; and the *Agnus Dei* is, exceptionally, in four-part polyphony (the four other movements of the Mass of

Barcelona are in three parts). This is an odd collection for a cycle, and may be read as proof of the suitability of the sort of non-teleological, non-standardized approach promoted by this thesis, for integrity is achieved here, but by means which would not have satisfied any criteria generally applicable to this repertory.

Finally, the *Messe de Notre Dame* of Guillaume de Machaut was demonstrated to be unified through both style and structure, as well as in its consistent four-voice texture and in the appearance in no less than five sources, in uninterrupted succession, of its six component movements.

Were any one of these Masses or Mass fragments extracted and held up as the model according to which integrity ought to be determined, the remaining cycles or cycle fragments would necessarily fail to convince, for while each of these works is by some means unified, no two achieved this designation here in precisely the same fashion. This thesis, then, must be understood as an effort to understand how each individual work functions as a musical and/or physical unit, and so to create a context, previously unavailable, for what would otherwise be perceived as a single, great work "whose magnificence dwarfs all that survives of its age"¹ (that is, the *Messe de Notre Dame*) and its lesser contemporaries, thus fostering the more sophisticated and more accurate impression that "masterpieces are not single and solitary births; they are the outcome of many years of thinking in common."²

¹Leech-Wilkinson, v.

²Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Triad Grafton Books, 1977), 72.

Figure 1.1.

Musical score for Tenor and Kyrie, measures 1-5. The Tenor part is written in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature. The Kyrie part is written in bass clef. The lyrics are: Ky - - - ri - - - e e - - - .

Musical score for Tenor and Kyrie, measures 6-11. The Tenor part continues with a melodic line. The Kyrie part provides a harmonic accompaniment.

Musical score for Tenor and Kyrie, measures 12-17. The Tenor part continues with a melodic line. The Kyrie part provides a harmonic accompaniment.

Musical score for Tenor and Kyrie, measures 18-22. The Tenor part continues with a melodic line. The Kyrie part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics are: le - i - son.

Contratenor

Tenor

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to - re - m - ce - li - et

terre, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

Et in u - num do - mi - num Je - su - m Chris - tum fi - li - um de - i u - ni -

18

ge - ni - tum.

18

18

18

Figure 1.3

Musical score for Tenor, Figure 1.3, showing measures 1 through 37. The score is written in bass clef and 4/4 time signature. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The score consists of seven staves of music, each starting with a measure number. The first staff is labeled "Tenor". The second staff starts at measure 7. The third staff starts at measure 13. The fourth staff starts at measure 19. The fifth staff starts at measure 25. The sixth staff starts at measure 31. The seventh staff starts at measure 37. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, beams, and slurs. The time signature changes to 3/4 at measure 31 and back to 4/4 at measure 37.

Tenor

7

13

19

25

31

37

43

Musical staff 43-48: A single bass clef staff containing six measures. Measure 43 starts with a half note G2. Measures 44-48 contain a sequence of quarter notes: A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F3. A fermata is placed over the final measure (48), which contains a half note G3.

49

Musical staff 49-54: A single bass clef staff containing six measures. Measure 49 starts with a half note G2. Measure 50 contains a half note A2. Measure 51 contains a sequence of eighth notes: B2, A2, G2, F2. Measure 52 contains a sequence of eighth notes: E2, D2, C2, B1. Measure 53 contains a sequence of eighth notes: A1, G1, F1, E1. Measure 54 contains a half note G1. A fermata is placed over the final measure (54), which contains a half note G1.

55

Musical staff 55-57: A single bass clef staff containing three measures. Measure 55 contains a half note G2. Measure 56 contains a half note A2. Measure 57 contains a half note B2. The staff ends with a double bar line.

21

Motetus

Tenor

113

Motetus

Tenor

212

Motetus

Tenor

43

Triplum

Tenor

144

Triplum

Tenor

187

Triplum

Tenor

Figure 2.2

26

Triplum

Motetus

Tenor

est

pour sous - cours fai - re bien me deust - ma - da - me

ves - - - - - trum suc - - - - - cur -

est

32

re - - - - - te - - - - -

ri - - - - - te - - - - -

Figure 3.1

34

Contratenor

Tenor

Chris - - - te - - -

This block contains the first system of a musical score, measures 34 through 38. It features three staves: a vocal line for Contratenor, a vocal line for Tenor, and a piano accompaniment. The music is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part begins with the lyrics "Chris" and "te" on a long note, followed by a melodic line. The Tenor part has a long note on the first measure, followed by a melodic line. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note bass line and a treble line with various rhythmic patterns.

This block contains the piano accompaniment for the first system, measures 34 through 38. It features three staves: a treble clef staff, a middle treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff. The music is in 2/4 time. The treble clef staff has a melodic line with various rhythmic patterns. The middle treble clef staff has a steady eighth-note bass line. The bass clef staff has a steady eighth-note bass line.

This block contains the piano accompaniment for the second system, measures 39 through 43. It features three staves: a treble clef staff, a middle treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff. The music is in 2/4 time. The treble clef staff has a melodic line with various rhythmic patterns. The middle treble clef staff has a steady eighth-note bass line. The bass clef staff has a steady eighth-note bass line.

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter notes.

The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and features a melodic line with a long slur over the first two measures. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a harmonic accompaniment. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with a long slur over the last two measures. A small 'e-' is written at the end of the top staff.

The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a vocal line with the lyrics "ley - - - - son." under a long slur. The middle staff is in treble clef and contains a harmonic accompaniment. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with a long slur.

Figure 3.2

Contratenor

Tenor

Pa - - - - trem om - ni - po -

8

8

8

ten - tem Fac - to - rem ce - li et

15

15

15

15

ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um, om - ni - um,

22

et in - vi - si - bi - li um Et in u -

29

num do - mi - num Jhe - sum Chris - tum fi - - li - um

36

de - i u - - - ni - - - ge - - - ni - - - tum

Figure 3.3

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor, measures 1-7. The score is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part is on the top staff, and the Tenor part is on the bottom staff. The lyrics "Sanc" are written under the Contratenor staff. The music features a melodic line in the Contratenor part and a supporting line in the Tenor part.

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor, measures 8-14. The score is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part is on the top staff, and the Tenor part is on the bottom staff. The music continues with a melodic line in the Contratenor part and a supporting line in the Tenor part.

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor, measures 15-21. The score is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part is on the top staff, and the Tenor part is on the bottom staff. The music continues with a melodic line in the Contratenor part and a supporting line in the Tenor part.

22

22

tus

22

53

Contratenor

Tenor

This block contains the first system of a musical score for Contratenor and Tenor. It consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Contratenor, the middle for the Contratenor, and the bottom for the Tenor. The music is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part has a vocal line with lyrics 'Sanc' and a piano accompaniment. The Tenor part has a vocal line with a long note and a piano accompaniment.

This block contains the second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Contratenor, the middle for the Contratenor, and the bottom for the Tenor. The music is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The Tenor part has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment.

This block contains the third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Contratenor, the middle for the Contratenor, and the bottom for the Tenor. The music is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The Tenor part has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment.

A musical score consisting of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains four notes: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a half note B4, and a quarter note C5. A horizontal line above the staff spans the first three notes. The word "tus" is written below the second staff, aligned with the second measure. The second and third staves are piano accompaniment, both with treble clefs. The second staff has a quarter note G4 in the first measure, a quarter note A4 in the second measure, and a quarter note B4 in the third measure. The third staff has a quarter note G4 in the first measure, a quarter note A4 in the second measure, and a quarter note B4 in the third measure. The score concludes with a double bar line.

Figure 3.5

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor parts, first system. The music is in 6/8 time. The Contratenor part is on a treble clef staff, and the Tenor part is on a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: Lau - de - mus Jhe - su - Chris - tum mo - do pro - ni - en - ti -

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor parts, second system. The music is in 6/8 time. The Contratenor part is on a treble clef staff, and the Tenor part is on a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: bus at - - - - que cor - po - ri - bus, . The number 8 is written above the first staff of this system.

Figure 4.1.1

Figure 4.1.1 consists of three staves of musical notation in bass clef with a common time signature (C). The first staff contains measures 1 through 6. The second staff, starting with a measure number '7' above the first measure, contains measures 7 through 12. The third staff, starting with a measure number '13' above the first measure, contains measures 13 through 18 and ends with a double bar line.

Figure 4.1.2

Figure 4.1.2 consists of three staves of musical notation in bass clef with a 3/2 time signature. The first staff contains measures 1 through 5. The second staff, starting with a measure number '6' above the first measure, contains measures 6 through 10. The third staff, starting with a measure number '11' above the first measure, contains measures 11 through 15 and ends with a double bar line.

Figure 4.2

8

Contratenor

Tenor

tis. Lau - de - mus

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for two voices: Contratenor and Tenor. The music is in common time (C) and begins at measure 8. The Contratenor part starts with a whole note 'tis.' in measure 8, followed by a triplet of eighth notes in measure 9, and continues with a half note in measure 10. The Tenor part has a long note (likely a whole note) in measure 8, a half note in measure 9, and continues with a half note in measure 10. The lyrics 'tis.' and 'Lau - de - mus' are aligned with the notes. The number '8' is written above the first staff.

Figure 4.3.1

Musical score for Figure 4.3.1. The score consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Contratenor' and uses a treble clef with a 6/4 time signature. It contains a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a half note C5 with a sharp sign. The middle staff is labeled 'Tenor' and uses a bass clef with a 6/4 time signature. It contains a half note G3. The bottom staff is empty. A vertical bar line is placed after the first measure.

Figure 4.3.2

Musical score for Figure 4.3.2. The score consists of three staves. The top staff uses a treble clef with a 6/4 time signature and contains a half note G4. The middle staff uses a bass clef with a 6/4 time signature and contains a half note G3. The bottom staff is empty. A vertical bar line is placed after the first measure.

Figure 4.4.1

Tenor

Et in terra pax hominibus bo - ne vo -
lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te Be - ne - di - citus
te. A - do - ra - mus te. Glo -
ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti -
bi prop - ter - mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am.

Figure 4.4.2

Tenor

7

13

19

25

31

37

Detailed description: This musical score is for a Tenor part, written in bass clef with a common time signature (C). The piece consists of 37 measures, divided into seven systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 6. The second system starts at measure 7 and ends at measure 12. The third system starts at measure 13 and ends at measure 18. The fourth system starts at measure 19 and ends at measure 24. The fifth system starts at measure 25 and ends at measure 30. The sixth system starts at measure 31 and ends at measure 36. The seventh system starts at measure 37 and ends at measure 37. The music features a variety of note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. Phrasing slurs are used to group notes across measures. There are several accidentals, including flats and naturals, scattered throughout the score.

Figure 4.6

70

In do-mi - num ex Mar-i - ae Chris - ti cor - pus im - mo - la - tum

In no - mi - ne

Et pro-nos - tri mu - i - ni - me, Quod non cap - i - un - tur

In no - mi - ne

In no - mi - ne

Musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with lyrics. The score is divided into two measures. The first measure contains the lyrics "Frustra" and "do", and the second measure contains "neque celis", "mi", and "ni.". The Soprano part features three triplet markings over the notes in the first measure. The Alto and Tenor parts have a single triplet marking over the notes in the first measure. The Bass part has a single triplet marking over the notes in the first measure. The lyrics are: Frustra neque celis, do mi ni.

Figure 4.7.1

46

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in bass clef with a common time signature. It begins with a whole note G2, followed by a whole note F2, and another whole note G2. The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes: G2, F2, and E2. The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef with a common time signature, featuring a whole note G2, a whole note F2, and a whole note G2. The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes: G2, F2, and E2.

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

The second system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in bass clef with a common time signature. It begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2), followed by another triplet (F2, E2, D2), and a third triplet (E2, D2, C2). The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2). The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef with a common time signature, featuring a whole note G2, a whole note F2, and a whole note G2. The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes: G2, F2, and E2.

nit,

The third system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in bass clef with a common time signature. It begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2), followed by a whole note G2, and another triplet of eighth notes (F2, E2, D2). The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2). The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef with a common time signature, featuring a whole note G2, a whole note F2, and a whole note G2. The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes: G2, F2, and E2.

in no - mi - ne do - - - -

The fourth system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in bass clef with a common time signature. It begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2), followed by a whole note G2, and another triplet of eighth notes (F2, E2, D2). The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes (G2, F2, E2). The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef with a common time signature, featuring a whole note G2, a whole note F2, and a whole note G2. The final measure contains a triplet of eighth notes: G2, F2, and E2.

mi - - - - - ni.

Figure 4.7.2

Be - ne - dic - tus es iugi - ter qui - venit sal -
Be - - - ne - - - dic - - - tus qui ve -
Be - - - ne - - - dic - - - tus qui ve -
Be - - - ne - - - dic - - - tus qui ve -

Detailed description: This musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It features several triplet markings over the notes. The lyrics are: "Be - ne - dic - tus es iugi - ter qui - venit sal -". The second and third staves are vocal lines in treble clef with lyrics: "Be - - - ne - - - dic - - - tus qui ve -". The fourth staff is a bass line in bass clef with lyrics: "Be - - - ne - - - dic - - - tus qui ve -".

va - - - re
nit
nit
nit

Detailed description: This musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It features a triplet marking over the notes. The lyrics are: "va - - - re". The second, third, and fourth staves are vocal lines in treble clef with lyrics: "nit".

Figure 4.8.1

Musical score for Figure 4.8.1, featuring four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Sanc - - - - - tus san - ans fra - gi - li-". The second staff is an instrumental line with the lyric "Sanc". The third staff is another instrumental line with the lyric "Sanc". The bottom staff is a bass line with the lyric "Sanc". The score includes various musical notations such as treble and bass clefs, a common time signature, and triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over a group of notes).

Musical score for Figure 4.8.1, showing four empty staves. Each staff has a '4' written above it, indicating a four-measure rest or a specific rhythmic value. The staves are arranged vertically, with the top staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef.

Figure 4.8.2

A musical score for a vocal line in common time (C). The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are: Ag - - - - nus de - - - i qui tol - . The notes are: Ag (half note), - (quarter), - (quarter), - (quarter), - (quarter), nus (half), de (quarter), - (quarter), - (quarter), i (quarter), qui (half), tol (quarter), - (quarter).

A musical score for a vocal line in common time (C). The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are: lis . The notes are: lis (half note).

Figure 4.9.1

Tenor

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The middle staff is also in treble clef with a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a common time signature. The music features a melodic line in the top staff, a supporting line in the middle staff, and a bass line in the bottom staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The middle staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a common time signature. The music continues from the first system. There are four-measure rests indicated by the number '4' at the beginning of each staff in this system.

The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The middle staff is in treble clef with a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a common time signature. The music continues from the second system. There are seven-measure rests indicated by the number '7' at the beginning of each staff in this system.

Figure 4.9.2

31

Ag - - - - - nus de -

i qui

tol - - - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

do - - - na no - - - bis pa - - -

Figure 5.1

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor parts, measures 1-4. The score is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part is written in a soprano clef (C1) and the Tenor part in a bass clef (C3). The lyrics are "Ky - - - - ri - - - -".

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor parts, measures 5-8. The score is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part is written in a soprano clef (C1) and the Tenor part in a bass clef (C3). The lyrics are "e - - - - e - - - -".

Musical score for Contratenor and Tenor parts, measures 9-12. The score is in 2/4 time. The Contratenor part is written in a soprano clef (C1) and the Tenor part in a bass clef (C3). There are no lyrics for these measures.

Musical score system 1, measures 13-16. The system consists of three staves: Treble, Middle, and Bass. Measure numbers 13, 13, and 13 are written at the beginning of each staff. The music features a melodic line in the Treble staff and a bass line in the Bass staff, with the Middle staff providing harmonic support. A large slur covers the first two measures of the system.

Musical score system 2, measures 17-20. The system consists of three staves: Treble, Middle, and Bass. Measure numbers 17, 17, and 17 are written at the beginning of each staff. The music continues with a melodic line in the Treble staff and a bass line in the Bass staff. A large slur covers the first two measures of the system.

Musical score system 3, measures 21-24. The system consists of three staves: Treble, Middle, and Bass. Measure numbers 21, 21, and 21 are written at the beginning of each staff. The music continues with a melodic line in the Treble staff and a bass line in the Bass staff. A large slur covers the first two measures of the system.

25

le - - - i - - son.

le - - - i - - son.

le - - - i - - son.

29

le - - - i - - son.

Figure 5.2

30

Contratenor

Tenor

Chris - - - - -

Chris - - - - -

Chris - - - - -

te

te

te

e - - - - -

e - - - - -

A musical score consisting of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music features a melody with a sharp sign on the final note of the phrase. The lyrics 'ley - - - - son.' are written below the staves, with the first two lines aligned with the first two staves and the third line aligned with the bottom staff.

Figure 5.3

29

Contratenor

Tenor

Et in ter - ra

pax ho - mi - ni - bus, bo -

pe - vo - lun - ta - tiŝ. Splen - dor pat -

ris in ce - lis o - ri - ens, Qui cap - - -

ri - vum ho - mi-nem op - ti - ens. Re - de - mi -

sti in cru - ce mo - ri - ens. Sa - - - - -

cro, sanc - ti san - gui - nis flu - mi - ne.

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a soprano clef and includes the lyrics "cro, sanc - ti san - gui - nis flu - mi - ne." The piano accompaniment is written in a bass clef. The music consists of a series of quarter and eighth notes.

Ve - - - ni, le - va quis - vi des ca - de -

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a soprano clef and includes the lyrics "Ve - - - ni, le - va quis - vi des ca - de -". The piano accompaniment is written in a bass clef. The music consists of a series of quarter and eighth notes.

re.

This system contains a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a soprano clef and includes the lyrics "re.". The piano accompaniment is written in a bass clef. The system ends with a double bar line.

Figure 6.1

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Triplum, Motetus, Tenor, and Contratenor. The music is written in 3/2 time and features the lyrics "Ky - ri - e". The score is divided into three measures. The Triplum part has a melodic line with a slur over the second and third measures. The Motetus part has a similar melodic line. The Tenor part has a simpler melodic line. The Contratenor part has a very simple, low melodic line. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllable placement.

Part	Measure 1	Measure 2	Measure 3
Triplum	Ky - - - -	ri - - - -	e e -
Motetus	Ky - - - -	ri - - - -	e
Tenor	Ky - - - -	ri - - - -	e
Contratenor	Ky - - - -	ri - - - -	e - - - -

Et in terra

Et in terra

Et in terra

Et in terra

Detailed description: This block contains a musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in 4/2 time. The lyrics are 'Et in terra'. The score is divided into three measures. The first measure contains the word 'Et', the second 'in', and the third 'ter - - - ra'. Each voice part has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Soprano part has a melodic line with a fermata over the final note. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts have a more rhythmic accompaniment with repeated notes.

pax

pax

pax

pax

Detailed description: This block contains a musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in 4/2 time. The lyrics are 'pax'. The score is divided into four measures, each containing the word 'pax'. Each voice part has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Soprano part has a melodic line with a fermata over the final note. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts have a more rhythmic accompaniment with repeated notes.

Pa - - - trem om - ni - po - ten - -
Pa - - - trem om - ni - po - ten - -
om - ni - po - ten - -
om - ni - po - ten - -
om - ni - po - ten - -

5
5 tem,
5 tem, - - -
5 tem,
5 tem,
8 tem,

Musical score for four voices in 3/2 time. The score consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a 3/2 time signature. The lyrics are "Sanc - - - - - tus,". The first staff has a melodic line with a slur over the final four notes. The second and third staves have a similar melodic line but with a different phrasing. The fourth staff has a simpler melodic line. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllable placement.

Ag - - - - nus

Ag - - - - -

Ag - - - - - nus

Ag - - - - -

Detailed description: This is a musical score for four voices, likely SATB. The music is written in 3/2 time and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first two staves, and the second system contains the last two staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef, a 3/2 time signature, and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics 'Ag - - - - nus' are written below the first and third staves, with hyphens indicating long notes. The musical notation includes whole notes, half notes, and eighth notes, with some notes beamed together. The lyrics are: 'Ag - - - - nus' for the first and third parts, and 'Ag - - - - -' for the second and fourth parts.

Musical score for four voices in 3/2 time. The score consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a 3/2 time signature. The lyrics are "De" followed by a long dash. The first staff has a melodic line with a sixteenth-note run. The second staff has a similar melodic line. The third staff has a simple dotted half note. The fourth staff has a simple dotted half note.

De - - - - -

De - - - - -

De - - - - -

De - - - - -

Figure 6.2



Figure 6.3

18

Triplum
te; Gra - - - -

Motetus
te; Gra - - - -

Tenor
te; Gra - - - -

Contratenor
te; Gra - - - -

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for four voices: Triplum, Motetus, Tenor, and Contratenor. The score is written on four staves, each with a G-clef and a C-clef. The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are 'te;' and 'Gra - - - -'. The Triplum part has a whole note 'te;' followed by a whole rest, then a whole note 'Gra' followed by four dashes. The Motetus part has a whole note 'te;' followed by a whole rest, then a whole note 'Gra' followed by four dashes. The Tenor part has a whole note 'te;' followed by a whole rest, then a quarter note G, an eighth note A, a quarter note B, and a quarter note C, followed by a whole rest, then a whole note 'Gra' followed by four dashes. The Contratenor part has a whole note 'te;' followed by a whole rest, then a quarter note G, an eighth note A, a quarter note B, and a quarter note C, followed by a whole rest, then a whole note 'Gra' followed by four dashes.

Figure 6.4

15

Contratenor
um; Et

Motetus
um; Et

Tenor
um; Et

Contratenor
um; Et

33

la; De - um

la; De - um

la; De - um

la; De - um

Detailed description: This is a musical score for four voices, likely SATB. The score is divided into three measures. The first measure contains the word 'la;' for all four voices. The second measure contains a whole rest for all voices. The third measure contains the word 'De - um' for all voices. The vocal lines are written on four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F#, C#). The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are 'la;' in the first measure and 'De - um' in the third measure, with a hyphen between 'De' and 'um'.

79

The image shows a musical score for four voices, arranged in four staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are 'est;' and 'Cru - - - -'. The first three staves have a whole note 'est;' in the first measure, followed by a whole rest in the second measure, and a whole note 'Cru' in the third measure. The fourth staff has a whole note 'est;' in the first measure, followed by a half note 'Cru' in the second measure, and a half note 'Cru' in the third measure. The notes for 'Cru' in the fourth staff are G4, A4, B4, and C5, with a sharp sign on the C5 note.

102

The image shows a musical score for four voices, likely SATB, in common time (C). The score is divided into three measures. The lyrics are 'tris;' in the first measure and 'Et' in the third measure. The first two staves (Soprano and Alto) have rests in the second measure. The third and fourth staves (Tenor and Bass) have melodic lines in the second measure. The lyrics 'tris;' are written below the first two staves in the first measure, and 'Et' is written below the last two staves in the third measure.

Measure	Staff 1 (Soprano)	Staff 2 (Alto)	Staff 3 (Tenor)	Staff 4 (Bass)
1	tris;	tris;	tris;	tris;
2	Rest	Rest	Melodic line	Melodic line
3	Et	Et	Et	Et

134

Musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in common time (C). The score is divided into two measures. The lyrics are "tus;" and "Et".

Measure	Soprano	Alto	Tenor	Bass
1	tus;	tus;	tus;	tus;
2	Et	Et	Et	Et

Detailed description: The score consists of four staves. The top two staves (Soprano and Alto) have a whole note in the first measure and a whole note in the second measure. The bottom two staves (Tenor and Bass) have a whole note in the first measure and a half-note pair in the second measure. The lyrics "tus;" are aligned with the first measure, and "Et" is aligned with the second measure.

150

The image shows a musical score for four voices, arranged in four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics 'rum;' are written below the first two notes of each staff, and 'Et' is written below the final note of each staff. The music consists of a single melodic line in each voice part, with some notes beamed together in the third and fourth staves.

rum; Et

rum; Et

rum; Et

rum; Et

Bibliography

- Amiot, François. 1959. *History of the Mass*. London: Burns & Oates.
- Anglés, Higinio. 1954. "Una Nueva Version del Credo de Tournai," *Revue belge de musicologie* 8.
- _____. 1945. *Catalogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*. Volume 1. Barcelona: Catalogos de la Musica antigua conservada en Espana.
- Apel, Willi. 1953. *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*. Fifth edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Mediæval Academy of America.
- Avril, François. 1978. *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)*. New York: G. Braziller.
- Bent, Margaret. 1983. "The Machaut Manuscripts *Vg, b* and *E*," *Musica Disciplina* 37.
- _____. 1981. "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts*. Edited by Iain Fenlon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1992. "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta," *Musica Disciplina* 26.
- Boorman, Stanley. -1987. "Compositional Constraints on Melodic Style in Machaut." Paper delivered at the Fifteenth Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, University of Southampton.
- Bukofzer, Manfred. 1951. *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc.
- Chailley, Jacques. 1982. "La composition dans la messe de Guillaume de Machaut," *Guillaume de Machaut: colloque-table ronde*. Paris: Editions Klincksieck.
- _____. 1954. "La Messe de Besançon et un compositeur inconnu du XIVE siècle: Jean Lambelet," *Annales musicologiques* II.
- Dumoulin, Jean, Michel Huglo, Philippe Mercier, and Jacques Pycke, editors. 1988. *La Messe de Tournai: Une messe polyphonique en l'honneur de Notre-Dame à la Cathédrale de Tournai au XIVE siècle: Etude et nouvelle transcription*. Tournai: Archives de la Chapitre Cathédrale.

- Earp, Lawrence M. 1995. *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Fallows, David. 1977. "Guillaume de Machaut and his Mass: A Commemoration and a Review," *Musical Times* 118.
- Fuller, Sarah. 1986. "On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Some Preliminary Reflections," *Journal of Music Theory* 30.
- Gombosi, Otto. 1950. "Machaut's *Messe Notre-Dame*," *Musical Quarterly* 36/2.
- Gossett, Philip. 1966. "Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19/2.
- Haberl, F.X. 1887. "Die römische *schola cantorum* und die päpstlichen Kappellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* III.
- Hagburn, Robert F. 1979. *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.
- Hamm, Charles. 1965. "The Reson Mass," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18/1.
- Handshin, Jacques. 1928. "Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10.
- Hoppin, Richard H. 1978. *Medieval Music*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc.
- _____. 1960. "Notational Licences of Guillaume de Machaut," *Musica Disciplina* 14.
- Hughes, Andrew. 1982. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*. n.p.: American Institute of Musicology.
- _____ and Margaret Bent. 1969. *The Old Hall Manuscript*. n.p.: American Institute of Musicology.
- _____. 1965. "Mass Pairs in the Old Hall and Other English Manuscripts," *Revue belge de musicologie* 19.
- Jackson, Roland. 1957. "Musical interrelations between fourteenth century mass movements (A preliminary study)," *Acta musicologica* 29.
- Keitel, Elizabeth A. 1982. "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Guillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate," *Musical Quarterly* 68.

- _____. 1977. "The Musical Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music* 5, 469-72.
- Kügler, Karl. 1997. *The Manuscript Ivrea*, Biblioteca capitolare 115. Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music.
- Leech-Wilkinson, Daneil. 1990. *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Machabey, Armand. 1955. *Guillaume de Machaut: 130?-1377: La vie et l'oeuvre musicale*. Paris: Éditions Richard-Masse.
- Markstrom, Kurt. 1989. "Machaut and the Wild Beast," *Acta musicologica* 31.
- McKinnon, James W. 1978. "Representations of the Mass in Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31.
- Morgan, Glen. 1963. *Stylistic Features in the Music of Guillaume de Machaut*. PhD thesis, Indiana University.
- Parrish, Carl. 1978. *The Notation of Medieval Music*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Perle, George. 1948. "Integrative Devices in the Music of Machaut," *Musical Quarterly* 34.
- Reaney, Gilbert. 1971. *Guillaume de Machaut*. London: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1969. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (ca1320-1400)*. München: Henle Verlag.
- _____. 1967. "Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works," *Musica Disciplina* 21.
- Reese, Gustave. 1940. *Music in the Middle Ages*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Robertson, Anne Walters. 1992. "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims," *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schrade, Leo. 1955. "A fourteenth century parody Mass," *Acta musicologica* 27.
- _____. 1954. "The Mass of Toulouse," *Revue belge de musicologie* 8, 84-96.
- Stäblein-Harder, Hanna. 1962. *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*. n.p.: American Institute of Musicology.

- _____. 1953. "Die Messe von *Toulouse*," *Musica Disciplina* 7.
- Tomasello, Andrew. 1983. *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon: 1309-1403*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press.
- Wagner, Peter. 1972. *Geschichte der Messe*. Hildesheim: G. Olms.
- Williams, Sarah Jane Manley. 1952. *The Music of Guillaume de Machaut*. PhD thesis, Yale University.
- Wooldrige, H.E. 1929. *Oxford History of Music*. Volume 1, second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolf, Virginia. 1977. *A Room of One's Own*. London: Triad Grafton Books.