

Unification and *Varietas* in the *Sine nomine* Mass from Dufay to Tinctoris

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Table of Contents

List of Musical Examples	iv
List of Tables	x
Abstract	xii
<i>Abrégé</i>	xiv
Acknowledgements	xvi
Pitch Notation	xix
Musical Examples and Modern Editions	xx
 Chapter 1 Introduction	 p. 1
Prologue	p. 1
What is a <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass?	p. 2
The Origins of the Cyclic Mass	p. 4
The Current State of Research on the <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass	p. 7
Unification in the Fifteenth-Century <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass	p. 13
<i>Varietas</i>	p. 15
Varied Repetition	p. 16
Chapter Overview	p. 17
 PART I <i>INGENIUM AND VARIETAS IN THE SINE NOMINE MASS</i>	 p. 22
Prologue Classical Rhetoric in Fifteenth-Century Northern Europe	p. 22
 Chapter 2 <i>Creare ex nihilo: Imitatio, Ingenium, and Inventio</i>	 p. 30
Introduction	p. 30
Alberti on <i>Ingenium</i>	p. 36
Martin Le Franc on <i>Ingenium</i>	p. 41
Tinctoris on <i>Ingenium</i>	p. 45
Conclusion	p. 51
 Chapter 3 Tinctoris on <i>Varietas</i>	 p. 53
Introduction	p. 53
Modern Perspectives on <i>Varietas</i> in Renaissance Music	p. 58
<i>Varietas</i> and the Five Parts of Oratory	p. 62
Levels, Virtues, and Flowers of Rhetorical <i>Elocutio</i>	p. 68
Inheriting Classical Models: Contrapuntal Style in Book III of the <i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i>	p. 76
Tinctoris on <i>Redictae</i> and <i>Varietas</i>	p. 85
Alberti's <i>Copia/varietas</i> vs. Tinctoris's Quantity/Quality	p. 100
<i>Varietas</i> and the Art of Counterpoint	p. 111

PART II	THE ORIGINS OF THE <i>SINE NOMINE</i> MASS: THE FRANCO-FLEMISH AND ENGLISH MOTTO	p. 115
Prologue		p. 115
Chapter 4	Franco-Flemish Motto Unification in <i>Sine nomine</i> Masses of the Early Fifteenth Century	p. 118
Introduction to the Franco-Flemish Motto		p. 118
The Motto: History and Misconceptions		p. 121
Motto Identification		p. 124
Annotating Varied Repetition		p. 126
Motto Vocabulary		p. 128
Motto Unification in Reson's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>		p. 137
Dufay's <i>Missa sine nomine</i> or <i>Missa resvelliés vous?</i>		p. 145
Motto Unification in Dufay's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>		p. 148
Motto Unification in Lymburgia's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>		p. 159
Redefining the Motto Mass		p. 166
Chapter 5	The English <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass Tradition	p. 169
Introduction		p. 169
The Origins of an English Cyclic Mass Tradition: John Benet's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>		p. 175
<i>Missa Sine nomine</i> No. 2 by Benet (or Dunstable or Power)		p. 183
"Englishness" in Benet's <i>sine nomine</i> Masses?		p. 197
John Bedingham's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>		p. 198
The <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass of Johannes Pullois		p. 204
Motto Unification in the <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> of Johannes Pullois		p. 206
Conclusion		p. 218
PART III	MODELS OF <i>REDICTAE</i> AND <i>VARIETAS</i>	p. 222
Prologue		p. 222
Chapter 6	Repetition and <i>Varietas</i> : Three Case Studies From Trent 89	p. 224
Introduction: Contrapuntal Repetition of Mottos and Motives		p. 224
Barbingant's <i>Missa sine nomine</i> : An Early Parody Mass?		p. 228
Mottos and Motives in Barbingant's Mass: The KI and GII Motto Constellations		p. 231
Glc/KIa'': Consecutive Motto Repetition and Motto Imitation		p. 238
GV Constellation: Delayed Motto Entry and Consecutive Motto Repetition		p. 241
The "Dominus" <i>Motive-Motto</i>		p. 243
The "Gratias agimus" Motives		p. 245
Motto Organization		p. 247
The Election of Bishop Hinderbach and the <i>Missa Fa-Ut</i>		p. 249
The <i>Missa Fa-ut</i>		p. 251

KI <i>Constellation + Module</i>	p. 252
KII Motive-Mottos and Motto Imitation	p. 254
Final Subsections of Movements	p. 263
Building with Blocks: Jo. Bassere's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 268
Mottos in Bassere's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 270
Module Series	p. 278
Conclusion	p. 290
 Chapter 7 Repetition and <i>Varietas</i> in Ockeghem's <i>Missa Quinti toni</i>	 p. 293
Introduction	p. 293
Questions of Authorship and Subgenre	p. 296
Motto Repetition	p. 298
"Tail" Motives	p. 304
Cadential Arrangement and Function in the <i>Missa Quinti toni</i>	p. 307
Imitation in the <i>Missa Quinti toni</i>	p. 310
Imitation and the "Aesthetic of Concealment"	p. 313
Articulated Imitation	p. 314
Concealed Imitation	p. 317
Articulated vs. Concealed Imitation	p. 324
Ostinato Repetition	p. 332
Module Pairs and Motivic Constellation Pairs	p. 335
Conclusion	p. 338
 Chapter 8 The Four-Voice <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass by Johannes Tinctoris: A Model of <i>Redictae</i> and <i>Varietas</i>	 p. 342
Introduction	p. 342
Tinctoris's <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i>	p. 344
<i>Ingenium</i> and the Motto	p. 371
<i>Inventio</i> , <i>Elocutio</i> , <i>Dispositio</i> and the Motto	p. 372
Conclusion	p. 380
 Chapter 9 Conclusion	 p. 383
Synthesis	p. 383
Varied Repetition Reviewed	p. 387
The Fifteenth-Century <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass ca. 1400 – 1480	p. 390
The <i>Sine nomine</i> Mass and Rhetorical <i>Ductus</i>	p. 391
 Appendix	 p. 394
Inventory of Fifteenth-Century <i>Sine nomine</i> Masses up to ca. 1480	p. 395
Sources and Sigla	p. 399
Modern Editions	p. 401
Bibliography	p. 404

List of Musical Examples

Example 3.1	Tinctoris's Musical Example for Rule 7	p. 86
Example 3.2	Tinctoris's Musical Example for Rule 6	p. 90
Example 3.3	Tinctoris's Musical Example for Rule 6 (Plainchant Repetition)	p. 91
Example 3.4	Tinctoris's First Musical Example for Rule 6 (Repetition of Vertical Intervals)	p. 92
Example 3.5	Tinctoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6	p. 95
Example 3.6a	Tinctoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6, superius, mm. 1-4.	p. 96
Example 3.6b	Tinctoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6, superius, mm. 5-6.	p. 96
Example 3.6c	Tinctoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6, superius/contratenor, mm. 16-17.	p. 96
Example 4.1	Johannes Reson, Opening of Kyrie: Melodic Motto labels KIa, KIb, and KIc	p. 126
Example 4.2	Annotation of Repeated Material and Non-Repeated Material	p. 127
Example 4.3	Lymburgia, <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , superius of Kyrie I: KI Motto Segmentation	p. 128
Example 4.4	Lymburgia <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> , Sanctus I: <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 130
Example 4.5	Lymburgia <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> , Agnus I: <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 130
Example 4.6	Reson <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> , Kyrie I: KI Motto Constellation	p. 132
Example 4.7	Reson <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> , Gloria I: KI Motto Constellation	p. 132
Example 4.8	Reson <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> , Credo I: KI Motto Constellation	p. 133
Example 4.9	Reson <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> , Sanctus I: KI Motto Constellation	p. 133
Example 4.10	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria III "Qui tollis"	p. 135
Example 4.11	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> Gloria V "Cum Sancto"	p. 135
Example 4.12	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo III "Et incarnatus est"	p. 135
Example 4.13	Dufay, <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> , Gloria IV "Amen," Recombined GIIa/GIVb/KIc Motto	p. 136
Example 4.14	Dufay, <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> , Sanctus I, "Sanctus," <i>Internal Recombined Motto</i>	p. 136
Example 4.15	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie III, KIII Module	p. 140
Example 4.16	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus III, KIII Module	p. 140
Example 4.17	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus III, KIII Module	p. 140
Example 4.18	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie I, KI ² <i>Internal Motto Constellation</i> (2 nd phrase)	p. 140
Example 4.19	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I: <i>Internal "bone voluntatis" KI² Motto</i>	p. 140
Example 4.20	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria II, KI ² Motto Constellation with modular beginning	p. 140
Example 4.21	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo IV, KI ² Motto Constellation with modular beginning	p. 142
Example 4.22	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo IV "Per quem," <i>Internal KI² Motto Constellation</i>	p. 142
Example 4.23	Reson <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus II, KI ² Motto Module	p. 142

Example 4.24	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie I, Initial “KI” Motto Constellation	p. 148
Example 4.25	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus I, transformed KI <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 149
Example 4.26	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus III, transformed KI <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 150
Example 4.27	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus I, transformed KI <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 150
Example 4.28	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria II, <i>Motto Recombination</i>	p. 152
Example 4.29	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria IV, <i>Motto Segmentation and Rearrangement</i>	p. 152
Example 4.30	Dufay <i>Missa Sine nomine</i> , Sanctus I, <i>Internal Motto</i>	p. 153
Example 4.31	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo II, <i>Motto Transformation</i>	p. 154
Example 4.32	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie II <i>KII-Motto Module</i>	p. 154
Example 4.33	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo I, <i>KII-Motto Module</i>	p. 154
Example 4.34	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I, <i>Internal gratias agimus Motto</i>	p. 155
Example 4.35	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus I, <i>Internal gratias agimus Motto</i>	p. 155
Example 4.36	Dufay <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie II <i>Internal Motto Module</i>	p. 155
Example 4.37	Dufay’s <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , conclusion to GII and beginning of GIII, <i>Internal Motto Module</i>	p. 156
Example 4.38	Lymburgia <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I, <i>Recombined Motto</i>	p. 163
Example 4.39	Lymburgia <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo I, <i>Recombined Motto</i>	p. 163
Example 4.40	Lymburgia <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 164
Example 4.41	Lymburgia, <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 164
Example 5.1	Cadential Coherence in Benet’s <i>Missa sine nomine no. 1</i> ; Gloria, <i>Et in terra</i>	p. 178-79
Example 5.2	Benet: <i>Missa sine nomine no. 1</i> , GIa <i>Motto Constellation</i> a) Opening of Gloria I b) Opening of Agnus I GIa features interpolated notes (marked with parentheses) while GIb undergoes <i>Delayed Motto Entry</i>	p. 180
Example 5.3	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 1</i> , GIa melodic mottos (cont...)	p. 181
Example 5.4	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 2</i> , opening of Kyrie movement	p. 182
Example 5.5	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 2</i> , Kyrie movement I: Entry of KIa constellation	p. 189
Example 5.6	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 2</i> , Gloria movement, section I, KIa constellation	p. 190
Example 5.7	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 2</i> , KIII Constellation: KIIIb/KIIIc a) Opening of Kyrie III b) Opening of Gloria III	p. 193
Example 5.8	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 2</i> , SIII Constellation: SIIIa/SIIIc a) Opening of Sanctus III b) Opening of Agnus III	p. 193
Example 5.9	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine no. 2</i> , GIa"/SIb constellation a) Sanctus I Pleni sunt b) Sanctus II Benedictus	p. 194 p. 194 p. 195

Example 5.10	Bedingham <i>Missa primi toni</i> , variations of KI constellation	
	a) Opening of Kyrie I: Initial motto presentation	p. 201
	b) Opening of Gloria I	p. 201
	c) Opening of Gloria III	p. 201
	d) Opening of Credo I	p. 202
	e) Opening of Agnus dei I	p. 202
Example 5.11	Bedingham <i>Missa primi toni</i> , variations of SIa constellation	
	a) Opening of Sanctus I: Initial motto presentation	p. 202
	b) Internal motto in Sanctus I: “Pleni sunt”	p. 203
	c) Internal motto in Sanctus I “Dominus”: SIa melodic motto imitation	p. 203
	d) Opening of Sanctus III	p. 203
Example 5.12	Pullois <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , KIc Melodic Motto	p. 208
Example 5.13	Pullois <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , KI ² c Melodic Mottos	p. 209
Example 5.14	Pullois <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , GIc Melodic Mottos	p. 209
Example 5.15	Pullois <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	
	a) KIa melodic motto	p. 210
	b) Abbreviated KIa melodic mottos	p. 210
Example 5.16	Pullois <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	
	a) KI ² a Melodic Mottos with c-d-e prefix	p. 211
	b) KI ² a Melodic Mottos with variable “prefixes”	p. 211
Example 5.17	Pullois <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , KIIa Melodic Mottos	p. 211
Example 5.18	Bedingham vs. Pullois Motto	
	a) Bedingham Motto	p. 218
	b) Pullois Motto	p. 218
Example 6.1	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , opening of Kyrie movement, <i>KI motto constellation</i>	p. 232
Example 6.2	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , opening of KII, <i>KI Motto Constellation</i>	p. 232
Example 6.3	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , third line of text in Gloria I, <i>Delayed Motto Entry of KI Constellation</i> at “Laudamus te”	p. 233
Example 6.4	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , third line of text in Credo, <i>Delayed Motto Entry of “KI constellation”</i> with imitative/ornamental inserted passage “X” at Patrem/Dominum Jesu Christum”	p. 234
Example 6.5	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , opening of Sanctus, <i>KI Constellation</i> with “X” <i>Motto Prefix</i>	p. 235
Example 6.6	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , opening of Agnus, <i>KI Constellation</i> with “X” <i>Motto Prefix</i>	p. 235
Example 6.7	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , transformation of KIc melodic motto in low contratenor, Kyrie I, Credo II, Sanctus II, Agnus II	p. 236
Example 6.8	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria II, GII motto constellation	p. 237
Example 6.9	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo II, GII motto constellation	p. 237
Example 6.10	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus II, GII motto constellation	p. 238
Example 6.11	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus II, GII motto constellation	p. 238

Example 6.12	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , opening of Gloria, K1a''/G1c Motto Recombination and Consecutive Motto Repetition	p. 238-39
Example 6.13	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Opening of Credo, K1a''/G1c' recombined motto, <i>Consecutive Motto Repetition</i> and <i>Motto Imitation</i>	p. 239-40
Example 6.14	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria V, GV <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 241
Example 6.15	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo V, GV <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 242
Example 6.16	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus V, GV <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 242
Example 6.17	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus III, GV <i>Motto Constellation</i>	p. 243
Example 6.18	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I, superius "Dominus" <i>Motive-Motto</i>	p. 244
Example 6.19	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria II, "Dominus" <i>Motive-Motto</i> at "Jesu Christe"	p. 244
Example 6.20	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria IV, "Dominus" <i>Motive-Motto</i>	p. 245
Example 6.21	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I, initial statement of "Gratias agimus" motive (a +b)	p. 245
Example 6.22	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I, "Gratias Agimus" motive (a +b).	p. 246
Example 6.23	Barbingant <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo I, "Gratias Agimus" motive	p. 246
Example 6.24	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Kyrie I, initial presentation of KI <i>Constellation + Module</i>	p. 252-53
Example 6.25	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria I, KI <i>Constellation + Module</i>	p. 253
Example 6.26	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Credo I, KI <i>Constellation + Module</i>	p. 253
Example 6.27	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Sanctus I, KI <i>Constellation + Module</i>	p. 254
Example 6.28	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Agnus I, KI <i>Constellation + Module</i>	p. 254
Example 6.29	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Kyrie II, KII <i>Motto Constellation</i> recombined with K1c (Fa-Ut) motto	p. 255
Example 6.30	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria I, "Laudamus te." Entrance of KIIa' articulated with rests in Motto Imitation	p. 257
Example 6.31	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria I, "Gratias agimus." KIIa in superius	p. 257
Example 6.32	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria I, "Deus Pater." KIIa in <i>Motto Imitation</i>	p. 257
Example 6.33	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria II, "Domine fili," KIIa in Motto Imitation	p. 258
Example 6.34	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Credo I, "visibilium omnium et invisibilium," Module	p. 262
Example 6.35	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria I, "Laudamus te," Module	p. 262
Example 6.36	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Kyrie III KIII/K1c +W Tail Motive	p. 263-64
Example 6.37	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Gloria IV, Tail Motive	p. 264
Example 6.38	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , KIII/K1c' +W Credo IV, Tail Motive	p. 265
Example 6.39	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Sanctus V, KIII/K1c' +W Tail Motive	p. 265-66
Example 6.40	<i>Missa Fa-ut</i> , Agnus III, Tail Motive	p. 266
Example 6.41	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie I, initial presentation of KI <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 270
Example 6.42	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria I, KI <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 271
Example 6.43	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Credo I, KI <i>Motto Module</i>	p. 271

Example 6.44	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus I, <i>KI Motto Module</i>	p. 271
Example 6.45	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus I, <i>KI Motto Module</i>	p. 272
Example 6.46	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria II, “Domine Deus,” GII Motto Constellation and <i>Consecutive Motto Repetition</i> in tenor and <i>Motto Imitation</i>	p. 272
Example 6.47	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria III, <i>GII Motto Constellation</i> Label change to GIIC’	p. 273
Example 6.48	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria III, <i>GII Motto Constellation</i>	p. 273
Example 6.49	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus I, <i>GII Motto Constellation</i>	p. 274
Example 6.50	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria III, <i>GII Motto Constellation</i>	p. 274
Example 6.51	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Agnus I, <i>GII Motto Constellation</i>	p. 275
Example 6.52	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Kyrie III, <i>KIII Motto Constellation</i> with <i>Internal Motto Modules</i> .	p. 276
Example 6.53	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , final measures of Kyrie III, <i>KIII Internal Motto Module</i>	p. 276
Example 6.54	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , conclusion of Kyrie II, repetition of Module A and Module B	p. 278-79
Example 6.55	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , conclusion of Kyrie III, modules	p. 280
Example 6.56	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Gloria III, <i>Module Series</i>	p. 281-82
Example 6.57	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Sanctus III, modules	p. 283-84
Example 6.58	Jo. Bassere <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , conclusion of Credo III, modules	p. 284-85
Example 7.1	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Kyrie I, Opening <i>KI Motto Constellation</i> , mm. 1-4	p. 299
Example 7.2	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria I, <i>KI Motto Constellation</i> , mm. 1-4	p. 299
Example 7.3	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Credo I, <i>KI Motto Constellation</i> , mm. 1-3	p. 299
Example 7.4	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Sanctus I, <i>KI Motto Constellation</i> , mm. 1-5	p. 300
Example 7.5	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Agnus I, mm. 1-5	p. 300
Example 7.6	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Kyrie I, mm. 1-16	p. 301
Example 7.7	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Kyrie II, mm. 17-31	p. 302-03
Example 7.8	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Kyrie III, mm. 32-49	p. 302-03
Example 7.9	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Kyrie I, mm. 11- 13, Motivic Constellation A (Unit 1 + Unit 2)	p. 305
Example 7.10	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Kyrie III, <i>Motivic Constellation A</i> , unit 2	p. 306
Example 7.11	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Sanctus I, <i>Motivic Constellation A</i> , Unit no. 1 and <i>Module B</i>	p. 306
Example 7.12	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria I, <i>Module B</i>	p. 307
Example 7.13	Rest Initiated Imitation (R*): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria mm. 4-6.	p. 314
Example 7.14	Anticipated Imitation (A): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Sanctus mm. 64-71.	p. 315
Example 7.15	Cadential Punctuation (c): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria mm. 18-22.	p. 316

Example 7.16	Motto Imitation (M) and Dux/Comes Role Exchange (Role-X): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria 45-53	p. 316
Example 7.17	Non-Rest Articulated Imitation (NR): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Sanctus mm. 87-93	p. 319
Example 7.18	Imitative Overlap (Over): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Credo mm. 160-76.	p. 320-21
Example 7.19	<i>Time Interval Change</i> between Dux and Comes (TI): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria, mm. 58-65.	p. 323
Example 7.20	Imitation Interrupted by Cadence (Cad-int): Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Credo mm. 10-12.	p. 323
Example 7.21	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Credo I, <i>Ostinato Repetition</i> , mm. 108-120	p. 332
Example 7.22	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Sanctus III, “Osanna,” <i>Ostinato Repetition</i>	p. 333
Example 7.23	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Agnus II, hexachordal constructed bassus, mm. 82-98	p. 334
Example 7.24	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Agnus II, <i>Module Pair</i> , mm. 74-79	p. 335
Example 7.25	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Credo I, <i>Motivic Constellation Pair</i> , mm. 3-13	p. 336
Example 7.26	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Credo III, <i>Module Pair</i> , mm. 172-176	p. 336
Example 7.27	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Sanctus I, “Pleni sunt,” <i>Module Pair</i> , mm. 62-69	p. 337
Example 7.28	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Agnus II, <i>Module Pair</i> , mm. 53-57	p. 337
Example 7.29	Ockeghem <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Gloria I, <i>Module Pair</i> , “Domine Deus,” mm. 54-62	p. 337
Example 8.1	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Gloria I mm. 1-3, GI <i>Motto Constellation + Module</i>	p. 345
Example 8.2	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Credo I mm. 1-4, GI <i>Motto Constellation + Module</i>	p. 346
Example 8.3	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Sanctus I mm. 1-3, GI <i>Motto Constellation + Module</i>	p. 346
Example 8.4	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Gloria II, GII <i>Constellation with Internal Motto I Modules</i>	p. 347
Example 8.5	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Credo II, <i>GII Constellation</i>	p. 347
Example 8.6	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Sanctus IV, <i>In nomine</i> subsection, GIId <i>Consecutive Motto Repetition</i> with Modular treatment	p. 349
Example 8.7	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Sanctus IV, GII <i>Constellation and Module Series</i>	p. 350
Example 8.8	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Gloria I, mm. 1-25	p. 351-52
Example 8.9	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Sanctus I	p. 353
Example 8.10	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Gloria IV, mm. 94-101	p. 354
Example 8.11	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Credo I, mm. 9-21	p. 355
Example 8.12	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Credo I, mm. 36-45	p. 357
Example 8.13	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine no. 3</i> , Credo III, mm. 94-106	p. 358

Example 8.14	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine</i> no. 3, Gloria III, “Qui tollis,” <i>Motivic Modules</i> – Rhetorically motivated	p. 360
Example 8.15	Tinctoris <i>Missa sine nomine</i> no. 2, Credo, “Et in unum Dominum” <i>Motivic Modules</i> – Rhetorically motivated, mm. 11-17	p. 361

List of Tables

Table 3.1	<i>Varietas</i> and the Five Parts of Oratory	p. 64
Table 3.2	Three Virtues of Style (<i>Elocutio</i>), based on <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	p. 69
Table 3.3	Four Virtues of Style (<i>Elocutio</i>) based on Cicero’s <i>De oratore</i>	p. 70
Table 3.4	The four vices of excessive repetition, from <i>Rhetorica Ad Herennium</i>	p. 71
Table 3.5	Elegant Figures of Repetition (to be used when invoking the high style), from <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	p. 72
Table 3.6	Entertaining Figures of Repetition (to be used sparingly), from <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	p. 73
Table 3.7	Figures of Diction, from <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	p. 74
Table 3.8	Figures of Thought, from <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	p. 74
Table 3.9	Rules of Counterpoint (musical style) and correspondences with <i>Elocutio</i> (rhetorical style)	p. 79
Table 3.10	Varieties of Repetition in Tinctoris’s Musical Example Accompanying Rule 6	p. 98
Table 3.11	<i>Qualitate, quantitate, and varietas</i>	p. 106
Table 3.12	<i>Varietas</i> of Quantity/Varied Thought	p. 107
Table 3.13	<i>Varietas</i> of Quality/Varied Expressions	p. 110
Table 4.1	<i>Motto Segment Repetition</i> in Lymburgia’s <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 129
Table 4.2	Motto Modules	p. 129
Table 4.3	Examples of <i>Motto Transformation</i>	p. 131
Table 4.4	Motto Recombination	p. 134
Table 4.5	Unification in the Reson Mass	p. 138
Table 4.6	Motto Arrangement in the Reson Mass	p. 143
Table 4.7	Unity in Dufay’s <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 147
Table 4.8	Dufay <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> (<i>Resvellies vous</i>) Motto Arrangement	p. 157
Table 4.9	Motto Arrangement in Lymburgia’s <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 165
Table 5.1	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine</i> (Bologna Q15)	p. 177
Table 5.2	Motto Arrangement in Benet’s <i>Missa sine nomine</i> (Bologna Q15)	p. 180
Table 5.3	Benet <i>Missa sine nomine</i> no. 2: Mensural Schemes, Scoring, and Motto Arrangement	p. 187
Table 5.4	Motto Arrangement in Benet’s <i>Missa sine nomine</i> no. 2	p. 188
Table 5.5	John Bedingham <i>Missa primi toni</i>	p. 199
Table 5.6	Motto Arrangement in the <i>Missa Primi toni</i> of Bedingham	p. 200
Table 5.7	Pulloy <i>Missa sine nomine</i> , Motto Arrangement	p. 213
Table 5.8	Pulloy <i>Missa sine nomine</i> : Kyrie/Sanctus Mass-pair	p. 214
Table 5.9	Pulloy <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 217

Table 6.1	Barbingant <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> Motto Arrangement	p. 248
Table 6.2	Anonymous, <i>Missa Fa-ut</i>	p. 256
Table 6.3	Points of Imitation based on KIIa in the <i>Missa Fa-ut</i>	p. 260
Table 6.4	Bassere <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> Motto Arrangement	p. 285
Table 6.5	Bassere <i>Missa Sine Nomine</i> Module Arrangement	p. 287
Table 7.1	Ockeghem, <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Cadence Table Summary	p. 308
Table 7.2	Ockeghem, <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Cadence Table	p. 309
Table 7.3	Ockeghem, <i>Missa Quinti toni</i> , Distribution of Points of Imitation	p. 311
Table 7.4	Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Kyrie	p. 325
Table 7.5	Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Gloria	p. 326
Table 7.6	Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Credo	p. 327
Table 7.7	Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Sanctus	p. 328
Table 7.8	Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Agnus	p. 329
Table 7.9	Tally of Articulated and Concealed Devices	p. 330
Table 8.1	Mottos and Motives in Tinctoris's <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	p. 362-68

Abstract

Sine nomine (without name) is a term applied by modern scholars to refer to freely composed musical settings of the Mass Ordinary that do not borrow a *cantus prius factus*. I examine the intellectual context into which the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass was born and I investigate organizational strategies for the cyclic Mass outside of *cantus prius factus* borrowing. I present a new interpretation of *varietas* based on links between ancient rhetoric treatises and Johannes Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, and argue that Tinctoris's conception of *varietas* can help to understand procedures of motivic repetition and variation in the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass.

As the earliest type of Mass cycle, the *sine nomine* Mass played a crucial role in the history of the cyclic Mass. Fifteenth-century composers unified their *sine nomine* Masses with mottos and motives that assumed the form of multi-voice blocks. These blocks were repeated in contrapuntally varied forms (*Constellations*) and contrapuntally repeated forms (*Modules*). I trace the genesis and development of the motto and the multi-voice motivic block over the course of the fifteenth century and devise a new analytical vocabulary that clarifies how and where mottos and motives are structured, positioned, repeated, and varied. Most pre-1450 *sine nomine* Masses feature *Constellations*, which almost always undergo melodic, rhythmic, and contrapuntal variation. Later in the century, when mottos and motives assume a more straightforward and literal form, the *Constellation* is replaced by the *Module*.

I conduct analytical case studies on the Continental and English origins of the *sine nomine* Mass for works by Reson, Dufay, Lymburgia, Pullois, Benet, and Bedingham. Further developments in *sine nomine* Mass composition are traced through later works,

including the anonymous *Missa Fa-ut, sine nomine* Masses by Barbingant and Bassere, the *Missa Quinti toni* by Ockeghem, and Tinctoris's four-voice *Missa sine nomine*. This dissertation offers new intellectual and analytical frameworks through which we can view musical unification and motivic practice in the fifteenth-century cyclic Mass.

Abrégé

Sine nomine (« sans nom ») est un terme utilisé par les chercheurs contemporains pour désigner la mise en musique d'ordinaires de messes n'empruntant pas de *cantus prius factus* et dont toutes les voix sont originales. J'examine le contexte intellectuel au sein duquel la messe *sine nomine* du quinzième siècle est apparue, alors que les *inventio*, *ingenium* et *varietas* faisaient figure d'idéaux artistiques. Je me penche également sur les stratégies organisationnelles de la messe cyclique autres que l'emprunt de *cantus prius factus*.

Je propose une nouvelle interprétation du concept de *varietas* qui s'appuie sur différents liens entre les explications théoriques et les exemples musicaux du *Liber de arte contrapuncti* de Johannes Tinctoris et des traités de rhétorique anciens. La notion de *varietas* chez Tinctoris, soit la répétition contrapuntique variée, jette un nouvel éclairage sur les procédures de répétition motivique et de variation dans la messe *sine nomine* du quinzième siècle.

La messe *sine nomine* joue un rôle crucial dans l'histoire de la messe cyclique, dont elle est la forme la plus ancienne. Les compositeurs du quinzième siècle unifiaient leurs messes *sine nomine* à l'aide de mottos et de motifs agencés en complexes polyphoniques; ces complexes pouvaient être répétés avec ou sans variations contrapuntiques, c'est-à-dire en « constellations » ou en « modules », respectivement. Je fais le portrait de la genèse et du développement du motto et du complexe polyphonique au cours du quinzième siècle et élabore un vocabulaire analytique définissant la manière dont les mottos et motifs sont construits, positionnés, répétés et variés. La majorité des messes *sine nomine* avant 1450 présentent des constellations, presque toujours sujettes à

des variations mélodiques, rythmiques et contrapuntiques. Au quinzième siècle tardif, lorsque les mottos et motifs adoptent une configuration plus définie et littérale, la constellation est remplacée par le module.

Je mène des études de cas analytiques sur les origines continentale et anglaise de la messe *sine nomine* sur des œuvres de Reson, Dufay, Lymburgia, Pullois et Bedingham. Le développement ultérieur de la messe *sine nomine* est étudié dans des œuvres plus tardives, incluant la *Missa fa-ut* anonyme, des messes *sine nomine* par Barbingant et Bassere, la *Missa Quinti toni* d'Ockeghem et la *Missa sine nomine* à quatre voix de Tinctoris. Cette thèse élabore de nouveaux paradigmes intellectuels et analytiques permettant d'appréhender l'unification musicale et le traitement motivique de la messe cyclique du quinzième siècle.

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Pitch Notation

Specific pitches are indicated throughout this dissertation according to the Guidonian gamut:

c = middle c

DD EE FF GG A B C D E F G a b **c** d e f g aa bb cc dd ee ff gg

Musical Examples and Modern Editions

Musical examples are based on the following modern editions. Unless otherwise stated in the text, I have used the note reduction scheme and ficta suggested in these editions.

Anonymous, *Missa Fa-ut* (Trent 89)

Gottlieb, Louis Edward. "The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1958.

Anonymous (Frye?), *Missa sine nomine* (Brussels 5557)

Young, Crawford, ed. *Missa sine nomine: Aus dem Chorbuch Karls des Kühnen/From the Choirbook of Charles the Bold*. St. Oswald, Austria: Tympanon, 2002.

Barbingant, *Missa sine nomine* (Trent 89)

Gottlieb, Louis Edward. "The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1958.

Bassere, *Missa sine nomine* (Trent 89)

Gottlieb, Louis Edward. "The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1958.

Bedingham, *Missa sine nomine* (Trent 88)

Gerber, Rebecca Lynn. "The Manuscript Trent, Castello Del Buonconsiglio, 88: A Study of Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Transmission and Repertory." Volume II. PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1985.

Benet, *Missa sine nomine no. 1* (Bologna Q15 S/A; Trent 92 G)

Curtis, Gareth. *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music IV: Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*. Transcribed and edited by Gareth Curtis. Early English Church Music 42. London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer and Bell, 2001.

Benet, *Missa sine nomine no. 2* (Aosta and Trent 87)

Dunstable, John. *John Dunstable: Complete Works*. Second revised edition. Prepared by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent, and Brian Trowell. Musica Britannica 8. London: Stainer and Bell, 1970. No. 56-59, and 71.

Dufay, *Missa sine nomine* (Bol Q15)

Guilelmi Dufay Opera omnia, ed. Heinrich Besseler. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960.

Lymburgia, *Missa sine nomine* (Bol Q15)

Etheridge, Jerry Haller. "The Works of Johannes Lymburgia." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni* (Brussels 5557)

Bentham, Jaap van, ed. *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections: Volume III, Masses Based on Freely Invented and Unspecified Material* 1. Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging van Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2004.

Pullois, *Missa sine nomine* (Trent 87 and Trent 93)

Pullois, Jean. *Opera omnia*. Edited by Peter Gülke. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 61. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1967.

Reson, *Missa sine nomine* (Bol 2216)

Based on my own transcription.

Tinctoris, *Missa sine nomine* for four voices (Milan 2)

Tinctoris, Johannes. *Opera omnia*. Edited by William Melin. Corpus mensurabilis musicae 18. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1976).

Chapter 1 Introduction

Prologue

*O, be some other name!
What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet*
~ Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* (II, ii, 1-2).

Long ago on a balcony in fair Verona, two star-crossed lovers resolved to cast aside their names. In one of the most celebrated theatrical scenes in the English language, Juliet laments the arbitrariness of names, stressing that Romeo's name reveals very little about who he *truly* is. She loves him regardless of his identity as a Montague, yet recognizes that it is precisely this name, and what it represents to her family, that poses the greatest threat to their love. Juliet is aware that while a name has the power to lend meaning to what it signifies, at the same time, it is also entirely arbitrary, having little to do with the essential qualities of what is being signified.

In Mass Ordinary composition, names are anything but arbitrary.¹ To further expand the analogy above, just as Romeo's social identity is constructed by the context of the Montague name, Mass Ordinary cycles' identities are also clearly defined by *their* names – names derived from the chanson or chant material upon which they are based. Yet, unlike the names “Montague” and “Capulet,” Mass names express more fundamental characteristics. They point toward the actual substance and true musical essence of a Mass.

¹ Honey Meconi, “Petrucci's Mass Prints and the Naming of Things,” in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale; Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia – Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10-13 ottobre 2001*, ed. Giulio Cattin e Patrizia dalla Vecchia, 397-414 (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005).

It is perhaps for this reason that Renaissance Masses *with* names have always smelled sweeter than those *without*. Indeed, names are the classic focus of Mass Ordinary investigations. Many scholars have used Mass names as analytical starting points, proposing explanations for the formal construction of Mass compositions according to links to pre-existent models. Others have sought out names for previously unnamed Masses by searching for melodic and contrapuntal similarities in the chant and chanson repertory. Over the years, Masses with names – such as *L’homme armé*, *Caput*, *Fors seulement*, *Se la face ay pale*, and *Ave regina caelorum* – have attracted a great deal of attention, while interest in Masses without names has been negligible in comparison. How can we look beyond the name and assess Mass Ordinary works on their own terms – without having to explicate their “genetic” relations? How can we begin to break away from Mass analyses that favour the study of borrowing procedures? This dissertation examines Mass Ordinary unification strategies from a new perspective – from that of the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass – or literally, the Mass *without* a name.

What is a *Sine nomine* Mass?

It is common to name a Renaissance Mass after the model on which it is based. In the case of the *sine nomine* Mass, this is not feasible, as no *cantus prius factus* exists. *Sine nomine*, therefore, is a term applied by modern scholars to refer to any Mass for which no identifiable *cantus prius factus* has been found. However, the designation *sine nomine* is misleading and inadequate as it indiscriminately refers to two different categories of Masses: one based on hitherto unidentified pre-existent material and one which is freely composed. In the former category, finding a distinct name for the Mass only proves impossible because chanson or chant models have been lost or have not yet been located.

It is usually easy to identify this type of *sine nomine* Mass because melodic repetition of the model (usually in the tenor) is detectable in each movement of the Mass.² In the latter category, *sine nomine* Masses are freely composed and based on no antecedent models. Here, there is no obvious repetition of a *cantus prius factus* from movement to movement. It is this freely composed variety of *sine nomine* Mass that serves as the focus of this study.

Throughout this dissertation, I will use the term *Missa sine nomine* interchangeably with “freely composed” Mass. By “freely composed” Mass, I mean a Mass that is not constructed on a *cantus prius factus* or a Mass that does not systematically borrow from plainchant, *chanson*, or any other model. My definition of *sine nomine* Mass excludes those Masses that employ a different *cantus prius factus* in each individual movement and also excludes “composite” Masses such as those in Bologna Q15.³

My definition of the *sine nomine* Mass accounts for those works that allude to snippets of *chanson* or plainchant, as these allusions, unlike cantus firmus borrowing, tend to be unsystematic.⁴ My definition also includes all non-cantus firmus Masses that

² Julie Cumming’s comments about the nature of freely composed tenors versus cantus firmus tenors in the fifteenth-century motet are equally appropriate in this context. She states, “freely composed tenors move around abruptly through a large range, occasionally careening from the top to the bottom; they lack the tuneful quality and the carefully modulated melodic arches of the pre-existent melodies.” See Julie Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 281.

³ Masses such as the *Missa Sancti Jacobi* of Dufay or the *Missa Verbum Incarnatum* of Arnold de Lantins that incorporate different plainchant melodies into each movement will not be considered. Composite Masses in Bologna Q15 such as that by Lantins/Ciconia (1r-8r) and by Dufay/Zacar (15v-22r) are by multiple composers and therefore tell us little about authorial attempts to unify the movements of the Mass Ordinary. Here, unification strategies are predominantly scribal in nature.

⁴ Christopher Reynolds, “Counterpoint of Allusion in Fifteenth-Century Masses,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 228-60. Also see Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Reynolds has been instrumental in bringing to the fore the fifteenth-century phenomenon of allusion. He has discovered many chansons allusions in Masses of San Pietro B80 and has shown how a single Mass can include several allusions to numerous

are constructed according to canonic principles such as Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* and others from the Trent codices.⁵ Finally, some of the *sine nomine* Masses in this study are incomplete; there are, after all, several English examples of Masses missing Kyries and Milanese examples of *Missae breves* that have only three movements – all of which I include under my definition of *Missa sine nomine*.

The Origins of the Cyclic Mass

In the early years of the fifteenth century, composers took initial steps toward unifying the Mass Ordinary by pairing those movements that demonstrated textual or stylistic affinity.⁶ To this end, typical pairings involved the Gloria and Credo (movements with long texts which were declaimed syllabically) and the Sanctus and Agnus (non syllabic movements with short texts). In English and Continental manuscripts such as Old Hall, Oxford 213, Bologna Q15, Bologna 2216, Aosta, Turin, Trent 87, and Trent 92, many Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus pairs were intentionally composed as units.⁷

chansons. According to Reynolds, allusion is conveyed in voices other than the tenor, and therefore, unlike the cantus firmus, does not function as a structural backbone to a Mass.

⁵ Although I will not be analyzing any canonic Masses in this dissertation, I do include this subcategory of *sine nomine* Mass in the inventory table in the Appendix. The canonic Masses of the Trent codices appear in a modern edition by Richard Kemp Loya, *Canons in the Trent Codices* (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1967).

⁶ Though it lacks any systematic unification techniques, Machaut's *Messe de Notre Dame* of the fourteenth century is one of the first complete polyphonic setting of the Mass Ordinary by a single composer. With the exception of some composite cycles from Tournai, Barcelona, Toulouse, and Sorbonne (all thought to have been compiled by scribes) it was not until the fifteenth century that composers intentionally began to impose unification techniques on all five movements of the Mass Ordinary. See Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe 1400-1600* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 114.

⁷ See Manfred Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950), 217-226. It has been argued by Charles Hamm that some of these pairs are "composite" and simply reflect the organizational practices of scribes rather than any pre-meditated authorial intention. See Charles Hamm, "The Reson Mass," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 5-21. Philip Gossett has been critical of how we decide exactly what constitutes a Mass-pair or cycle. His scholarship is particularly applicable to those Mass-pairs and Masses that appear in early manuscripts such as Bologna Q15 where Mass movements are grouped into their respective sections (i.e. all of the Kyries together . . . etc.) See Philip Gossett, "Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass pairs," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966): 206-208.

Some of these pairs only exhibited connections at large-scale organizational levels, employing identical mensurations, clefs, signatures, number of voices, and finals.⁸ Other pairs demonstrated more exceptional unification strategies such as motto beginnings and motivic connections.⁹

By the 1420s, Continental composers such as Guillaume Dufay, Arnold de Lantins, Johannes de Lymburgia, Johannes Reson, Reginaldus Libert, and Etienne Grossin had extended these techniques of unification to all five movements of the Mass Ordinary. Though a few of these early Masses (such as the plenary cycles of Libert and Dufay) used a different plainsong tenor in each movement, others eschewed all reference to borrowed material. Those of this latter category comprise the first group of *sine nomine* Masses.

Not long thereafter, the English developed the tenor cantus firmus as a means of unifying the Mass Ordinary.¹⁰ This new type of composition, which incorporated the same borrowed melody into the tenor line of each of its five movements and employed many of the same principles of construction as the isorhythmic motet, became the standard way to musically unify the Mass Ordinary.¹¹ Whereas the earliest English cantus firmus Masses are based on plainchant, Continental cyclic Mass compositions, beginning

⁸ See Hamm, "The Reson Mass," *passim*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁰ Manfred Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," 221. For an article on symbolism and the cantus firmus see Geoffrey Chew, "The Early Cyclic Mass as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy," *Music and Letters* 53 (1972): 254-269. For a discussion that problematizes notions of unity in the cyclic Mass see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 170-172. Strohm suggests that the "cyclic Mass was fostered by pragmatic, rather than aesthetic, considerations" (pp. 171 and 229). Also see Andrew Kirkman, "Innovation, Stylistic Patterns and the Writing of History: The Case of Bedyngham's Mass *Dueil Angoisseux*," in *I codici musicali trentini: nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, Trent, 24 September 1994, ed. Danilo Curti, Marco Gozzi and Peter Wright, 149-175 (Trent: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Servizi Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1996).

¹¹ For connections between the isorhythmic motet and cyclic cantus firmus Mass see Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," 221. Also see Thomas Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 1-56.

with Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*, often borrow from *chanson*. This practice of incorporating borrowed material from other sources, whether from chant, *chanson*, instrumental pieces, or motets, remained the favoured technique of composers for the remainder of the Renaissance.

It is widely accepted that the invention of the English tenor cantus firmus Mass had a profound impact on the development of the cyclic Mass genre.¹² The use of one cantus firmus from movement to movement was, in many ways, a perfect solution to the “problem” of unification – not only satisfying the practical demands of the liturgy, but also addressing aesthetic issues of musical coherence and unity. The sheer abundance of fifteenth-century Masses based on *cantus prius facti* has attracted the attention of countless scholars. Indeed, ever since Bukofzer’s and Sparks’s pioneering studies on cantus firmus procedure, researchers have been hard at work identifying lost models, accounting for Mass-model associations (through melodic, rhythmic and harmonic correspondences), and establishing subgenre labels for Masses with pre-existent material.¹³ Historians have traditionally classified Masses from this period into subgenres

¹² For discussions on the origins of the cyclic Mass see see Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” 221; Bukofzer, “English Church Music of the Fifteenth Century,” in *The New Oxford History of Music, III: Ars nova and the Renaissance*, edited by Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham, 165-213 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); Andrew Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth- Centuries: Style, Distribution and Case Studies* (London: Garland Publishing, 1995). For the historiography of the cyclic Mass see Andrew Kirkman, “The Invention of the Cyclic Mass,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001): 1-47.

¹³ Manfred Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” passim. Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet: 1420-1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963). For other studies on borrowing technique and subgenre terminology in the Mass see the following studies: J. Peter Burkholder, “Johannes Martini and the Imitation Mass of the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 470-523. Leeman L. Perkins, Reinhard Strohm and J. Peter Burkholder “Communications” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 130-39, 576-78. Murray Steib, “A Composer Looks at His Model: Polyphonic Borrowing from the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 46 (1996): 5-41. Lewis Lockwood, “On Parody as Term and Concept in 16th - Century Music,” in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 560-75; Fabrice Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, Collection Ricercar, Centre d’études supérieures de la

that correspond to borrowing practices such as cantus firmus/tenor Mass, paraphrase Mass, cantus-firmus/imitation Mass (or cantus firmus mass with ancillary borrowings), and parody/*ad imitationem* Mass.

A fact that has often been overlooked is that the *sine nomine* Mass continued to develop throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, coexisting with these other more common Mass types. To this day, no inventory of *sine nomine* Masses has been compiled and no systematic study on the historical and stylistic development of the *sine nomine* Mass has been conducted.

The Current State of Research on the *Sine nomine* Mass

Given the vast body of scholarship dedicated to the topic, it may seem that the origins and evolution of the cyclic Mass are understood and well documented. However, recent statements by David Fallows and Andrew Kirkman, that “the history of the polyphonic Mass cycle in the fifteenth century remains a seriously neglected subject”¹⁴ and that “many of the most fundamental issues associated with [the Mass] remain in darkness,”¹⁵ suggest that there is still plenty of work left to be done in the field. This is especially true of the *sine nomine* Mass.¹⁶

There are several reasons why the *sine nomine* Mass has received so little attention: 1) the scholarly focus on cantus-firmus Masses has established analytical routines that favour the study of how pre-existent material is reworked; 2) the analytical

Renaissance (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997); Honey Meconi, ed, *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁴ David Fallows, “Communications,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 146.

¹⁵ Andrew Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Style, Distribution and Case Studies* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995), xi.

¹⁶ The *sine nomine* Mass is not the only fifteenth-century, freely composed genre that has received little scholarly attention. Julie Cumming has recently brought attention to the lack of scholarship dedicated to the freely composed motet in *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 278-84.

tools used by scholars for *sine nomine* Masses are unsophisticated; 3) much of the *sine nomine* Mass music is anonymous, unavailable or difficult to locate in modern editions; 4) Renaissance music textbooks propagate misconceptions by downplaying the importance of this subgenre and by communicating inconsistent information;¹⁷ and 5) there is very little sense of how many *sine nomine* Masses are actually found in extant manuscripts.

The fact that many of these Masses are unattributed and unnamed means that locating the music can be quite a challenge. Those pieces that *are* transcribed are scattered throughout dissertations and modern editions. Other Masses have never been transcribed – a situation that has recently been addressed by Rob Wegman, whose ambitious project to make all extant Masses (from ca. 1440 to 1520) available on the internet will greatly advance fifteenth-century Mass scholarship.¹⁸

Though the field lacks a comprehensive historical and stylistic narrative for the *sine nomine* Mass, there are several studies that elucidate features of the subgenre. Louis Edward Gottlieb's 1958 dissertation on the Masses of Trent 89 provided the first-ever investigation of a small group of *sine nomine* Masses. He organized his discussion of the twenty-one Trent 89 cycles into three groups, categorized by cantus-firmus type: isorhythmic tenors, non-isorhythmic tenors and freely composed Masses.¹⁹ Given the apparent absence of a cantus firmus in the five Masses of the final group, Gottlieb accounted for cyclic unity in other ways – namely on the basis of what he called “unusual

¹⁷ In Renaissance music textbooks it is typical to make reference to a few pioneering *sine nomine* Masses found in Bologna Q15, Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, and the *Missae breves* of Gaffurius. See for example Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), 352-390.

¹⁸ <http://www.princeton.edu/~rwegman/mass.htm>. At the time of writing this dissertation, Wegman's project was 40% complete.

¹⁹ Louis Edward Gottlieb, “The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89” (PhD diss., University of California, 1958).

devices” and “gimmicks.”²⁰ These elements include: motto or head-motive beginnings, finals, and formal subdivisions of movements based on mensurations, cadences, and duet/chorus textures. Gottlieb’s musical descriptions of these Masses addressed issues of style such as form, dissonance treatment, structure, and imitation. In his conclusions, however, Gottlieb made no attempt to situate the group of *sine nomine* Masses within any sort of historical or stylistic context.

In 1965, Charles Hamm identified a complete, freely composed cyclic Mass by Johannes Reson in the manuscript Bologna 2216.²¹ He discovered that although the five sections were scattered throughout the manuscript, they all revealed correspondences in terms of clefs, finals, mensuration, head motives, and other important stylistic features. He suggested that earlier Masses (including those present in Bologna Q15 of Dufay, Lantins, and Lymburgia) were written during a “transitional period” in Mass composition and referred to the Masses in this earlier group as “composite” – works that had been patched together from Gloria-Credo or Sanctus-Agnus pairs (sometimes by different composers) or works for which additional sections had been composed in order to supplement extant partial Masses. He argued that the Reson Mass exhibited a level of unification that surpassed that of any of the Masses found in Bologna Q15.

Philip Gossett later challenged Hamm’s assessment by questioning his exclusive reliance on Mass Ordinary unification parameters such as clefs, signatures, mensurations, and finals.²² The absence of Hamm’s unification parameters in the “composite Masses” of

²⁰ Ibid., 16.

²¹ Charles Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 5-21; at 15-20. Hamm expands upon notions of unification cited by Bukofzer. Bukofzer names two distinct methods of unification – motto beginnings and the tenor cantus firmus. He stresses that Franco-Flemish motto Masses and English tenor Masses arose independently of one another. Manfred Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950), 219.

²² Gossett, “Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass pairs,” 218-20.

Bologna Q15, argued Gossett, did not necessarily indicate that unity was lacking. In an effort to expand criteria governing unification, Gossett analyzed a Gloria-Credo Mass pair in Bologna Q15 by Hugo de Lantins in which mottos recurred several times, endings of subsections were similar, rhythmic similarities were detected in passages leading up to cadences, and the proportion of imitative passages was similar between movements.

In another study, Hamm found evidence for the continuation of the *sine nomine* tradition that had originated in the first two decades of the fifteenth century.²³ He attributed an anonymous *sine nomine* Mass to Barbingant, and concluded that the *sine nomine* Mass evolved and indeed coexisted with later, more popular tenor, paraphrase, and parody cycles.²⁴

More recent investigations of the *sine nomine* Mass have been conducted by Reinhard Strohm, Adelyn Peck Leverett, and Andrew Kirkman. In *The Rise of European Music*, Reinhard Strohm dedicates many pages to the *sine nomine* Mass, acknowledging that, “in the extant sources, the species without cantus firmus is well represented.”²⁵ He posits the existence of two stylistically and geographically distinct *sine nomine* traditions. In the first, he situates the cycles of Pullois, Benet, Bedyngham, Ockeghem, Cousin, and Thick, while in the second, he places works of central-European origin – such as those of the Apel Codex, Munich 3154, and Warsaw 2016.²⁶

²³ Charles Haam, “Another Barbingant Mass,” in *Essays in Musicology: In Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday*, edited by Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 83-90.

²⁴ Hamm dates the Mass after 1450 while Strohm dates it before 1463. See Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 415.

²⁵ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 414.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 242, 415, 533.

Peck Leverett's study of Trent 91 provides a stylistic and historical context for no less than eighteen *sine nomine* Masses.²⁷ She reveals stylistic correspondences (based on mottos and tonal schemes) between works of Trent 89, 91, and the Apel Codex, and unites all extant freely-composed, low-contratenor Masses into one continuous Austro-German tradition based at the Chapel of Friedrich III.²⁸ She proposes that a circle of Franco-Flemish composers, including Johannes Touront, Barbingant, Vincenet, and Johannes Martini, was associated with the Imperial court Chapel of Friedrich III between 1460-1475, and that this Austro-German school of composers established a distinct regional tradition.²⁹ With the aid of eastern-European manuscript sources, she associates two distinct subgenres of Mass Ordinary composition with this school of composers 1) Masses that use German polyphonic song settings and 2) freely-composed Masses. In the latter group she situates five *sine nomine* Masses from Trent 89 and 91 (all for three voices and all employing a low contratenor).³⁰ These include: Barbingant's *Missa primi toni*, an anonymous *Missa sine nomine*, and Touront's *Missa tertii toni*, and *Missa septimi toni* (all found in Trent 89), and Vincenet's *Missa sine nomine* (Trent 91).³¹ Peck Leverett examines correspondences in tonal schemes and head motives between these *sine nomine*

²⁷ Adelyn Peck Leverett, "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study of the Manuscript Trento, Castello Del Buonconsiglio, 91 (1378)," 2 vols., (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990).

²⁸ Ibid., 186-88. Peck Leverett identifies "variable head-motives" – motives that appears at the beginning of a movement or a subsection that do not involve verbatim repetition. Head motives of this variety are comparable on the basis of melodic contour of the discantus rather than exact pitches, rhythms or vertical sonorities.

²⁹ Ibid., 99-103.

³⁰ The use of the low contratenor became the norm in three-voice writing in three-voice Masses in the 1460s, replacing three-voice works in chanson texture (with equal-range tenor and contratenor). This development occurred shortly after the emergence of four-voice writing. See Andrew Kirkman, *The Three Voice Mass*, passim.

³¹ Peck Leverett's argument for a distinctive Austro-German *sine nomine* tradition is further supported by the fact that the Touront, Vincenet and Anonymous Masses only appear in Germanic manuscript sources. The Barbingant Mass is the one exception as it is also found in an Italian source: San Pietro B80.

Masses and five other Masses from the Apel codex.³² Thus, Peck Leverett supports and expands upon ideas first posited by Charles Hamm concerning the continuation of a previously unrecognized post-1450 *sine nomine* tradition.

In her endeavour to unite almost the entire repertory of extant low-contral *sine nomine* Masses into one continuous tradition based at the Chapel of Friedrich III, Peck Leverett reaches the contentious conclusion that the *Missa Quinti toni* was not composed by Ockeghem, but rather by a composer working in the Austro-German area.³³ Finally, Peck Leverett concludes her study of the freely-composed *sine nomine* Mass with an argument that connects an early exemplar of a *missa brevis* extant in Trent 91 with those *Missae brevae* of the Gaffurius codices in Milan. Though scholars such as Andrew Kirkman and Fabrice Fitch have since questioned Peck Leverett's methodologies and conclusions, the fact that she attempts to provide a historical and stylistic context for no less than eighteen freely-composed Masses makes her study a valuable point of reference.

In his dissertation on the three-voice Mass, Andrew Kirkman sets out to chart changes in three-voice texture over the course of the fifteenth century – particularly the rise to prominence of low-contratenor texture.³⁴ He compiles data on cleffing, finals, and voice ranges for ninety-four three-voice Masses, then takes a representative sample of Masses to analyze two parameters that elucidate the shifting role of the contratenor: 1) the time spent by the contratenor above the tenor and 2) the use of leaps greater than a third in the contratenor. Kirkman concludes that the drop of the contratenor to its own, lower range in the 1460s and 70s precipitated other major changes that allowed for a more

³² Ibid., 186-188.

³³ Fabrice Fitch does not agree with her assessment. He asserts that “all the evidence supports Ockeghem's authorship.” See Fabrice, Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models* (Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), 184.

³⁴ Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass*, passim.

stratified, non-hierarchical texture — namely, the rise of imitation and the smoothing out of the contratenor's melodic profile.

Though more than thirty of the Masses that appear in Kirkman's inventory are freely composed, and each of his case studies (on the “Two Kyries Mass,” the Anonymous Mass in Brussels 5557, and Ockeghem's *Missa Sine Nomine* and *Missa Quinti toni*) concern freely-composed Masses, his approach differs significantly from my own as he makes a special effort to avoid any stylistic distinction between cantus firmus Masses and *sine nomine* Masses. All of his analyses focus on contratenor function and he avoids the topic of free composition altogether.

Unification in the Fifteenth-Century *Sine nomine* Mass

Many scholars who engage in early music analysis explore how certain theoretical concepts presented in Renaissance treatises resonate contemporaneously with the music of the period.³⁵ It has been argued that historically informed analyses on topics such as mode, mensural notation, cadential formulas, and dissonance treatment, conform to a “work's own grammatical sense,” thus affirming a “role for historically appropriate theory.”³⁶ These analyses seek to reconstruct “the languages, grammars and dialects” of

³⁵ For the earliest studies to question anachronistic analysis of early music see Putnam Aldrich, “An Approach to the Analysis of Renaissance Music,” *The Music Review* (1969): 1-21. Also see Geoffrey Nutting, “Between Anachronism and Obscurity: Analysis of Renaissance Music,” *The Music Review* 35 (1974): 185-216. The topic is most thoroughly discussed by Peter Schubert, “Authentic Analysis,” *The Journal of Musicology* (1994): 3-18 and Margaret Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis,” in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, 15-59 (New York and London: Garland, 1998). For analyses that draw from Renaissance music theory see Patricia Carpenter, “Tonal Coherence in a Motet of Dufay,” *Journal of Music Theory* 17 (1973): 2-64. Leeman Perkins, “Mode and Structure in the Masses of Josquin,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 26 (1973): 189-239. Cristle Collins Judd, “Josquin des Prez: *Salve Regina* (à 5),” in *Models of Musical Analysis: Music Before 1600*, ed. Mark Everist, 114-53 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); “Some Problems of Pre-Baroque Analysis: An Examination of Josquin's *Ave Maria* . . . *Virgo serena*,” *Music Analysis* 4 (1985): 201-39; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, “Machaut's *Rose, Lis* and the Problem of Early Music Analysis,” *Music Analysis* (1984): 9-28.

³⁶ Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music,” 16.

early music, helping to forge significant links between theory and practice.³⁷ We enter a more uncertain area for analysis however, when we move beyond broader aspects of musical “grammar” and attempt to address the craft of composition itself.³⁸ A fear of anachronistic theorizing about fifteenth-century music has led many analysts to self-consciously avoid discussing topics of unity, motivic coherence, organicism, and motivic development. As the argument goes, concepts such as these simply never arose in fifteenth- or sixteenth-century music treatises, eliciting doubt, in turn, about whether these were compositional problems that concerned Renaissance composers at all.³⁹ Though theoretical treatises seem to “fail” us in this respect, the music itself tells a different story. After all, cantus firmus usage, ostinati, mensural/modal uniformities, and motto repetition from movement to movement all *seem* to point toward a preoccupation with an aesthetic of unity. Indeed, just because there is silence surrounding topics such as repetition, imitation, and motivic coherence, this should not, as John Milsom cautions, “deceive us into thinking that [these subjects] . . . did not arise in the training of novice composers.”⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid., 19. The full citation reads: “A methodology cannot be sensitive to the particular language of pretonal music unless that language was taken into account in formulating the analytic method. The task is to reconstruct, as precisely as possible in the absence of native witnesses, the languages, grammars and dialects proper to specific repertoires, as we would in dealing with their verbal counterparts, if we aspire not to a ventriloquized monologue but to a true dialogue.”

³⁸ Studies that have dealt with issues of compositional craft include: Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); George Perle, “Integrative Devices in the Music of Machaut,” *Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948): 169-76; Irving Godt, “Motive Integration in Josquin’s Motets,” *Journal of Music Theory* 21 (1977): 264-92; Christopher Reynolds, “Musical Evidence of Compositional Planning in the Renaissance: Josquin’s *Plus nulz regretz*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 53-81; Peter Schubert, “Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen 503-533 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³⁹ For example, at the outset of her article, “Some Problems of Pre-Baroque Analysis,” Judd claims that, “text and modal theory may be understood as bound up with the humanist and musical culture of the period, while analysis of structure (both of text and music) represents observations apart from musical or cultural context” (p. 202).

⁴⁰ John Milsom, “Analysing Josquin,” in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 435.

In analytical investigations of fifteenth-century Mass Ordinary compositions, issues of unity often arise. Most studies, however, privilege Masses that borrow musical material, and therefore favour a theoretical conception in which the *cantus prius factus* functions as the primary unifying agent. It follows then that many of our perceptions of fifteenth-century musical unification in the Mass are intimately connected to borrowing procedures.⁴¹ The fifteenth-century unification model for the Mass that is most frequently evoked is drawn from the realm of architecture. The cantus firmus Mass, for example, which features the successive repetition of a borrowed tune in the tenor line of each movement, has a unifying structure that is typically compared to scaffolding. This analytical approach, dependent on the work's *intertextual* relation to an external source, cannot be applied to freely-composed or *sine nomine* Masses. Indeed, given the absence of pre-existent material in the *sine nomine* Mass, arguing for unity necessitates a search for *intratextual* correspondences from the compositional fabric of each individual Mass.

Varietas

In this dissertation, the concept of unification will be better understood from a theoretical perspective that gives priority to the notion of *varietas* – an aesthetic that was professed by the theorist Johannes Tinctoris to be one of the most coveted values of the fifteenth century.⁴² It is crucial for scholars to acknowledge the ramifications of this

⁴¹ According to Honey Meconi, “the studying of borrowing has . . . been a powerful tool in analysis and often the means of first approach to a composition.” See Meconi, “Introduction” in *Early Music Borrowing*, 2.

⁴² Johannes Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, transl. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 139-140. Sean Gallagher sheds light on fifteenth-century compositional practice through his discussion of *varietas* in “Models of *Varietas*: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1998), 38-78. Gallagher contextualizes the notion of *varietas* in order to better understand the compositional style of Regis.

aesthetic on the construction of the fifteenth-century Mass, as it was exactly this genre that was singled out by Tinctoris as the site for the greatest degree of *varietas*.⁴³

As discussed by Sean Gallagher, *varietas* is often equated quite literally with “variety” or “diversity” and is typically seen as an aesthetic that contradicts musical unity. In Chapter 3 I posit a new definition of *varietas* by establishing links between Tinctoris’s rules of counterpoint in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and the ancient “rules” of rhetoric as they have come down to us in treatises such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero’s *De oratore*. I show how Tinctoris consistently highlights the relationship between musical repetition (*redictae*) and variety (*varietas*) in counterpoint – a paradigm that has its origins in rhetorical practice.

Throughout this dissertation, I reveal how Tinctoris’s notion of *varietas* can be transferred from theory to musical practice. In the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass, unity and *varietas* are cultivated through the interaction of small units of varied repetition. The most obvious place where these repetitive units are found are either within points of imitation, or at the openings of Mass movements and subsections where they assume the form of head motives or mottos.

Varied Repetition

A head-motive or motto beginning was initially defined by Manfred Bukofzer as a concise, characteristic motive recurring in one or more voices at the beginning of Mass Ordinary movements.⁴⁴ The motto initially appeared as a unification device in Continental Mass pairs and in the first complete Continental freely-composed Masses of

⁴³ Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 139.

⁴⁴ See Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” 217-310.

Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia. These pioneering *sine nomine* Masses, sometimes called “motto Masses,” have been identified by Edgar Sparks as a distinctly Franco-Flemish invention that contrasted with the English cantus firmus Mass.⁴⁵ In this dissertation, I argue that the *sine nomine* Mass was actually cultivated simultaneously on the Continent and in England and I distinguish between the approaches of composers of both geographical areas toward construction, arrangement, and variation of mottos. I trace continuities and transformations in the *sine nomine* Mass by studying the changing role of the motto throughout the fifteenth century.

I broaden common definitions of the motto and emphasize its significance as a sophisticated unification device in the context of the *sine nomine* Mass. I establish motto vocabulary to describe how, by means of complex procedures of motto construction, arrangement, repetition, and variation, composers applied a richer and more multifaceted approach to motto construction than has been previously recognized. I will show that rather than being isolated, self-contained motivic units found at sectional beginnings, mottos create complex networks of associations across Mass cycles. The works that will be featured in analytical case studies will further enhance our understanding of how the *sine nomine* motto is used. As we shall see, varied motto repetition is crucial not only in lending a sense of formal coherence to the *sine nomine* Mass, but also in negotiating a balance between unity and the fifteenth-century aesthetic value of *varietas*. Apart from the motto, my other main analytical focus will be on how imitation plays a unifying role in the freely-composed fabric of the *sine nomine* Mass. It is well known that it is in the freely-composed sections of cantus firmus Masses (i.e. when the tenor is silent) that imitation is used liberally. Edgar Sparks has suggested that composers thought of

⁴⁵ Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 120.

imitative texture as a substitute for cantus firmus organization.⁴⁶ In fact, in the Masses of Dufay, these two compositional techniques are rarely combined – when the cantus firmus is stated, imitation is absent and vice versa.⁴⁷ The most extreme manifestation of a Mass with an imitative texture is Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, a work that is actually part of a *sine nomine* tradition of canonic writing.⁴⁸ Throughout the dissertation, I examine how imitative writing aids in articulating mottos and motives in the *sine nomine* Mass. Imitation also becomes a focus in my study of the *Missa Quinti toni*, where I discuss how Ockeghem's imitative language is reflective of an "aesthetic of concealment."

Chapter Overview

In this dissertation, I examine the *sine nomine* Mass repertory from its origins (ca. 1420) to the 1480s. I compile the first-ever inventory of fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Masses and supply information on manuscript sources, concordances, and modern editions (see Appendix). Analysis of the repertory allows me to identify a particular set of stylistic expectations for the *sine nomine* Mass. I establish compositional profiles which, when conflated with information on chronology and provenance, suggest the existence of various localized fifteenth-century traditions. I expand analytical procedures for the *sine nomine* repertory by demonstrating how composers unified freely-composed Masses

⁴⁶ Research pertaining to the role of imitation in the Mass Ordinary has been conducted recently by Mary Natvig, "Investigating Imitation in the Fifteenth-Century Mass Ordinary," presented at the conference "Josquin and his Models: The Emergence of Pervasive Imitation," June 7-8, 2003, Faculty of Music, McGill University, Montreal.

⁴⁷ Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 133.

⁴⁸ Peter Urquhart, "Calculated to Please the Ear: Ockeghem's Canonic Legacy," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 47 (1997): 72-98. Michael Friebel, "Canon and Variation in Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*," in *Johannes Ockeghem: Acts du Xle Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, edited by Philippe Vendrix, 433-464, Collection Épitome musical, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998). See also Irving Godt, "An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the *Missa Mimi*?" *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61 (1991): 79-85.

through the use of mottos, contrapuntal block repetition, and points of imitation. I observe these unification techniques through the lens of *varietas* or “variety” – an ancient concept appropriated by humanists and characterized by the musical theorist Johannes Tinctoris in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477) as one of the fifteenth-century’s most fundamental aesthetic values. Through case studies that examine Masses representative of distinct sub-groupings, I demonstrate how the *sine nomine* Mass transformed over the course of the fifteenth century.

The dissertation is divided into three parts. Part One (Chapters 2 and 3), entitled “*Ingenium* and *Varietas* in the *Sine nomine* Mass” positions the *sine nomine* Mass within a fifteenth-century context. In Chapter 2 I compare Renaissance attitudes toward the classical ideals of *imitatio* (borrowing and emulation) and *ingenium* and *inventio* (i.e. “natural talent” and “invention”) in order to understand contemporaneous attitudes toward the *sine nomine* Mass. In Chapter 3, I propose a reinterpretation of the aesthetic value of *varietas* as it is depicted in Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. By positioning this treatise within the context of classical rhetoric and fifteenth-century painting theory, I account for two distinct types of *varietas*. These new definitions of *varietas* are, in subsequent chapters, applied to the development of new analytical approaches to the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* repertory.

Part Two (Chapters 4 and 5), entitled “The Origins of the *sine nomine* Mass: The Franco-Flemish and English Motto,” includes analytical case studies that account for motto construction and variation in Continental and English *sine nomine* Masses written before 1450. I discuss the origins of the two prominent cyclic Mass-types that emerge in the early fifteenth century – the Continental *sine nomine* Mass and the English tenor cantus firmus Mass. In Chapter 4 I discuss the history of the motto and re-evaluate its role

as a unification device in the *sine nomine* Mass. I introduce analytical vocabulary and new definitions that elucidate the diverse ways in which mottos were constructed, arranged, and varied. I investigate motto unification in pioneering Continental Masses by Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia. Through comparative analyses, I illustrate various ingenious methods of motto construction, organization, and transformation. Chapter 5 begins with an investigation of pre-1450 Masses of undisputed English provenance by Benet and Bedingham. Analyses reveal general trends in the English *sine nomine* tradition. Focus then turns to the *Missa sine nomine* by Pullois – a work that Gareth Curtis claims is actually by an English composer. I challenge Curtis’s conclusions and demonstrate how the Mass actually fits into the Continental *sine nomine* Mass tradition.

In Part Three (Chapters 6, 7, and 8), entitled “Models of *Redictae* and *Varietas*” new contrapuntal units of repetition are identified in the *sine nomine* repertory. In Chapter 6, I investigate three Masses from the manuscript Trent 89 (ca. 1460-1466): Barbingant’s *Missa sine nomine*, the Anonymous *Missa Fa-ut*, and Bassere’s *Missa sine nomine*. I consider each composer’s idiosyncratic approach to unification and *varietas* in the reiteration and variation of mottos, imitation, and other contrapuntal units. In Chapter 7, I investigate unification in Ockeghem’s *Missa Quinti toni* by analyzing mottos, cadences, imitation, and other motivic correspondences between movements. In Chapter 8, I link Tinctoris’s theories to his compositional practice by revealing how *varietas* manifests itself in his four-voice *sine nomine* Mass. I suggest that a useful way to understand formal approaches to *sine nomine* Mass writing is by comparing them to compositional approaches prescribed in classical treatises on rhetoric.

As we navigate the sea of unnamed and often anonymous fifteenth-century Mass Ordinary settings, we will return frequently to the question “what’s in a name?” Though

the *sine nomine* Mass is indeed nameless, it is certainly not without substance or compositional interest. There is evidence to suggest, in fact, that composers like Dufay, Ockeghem, and Tinctoris all turned to the *sine nomine* Mass at different times in their careers. As we shall see, etching out an identity for the *sine nomine* Mass necessitates the development of a fine-tuned analytical vocabulary – one that takes into account the myriad ways that motivic units were repeated and varied. New analytical names and categories will not suffice on their own however, as vocabulary itself tells us little about the actual construction of a *sine nomine* composition. In order to truly get a sense for composers' formal compositional approaches to the *sine nomine* subgenre, we will need to examine, on a case by case basis, the individual contexts in which motivic units are repeated. Through a systematic investigation of how composers continually reinterpreted and transformed mottos and motives in these Masses, we will acquire a better grasp of how the principle of *varietas* was implemented as a fundamental compositional procedure in the fifteenth century *sine nomine* Mass. For the first time, an historical and stylistic narrative will be posited for the genesis and development of this long ignored repertory.

PART I

INGENIUM AND VARIETAS IN THE SINE NOMINE MASS

Prologue: Classical Rhetoric in Fifteenth-Century Northern Europe

Is it possible that rhetorical principles informed the compositional processes of northern composers in the fifteenth century? This is a question for which concrete answers are lacking, as available evidence suggests that music theorists of that century thought it more crucial to dwell upon musical issues involving proportion, consonance, dissonance, and mode, and neglected to discuss the process of composition itself.¹ Without any contemporaneous theoretical attention paid to issues such as musical form, unification, motivic practice, musical borrowing, quotation, or allusion, modern day scholars have been forced to rely on hunches and educated hypotheses when attempting to relate the compositional process of fifteenth-century music to the rhetorical arts.²

¹ Jessie Ann Owens reflects on this in *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

² For a study on musico-rhetorical figures in the music of Josquin see Patrick Macey, "Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: 'Miserere mei, Deus' and Other Motets," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr, 485-530 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Christopher Reynolds, "Musical Evidence of Compositional Planning in the Renaissance: Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 53-81. Strohm, "Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a 'Rebirth' of the Arts," *passim*. Margaret Bent, "The Musical Stanzas in Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames*," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance, Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, 91-127 (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004). Sean Thomas Patrick Gallagher, "Models of *Varietas*: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998). Margaret Bent, "Grammar and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," keynote address, Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Tours, France, July 13-16, 2005; "Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas J. Mathiesen, 45-59, Publications of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); and "The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, 15-59 (New York: Garland, 1998). Willem Elders, "Guillaume Dufay as Musical Orator," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 31 (1981): 1-15. Willem Elders, "Humanism and Early-Renaissance Music: A Study of the Ceremonial Music by Ciconia and Dufay," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 27 (1977): 65-101. Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los

Christopher Reynolds has a refreshing approach to this problem. He points out that “theorists of any age have circumscribed interests” and that “far from implying a lack of interest,” theorists’ silence on issues connecting music and rhetoric may actually testify “to the great authority and availability of classical manuals.”³ According to Reynolds,

if modern investigations into compositional practices were limited to the issues discussed by Tinctoris and others, there would be no investigations of proportional structures in Josquin, of numerological significance in Busnois, of the impact of commercial math on the mensural system, or of imitation, as either a contrapuntal technique or a rhetorical principle.⁴

Originally established in Italy, the educational curriculum of the humanist movement flourished in Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara under the tutelage of professors such as Guarino Veronese (1374-1406), Vittorino da Feltre (1373-1446), and Gasparino Barzizza (1360-1431).⁵ While Italian links to fifteenth-century musical humanism seem

Angeles: University of California Press, 2005). Howard Mayer Brown, “Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 1-48. J. Peter Burkholder, “Johannes Martini and the Imitation Mass of the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 470-523. Leeman L. Perkins, Reinhard Strohm and J. Peter Burkholder “Communications” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 130-39, 576-78. Murray Steib, “A Composer Looks at His Model: Polyphonic Borrowing from the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 46 (1996): 5-41. Christopher Reynolds, “Counterpoint of Allusion in Fifteenth-Century Masses,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 228-260; and *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Also see Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005).

³ Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's*, 285. Honey Meconi argues otherwise in, “Does Imitatio Exist?” *The Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 152-78. Meconi has discussed theorists’ silence with regard to *imitatio* as a piece of evidence against the existence of musical *imitatio*. She writes that the “absence [is] particularly striking when we note how frequently references to classical literature and to ancient writers are sprinkled throughout almost every treatise from the period (p. 161).”

⁴ Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's*, 285.

⁵ On the proliferation of humanist schools in Italy see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, edited by Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). Jill Kraye, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the*

to be self-evident, musicologists have been much less confident about branding fifteenth-century northern music with a humanist stamp.⁶ This is because of uncertainties about when ancient rhetorical treatises began to be read seriously and when rhetorical principles began to be incorporated into northern arts. Indeed, according to François Rigolot, “in spite of a large body of scholarly work on fifteenth-century intellectual thought, some misconceptions still linger about the nature and extent of humanism in early Renaissance France.”⁷ There is, for example a widely propagated misunderstanding that Guillaume Fichet (1433- ca.1480) and Johann Heynlin’s founding of the first printing press in France in 1470 was the event that single-handedly launched the humanist movement in the north.

In an effort to counteract this misconception, several scholars have conducted studies that have examined the impact of humanism on the north, thereby permitting fifteenth-century northern humanist treatises by Pierre de la Hazaardière, Jean Serra, Jean Jouffroy, Guillaume Fillastre, and Antoine de Neufchatel to be brought to light.⁸ As

Renaissance (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 357-63. R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). R.R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500, Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King’s College, Cambridge, April 1969* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). Paul O. Kristeller, “Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture,” in *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Europe* (London: Duckworth; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

⁶ Nino Pirrotta, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Timothy J. McGee, “Music, Rhetoric, and the Emperor’s New Clothes,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, edited by John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld, 207-59 (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004). McGee states, “rhetoric . . . does not hold the secret to the details of a composer’s inspiration” (p. 259), and that “theorists of the period who discuss the use of imitation do not link it with rhetoric until the mid-sixteenth century well after it was in common use” (p. 251), and that, “there is very little evidence either in the theoretical writings or in the music itself that the specific rhetorical figures of a text had any detailed influence on the music to which it was set” (p. 259).

⁷ François Rigolot, “Review of Humanistes français du milieu du Xve siècle,” *Speculum* 66: 611.

⁸ Paul Oskar Kristeller, “The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism,” in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). Roberto Weiss, *The Spread of Italian Humanism* (London: Hutchinson, 1964). Albert Rabil, ed. *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3 vols., (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988). Jozef Ijsewijn, “The Coming

described by Evencio Beltran, these writings reveal an engagement with the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Quintilian, Cicero's *De Inventione*, *Orator*, *De oratore*, and the contemporaneous *Tractatus de compositione* by Barzizza (c. 1420).⁹ Let us take, for example, the *Summa de arte dicendi* by de la Hazardière, written in Rouen between ca. 1444-1451. According to Beltran:

The part of the treatise concerning *elocutio* is by far the most interesting and novel, not only in terms of medieval rhetoric, but also for its links to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Furthermore, the two first essentials of composition pertaining to *elocutio* (*elegantia* and *conpositio*) . . . are discussed in detail by Pierre de la Hazardière, who follows in the footsteps of Barzizza, thereby making the final part of his treatise a true little manual on Latin style. Even though the treatise lacks originality (duly acknowledged by the author in the preface), this little manual represents a very important testimony to the existence of humanism in the middle of the fifteenth century. Above all, however, it shifts the date of the “rebirth” of classical rhetoric a good quarter of a century before the manual by another Sorbonne prior, Guillaume Fichet, had appeared.¹⁰

of Humanism to the Low Countries,” in *Itinerarium italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, eds. Heiko A Oberman and Thomas Brady, Jr (Leiden: Brill 1975). See especially the editions of French fifteenth-century rhetorical treatises edited by Evencio Beltran, *Humanistes français du milieu du Xve siecle: Textes inédits de P. de la Hazardière, Jean Serra, Guillaume Fichet*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1989). Also see Evencio Beltran, ed., *Nouveaux textes inedits d'humanistes français du milieu du Xve siècle: P. de la Hazardière, Jean Serra, Jean Jouffroy, Guillaume Fillastre et Antoine de Neufchatel*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 266 (Geneva: Droz, 1992).

⁹ Beltran, *Nouveaux textes inedits d'humanistes français du milieu du Xve siècle*, 12. We know that the *Ad Herennium* and *De inventione* had been translated into French vernacular in the second part of the thirteenth century by the priest John of Antioch. See John O. Ward, “*Artificiosa eloquentia* in the Middle Ages: The Study of Cicero's *De inventione*, the *Ad Herennium*, and Quintilian's *De Institutione oratoria* from the Early Middle Ages to the Thirteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Schools of Northern France,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1972), 521.

¹⁰ Beltran, *Nouveaux textes inedits d'humanistes français du milieu du Xve siècle*, 12 (translation my own).

For many composers, preliminary exposure to grammar and rhetoric would have occurred at a young age. According to Otto Frederick Becker, choirboys in the maîtrises of the north not only received a musical education, but also acquired fluency in Latin grammar and rhetoric.¹¹ Grammar, explains Becker, “was more inclusive than it is in current usage, for it included reading, writing, and literature.”¹² As described by Becker,

When boys were about twelve years of age, they began the study of Latin grammar. First they committed to memory the declensions, conjugations, and lists of vocables. . . . Among the popular texts was Donatus’ *Ars minor*, an elementary grammar used from the eleventh century. . . . Cato’s *Distichs* and Aesop’s *Fables* were used as first readers; possibly Virgil or Ovid was utilized in parsing exercises. . . . Donatus is included in inventories at Amiens.¹³

Other evidence that musicians and composers might have been influenced by rhetoric has come to us via Jean Gerson’s *Doctrina* of 1411, which discusses how, besides their musical studies, choirboys at Notre Dame of Paris were also educated by the “other master” who taught “Grammaticam, Logicam et Versus.”¹⁴ As explained by Becker, there is even evidence that in some fifteenth-century maîtrises in the north, music and grammar were taught by the same teachers. At the maîtrise at Rouen, for example, Becker reports

¹¹ On musical instruction see Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, reprint edition (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972). Otto Frederick Becker, “The Maîtrise in Northern France and Burgundy During the Fifteenth Century” (PhD diss.: George Peabody University, 1967).

¹² Becker, “The Maîtrise in Northern France and Burgundy During the Fifteenth Century,” 82.

¹³ Ibid., 83. The *Ars minor* (ca. 354 A.D.) by Aelius Donatus was one of the most well known grammatical treatises in the Middle Ages, and appeared on most University curriculums. Wayland Johnson Chase, ed., *The Ars Minor of Donatus: For One Thousand Years the Leading Textbook of Grammar Translated from the Latin, with Introductory Sketch*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 11 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1926).

¹⁴ F.L. Chartier, *L’Ancien chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris et sa maîtrise d’après les documents capitulaires (1326–1790)* (Paris, 1897), 66-70. The last term has been translated by Craig Wright as “rhetoric,” and by Honey Meconi as “verse” or “poetry.” Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony of Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 174. Honey Meconi, “Does Imitatio Exist?”, fn. 62, p. 167.

that in 1433 a certain Jean d'Eudemare taught both music and grammar, while at Cambrai, the master of the *petits vicaires* Nicolas Grenon, managed to maintain a "high level of grammar teaching" alongside his musical duties.¹⁵

One of Grenon's most famed pupils at Cambrai, none other than Guillaume Dufay, would therefore have been exposed early on, to linkages between music and the language arts, connections which would have been solidified in later years during his Law studies in Italy.¹⁶ It has been argued by Willem Elders that musical evidence of this can be found in Dufay's song *Juvenis qui puellam*, the text of which itself pertains to divorce law.¹⁷ Evidence is also manifest in Dufay's own library (catalogued upon his death) – the contents of which reveal that "the composer was a man learned in classical literature, theology, canon law, hagiography, and contemporary vernacular verse."¹⁸ According to his bookshelves, Dufay owned a book "in paper containing many sermons and instructions for new preachers," another "book in parchment of many sermons," "a book of Virgil in paper," and "an old book in parchment entitled *Flowers Excerpted from the Candela* of Master Gerland" – a book by the twelfth-century canon of Besançon, Jarlandus Cryopolitanus, on theology, canon law, and liturgy.¹⁹

Dufay merely serves as one example of a composer who was exposed to rhetorical practices. Others such as Tinctoris, Compère, Busnois, and Ockeghem, also went to University after the maîtrise and expanded their knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, law,

¹⁵ Becker, "The Maîtrise in Northern France and Burgundy," 84. Also see Jeanne Marix, *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle, 1420-1480* (Paris: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1937), xiii.

¹⁶ Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 202. André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe* (Paris, Laurens, 1940), 55. Craig Wright, "Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972), 313-7.

¹⁷ Elders, "Guillaume Dufay as Musical Orator," 1-15.

¹⁸ Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," 217.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 215-17.

and literature.²⁰ As remarked by Reynolds, all of these “northern musicians, by their education and by their exposure to Italian culture, had ample opportunity to adapt new rhetorical ideas to their own musical language.”²¹

In the mid-fifteenth century the latest rhetorical ideas of Italian humanists could have reached northern musicians through contacts at ecclesiastical councils, the influence of Italian humanists residing in the north (such as Poggio Bracciolini in England and Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the “apostle of humanism,” at the Hapsburg court of Frederick III), and above all, through contact with colleagues who had returned from a sojourn in Italy (such as Du Fay, resident at the same courts as Leon Battista Alberti – Bologna, Rome, Florence – for the better part of a decade).²²

Like their contemporaries in other artistic disciplines (such as prose writing, poetry, painting, and architecture), these composers would surely have thought to apply their rhetorical skills to their musical works, and would have, in turn, passed along their compositional methods to students and colleagues.

In the next two chapters, I provide a rhetorical context for two issues pertaining to *sine nomine* Mass composition. I begin in Chapter 2 by exploring the relationship between two opposing ancient rhetorical concepts that fuelled aesthetic debate in the Renaissance – *imitatio* and *ingenium*. I argue that fifteenth-century attitudes toward *ingenium* may have had an effect on composers’ attitudes toward free composition in the

²⁰ Paula Higgins, “*In hydraulis* Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986): 36-86. Higgins, “Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers: The Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges,” *Acta musicologica* 62 (1990): 1-28. Higgins, “Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987).

²¹ Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s*, 290.

²² *Ibid.*, 292.

sine nomine Mass. In Chapter 3 I turn to Johannes Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* to investigate the aesthetic of *varietas*. I use ancient books on rhetoric such as Cicero's *De oratore* and the anonymous *Ad Herennium* to inform my interpretation of Tinctoris's theories on contrapuntal *varietas*. As we shall see, the study of rhetoric helps us understand conceptual attitudes toward free composition, contrapuntal *varietas*, and compositional process – evidence that rhetorical principles may have informed the composition of the *sine nomine* Mass in the fifteenth century.

Chapter 2 *Creare ex nihilo: Imitatio, Ingenium, and Inventio*

*If someone goes barefoot and wears a stern look
and a cheap toga (custom made), and therefore looks like Cato,
do we find in him the character and qualities of Cato?
Iarbitas' envy of Timagenes' sharp tongue destroyed him
when he worked so hard to be considered elegant and keen.
How misleading is a model with imitable flaws; if, let's say,
I had a pale face, poets would drink cumin and turn white.
O imitators, you slavish herd, how often have you raised
my laughter and my wrath with all your mad confusion!
I was the pioneer, walking free in unclaimed land,
not in another's tracks. Like any self-reliant man,
I brought a mob along behind me. I first showed Latium
Parian iambs, borrowing the rhythms and the vigor
of Archilochus, not his themes and words which killed Lycambes.
And if you consider giving me lighter laurels for being too timid to change his
meter and technique,
man-souled Sappho shaped her Muse to the meter of Archilochus,
but, like Alcaeus, not to his subjects and his strophes.
No father was harried by Alcaeus, smeared with deadly verse,
no daughter strangled by a noose of scandalous song.
Before anyone else had tried, I brought Alcaeus here
upon my Latin lyre.*

~ Excerpt from Horace's Epistle 19 (Book I):
"To Maecenas" (20 B.C.E)¹

Introduction

This epistle, penned by Horace in 20 B.C., vividly depicts "the imitator" in an altogether unflattering manner – as a patrician stomping about in Cato's toga and as a member of a servile flock obliviously bleating the errors and faults of a defective model.² Horace explains that only by moving forward freely, as opposed to retracing the footprints of others, will the poet succeed in creating a personal work of art. He calls for the use of new subjects and new words, mocking those who mindlessly parrot. He does not, however, dismiss imitation altogether, unabashedly admitting to having employed the

¹ Horace, *Horace's Satires and Epistles*, translated by Jacob Fuchs (New York: Norton, 1977), Book I, 19: 12-33, at p. 72.

² "O imitators, you slavish herd," is a line that recalls epistle 3, "To Julius Florus": "If somehow those birds returned and claimed their feathers, then laughter would greet our little crow, his stolen plumes all stripped away." See Horace, *Horace's Satires and Epistles*: I.3, 18-20, at p. 55.

“Parian iambs” and “the rhythms and the vigor of Archilochus” in his own verses. Horace approves the tactics of Sappho and Alcaeus who, rather than modelling their works on the subject matter of Archilochus, imitated the meter instead. Ultimately, Horace advocates a compositional balance between imitation and creativity – calling for *imitatio* (imitation) of style and technique, along with *inventio* or *ingenium* (invention or creativity) of subject matter.

In ancient writing, wherever the topic of *imitatio* appears, discussions of *ingenium* invariably follow. In rhetorical treatises, *imitatio* is presented as an artistic technique that involves the borrowing, recycling, and reworking of ideas, phrases, and/or stylistic attributes of pre-existent speeches or poems.³ *Ingenium* is contrasted with *imitatio* and connotes “genius,” “natural ability,” and “talent” and is associated with creativity and new ideas – inimitable aspects of an orator’s personal style.

In Book 10 of *Institutio Oratoria* (*The Orator’s Education*), for example, Quintilian writes:

Imitation (*imitatio*) is not sufficient on its own. For one thing, only a lazy mind is content with what others have discovered. What would have happened in the days when there were no models, if men had decided to do and think of nothing that they did not know already? Nothing of course would have been discovered. So why is it a crime for us to discover something which did not exist before? If those primitives were led by sheer intellectual endowment to make so many innovations, are we not to be stimulated in our search by our certain knowledge that they sought and found? And if they, who had no teachers in anything, have

³ In order to practice the art of *imitatio*, exercises were prescribed which aimed to develop students’ abilities to artfully borrow and transform ideas.

handed down so much to posterity, is the availability of some things not to help us dig out others? Are we to have nothing except what we owe to the kind help of strangers? That would make us like certain painters, who study only to learn how to copy pictures by means of measurements and lines. . . ⁴

Here, Like Horace, Quintilian too offers a cautionary reminder to all those writers who rely excessively on *imitatio*. *Imitatio* alone, Quintilian tells us, yields nothing new or inventive. Speeches that fail to strive for originality, merely amount to vacant copying exercises. A few lines later, Quintilian offers further ideas on the limitations of *imitatio*:

. . . everything that resembles something else must necessarily be inferior to that of which it is a copy, as the shadow to the substance, the portrait to the natural face, and the player's acting to the real feeling. The same is the case with regard to oratorical composition, for in the originals we take for our models there is nature and real power, while every imitation, on the contrary, is something counterfeit (*omnis imitatio facta est*) and seems adapted to an object not its own. Hence, declamations have less spirit and force than actual pleadings, because in one the subject is real, in the other fictitious. In addition to all this, whatever excellences are most remarkable in an orator are inimitable (*imitabilia non sunt*), just as natural talent (*ingenium*), invention (*inventio*), energy, easiness of manner, and whatever cannot be taught by art (*ars*).⁵

In this passage, Quintilian pairs the concepts of *ingenium* (natural talent) and *inventio* (invention), according them priority over both *ars* (art/technique) and *imitatio* (imitation). Here, *ars* is depicted by Quintilian as imitable, comprising basic teachable techniques that

⁴ Quintilian, *The Orator's Education: Books 9-10*, Vol. 4, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), X.2, 4-6, p. 323-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, X.2, 11-13.

are required to craft a composition. *Ingenium* and *inventio*, on the other hand, are inimitable aspects of individual style. For Quintilian, what is “most remarkable in an orator” is his *ingenium* – not his competency in juggling technical details (*ars*) nor his ability to imitate others (*imitatio*).

Many studies have contributed to our understanding of how *imitatio* and *ingenium* informed borrowing procedures and fostered creativity in the fields of art, architecture, poetry, and literature in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.⁶ We have evidence that notions of *imitatio* and *ingenium* were familiar to intellectuals, pedagogues, and artists in the fifteenth century – the focus of the present study. As discussed by Martin McLaughlin, it was during this time that a rich debate arose whereby artists, composers, and writers compared the merits and limitations of both *imitatio* and *ingenium* – concepts that collectively fuelled the spirit of Renaissance renewal and invention.⁷ For example, letters, treatises, and other writings by humanists such as Boccaccio, Salutati, Bruni,

⁶ George W. Pigman, “Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1-32. Elaine Fantham, “Imitation and Evolution: The Discussion of Rhetorical Imitation in Cicero’s *De oratore* 2.87-97 and Some Related Problems of Ciceronian Theory,” *Classical Philology* 73 (1978): 1-16. A.J. Smith, “Theory and Practice in Renaissance Poetry: Two Kinds of Imitation,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 47 (1964): 212-43. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Anne J. Cruz, and Wendy Ann Furman, *Renaissance Rereadings: Intertext and Context, Proceedings from Renaissance Society of America Meeting* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988). Jean-Claude Carron, “Imitation and Intertextuality in the Renaissance,” *New Literary History* 19, *History, Critics and Criticism: Some Inquiries* (1988): 565-79. H.H. Mowshowitz, “On Politien’s Use of Imitation: A Fragment from the Stanze,” *Italica* 48 (1971): 334-44. On *inventio* in the Middle Ages see: Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷ McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, passim. G.W. Pigman, Review of *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* by Martin L. McLaughlin, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 1354-55. Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood, eds., *The Craft of Art, Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop* (Athens, GA, and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995). According to Strohm, “although the principle of *imitatio* had been endorsed by Aristotle, by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* . . . and to a lesser extent by Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*, early humanists such as Alberti were not particularly emphatic about it, even when they described the rebirth of eloquence in Cicero’s and Quintilian’s terms.” Reinhard Strohm, “Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a ‘Rebirth’ of the Arts,” in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. R. Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, *The New Oxford History of Music* 3 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 367.

Vergerio, Barzizza, da Rho, Veronese, Alberti, Landino, and Bembo all point to a deep engagement with these two paradoxical yet symbiotic rhetorical ideas.⁸

In studies on Renaissance music, only the term *imitatio* has been integrated into scholarly vocabulary.⁹ It is generally accepted that *imitatio* encouraged the appropriation, reuse, and transformation of antecedent musical models throughout the Renaissance and has come to be associated with polyphonic borrowing in the Mass Ordinary.¹⁰

In 1982, Howard Mayer Brown first suggested that the concept of *imitatio* could be used to help understand music composed as early as the fourteenth century, pointing out that formal procedures in Medieval works corresponded closely with certain *imitatio* practices advocated in rhetorical treatises.¹¹ Ever since, a host of other scholars including J. Peter Burkholder, Leeman Perkins, Murray Steib, and Christopher Reynolds have examined the various ways that the principle of *imitatio* impacted musical composition.¹²

⁸ Martin L. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1995).

⁹ In 1966, Lewis Lockwood suggested that rather than applying the term “parody” to describe Masses that engaged in polyphonic borrowing, the term *imitatio* was much more *à propos* especially since it is a term found in contemporaneous sources. He posited that composers of the Renaissance practiced exactly the same types of recycling procedures as their humanist colleagues in art and literature. Consequently, Lockwood argued that “imitation” or *imitatio* more accurately reflected the sixteenth-century. Lewis Lockwood, “On Parody as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music,” in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 560-75. Howard Mayer Brown, “Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 1-48.

See also Honey Meconi, ed., *Early Music Borrowing* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁰ After Howard Mayer Brown’s article on *imitatio*, Meconi critiqued scholarly use of the term in “Does Imitatio Exist?” *The Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 152-78. As pointed out by Meconi, the exact nature of musical *imitatio* remains somewhat vague. Meconi’s queries raise important questions about the very existence of *imitatio*. I think that many of the problems with the term in musicological scholarship has to do with complexities in the meaning of the term. Musicologists have yet to sort out the many different levels of *imitatio* – stylistic *imitatio*, for example, is very different from *imitatio* of musical ideas (musical borrowing/allusion).

¹¹ Howard Mayer Brown, “Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance,” *passim*.

¹² See note 13 in Chapter 1. Christopher Reynolds, “Counterpoint of Allusion in Fifteenth-Century Masses,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 228-260. See also: Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: Boydell

There are many compelling arguments and analyses supporting the ideological and practical implications of *imitatio* on music of the Renaissance. In this chapter, therefore, I will take it for granted that *imitatio* exists and will rely on the praiseworthy efforts of the scholars listed above, who have already revealed the manifestations of musical *imitatio* – from allusion to parody, to competition and stylistic emulation. What I am more interested in is exploring other aspects of the compositional process – musical *ingenium* and *inventio* – as these are the very qualities that directly pertain to the freely composed Mass repertory under examination in this dissertation.

How significant was creativity and invention in the fifteenth century? How did writers, artists, and architects juggle the ideological conflict between *imitatio* and *ingenium*? Were works that ignored the principle of *imitatio* accorded a lower status than those that did not? In this chapter I examine the writings of well known fifteenth-century proponents of *ingenium* from different fields. I come to terms with some of the recurrent complaints against *imitatio* and relay how contemporaneous writers and artists were encouraged to strive for creativity and invention. After establishing this multi-disciplinary context for *imitatio* and *ingenium*, I focus on music, particularly the stanzas of the epic poem *Le Champion des Dames* by Martin Le Franc and excerpts from two of Johannes Tinctoris's theoretical treatises, the *Proportionales musices* and the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*.

In musical discourse there was apprehension about according *imitatio* too prominent a place in the compositional process – a factor that has important consequences for our modernday perception of the status of the *sine nomine* Mass. Unlike other

Press, 2005). Michele Fromson, "A Conjunction of Rhetoric and Music: Structural Modelling in the Italian Counter-Reformation Motet," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1992): 208-46.

fifteenth-century cantus firmus and imitation Mass-types (viewed as musical manifestations of humanistic compositional planning informed by *imitatio*) the *sine nomine* Mass, typically considered a plainer and less sophisticated subgenre, has never been contextualized in terms of humanism. As I shall reveal below, an enhanced understanding of the role of *ingenium* and *inventio* in humanist discourse will help to revise common perceptions of the *sine nomine* Mass's generic status.

Alberti on *Ingenium*

Throughout his writings on literature, art, and architecture, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) frequently juxtaposes the concepts of *imitatio* and *ingenium*.¹³ For example, in the *Intercenales* (1425-39), in the preface to Book IV (dedicated to Poggio Bracciolini), rather than endorsing *imitatio*-driven stylistic conformity or *vulgatoris eloquentia* (literally translated as “eloquence of the more common”), Alberti suggests that writers strive for “a challenging type of originality” (*difficillima inventio*).¹⁴ Later, in the preface to Book VII (dedicated to Leonardi Bruni), Alberti criticizes those literary pursuits that overwhelmingly rely on Cicero as the benchmark of style.

In weighing up other men's writings most of us are so fastidious towards all others that we want their work to come up to the standards of Cicero's eloquence, as though in the past all writers who were found worthy were judged to have been the same as Cicero.¹⁵

¹³ Alberti was a pupil of the famous Italian humanist Gasparino Barzizza at Padua. He later studied at the University of Bologna.

¹⁴ This discussion is indebted to McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, 152-3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

Alberti argues that imaginative content and “strength of *ingenium*” (*vis ingenii*) are crucial in writing, while cultivating a Ciceronian writing style, on the other hand, is an endeavour that merely yields “the flowers and superficial polish of words and rounded periods.”¹⁶ Alberti asks: why passively obsess about past achievements when one has the opportunity to forge new paths?

This preoccupation with novelty recurs in Alberti’s *Momus* (1443-1450), deemed “one of the great comic masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance.”¹⁷ In the preface to *Momus*, Alberti reflects on issues concerning God, “genius,” and divine creativity. “Uniqueness,” he says, “must be deemed the primary characteristic of divinity. Only God is uniquely one and uniquely set apart from all else.”¹⁸ Certain “rare” artists, he explains, have the ability to tap into “divine genius” and are able to produce exceptionally unique creative works:

From the beginnings of human memory down to the present day people have noticed that Nature seems always to have marked the greatest and the strangest things with this same rarity. She seems not to know how to form things elegantly and on a grand scale without their also being rare. Hence too, perhaps, our tendency to label some people as divine when we notice them excelling the rest in genius (*ingenium*) and turning aside from the crowd, becoming exceptional and thus rare. The same Nature makes us understand that all things rare have a taste of divinity insofar as they incline towards the godlike, and so may be considered

¹⁶ Ibid., 153.

¹⁷ See “Introduction,” to Leon Battista Alberti, *Momus*, trans. Sarah Knight and ed. Knight and Virginia Brown, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), vii.

¹⁸ Alberti, “Preface” in *Momus*, 2-3.

unique and truly exceptional, worth separating off from numbering and association with other things.¹⁹

In order to achieve *ingenium*, argues Alberti, the writer must avoid all that is “banal” “commonplace,” “familiar,” and “obvious”:

I could enumerate many things that have been thought valuable simply because they were unique. To put other cases aside, how many works by ancient writers, do you suppose, would win approval if they left an impression of banality and the commonplace? On the other hand, what will not be read with the greatest pleasure and admiration if it is understood to belong to the class of things that are unpredictable and difficult, not to say neglected and jeered at by the rest? So I think it is the duty of the writer to undertake to write nothing that his prospective readers will find familiar and obvious.²⁰

Yet, Alberti complains that his predecessors have left virtually no room for contemporaneous writers to speak with a purely individual poetic voice:

This being so, it still does not escape me just how difficult and almost impossible it is to introduce an idea that has not already been discovered and handled by a good many out of so infinite a swarm of writers. Think of the old proverb: nothing is said which has not previously been said. For this reason it is my considered opinion that the man who introduces new, unheard-of, and unorthodox material, whoever he happens to be, should be considered a member of this rare genus of humankind. Next to this sort of writer will rank the one who uses an original and surprising literary genre to treat known and common ideas. So I would lay it down

¹⁹ Ibid., 2-3.

²⁰ Ibid., 4-5

that, if we shall ever be granted someone who equips his readers to enjoy a better life, instructing them with weighty sayings and varied and choice material, while at the same time charming them with laughter, pleasing them with jokes, and diverting them with pleasure – a thing which among Latin authors has not hitherto happened often enough – then I think this author should certainly not be ranked with common, ordinary writers. . . . Indeed I have learned from this same endeavour how much effort it requires when you take pains to be different from the rest, by whatever means, while maintaining dignity and seriousness. . . .²¹

Alberti offers two different strategies for integrating *ingenium* into a composition – to invent a new literary genre that treats “known and common ideas” or to strive for original content (*inventio*), the latter of which is, for Alberti, by far the greatest creative accomplishment.²²

It is noteworthy that Alberti successfully applied his theories on ingenuity and creativity to his own work. After all, his *De pictura* (*On Painting*) – a book with absolutely no precedent in the art world – is itself a manifestation of the principle of *ingenium*, a fact that Alberti reminds his readers of time and again throughout his treatise.²³ For example, in *De pictura*’s opening dedication to Giovan Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua (1407-44), Alberti claims that the “natural talents (*ingenium*) and industry” he has brought to his treatise will bring “much light and learning” to the world of painting. He boldly suggests that artists paint his portrait to honour the fact that he is

²¹ Ibid., 4-7.

²² McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, 154.

²³ *De pictura* was finished in 1435. A year later, in 1436, Alberti completed an Italian version *Della pittura*. This satisfied his wish to establish a refined vernacular in addition to Latin.

the “first to write about this most subtle art.”²⁴ He also stresses that his efforts should be applauded by the art world no matter what the perceived outcome, explaining that even if his “*ingenium* was unequal to completing what was praiseworthy to attempt, that [painters] should remember that in matters of great importance the very desire to achieve what [is] most difficult is usually regarded as worthy of praise.”²⁵

Alberti’s thoughts reverberate with many other artists, writers, architects, and composers who seriously questioned their roles as innovators and creators in the Renaissance. Another fifteenth-century proponent of *ingenium* was Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) who documented his ideas on *imitatio* and *ingenium* in his epistles.²⁶ In a letter to Piero de’ Medici, Poliziano mocks the worship of literary models and chastises his contemporaries over their obsession with *imitatio*:

If some think his epistles *are* like Cicero’s, he will admit he is always trying to catch up with Cicero’s shadow. If another critic says he should write like Pliny, he will reply that he abhors Pliny’s century; and if someone else accuses him of having Pliny as his model, he can again quote Sidonius’ approval of Pliny as the supreme model in epistolography.²⁷

In another letter to Paolo Cortesi (1465-1510), Poliziano famously exclaims: “Someone might object: ‘But you do not express yourself like Cicero.’ What of it? I am not Cicero. But I think I express my own self.”²⁸ Later in the same letter, Poliziano suggests that

²⁴ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 2004), 95-6.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 95-6.

²⁶ See Angelo Poliziano, *Letters: Volume I, Books I-IV*, edited and translated by Shane Butler, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2006).

²⁷ Quoted in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, 201.

²⁸ Quoted in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, 203. Paolo Cortesi is also known for his chapter on “How passions should be avoided, and music used after meals,” in *De Cardinalatu libri tres*, where like Tinctoris, he discusses three genres of music: the Mass (*littoria*), the motet (*praecentoria*) and the song (*carmina*). See Nino Pirrotta, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy,”

Cortesi too work on developing his own personal style as it is better to emulate the strength of a lion or a bull rather than run like an ape, magpie or parrot in someone else's footsteps.²⁹

Martin Le Franc on *Ingenium*

In musical circles, Martin Le Franc's famous poem *Le Champion des Dames* (ca. 1440-1442) is perhaps best known for its reference to the *contenance angloise* – typically associated with the emergence of a new English style on the Continent and the ushering in of the Renaissance period.³⁰ Besides the *contenance angloise*, it is possible to detect another familiar trope in Le Franc's poem – one that, like the treatises mentioned above, also pertains to the topics of *imitatio* and *ingenium*.³¹ What is particularly striking about Le Franc's take on this subject, however, is the way that he supplements theory with historical imagery and supplies vivid examples from fifteenth-century musical life – scenarios that colour his theories on what exactly constitutes successful music-making. Le Franc's poem journeys through time, charting the development of music from mythic and biblical times up to modern-day France in the 1440s, discussing the musical talents of

Journal of the American Musicological Society 19 (1966): 127-61. Also see discussion in Julie Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 43-4.

²⁹ See discussion in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance*, 202-3.

³⁰ For an early partial edition see *Le Champion des Dames*, ed. Arthur Piaget (Lausanne: Payot, 1968). For a complete modern edition see *Le Champion des Dames*, ed. Robert Deschaux (Paris: Honoré champion, 1999). For an early translation of the musical stanzas see Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, Norton, 1959 rev. ed), 12-13. Also see David Fallows, "The *contenance angloise*: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987): 189-208. See the discussion on Martin Le Franc in Reinhard Strohm, "Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a 'Rebirth' of the Arts," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. R. Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, *The New Oxford History of Music* 3 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Margaret Bent, "The Musical Stanzas in Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames*," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance, Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, 91-127 (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

³¹ According to Strohm the poem tells a "story of innovation, imitation, and emulation which extends across two generations into [the] author's personal reach and memory." Strohm, "Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a 'Rebirth' of the Arts," 269.

Orpheus, Jubal, Tubalcain, Verdelet, Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris, Dufay, and Binchois. Throughout these musical stanzas, Le Franc alternates fluidly between past and present – comparing more mediocre attempts of musicians and composers from days gone by, with the superlative efforts of modern fifteenth-century musicians.³²

In Stanza 2031, lines 16241-8, as a way of introducing the musical section of his poem, Le Franc reflects on the past and on what the ancients have left behind.

And I find another cause
For from the ancients we have
Art, practice and experience (*L'art l'experience et l'espreuve*)
And we find things ready-made (*choses prestes*)
It is therefore no wonder if we know
More quickly or more than they knew,
For we add much even now
To those things they invented (*trouvoient*).

It is in this first musical stanza that Le Franc prominently juxtaposes concepts of *imitatio* and *ingenium*. He discusses what posterity has left to present-day artists, poets, and composers: “L’art, l’experience, l’espreuve” and “choses prestes.” Here, “choses prestes” could be interpreted as a body of works comprising “things ready-made” which could be recycled, added to, and transformed by modern day composers. As pointed out by Margaret Bent, *choses faites* may be interpreted as the actual musical material left behind by the ancients for imitation:

just as *resfacta* is usually but not necessarily written, so too the vernacular forms *choses faites* (in that case, written items recorded in an inventory) and *choses prestes* could at the same time be the equivalent of *loci* in literary composition, built up by tradition, and then built upon. . . ; their musical equivalent could then

³² Strohm discusses the viewpoint in this poem of “the superiority of a living present over a not-too-distant past,” in “Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a ‘Rebirth’ of the Arts,” 369-70.

be material used as models or bases for further musical creation, whether oral or written.³³

Le Franc is quick, however, to turn from the topic of *imitatio* to discuss the *ingenium* of modern-day composers and musicians. As he explains, “we know more than they knew / For we add much even now / To those things they invented.” Then later at line 16283, Le Franc’s suggestion that Orpheus is “nothing but a joke/ Compared with the harpers living today” is indicative of further criticism of ancient models. Here, Le Franc casts doubt on the archetypal primacy of the poetic, rhetorical, and musical talents of Orpheus as he expresses preference for the “harpers living today.” For Le Franc, models of emulation and *imitatio* should not be sought in the works of the ancients, but rather, in the *ingenium* and *inventio* embodied in the performances of modern day instrumentalists.

Let no one mention Orpheus,	16281
Of whom the poets wrote so much.	
He’s nothing but a joke	
Compared with the harpers living today	
Who enliven their concords	
And their harmonies so perfectly	
That it seems that they strive	
To rival the melodies of angels.	

Ideas of *imitatio* and *ingenium* reach a culminating point when, at line 16289, Le Franc describes the incomparable music-making of two blind men whom he heard play at the court of Burgundy. He explains that the performance by the blind duo left Binchois speechless and ashamed and Dufay jealous and bothered “because [they had heard] no melody as beautiful.”

You have heard the blind [men]	16289
Play at the court of Burgundy,	
Haven’t you? Surely you have.	

³³ Bent, “The Musical Stanzas in Martin Le Franc’s *Le Champion des Dames*,” 117.

Has there ever been anything like it?
I have seen Binchois shamed
And fall silent before their rebec playing,
And Du Fay vexed and scowling
Because he has no melody as beautiful.

In these poetic verses, Le Franc reveals how “models” of musical excellence are forever shifting. According to Le Franc there are *no* true models, and there is no quintessential Ciceronian mould. This is what makes the amusing climax, in which two blind performers actually manage to surpass masters Dufay and Binchois, such a crucial moment in the poem. For, wrapped up in the strong poetic symbol of the two blind men “deprived of sight . . . dependent on their ears, memories, and on their unwritten art” Le Franc’s advocacy of *ingenium* is expressed most poignantly.³⁴

While Alberti advocates “uniqueness,” “the use of unorthodox material,” the invention of new genres, and the application of a “challenging type of originality,” Le Franc recommends the rejection of old antiquated models and becomes an advocate for the type of raw natural talent (*ingenium*) that he perceives in gifted performers such as the blind rebec players of Burgundy. Viewed within the context of the literary, artistic, and musical treatises described above, the musical stanzas of this poem resonate with an interdisciplinary Renaissance tradition wherein the virtues of novelty, creativity, and *ingenium* are celebrated while *imitatio* is problematized and questioned.

³⁴ Ibid., 113.

Tinctoris on *Ingenium*

We can trace the presence of comparable ideas on *imitatio* and *ingenium* in contemporaneous music treatises.³⁵ Fifteenth-century theorists such as Franchino Gaffurio, Herbenus Traiectensis, Ugolino Urbevetanis, Adam de Fulda, and Nicolaus Burtius all discussed *ingenium* and *inventio*, as did later sixteenth-century theorists Heinrich Glareanus (1488-1563) and Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590), who gave these concepts especially focussed attention.³⁶

Two significant references to *ingenium* are located in Johannes Tinctoris's treatises. The first appears in his *Proportionale musices* (1472-75) when he compares French and English compositional style:

Haec eis Anglici nunc (licet vulgariter jubilaré, Gallici vero cantare dicuntur) veniunt conferendi. Illi etenim in dies novos cantus novissime inveniunt, ac isti (quod miserrimi signum est ingenii) una semper et eadem compositione utuntur. Sed proch dolor! Non solum eos immo complures alios compositores famosos quo miror, dum tam subtiliter ac ingeniose cum incomprehensibili suavitate componunt proportionés musicas, aut penitus ignorare, aut paucas quas noverint, perperam signare cognovi; quod quidem ob defectum arithmeticae. . .

³⁵ On *ingenium* in music see Edward E. Lowinsky, "Musical Genius – Evolution and Origins of a Concept," *Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964): 321-40, 476-95; reprinted as "Musical Genius," in Vol. 2 of *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas Online Edition* (The Electronic Text Center of the University of Virginia Library: <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv2-37>), accessed 1 Nov, 2006.

³⁶ Lowinsky, "Musical Genius," <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv2-37> (accessed 1 Nov, 2006). Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, Basel: 1547; repr. and trans. by Clement A. Miller, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 6 (American Institute of Musicology, 1965), Vol. I, Ch. 38, p. 208. Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint: Part Three of Le istituzioni harmoniche, 1558*, trans. Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 51-3.

To these [Okeghem, Busnois, Regis, and Caron] the English (who are generally said to “jubilare,” while the French “cantare”) now are to be compared. The latter at the present time write the newest style compositions, while the former (which is a sign of the poorest talent) always use one and the same manner composing. But alas! I wonder not only at these but even at many other famous composers, for while they compose so subtly and so ingeniously with incomprehensible smoothness, I have known them to ignore entirely musical proportions or to signify incorrectly those which they know. I do not doubt that this results from a lack of arithmetic. . .³⁷

What can we learn from this passage? By pitting the tediousness of English stylistic uniformity against the French penchant for “fresh invention,” Tinctoris makes a valuable aesthetic judgement – something that tells us a lot about what exactly constituted excellence in composition during this period. First, *inventio* and *ingenium* are appealing qualities in composition. Second, the French are more inventive composers than the English. Third, new songs need to be invented every day (*inventio*). Fourth, it is important to strive for *ingenium* in the compositional process. Fifth, technical excellence (such as mastery of musical proportions) should be the goal of all composers, no matter how creative and ingenious they might be.

Here, Tinctoris favours the *ingenium* and *inventio* of the French over the *imitatio* of the English, but is simultaneously critical of certain imperfections in French compositional *ars* – namely their application of musical proportions. This passage from

³⁷ Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay, 3 vols. in 2, Corpus scriptorum de musica 22 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-78), 10.

Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices*, therefore, by touching on topics of *ingenium*, *imitatio* and *ars*, resonates with the ideas of Quintilian and Le Franc, and reflects the same types of scholarly *imitatio/ingenium* debates that played out in artistic treatises throughout the fifteenth century.

Another reference to *ingenium*, this time related to free composition and *varietas*, can be found in Book III of Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Tinctoris writes:

Horatius in sua Poetica dicit, "Cytharedus ridetur corda si semper oberrat eadem."

Quemadmodum enim in arte dicendi *varietas*, secundum Tullii sententiam, auditorem maxime delectate, ita et in musica concentuum diversitas animos auditorum vehementer in oblectamentum provocat, hinc et Philosophus in Ethicis varietatem iocundissimam rem esse naturamque humanam eius indigentem asserere non dubitavit.

Hanc autem diversitatem optimi quisque ingenii compositor aut concentor efficiet, si nunc per unam quantitatem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam perfectionem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam proportionem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam coniunctionem, nunc per aliam, nunc cum syncopis, nunc sine syncopis, nunc cum fugis, nunc sine fugis, nunc cum pausis, nunc sine pausis, nunc diminutive, nunc plane, aut componat aut concinnat. . . nec tot nec tales varietates uni cantilenae congruunt quot et quales uni moteti, nec tot et tales uni moteti quot et quales uni missae.

Omnis itaque res facta pro qualitate et quantitate eius diversificanda est prout infinita docent opera, non solum a me, verum etiam ab innumeris compositoribus aevo praesenti florentibus edita. Plures enim ac aliae varietates existunt tam in missis L'homme armé Guillermi Dufay, Et vinus G. Fauges, quam in motetis

Clangat Johannis Regis et Congaudebant Anthonii Busnois, et plures ac aliae tam in his motetis quam in cantilenis Ma maistresse Johannis Okeghem et La Tridaine, a deux Firmini Caron. Quosquidem cantus pro conformatione huius nostrae regulae meis quidem praetermissis in exempla *non ab re produxi*. Enimvero et eos summis laudibus extollendos et penitus *imitandus* censeo, ne contra officium boni viri me solum probare, alios autem ubi recte fecerint contemnere videar.³⁸

. . . Horace says in his *Poetics*: “One who sings to the kithara is laughed at if he always wanders over the same string.” Wherefore, according to the opinion of Tullius (Cicero), as a variety (*varietas*) in the art of speaking most delights the hearer, so also in music a diversity of harmonies vehemently provokes the souls of listeners into delight; hence the philosopher (Aristotle), in his *Ethics*, does not hesitate to state that variety is a most pleasant thing and human nature in need of it.

Also, any composer or improviser of the greatest genius (*ingenium*) may achieve this diversity (*diversitas*) if he either composes or improvises now by one quantity, then by another, now by one perfection, then by another, now by one proportion, then by another, now by one melodic interval, then by another, now with [suspensions], then without [suspensions], now with *fuga*, then without *fuga*, now with pauses, then without pauses, now diminished, now [plain], [either composed, or improvised]. Nor do so many and such varieties (*varietates*) enter

³⁸ Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica* II, ed. A. Seay, translated as *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 155-156. Emphasis my own.

into one chanson as so many and such in a motet, nor so many and such in one motet as so many and such in one Mass.

Every composed work, therefore, must be diverse in its *quality* and *quantity*, just as an infinite number of works show, works brought out, not only by me, but also by innumerable composers flourishing in the present age.

In fact, many more varieties (*varietas*) can be found in the Masses *L'homme armé* by Guillaume Dufay, and *Et vinus* by G. Faugues, than in the motets *Clangat* by Johannis Regis and *Congaudebant* by Anthonii Busnois, and many more in these motets than in the chansons *Ma maistresse* by Johannis Okeghem and *La Tridaine a deux* by Firmini Caron.

Indeed, I have suggested works [by Dufay, Caron, Faugues, Regis, Busnois, Okeghem] as proof of our rule [of *varietas*] here, having omitted my own works as examples which are not based on a [pre-existent] thing (*non ab re produxi*): for, I believe these men should be extolled with the highest praises and thoroughly imitated, and I feel that I should not seem to approve only myself despite the achievement of a good man nor to condemn others also who compose correctly.³⁹

In this passage, Tinctoris begins by associating the concept of *ingenium* with *diversitas* or *varietas* (emphasized in the above text). He then differentiates between the Mass, motet, and chanson, claiming that it is in the Mass, which is the highest of the musical genres, that a composer is to strive for the greatest degree of *varietas*. It follows

³⁹ The final passage has been translated by Albert Seay as: "Indeed, I have suggested these works as proof of our rule here, having omitted my own as examples not based on real composition (*non ab re produxi*): for, I believe these men should be extolled with the highest praises and thoroughly imitated, and I feel that I should not seem to approve only myself despite the achievement of a good man nor to condemn others also who compose correctly," in Johannes Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 139-140. Emphasis my own.

then, that Tinctoris actually connects *ingenium* with *varietas* in the Mass. After these connections between *ingenium*, *varietas*, and Mass composition are established, Tinctoris recommends stylistic *imitatio* of specific works by composers that he claims are worthy of emulation. In his list of works epitomizing contrapuntal *varietas*, Tinctoris names two Masses (with the most *varietas*) – Dufay's *Missa L'homme armé*, and Faugues' *Missa Et vivus*, two motets (with less *varietas* than the Masses) – Regis's *Clangat*, and Busnois' *Congaudebant*, and finally, and two chansons (with less *varietas* than the motets) – Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*, and Caron's *La Tridaine à deux*.

Then, a curious passage follows, one wherein, besides the compositions of Dufay, Faugues, Regis, Busnois, Ockeghem, and Caron, Tinctoris actually upholds his own works “non ab re produxi” / “which are not based on a [pre-existent] thing” as examples of *varietas*. What might Tinctoris mean by this? I would like to suggest that Tinctoris is referring here to his compositions that do not employ borrowed material – literally, pieces that are not built on “pre-existent things.” Given the previous theoretical passage on maximizing *varietas* in the genre of the Mass, it seems safe to assume that Tinctoris is referring here to his own freely-composed *sine nomine* Masses.⁴⁰

While on the surface, Tinctoris's language is packaged in the rhetorical guise of humility, in actuality, this is one of the most bold, self-promoting aesthetic assertions ever made by the theorist. By approving of his own *sine nomine* compositions as models for emulation and *imitatio*, Tinctoris positions himself at par with mid-fifteenth-century heavyweights Ockeghem, Busnois, Dufay, Caron, Faugues, and Regis – the very composers that he claims stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the “pantheon” of ancient masters

⁴⁰ The three extant freely composed works include two three-voice settings: The *Missa sine nomine* with low clefs and the *Missa sine nomine* with high clefs, and the four-voice, three-movement *Missa sine nomine* with a foreshortened Credo movement.

Homer, Virgil, and Cicero. Furthermore, by specifically recommending his freely-composed works, Tinctoris stresses the value of *inventio* in music. Here, Tinctoris approves of the same type of imaginative content and unique creativity that were so crucial in Alberti's theories on writing, painting, and architecture.

In this passage, therefore, there is the confluence of all of the topics encountered in the above treatises – *ingenium*, *inventio*, and *imitatio*. What is novel about Tinctoris's approach, however, is the manner in which he embeds these concepts within his overriding theoretical discussion of the fifteenth-century aesthetic of *varietas*. What is it about his *sine nomine* Masses, “non ab re produxi,” that make them paradigmatic models of *varietas*? To answer this question, we must first investigate Tinctoris's attitudes toward *varietas* and establish what exactly he meant by advocating this aesthetic in his final rule of counterpoint to the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. For a specific understanding of how *ingenium*, *inventio*, and *varietas* function within his musical compositions, we must wait until Chapter 8 where I analyze Tinctoris's four-voice *sine nomine* Mass.

Conclusion

Most humanists sought a dialectical creative goal: to revive ancient ideas (*imitatio*) and articulate them with a new voice (*ingenium/inventio*) – one reflective of the new age. The diversity of ideas put forward by these artist-philosophers fuelled intellectual debates throughout the fifteenth century, not only in literature, art, and architecture, but also in music. It has been long acknowledged that principles of *imitatio* informed the process of Mass composition in the Renaissance. I posit that humanist dialogue pertaining to *ingenium* and *inventio* may have influenced the composition of freely composed *sine nomine* Masses. Is it possible that composers viewed the *sine*

nomine subgenre as an appropriate foil or counter-composition to subgenres founded on *imitatio* and allusion?

One thing that can be gleaned from the treatise excerpts above is that, in the fifteenth century, writing a freely composed Mass on a completely original subject was a noble pursuit that demonstrated a propensity for invention (*inventio*) and natural talent (*ingenium*) that pushed far beyond mere imitation or emulation. So, I pose the question – without a model to emulate, and without ideas to borrow, how did composers structure their Masses? Was there any established compositional process that was associated with the *sine nomine* Mass? Before we investigate the *sine nomine* repertory, we must clarify the status of *varietas*, as this is an aesthetic that will help explain many of the unification and variation procedures we observe in the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass.

Chapter 3 Tinctoris on *Varietas*

Introduction

The twelve extant treatises of Johannes Tinctoris offer a wealth of insight into almost every practical aspect of fifteenth-century music theory.¹ A graduate of the University of Orléans and a doctor of canon and civil law, Tinctoris was an expert in both the language arts of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and the mathematical arts of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music). Such was his erudition, that he was extolled by Johannes Trithemius, one of the leading German humanists of the fifteenth century, as “a man very learned in all respects, an outstanding mathematician, a musician of the highest rank, of a keen mind, skilled in *eloquence*.”² Given Tinctoris’s towering intellect, it is no surprise that frequent citations from many of the major thinkers of antiquity – Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, and Quintilian – appear in his theoretical discussions on mode, mensural notation, and counterpoint.

A number of scholars have shown how Tinctoris’s writings are grounded in a tradition of humanist thought and learning.³ Reinhard Strohm, for example, has connected

¹ Music treatises by Johannes Tinctoris include: *Speculum musices*, lost (before 1472), *Expositio manus* (1472–3), *Proportionale musices* (1472–5), *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (1472–5), *Complexus effectuum musices* (1472–5), *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium* (1472–5), *Tractatus de regulari valore notarum* (1472–5), *Tractatus de notis et pausis* (1472–5), *Tractatus alterationum* (1472–5), *Scriptum ... super punctis musicalibus* (1472–5), *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* (dated 6 Nov 1476), *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (11 Oct 1477), *De inventione et usu musice*, lost; extracts printed (1481). See Ronald Woodley, “Johannes Tinctoris,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 4 May, 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, ed. A. Seay, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* 22 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975–8).

² Translation in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1959), 138, emphasis mine.

³ For a discussion of Tinctoris as humanist see Ronald Woodley, “Renaissance Music Theory as Literature: On Reading the *Proportionale musices* of Iohannes Tinctoris,” *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987), 209–20. See also Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1999), 43–7. Reinhard

Tinctoris's theoretical works to the grammatical and rhetorical treatises of the Paduan humanist teacher Gasparino Barzizza (1360- ca. 1431), and to one of the first rhetorical treatises ever printed in France, *Rhetorica*, by Guillaume Fichet (1433-ca. 1480).⁴ Rob Wegman has shown how Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices* weaves together allusions drawn from several ancient sources such as Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* and *De oratore*.⁵ Ronald Woodley has argued that vocabulary and syntax in the *Proportionale musices*, are "impeccably, self-consciously Ciceronian" and that *De oratore* "played a decisive part in the articulation and texture of Tinctoris's narrative."⁶

Tinctoris's predilection for fusing ancient scholarship with fifteenth-century musical theory is perhaps best illustrated in his most extensive treatise – the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, dated 11 October 1477 and dedicated to his patron Ferdinand I (Ferrante), King of Naples.⁷ Comprised of three books, the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* examines the rules of counterpoint – acceptable intervals, consonances, dissonances, and their application in simple note-against-note and florid settings. It is near the end of the *Liber*, in the eighth and final rule of Book III, that Tinctoris sings the virtues of *varietas* – an aesthetic he deems essential to all counterpoint.⁸

Strohm, "Music, Humanism and the Idea of a *Rebirth* of the Arts," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, *The New Oxford History of Music* III, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, 360-8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Rob C. Wegman, "Tinctoris and the *New Art*," *Music and Letters* 84 (2003): 171-88; Sean Thomas Patrick Gallagher, "Models of *Varietas*: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), *passim* but especially Chapter 2.

⁴ Reinhard Strohm, "Music, Humanism, and the Idea of *Rebirth* in the Arts," 364 and 368.

⁵ Wegman, "Tinctoris and the *New Art*," 184.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁷ The treatise can be found in three manuscripts: Brussels, Biliotheque Royale, Ms. II 4147, fols. 52r-101r; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 2573, fols. 87v-166r; and Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 835, fols. 77v-144r. Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica* II, ed. A. Seay, translated as *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961).

⁸ Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 139.

What exactly does Tinctoris mean by linking *varietas* – a concept with origins in ancient rhetoric and oratory – to fifteenth-century contrapuntal practice? In treatises such as the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (ca. 100 B.C.E) and Cicero's *De oratore* (ca. 55 B.C.E), *varietas* was upheld as a compositional ideal informing all phases of speech writing, including the brainstorming of the initial subject, the composition of the speech, memorization, and public delivery.⁹ Through the Middle Ages and Renaissance, *varietas* continued to be celebrated as a central stylistic virtue in disciplines such as architecture, monastic meditation, art, poetry and music. As it made its way into the theoretical discourses of several branches of thought and learning, *varietas* acquired many different meanings.¹⁰ In architecture, *varietas* came to be associated with the use of eclectic building materials and stylistic admixture.¹¹ In literature and poetry, *varietas* was linked to the practice of citing and alluding to copious Classical sources.¹² In painting, *varietas* was related to varied figural poses and diversity in colour pigmentation.¹³

⁹ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954). Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, trans. J. M. May and J. Wisse (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Mary Carruthers has traced the concept of *varietas* through the writings of medieval writers including Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Augustine and Cassiodorus. Unpublished communication. I am indebted to Margaret Bent for bringing Carruthers' work on *varietas* to my attention and to Carruthers for kindly sharing with me an unpublished paper pertaining to the changing significance of *varietas* throughout the Middle Ages.

¹¹ On *varietas* in architecture: Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria* (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1966); Georgia Clarke, *Roman House-Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 41-84. Christine Smith, *Architecture and the Culture of Early Humanism: Aesthetics, Ethics and Eloquence, 1400-1470* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Smith discusses how *varietas* (by means of contrast and antithesis) played a role in the architectural planning of the Pienza in Italy (p. 125). She argues that the aesthetic goal of *varietas* was what drove these fifteenth-century architects to incorporate eclectic building materials and to combine both traditional and innovative building practices (p. 101).

¹² On *varietas* in the literary arts see I. Maïer, *Ange Politien: La Formation d'un Poète Humaniste, 1469-1480* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966), pp. 203-15. Here, in one of the most comprehensive studies on Poliziano's *docta varietas*, Maïer discusses how his literary works borrow from a copious number of Classical sources. See also Erasmus, *On Copia of Words and Ideas*, trans. D. B. King and H. D. Rix (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1963).

¹³ On *varietas* in painting see: Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. J.R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), pp. 75-6. M. Baxandall, *Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition: 1350-1450* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

In music, many scholars have understood Tinctoris's use of the word *varietas* to mean "variety" or "diversity" – a generalized conception that links the term to a vast array of procedures: unpredictable melodic lines, continual rhythmic change, harmonic diversity, contrasting textures, varied cantus firmus treatment, and the juxtaposition of varied registers, modes and mensurations.¹⁴ As I shall argue below, what Tinctoris understood by the term *varietas* is not as inclusive and all-encompassing as has been previously thought. In fact, a close examination of the textual explanations and accompanying musical examples of the contrapuntal rules that comprise Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* reveal that the theorist attempted to create systematic linkages between ancient theories on rhetoric and his own innovative theories pertaining to counterpoint.¹⁵ These connections require elucidation if we are to fully appreciate Tinctoris's conception of contrapuntal *varietas*.

This chapter expands upon the work of Margaret Bent, who has already examined links between Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and treatises on grammar and

¹⁴ Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet: 1420-1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 241. Wolfgang Stephan, *Die Burgundisch-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), 55. Frits Noske, "Forma Formans," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 7 (1976): 55. Margaret Bent, *Dunstable* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 36. Rob C. Wegman, "The Anonymous Mass *D'ung aultre amer*: A Late Fifteenth-Century Experiment," *Musical Quarterly* 74 (1990): 588. Thomas Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 45. Margaret Bent, "The Late Medieval Motet," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (New York: Schirmer, 1992), 115. Gallagher, "Models of *Varietas*," chapter 2. Julie Cumming, "From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony," in press in the IMS 2002 Congress Proceedings, to be published in 2006 in two volumes of the Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation, edited by Bruno Bouckaert, Ignace Bossuyt, and Eugene Schreurs.

¹⁵ According to Bent, "Music indeed owes much of its basic terminology to grammar and rhetoric; analogies and cross-references between treatises in these disciplines are ubiquitous." See "Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas J. Mathiesen, Publications of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 47. Also see Bent's rhetorical reading (from the perspective of *pronunciatio* or performance/gesture/practice rather than theory) of Martin Le Franc's poem: "The Musical Stanzas in Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames*," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld, 91-127 (Adlershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

rhetoric.¹⁶ While Bent has referred predominantly to Books I and II of Tinctoris's *Liber*, I will focus exclusively on Book III. A similar approach to unravelling the meaning of *varietas* has recently been employed by Sean Gallagher in his dissertation on Johannes Regis.¹⁷ The present study draws on the same sources as Gallagher (*De oratore*, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Leon Battista Alberti's *De pictura*) but arrives at very different conclusions. First, I establish systematic links between Tinctoris's rules of counterpoint and the classical "rules" of rhetoric – demonstrating that Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* emulates the language and style, the structure and organization, and the theoretical foundations of ancient rhetorical treatises such as Cicero's *De oratore*. Second, I account for the accompanying musical examples of Book III, and reveal how these musical snippets actually serve as meaty extensions to Tinctoris's pithy textual explanations. Read together, musical examples and text consistently highlight the interaction between musical repetition (*redictae*) and variety (*varietas*) in counterpoint – a paradigm that has its origins in rhetorical practice. Third, I show how Leon Battista Alberti's *De pictura* (1435/6) – a fifteenth-century painting treatise equally steeped in the traditions of classical oratory – employs terminology that is so similar to that used by Tinctoris, that Alberti's painterly approach to *varietas* can help us "read between the lines" of Tinctoris's eighth rule and elucidate the meaning of this enigmatic term.

¹⁶ Bent, "Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," 45-59. Margaret Bent, "Grammar and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," keynote address, Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Tours, France, July 13-16, 2005. Also see Bent's "The Grammar of Early Music: Precondition for Analysis," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 15-59.

¹⁷ Gallagher, "Models of *Varietas*," Chapter 2.

Modern Perspectives on Musical *Varietas*

Variety has played a fundamental role in shaping works of art, literature, poetry and music throughout the ages.¹⁸ It is perhaps because of the ubiquity of variation as a general aesthetic aim that modern scholars have made liberal use of the term *varietas* when discussing stylistic features in Medieval and Renaissance music. Most frequently associated with rhythmic variety, references to *varietas* have appeared in studies by Margaret Bent, who connects it to rhythmic diversity in the late-medieval motet, by Frits Noske, who links it to the “great variety of rhythmically contrasting motifs” in works by Sweelinck, and by Wolfgang Stephan, who refers to the contrasting rhythmic profiles of successive phrases in the music of Busnoys.¹⁹ A model for understanding the evolution of rhythmic *varietas* has been proposed by Thomas Brothers, who describes changes in the aesthetic through three stylistic phases, beginning with the mid-fifteenth century music of Regis and culminating in the late fifteenth-century, Milanese-style works of Josquin. According to Brothers, these historical “stages” of *varietas* include:

- 1) the original conception, to which Regis (and Ockeghem) often remained faithful, of little or no rhythmic repetition from measure to measure, and a diversity of rhythmic values; 2) a shift within Busnoys’ oeuvre to more sharply etched rhythms using less diversity of values within a phrase, but creating the possibility of striking contrasts between phrases; 3) a further shift within Milanese music of the 1470s in which Busnoys’s preference for a variety of rhythmic

¹⁸ Elaine Sisman, “Variations,” in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 4 May, 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. Horst Weber, “Varietas, Variatio/ Variation, Variante,” in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 1-48 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1986-1988).

¹⁹ Margaret Bent, “The Late Medieval Motet,” 115. On rhythmic diversity in the music of Dunstaple see Bent, *Dunstaple*, 36. Noske, “Forma Formans,” 55. Stephan, *Die Burgundisch-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, 55.

profiles from phrase to phrase is reinforced (and at times replaced) by textural variety.²⁰

Other interpretations of *varietas* have been proposed by Julie Cumming and Sean Gallagher. Cumming argues that *varietas* is a quality that counters melodic and contrapuntal repetition. The movement away from *varietas* and toward repetition, she suggests, signalled the birth of imitative polyphony in Josquin-generation works.²¹ Gallagher, who has furnished the most comprehensive musicological study on the topic to date, views *varietas* as a quality that gives structure to a composition through “a series of alternations between different techniques” and the “close juxtaposing of contrasting procedures.”²² On *varietas* he explains, “[a]ny musical idea or compositional procedure, however beautiful, should not be allowed to persist, but should instead be immediately succeeded by a different, possibly even contrasting procedure. Such an approach to composition means more than simply avoiding repetitions; it entails actively seeking out possibilities for these types of successive changes within the actual process of constructing a work.”²³ As a way of illustrating this definition, Gallagher analyses compositions by Regis, Dufay, and Ockeghem – works singled out by Tinctoris in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* as paragons of *varietas*.²⁴ Dufay’s *Missa L’homme armé*, Gallagher argues, demonstrates *varietas* by alternating between imitative and non-imitative sections and between “two voices in *tempus perfectum* to four voices in multiple

²⁰ Brothers, “Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet,” 45.

²¹ Cumming, “From Variety to Repetition.”

²² Gallagher, “Models of Varietas,” passim, but especially at 70 and 66.

²³ Ibid., 62-3.

²⁴ Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 140. The works Tinctoris mentions are Dufay’s *Missa L’homme armé*, Faugues’ *Et vivus*, Regis’s *Clangat plebs*, Busnois’ *Congaudebant*, Ockeghem’s *Ma maistresse*, and Caron’s *La Tridaine a deux*. The motet by Busnois and the chanson by Caron are lost.

mensurations.²⁵ In Ockeghem's bergerette *Ma maistresse*, Gallagher perceives *varietas* in the juxtaposition of syncopated and non-syncopated phrases,²⁶ while in Regis's motet *Clangat plebs flores*, he detects *varietas* in the registral shifts and the alternation between two-voice imitation and free counterpoint.²⁷

In cantus firmus presentation, Edgar Sparks and Rob Wegman have detected yet another type of *varietas*. Sparks examines Tinctoris's *Missa L'homme armé* in terms of the "wilderness of effects" brought about by the varied treatment of borrowed material and argues that variety is realized in this Mass through a cantus firmus that is ornamented, abbreviated, repeated, treated as scaffolding and presented in canon.²⁸ Through his investigation of the anonymous *Missa D'ung aultre amer*, Wegman perceives a "chain structure" that incorporates "the whole range of cantus firmus treatment – from strictest to freest."²⁹ For Wegman, this Mass applies the "greatest possible variety of available contemporary styles to the *cantus prius factus*" making it "the most varied Mass cycle from the period."³⁰

Put succinctly, the principle of *varietas* has been conceptualised in three ways. The first type (as explored by Bent, Noske, Stephan, Brothers and Cumming), describes varied musical techniques or procedures and accounts for progressive changes in one

²⁵ Gallagher, "Models of *Varietas*," 66.

²⁶ Ibid., 67-8.

²⁷ Ibid., 68-9.

²⁸ Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 241. Another type of *varietas* aesthetic may be observed in the varied repetition patterns – at once musical and symbolic – uncovered by Margot Fassler in Victorine sequence music. See Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). I thank Marry Carruthers for bringing this reference to my attention.

²⁹ Wegman, "The Anonymous Mass *D'ung aultre amer*," 588.

³⁰ Ibid., 588.

particular parameter (such as rhythm, melody or texture) throughout a piece of music.³¹

The second type of *varietas*, advocated by Gallagher, is about actively integrating procedural changes into a work – a way of ensuring “that these successive changes . . . in themselves become an aesthetic priority.” Here, the composer prioritises the successive juxtaposition of musical techniques (such as rhythm, texture, mensuration, register) to such an extent, that procedural changes themselves end up constituting the actual “substance” on which a composition is based. Gallagher’s conception of *varietas* therefore describes the succession of different musical events or musical procedures as they unfold from bar to bar or from phrase to phrase.³² In the third type of *varietas*, discussed by Sparks and Wegman, the same motivic/thematic musical idea (i.e. the *cantus prius factus*) is repeated, but transformed or embellished in each successive statement. This category of *varietas* describes the development of a single musical “idea” as it unfolds through varied presentations from movement to movement. Here, the same musical idea is reiterated, but each statement is differentiated from the next with the aid of variation procedures.

How closely do these modern-day musical interpretations of *varietas* concur with Tinctoris’s theoretical explanations found in Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*? As we shall see, Tinctoris’s conception of *varietas* is actually much more focussed than previously thought as, in his *Liber*, he applies the aesthetic of *varietas* exclusively to counterpoint – vertical intervals, melodic intervals, cadences, suspensions, and motives.

³¹ This type of *varietas* is most easily understood if situated within the realm of oratory. It is a performative conception of *varietas* that might involve alterations in dynamics, pacing, or vocal quality while delivering a speech.

³² According to Gallagher, “for Tinctoris. . . the building up of a composition through successive changes in diverse musical procedures [takes] precedence over the idea of an overarching structural plan used to guide the writing of a work.” Gallagher, “Models of *Varietas*,” 63-64.

***Varietas* and the Five Parts of Oratory**

Perhaps the most logical place to start an investigation on *varietas* is in the field of classical oratory, as it is among the pages of ancient treatises by Cicero, Quintilian, and others, that the concept of *varietas* first prominently appears.³³ The ancient art of writing and delivering a speech involved a standardized process that was divided into five distinct parts known as the *partes oratoris officii*.³⁴ This five-step compositional system, meant to guide an orator from the early stages of brainstorming ideas up until the performance of a

³³ Though it was only in the Renaissance that the *studia humanitatis* became the foundation of the university curriculum, the interest in language, grammar, and Ciceronian rhetoric had actually been steadily growing since the Middle Ages. Authors from Northern schools (i.e. Thierry of Chartres) were already busy in the twelfth century producing commentaries on Ciceronian rhetorical treatises such as *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (long misattributed to Cicero). In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, more commentaries were written and “courses on these texts were given at Bologna” by Giovanni di Bonandrea and Bertolinus de Canulis. See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, edited by Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 231-2, and 239. “Discoveries” of classical works were made throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods. For example, Petrarch discovered Cicero’s correspondence with Atticus in 1345, and between 1392 and 93 Salutati discovered Cicero’s *Ad familiares*. Already in 1400, Cicero’s *De oratore* (even its incomplete version) was one of the most studied works at schools in Padua and Pavia. The first quarter of the fifteenth century witnessed discoveries and rediscoveries of several other classical treatises – events that had a profound effect on many aspects of Renaissance culture. In 1416, Poggio Bracciolini made one of the first major findings when he came across the complete texts of Quintilian’s *De institutio oratoria* along with ten previously unknown Ciceronian orations. Then a few years later in 1421, Gerardus Landriani, Bishop at Lodi discovered the entire text to Cicero’s *De oratore* (a treatise that until then, had been incomplete), and Cicero’s *Orator*. See Michael D. Reeve, “Classical Scholarship,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 20-46. James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 357-63. R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). R.R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500, Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King’s College, Cambridge, April 1969* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). Both the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De oratore* served advanced students of rhetoric in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. See Kristian Jensen, “The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, 73. From the mid-fourteenth century onwards, many European centers of learning integrated the study of rhetoric and poetry into the arts curriculum. On the proliferation of humanist schools in Italy see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). On musical instruction see Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, reprint edition (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972). According to Kristian Jensen (p. 73), the *Ad Herennium* and *De oratore* were read as textbooks of rhetoric while *De Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian “never became part of the curriculum.” Jensen, “The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching,” 73. Also see note 5 in the Prologue to Part One.

³⁴ The *partes oratoris officii* was known alternatively as the *rhetorices partes* or *opera oratoris*. Descriptions of the five preparatory phases of speech writing are outlined in Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen and David Orton (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 112-3 and *passim*.

speech, consisted of: *inventio* (invention of the subject matter and related arguments), *dispositio* (the formal organization of ideas and arguments), *elocutio/decoratio* (rhetorical style, finding the specific words, expressions and appropriate tone for a speech), 4) *memoria* (memorization of the speech) and 5) *pronunciatio* (performance or delivery of the speech).³⁵ Rhetoric treatises that functioned as central texts in Renaissance education (the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* – long misattributed to Cicero, and Cicero’s *De oratore*) depicted how to achieve different types of *varietas* in all five parts of oratory (see Table 3.1).³⁶

In Table 3.1, further subdivisions of *varietas*-types within each of the five categories are labelled according to one of the most fundamental divisions in rhetoric – the distinction between *res* (thought/ideas) and *verba* (expressions/style).³⁷ While *res* describes the content of a speech or *what* is communicated through language, *verba* describes the style and mode of delivery or *how* ideas are communicated.³⁸ For ancient

³⁵ On Medieval notions of *inventio* and *memoria* see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Todd Borgerding, “Preachers, *Pronunciatio*, and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony,” *Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 586-98.

³⁶ According to Martin Camargo, “it was already in the eleventh century that the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* had become the authority on rhetoric . . . That late medieval scribes, commentators, and teachers recognized and valued the [broad] scope of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is evident from the special attention they paid to the treatment of the *exornationes verborum et sententiarum*, or figures of speech and thought, that occupies most of its fourth and final book. Indeed during the initial period of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*’s ascendancy, spanning the late eleventh and most of the twelfth centuries, the sections dealing with the figures spawned independent textbooks, some of which achieved considerable popularity.” Martin Camargo, “Latin Composition Textbooks and Ad Herennium Glossing: The Missing Link?” in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, edited by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 268-269.

³⁷ Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 113.

³⁸ Lausberg discusses how *varietas* can be interpreted through *res* and *verba* 1) at the level of intellectual *ornatus* “by alternations in the direction of thought” known as *sententiarum exornatio*, and 2) at the level of linguistic *ornatus* (known as *verborum exornatio*). Ibid., 116 and 243.

writers, abundance or variety of *res* (ideas/arguments) and abundance or variety of *verba* (words/expressions) were crucial to speech writing and delivery.³⁹

Table 3.1 *Varietas* and the Five Parts of Oratory

Inventio
<i>varietas</i> of subject matter (<i>res</i>)
<i>varietas</i> of emotions (<i>res</i>)
includes “topics of invention” and commonplaces
Dispositio
<i>varietas</i> in arrangement of ideas (<i>res</i>)
grouping ideas in “irregular” or varied manner (<i>verba</i>)
Elocutio/Decoratio
<i>varietas</i> of words (<i>verba</i>)
<i>varietas</i> of ornaments (<i>verba</i>)
<i>varietas</i> of figures of speech (<i>verba</i>)
<i>varietas</i> of figures of thought (<i>res</i>)
Memoria
<i>varietas</i> of images/words representing ideas in the speech (<i>res</i>)
<i>varietas</i> of images/words representing specific words (<i>verba</i>)
Pronunciatio
<i>varietas</i> of emotions conveyed in oration (<i>res</i>)
<i>varietas</i> of vocal qualities in a speech (<i>verba</i>)

In passages from Cicero’s *De oratore* and *De partitione oratoria*, and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, we can observe specific examples of how *varietas* functions at the levels of both *res* and *verba* within each of the five parts of oratory. I will discuss these below, but will address *elocutio* last, as it plays the most significant role in later discussions of contrapuntal *varietas*.

In a dialogue between Antonius and Catalus, Cicero refers to a type of *varietas* associated with *inventio* (invention) when he describes the great diversity of arguments in the speeches of the Greek historian Timaeus (ca. 350-260 BCE): “Timaeus was the

³⁹ *Res* and *verba* interpreted at the level of *varietas* were known respectively by multiple designations including (for *varietas* of *res*) *copia rerum*, *sententiarum exornatio*, *figura sententiae*, *sententiarum varietate*, and (for *varietas* of *verba*) *copia verborum*, *verborum exornatio*, *figuras verborum*. These designations are found in a variety of sources; namely, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.VIII.13; Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, II.58; Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education: Books 9-10*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), X.1.15; and Erasmus, *On Copia of Words and Ideas*, *passim*.

youngest of all of these, but, as far as I can judge, he was easily the most learned, the richest in terms of wealth of material and variety of ideas (*rerum copia et sententiarum varietate*), and not without polish in the actual arrangement of his words.”⁴⁰ Another reference to *varietas* at the level of *inventio* can be found in Book I of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* where it is recommended that the orator construct his arguments so as to include an array of emotional topics: “[a] narrative based on the persons should present a lively style and diverse traits of character, such as austerity and gentleness, hope and fear, distrust and desire, hypocrisy and compassion, and the vicissitudes of life (*rerum varietates*) . . .”.⁴¹

In *De partitione oratoria*, Marcus Tullius Cicero and his son discuss *varietas* as a facet of *dispositio* (arrangement of ideas).⁴² Here, Cicero senior explains that when composing a speech that aims to give pleasure, there are various (*varii*) methods of arrangement. In addition to arranging ideas by category, or from smaller to larger, he suggests that the orator “group ideas with varied irregularity” (*aut haec inaequabili varietate distinguimus*).⁴³

Varietas is also associated with the act of memorizing a speech (*memoria*). In the first step of memorization, Cicero describes how to commit the main ideas of a speech to memory with the aid of representative words and images:

Particularly useful ways of practicing are forming representations by changes and by transformations of words into similar ones with different endings, or by the substitution of the part for the whole, and giving shape to a complete thought by

⁴⁰ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, II.58, 138-9.

⁴¹ See *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.VIII.13, 25.

⁴² Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, IV.12, 321. This passage has also been translated as “or we group these with complete irregularity.”

an image consisting of a single word, all this according to the systematic approach of a consummate painter, who keeps the different localities distinct from each other by employing a variety (*varietate*) of shapes.⁴⁴

In the second step, the exact words of the speech are memorized. Here, Cicero recommends that the orator further subdivide the main images and ideas (from the first step) into an even greater variety of detailed images and associated words. He admits, however, that this memorization process has certain limitations, as it is virtually impossible to associate images with prepositions, conjunctions and other “words that serve as joints.” Cicero writes, “[m]emorization of words, which is less necessary for us, is characterized by a greater variety of images (*varietate imaginum*). [Since] there are many words that serve as joints connecting the limbs of our language, it is impossible to find shapes that resemble these.”⁴⁵

Another type of *varietas* linked to performance (*pronunciatio*) is found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and is related to the different ways an orator can vary vocal delivery (speaking in full voice, pausing, relaxing the voice, making sharp exclamations and speaking smoothly): “[r]elaxation from a continuous full tone conserves the voice, and the variety (*varietas*) gives extreme pleasure to the hearer too, since now the conversational tone holds the attention and now the full voice rouses it.”⁴⁶

The part of oratory that is most often cited in connection with *varietas* is *elocutio* – or rhetorical style. A perusal of either the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* or *De oratore* will reveal just what a crucial role *varietas* plays in *elocutio*. Unlike discussions of *inventio*,

⁴⁴ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, II.358, 221.

⁴⁵ Ibid., II.359, 221.

⁴⁶ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.XII.22, 195. On the role of *pronunciatio* in Renaissance music see: Tom Borgerding, “Preachers, ‘Pronunciatio’, and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony,” 586-98.

dispositio, *memoria*, and *pronunciatio* – where *varietas* is mentioned no more than once or twice – in sections devoted to rhetorical *elocutio*, *varietas* is cited over and over again.

As we shall explore below, it is through *elocutio* that an orator achieves eloquence by deviating from the normal meaning of words and straying from the usual and plain rules of language. It is through *elocutio* that an orator twists and turns his arguments, and imparts his speech with fanciful language and rhetorical panache so as to gain the favour and admiration of audience members and ultimately persuade them of his particular version of the “truth.” In ancient treatises, *elocutio* is viewed as a powerful force that is at once essential and dangerous. Many classical writers caution that *elocutio*, through its misuse or abuse, threatens philosophy and the purity of ideas. For example, an overdose of stylistic elements could, according to Cicero, potentially cheapen the arguments of a speech:

Since in everything else, then, the greatest pleasure borders on aversion, we need not be too surprised by this phenomenon in the case of speech. Here, our experience with poets as well as orators allows us to conclude that poetry or prose that is elegant, decorated, distinguished, and pretty, but continuously so without new starts or variety (*sine varietate*), cannot give delight for a very long time, however vivid the colors in which it is painted.⁴⁷

Because of these dangers, a balance between style and idea is to be sought at all times. Eloquence or *elocutio*, it is stressed, is not merely a superficial, decorative aspect of rhetoric solely employed for its persuasive merits, nor is it meant only to serve the cosmetic purpose of artificial “embellishment” or “ornamentation.” In fact, Cicero attests that it is as a consequence of *elocutio* that an orator negotiates a fine balance between the

⁴⁷ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, III.100, 254.

rational content of *res* and the affected or stylised inflection of *verba*. In *De oratore*, at the opening of their discussion of *elocutio*, Crassus says to Antonius: “For since all discourse is made up of content and words, the words cannot have any basis if you withdraw the content, and the content will remain in the dark if you remove the words.”⁴⁸ It follows then, that the words (*verba*) chosen by the orator are perceived as equally essential to the speech as the ideas (*res*) themselves.

Levels, Virtues, and Flowers of Rhetorical *Elocutio*

Among classical treatises, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De oratore* were the most familiar to fifteenth-century humanists, functioning as the primary sources of rhetorical doctrine for Western scholars throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods.⁴⁹ Given that their sections on *elocutio* (Book IV of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Book III of Cicero’s *De oratore*) probably served as models for Book III of Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, it is essential that we get a general sense of the purpose, organization, and content of these treatises.

The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* consists of four books, the last of which comprises the oldest systematic explanation of style (*elocutio*) in Latin and the oldest extant formal study of the figures of speech.⁵⁰ The sheer size of Book IV (over half the length of the treatise), is itself indicative of the vital role of *elocutio* within the study of rhetoric. After some prefatory remarks on how to choose models for emulation and imitation, Book IV

⁴⁸ Ibid., III.19-20, 230. Many rhetorical treatises divide the figures of *elocutio* into “figures of speech” and “figures of thought.” The “figures of thought” overlap with both the “topics of invention” and the “figures of speech,” meaning that differentiating between *inventio* and *elocutio* at this level can pose problems. In the category of *elocutio*, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* distinguishes between forty-five “figures of diction” and nineteen “figures of thought.” Another treatise that makes the distinction between *copia rerum* (amplification of thoughts and ideas) and *copia verborum* is *On Copia of Words and Ideas* by Erasmus.

⁴⁹ See n. 33.

⁵⁰ Caplan, introduction to *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, xx.

describes the three acceptable “levels of style”: the grand (*gravis*), “which consists of a smooth and ornate arrangement of impressive words,” the middle (*mediocris*), “which consists of words of a lower, yet not of the lowest and most colloquial class of words” and the simple (*adenuatus*), which “is brought down even to the most current idiom of standard speech.”⁵¹ This is followed by an account of the three most essential “virtues of style” – particular features associated with the perfection of *elocutio*. They include: taste (*elegantia*), artistic composition (*conpositio*), and distinction (*dignitas*) (see Table 3.2).⁵²

Table 3.2 **Three Virtues of Style (*Elocutio*), based on *Rhetorica ad Herennium*⁵³**

Taste	Artistic Composition	Distinction
(<i>Elegantia</i>)	(<i>Conpositio</i>)	(<i>Dignitas</i>)
Vices to avoid: - Solecisms - Incorrect word arrangement - Barbarisms	Arranging words in a unified manner Vices to avoid: 1) Vowel collisions between words 2) Excessive repetition of letters 3) Excessive word repetition 4) Excessive use of similar case endings in adjacent words	Virtues related to <i>varietas</i> : - Ornaments - Figures of speech

Cicero’s *De oratore* presents a more expansive list of “virtues” connected with *elocutio* stressing 1) correct Latin, 2) clarity, 3) distinction (i. word choice, ii. juxtaposition and connection of words, iii. form and cadence of words (sentence/phrase formation and sectional/sentence/phrase endings), iv. figures of speech), and 4) appropriateness (see Table 3.3).⁵⁴ Though both treatises describe *elocutio* in roughly the

⁵¹ Ibid., IV.VIII.11, 253. This is the first extant rhetorical treatise to divide the levels of styles in such a manner. Cicero in *Orator*, 21.69, describes three styles as functions of pathos and ethos in the orator’s speech: the plain (*subtile*) for proof (*probare*), the middle (*modicum*) for delight (*delectare*), and the vigorous (*vehemens*) for swaying the hearers (*flectere*).

⁵² Ibid., IV.XII-XIII, 17-18, 271-5.

⁵³ All translations are based on Harry Caplan’s edition of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. For full discussion in the *ad Herennium* see Book IV.XII-XIII, 17-18.

⁵⁴ The virtues of *elocutio* and their number varied from treatise to treatise. In *De oratore*, Cicero employs Theophrastus’s four virtues. See James M. May, and Jakob Wisse’s “introduction” to Cicero’s *On the Ideal Orator*, 36. On connection and juxtaposition of words see Cicero, *On The Ideal Orator*, III.171-172, 276-

same manner, Cicero's "virtues of style" are portrayed in terms of rhetorical virtues that are desirable in a speech, whereas the *Ad Herennium*'s are portrayed in terms of rhetorical vices that inevitably lead to ineffective and ineloquent prose.

Table 3.3 **Four Virtues of Style (*Elocutio*) based on Cicero's *De oratore***⁵⁵

Correct Latin (<i>Latinitas</i>)	Clarity (<i>Perspicuitas</i>)	Distinction (<i>Ornatus</i>)	Appropriateness (<i>Aptum/Decorum</i>)
		i) Word Choice ii) Juxtaposition and Connection of Words iii) Form and Cadence of Words (phrase endings) iv) Figures of Speech	

In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, taste (*elegantia*) involves issues of "correct Latinity" (*latinitas*) and clarity (*perspicuitas*) and is therefore equivalent to Cicero's first two "virtues of style." According to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, *elegantia* is not truly situated within the sphere of rhetoric and is better reserved for discussion in grammar treatises.⁵⁶ This virtue can be attained through careful avoidance of solecisms (faulty or grammatically incorrect phrases) and barbarisms (incorrectly placed verbal expressions or mispronounced words) in the Latin language.⁵⁷

The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'s "virtue of style" known as artistic composition (*compositio*) – most closely related to *De oratore*'s "word choice," "juxtaposition and connection of words," and "form and cadence of words" – entails arranging words so as to provide a "uniform finish to the discourse," and can be achieved through the repetition

277. Cicero's description of the form and cadence of words is particularly detailed, touching on topics of metrical rhythm, periodic structure, and cadence: *On the Ideal Orator*, III.173-201, 277-86. Cicero's section on figures is short (*On the Ideal Orator*, III.206-207, 288-9), comprised only of a list (without definitions), and is not comparable to the extremely technical and detailed definitions found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

⁵⁵ For full discussion in *de Oratore* see Book III.171-207.

⁵⁶ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV. XII, 17, 271.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, IV.XII 17, 269-71.

of vowels, consonants, words, and word endings.⁵⁸ The author nonetheless cautions that though a certain degree of uniformity is desirable in a speech, the orator should be aware of the dangers of excessive repetition at the phonetic and syntactic levels of language. The four “vices of repetition” that accompany this explanation are reproduced in Table 3.4. The *ad Herennium* refers to these prohibited forms of repetition as *vitiis* – errors caused by too much repetition. Clearly, the author of these silly phrases attempts to be too clever – infusing his language with an overdose of style that results in “swollen” or purple prose. For classical authors, such overt repetition resulted in *taedium* and was aesthetically at odds with the highly coveted value of *varietas*.

Table 3.4 The Four Vices of Excessive Repetition, from *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*⁵⁹

Vice 1	The frequent collision of vowels that makes the style harsh and gaping <i>Bacae aeneae amoenissime inpendebant.</i>
Vice 2	Excessive recurrence of the same letter <i>Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti.</i> <i>Quoiquam quicquam quemquam, quemque quisque conveniat, neget.</i>
Vice 3	Excessive repetition of the same word <i>Nam cuius rationis ratio non extet, ei rationi ratio non est fidem habere admodum.</i>
Vice 4	A continuous series of words with similar case endings <i>Flentes, plorantes, lacrimantes, obtestantes.</i>

The third and final “virtue of style,” known as distinction (*dignitas*), receives the most attention in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. It is stated that through this quality of *elocutio*, an orator can “confer distinction upon style [and] render it ornate, embellishing it [with] variety (*varietate*).”⁶⁰ How exactly is rhetorical *varietas* achieved? Here, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* advises employing one of sixty-four possible figures of speech.

⁵⁸ Ibid., IV.XII.18, 271.

⁵⁹ Translations in Tables 3.4 – 3.8 are based on Harry Caplan’s translation of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Book IV, XII. 18

⁶⁰ Ibid., IV.XIII:18, 275.

Among these figures, there are some that certainly reverberate more strongly with the language of music than others. Indeed, those pertaining to varied repetition seem to have the most immediate relevance. These twelve figures of repetition, divided into four groups (“elegant figures of repetition,” “entertaining figures of repetition,” “figures of diction” and “figures of thought”), are presented below in Tables 3.5 through 3.8; the definitions and accompanying examples serve to clarify the meaning of each particular figure. As indicated in these sample sentences, as a rhetorical strategy, varied repetition could be used to endow a speech with clarity, emphasis, and emotion.

Table 3.5 **Elegant Figures of Repetition (to be used when invoking the high style), from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*⁶¹**

1. Repetitio (Epanaphora) IV.XIII.19

When one and the same word forms successive beginnings for phrases expressing like and different ideas.

Example: “To you must go the credit for this, to you are thanks due, to you will this act of yours bring glory.”

2. Conversio (Antistrophe) IV.XIII.19

When we repeat, not the first word in successive phrases, as in Epanaphora, but the last.

Example: “It was by the justice of the Roman people that the Carthaginians were conquered, by its force of arms that they were conquered, by its generosity that they were conquered.”

3. Complexio (Interlacement) IV.XIV.20

The combined use of Antistrophe (*Conversio*) and Epanaphora (*Repetitio*), which are explained above.

Example: “One whom the Senate has condemned, one whom the Roman people has condemned, one whom universal public opinion has condemned, would you by your votes acquit such a one?”

4. Traductio (Transplacement) IV.XIV.20

Makes it possible for the same word to be frequently reintroduced, not only without offence to good taste, but even so as to render the style more elegant.

Example: “You call him a man, who, had he been a man, would never so cruelly have sought another man’s life.”

⁶¹ Translations and examples taken directly from Caplan, ed., *Ad Herennium* Book IV.XIII.19 –XIV.20

Table 3.6 Entertaining Figures of Repetition (to be used sparingly), from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*⁶²

5. Similiter cadens (Homeoptoton) IV.XX. 28

Occurs when, in the same period, two or more words appear in the same case, and with like terminations.

Example: “*Hominem laudem egentem virtutis, abundantem felicitatis?*” (Am I to praise a man abounding in good luck, but lacking in virtue?)

6. Similiter desinens (Homocoteleuton) IV. XX. 28

Occurs when the word endings are similar, although the words are undeclinable.

Example: “*Turpiter audes facere, nequiter studes dicere; vivis invidiose, delinquis studiose, loqueris odiose.*” (You dare to act dishonourably, you strive to talk despicably; you live hatefully, you sin zealously, you speak offensively.)

7. Adnominatio (Paronomasia) IV. XXI. 29

The figure in which, by means of modification of sound, or change of letters, a close resemblance to a given verb or noun is produced, so that similar words express dissimilar things. This is accomplished by many different methods:

a) by thinning or contracting the same letter:

“*Hic qui se magnifice iactat atque ostenta, venīt antequam Romam venīt.*”

b) and by the reverse:

“*Hic quos homines alea vincīt, eos ferro statim vincīt.*”

c) by lengthening the same letter:

“*Hinc āvium dulcedo ducit ad āvium.*”

d) by shortening the same letter:

“*Hic, tametsi videtur esse honoris cupidus, tantum tamen cūriam diligit quantum Cūriam?*”

e) by adding letters:

“*Hic sibi posset temperare, nisi amori mallet obtemperare.*”

f) by omitting letters:

“*Si lenones vitasset tamquam leones, vitae tradidisset se.*”

g) by transposing letters:

“*Videte, iudices, utrum homini nayo an yano credere malitis.*”

h) by changing letters:

“*Deligere oportet quem velis diligere.*”

⁶² Caplan, ed., *Ad Herennium*, IV.XX.28-XXI.29. Note that English is omitted in Caplan’s edition for those examples for which a translation would obscure the meaning of the figure of repetition (i.e. an English translation of the sample phrases under the heading of *adnominatio*, for example, would not illustrate the syllabic nuances in the Latin examples).

Table 3.7 **Figures of Diction, from *Rhetorica ad Herennium***⁶³

8. Gradatio (Climax) IV. XXV. 34

The figure in which the speaker passes to the following word only after advancing by steps to the preceding one. . . The constant repetition of the preceding word, characteristic of this figure, carries a certain charm.

Example: “*Nam quae reliqua spes manet libertatis, si illis et quod libet licet, et quod licet possunt, et quod possunt audent, et quod audent faciunt, et quod faciunt vobis molestum non est?*” (Now what remnant of the hope of liberty survives, if those men *may* do what they *please*, if they *can* do what they *may*, if they *dare* do what they *can*, if they *do* what they *dare*, and if you *approve* what they *do*?)

9. Transitio (Transition) IV. XXVI. 35

The figure which briefly recalls what has been said, and likewise briefly sets forth what is to follow next. . . it reminds the hearer of what the speaker has said, and also prepares him for what is to come.

Example: “*Modo in patriam cuiusmodi fuerit habetis; nunc in parentes qualis extiterit considerate.*” (You know how he has just been conducting himself towards his fatherland; now consider what kind of son he has been to his parents.)

10. Conduplicatio (Anadiplosis) IV. XXVIII. 38

The repetition of one or more words for the purpose of amplification or appeal to pity. . . The reiteration of the same word makes a deep impression upon the hearer and inflicts a major wound upon the opposition – as if a weapon should repeatedly pierce the same part of the body.

Example: “*Commotus non es, cum tibi pedes mater amplexaretur, non es commotus?*” (You were not moved when his mother embraced your knees? You were not moved?)

Table 3.8 **Figures of Thought IV, from *Rhetorica ad Herennium***⁶⁴

11. Expolitio (Chreia) IV. XLII. 54

Consists in dwelling on the same topic and yet seeming to say something ever new. It is accomplished in two ways: by merely repeating the same idea, or by descanting upon it. We shall not repeat the same thing precisely – for that, to be sure, would weary the hearer and not refine the idea – but with changes. Our changes will be of three kinds: in the words, in the delivery, and in the treatment. Our changes will be verbal when, having expressed the idea once, we repeat it once again or oftener in other equivalent terms. . . But when we descant upon the same theme, we shall use a great many variations.

Example: “No peril is so great that a wise man would think it ought to be avoided when the safety of the fatherland is at stake. When the lasting security of the state is in question, the man endowed with good principles will undoubtedly believe that in defence of the fortunes of the republic he ought to shun no crisis of life, and he will ever persist in the determination eagerly to enter, for the fatherland, any combat, however great the peril to life.”

12. Commoratio (Epimone) IV. XLV. 58

Occurs when one remains rather long, upon and often returns to, the strongest topic on which the whole cause rests. Its use is particularly advantageous, and is especially characteristic of the good orator, for no opportunity is given the hearer to remove his attention from this strongest topic. This topic is not isolated from the whole cause like some limb, but like blood is spread through the whole body of the discourse.

⁶³ Caplan, ed., *Ad Herennium*, IV. XXV. 34 – XXVIII. 38

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, XLII. 54 – IV. XLV. 58

These figures of speech and figures of thought were known collectively by classical writers as the *flores rhetoricae* – the flowers of rhetoric.⁶⁵ In figurative language, the usual meaning or arrangement of words is altered and certain expressions, usually seen as grammatically incorrect or linguistically unclear, are viewed as tolerable and even desirable. According to Quintilian, an orator employs a figure of speech “for elegance” as it gives more pleasure through its freshness and variety (*varietate*), than the straightforward statement would have done.⁶⁶ Here, *varietas* takes on a connotation that diverges significantly from the more literal translation of “variety.” Indeed, understood at this level of rhetorical *elocutio*, *varietas* is a virtue that results when an orator deviates from the usual modes of speech to embrace figurative language and rhetorical embellishment.

In summary, through the “virtues of style” known as artistic composition (*compositio*) and distinction (*dignitas*), orators and students of rhetoric were able to familiarize themselves with the vices and virtues of *elocutio*. Though overt repetition was viewed as a stylistic vice, when artfully incorporated into oratory through the figures of speech, it was perceived as a stylistic virtue. According to what is relayed in Book IV of the *ad Herennium*, tedious or inane repetition could lead to abuses, resulting in language that was incompetent and inept. It followed then, that the vice of excessive and overt repetition (of words, syllables, vowels and consonants) was aesthetically at odds with the virtue of *varietas*.

⁶⁵ Lausberg points out that according to Cicero (*On the Ideal Orator* III.96), *ornatus* that accentuates *varietas* is called *flos* (flower). See Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 244. Regarding Tinctoris’s use of the word *flos* in relation to florid counterpoint in Book II of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* see n. 104 and n. 121.

⁶⁶ Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education: Books 9-10*, IX:II:66, 72-5.

As a facet of *elocutio*, *varietas* was primarily attainable through linguistic deviation from plain, everyday language (i.e. by using sophisticated words or new expressions) or the adoption of ornamental language and figures of speech (i.e. figures of varied repetition). As I shall argue below, the systematic methods of incorporating *varietas* into classical speeches later served to guide contrapuntal theories put forward by Johannes Tinctoris in Book III of his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*.

Inheriting Classical Models: Contrapuntal Style in Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*

When Tinctoris wrote the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, musical treatises had already been modelled on grammar books for hundreds of years.⁶⁷ Margaret Bent has pointed out certain key aspects of the grammatical and rhetorical foundations of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, noting how Tinctoris starts “with a quotation from Horace, *Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons* . . . a standard definition of grammar as correct writing, implying here a musical application.”⁶⁸ Bent has made further connections between the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and the idiomatic structural and conceptual fundamentals of grammar books:

⁶⁷ In “Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony,” Bent writes, “The parallels between music and language run deep in medieval thinking about the structure of knowledge. Medieval treatises are rich in explicit musical parallels with grammar, logic, and rhetoric, the three components of the trivium. Music and grammar were the twin pillars of elementary education, though music is hardly mentioned in many seminal works by non-musicologists. It is mainly musicologists who have pointed out the parallels in early music theory (especially for the period up to about 1100) between the terminology of treatises on grammar and rhetoric, on the one hand, and treatises on music theory and the conception of musical composition (word-based chant and monophony) on the other (p. 56).” In “Notre Dame Theory: A Study of Terminology, Including a New Translation of the Music Treatise of Anonymous IV” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1982), Jeremy Yudkin discusses how music theorists, in an attempt to “describe the complexities of the new music . . . turned to the vocabulary and technical terminology of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic – studies that had formed the primary basis of their education” (p. 8). Yudkin especially highlights Latin terminology (i.e. *copula*, *valet*, *aequipollente*, *multitudo*, *aequalia*, *antecedens*, *consequens*, *specierum*, and *univoce*) from Johannes de Garlandia that is influenced by Logic and Grammar (pp. 53-95).

⁶⁸ Bent, “Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony,” 57-8.

Donatus's *Ars minor*, the main primer for medieval grammar, proceeded from letters and syllables, sound units or phonemes, to syllabic verse metre, accentuation and parts of speech, and gave examples of common faults. Tinctoris proceeds from consonant dyadic intervals, or the phonemes of counterpoint, their orderly succession, and thence to dissonance, its proper treatment and its rhythmic accommodation. He deals with faults, and reproaches some of his contemporaries in several famous passages. He offers new examples of his own confection as models for new composition, a prescriptive rhetorical strategy. His treatise includes both a description and normative treatment of intervals that corresponds to the basics of grammar, and he also offers criticism of faults in named compositions that corresponds directly to the *enarratio poetarum* or literary criticism that was part of grammar.⁶⁹

While Books I and II of Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* do indeed emulate grammar treatises, thus revealing how to compose *correctly*, Book III, with its eight basic rules of counterpoint, is firmly grounded within the rhetorical tradition (*elocutio*) and is primarily concerned with how to compose *well*.⁷⁰ In fact, the correspondences between Book III of the *Liber* and the section on *elocutio* found in Book III of *De oratore* are so striking that it is difficult to deny a Ciceronian influence.

In Book III of his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris transforms Cicero's "virtues of rhetorical style" into virtues of contrapuntal style. Table 3.9 summarizes these

⁶⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁷⁰ Book I presents an exhaustive discussion of consonant intervals that are employed in note-against-note counterpoint, while Book II describes how to incorporate dissonance into florid counterpoint. See Margaret Bent, "On False Concords in Late Fifteenth-Century Music: Yet Another Look at Tinctoris," in *Théorie et analyse musicales 1450-1650*, ed. Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Musicologica neolovaniensia Studia* 9 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie, Collège Érasme, 2001), 65-118.

connections and illustrates where rhetorical theories on style and musical theories on counterpoint intersect. The left column of Table 3.9 paraphrases Tinctoris's rules, while the right column lists the "virtues of style" in the order that they are presented in Cicero's *De oratore* – language (*latinitas*), clarity (*perspicuitas*), distinction (*ornatus*), and appropriateness (*aptum/decorum*) (also see Table 3.3). As shown, every compositional issue that Tinctoris explores in Book III can be linked to Cicero's *De oratore*. To summarize, the "virtues of style" in *De oratore* can be seen to correspond with Tinctoris's Rules 1-2 (language and clarity), Rule 3 (word choice), Rule 4 (smooth word connection), Rules 5 and 7 (cadence and form), Rule 6 (figures) and Rule 8 (appropriateness).

Table 3.9 Rules of Counterpoint (musical style) and correspondences with *Elocutio* (rhetorical style)⁷¹

<u>Tinctoris's Eight Rules of Counterpoint</u> <i>(Liber de arte contrapuncti: Book III)</i>	<u>Cicero's Four Virtues of Style</u> <i>(De Oratore: Book III)</i>	GRAMMAR
Rule 1. All counterpoint must begin and end with a perfect concord. Rule 2. Parallel imperfect concords are permitted. Parallel perfect concords are not.	<u>LANGUAGE and CLARITY</u> Correct Latin (III:X, 37-40) Purity of Language; Avoid barbarisms Clarity of Language; Avoid solecisms	
Rule 3. When the tenor remains on the same pitch, it is possible to repeat the same interval, but changes of interval are more desirable. Rule 4. Stepwise motion of the counterpoint is preferable, but in order to vary counterpoint some voices can employ “great leaps” (with moderation). Rule 5. Cadences should not be made on notes that deny the mode. For the medium and final cadences, perfect concords should always be used. But, imperfect concords can be inserted sometimes too. Rule 7. Consecutive cadences (conclusions to phrases or sections) should not be made in the same place, for this brings monotony. Rule 6. When singing above repetitive plainchant passages, contrapuntal repetition is to be avoided. Sometimes, however, repetition is acceptable. (Especially when imitating the sound of bells and trumpets). Rule 8. Variety must be most accurately sought in all counterpoint. The highest reason must be adhered to. Certain levels of <i>varietas</i> are acceptable and “appropriate” to each of the different genres – Mass, motet, and chanson. More <i>varietas</i> is found in a Mass compared to a motet. More <i>varietas</i> is found in a motet compared to a chanson.	<u>DISTINCTION</u> i) Word Choice (III:XXXVIII-XLIII,149-170) Embellish style with rare words, new coinages, and metaphors. ii) Smooth Word Connection (III:XLIII,171) Words should be well joined and connections should be smooth. iii) Cadence and Form (III: L, 192-194) Phrase and sectional endings should be varied iv) Figures of Speech (III: LIV, 206-207) APPROPRIATENESS (III: LV, 210-212) Style must suit the speech and audience. Ornaments and figures must suit speech.	RHETORIC

Rules 1 and 2 of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* can be understood as musical translations of what is described in *De oratore* as “language” (*latinitas*) and “clarity” (*perspicuitas*). “Language” and “clarity” have to do with adherence to the principles of

⁷¹ This summary of the eight rules of counterpoint is loosely based on that found in the “introduction” by Seay in *The Art of Counterpoint*, pp. 9-10. “Virtues of style” shown in the right column are displayed in the same order (from top to bottom) as they are addressed in Cicero’s *De oratore* (references are provided in parentheses).

the Latin language. Cicero explains in *De oratore* that barbarisms (morphological errors having to do with incorrect word choices or verbal expressions) and solecisms (syntactical errors having to do with grammatical errors) are to be avoided.⁷² These conventions governing “language” and “clarity” are located within the field of grammar and therefore, are essentially immutable. It is no wonder then that Tinctoris couches these rules in a language of obligation: “All counterpoint *must* begin and end with a perfect concord;” “parallel imperfect concords *are permitted*. Parallel perfect concords *are not*.” Here, Tinctoris implies that a composer who fails to follow these rules will be guilty of writing morphologically and syntactically defective counterpoint.

After Rule 2, however, Tinctoris shifts focus from the nuts and bolts of correct musical “grammar,” and dedicates the remainder of Book III to the topic of musical “rhetoric.” Here, in a manner that echoes *De oratore*, notions of “right” and “wrong” are abandoned, and the rules of counterpoint concentrate increasingly on more subjective issues of musical style and compositional refinement. Rules 3 through 8 offer an entire series of compositional *choices* all of which are meant to aid the student of counterpoint in attaining stylistic perfection. For example, Tinctoris illustrates how a composer has the opportunity to either repeat the same successive intervals *or* to vary them, to compose with stepwise motion *or* with skips, to repeat cadences *or* to vary them, to avoid contrapuntal repetition *or* to embrace it, to compose with a high *or* a low degree of *varietas*. Though all of the options that Tinctoris presents are grammatically correct, he *does* state that in particular compositional scenarios, some choices are stylistically better than others.

⁷² The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* also refers to barbarisms and solecisms of speech in Book IV.XII, 17, 269.

On the “virtue of style” known as “word choice” (the first subcategory of stylistic “distinction”) Cicero advises that when given the choice between dull and monotonous words or fine and sophisticated words, to opt for the latter. He states: “the mark of an excellent orator is to avoid the common place and dull, and to employ fine and brilliant words.”⁷³ Similarly, in Rule 3 of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris suggests that when two intervals are successively placed over the same tenor pitch, to choose the less monotonous of the two contrapuntal options: “when the tenor remains on the same pitch, it is possible to repeat the same interval, but *changes* of interval are more desirable.”⁷⁴

Cicero’s advice to the orator regarding ‘smooth word connection’ (the second subcategory of stylistic ‘distinction’) is as follows:

Their arrangement includes putting together and positioning the words in such a way that their juxtaposition is neither harsh nor gaping, but *well joined and smooth*. . . You will achieve this by joining the words in such a way that there is no harsh clash between the end of one and the beginning of the next, nor too wide a separation.⁷⁵

Tinctoris echoes Cicero’s advice in Rule 4, where he discusses the merits of smooth, stepwise contrapuntal motion between intervals. He states: “counterpoint ought to be

⁷³ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, III:150, 268.

⁷⁴ *Tertia regula est quod tenore in eodem loco permanente licet plures concordantias non solum imperfectas verum etiam perfectas eiusdem speciei unam post aliam continuo assumere. Attamen ubi aliae concordantiae possunt intermitteri, huiusmodi contrapunctus super cantum planum canendo diligenter est evitandus.* Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 148. Paraphrased and translated in Seay, *The Art of Counterpoint*, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁵ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, III:171-172, 276-7. For example: *pulchra oratione acta iacta te*. Here, the first word ends with a vowel, and the second begins with one, thereby causing a gap (hiatus) between words. This famous example is given in Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*, IX.4.36, 35-6.

made *as near and as orderly as possible*, particularly if the tenor has been conversely formed by the conjunction of distant intervals.”⁷⁶

In Book III of *De oratore*, Cicero describes how to vary repetition upon arrival at the conclusions of clauses or periods (the third subcategory of stylistic “distinction”):

because . . . endings are evident and easily recognized, we must vary them so that our audience does not condemn them, either on the basis of a conscious judgment or because their ear become satiated. In fact, we should carefully pay attention to, say, the last two or three feet, and clearly mark them off . . . Thanks to variations among these feet, our audience will not be sated by a steady diet of the same thing, and we will avoid giving the impression that what we are doing is intentional.⁷⁷

In Rules 5 and 7, Tinctoris also discusses “endings.” In Rule 5 he explains that cadences should always agree with the mode of the piece, but should feature a variety of perfect and imperfect concords, while in Rule 7 (discussed at length below) the theorist cautions the composer to vary consecutive cadential passages.

In *De oratore*, Cicero emphasizes the elegance of repetition and varied repetition in speech writing (the fourth subcategory of stylistic “distinction”):

For instance, the doubling of a word is at one time forceful, at another time charming; the same can be said for repeating a word in a slightly altered, modified form; frequent repetition of the same word at the beginning of clauses, and return to the same word at the end of successive clauses, and also when one word

⁷⁶ Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 134. *Quarta regula est quod quam proximus et quam ordinatissimus poterit contrapunctus fieri debeat, etiam licet coniunctionibus longorum intervallorum tenor sic e converso formatus.* Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 149.

⁷⁷ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, III.192-4, 284. See page 108 and note 123 for connection to the *Liber*.

repeatedly clashes with a certain other; adjunction; use of progressively stronger expressions; use of the same word several times in different meanings; repetition of a word that was used earlier; and words that end in the same way or have the same case endings, or phrases that have the same length or resemble each other. There are also the figures of gradual development; inversion; elegant transposition of words; antithesis; asyndeton . . .⁷⁸

Similarly, in Rule 6 (discussed at length below), though Tinctoris states that it is important to avoid contrapuntal repetition as much as possible, he admits that motivic reiteration, imitation, and the sparing use of contrapuntal repetition are indeed acceptable in a musical composition, especially when executed for rhetorical effect – like when imitating the sound of bells and trumpets.⁷⁹

In contrapuntal Rule 8, Tinctoris makes explicit connections to Cicero’s fourth “virtue of style” – “appropriateness.” Known alternatively by the Latin term *decorum*, “appropriateness” ensures that the orator makes apt stylistic choices that fit with the specific subject matter, the audience, and the genre of speech. According to Cicero:

. . . no single style is fitting for every case or every audience or every person involved or every occasion. . . when choosing a type of speech – a fuller or a more slender one, or indeed the middle type – we should see to it that it is adapted to the problem at hand . . . the capacity to do what is appropriate is a matter of art and natural ability, but to know what is appropriate at each time is a matter of intelligence.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, III.206-207, 288-289.

⁷⁹ See the text of Tinctoris’s Rule 6 below: “in imitating the sound of bells and trumpets, they [repetitions] are tolerated everywhere.”

⁸⁰ Ibid., III:210-212, 290.

Tinctoris alludes to the rhetorical quality of appropriateness in Rule 8 where he warns that “the highest reason must be adhered to” (*verumtamen in his omnibus summa est adhibenda ratio*) when a composer is making compositional choices pertaining to *varietas*.⁸¹ It is also here that he refers to certain levels of *varietas* that are acceptable and “appropriate” to each of the different genres of music. Here, he models his discussion of the three predominant fifteenth-century musical genres (the Mass, motet, and chanson) on the three levels of *elocutio* – the grand (*supra/magniloquens*), the middle (*aequabile/mediocre*), and the low (*infinum/humile*). Clearly building upon previous definitions (*cantus magnus*, *cantus mediocris*, and *cantus parvus*) put forward in his pioneering *Terminorum diffinitorum* of 1474,⁸² Tinctoris argues that the Mass manifests its stylistic importance by striving for the greatest degree of *varietas*, followed by the motet, then the chanson: “nor do so many and such varieties (*varietates*) enter into one

⁸¹ Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 139. Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 155.

⁸² Johannes Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms: An English Translation of ‘Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium’ Together with the Latin Text*, trans. by Carl Parrish (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963), 12-13; 42-43; 40-1. Sean Gallagher has discussed how Tinctoris creatively superimposes the classical terminology governing the three levels of style onto fifteenth-century musical genres. Gallagher, “Models of *Varietas*,” 64. This transference is imperfect because in rhetoric, the three styles are not necessarily genre-specific. It is regardless of genre (whether judicial, deliberative or laudatory), and more dependent upon the moment-to-moment context of a speech, that orators are encouraged to fluidly move between the styles. According to Julie Cumming, Tinctoris’s appropriation of this terminology reflects a tradition that can be traced back to medieval genre/style specific categories such as those discussed in John of Garland’s *Rota virgiliana* (Virgil’s wheel), which divides literary works into three stylistic types: *gravis stilus* (epic: the *Aeneid*), *mediocris stilus* (didactic: the *Georgics*), and *humilis stilus* (pastoral: the *Eclogues*). See discussion in Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 42-3. Also see Traugott Lawler, ed. and trans., *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 40-1 and 86-9. It is probable, however, that these stylistic levels actually grew out of a different classical idea that was grounded in narrative style. For example, in addition to the three genres of oratory, and the three levels of style, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* distinguishes between three narrative forms: the legendary (*fabulam*), which “comprises events neither true nor probable, like those transmitted by tragedies,” the historical (*historiam*), which “is an account of exploits actually performed, but removed in time from the recollection of our age,” and the realistic (*argumentum*), which “recounts imaginary events, which yet could have occurred, like the plots of comedies.” See Book I.VII.13, 23-5. These are reiterated in Cicero’s *De inventione*. See Cicero, *De inventione*, trans. H.M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), Book I, xix.27, 55.

chanson as so many and such in a motet, nor so many and such in one motet as so many and such in one mass.”⁸³

As we shall see below, Tinctoris emulates Cicero in another important way – much of what the theorist says about style in his rules of counterpoint emphasizes the topic of repetition (*redictae*).⁸⁴ In fact, one could say that in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, *De oratore* (and other rhetorical treatises such as the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) a type of compositional paradox is presented – how to unify a composition by endowing it with a “uniform finish” (*aequaliter perpolit*) without resorting to excessive repetition.⁸⁵ Through a closer study of Rule 6 and 7 and their accompanying musical examples, we will discover how the two contradictory concepts of *redictae* (repetition) and *varietas* intersect in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, and how Tinctoris translates these notions into a guide to contrapuntal mastery.

Tinctoris on *redictae* and *varietas*: Rules 6 and 7

In Rules 6 and 7, Tinctoris transforms ancient rhetorical concepts pertaining to the vices of superfluous repetition and the virtues of figured language into contrapuntal conventions. Like the ancient rhetorical rules they are modelled upon, Rules 6 and 7 negotiate a balance between two opposing aesthetic concepts – *redictae* (repetition) and *varietas*. The accompanying musical examples, composed by Tinctoris himself, help to

⁸³ Johannes Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 139.

⁸⁴ *redictae* literally means “repeated things” but I will translate it henceforth as “repetition.” In “Models of *varietas*,” Gallagher chooses not to pursue these links between *varietas* and repetition, instead highlighting what he refers to as “two primary aspects” that constitute Cicero’s concept of *varietas* – “one affective, the other technical” (p. 62).

⁸⁵ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV.XII, 18, 271.

clarify the rather brief and enigmatic textual explanations that comprise these rules of counterpoint.⁸⁶ For greater ease in the following discussion, I will begin with Rule 7.

In Rule 7 of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris states:

Septima regula est quod super planum cantum etiam canendo duae aut plures perfectiones in eodem loco continue fieri non debent, licet ad hoc quodammodo cantus ipse planus videatur esse coaptatus, ut hic:

The seventh rule is that, in also singing above plainchant, two or more perfections ought not to be made [successively] in the same place, granted that this plainchant is seen to be appropriate to this procedure.⁸⁷

Example 3.1 Tinctoris's Musical Example for Rule 7

⁸⁶ As noted by Seay, “throughout the treatise there are numerous examples of his own to illustrate more fully the points which he wishes to make; the few which are drawn from the works of others, such as in Book II, Chapter XXXIII, are to point out what he considers as lapses in taste.” This is an important point, as it differs from certain rhetorical and music theory treatises that illustrate errors or vices to be avoided. See Seay’s “Introduction” to Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, I, 21.

⁸⁷ Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 138-139.

Quaequidem regula tam exacte a compositoribus est observanda ut nec etiam huiusmodi tenorem conficere debent, qui bis in eodem loco duarum aut plurium continuarum perfectionum dispositionem habeat.

*Talis enim compositio cum reductis evidentissimam contrahit affinitatem, unde tamquam varietati contraria omnino est evitanda.*⁸⁸

This particular rule must be so exactly observed by composers that they should not make a tenor of this kind, one which has the placing of two or more [successive] perfections twice in the same place.⁸⁹

Since such composition shows a most obvious affinity with repetitions (*cum reductis*), and therefore it must be completely avoided as the opposite of variety (*varietati contraria*).⁹⁰

In the first part of this rule, Tinctoris explains that, when adding counterpoint above a line of plainchant, as long as the structure of the chant line permits it, successive cadences (perfections) should not be made in the same “place.”⁹¹

⁸⁸ Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, 154.

⁸⁹ Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 138-9.

⁹⁰ Gallagher, “Models of *Varietas*,” 61. For the continuation of Rule 7, I choose Gallagher’s translation as it incorporates an important reference to *varietas*. Seay’s translation is: “Since such composition shows a most obvious affinity with repetitions, hence it must be completely avoided as an opposite category.”

⁹¹ It is necessary to read the rule in conjunction with the accompanying musical example in order to understand “perfectio” as cadence. Here, “perfectio” cannot have rhythmic connotation as the musical example is not in triple meter. The musical example features three cadences, meaning that Tinctoris probably relates “perfectio” to the completion or end of a musical phrase. In his *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, Tinctoris himself defines “perfectio” as follows: “*Perfectio equivocum est ad duo. Nam notae in sua perfectione permanentiam, et totius cantus aut particularum ipsius conclusionem designat. Unde pro primo significato sic diffinitur. Perfectio est qualiter nota maneat perfecta ostensio. Et pro secundo sic. Perfectio est totius cantus aut particularum ipsius perfectionis cognitio*” / “Perfection is a word with two meanings, for it designates the duration of a single note in its own perfection, and the conclusion of a whole piece or of any of its sections. Hence for the first, the meaning is defined thus: Perfection is a manifestation that a note should remain perfect. For the second meaning, thus: Perfection is the recognition of the completion of a whole piece, or of any of its sections.” Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 48-9. On “perfection” in Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti* see Bonnie J. Blackburn, “On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 243-6.

The idea of “place” or *loco* has been interpreted by Claude Palisca and Albert Seay.⁹² Palisca states: “The musical example that follows clarifies the meaning of “place,” for it shows a counterpoint that makes a cadence three times in succession over the tenor’s d. Place – *locus or loco* – therefore, refers to the pitch of the tenor in a cadence.”⁹³ In his introduction to the translation of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Seay reads Rule 7 in the same way, paraphrasing it as follows: “consecutive cadences should not be made on the same pitch, for this brings monotony.”⁹⁴

If these interpretations of the text of Rule 7 are correct, then the accompanying musical example (shown in Example 3.1) proves to be somewhat confusing. Does this musical example illustrate an accurate or a flawed way of interpreting Rule 7? With three successive tenor cadences moving from *e'* to *d'* (indicated with boxes in Example 3.1), one might suspect the latter. This musical example, however, has been carefully constructed by Tinctoris himself. Until now, Tinctoris has only used the music of other composers to exemplify “lapses in taste” and has consistently relied on his own musical examples to depict compositional correctness.

The second part of Rule 7 clarifies matters. Here, Tinctoris seems to be saying that a line of plainchant that successively cadences on the same notes (such as the one in the musical example) is naturally predisposed to blatant repetition (*cum redictis*). Plainchant lines that are constructed in such a way should, therefore, be avoided whenever possible. It follows then, that the chant realization that Tinctoris supplies in the accompanying musical example to Rule 7, must actually illustrate the best way to deal with cadential

⁹² Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 341. Seay, “Introduction” to Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 10.

⁹³ Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, 341.

⁹⁴ Seay, “Introduction,” 10.

plainchant repetition when it simply cannot be avoided. In this particular case, he reveals how to successfully write a varied contrapuntal line above three cadences with *e'*-*d'* tenor motion. Here, Tinctoris evades the tedium of contrapuntal repetition by realizing each cadence differently – through varied intervals and different suspension procedures.⁹⁵ The first is a cadence (bars 8-9) with a 7-6 suspension that resolves on the octave. The second cadence (bars 12-13) closes on the fifth, while the final cadence (bars 18-19) resolves to the octave again, but with different figuration in the upper voice. Remarkably, neither of these final two cadences have suspensions – a feature that will play an important role in the interpretation of Rule 8 below. Furthermore, in accordance with the text of Rule 7, the greatest contrapuntal differences occur between successive cadences – (*duae aut plures perfectiones in eodem loco continue fieri non debent*).

Most significantly, Rule 7 concludes with the phrase “since such composition shows a most obvious affinity with repetitions . . . it must be completely avoided as the opposite of variety” (*Talis enim compositio cum redictis evidentissimam contrahit affinitatem, unde tamquam varietati contraria omnino est evitanda*). It is at this point that we encounter Book III’s first explicit reference to *varietas*. Here, Tinctoris emphasizes how contrapuntal repetition (*redictae*) at cadences directly opposes *varietas* (as *varietati contraria*). He establishes that *varietas*, understood in this context as “contrapuntal variety” at cadences, is a desirable aesthetic that counteracts the monotony of simple repetition.

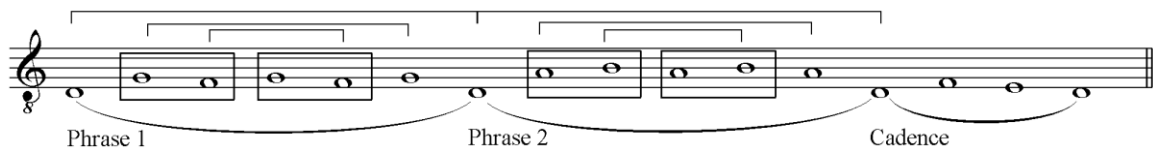
Rhetorical advice that can be compared to Tinctoris’s Rule 7 is found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* where the orator is urged to use prudence when reiterating case

⁹⁵ According to Lausberg, *varietas* is specifically meant to “counteract the audience’s *taedium*” through variations in thoughts or linguistic expressions. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 116.

repetition, and/or structural repetition? In his conception of “repetition,” does Tinctoris also include syntactical units such as reiterated intervals – both consecutive and inconsecutive? Is it clear from the musical example whether there are exceptions to this rule? Careful inspection of the chant (transcribed in whole notes) reveals a highly repetitive line. In fact, as illustrated below in Example 3.3, tenor repetition is found at three separate levels.

Example 3.3 Tinctoris’s Musical Example for Rule 6 (Plainchant Repetition)

Analogous formal construction of phrase 1 and 2 (phrase markings), symmetrical design scheme (square brackets), and successive note repetition (boxes).



First, Example 3.3 reveals a line of chant with a balanced, formal design scheme, consisting of three distinct parts labelled “phrase 1,” “phrase 2,” and “cadence.”⁹⁸ The phrases overlap, with the end (the tenor note d’) of phrase 1 functioning as the beginning of phrase 2. The phrases are analogously constructed – each is comprised of seven notes, beginning and ending on the note d’. Second (as indicated with square brackets in Example 3.3), each phrase is positioned around a pivot note – g’ in phrase 1 and a’ in phrase 2 – with concentric tenor-note repetition occurring on either side of these mid-points (phrase 1: d’ g’ f’ g’ f’ g’ d’; phrase 2: d’ a’ b’ a’ b’ a’ d’). Third, besides structural and concentric repetition, there is also a more local type of repetition in each phrase

⁹⁸ Here, I am using the term “phrase” very loosely. Rather than referring to actual musical phrases, this terminology refers to segments of melody. These “phrase” markings will be useful in the discussion that follows.

whereby internal pairs of tenor notes are duplicated – g'f'/g'f' in phrase 1 and a'b'/a'b' in phrase 2 – (indicated with boxes).

The fact that Tinctoris employs a chant line that is inundated with so much repetition to illustrate a rule that is specifically about avoiding repetitions (*redictas evitare*) may seem paradoxical. Rule 6 however, does not pertain to chant repetition at all. Like Rule 7 on cadences, this rule is about avoiding contrapuntal repetition. What is interesting once again, therefore, is how the theorist copes with tenor repetition in his contrapuntal realization (shown in Example 3.4).

Example 3.4 Tinctoris's First Musical Example for Rule 6 (Repetition of Vertical Intervals)

The image shows a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The staff is divided into three sections: 'Phrase 1', 'Phrase 2', and 'Cadence'. Above the staff, Arabic numerals indicate intervals: 5, 3, 3, 1, -3, 5, 10, 5, 3, 3, 3, 5, 10. Square brackets are placed under the first six notes of Phrase 1 and the first four notes of Phrase 2. A double-headed arrow is positioned above the notes of Phrase 2, spanning from the first note to the last note of the phrase.

In Example 3.4, we see that Tinctoris establishes contrast between phrases 1 and 2 in the contrapunctus part. In phrase 1, intervals are varied above all repeated plainchant groupings – those of the concentric configurations (marked with square brackets), and those involved in the repeated tenor-note pairs (previously marked with boxes in Example 3.3). For example, in the concentric configurations of phrase 1, d' is sounded with a', and later f''; g' is sounded with b' and then d''; and f' is sounded with a', and later d'. In phrase 2, however, Tinctoris actually mimics the symmetry of the chant line with a symmetrically conceived melodic gesture (f'' e'' d'' c'' d'' e'' f'') in the superius. This results in the repetition of the three intervals (indicated by the Arabic numerals 10-5-3 and 3-5-10) situated concentrically around the central pivot note a'. In the first phrase, he

counteracts plainchant repetition by varying intervals as much as possible, while in the second phrase, he accentuates repetitive chant patterns with concentric contrapuntal repetition.

Tinctoris approaches this contrapuntal realization in a balanced way, by emphasizing repetition in some cases, and favouring variety in others. This sense of balance is what makes his contrapuntal realization rhetorically elegant. It is, therefore, only by “reading between the lines” of Rule 6, and by considering the accompanying musical example, that we find that there may not actually be a definitive “right” or “wrong” way to approach repetition and variation. Though Tinctoris fails to provide clear-cut guidelines for varying counterpoint, one could interpret the ambiguities in this rule as Tinctoris’s way of demonstrating how procedures of *redictae* and *varietas* are not associated with grammatical rules, but rather with rhetorical and, therefore, stylistic choices. These choices, Tinctoris implies, should favour an aesthetic balance between the values of *redictae* and *varietas*.

The second part of Rule 6 states the following:

Et quamvis ex omni parte in re facta regulariter etiam prohibeantur, aliquando tamen sonum campanarum aut tubarum imitando, ubique tollerantur . . . Utque patet in his exemplis, redicta nihil aliud est quam unius aut plurium coniunctionum continua repetitio.

And, although these [repetitions] are also prohibited by rule from every part in composed music, sometimes, however, in imitating the sound of bells and trumpets, they are tolerated everywhere . . . As is seen in these examples,

repetition (*redicta*) is nothing other than the continuous reiteration (*repetitio*) of one or many melodic intervals (*coniunctiones*).⁹⁹

Though Tinctoris states at the beginning of Rule 6 that repetition is to be avoided (*redictas evitare*) as much as possible, in his accompanying musical example he provides many specific situations where repetition is in fact permitted. As shown in my analysis below (see Example 3.5), Tinctoris inundates his musical example with a large quantity of repeated musical motives.¹⁰⁰ In some cases, repeated melodic material is strictly reiterated, while in others it is subjected to rhythmic or melodic variation. In Example 3.5, imitation between different voices is indicated with square brackets, while the dotted diagonal lines identify intervals of imitation (+/-). Boxes show all occurrences of motivic repetition in a single voice, many of which are found in the extremely repetitive tenor line (reminiscent of the tenor in Example 3.4 above). The structure of the tenor is interesting in this respect, as it is made up entirely of brief two, three and four-note “ostinato” motives which change every two bars. Modular repetition is indicated with bold outlines in bars 14-15 (at *perfrui nostras*), where the entire three-voice contrapuntal complex (or “module”) of bar 14 is reiterated in bar 15.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, 152-4. Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 137-8.

¹⁰⁰ The analytical markings in the accompanying musical example are my own. The analytical technique is borrowed from Peter N. Schubert, “A Lesson From Lassus: Form in the Duos of 1577,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 17 (1995): 1-26.

¹⁰¹ Jessie Ann Owens defines a “module” as “a contrapuntal relationship that can be repeated.” See Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 251. Jessie Ann Owens, “The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore’s Compositional Process,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 270-98. On “contrapuntal blocks” in Renaissance music see Schubert, “A Lesson From Lassus,” 1-26. On the “module” as a two-voice combination see: Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 216-17, and “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s First Book of Motets,” forthcoming article in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60, no. 3 (2007).

Example 3.5 Tintoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6

The musical score is written for three voices: Superius (Soprano), Contratenor (Alto), and Tenor (Bass). The time signature is 6/8. The lyrics are in Latin. The score is divided into four systems, with measures 5, 9, and 14 marked at the beginning of their respective systems. Annotations include 'Ostinato Motives' (boxed patterns in the Tenor part) and 'Melodic Motives' (boxed patterns in the Superius and Contratenor parts). Dashed lines connect corresponding notes across the staves, indicating harmonic or melodic relationships. The lyrics are: 'Qui re - gnas in cae - le - sti - bus se - des con - te - rens in fi - mas da gau - di is fe - li - ci - bus per - fru - i no - stras a - ni - mas.'

Text: Qui regnas in caelestibus sedes conterens infimas da gaudiis felicibus perfrui nostras animas
 You who reigns in the heavens, destroying the lowest regions, permit our souls to thoroughly rejoice in
 happy joys.¹⁰²

¹⁰² I am thankful to Lars T. Lih for kindly providing this translation.

Amidst all of this repetition, there is one motive that unifies the entire example. It is short and rhythmically distinctive and is introduced in the first bar of the superius and reiterated several times thereafter (see Example 3.6 a, b, and c).

Example 3.6a Tintoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6, superius, mm. 1-4.

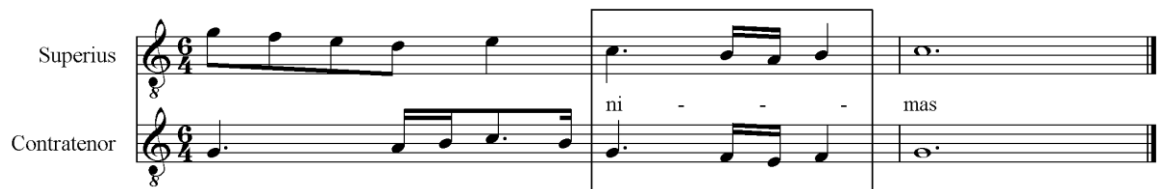


Example 3.6b Tintoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6, superius, mm. 5-6.



This motive is also incorporated into the final gesture of the musical example. As shown in Example 3.7, of all statements involving this particular motive, that found in bar 16 – with its homorhythmic superius/contratenor texture – is articulated the most forcefully.

Example 3.6c Tintoris's Second Musical Example for Rule 6, superius/contratenor, mm. 16-17.



All occurrences of musical repetition found in Example 3.5 are listed in Table 3.5 and categorized according to the following subheadings: “Imitation,” “Single-Voice Repetition” and “Multi-Voice Repetition.” Here, musical “figures” involving imitation,

voice exchange, single-voice ostinatos, multi-voice repetition, rhythmic and melodic variation, unifying motivic devices, and three-voice contrapuntal modules may be seen as loosely analogous to figures of repetition described in rhetorical treatises such as *repetitio*, *traductio*, *gradatio*, *similiter desinens*, *adnominatio*, *expolitio* and *conduplicatio*.¹⁰³ In this way, Example 3.5 depicts musical “flowers of repetition,” corresponding with those “figures of varied repetition” listed in Book III of Cicero’s *De oratore*.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ For a study of musico-rhetorical figures in the music of Josquin see Patrick Macey, “Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: ‘Miserere mei, Deus’ and Other Motets,” in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr, 485-530 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁴ *Ornatus*, which accentuates *varietas*, is sometimes referred to in rhetorical treatises as *flos* (flowers). In 3.96 of Cicero’s *De oratore* he mentions “*verborum sententiarumque floribus*.” In Book 2 of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* Tinctoris refers to the varieties of flowers in the field as an analogy for the use of florid counterpoint (i.e. counterpoint with dissonances and consonances). Here, dissonance (i.e. straying from the “rules” of harmony), is interpreted as a function of *varietas*: “And counterpoint of this kind is called diminished (*diminutus*), since, in it, a certain division of the basic notes into different minute parts is made; hence, it is also called “florid” by many, through metaphor, for, just as a diversity of flowers (*diversitas florum*) makes the fields most pleasing, so the variety (*varietas*) of proportions (*proportionum*) produces a most agreeable counterpoint.” See Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 102. Also see n. 65 and n. 121.

Table 3.10 Varieties of Repetition in Tinctoris’s Musical Example Accompanying Rule 6

<u>IMITATION</u> Superius/Contratenor Imitation at the Unison, Octave and Fourth ▪ indicated with square brackets: bars 2-3; 3 (articulated with rest in superius); 7 (rest in s/ct) Contratenor/Tenor Imitation at the Fifth and Unison ▪ indicated with square brackets: bars 7-9 (no rests). Hocket-like Imitation with Alternating Rests ▪ indicated with square brackets: bars 12-13. Superius/Tenor/Contratenor Imitation at the Unison and Octave ▪ indicated with square brackets: bars 9-12 (articulated with rests in ct/t). Voice Exchange at the Unison ▪ indicated with crossed dotted lines: bars 2-3.
<u>SINGLE-VOICE REPETITION</u> Tenor two, three and four-note “Ostinato” Motives ▪ indicated with boxes in the tenor: bars 2-3 and 4-5; bars 7-9, 10-11 and 12-13 (articulated with rests). Rhythmically or Melodically Varied Repetition ▪ indicated with boxes in the superius: bars 5-6; 12-13. Melodic Mirror/Symmetrical Repetition ▪ square brackets in musical example with arrow: bars 8-10. ▪ exactly the mid-point of the musical example Repetition of Main Motive ▪ not marked in Example 3.5; shown in Examples 3.6 and 3.7: bars 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 16.
<u>MULTI-VOICE REPETITION</u> Three-voice repetition/imitative “modules” ▪ indicated by large bold outlines: bars 14-16 (articulated with rests).

Although the first part of Rule 6 states that repetition is to be avoided as much as possible, Tinctoris suggests that at times, music, like oratory, needs to stray from the rules. An orator achieves eloquence by deviating from the normal meaning of words and by bending grammatical rules with figures of speech and with figures of varied repetition. According to Tinctoris, a composer too, from time to time, can artfully deviate from the plain rules of counterpoint (i.e. Rule 6’s indication to avoid repetition). In these cases, repetition is not only tolerable, but is actually highly encouraged. In Rule 6, Tinctoris clarifies that permissible forms of *redictae* involve “nothing other than the continuous

reiteration of one or many melodic intervals” (*redicta nihil aliud est quam unius aut plurium coniunctionum continua repetitio*).¹⁰⁵ What is particular to this definition is that it explicitly permits melodic repetition. Though there is no mention of contrapuntal repetition in the text of Rule 6, it is possible to make certain assumptions based on the accompanying musical example, which, with the exception of bars 14-15, tempers the occurrence of all reiterated melodic motives with varied contrapuntal repetition.

In the description that accompanies the musical example of Rule 6, Tinctoris makes reference to the very first figure of speech mentioned in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* – *repetitio*. This is noteworthy, as until now, Tinctoris has only employed the term *redictae* to connote musical repetition. It is significant that he reserves specific rhetorical terminology, which is explicitly linked to figures of speech, for a discussion pertaining to musical “figures” of repetition. Here, the rhetorical figure *repetitio* – which occurs “when one and the same word forms successive beginnings for phrases expressing like and different ideas” – can be translated into imitative musical language involving the continuous reiteration of multiple melodic intervals (*pluriam coniunctionum continua repetitio*).¹⁰⁶

What Tinctoris’s theoretical explanation lacks in terms of a developed vocabulary (he fails, for example, to mention other rhetorical figures of repetition such as those listed in Tables 3.5 to 3.8), he more than makes up for with detail in his accompanying musical example. In Example 3.5, repetition – an element that might usually be considered a vice – is interpreted as a virtue, as it is deemed advisable and appropriate to the aesthetic goals

¹⁰⁵ Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 138. Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, 154.

¹⁰⁶ For the definition of *repetitio* see the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV.XIII.19 (reproduced in Table 5 above); Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 137-8. Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, 152-4.

of this piece of music.¹⁰⁷ The imitative and repetitive motives are mimetic in effect, and conjure up images of a celebratory scene. The “bells and trumpets” of Rule 6, however, are strangely absent from the text of the musical example (*You who reigns in the heavens, destroying the lowest regions, permit our souls to thoroughly rejoice in happy joys*), and therefore, probably serve merely as metaphors for joyful musical *topoi*. Here, musical repetition is permissible because, as Tinctoris claims, it serves a purpose – it is meant to emulate sounds of joy. As Quintilian argued in Book IX in the defence of repetitive figures of speech: “[they make] our words more vigorous, more insistent, and able to display a force that seems to come from repeated outbursts of emotion.”¹⁰⁸

Alberti’s *Copia/varietas* vs. Tinctoris’s Quantity/Quality

Like Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Leon Battista Alberti’s pioneering treatise on painting of 1435-6, entitled *De pictura*, frequently cites Greek and Roman authors by couching descriptions of painting technique in the rhetorical language of Quintilian, Pliny and Cicero.¹⁰⁹ Robert Zwijnenberg has argued that Alberti invented a theoretical foundation and a specific technical vocabulary for painting that borrowed from principles of the *trivium* (namely rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (mathematics and geometry), in an attempt to “elevate painting from its lowly position as a craft, which it still had in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and endow it with the status of a

¹⁰⁷ Lausberg discusses this phenomenon in rhetoric in the *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*: “repetition, be it in content . . . or in the words used . . . can become a *virtus* (virtue) if the repetition seems advisable on other grounds” (p. 145).

¹⁰⁸ Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*, IX.III.54, 131.

¹⁰⁹ Alberti probably studied at Padua under the humanist Gasparino Barzizza. In 1421 he was enrolled in canon and civil law at the University of Bologna. See John Spenser, introduction to Alberti, *On Painting*, 13.

liberal art.”¹¹⁰ Alberti’s sophisticated rhetorical language and the classical concepts that he appropriates – especially those pertaining to *varietas* – are echoed forty years later in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Unlike Tinctoris’s counterpoint treatise however, Alberti’s *De pictura* supplies extremely thorough written explanations on the practical applications of *varietas* in art – details that can help to fill certain lacunae in Tinctoris’s text.¹¹¹

Central to his notion of refined painting technique, Alberti expresses the theoretical dialectic of “quantity” versus “quality” through a discussion of the pleasures of the “copiousness of things” and the “variety of things” portrayed in the highest genre of painting known as the *istoria*.¹¹²

That which first gives pleasure in the *istoria* comes from copiousness and variety of things (*copia et varietas rerum*). In food and in music novelty and abundance please, as they are different from the old and usual. So the soul is delighted by all copiousness and variety (*varietate et copia*). For this reason copiousness and variety (*varietas et copia*) please in painting.¹¹³

According to Alberti, *copia rerum* and *varietas rerum* are two distinct concepts. He defines the “copiousness of things” in painting as follows:

I say that *istoria* is most copious (*copiosissimam*) in which in their places are mixed old, young, maidens, women, youths, young boys, fowls, small dogs, birds,

¹¹⁰ Robert Zwijnenberg, “Why did Alberti not Illustrate his *De Pictura*?” in *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 167.

¹¹¹ In “Models of *Varietas*,” Gallagher also discusses Alberti’s *De pictura* but arrives at different conclusions. Gallagher sees Alberti’s definition of *varietas* as “very much tied up with the composition and overall effect of the picture.” Aspects of *varietas* that Gallagher detects in *De pictura* include: “abundance of figures” and “visual harmony and symmetry. . . enriched . . . with a certain variety.” Gallagher concludes that, for Alberti, *varietas* is “an absolute value while copiousness is not” (pp. 54-8).

¹¹² The *istoria* is a genre of painting that depicts a literary, historical or biblical scene. Alberti positions it at the highest level of achievement for a painter.

¹¹³ Alberti, *On Painting*, 75.

horses, sheep, buildings, provinces and all similar things. I will praise any copiousness (*copiam*) which belongs in that *istoria*. Frequently the copiousness (*copia*) of the painter begets much pleasure when the beholder stands staring at all the things there.¹¹⁴

And later:

. . .since the *istoria* is the greatest work of the painter, in which there ought to be copiousness and elegance in all things, we should take care to know how to paint not only a man but also horses, dogs and all other animals and things worthy of being seen. This is necessary for making our *istoria* very copious, a thing which I have confessed to you is most important.¹¹⁵

Alberti then contrasts the “copiousness of things” of the *istoria* with the “variety of things:”

However, I prefer this copiousness (*copia*) to be embellished (*esse ornatum*) with a certain variety (*varietas*), yet moderate and grave with dignity and truth. I blame those painters, who, where they wish to appear copious (*copiosi*), leave nothing vacant. . . In every *istoria* variety (*varietas*) is always pleasant. A painting in which there are bodies in many dissimilar poses is always especially pleasing. There some stand erect, planted on one foot, and show all the face with the hand high and the fingers joyous. In others the face is turned, the arms folded and the feet joined. And thus to each one is given his own action and flection of members;

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 75.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 95.

some are seated, others on one knee, others lying. If it is allowed here, there ought to be some nude and others part nude and part clothed in the painting.¹¹⁶

In other words, while *copia rerum* describes the *quantity* of different things in a painting, *varietas rerum* describes the specific *qualitative* differences between similar things. Here, Alberti specifically applies the term *varietas* only to those varied elements in paintings that are essentially of the same “genus” or category. Therefore, for Alberti, the term *varietas* describes things (*res*) that are, in essence, the same, but vary in expression (*verba*) (i.e. people in different positions, different shades of the same colour).

Analogous concepts of “quantity” and “quality,” and copiousness and variety, resurface in the eighth and final rule of Book III in Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, thus confirming the existence of a common critical vocabulary shared by humanists of the period. In Rule 8, Tinctoris’s assertion that “variety must be most accurately sought for in all counterpoint,” is reinforced with the following explanation:

Horatius in sua Poetica dicit, “Cytharedus ridetur corda si semper oberrat eadem.” Quemadmodum enim in arte dicendi varietas, secundum Tullii sententiam, auditorem maxime delectate, ita et in musica concentuum diversitas animos auditorum vehementer in oblectamentum provocat, hinc et Philosophus in Ethicis varietatem iocundissimam rem esse naturamque humanam eius indigentem asserere non dubitavit.

Hanc autem diversitatem optimi quisque ingenii compositor aut concentor efficiet, si nunc per unam quantitatem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam perfectionem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam proportionem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 75-6.

coniunctionem, nunc per aliam, nunc cum syncopis, nunc sine syncopis, nunc cum fugis, nunc sine fugis, nunc cum pausis, nunc sine pausis, nunc diminutive, nunc plane, aut componat aut concinnat. . . nec tot nec tales varietates uni cantilenae congruunt quot et quales uni moteti, nec tot et tales uni moteti quot et quales uni missae. Omnis itaque res facta pro **qualitate** et **quantitate** eius diversificanda est prout infinita docent opera, non solum a me, verum etiam ab innumeris compositoribus aevo praesenti florentibus edita.

. . . Horace says in his *Poetics*: “One who sings to the kithara is laughed at if he always wanders over the same string.” Wherefore, according to the opinion of Tullius (Cicero), as a variety in the art of speaking most delights the hearer, so also in music a diversity of harmonies vehemently provokes the souls of listeners into delight; hence the philosopher (Aristotle), in his *Ethics*, does not hesitate to state that variety is a most pleasant thing and human nature in need of it.

Also, any composer or improviser . . . of the greatest genius may achieve this diversity if he either composes or improvises now by one quantity, then by another, now by one perfection, then by another, now by one proportion, then by another, now by one melodic interval, then by another, now with [suspensions], then without [suspensions], now with *fuga*, then without *fuga*, now with pauses, then without pauses, now diminished, now [plain], [either composed, or improvised]. . .

. . . nor do *so many and such varieties* enter into one chanson as *so many and such* in a motet, nor *so many and such* in one motet as *so many and such* in one mass.

Every composed work, therefore, must be diverse in its *quality* and *quantity*, just as an infinite number of works show, works brought out, not only by me, but also by innumerable composers flourishing in the present age.¹¹⁷

Here, Tinctoris deliberately juxtaposes the terms “quantity” and “quality” so as to refer to the rhetorical division between “copiousness of things” and “variety of things” or *copia* and *varietas*. Tinctoris’s *varietas* of “quantity” reflects the logic of the wording “so many varieties” (*tot/quot*) of the previous passage, while *varietas* of “quality” reflects the wording “and such varieties” (*tales/quaes*). As shown in Table 3.11, both of Tinctoris’s categories of *varietas* – *varietas* of “quantity” and *varietas* of “quality” – are analogous to Alberti’s *copia rerum* and *varietas rerum*. Essentially, both of these Renaissance theorists are saying the same thing about the compositional process. Their ideas are informed by ancient rhetoric where (as explored above) a division is made between two basic levels of *varietas* in rhetorical style – *varietas* of ideas (i.e. *what* ideas are expressed) and *varietas* of expression (i.e. *how* ideas are expressed) – otherwise known as *res* and *verba*. How exactly does *varietas* of “quantity” and *varietas* of “quality” translate into fifteenth-century contrapuntal language? For Tinctoris, *varietas* should, on the one hand, be reflected in a piece of music through a great “quantity” or copiousness of different musical (or contrapuntal) “ideas.” On the other hand, *varietas* should be reflected through

¹¹⁷ Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, 155. Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 139-40. Alterations to Seay’s translation are marked with square brackets. Emphasis mine.

qualitative differences between statements of the same musical ideas – through imitation and varied contrapuntal repetition.

Table 3.11 *Qualitate, quantitate, and varietas*

<u>Tinctoris: <i>Varietas</i> in Music</u>	
“Quantity”	“Quality”
“so many”	“and such”
varied musical ideas	varied repetition of musical ideas
<u>Alberti: <i>Varietas</i> in Art</u>	
<i>Copia</i>	<i>Varietas</i>
“Copiousness”	“Variety”
<u><i>Varietas</i> in Rhetoric</u>	
<i>Varietas</i> of thoughts/ideas	<i>Varietas</i> of words/expressions
RES	VERBA

First (as shown in the left column of Table 3.11), a composer can achieve *varietas* of *res* – or a type of quantitative *varietas*, by integrating a large number of different contrapuntal ideas into a piece of music. What exactly constitutes a contrapuntal “idea?” The answer is revealed in Rules 3, 4, 5 and 7, where Tinctoris discusses: varieties of vertical intervals (Rule 3), varieties of melodic intervals (Rule 4), varieties of cadences (Rule 5), and varieties of suspension figures (Rule 7).

Second (as shown in the right column of Table 3.11), Tinctoris reveals how a composer can achieve *varietas* of *verba* – or a type of qualitative *varietas* (comparable to varied body positions in the *istoria*), by taking musical “ideas” – melodic motives – and repeating them in a variety of ways. As illustrated in the musical “figures” of Example 3.5, a composer should vary musical ideas by imitating and repeating motives in varied contrapuntal contexts.

What then, does Tinctoris's list of musical elements from Rule 8 (i.e. *perfectio*, *proportio*, *coniunctio*, *syncopa*, *fuga*, *pausa*, *contrapunctus plane*, *contrapunctus diminutive*) have to do with contrapuntal *varietas* of "quality" and "quantity?"¹¹⁸ After all, words such as *proportio* and *perfectio* are seemingly inappropriate here and one is left pondering the question: why are these musical terms, which are ostensibly more at home in a mensuration treatise, discussed at the close of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* in what is arguably *the* most important rule of counterpoint? Much of the confusion here is brought about by certain ambiguities endemic to the vocabulary itself. For clarification, however, one need look no further than Tinctoris's *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, compiled just shortly before the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* in 1475.

Table 3.12 *Varietas* of Quantity/Varied Thought

<u>Varied Contrapuntal Musical Ideas/Procedures</u>	
Rule 3 Variety of Vertical Intervals <u>Contrapuntal Choice</u> : Use one vertical interval then another Cicero's "Virtue of Style": i - Word Choice	<i>Proportio</i> <i>"nunc per unam proportionem, nunc per aliam"</i>
Rule 4 Variety of Melodic Intervals <u>Contrapuntal Choice</u> : Use one melodic interval, then another Cicero's "Virtue of Style": ii – Word Connection	<i>Coniunctio</i> <i>"nunc per unam coniunctionem, nunc per aliam"</i>
Rule 5 Variety of Cadences <u>Contrapuntal Choice</u> : Use one type of cadence, then another Cicero's "Virtue of Style": iii – Cadence and Form	<i>Perfectio</i> <i>"nunc per unam perfectionem, nunc per aliam"</i>
Rule 7 Variety of Suspensions <u>Contrapuntal Choice</u> : Use one type of suspension, then another Cicero's "Virtue of Style": iii – Cadence and Form	<i>Syncopa</i> <i>"nunc cum syncopis, nunc sine syncopis"</i>

It turns out that the first group of musical elements that Tinctoris mentions in Rule 8 – *perfectio*, *proportio*, *coniunctio* and *syncopa* – can all be situated within the context of strict contrapuntal practice (See Table 3.12). As confirmed in the *Terminorum musicae*

¹¹⁸ On the adaptation of rhetorical terms for music see Don Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, Musicological Studies and Documents 40 (Stuttgart: Hänssler; American Institute of Musicology, 1986) .

diffinitorium, each of these words has multiple meanings. *Perfectio* can refer to the duration of a note in its own perfection *or* to the conclusion of a piece or section.¹¹⁹

While *proportio* is known more commonly as a term describing time duration or mensuration, it is also used (throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods) to refer to the measurement of pitch intervals. According to an explanation supplied by Carl Parrish in Tinctoris's dictionary of musical terms, *proportio* can be used to describe "the relative vibration-ratios of [a] pair of tones."¹²⁰ Earlier in Book II of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris applies exactly this latter definition when he states "for, just as a diversity of flowers (*diversitas florum*) makes the fields most pleasing, so the variety of proportions (*varietas proportionum*) produces a most agreeable counterpoint."¹²¹

In Tinctoris's *Dictionary of Musical Terms* *coniunctio* is defined as "the immediate connection of one solmization syllable after another." The word *coniunctio* therefore refers to melodic intervals or connections between pitches.¹²²

Finally, *syncopa* – most literally translated as "syncopation," suggestive of a rhythmic shift of accent, is better defined in the context of Tinctoris's treatise as a facet of counterpoint. Indeed, it is more practical to conceive of *syncopa* as a suspension dissonance or what Bonnie Blackburn terms a "stressed dissonance."¹²³ For *syncopa*, one need only recall the analysis of Example 3.1 above, where Tinctoris resolves three cadences differently – the first with a suspension dissonance, and the second two without

¹¹⁹ See note 91.

¹²⁰ Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 83 n. 25, and 84 n. 34.

¹²¹ Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint*, 102. Also see n. 65 and n. 104.

¹²² "*Coniunctio est unius vocis post aliam continua iunctio.*" Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 16-17. Similarly, in rhetoric, the connection between groups of words is referred to as *verba coniuncta*. See Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 242. Also see Quintilian, VIII.1.1.

¹²³ Blackburn, "On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century," 243. Blackburn defines *syncopa* (as used by Gaffurio in Book III of his *Practica musicae* of 1496) as "suspension" (n. 60, p. 245).

– reminiscent of the words “now with suspensions and now without” (*nunc cum syncopis, nunc sine syncopis*).

If read according to these “alternative” meanings, the term *proportio* corresponds with Rule 3’s “variety of vertical intervals” (*nunc per unam proportionem, nunc per aliam*), *coniunctio* with Rule 4’s “variety of melodic intervals” (*nunc per unam coniunctionem, nunc per aliam*), *perfectio* with Rule 5’s “variety of cadences” (*nunc per unam perfectionem, nunc per aliam*), and *syncopa* with Rule 7’s “variety of suspensions.” As shown in the right column of Table 3.13, *perfectio*, *proportio*, *coniunctio*, and *syncopa* can all be understood as aspects of Tinctoris’s *varietas* of *res* or “quantity,” therefore specifying the diverse ways a composer can express a great variety of contrapuntal ideas in a piece of music.

The final set of musical procedures listed in Rule 8, including *fuga*, *pausa*, *contrapunctus diminutus/floridus*, and *contrapunctus plane/simplex* can be associated with a different facet of *varietas* – that of *verba* or “quality” and harkens back to the numerous examples of varied contrapuntal repetition in Rule 6 (see Example 3.5). These musical properties are only pertinent to repetitive or imitative contrapuntal textures – particular conditions wherein *varietas* is employed to temper *redictae* (See Table 3.13).

Table 3.13 *Varietas* of Quality/Variied Expressions

<u>Variied Repetition of “Musical Expressions”</u>	
Rule 6	Rule 8
Variied Repetition of “Motives” through Contrapuntal Variation.	<i>Fuga, pausa, contrapunctus diminutus, contrapunctus plane.</i>
<u>Contrapuntal Choice</u> : Use many different methods to vary the counterpoint of repetitive or imitative passages.	
<u>As shown in Example 3.5</u> :	
with repetition/imitation, then without repetition/imitation	<i>“Now with fuga, then without fuga”</i>
repetition/imitation articulated with rests	<i>“Now with pauses, then without pauses”</i>
repetition/imitation with florid interpolation of dissonances	<i>“Now diminished, now plain”</i>

Fuga, in Tinctoris’s *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, is defined as “the identity of parts of a composition as to value, name, and shape, and even as to the position of the notes and their rests.”¹²⁴ *Fuga* can consist of single-voice or multi-voice motivic repetition within one voice, or between different voices.¹²⁵ According to Tinctoris, sometimes a composer should incorporate strict repetition into his composition (“now with *fuga*”), while in other instances he should avoid repetition (“then without *fuga*”). Sometimes he should vary repetition by interpolating different rhythms and pitches. Furthermore, repeated passages (i.e. short motivic units or imitative passages) can be introduced into the contrapuntal texture in a variety of ways – sometimes repetition should be highlighted with introductory rests (*pausae*) and at other times, no rests should be used.

¹²⁴ “*Fuga est idemittitas partium cantus quo ad valorem nomen formam et interdum quo ad locum notarum et pausarum suarum.*” Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 32-3. It is particularly significant here that Tinctoris’s definition of *fuga* makes mention of rests (*pausa*), as in the list of musical procedures of Rule 8, rests (*pausa*) are mentioned directly after *fuga*.

¹²⁵ On *fuga* as repetition in a single voice see Peter Schubert, “Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 511.

Finally, a composer can, at times, repeat note-against-note contrapuntal passages (*contrapunctus plane/simplex*) verbatim (see three-voice repetitive modules in bars 14-16 of Example 3.5). In other instances, it is recommended that contrapuntal passages undergo contrapuntal alterations wherein pitches are interpolated (*contrapunctus diminutus/floridus*).

Looking back then to what a composer “of the greatest genius” must master in order to achieve *varietas*, it becomes clear that the long list of musical elements in Rule 8 – *perfectio, proportio, coniunctio, syncopa, fuga, pausa, contrapunctus plane, contrapunctus diminutive* – actually summarizes the contents of Book III – Rules 3 through 7. Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti* is after all, a counterpoint treatise, and so it follows that his definitions of *varietas* are specific to the study of counterpoint.¹²⁶

***Varietas* and the Art of Counterpoint**

In summary, overly literal translations such as “variety” and “diversity” only succeed in negating the conceptual nuances that are crucial to a more precise understanding of *varietas*. It has been difficult for scholars to unravel the meaning of *varietas* because, until now, the aesthetic has exclusively been read in relation to Tinctoris’s eighth and final rule of counterpoint. In actuality, *varietas* plays such an essential role in Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, that it would not be an exaggeration to conceive of Book III, in its entirety, as an eloquently drawn out,

¹²⁶ Blackburn notes, “it would be interesting to know how Tinctoris’s contemporaries reacted to his harmonically-oriented counterpoint instruction.” “On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century,” 245, n. 60. Tinctoris’s definition of “counterpoint,” is found in Chapter 1 of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*: a “moderated and rational sounding together brought about through the placing of one sound punctually against another and is called counterpoint from *counter* and *point*” (“*Contrapunctus itaque est moderatus ac rationabilis concentus per positionem unius vocis contra aliam effectus, diciturque contrapunctus a contra et punctus*”): from Blackburn, “On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century,” 251.

systematically designed, theoretical “essay” on how to achieve contrapuntal *varietas*. Indeed, *varietas* is in no way an afterthought, and is not simply added to Rule 8 for humanist effect. Rather, it is embedded in the language, concepts, and musical examples of Rules 3 through 8 – thus confirming its role as one of the most vital musical aesthetics of the fifteenth century.

The links between Tinctoris’s *Liber*, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Cicero’s *De oratore*, and the structural cohesiveness of Book III reveal how carefully Tinctoris formulated his definition of *varietas*. In Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris’s treatise negotiates all of the subtle nuances pertaining to the study of rhetoric, contending with the three levels of style (grand, middle and simple) and the “virtues of style” – including “language,” “clarity,” “distinction” and “appropriateness.” Among these, Tinctoris develops the language of rhetorical “distinction” most rigorously, integrating the concept of *varietas* onto each of its subcategories. To this end, he translates rhetorical “word choice” into Rule 3’s “interval choice” (*proportio*), “word connection” into Rule 4’s “melodic motion between intervals” contrapuntal motion between intervals” (*coniunctio*), “cadence and form” into both Rule 5’s “variety of cadences” (*perfectio*) and Rule 7’s “variety of suspensions” (*syncopa*), and finally, the “figures of repetition,” into Rule 6’s example of varied contrapuntal repetition (with or without *fuga*, *pausa*, *contrapunctus plane/contrapunctus diminutive*).

Throughout Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris consistently revisits the relationship between *redictae* and *varietas*. To this end, he establishes that *varietas* opposes *redictae*, but in doing so, also acknowledges that these are qualities that are dialectically connected. In this way, both *redictae* and *varietas* are concepts that work

together to generate what was known by ancient and humanist writers as *concinntas* – true “harmony” in the most musical sense.

In much the same way that *De oratore* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* recognize the diversity of *varietas*-types that operate throughout all five *partes oratoris officii*, in Rule 8 of the *Liber*, Tinctoris also reveals that there are different *varietates* encountered in musical composition. Of the two types discussed above – *varietas* of thought or *res* (*quantitas*) and *varietas* of expression or *verba* (*qualitas*) – both find direct parallels in those preparatory categories of classical oratory meant to guide the composition of a speech: *inventio* and *elocutio*.¹²⁷ With *varietas* of *inventio* or *quantitas*, a composer could integrate a “variety” of musical ideas. With *varietas* of *verba* or *qualitas*, a composer could simultaneously assert the aesthetics of *redictae* and *varietas* by employing musical “figures” of varied repetition.

As a learned man who moved among the most prominent humanist circles, Tinctoris must have been self-consciously aware of how crucial it was to express his musical theories with exactly the “right words.” By establishing a theoretical foundation for music that was allied with the rhetorical tradition, Tinctoris may have sought, like Alberti, to further prove how the act of musical composition could be construed as an academic pursuit that fit appropriately within the *studia humanitatis*.¹²⁸

Unlike typical musical treatises, which preach the practical aspects of accurate contrapuntal practice, Book III of Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti* is remarkable as it broaches the topic of aesthetic choice and reflects on the compositional act itself. It is

¹²⁷ In some treatises, *elocutio* includes both “figures of thought” and “figures of speech.” The “figures of thought” are often indistinguishable from the main ideas or topics of *inventio* – meaning that differentiating between *elocutio* and *inventio* can sometimes be problematic.

¹²⁸ See Ronald Woodley, “Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 217-48.

by emulating the structure and content of oratory treatises that Tinctoris makes a systematic attempt at instructing advanced students of composition on the art of writing rhetorically effective counterpoint. Viewed within this context, the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* is an unprecedented *tour de force* that, by translating the language of rhetorical style into the language of contrapuntal style, certainly reflects the erudition of a “musician of the highest rank, of a keen mind, skilled in *eloquence*.”¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 138.

PART II

THE ORIGINS OF THE *SINE NOMINE* MASS: THE FRANCO-FLEMISH AND ENGLISH MOTTO

Prologue

As discussed in Chapter 1, the origins of the cyclic Mass can be traced to two distinct early fifteenth-century reportorial traditions that developed concurrently both on the Continent and in England.¹ The abridged version of the story is typically told as follows. Continental composers such as Guillaume Dufay, Johannes de Lymburgia, and Johannes Reson unified all five movements of the Mass Ordinary with techniques that had been developed in previous decades for Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus Mass pairing.² Unification devices in these Masses included similar clef-combinations from movement to movement, common mensural usage among sections, common finals, and similar opening “head motives” or mottos.³ Meanwhile, English composers worked out their own compositional procedures, unifying their Masses by incorporating the same

¹ For a discussion of the origins of the tenor Mass in England see: Manfred Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950), 221.

² In English and Continental manuscripts such as Old Hall, Oxford 213, Bologna Q15, Bologna 2216, Aosta, Turin J.II.9, Trent 87 and Trent 92, Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus pairs were intentionally composed as units. See Bukofzer, “Caput,” 217-226. It has been argued by Charles Hamm that some of these pairs are “composite and simply reflect the organizational practices of scribes rather than any pre-meditated authorial intention. See Charles Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 5-21. Philip Gossett has been critical of how we decide exactly what constitutes a Mass-pair or cycle. His scholarship is particularly applicable to those Mass-pairs and Masses that appear in early manuscripts such as Bologna Q15 where Mass movements are separated into their respective sections (i.e. all of the Kyries together . . . etc.) He suggests four parameters for deciding on whether separate movements were originally meant to form pairs or cycles: 1) act of composition/attribution, 2) musical content, 3) relatedness, 4) manuscript evidence. See: Philip Gossett, “Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966), 206-208.

³ Besides motto Masses, Continental composers also wrote plainsong Masses that quoted a different chant in every movement. Examples of plainsong Masses that use different chants in each movement include the plenary cycles of Dufay (i.e. the *Missa Sancti Jacobi*) and Reginaldus Libert.

borrowed melody into the tenor of each movement.⁴ After its arrival on the Continent in approximately the 1440s or 1450s, the English cantus firmus Mass took hold and was eagerly adopted by Continental composers.

This account is admittedly vague and inaccurate, but it typifies nonetheless, the general historical narrative for the early years of the Mass as it is relayed in music textbooks.⁵ Andrew Kirkman has expressed concern about our patchy knowledge of this time in the “history of western musical architecture” lamenting the fact that such a moment of “monumental importance [in] the early development of the cyclic Mass remains paradoxically shrouded in uncertainty.”⁶

Over the years, a scholarly focus on borrowing procedures with regards to the cantus firmus Mass has largely overshadowed the study of the English and Continental *sine nomine* or motto Mass. This has resulted in a limited understanding of the status of Franco-Flemish Mass composition during the period leading up to the crucial moment when the English cantus firmus Mass made its great debut on the Continent. It is possible to clarify several details pertaining to the genesis of the cyclic Mass if we refine our knowledge of the status of the Franco-Flemish *sine nomine* tradition before its mid-century convergence with English cantus firmus practice.

In Chapter 4, I identify how Continental composers unified their pre-1450 Mass Ordinary settings and evaluate the existence of Continental unification techniques that

⁴ For connections between the isorhythmic motet and cyclic cantus firmus Mass see: Bukofzer, “Caput,” 221. Also see: Thomas Brothers, “Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 1-56.

⁵ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, revised edition (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1959). Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976). Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe: 1400-1600* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998). Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999).

⁶ Andrew Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Style, Distribution and Case Studies* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 139.

characterize a specific early *sine nomine* tradition. In Chapter 5 I examine to what extent these unification techniques were also detectable in pre-1450 English Mass compositions.

Chapter 4 Franco-Flemish Motto Unification in *Sine nomine* Masses of the Early Fifteenth Century

To call something a head-motif, a phrase, a melody, an imitation, a cadence, is to make a categorization that is in effect no more than a vague assumption, since none of these words can be defined with any precision. Where do we draw the line between a head-motif and an integral stretch of the musical discourse? Between a head-motif and a non-recurring but similarly structured opening? Between a long motif and a short phrase? . . . The decision in every single case depends as much on the perceived inherent qualities of a feature as on its treatment and context. And in fact even the inherent qualities are conditioned by a context, namely, countless previous decisions, not all of which may be equally straightforward. The words cannot be nailed down: they are used in an “understood” sense, and this understanding arises from a history of previous decisions. As we apply the words in more and more situations, that understanding inevitably changes: it may erode, but it may also deepen.

~ Rob Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*.¹

Introduction to the Franco-Flemish Motto

An effective way to approach the topic of unification in the *sine nomine* Mass is to investigate its most characteristic unifying feature – the head motive or motto (two terms that I will be using interchangeably). Though the motto can also be found in some cantus firmus Masses, it is particularly in the *sine nomine* Mass that it assumes a crucial role in contributing to unification.² Fifteenth-century works do not lend themselves well to traditional motivic analysis as they are not founded on formal notions of theme and development and often feature a high degree of variation.³ Without carefully “chiselled,”

¹ Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1994), 9.

² Sparks claims that these two separate means of unification were seldom combined. See *Cantus Firmus*, 121. It was Dufay who was one of the first composers to use both a cantus firmus and a motto in his *Missa se la face ay pale* and *Missa Ave regina caelorum*.

³ Leo Treitler, “Dufay the Progressive,” in *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 216. Andrew Kirkman, “Innovation, Stylistic Patterns and the Writing of History:

repetitive melodic patterns, fifteenth-century melodies lack a strong intrinsic sense of motivic design. Motivic associations in music of the fifteenth century (whether intertextual or intratextual) are most believable and persuasive when multiple explicit correspondences exist – whether positional, melodic, rhythmic, structural, contrapuntal, textural, or otherwise.⁴ Studying the motto provides the analyst with strong correspondences between perceived motivic recurrences and formal positions (i.e. openings of movements and subsections).

Until now, scholars have typically perceived the motto as an unsophisticated unification device. In his study of the Caput Mass in 1950, Manfred Bukofzer acknowledged that motto beginnings were common features in early cyclic Mass Ordinary settings by Lymburgia, Lantins and Dufay, and based on his observations of these works, he established a definition for the motto. He described it as:

A brief characteristic motive in one or more voices that recurs at the beginning of each movement in the same or only slightly varied form and thus serves as a motto for the entire cycle. These motto beginnings . . . affect only the first few measures and have no influence on the further course and structure of the composition.⁵

Over fifty years have passed since Bukofzer's seminal study on the origins of the cyclic Mass and few scholars have attempted to challenge or expand upon his definition

The Case of Bedyngham's Mass *Dueil Angoisseux*," in *I codici musicali trentini: nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, Trent, 24 September 1994, ed. Danilo Curti, Marco Gozzi and Peter Wright (Trent: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Servizi Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1996), 164.

⁴ Leo Treitler, "Dufay the Progressive," 216-217. Treitler warns scholars of the pitfalls when searching for motives in Renaissance music. He recommends a contextual approach to the analysis of cantus firmus motives in Dufay's *Missa L'homme armé*, and relates motivic associations to factors such as harmonies, modal principles, voice disposition, control of register, and cadence formation.

⁵ Manfred Bukofzer, "Caput," 219.

conception of the role of the motto.⁶ Even though terms such as “motto,” “head motive,” “secondary head motive,” and “tail motive” have become assimilated into our analytical language, no one has ever conducted a comprehensive study of the history, construction and purpose of these musical tags.⁷ This chapter will challenge and refine common perceptions of the motto by revealing the great variety of motto procedures that fifteenth-century composers employed in their *sine nomine* compositions. First, I will review the history of the motto and will discuss certain preconceived notions and misconceptions pertaining to its identity, purpose, and function. Second, I will establish a new analytical vocabulary – one that begins to account for those procedures implicated in the construction, transformation and organization of mottos in pre-1450 Continental *sine nomine* Masses. Third, I will investigate how mottos are arranged in roughly contemporaneous Masses by Johannes Reson, Guillaume Dufay, and Johannes

⁶ There are some exceptions. In her work on Masses in Trent 89 and 91, Adelyn Peck Leverett identifies what she terms “variable head motives” – motives that appear at the beginning of movements or subsections and do not involve verbatim repetition. Mottos of this variety are comparable on the basis of melodic contour of the discantus rather than exact pitches, rhythms or vertical sonorities. As we shall see below, motto variation is typical of the *sine nomine* Mass (and is not necessarily indicative of an Austro-German school of low-contratenor Mass composition). It is actually quite rare to encounter head motives that are repeated verbatim in this repertory. Adelyn Peck Leverett, “A Paleographical and Repertorial Study of the Manuscript Trento, Castello Del Buonconsiglio, 91(1378)” 2 vols., (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990), 186-188. Jerry Haller Etheridge conducts an in-depth investigation into head-motive manipulation in Lymburgia's *Missa sine nomine*. See discussion below. Jerry Haller Etheridge, “The works of Johannes Lymburgia,” 2 vols., (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972), 182-186.

⁷ The first scholars to remark on the phenomenon of “secondary head motives” were Charles Hamm and Edgar Sparks. When Hamm noticed that the Reson Mass employed an extended motive at the beginning of interior sections, he called this a “motive relationship.” See Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” 17. When Sparks found similar musical material at the beginning of interior sections of movements of Dufay's *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, he wondered if they should be “considered as an extension of the device of the head motive – that is, as secondary head motives.” See Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, 127. The term “tail motive” is less common. Fabrice Fitch has investigated head motives and tail motives in the *Missa Mimi*, *Missa Au travail suis*, and the *Missa Quinti toni* in an attempt to rationalize the use of borrowed material. He finds that these works are “distinguished from Ockeghem's other Masses by a certain literal-mindedness in the treatment of the motto.” See Fabrice, Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models* (Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), 191. Most recently, the term “tail motive” was employed in Murray Steib, “In the Workshop of a Late Medieval Editor. Johannes Martini's Modernization of Music in the Modena Mass Choirbook,” presented at the conference *AMS/SMT Annual Meeting, November 11-14 2004*, Seattle, Washington.

Lymburgia. All of these works were composed before 1440 and thus comprise the earliest known group of attributed *sine nomine* Masses. Finally, based on my observation of these works, I will expand upon Bukofzer's definition of the motto and will clarify its role as a unification device in Franco-Flemish cyclic Masses.

The Motto: History and Misconceptions

Evidence of the first explicit use of mottos may be found in two manuscripts: Bologna Biblioteca Liceo Musicale, Q15 (*olim* 37), and Turin, Bibl. naz. J.II.9.⁸ Bologna Q15 features a vast number of Continental composers (including Dufay, Binchois, Ciconia, Brassart, Benet, Hugo de Lantins, Arnold de Lantins, Johannes Francois, Lymburgia, Hubertus de Salinas, Guillaume LeGrant, and Loqueville) while Turin's repertory is entirely anonymous. Charles Hamm has characterized Bologna Q15 as a manuscript that "preserves by far the largest collection of paired movements and partial, composite, and complete Masses from this time."⁹ Careful study of the thirty-five Mass pairs in Bologna Q15 and the seven Mass pairs in Turin reveals that the most favoured methods of unification were common clefs, mensurations, signatures, and finals. Among the Mass pairs in both Bologna Q15 and Turin combined, only nine are unified by

⁸ There are earlier works that foreshadow motto-pairing techniques, such as a Gloria-Credo pair of Ciconia. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 27. On Bologna Q 15 see Guillaume De Van, "Inventory of Manuscript Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Q15 (*olim* 37)," *Musica Disciplina* 2 (1948): 231-257; Margaret Bent, "A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 As a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 183-201. On Turin J.II.9 see Richard H. Hoppin, "The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Bibliotheca Nazionale, J.II.9," *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957): 79-125. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, ed., *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9: Report of the International Musicological Congress*, Paphos 20-25 March 1992 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1995). For discussions on Mass pairs in Bologna Q15 see Hamm, "The Reson Mass," *passim*; Philip Gossett, "Techniques of Unification," 205-231. For a discussion of stylistic unification of Mass pairs by Lantins using techniques of imitation and chromaticism see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music: 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 173-176.

⁹ Charles Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 5.

common motto, an indication that motto procedure was used by only a handful of composers, among whom were Dufay, Arnold de Lantins and Lymburgia.¹⁰

Though the motto may have only been peripherally employed in Mass-pair compositions, upon the invention of the Continental Mass cycle it began to appear quite consistently as a significant unification device.¹¹ Bukofzer has observed that, in their initial attempts to unify all five movements of the Mass Ordinary, composers showed their indebtedness to Mass-pair unification procedures by assigning common motto material to internal Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus movements. With specific reference to motto usage in the Mass cycle of Lymburgia, Bukofzer states:

It is significant that the Gloria-Credo pair on the one hand and the Sanctus-Agnus pair on the other begin almost identically and form two closely related pairs within the larger cycle . . . Thus the original pairing is still reflected in the first known examples of the unified Mass cycle with motto beginning. Since this type of cycle is associated primarily with Lymburgia, Lantins, and Dufay, we may safely assume that it was developed by the composers of the Franco-Flemish school around 1425.¹²

According to Bukofzer, these early Masses represent a preliminary phase for cyclic organization – one still firmly rooted in the tradition of Mass-pair composition. Bukofzer's notion of the genesis of the cyclic Mass, however, should not be accepted too

¹⁰ On Mass-pair unification in Bologna Q15, Hamm states: "Eight of the pairs are unified by common head-motive in the two sections." See: Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 6. On Mass-pair unification in Turin, Hamm writes: "None of the seven [Gloria-Credo Mass-pairs] is unified by common tenor or parody technique, [and] only the first has a common head-motive. . ." See: Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 9. Mass pairs in Bologna Q15 include: two Dufay Gloria-Credo pairs (BL 35-38 and BL 138-142); one Dufay Sanctus-Agnus pair (BL 133-134); three Arnold de Lantins Gloria Credo pairs (BL 43-45, BL55-57, and BL 115-117); and two Lymburgia Gloria-Credo pairs (BL 121-124 and BL 165-167).

¹¹ In these early cyclic works, the motto is regarded as so essential to their stylistic profile they are often referred to by scholars interchangeably as either *sine nomine* or motto Masses.

¹² Bukofzer, "Caput," 221.

hastily, as some of his observations can be called into question. As we shall see in the motto analyses in the following chapters, in the context of the early *sine nomine* Mass, Lymburgia's techniques of pairing Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus movements are actually quite unique. In fact, contemporaneous composers of cyclic Masses such as Reson and Dufay did not employ these internal Mass-pairing techniques. Therefore, one cannot use the evidence of one lone Mass to argue for an evolutionary "phase" for the cyclic Mass. As an alternative approach, I think that it may be more helpful at this point to think of the early history of the cyclic Mass as an experimental period when composers were testing out a variety of unification techniques. Only after we have analyzed a significant number of *sine nomine* Masses will we be able to judge which unification procedures were transitory, which were standardized, and which evolved over the course of the fifteenth century.

Since this chapter is concerned with effacing misconceptions about the motto and redefining its function, this is an appropriate time to ask an important question: What do we know about the motto? Or, more aptly put: What do we *think* we know about the motto? As a response, I have compiled a list of ideas that have been circulating in scholarly literature regarding the purpose, appearance and construction of the motto.¹³

1. One fundamental motto unifies an entire *sine nomine* Mass.
2. All initial statements of mottos are first encountered in the Kyrie movement.
3. A motto can involve any number of voices; it can be found in a single voice or in multiple voices.

¹³ These statements are synthesized from numerous sources including the following: Bukofzer, "Caput," 217-310. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*; Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, passim; Gossett, "Techniques," 211-220; Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 16-17; Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*; Atlas, *Renaissance Music*; Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*. They apply to both cantus firmus and freely-composed Masses.

4. Mottos are usually a few breves long.
5. Mottos usually return in strict or slightly varied form.
6. Mottos are primarily found at the beginnings of movements.
7. Sometimes, a secondary motto can be encountered at the beginning of a subsection of a movement.
8. Mottos never recur in positions other than Mass movement or subsection beginnings.
9. Motto Masses are unsophisticated when compared to works with a *cantus prius factus*.

At the end of this chapter, following my analyses of pioneering *sine nomine* Masses of Dufay, Reson and Lymburgia, the accuracy of the ideas in this list will be reassessed.

Motto Identification

In order to understand the function of the motto in the design of the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass, I have devised an analytical vocabulary that differentiates between the various methods of presenting, combining, and transforming motto material. I have found that most *sine nomine* Masses incorporate numerous single-voice and multi-voice mottos, so I make a distinction between two broad motto categories: the melodic motto and the multi-voice motto.

As we shall see in analyses, mottos are not restricted to the beginnings of movements; they commonly serve as inaugural gestures to various Mass subsections as well. Two criteria determine whether or not I assign a motto a name: positional context

and repetition. Positional context is essential to motto identification.¹⁴ The motto, in its initial and at least one of its repeated forms, must be located at the beginning of a movement or at the beginning of a subsection of a movement.¹⁵ In most cases, the “beginning” constitutes the first sounding semibreve.¹⁶ Furthermore, the motto must be repeated at least once. Repetition, however, need not be strict.¹⁷ Perfectly reiterated melodic or multi-voice mottos are rarely encountered in this music, therefore, I have allowed for a controlled measure of flexibility when identifying what exactly constitutes repetition. When identifying repetition, rhythm is the least important parameter, as it is the most variable. Instead, I look for consistencies in pitch sequence or at least melodic contour. Secondary considerations include contrapuntal context, texture, rhythm, and text.

The predilection for varied repetition in this music can be better understood if we view the motto through the lens of the fifteenth-century aesthetic of *varietas*. As discussed in Chapter 3, in music of the mid-century, duplication of contrapuntal material was anything but desirable. In his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of 1477, Tinctoris explains that it is in the Mass that a composer is to strive for the highest level of *varietas*.¹⁸ Applying the concept of *varietas* to the motto of the *sine nomine* Mass permits a more nuanced understanding of the motto.

¹⁴ Treitler, “Dufay the Progressive,” 216-217.

¹⁵ One condition to this rule will be discussed below in the Motto Vocabulary section, when I discuss *Internal Mottos*.

¹⁶ In other cases, a motto might be delayed by a few semibreves.

¹⁷ On flexibility in motivic repetition see Wegman’s analyses of Obrecht’s Masses in *Born for the Muses*, passim. On motivic allusion, quotation, and paraphrase see Christopher Reynolds, “The Counterpoint of Allusion in Fifteenth-Century Masses,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 228-260. Reynolds notes that “musical paraphrases, though harder to identify, are thought to have been the normal practice for students emulating established masters (p. 228).”

¹⁸ Johannes Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, transl. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 5.

In order to distinguish between mottos in such a complex framework, I have devised a specific labeling system. Each label describes the movement, section, and voice in which the motto is initially encountered. A typical example of a motto label is KIa. The label KIa indicates that this motto originates in the Kyrie movement (hence the letter K). The label also indicates the section of the movement in which the motto is initially found (shown by the Roman numeral I),¹⁹ and the voice in which it is situated (a for superius, b for contratenor, c for tenor, and d for low contratenor). Voices are always labeled top to bottom, so where there is a low contratenor in a three-voice Mass, labels a, b, and c will refer to superius, tenor, and low contratenor respectively. Musical example 4.1 shows how motto labels are applied to the opening of a Kyrie movement.

Example 4.1 Johannes Reson, Opening of Kyrie: Melodic Motto labels KIa, KIb, and KIc

The image displays three staves of musical notation in 8/8 time, each featuring a melodic motto. The top staff is labeled 'KIa' and contains a sequence of notes: a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note F#5, and a half note G5. The middle staff is labeled 'KIb' and contains: a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note F#5, and a half note G5. The bottom staff is labeled 'KIc' and contains: a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note F#5, and a half note G5. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb).

Annotating Varied Repetition

In musical examples throughout this dissertation, I will distinguish between strict repetition, varied repetition, motto pitches and non-motto pitches, repeated material and non-repeated material. Large note heads will always be used for repeated material (mottos or motives) while small note heads will represent free, non-repeated material (see

¹⁹ Sectional divisions within movements are dictated by double bar lines or mensuration changes which appear in the manuscript.

Example 4.2).²⁰ Melodic mottos will consistently be indicated with a square bracket and motto label. Parentheses will be used to indicate non-repeated notes *within* a melodic motto (see Examples 4.6-4.9). When varied repetition is more difficult to detect, I annotate melodic mottos with arabic, lowercase, and uppercase roman numerals (see Examples 4.6 to 4.9).

Example 4.2 Annotation of Repeated Material and Non-Repeated Material

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Soprano (KIa), Alto (KIb), and Tenor. The time signature is 3/2. The Soprano part has the lyrics "Qui Tol -" under it. The score is annotated with square brackets and labels to indicate repeated material. In the Soprano part, a bracket labeled "KIa" spans the first two measures. In the Alto part, a bracket labeled "KIb" spans the first two measures. The Tenor part has a bracket labeled "KIc" spanning the first two measures. The score shows repeated melodic material across the voices, with some notes marked as non-repeated.

When identifying motto repetition, repeated motto pitches are acceptable. Because of the flexibility of motto identity, I will not necessarily view the first form of the motto (i.e. as presented in the Kyrie movement) as the “ur-form.” Instead, the “full” motto always constitutes the longest repeated form. This means that a motto can progressively build up its identity through multiple repetitions in a Mass.

What will become clear, is that the motto is not a fixed motivic entity, but is always in flux. A *sine nomine* motto is organic; it expands, contracts, and merges with other motivic material. In some Masses, mottos are transformed in a successive manner, so that each new permutation grows out of a previous statement. At other times, mottos are segmented or abbreviated. This means that sometimes, a motto can undergo so many

²⁰ I borrow the idea of using small noteheads for unrepeated material from Peter Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina's *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007): 483-556.

alterations over the course of a Mass, that by the time it reaches its final form, if viewed without the context of all of its varied statements, it can be difficult to recognize.

Motto Vocabulary

On occasion, it is necessary to label segments within an individual motto because of the way in which these segments are repeated in later Mass movements and subsections. I assign each separate motto segment a superscript number (e.g. KIa¹; KIa²; KIa³). An example of *Motto Segmentation* can be found in Lymburgia's *Missa sine nomine*. In this Mass, Jerry Haller Etheridge has identified an extended melodic motto at the beginning of the first Kyrie that continues through to the end of the movement (see Example 4.3).²¹

Example 4.3 Lymburgia, *Missa sine nomine*, superius of Kyrie I: KI Motto Segmentation

The musical notation is in 3/4 time. The first staff shows two segments: KIa¹ (Ky - ri - e) and KIa² (e - ley - son). The second staff shows two segments: KIa³ (Ky - ri - e e - ley - son) and KIa⁴ (Ky - ri - e). Brackets above the notes indicate the extent of each segment.

Here, Lymburgia explicitly segments KIa through the use of rests that articulate divisions between the four motto segments. In Table 4.1 we can see how *Motto Segmentation* plays a significant role in unifying all sections of Lymburgia's Mass: At the beginning of the Kyrie the KI motto is heard unbroken with all of its segments intact; in Kyrie II

²¹ Etheridge, "The works of Johannes Lymburgia" vol. 1, 182-186.

Lymburgia isolates the third and fourth motto segments, while in Kyrie III only the fourth segment is sounded. As shown in Table 4.1, the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus movements feature varied combinations of the KIa motto segments.

Table 4.1 *Motto Segment Repetition in Lymburgia's Missa sine nomine*

Kyrie I: KIa ^{1 2 3 4}	Gloria I: KIa ¹	Credo I: KIa ^{1 3}
Kyrie II: KIa ^{3 4 3}	Gloria II: KIa ^{2 3 4}	Sanctus I: KIa ^{1 2}
Kyrie III: KIa ⁴	Gloria IV: KIa ^{2 3}	Sanctus V: KIa ¹
		Agnus I: KIa ¹

While some mottos appear in single-voice forms, most are found in multi-voice combinations. I have identified two varieties of multi-voice mottos: the *Motto Module* and the *Motto Constellation*. As illustrated in Table 4.2, a *Motto Module* is comprised of a group of melodic mottos that sound simultaneously in two or more voices and which, when repeated, maintain the same vertical intervals and contrapuntal relationships. Though we see few examples in my analyses of *sine nomine* Masses, modules can also involve voice switching and invertible counterpoint.²²

Table 4.2 *Motto Modules*

Initial Module

superius	KIa	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■
contratenor	KIb	• • • • • • • •
tenor	KIc	/ / / / / / / /

Repeated Module

superius	KIa	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■
contratenor	KIb	• • • • • • • •
tenor	KIc	/ / / / / / / /

²² Jessie Ann Owens defines a “module” as “a contrapuntal relationship that can be repeated.” See Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 251; and “The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore’s Compositional Process,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 270-98. On “contrapuntal blocks” in Renaissance music see Peter N. Schubert, “A Lesson From Lassus,” 1-26. On the “module” as a two-voice combination see Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s First Book of Motets,” 484, and *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 216-17.

Motto Modules from the Sanctus and Agnus movements of Lymburgia's Mass are shown below in Examples 4.4 and 4.5.

Example 4.4 Lymburgia *Missa Sine Nomine*, Sanctus I: *Motto Module*

Example 4.5 Lymburgia *Missa Sine Nomine*, Agnus I: *Motto Module*

One of the most prominent multi-voice motto-types in the *sine nomine* Mass is the *Motto Constellation*. A motto constellation is comprised of a group of Melodic Mottos sounded simultaneously or successively at the beginning of a Mass movement or Mass section. Melodic mottos in *Motto Constellations* are always found clustered together, but unlike the module, the constellation's melodic motto may recur in any arrangement (in various states of rhythmic displacement) and in any vertical or contrapuntal combination. When reiterated, a constellation always undergoes *Motto Transformation* to take on a new, altered form. In Table 4.3 I have illustrated hypothetical motto-constellation paradigms that typify the *sine nomine* repertory I have studied. These diagrams show how

the shape of a *Motto Constellation* can be transformed through an array of variation techniques. *Motto Transformation* can occur when a melodic motto shifts to a new voice and/or when rhythmic, melodic or harmonic modifications are made. As indicated in the lowest diagram of Table 4.3, sometimes a composer will conceal an individual melodic motto in a constellation by delaying its entry. Such delays are brought about because a motto is preceded by a few semibreves of rest or because a number of introductory pitches are added to ornament the opening of the motto. This results in a horizontal shift wherein individual mottos are displaced from their original relation to one another.

Table 4.3 **Examples of *Motto Transformation***

Initial Constellation

superius	KIa	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■
contratenor	KIb	• • • • • • • • • •
tenor	KIc	/ / / / / / / / / /

Transformed Constellation

KIa and KIc mottos have moved to different voices

superius	KIc	/ / / / / / / / / /
contratenor	KIb	• • • • • • • • • •
tenor	KIa	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

Transformed Constellation

KIa motto shifted horizontally because of a delay in presentation

superius	KIa	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■
contratenor	KIb	• • • • • • • • • •
tenor	KIc	/ / / / / / / / / /

Musical Examples 4.6 – 4.9 reveal the *KI-Motto Constellation* and all of its various permutations throughout Reson's Mass. Example 4.6 presents the initial *Motto Constellation* as it appears in the first Kyrie movement. It is made up of KIa, KIb and KIc melodic mottos. I have marked each of the pitches in each voice with different numerals (arabic, lowercase, and uppercase roman) to help distinguish exactly where pitches in the

KI constellation are reused in other Mass movements. This *Motto Constellation* manifests itself in numerous ways throughout Reson's Mass, often disguised through melodic ornamentation, rhythmic variation, and new contrapuntal combinations. Musical Examples 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 show transformed versions of the *KI-Constellation* from the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus movements. The Kyrie presents the most elaborate version of the constellation, while the mottos in Examples 4.7 - 4.9 are more condensed.

Example 4.6 **Reson *Missa Sine Nomine*, Kyrie I: KI Motto Constellation**

Example 4.6 displays three staves of musical notation for the Kyrie I motto constellation. The notation is in 8/8 time. The first staff, labeled KIa, shows a sequence of 12 notes with numbers 1 through 12 below. The second staff, labeled KIb, shows a sequence of 11 notes with Roman numerals i through xi below. The third staff, labeled KIc, shows a sequence of 11 notes with Roman numerals I through XI below.

Example 4.7 **Reson *Missa Sine Nomine*, Gloria I: KI Motto Constellation**

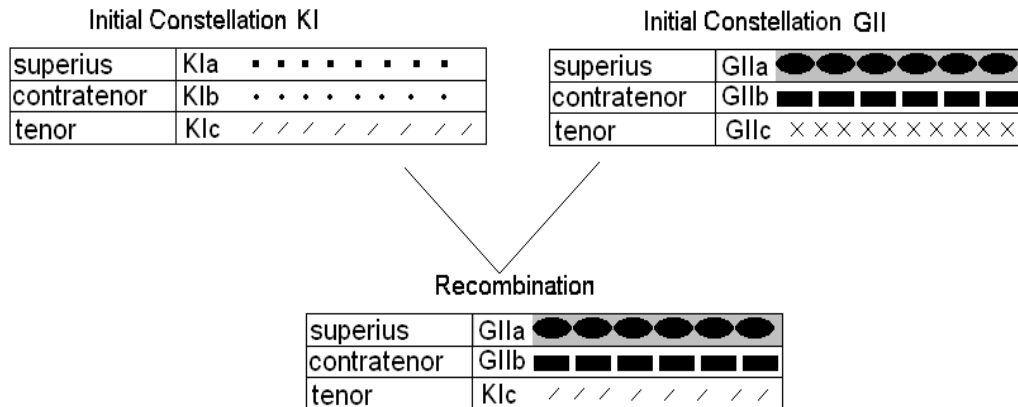
Example 4.7 displays three staves of musical notation for the Gloria I motto constellation. The notation is in 8/8 time. The first staff, labeled KIa, shows a sequence of 12 notes with numbers 1 through 12 below. The second staff, labeled KIb, shows a sequence of 11 notes with Roman numerals i, ii, iv, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi below. The third staff, labeled KIc, shows a sequence of 11 notes with Roman numerals I, II, IV, IX, X, XI below.

Example 4.8 **Reson *Missa Sine Nomine*, Credo I: KI Motto Constellation**

Example 4.9 **Reson *Missa Sine Nomine*, Sanctus I: KI Motto Constellation**

Another common motto technique employed by Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia is *Motto Recombination*. As illustrated in Table 4.4, *Motto Recombination* involves the mixing of melodic mottos from two or more multi-voice motto groups. It occurs when one or more melodic mottos from a constellation are combined with one or more melodic mottos of a different constellation.

Table 4.4 Motto Recombination



We find an occurrence of *Motto Recombination* in Example 4.9 at the head of the third Credo movement of Barbingant's *Missa sine nomine*. Here, mottos initially encountered in two disparate motto-groups of two different Mass-movements are juxtaposed. In this particular case, Example 4.10 with its melodic motto GIIb in the tenor of the Gloria III subsection, and Example 4.11 with its melodic motto GVa in the superius of the Gloria V subsection unite in the Credo as a recombined motto group (Example 4.12).

Example 4.10 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria III “Qui tollis”

Example 4.11 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine* Gloria V “Cum Sancto”

Example 4.12 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Credo III “Et incarnatus est”

Not all mottos are entirely dependent upon positional context. In some cases, multi-voiced mottos that initially appear at the beginnings of Mass movements or sections can, when reiterated, be found at other points in the contrapuntal texture as well. Mottos that appear in positions other than the beginnings of movements or sections are called *Internal Mottos*. I have strict conditions when identifying *Internal Mottos*. First, they must establish themselves as regular mottos through two or more appearances at the

openings of movements or sections. Second, they must be musically articulated in some way. As we shall see, composers frequently highlight an *Internal Motto* by a) making it coincide with the start of a textual phrase, by b) underscoring its appearance with a cadence, c) by framing it with rests, or d) by using it to form a point of imitation.

Example 4.13 is from the opening of the Gloria IV subsection of Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*. It is a motto group made up of three *Recombined Mottos*: GIIa, GIVb, and KIIc. Dufay reuses this particular motto group at other points in the Mass. Example 4.14 depicts the GIIa/GIVb/KIIc motto in an internal position in the Sanctus movement. Though this *Internal Motto* appears eleven breves after the opening of the Sanctus movement, its presence is strongly emphasized – it happens to coincide with the beginning of a line of text and is articulated with longs and cadences – elements that act as framing devices.

Example 4.13 Dufay, *Missa Sine nomine*, Gloria IV “Amen,” Recombined GIIa/GIVb/KIIc Motto



Example 4.14 Dufay, *Missa Sine nomine*, Sanctus I, “Sanctus,” *Internal Recombined Motto*



These terms (*Motto Segmentation*, *Motto Module*, *Motto Constellation*, *Motto Transformation*, *Motto Recombination* and *Internal Motto*) will serve as the primary basis of all motto analyses in this dissertation. As I identify new motto-types and variation procedures, I will expand upon this vocabulary, thus making it possible to approach the motto with nuance and precision. Context will be crucial to the analyses below. Indeed, only by attempting to “apply [these] words in more and more situations” and only by continually comparing and contrasting different approaches to motto structure, organization, and variation, will we deepen our understanding of motivic procedure in the *sine nomine* Mass.²³

Motto Unification in Reson's *Missa sine nomine*

Scattered among the many pages of Mass sections and Mass-pairs in the manuscript Bol 2216 are five movements of one of the first cyclic settings of the Mass Ordinary.²⁴ Originally identified as a five-movement cycle by Charles Hamm, and nicknamed the “Reson Mass” because of a manuscript attribution of the Kyrie to Johannes Reson, this *sine nomine* Mass is one of the only “surviving Mass cycles of the early fifteenth century [that] has complete agreement between its movements.”²⁵ It represents an early attempt at unification through common clefs, mensurations, voices, finals and head motives.²⁶

²³ Paraphrased from Rob Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 9.

²⁴ Heinrich, Bessler, “The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216,” *Musica disciplina* 6 (1952): 39-65. Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” 20.

²⁵ David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982), 168.

²⁶ The Kyrie and Gloria movements of the Reson Mass appear in Bologna 2216. In 1965 Charles Hamm attributed the five movements to Johannes Reson. His argument is entirely convincing, given the many correspondences between the movements, such as clefs, finals, mensuration, voices, head motives and other motivic similarities. Though only the Kyrie is attributed to Reson in the manuscript, Hamm argues that the scribe was probably copying the Mass from a model fascicle manuscript wherein the composer’s name was

Table 4.5 **Unification in the Reson Mass²⁷**

MS Folios	Movement	Clefs	Mens.	No. of vv.	Final
BU 10	Kyrie	C ₃ C ₃ C ₃	Cdot	3	C
BU 12-13	Et in terra	C ₃ C ₃ C ₃	Cdot	3	C
BU 38-41	Patrem	C ₃ C ₃ C ₃	Cdot	3	C
BU 42-43	Sanctus	C ₃ C ₃ C ₃	Cdot	3	C
BU 44-45	Agnus Dei	C ₃ C ₃ C ₃	Cdot	3	C

In a 1965 article, Charles Hamm suggested that the Reson Mass represented the first historical attempt at motivic unification in a Mass cycle.²⁸ In an effort to support this weighty claim, he recommended that all contemporaneous Bologna Q15 *sine nomine* works, including those of Lymburgia, Grossin, and Dufay, be considered mere “transitional period” and “composite” Masses – works that had been patched together from Gloria-Credo or Sanctus-Agnus pairs, or works where additional sections had been composed in order to supplement extant partial Masses. According to Hamm, this group of Masses was essentially written as a “first response” – to satisfy the liturgical demand for five-movement polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary. After comparing levels of unification between these Masses, Hamm concluded that the “transitional” works were less unified than the Reson Mass. I wish to reassess the legendary status of the Reson Mass as the “first unified work” by comparing the construction and arrangement of its mottoes to that of other early *sine nomine* Masses. How does motto unification compare between these Masses? Is there enough evidence to support Hamm's claim that Reson's is more unified?

only indicated on the first page. The fact that Reson Mass movements were found anonymously in different sections of Bologna 2216 exemplifies a common aspect of contemporaneous manuscript structure. See:

Charles Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” *passim*.

²⁷ Taken from Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” 16.

²⁸ Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” 5-21.

Very little is known about Reson's biography except that he was a composer of French origin active in the early fifteenth century, whose music survives in Italian sources.²⁹ Besides this cyclic Mass, his existing corpus of works is small: two rondeaux, a Gloria, a Salve Regina, and three settings of *Ave verum corpus*. Hamm conferred special status on the Reson Mass in the history of the cyclic Mass, arguing that it was different from other cycles composed pre-1450 because of its stylistic and motivic coherence throughout.³⁰ At the time, Hamm made apt observations (labelled a, b, and c below) that specifically pertained to the role of the motto in this Mass:

(a) three of the sections are . . . unified by head-motive, exact for six measures in the superius of the Credo and Sanctus (and traceable in the lower voices as well) and less exact but still recognizable in the Gloria.³¹

(b) Motive relationships between sections go much beyond the mere head-motive in this mass. All five sections share another motive, too extended to be considered a mere common-practice melodic formula, which always appears at the beginning of an important interior section.³²

(c) The Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus all have a tripartite structure. The third section of each begins on an F chord and ends on C, and the three have a common head-motive at the beginning of this section, which is also found at the beginning of the first section of the Agnus.³³

In addition to Hamm's observations regarding motto design in the Reson Mass, I have uncovered a whole series of additional mottos. Examples of the KI constellation in the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus movements have already appeared in Examples 4.5

²⁹ Richard Loyan and Robert Nosow, "Johannes Reson," in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 10 September, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

³⁰ Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 15-20. Hamm expands upon notions of unification cited by Bukofzer. In Bukofzer's, "Missa Caput," 219, he names two distinct methods of unification: motto and the use of a tenor cantus firmus in every movement. Additional markers of stylistic unity that Hamm uncovers that are idiosyncratic to the Reson Mass include similar melodic material at subsections, syncopated sequential passages and parallel fifths and octaves every time *tempus imperfectum diminutum* is notated, and rhythmic imitation that always appears at the time interval of the breve.

³¹ Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 16-17.

³² *Ibid.*, 17.

³³ Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 20.

through 4.8 above, while the examples below illustrate some of the main recurrences of two other prominent constellations in Reson's Mass: KIII and KI².³⁴ Examples 4.15 through 4.17 illustrate the KIII motto referred to by Hamm in (c) above.³⁵

Example 4.15 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie III, KIII Module

Example 4.16 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus III, KIII Module

Example 4.17 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus III, KIII Module

³⁴ The KI motto is segmented into two segments. The second coincides with the second kyrie phrase.

³⁵ I have omitted the reference to the first section of the Agnus as only one melodic motto is reiterated.

The KI^2 examples that follow are new motivic correspondences that I have found. Though KI^2 is primarily a *Motto Constellation* (initially encountered as the second segment of the KI Motto in the Kyrie movement), in Gloria II, it develops modular characteristics (see boxed outlines in Examples 4.20, 4.21 and 4.23).³⁶ This *Motto Constellation* progressively transforms – first into a hybrid Constellation/Module (in Example 4.20, and 4.21), then a full-blown *Motto Module* in Example 4.23.

Example 4.18 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie I, KI^2 Internal Motto Constellation (2nd phrase)



Example 4.19 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria I: Internal “bone voluntatis” KI^2 Motto



Example 4.20 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria II, KI^2 Motto Constellation with modular beginning



³⁶ Throughout this dissertation, modules will usually be outlined with a box.

Example 4.21 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Credo IV, KI^2 Motto Constellation with modular beginning

Example 4.21 shows three staves of music in 8/8 time. The top staff is labeled $KI^2 a$, the middle $KI^2 b$, and the bottom $KI^2 c$. Each staff begins with a bracketed modular beginning structure, followed by a series of notes and rests.

Example 4.22 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Credo IV “Per quem,” *Internal KI^2 Motto Constellation*

Example 4.22 shows three staves of music in 8/8 time. The top staff is labeled $KI^2 a$ and the bottom $KI^2 c$. The notation includes a series of notes and rests, with a bracketed internal motto constellation structure.

Example 4.23 Reson *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus II, KI^2 Motto Module

Example 4.23 shows three staves of music in 8/8 time. The top staff is labeled $KI^2 a$, the middle $KI^2 b$, and the bottom $KI^2 c$. Each staff begins with a bracketed motto module structure, followed by a series of notes and rests.

Table 4.6 Motto Arrangement in the Reson Mass

Mvmnt.	Superius	Contratenor	Tenor	Motto Type
Kyrie				
I <i>kyrie i</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
<i>kyrie ii</i>	KI ² a-----	KI ² b-----	KI ² c	Internal KI ² Motto Constellation
II			KIc	Melodic Motto
III	KIIIa	KIIIb	KIIIc	KIII Module
Gloria				
I	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
<i>bone voluntatis</i>	KI ² a-----	KI ² b-----	KI ² c	Internal KI ² Constellation
II	KI ² a-----	KI ² b-----	KI ² c	KI ² Constellation with Modular Beginning
III	GIIIa	KIIIb	---KI ² c	Recombined Motto
IV			---KI ² b	Melodic Motto
<i>miserere nobis</i>	KI ² a-----		---KI ² c	Internal KI ² Constellation
Credo				
I	KIa	CIa	KIc	Recombined Motto
II	CIa			Melodic Motto
III	KI ² a-----		CI a	Recombined Motto
IV	KI ² a-----	KI ² b-----	KI ² c	KI ² Constellation/Module
<i>Per Quem</i>	KI ² a-----		---KI ² c	Internal KI ² Constellation
V	CIa	CVb		Recombined Motto
VI	KIa	KIIIb	KIIIc	Recombined Motto
Sanctus				
I	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
II	KI ² a-----	KI ² b-----	KI ² c	KI ² Module
III	KIIIa	KIIIb	KIIIc	KIII Module
IV				
V				
Agnus				
I	KIIIa	GIIIa		Recombination
II	KI ² a-----	CVb	KI ² c--	KI ² Module/Recombination
III	KIIIa	KIIIb	KIIIc	KIII Module

Table 4.6 depicts the arrangement of mottos in the Reson Mass. The rows of the chart represent separate movements and their subdivisions (i.e. Kyrie I, II, III) while the columns indicate the particular voices in which specific mottos appear (i.e. superius, contratenor and tenor). So, for example, the first horizontal row reveals that Kyrie I has mottos KIa, KIb and KIc in the superius, contratenor and tenor voices respectively. Together, these melodic mottos form a constellation (indicated in final column).

What is immediately apparent is the sheer volume of motto-material present in the Reson Mass. The opening of every movement and almost every subsection (with the exception of Sanctus IV and V) begins with a motto. Furthermore, the principal mottos – multi-voice motto groups KI, KI² and KIII – all originate in the Kyrie movement. Reson provides his work with a sense of patterned regularity by reiterating these three main motto-groups at the head of congruent sections. The *KI Constellation* is found in Kyrie I, Gloria I, Credo I and Sanctus I; the *KIII Module* is found in Kyrie III, Gloria III, Sanctus III and Agnus III; and the *KI² Module* is located in the second phrase of the Kyrie, the second phrase of the Gloria; Gloria II, Sanctus II, and Agnus II; and Gloria III and IV, and Credo III and IV. Table 4.1 also demonstrates how certain aspects of “motivic” unity in the superius of the Credo are symmetrically conceived, with KIa mottos located in the outer subsections I and VI, CIIa mottos located in subsections II and V, and KI²a mottos found in the inner subsections III and IV. Though motto organization is partly evident inside Gloria-Credo and Kyrie-Sanctus-Agnus Mass movement groups, one can see that the same core mottos (those originating in the Kyrie movement) are actually distributed among all five movements.

With its movement-to-movement reiteration of the same three multi-voice mottos, and its sensitivity to large-scale design, Reson's Mass certainly demonstrates enough

inter-movement motivic continuity to make it a unified cycle. How do these motto-arrangement strategies compare to those employed in other pre-1450 *sine nomine* Masses? Do Dufay and Lymburgia show as much concern for motivic unification, or are their Masses situated, as Hamm argues, in a “transitional” phase for Mass composition?

Dufay's *Missa sine nomine* or *Missa Resvelliés vous*?

Dufay's earliest Mass cycle is his *Missa sine nomine*. All five movements can be found in the manuscript Bologna Q15, while two nearly complete versions appear in Venice 7554 (with a different Credo) and the Aosta choirbook (without Credo). Because of variants in concordant sources, some arguments have circulated regarding the Credo's questionable place within the cycle.³⁷ Other discussions have emphasized the ambiguous status of this work as either a pseudo parody Mass (Fallows) or a unified composition (Hamm).³⁸

David Fallows has renamed the *Missa sine nomine* the *Missa Resvelliés vous* because of certain correspondences that he notices between it and Dufay's famous ballade composed in 1423 for the Rimini wedding between Carlo Malatesta and Vittoria Colonna. Until now, his suggestion has never been called into question. General acceptance of Fallows's proposed name change is reflected in the *New Grove* article on Dufay, where the *Resveillés vous* designation appears.³⁹ Yet Fallows's argument for a connection between Mass and chanson is problematic as none of the melodic correspondences that he observes are verbatim. Even Fallows agrees that melodic structures appear “rather less

³⁷ Charles Hamm, “Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era,” *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962), 180-181. Charles Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” 12.

³⁸ David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982), 165-168.

³⁹ In *New Grove*, the Mass is referred to alternately as the *Missa sine nomine* and the *Missa Resvelliés vous*. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Guillaume Dufay,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 10 September, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

literally,” that some recollections of the ballade are “admittedly much looser,” and that other connections are “more difficult to pin down.”⁴⁰ Perhaps in order to compensate for the weak connections between ballade and Mass, Fallows suggests the following:

. . . it seems far more likely that the Dufay cycle is not a parody at all. Rather the reverse. As with several songs . . . the ballade *Resvelliés vous* probably grew from ideas that arose in the course of composing the cycle. In the song we see the distillation of various ideas that had worked well and had evidently pleased Dufay. Using them, he created one of his richest early songs, with ideas bursting from it at every point... The Mass cycle has none of the florid passages and relatively few of the syncopations that made the ballade so unusual. It probably precedes the song.⁴¹

There are two major problems with Fallows’s newfound titular designation for this Mass. First, giving a chanson title to a Mass that is freely composed is an act that should not be taken lightly. Typically, scholars only re-title those Masses that show clear associations with an *antecedent* work. The backwards approach to naming that Fallows proposes only creates confusion as the name squarely suggests that the Mass is based on a chanson model. Second, the naming of a freely composed Mass exposes larger problems regarding the marginalization of the *sine nomine* Mass and the fascination with borrowed material that has prevailed in the field.⁴²

According to Hamm’s analysis of Dufay’s *Missa sine nomine*, part of which is reproduced below in Table 4.7, the “composite” nature of the work is not only apparent in

⁴⁰ Fallows, *Dufay*, 166-167.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁴² See discussion in chapter 1.

the variant Credo sources, but also in the Mass's inconsistent mensural usage. He observes that the Gloria and the Credo do not agree with the C dot to O arrangement of the other movements. Consequently, Hamm speculates that the Mass originally consisted of a tripartite Kyrie-Sanctus-Agnus structure and that the Gloria and Credo, with their "more modern style of mensural usage" (i.e. use of C), were added later. His second hypothesis is that "Dufay took the older Credo, put it with a slightly newer Gloria which matched it in some details, then wrote three more sections to make a "complete" Ordinary, making his newly-composed sections match the older ones in clefs and final chord."⁴³ Finally, he concludes that Dufay's "transitional" Mass, with its patchwork seams, is less unified than the Reson Mass.

Table 4.7 **Unity in Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*.**⁴⁴

		Clefs	Mensurations	No. of vv.	Final
BL 10 ⁴⁵	Kyrie	C ₁ C ₃ C ₃	(Cdot)O	3 ³	G
BL 11-12	Et in terra	C ₁ C ₃ C ₃	C(Cdot)O	3 ¹⁻³	G
BL 13-14	Patrem	C ₁ C ₃ C ₃	C	3 ³	G
BL 15	Sanctus	C ₁ C ₃ C ₃	(Cdot)O	3 ³	G
BL 16	Agnus dei	C ₁ C ₃ C ₃	(Cdot)O	3 ³	G

Hamm's perception of unification in these transitional Masses is based upon an analysis that focuses on global parameters such as clefs, mensuration, finals, and number of voices. While uniformity of these parameters may be interesting to explore, they tell us very little about other attributes that might also lend a sense of coherence such as motives, texture, style, and internal structure. In the following analysis we shall see that once we look beyond global parameters, contemporaneous works such as Dufay's *Missa sine*

⁴³ Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 12.

⁴⁴ Table taken from Charles Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 12.

⁴⁵ In Hamm's table, "BL" refers to the manuscript Bologna Q15.

nomine show a level of unification that is not only comparable to that of the Reson Mass but in some cases, surpass it.

Motto Unification in Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*

Few scholars have remarked on the use of mottos in Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*. Hamm first wrote about common head-motive material in the Kyrie and Sanctus movements, and approximately two decades later Fallows added to this with the observation that the first Agnus section reiterated the same motto, but in a varied form.⁴⁶ I have found other references to this primary motto in Dufay's Mass.

Examples 4.24 through 4.28 depict the *KI Motto Constellation* in Kyrie I, Sanctus I, Sanctus III, Agnus I, and Agnus III. Example 4.24 shows the initial *KI Motto Constellation* made up of melodic mottos KIa, KIb, and KIc. As indicated at the opening of this constellation, the superius and contratenor form a small module, which is later repeated in other subsections (see Example 4.25). Furthermore, Dufay divides KIc into two *Motto Segments*, which I have labeled KIc¹ and KIc².

Example 4.24 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie I, Initial "KI" Motto Constellation

⁴⁶ Hamm, "The Reson Mass," 12; Fallows, *Dufay*, 166.

As will become increasingly evident, many initial constellations are made up of melodic mottos that are loosely derived from one another. In the case of Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*, there is an implicit relationship between the opening of KIa in the superius voice and KIc¹ in the tenor. Here, KIc¹ is essentially a condensed version of the first seven pitches of KIa. Henceforth I will use the term *Derivative Mottos* to refer to this phenomenon.

Example 4.25 presents a transformed version of the *KI Motto Constellation* as it appears at the beginning of the Sanctus movement. Here, we reencounter melodic mottos KIa, KIb, and *Motto Segment* KIc². Though all voices have undergone *Motto Transformation* through melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic variation and KIc¹ is entirely omitted, the *KI Constellation* is still recognizable. As indicated by the boxed outline, KIa and KIb repeat the same module encountered in the Kyrie I movement (intervals are marked in examples). For the KIb melodic motive, the first seven pitches are reiterated verbatim, followed by a freer presentation of the original contour.

Example 4.25 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus I, transformed *KI Motto Constellation*

Example 4.26 shows the *KI Constellation* in the third Sanctus subsection. Here, Dufay begins by stating an introductory KIa fragment in the superius. After this short

introduction, Dufay – through *Delayed Motto entry* in the tenor and contratenor voices – provides a clear reference to the first KI *Motto Constellation* (e.g. compare statements of KIc¹, KIc², and KIb in Example 4.24 and 4.26).

Example 4.26 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus III, transformed KI *Motto Constellation*



As illustrated in Example 4.27, Agnus I presents a further variation on the original KI motto constellation. Here, the arrangement of mottos is similar to that found in Sanctus I and Sanctus III (Examples 4.25 and 4.26). First, KIa (up to the initial motto's semibreve rest) is heard in the superius. This is then followed by the simultaneous presentation of KIb (in the contratenor) and KIc² (in the tenor) – both of which are involved in *Delayed Motto entry*.

Example 4.27 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus I, transformed KI *Motto Constellation*



What is remarkable about Dufay's manipulation of the KI constellation is how he consistently varies motto repetition. Indeed, this constellation manifests itself in a variety of clever ways, manipulated through melodic ornamentation, melodic paraphrase,

rhythmic variation, new contrapuntal combinations, new voicing, motto segment omission, and delayed presentation. If examined out of context, comparing the first statement of the KI motto constellation to the more abstract final statement in Agnus I is slightly bewildering. However, when each separate multi-voice motto is studied in relation to all other motto statements, Dufay's variation technique reveals itself as a process whereby mottos progressively change in a cumulative manner. In other words, rather than always returning to the initial multi-voice motto for musical inspiration, Dufay instead looks to the previous statement as a starting place for further variation. This is an important concept that will be revisited in many different analytical contexts during the course of this study.

In Example 4.28 the KIc (¹ and ²) segments are heard again in the tenor of Gloria II, but this time in a new multi-voice combination. Rather than sounding KIA in the superius, Dufay uses the technique of *Motto Recombination*, juxtaposing KIc with a new melodic motto – GIIa. Because of the ways that Dufay manipulates the ordering and arrangement of these segments in subsequent Gloria sections, I have divided this GII motto into three separate *Motto Segments*: GIIa¹ (consisting of pitches 1-6), GIIa² (consisting of pitches 7-15), and GIIa³ (consisting of pitches 16-22). To ease motto identification in subsequent musical examples, I have labeled the pitches of each segment with arabic and lower case roman numerals.

Example 4.28 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria II, *Motto Recombination*

31

GIIa¹ GIIa² GIIa³

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

8

i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x

The same set of recombined mottos is later encountered in Gloria IV. This time however, the presentation of GIIa is varied. The motto begins normally with the sounding of the first six pitches of GIIa¹. There are two ways that we can interpret how Dufay proceeds with the superius motto. The first explanation is the more straightforward one, where the GIIa¹ and GIIa² segments are linked by five interpolated ornamental notes. The second explanation is slightly more bold – but possible nonetheless. Here, Dufay reverses the order of the GIIa² and GIIa³ segments. As shown in Example 4.29, this interpretation involves a crafty transition between the two segments by means of overlapping the last two pitches of GIIa³ with the first two pitches of GIIa² (which are incidentally the same).

Example 4.29 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria IV, *Motto Segmentation and Rearrangement*

107

GIIa¹ GIIa³ GIIa²

1 2 3 4 5 6 (16 17 18 19 20 21 22) 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

8

i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x

The recombined motto is encountered again as an *Internal motto* in Sanctus I (see Example 4.30). This remarkable example replicates exactly the pitch sequences of GIIa¹, GIIa², KIIc¹, and KIIc² of the original *Recombined Motto* (see Example 4.28). These examples above have more in common than mottos. In fact, in Gloria IV, through an additive motivic process, Dufay actually expands the GII/KI recombined motto to include new contrapuntal material in the contratenor labelled GIVb¹ and GIVb². This new repeated contrapuntal material is shown with brackets in Examples 4.29 and 4.30.

Example 4.30 Dufay Missa *Sine nomine*, Sanctus I, *Internal Motto*

The musical notation for Example 4.30 consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 12-measure bracket labeled GIIa¹. The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and an 8-measure bracket labeled GIVb¹. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and an 8-measure bracket labeled KIIc¹. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some measures containing Roman numerals (i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, viii, x).

In Credo II, there is yet another recurrence of the *KI/GII Recombined Motto* (see Example 4.31). Here, Dufay probably looked back to the motto of Gloria IV for inspiration (see Example 4.29). In the Credo II, Dufay omits segment GIIa² and abbreviates the presentation of GIIa¹ to a mere three pitches. Reversing the procedure in the KI motto constellation examples above, where Dufay employs an additive variation process, in this case, he uses a subtractive process where each successive transformation builds upon (or takes away from) the previous motto.

Example 4.31 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Credo II, Motto Transformation

Besides the reiteration of *KI motto constellations* I have uncovered a complex network of other multi-voice mottos that play important unifying roles in all sections of the Mass. There is an example of a *Motto Module* in the Christe section and the Credo I. Examples 4.32 and 4.33 depict the *KII Motto Module*.

Example 4.32 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie II *KII-Motto Module*

Example 4.33 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Credo I, *KII-Motto Module*

Two *Internal Motto Modules* based on KI material can be found at the words “*gratias agimus tibi*” of the Gloria I and the word “*dominus*” of the Sanctus I (see Examples 4.34 and 4.35).

Example 4.34 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria I, Internal *gratias agimus* Motto

Example 4.35 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus I, Internal *gratias agimus* Motto

Two other more extended *Internal Motto Modules* (see Examples 4.36 and 4.37) link Kyrie II and Gloria III.

Example 4.36 Dufay *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie II *Internal Motto Module*

Example 4.37 Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*, conclusion to GII and beginning of GIII, *Internal Motto Module*



In Table 4.8 on the following page, I summarize motto arrangement in Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*.

Table 4.8 Dufay *Missa Sine Nomine* Motto Arrangement

Mvmnt.	Superius	Contratenor	Tenor	Motto Type
Kyrie				
I	KIa (ai, aii)	KIb	KIc (ci, cii)	Initial KI Constellation
"kyrie eleison" ²			KI ² c	Internal Motto
II	KIIa-----KIIb-----KIIc			Initial KII Module
"Christe" ²	KI ² a	KI ² b	KI ² c	Internal KI ² Module
III	KIIIa //////////////// KIIIb //////////////// KIIIc			Initial KIII Constellation
"Kyrie iii"	KIc(+7) S/C/T imitation (3 pitches, 3 sb time interval)	KIb	KIc (-5)	Internal KI Motto
Gloria				
I "Ieison. Et in"		KI ² b	KI ² c	Internal Motto Module
"gratias"	KIa' (ai)	x	KI ² c	Internal Motto /KIa-x module Recombination with KIa'
II	GIIa (ai, aii, aiii)-		KIc (ci, cii)	Initial GII Constellation Recombination with KIc, ii
"qui tollis"	KIIIa //////////////// KIIIb //////////////// KIIIc			Internal KIII Constellation
III				
"stram. Qui sedes"	KI ² a	KI ² b	KI ² c	Internal KI ² Module
"dei patris"			KI ² c	Internal (Partial module)
IV	GIIa (ai, aiii, aii)	GIVb	KIc (ci, cii)	GII' Constellation Module- see Sanctus Recombination with GIVb
Credo				
I	KIIa-----KIIb-----KIIc			KII Module
II	GIIa (ai, aiii, aii)	GIVb	KIc (ci, cii)	GII' Constellation Recombination with GIVb
III		KIIIb //////////////// KIIIc		KIII Constellation
Sanctus				
I	KIa (ai, aii)	KIb	KIc (cii, ci, cii)	KI Constellation a-b Partial Module
"sanctus"	GIIa (ai, aiii, aii)	GIVb	KIc (ci, cii)	GII' Module (see GIV) Recombination with GIVb
"dominus"	KIa' (ai)	x	KI ² c	Internal KIa-x module
II		SIlb		Melodic Motto
III	KIa (ai)	SIlb-KIb	KIb- KIc (ci, cii)	KI Constellation Recombination with SIlb
Agnus				
I	KIa (ai)	KIb delayed	SIlb	Recombination
II	GIIa (ai)		KIc (ci, cii)	GII constellation
III	KIa (ai)			Melodic Motto

The results relayed in this table now permit us to revisit Hamm's arguments and ask: 1) does the Credo belong? and 2) is this Mass unified? As we see, nothing about the Credo brings attention to its alleged status as a “foreign entity.” In fact, all mottos found in the Credo echo material encountered in previous movements. The Credo fits beautifully with the Mass’s motto design, assimilating motto material from both the Kyrie and Gloria movements. Like the Reson Mass, the openings of all movements and all subsections bare mottos, most of which are for multiple voices in constellations, modules or recombined forms. Also comparable to the Reson Mass is the fact that most principal mottos (with the exception of GIIa) are initially presented in the Kyrie movement. Dufay employs a total of four multi-voice motto groups introduced in Kyrie I, II, and III (KI, KII, KI² and KIII). Throughout the Mass, Dufay specifically gives a prominent role to the KI motto constellation, which is reiterated in no less than thirteen sections. As with the Reson Mass, there is evidence of rational motto organization. For example, the *KI Constellation* is featured in Kyrie I, Sanctus I, Agnus I, Kyrie III, and Sanctus III. The *KIII Constellation* is featured in Kyrie III and Credo III, the recombined *GII Constellation* is featured in Gloria II, Credo II and Agnus II.

Finally, given the complexities of motto organization in Dufay’s *Missa sine nomine*, this Mass hardly seems illustrative of a composers’ “first response” to cyclic design. Rather than giving the impression of having been “patched together,” Dufay’s Mass displays inter and intra-movement coherence through its systematic approach toward the reiteration of motto constellations and modules. Throughout the Mass, Dufay continually varies his approach to motto design and motto arrangement by incorporating *Motto Constellations*, *Motto Modules*, *Derivative Mottos*, and *Internal Mottos* and applying sophisticated motto techniques such as *Motto Transformation*, *Motto*

Segmentation, Recombination, and Contrapuntal Motto Expansion. Given this overwhelming evidence for cyclic design in Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*, we can now turn to the Lymburgia Mass to verify whether it demonstrates a comparable level of sophistication in terms of its motto design.

Motto Unification in Lymburgia's *Missa sine nomine*

A work that should be considered in conjunction with the freely-composed Masses of Dufay and Reson as responsible for launching the *sine nomine* tradition on the Continent is a complete Mass setting (located in Bologna Q15) by Johannes Lymburgia.⁴⁷ The somewhat perplexing structure and complicated unification strategies of Lymburgia's only extant complete cyclic Mass have garnered the attention of scholars such as Charles Hamm, Philip Gossett and Jerry Haller Etheridge.⁴⁸ The Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo of this Mass share several global parameters, as all three movements have the same signatures (natural, flat, flat), clefs (c¹c²c³), and finals (F), and all are written for three voices. Lymburgia deviates from this formal scheme in the Sanctus and Agnus movements, which are both written for four voices with finals on C. Furthermore, the Sanctus movement alternates between *unus* (two-voice) and *chorus* (four-voice) sections and is troped with the text *Admirabilis splendor*. Charles Hamm attributes these inconsistencies to the “composite” construction of the Mass, and it is for this reason that he classifies it,

⁴⁷ Bologna Q15 contains no less than 46 compositions by Lymburgia. This impressive number of works suggests that he may have been personally involved with the compilation of Bologna Q15. See Margaret Bent, “A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 As a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative,” *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 183-201. Also see Guillaume De Van, “Inventory of Manuscript Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37),” *Musica Disciplina* II (1948): 231-257.

⁴⁸ See: Charles Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” 5-21. Also see: Philip Gossett, “Techniques of Unification,” 205-231. Etheridge, “The works of Johannes Lymburgia,” 182-186.

along with other contemporaneous Bologna Q15 works such as Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*, under the common rubric of “transitional” Masses.⁴⁹

Etheridge and Gossett have disputed Hamm’s claims convincingly and have uncovered compelling evidence to indicate that cyclic organization in Lymburgia's Mass predominantly occurs at the level of the motto.⁵⁰ According to Gossett:

there is actually a complicated network of head-motives linking all five movements together. The Sanctus and Agnus share a motive while the Kyrie opening agrees in some respects with the Gloria and Credo motto and in others with the Sanctus and Agnus motto.⁵¹

Etheridge elaborates on Gossett’s observations, finding further proof of common motto material among movements. One of his most perceptive observations is the identification of a long melodic motto in the superius voice of the first Kyrie section that extends well beyond the first phrase and continues through to the end of the second line of text in the *Kyrie eleison*. I have found that the initial superius motive actually continues to the end of the movement. This melodic motto is found above in Example 4.2.

Lymburgia's KI motto (consisting of KIa¹, KIa², KIa³ and KIa⁴ segments) is divided in a manner that is comparable to the KIc and GIla mottos of Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*. In the initial presentation of this motto, Lymburgia employs rests to articulate formal divisions between the four segments. As it turns out, Lymburgia also uses rests to emphasize subsequent entries of these mottos in other parts of the Mass. Of the twenty *KI Motto Segments* found in Lymburgia's Mass, nineteen are either preceded or followed by a rest. Though similar techniques of *Motto Articulation* are present in the *sine nomine*

⁴⁹ Hamm, “The Reson Mass,” *passim*.

⁵⁰ Gossett, “Techniques of Unification,” 218. Etheridge, “The works of Johannes Lymburgia,” 182-186.

⁵¹ Gossett, “Techniques,” 216.

Masses of many other fifteenth-century composers, it is indeed rare to find it employed in such a heavy-handed manner. Besides Lymburgia, I have only found Reson to use this technique with comparable consistency.⁵² Lymburgia's persistence in presenting rest-articulated mottos may seem mechanical, but it demonstrates a preoccupation with structural clarity and motivic regularity that is simply exceptional for such an early cyclic Mass. We shall see that as the fifteenth century progresses, composers find alternative approaches to *Motto Articulation*.

Further evidence to suggest motivic sensitivity is manifest in musico-poetic interactions between mottos. As shown in Table 4.9 on page 164, *KI Motto Segments* play a predominant unifying role throughout Lymburgia's Mass – not only at the beginning of movements and their subsections, but also in internal positions. Almost all *KI Internal Mottos* in Lymburgia's Mass are strategically placed so as to donate rhetorical weight to explicit textual references to Christ or to draw attention to the troped Sanctus section. For example, Lymburgia employs *Internal Mottos* to highlight the words “*Kyrie eleison*” (KIa¹, KIa², KIa³, KIa⁴) and “*Christe eleison*” (KIa³, KIa⁴), at the words “*Domine deus rex celestis*” (KIa⁴) of Gloria II, at “*Jesum Christum*” (KIa²) and “*Amen*” (KIa³) of Gloria IV, and at “*Et in unum dominum Jesum Christum*” (KIa³) of Credo I. Internal mottos also donate rhetorical emphasis to the particularly significant telescoped trope “*Admirabilis splendor, in marcessibilis*” (KIa²) located in Sanctus I. Therefore, this work represents one of the earliest known examples of cyclic unification by means of musico-poetic motto interactions. This form of musico-textual allusion is not unlike other intertextual techniques that have been uncovered by Christopher Reynolds in his study of the Masses

⁵² In his *sine nomine* Mass, Reson articulates nearly all head-motive occurrences with rests. He employs rests to demarcate head-motive material in Kyrie I,II, III, Gloria I, II,III,Credo I,II,V,VI, and Sanctus I and III.

of San Pietro B80. In the cases presented by Reynolds, multiple motivic chanson allusions are used within the context of Mass Ordinary settings – apparently as a means of providing textual interplay with cantus firmi texts.⁵³ By repeating the same melody or contrapuntal block of voices upon each recurrence of the same poetic allusion, Lymburgia creates a rich intratextual web. Unlike Reynold’s model, where intertextual meaning is gleaned from outside of the Mass (similar to the glossing or commentary tradition in rhetorical and theological studies) Lymburgia seeks meaning from within. By associating the Trinity with the same musical motive, Lymburgia’s Mass becomes a type of reflective and transcendental exercise in meditation.

Comparable rhetorically motivated integration procedures are manifest in other *sine nomine* Masses of the fifteenth century, suggesting that the practice of highlighting references to the Holy Trinity (and its constituent parts) with musical mottos may actually reflect those gesticulations intrinsic to rituals associated with the liturgy. Kneeling, genuflecting, and bowing are part of a long-standing gestural tradition associated with the Catholic Mass. Of significance to this study is the time-honored practice of partially bowing when mention is made of Jesus Christ, the Father, the Holy Ghost or the Virgin Mary. For now, I will simply suggest that musical mottos may have assumed symbolic significance through their association with certain significant words in the Mass. Seen in this way, the motto would have served the mechanical function of eliciting a bow from the celebrant(s), the symbolic function of signifying the Holy Trinity, the spiritual function of inducing group contemplation of the Lord's name, and the unifying function

⁵³ See Christopher Reynolds, “Counterpoint of Allusion in Fifteenth-Century Masses,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 228-260. Also: Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

of linking all five movements of the Mass Ordinary. I call these musico-poetic motives *Dominus Mottos*.

Compared to the Masses of Reson and Dufay, this Mass is most explicit in showing its indebtedness to the tradition of Mass-pair unification through the reiteration of two separate sets of recombined mottos in the Gloria/Credo and Sanctus/Agnus movements. The Gloria and Credo in Example 4.38 and 4.39 present different variations of the same recombined group of melodic mottos (i.e. KIa¹, GIb, and GIc). While the superius (KIa¹) and tenor (GIc) are contrapuntally identical in both these movements, the contratenor presents a variation on the original GIb motto.

Example 4.38 Lymburgia Missa *sine nomine*, Gloria I, *Recombined Motto*

Example 4.39 Lymburgia Missa *sine nomine*, Credo I, *Recombined Motto*

In the Sanctus GIb, SIc, and SIc are heard in *Motto Recombination*. This motto group is later heard at the opening of the Agnus (see Examples 4.40 and 4.41).

Example 4.40 Lymburgia *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus *Motto Module*

The musical score for Example 4.40 is a four-part setting of the Sanctus motto module. It is written for four voices: KLa (Kantor), Glb (Gloria), SLe (Sanctus), and SId (Sanctus). The time signature is 3/4. The KLa part begins with a long, sustained note, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The other voices enter with similar rhythmic patterns, creating a polyphonic texture.

Example 4.41 Lymburgia *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus *Motto Module*

The musical score for Example 4.41 is a four-part setting of the Agnus motto module. It is written for four voices: KLa (Kantor), Glb (Gloria), SLe (Sanctus), and SId (Sanctus). The time signature is 3/4. The KLa part begins with a long, sustained note, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The other voices enter with similar rhythmic patterns, creating a polyphonic texture.

Motto technique in Lymburgia's Mass stands in stark contrast to that of Dufay and Reson in several fundamental ways. First, Lymburgia primarily intones mottos at the beginnings of movements, while Dufay and Reson reiterate motto material in nearly all sections and subsections of their Masses. Second, where multi-voice mottos occur, Lymburgia prefers modular or exact polyphonic repetition of mottos (e.g. Gloria/Credo and Sanctus/Agnus head motive modules) and eschews experimentation with some of the more “progressive” recombination and variation techniques observed in the *sine nomine* Mass of Dufay. Lymburgia's Mass is comparable to Dufay's *Missa sine nomine* in that it gives one motto a prominent role as unifying agent for the entire work. In both Masses, KLa mottos (including all segments) are reiterated throughout.

Table 4.9 Motto Arrangement in Lymburgia's *Missa sine nomine*

Mvmt.	Superius	Contratenor	Tenor	Contra.	Type
Kyrie					
I	Kla ¹ -Kla ² -Kla ³ -Kla ⁴				Rest-articulated Mottos
II	Kla ³ -Kla ⁴ -Kla ³	KIlb			
III	Kla ⁴		KIIlc		
Gloria					
I	Kla ¹	Glb		Glc	Motto Module
II	Kla ² -Kla ³				Internal Motto
"Domine deus rex celestis"			KIIlc		
III	Kla ⁴				
IV	"Jesum Christum"				Internal Motto
	Kla ²				
	"Amen"				Internal Motto
	Kla ³				
Credo					
I	Kla ¹	Glb		Glc	Motto Module
"Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum"			KIlb		Internal Motto
	Kla ³				
II					
III					
IV					
Sanctus					
I	Kla ¹	Glb		Slc Sld	Motto Module
"Admirabilis splendor in marcessabilis"					Internal Motto
	Kla ²				
II					
III					
IV					
V	Kla ¹				
VI					
VII					
Agnus					
I	Kla ¹	Glb		Slc Sld	Motto Module
II					
III	Slc				

Redefining the Motto Mass

Given the overwhelming evidence for inter-movement unification in Dufay and Lymburgia's works, it is clear that Hamm's assessment of the Reson Mass as the first truly unified Mass composition is incorrect. It was Hamm's incomplete analytical criteria that made him perceive Dufay's *Missa sine nomine* and the other Bologna Q15 Masses as lacking unity, and as a result, this significantly influenced how he positioned these works in his evolutionary narrative of the cyclic Mass. Rather than occupying a unique position in the history of the cyclic Mass, Reson's *Missa sine nomine* fits into a Continental tradition alongside other equally unified contemporaneous works. If we need to name a true creative pioneer in *sine nomine* Mass construction it is Dufay. In his *Missa sine nomine*, he manipulates repeated material with sensitivity and intelligence. Unlike Reson and Lymburgia, Dufay employs a whole spectrum of motto-types: *Modules*, *Constellations*, *Internal Mottos* and motto variation procedures including: *Motto Recombination*, *Motto Segmentation*, and *Contrapuntal Motto Expansion*.

Among the Masses of Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia there is enough procedural uniformity to ascertain that there were certain established routines that guided motto-Mass composition. At the beginning of this chapter I presented a list of expectations pertaining to mottos. My investigation has forced me to reassess most of these preconceptions. Here is a summary of my revised evaluation of motto technique with new criteria added with asterisks at the end:

1. *One fundamental motto unifies a sine nomine Mass.*

- Any number of mottos can unify a *sine nomine* Mass.

2. *All initial statements of mottos are first encountered in the Kyrie movement.*

- Initial statements of mottos can be encountered for the first time in any movement and in any subsection. However, most prominent mottos are initially introduced at the opening of the three sections of the Kyrie movement.

3. *A motto can involve any number of voices; it can be found in a single voice or in multiple voices.*

- A motto can involve any number of voices; it can be found in a single voice or in multiple voices.

4. *Mottos are usually a few breves long.*

- Mottos can be any length.

5. *Mottos usually return in strict or slightly varied form.*

- Mottos usually return in varied form; they typically undergo melodic variation through ornamentation or pitch deletion, rhythmic variation, and harmonic transformations.

6. *Mottos are primarily found at the beginnings of movements*

- Mottos can be found at the beginnings of movements and of major subsections within movements.

7. *A secondary motto can sometimes be encountered at the beginning of a section of a movement.*

- “Secondary” mottos are encountered at the beginning of movements and at the head of subsections of movements. However, “secondary” does not seem to be an appropriate term, given the prominent role that non-Kyrie I motives play in *sine nomine* Masses.

8. *Mottos never recur in positions other than Mass movement or subsection beginnings.*

- Mottos do not only recur in the first measures of a section. They can also recur after the beginning as *Internal Mottos*.

9. *Motto-Mass compositions are unsophisticated when compared to cantus firmus works.*

- Motto-Mass compositions are sophisticated compositions that employ techniques of repetition and variation that are as complex as those found in cantus firmus works.

*10. *Mottos can be presented as Segments, Modules, or Constellations. They can be manipulated through Transformation, Recombination, Contrapuntal Motto Expansion, Motto Articulation, or Delayed Motto Entry.*

*11. *Internal mottos often mark rhetorically important words or textual phrases. They are often highlighted through rest-articulation, cadences and imitation. When specifically employed to highlight reference to the Trinity they are known as Dominus Mottos.*

*12. *Many Franco-Flemish composers arranged mottos in symmetrical and patterned ways.*

My findings regarding motto unification suggest that composers were already well versed in sophisticated compositional techniques involving long-range repetition and variation, decades before the impact of the English cantus firmus Mass was felt on the Continent. As evident in the musical examples and analyses presented above, *sine nomine* Masses of the early fifteenth century employed a much richer and more multifaceted approach to motto construction than previously acknowledged. Thanks to pioneers such as Dufay, Reson, and Lymburgia, who were responsible for experimenting with and establishing motto-techniques, these systematic repetition procedures would form the basis of *sine nomine* composition for the rest of the century.

Chapter 5 The English *Sine nomine* Mass Tradition

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

~*Tinctoris*, *Proportionale musices*¹

Introduction

In his *Proportionale musices* (1473-74), Johannes Tinctoris famously refers to a “new art” detectable in the compositions of Dufay, Binchois, Ockeghem, Busnois, Regis, and Caron, claiming that the “fount and origin” of modern Continental musical practice can be traced to England – particularly to the works of John Dunstable. This English musical style, described as the *contenance angloise*, after Martin Le Franc, is typically associated with free-flowing melodic and rhythmic motion and “sweet” consonance-rich contrapuntal language.² It is also linked to particular English genres and subgenres – the

¹ Johannes Tinctoris, “Proportionale musices,” translated in *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History*, edited by Leo Treitler (New York and London: Norton: 1998), 291-93. Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay, Corpus scriptorium de musica 22 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

² See Martin Le Franc, who writes in *Le champion des dames* (1438-42) about a new, English approach to musical composition that he dubs *contenance angloise*; “The Fount and Origin (Martin Le Franc, Tinctoris)” in *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*, selected and annotated by Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984) 79-81. Also see David Fallows, “The Contenance Angloise: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century.” *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987): 189-208. Reinhard Strohm, “Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a ‘Rebirth’ of the Arts,” in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. R. Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, *The New Oxford History of Music* 3 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Margaret Bent, “The Musical Stanzas in Martin Le Franc’s *Le Champion des Dames*,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance, Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, 91-127 (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

cantilena, the English isorhythmic motet, the three-voice tenor motet, and most prominently, the cyclic cantus firmus Mass.³

The great influence of the English cantus firmus Mass on Continental cyclic Mass composition has been well documented.⁴ Further details however, concerning English musical influence *prior* to the invention of the cyclic cantus firmus Mass, are less clear. For example, is Bukofzer correct when he states that motto and cantus firmus Mass compositions “arose independently but developed . . . in exactly parallel stages”?⁵ Is it true that the beginning of the fifteenth century witnessed the inception of two separate “schools” of musical composition – one Franco-Flemish and one English – that, as Strohm claims, did not merge until the Council of Basel (1431-1449)?⁶ The idea that two relatively hermetic compositional traditions existed up to the mid-century has been challenged by Gareth Curtis, who detects English influence on the large-scale design of Continental Mass cycles composed as early as the 1420s (e.g. Dufay's *Missa Sancti Jacobi*).⁷ It has also been challenged by Julie Cumming who posits that Continental composers “heard and sang English music in the 1420s” citing the Council of Constance

³ Julie Cumming argues that Continental composers such as Pullois and Dufay borrowed certain rhythmic styles, textures, and subgenres from English music (i.e. English cantilena style, Caput texture, the three-voice tenor motet), in *The Motet in the Age of Dufay* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), *ibid.*, but especially 290-97.

⁴ Manfred Bukofzer, “*Caput*: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950), 217-310. Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet: 1420-1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963). Gareth Curtis, “Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass,” in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, edited by Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992): 154-164. Margaret Bent and Ian Bent, “Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer, A New Source,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22 (1969): 394-424. Andrew Kirkman, *The Three Voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Style, Distribution and Case Studies* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995). Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music: 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁵ Manfred Bukofzer, “*Caput*: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” 219.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 221. On the Council of Basel (1431-49) see Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 138, 238-66.

⁷ See Curtis, “Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass,” 156-157.

(1414-1418) and French-English contact after the Battle of Agincourt (1415) as the predominant contributing factors.⁸

Attempts to distinguish between two different European Mass traditions are frustrated by a lack of extant fifteenth-century insular sources.⁹ In fact, most English works have come down to us only because of the efforts of Continental scribes who, enchanted with the *contenance angloise*, copied countless pieces onto the folios of Aosta, Trent, Modena X.1.11, Strahov, the Lucca Choirbook, and Brussels 5557. In these manuscripts however, a somewhat distorted picture of English music is conveyed, for it seems that the intentions of Continental scribes were chiefly practical – rather than being driven by a desire to transmit faithful copies, they adapted English works to suit local liturgical practices.¹⁰ Although the term “Anglicanus” was often used to indicate English provenance, as shown by Margaret Bent, Gareth Curtis, and Andrew Kirkman, Continental scribes often suppressed stylistic trademarks that were particularly insular. They rearranged voicing, and mixed up proportions, sometimes converting C to cut-C. They disguised “Englishness” through the modification of distinctly English melodic figures, the omission of simultaneous caesuras, the alteration of telescoped and/or

⁸ Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 96-7.

⁹ A complete list of English liturgical music from Old Hall through to the Eton Choirbook has been prepared by Andrew Wathey and Gareth Curtis, “Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory,” in *Royal Music Association Research Chronicle* 27 (1994): 1-69. Margaret Bent has attributed the poor survival of English music in insular sources more to “the plundering of obsolete parchment MSS by early sixteenth-century bookbinders and others than to the later ravages of the Reformation or to neglect by fifteenth-century English patrons, as is confirmed by the ever-increasing tally of fragments recovered from bindings.” See “Introduction” in *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music II: Four Anonymous Masses*, Early English Church Music 22, transcribed and edited by Margaret Bent (London: Stainer and Bell, 1979), x.

¹⁰ According to Margaret Bent, English sources of Mass music “normally included the Kyrie . . . mostly used black notation with both red and void coloration, and the mensuration signs O and C (never C/). Furthermore, the scribes tended to assign only one opening of the MS to each movement, to dispose the voices in a manner different from the Continental norm, to attach voice-labels only to the Tenor and to a true untexted Contratenor (if any), to provide text for at least the two upper voices, and to avoid notating rests in duets.” See “Introduction” in *Four Anonymous Masses*, x.

truncated texts, the omission of intonations at the beginnings of Mass movements, and the “decapitation” of *prosula* Kyries in Mass Ordinary settings.¹¹ According to Andrew Kirkman, “the copies of English works in the distant sources which do survive represent stages of transmission a long way from their originals” – a cautionary reminder that failing to acknowledge the corrupted, stylistic “baggage” carried by these Masses can potentially lead to inaccurate conceptions of what exactly constitutes fifteenth-century English musical style.¹²

Even with all of these scribal corruptions and uncertainties, scholars have been able nonetheless, to flesh out a compelling narrative for English Mass music of the fifteenth century. One of the most useful discussions has been provided by Reinhard Strohm, who has shown how, in the years leading up to ca. 1450, the English actually cultivated three different types of cyclic Mass – the isorhythmic or “strict” cantus firmus Mass, the “free” cantus firmus Mass, and the freely-composed (non cantus firmus) or *sine nomine* Mass.¹³ Apparently, throughout the fifteenth century, some of England's most venerated composers experimented with this latter Mass type. Among them, there is a composer from the first half of the century (affiliated with Curtis’s “Band I”) – John Benet (d. 1458), to whom two Mass settings have been attributed, and six mid-century composers (“Band II”) – including John Bedingham (d. 1459-1460), John Standley (fl. c.

¹¹ On these stylistic changes made by Continental scribes, see Bent, “Introduction,” in *Four Anonymous Masses*, x. On suppressing Englishness on the Continent see Gareth Curtis, “Stylistic Layers in the English Mass Repertory c.1400-1450,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 109 (1982-83): 23-38; and “Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass,” 154-64.

¹² Kirkman, *The Three Voice Mass*, 173. Brian Trowell, “Proportion in the Music of Dunstable,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 105 (1978-1979): 100-41. Brian Trowell, “Some English Contemporaries of Dunstable,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 81st session* (1954-55): 77-92.

¹³ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 402. Interest in the three-voice isorhythmic Mass waned in the 1450s, and was supplanted by the strict tenor Mass for four voices of the Caput Mass variety.

1450), Henricus Tik, Walter Frye (d. 1475), John Plummer (ca. 1410-1484), and Richard Cox (fl. c. 1450).¹⁴

Movements from John Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. I* are found in the early stage I copying process of the Bologna Q15 manuscript (ca. 1420-25), meaning that this Mass is one of the first English cycles – perhaps even older than the *Missa Rex seculorum* and Power's *Alma redemptoris mater*.¹⁵ Given that Bologna Q15 is a Continental manuscript, we should assume that the Benet Mass would have taken some time to migrate to the Continent. This pushes back the probable composition date to the early years of the fifteenth century (ca. 1410-15) – meaning that Benet's Mass may very well have been a Council of Constance (1414-1418) “showpiece.”

The Benet *Missa sine nomine no. I* can be considered therefore, as part of the first pioneering group of *sine nomine* compositions, alongside Continental Masses by Johannes Reson (Bologna 2216), Guillaume Dufay (ca. 1420-25, copied during Stage I of Bologna Q15), and Johannes Lymburgia (ca. 1430-1433, copied during Stage II of Bologna Q15) as all of these works appear in manuscripts with roughly comparable dating.¹⁶ This means that during the first half of the fifteenth century there is evidence

¹⁴ The “Band I,” “II,” and “III” designations have been assigned by Gareth Curtis in his invaluable study of the stylistic chronological relationships in English music “Stylistic Layers in the English Mass Repertory,” 23-38. “Band I” (including Power, Benet, Bloyne and Driffelde) represents composers who flourished before the death of John Dunstable (d. 1453) while “Band II” (Plummer, Bedingham, Cox and Frye) represents mid-generation composers, and “Band III” includes those composers featured in the Eton Choirbook.

¹⁵ From what Margaret Bent has revealed to us about the complex patterns of assembly and disassembly of the Bologna Q15 manuscript, there were three stages of copying: stage I ca. 1420-25; stage II ca. 1430-33; and stage III 1433-35. Margaret Bent, “A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative,” *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987):183-201. See *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music IV: Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, transcribed and edited by Gareth Curtis, Early English Church Music 42 (London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer and Bell, 2001), ix.

¹⁶ Trent 87, where the earliest versions of the Benet and Pullois Masses appear, was copied between the 1430s and 40s and shares many concordances with Aosta and Bologna Q15 – manuscripts of the same period in which the *sine nomine* Masses by Dufay and Lymburgia are found. See Peter Wright, *The Related*

that two *sine nomine* traditions actually existed concurrently – one English and one Continental.¹⁷

This chapter will begin with an investigation of two pre-1450 Masses of undisputed English provenance by John Benet. Analysis of these two works together with a Mass by John Bedingham will help to reveal general trends in the English Mass repertory – trends that will permit a comparison between English and Continental *sine nomine* traditions. Focus will then turn to the *Missa sine nomine* by Johannes Pullois. Gareth Curtis has questioned the attribution of this work, suggesting that it is “isolated . . . from the main Continental tradition of Mass composition at this time” and that it actually exhibits traits typifying English style.¹⁸ Curtis's arguments against Continental origins raise several fascinating questions regarding exactly what stylistic attributes and unification techniques constitute English versus Continental *sine nomine* Mass traditions. Comparing unification strategies in the Pullois Mass to other contemporaneous *sine nomine* Masses of both English and Continental origin will aid in reassessing whether the Pullois work satisfies or challenges stylistic expectations and whether it truly represents a so-called “case of mistaken identity.”¹⁹

Parts of Trent, Museo Provinciale d'arte, MSS 87 (1374) and 92 (1379): A Paleographical and Text-Critical Study (New York and London: Garland, 1989).

¹⁷ I discuss the Continental *sine nomine* tradition as exemplified by Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia in Chapter 5.

¹⁸ Gareth Curtis, “Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass – Or a Case of Mistaken Identity?” *Music and Letters* 62 (1981): 48.

¹⁹ From Curtis's title: “Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass – Or a Case of Mistaken Identity?”

The Origins of an English Cyclic Mass Tradition: John Benet's *Missa sine nomine*

John Benet's three-movement Mass (Gloria-Sanctus-Agnus) has been recognized as “one of the first surviving English cycles.”²⁰ The Sanctus and Agnus appear as a Mass pair in Bologna Q15 (Nos. 26-27) where they are attributed to “Jo benet anglicus/de anglia,” while the Gloria is found in Trent 92 (No. 1521) with an ascription to “Benet.” In Bologna Q15, it appears in the third gathering, thus coinciding (according to Margaret Bent) with stage I of the manuscript's copying process. Gareth Curtis, who has conducted the most detailed analysis of the Benet Mass to date, has pointed out that stylistically, with its short phrases, C-dot mensurations, metric uniformity, and passages of parallel fifth runs, the Mass seems to fit best into the mainstream of the repertory of the Old Hall manuscript rather than later generation English works.²¹ This Old Hall style certainly suggests an early date of composition for the Benet Mass – one that actually precedes all of the pioneering Continental *sine nomine* Masses investigated in Chapter 4.

Through his investigation of structural design in this work, Gareth Curtis has detected patterns in its mensural and textural organization and in the relative durations of sections. Curtis shows how Benet employs the same mensural pattern from movement to movement – one that uniformly adheres to a Cdot/O/Cdot pattern throughout subsections of the Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus.²² He argues that further evidence of cyclic coherence

²⁰ See Curtis, “Introduction,” in *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music IV: Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, ix. Gareth Curtis's transcription of the Benet Mass is found on pages 3-13 of this volume. An earlier edition of the Mass appears in *Trienter Codices V*, edited by Rudolf Ficker in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 61 (Vienna: Universal, 1924): 85-87 (Gloria); and in *Early English Harmony from the 10th to the 15th Century: Transcriptions and Notes Vol 2*, edited by H.V. (Dom Anselm) Hughes (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1913), 120-126 (Sanctus and Agnus dei).

²¹ Curtis, “Introduction,” in *Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, ix. This means that the Benet cycle's copy date is contemporaneous with that of Dufay's *Missa sine nomine* (copied into the first gathering during the same stage). See Chapter 4 for a discussion of Dufay's Mass.

²² According to Curtis's understanding of English mensural practice in the fifteenth century, the change from Cdot to O (with semibreve /minim movement) is idiosyncratic. He therefore assigns Benet's Mass (along with a four-voice Gloria Credo Mass-pair by Dunstable JD 11/12) to a hybrid or “transitional”

in the Mass can be observed in the alternation of two-voice sections (marked *solus* in Bologna Q15) and three-voice sections (marked *chorus* in Bologna Q15). Interestingly, many other works in Bologna Q15 share the same feature (see, for example, Lymburgia's *Missa sine nomine* and motet *Surrexit Christus hodie*, the *Salve Regina/Virgo mater* motets by Salinis and Power, and the English cantilena *Benedicta es caelorum*), so the alternation of *solus* and *chorus* sections may reflect more of a scribal predilection that is peculiar to the Bologna Q15 manuscript rather than a particularly English characteristic.²³ What is most compelling is Curtis's revelation that the Benet Mass is unified at deeper structural levels dictated by mathematical proportions. According to Curtis, the “amount of music in Cdot time in the Gloria (180 semibreves) is equal to that in Cdot time in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei combined (102 and 78 semibreves); and the Sanctus and Agnus Dei are connected by a simple ratio [3:2] between their three- and two-voice music.”²⁴

category in the English Mass repertory. Curtis discusses this in “Stylistic Layers,” 35. Dunstable's Mass differs from Benet in that the O sections are only for duos. The Benet includes all voices in O sections too. Dunstable's Mass-pair is published in *John Dunstable: Complete Works*, 2nd revised edition, prepared by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent, and Brian Trowell, *Musica Britannica* 8 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1970), JD 11 and JD 12. Curtis has divided up the English Mass repertory into three broad categories according to mensural practice: “i) those based on Cdot and/or C time, with movement mainly in semibreves and minims, ii) those using O and/or C time, with movement mainly in breves and semibreves,” and iii) “those using O time with movement mainly in semibreves and minims and C time mainly in breves and semibreves.” See Curtis, “Stylistic Layers,” 24. Charles Haam, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay: Based on a Study of Mensural Practice* (New York: Da Capo, 1986).

²³ Curtis, “Critical notes,” in *Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, 2. On Unus-chorus motets of Bologna Q15 see Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 132-134.

²⁴ Curtis, “Introduction,” *Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, x.

Table 5.1 Benet *Missa sine nomine* (Bologna Q15)

Movement	I		II		III	
<u>GLORIA</u>	Cdot	Voices; Final	O	Voices; Final	Cdot	Voices; Final
Subsections	<i>Et in terra Domine deus</i>	3 ; G 3 ; G	<i>Qui tollis Quoniam tu solus</i>	3 ; G 3 ; G	<i>Cum sancto</i>	3 ; D
<u>SANCTUS</u>	Cdot		O		C-dot	
Subsections	<i>Sanctus Dominus Pleni sunt</i>	3 ; D 3 ; D 2 ; D	<i>Osanna I Benedictus</i>	3 ; D 2 ; G	<i>Osanna II</i>	3 ; D
<u>AGNUS</u>	Cdot		O		C-dot	
Subsections	<i>Qui tollis Agnus dei</i>	3 ; D 2 ; C	<i>Miserere Agnus dei</i>	2 ; G 3 ; G	<i>Dona nobis</i>	3 ; D

Table 5.1 summarizes the layout of Benet's *Missa sine nomine*. Besides the tripartite sectioning of every movement and the alternation between Cdot and O mensurations (pointed out by Curtis),²⁵ the table also shows how Benet partitions all individual sections (section III has no subdivisions), how he employs uniform scoring throughout section III (3-voice texture), and how he consistently concludes congruous sections with the same tenor final (third sections end on a D Final and second sections end on a G Final).

Beyond unification strategies affecting the large-scale layout of the Mass, there are other local-level techniques detectable in Benet's contrapuntal language. The most obvious unifying device – the effect of which simply cannot be underestimated – is the repeated cadences. Cadences occur so frequently in this Mass that the effect is almost dizzying. Besides being found at the end of every textual phrase, cadences are also sounded at every half-phrase, and at times, they even punctuate every single word (see for example, the opening of the Agnus dei). As seen in the first Gloria subsection (shown in Example 5.1), the constant alternation between cadences on G (labelled “G”) and D

²⁵ Curtis, *Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, 1.

(labelled “D”) makes for so many stops and starts, that there is very little opportunity in between for the music to actually get off the ground.²⁶

While some of these cadences are evaded through continuous melodic motion in one or more voices, others are more final. At many cadences, the constant reiteration of entire blocks of counterpoint (indicated with boxes in Example 5.1), results in an almost over-the-top sense of consistency. All of this verbatim contrapuntal repetition directly conflicts with Rule 7 of Tinctoris’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, which prohibits the successive repetition of cadences – contrapuntal homogeneity that would have probably made the theorist cringe.²⁷ Indeed, Benet’s *Missa sine nomine* is far from being a model of *varietas*.

Example 5.1 Cadential Coherence in Benet’s *Missa sine nomine* no. 1; Gloria, *Et in terra*²⁸

The musical score consists of three systems of music, each with three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass). The first system is marked with a circled 'G' and the second and third systems are marked with a circled 'D'. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'Et in terra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bon - ne vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. A - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. A - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. A -'. The score shows significant repetition of musical blocks, particularly in the 'D' marked sections.

²⁶ I have extended many of the box outlines for the “A” and “B” cadences beyond the limits of the basic cadential structures so as to indicate how Benet replicates the surrounding counterpoint as well.

²⁷ Johannes Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents, 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 138. A thorough discussion of this rule can be found in chapter 3.

²⁸ All musical examples for Benet’s *Missa sine nomine* no. 1 are based on Curtis’s edition in *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music IV*, 3-13.

12 do - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. mus te. do - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. do - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

16 Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter

20 mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am. mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am. mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am.

Benet also contributes a sense of coherence to this Mass by employing motto beginnings.²⁹ Table 5.2 depicts the arrangement of mottos in the Benet Mass.³⁰ As shown here, Benet punctuates the openings of certain sections and subsections with GIa – a melodic motto that is reiterated a total of eight times throughout the Mass.

²⁹ See Chapter 4 for motto labelling system and analytical vocabulary.

³⁰ As in Chapter 4, the rows of the table represent separate movements and their subdivisions (i.e. Gloria I, II, III), while the columns indicate the separate voices in which specific mottos appear (i.e. superius, contratenor and tenor). So, for example, the first horizontal row reveals that the Gloria has the mottos GIa, GIb, and GIc in the superius, contratenor and tenor voices respectively. Together, these melodic mottos form a *Motto Constellation*.

Table 5.2 Motto Arrangement in Benet's *Missa sine nomine* (Bologna Q15)

Mvmt.	Superius	Contra	Tenor	Motto Type
<u>Gloria</u>				
I	Gla	Glb	Glc	GI Constellation
II	Gla			Melodic Motto
II	Gla			Melodic Motto
<u>Sanctus</u>				
I	Gla			Melodic Motto
II				
III	Gla (<i>Delayed Motto Entry</i>)			Melodic Motto
<u>Agnus</u>				
I	Gla	Glb (<i>Delayed</i>)	Glc	GI Constellation
II				
<i>Agnus dei</i>	Gla (<i>Delayed Motto Entry</i>)			Melodic Motto
	Gla (repeated)			Melodic Motto
III				

The GIa/GIb/GIc constellation is later reiterated at the beginning of the Agnus movement (see Example 5.2). Example 5.2 shows all recurrences of the GIa motto in its constellation arrangements (GIa/GIb/GIc), and Example 5.3 shows it in its melodic forms. In many of these examples, Benet employs *Motto Transformation* procedures.³¹ For example, Agnus I features an instance of *Delayed Motto Entry* wherein GIb enters only after the sounding of two introductory pitches.

Example 5.2 Benet: *Missa sine nomine no. 1*, GIa Motto Constellation

a) Opening of Gloria I

The musical score for the opening of Gloria I shows three staves. The Superius staff (top) is labeled 'Gla' and contains the melody for 'Et in terra pax hominibus'. The Contra staff (middle) is labeled 'Glb' and contains the melody for 'Et in terra pax hominibus'. The Tenor staff (bottom) is labeled 'Glc' and contains the melody for 'Et in terra pax hominibus'. The lyrics are written below the staves: 'Et in terra pax hominibus'.

³¹ Motto transformation is discussed in chapter 4.

b) Opening of Agnus I GIa features interpolated notes (marked with parentheses) while GIb undergoes *Delayed Motto Entry*

The image shows a musical score for three staves, labeled GIa, GIb, and GIc. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics 'Qui tol - - - - - lis.' are written below each staff. GIa and GIb have a bracketed section at the beginning, and GIc has a bracketed section at the end. The notation includes various note values, rests, and a flat symbol (b) in the final measure of GIc.

Similar examples of *Delayed Motto Entry* are found in Gloria II, Sanctus III, and Agnus II (see Example 5.3). Furthermore, though Benet maintains the general melodic contour of each motto, he frequently interpolates notes (indicated with parentheses), replaces, or omits certain melodic pitches – a variation procedure often encountered in English paraphrase practice. As discussed by Edgar Sparks, “before the time of Busnois the free tones are added in such a way as to produce a continuously changing melodic flow in which the fancy of the composer is restrained only by the necessity of giving the c.f. notes a position of some prominence in the melody line.”³²

Agnus II features the final appearance of GIa. Strangely, it is stated twice consecutively. When first heard in Agnus II (mm. 48-9), GIa cuts off prematurely, saving the full repetition for the second statement (mm. 50-2).

³² Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 62-63.

Example 5.3 Benet *Missa sine nomine no. 1*, GIa melodic mottos (cont...)

The image displays a musical score for five parts of a Mass: GLORIA II, GLORIA III, SANCTUS I, SANCTUS III, and AGNUS II. Each part is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The parts are arranged vertically. Each part features a melodic motto labeled 'GIa' in a box above the staff. The lyrics are written below the staves. The parts are: GLORIA II (Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di.), GLORIA III (Cum sanc), SANCTUS I (Sanc), SANCTUS III (O - san), and AGNUS II (Ag - nus de - i.).

Clearly, Benet makes liberal use of mottos in this Mass. His unification tactics however, contrast significantly with those of Dufay, Reson, and Lymburgia. Unlike his Continental contemporaries, Benet simply employs one motto to link together the three movements of this Mass. Furthermore, he is more concerned with the reiteration of melodic mottos (particularly the GIa motto in the superius) rather than of multi-voice mottos (e.g. the entire GIa/GIb/GIc *Motto Constellation* is only sounded twice). The existence of head motives in the Benet Mass confirms that motto technique did not originate *exclusively* as a Continental phenomenon in cyclic Mass Ordinary compositions.³³

³³ As noted by Sparks, though “it was primarily the English who cultivated the c.f. Mass while Continental composers were apt to use mottos or other devices . . . neither group restricted themselves absolutely to one type of treatment.” See Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 95.

***Missa Sine nomine No. 2* by Benet (or Dunstable or Power)**

Another early cyclic Mass that is purported to be by John Benet (or Dunstable or Power) reflects a more mature English style.³⁴ This complete, freely-composed Mass with a *prosula* Kyrie, hereafter referred to as Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, is found in no fewer than eight manuscript sources.³⁵ The earliest most complete versions are located in Aosta Seminario Maggiore 15 and Trent 87.³⁶ Its presence in the third section of the Aosta manuscript dates it before 1435-42.³⁷ Though Continental scribes have ascribed the Mass to John Dunstable and Lionel Power in various sources, Bukofzer has stated that “the consistent ascription to Benet in Ao [Aosta] is probably the most trustworthy. . . [and] rhythmic peculiarities and the treatment of dissonance suggest a composer other than Dunstable.”³⁸ Strohm has also argued for the Mass's ascription to Benet, “since the other two [composers] were more famous and more prone to attract false attributions.”³⁹ The Kyrie, which paraphrases the *Kyrie omnipotens pater* chant (originally sung at the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin) in the upper voices, reflects the widespread English custom of interpolating *proslae* texts into Kyrie movements.⁴⁰

³⁴ The work is published in *John Dunstable: Complete Works* 8, 2nd revised edition, No. 56-59, 71.

Margaret Bent discusses the work in *Dunstable* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 82.

³⁵ Manuscript sources include: CEC 300, 1v-2 (K); Cambrai 11, 20v-22 (G); Aosta 15, 194v-195, 207-210 (SAG); Braidense 74v-80 (SA); Trent 87, 37v-39, 103v-104v, 106v-107 (CSA); Trent 90 118v-120, 193v-195, 254v-257v (GCSA); Trent 92, 98 (S); Trent 93, 148v-150, 263v-265, 326v-329v (GCSA).

³⁶ The “Omnipotens pater” Kyrie was discovered by Bukofzer in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 300 (CEC 300).

³⁷ The first section (ff.13–48) may have been copied in Bologna between ca. 1428–32, while the second section (ff.49–158), copied between ca. 1430–35, and the third section (ff.159–258 1–12), copied between ca. 1435–42, were probably copied in the Basle-Strasbourg area. See Charles Hamm, and Jerry Call, “Sources MS IX: Renaissance Polyphony; 15th-century sources from northern Italy (and southern Germany),” in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed on 5 May, 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

³⁸ John Dunstable, *Complete Works*, edited by Manfred M. Bukofzer, *Musica Britannica: A National Collection of Music VIII* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1953), 189.

³⁹ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 232.

⁴⁰ Other common English *proslae* included *Deus creator omnium*, *Conditor kyrie*, and *Rex genitor*. On Prosula Kyries see: Margaret and Ian Bent, “Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer – a New Source,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22 (1969): 394-424.

In Benet's *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, Gareth Curtis has detected the use of cantus firmus variation techniques that are comparable to those found in the *Missa sine nomine* of Pullois (discussed below). For both Masses, Curtis proposes hypothetical chant lines that I find highly suspect. According to Curtis, the Benet Mass:

begins with ... the rise and fall *c-d-c* . . . leaps up to g (sometimes via f) and moves on to a. After the cadence on g is reached, it becomes more difficult to demonstrate exact parallels among all five movements; there seem, however, to be a series of clear moves down to low c, and the cadence that closes each opening section is also on c. . . Obviously, as in the work attributed to Pullois, one cannot be entirely sure that paraphrase technique is in use without producing the actual model. Nevertheless, if I am right about the constructional basis of the Pullois piece, the Dunstable/Leonel/Benet Mass seems a reasonably plausible brother.⁴¹

Curtis is not the first scholar to detect an ostensible cantus firmus. Many years ago, Rudolph Ficker too claimed that a double cursus cantus firmus could be perceived in each of the Mass movements.⁴² In the appendix to *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, Edgar Sparks uses Ficker's analysis as a problematic example of how cantus firmus interpretation can go awry. According to Sparks, in Ficker's approach, the supposed tenors "are all based on a major mode with C as tonic, they all cover a range of a ninth or tenth upward from C, and they all move upward and downward several times across this range. . . the problem is . . . whether correspondences are accidental or intentional. . . the existence of a c.f. appears doubtful."⁴³ I agree with Sparks's assessment that Benet's

⁴¹ Curtis, "Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass," 47-48.

⁴² Rudolph Ficker, "Die Kolorierungstechnik der Trienter Messen," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1920): 5-47.

⁴³ Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 420-421.

Missa sine nomine no. 2 is freely composed, as I am unable to detect clear repetition of a *cantus prius factus* from movement to movement.

Rather than employing a unifying *cantus prius factus*, Benet organizes each movement of his *Missa sine nomine no. 2* in other ways – namely with an overall tripartite scheme that features alternations between different mensurations and textures. As shown in Table 5.3, all movements incorporate divisions between *tempus perfectum* (marked triple) and *tempus imperfectum* (marked duple), and all movements alternate between reduced (two-voice) and full (three-voice) scoring.

According to what Gareth Curtis has revealed about mensural design in cyclic Masses of English provenance, Benet's Mass conforms perfectly to expectation. In fact, there is a distinctly English musical template that guides all of Benet's “background” structural divisions.⁴⁴ As exemplified in cantus firmus Masses such as the anonymous *Missa Fuit homo missus* (an English cantus firmus Mass that has also been discussed by Curtis), English composers typically create bipartite structures by strategically dividing Mass movements near their centres.⁴⁵ These structures are then reinforced with mensuration changes – usually from triple to duple time. English Masses frequently conclude with much shorter sections in triple time.⁴⁶ Subdivisions of movements tend to be quite regularly defined as well. For example, the Kyrie is usually divided “after the fourth or fifth prosula and perhaps again before the final one.”⁴⁷ In the Gloria, the mensuration change to duple time usually takes place before the first *Qui tollis* and the final division is often found at the *Cum sancto spiritu* section. A typical English Sanctus

⁴⁴ See Curtis's discussion in “Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass,” 155-156.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 155-156.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 156.

movement features the first mensuration change at the *Osanna I* and the *Agnus dei* usually involves an O-O-C mensural scheme.⁴⁸

Besides a uniform mensural design, scoring in Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2* is also consistent movement to movement (see Table 5.3). For example, all adjacent subsections of Benet's Gloria and Credo movements alternate between the same textures: Gloria I/Credo I (reduced, full); Gloria II/Credo II (reduced, full); Gloria III/Credo III (full) – scoring that happens to be identical with that of the anonymous English cantus firmus Mass *Missa Fuit homo missus*.⁴⁹ In fact, as shown in Table 5.3 on the following page, Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2* satisfies every one of the cantus firmus Mass design parameters for “Englishness” set out by Curtis.

⁴⁸ Kirkman, *The Three Voice Mass*, 163.

⁴⁹ Curtis, “Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass,” 155-156.

Table 5.3 Benet *Missa sine nomine* no. 2: Mensural Schemes, Scoring, and Motto Arrangement⁵⁰

	I		II		III	
<u>KYRIE</u>	Triple Time C-Final		Duple Time C-Final		Triple Time C-Final	
	<i>Kyrie I</i> <i>Kyrie II</i> <i>Kyrie III</i> <i>Nostra delectri.</i>	3 voices 2 2 3	<i>Christe</i> <i>Kyrie Spiritus</i>	2 voices 3	<i>Charis mat.</i>	3 voices
<u>GLORIA</u>	Triple Time C-Final		Duple Time C-Final		Triple Time C-Final	
	<i>Et in terra pax</i> <i>Laudamus te</i>	2 voices 3	<i>Qui tollis</i> <i>Qui tollis</i>	2 voices 3	<i>Cum sancto</i>	3 voices
<u>CREDO</u>	Triple Time C-Final		Duple Time C-Final		Triple Time C-Final	
	<i>Patrem omnipo.</i> <i>Et in unum Do.</i>	2 voices 3	<i>Crucifixus</i> <i>Et in spiritum</i>	2 voices 3	<i>Et exspecto</i>	3 voices
<u>SANCTUS</u>	Triple Time C-Final		Duple Time C-Final		Triple Time C-Final	
	<i>Sanctus</i> <i>Pleni sunt</i>	3 voices 2	<i>Osanna I</i> <i>Benedictus</i>	3 voices 2	<i>Osanna II</i>	3 voices
<u>AGNUS</u>	Triple Time C-Final		Triple-Time C-Final		Triple Time C-Final	
	<i>Agnus</i>	3 voices	<i>Agnus</i>	2 voices	<i>Agnus</i>	3 voices

Those sections that begin with mottos are outlined with patterned boxes.
Patterns are based on Table 5.

KI constellation

KIII constellation

GI constellation

SIII constellation

KI GI recombined motto

GIa/ SIb recombined motto

⁵⁰ Table 5.3 is loosely based on Gareth Curtis's Table 1 found in "Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass," 155. I have added many of my own features – all of which will be explained below.

Turning now to motto organization in Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, we can see that in Table 5.4 there is a clear separation between, on the one hand, the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo movements (unified by KI, KIII and GI *Constellations*) and on the other hand, the Sanctus, Agnus pair (unified by KI/GI *Recombined Mottos* and SIII constellations).

Table 5.4 Motto Arrangement in Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2*

Mvmnt.	Superius	Contra	Tenor	Motto Type
<u>Kyrie</u>				
I <i>Kyrie</i>				Introductory duet
<i>Kyrie</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
II				
<i>Kyrie spiritus</i>	KIa		KIc	KI Constellation
III <i>Charis matum</i>		KIIIb	KIIIc	KIII Constellation
<u>Gloria</u>				
I <i>Et in terra pax</i>	Gla'	Glb		GI Constellation
<i>Laudamus te</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
II				
<i>Qui tollis</i>	KIa		KIc	KI Constellation
III <i>Cum sancto</i>		KIIIb	KIIIc	KIII Constellation
<u>Credo</u>				
I <i>Patrem omnipotentem</i>				Introductory duet
<i>Et in unum</i>		KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
II <i>Crucifixus</i>	Gla'	Glb		GI Constellation
<i>Et in Spiritum</i>	Gla"		KIc	Recombined Motto
III				
<u>Sanctus</u>				
I <i>Sanctus</i>	Gla"		KIc	Recombined Motto
<i>Pleni sunt</i>	Gla"	SIb		Recombined Motto
II <i>Osanna I</i>		KIIIb		Melodic Motto
<i>Benedictus</i>	Gla"	SIb		Recombined Motto
III <i>Osanna II</i>	SIIIa		SIIIc	SIII Constellation
<u>Agnus</u>				
I	Gla"		KIc	Recombined Motto
II	Gla			Melodic Motto
III	SIIIa		SIIIc	SIII Constellation

As shown in Example 5.4, at its opening, Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2* plays with genre expectation, bearing all of the hallmarks of a work with an isorhythmic cantus firmus. Reminiscent of contemporaneous English motets such as John Dunstable's *Veni sancte spiritus/Veni creator*, and English Masses like Leonel Power's *Missa Alma redemptoris mater* (Credo movement), Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2* opens with a duet in the superius and contratenor voices (involving a paraphrased statement of the *omnipotens prosula* in the superius). Given the fact that pre-1450 Continental Masses (and indeed most *sine nomine* Masses of the entire fifteenth century) never feature introductory duos, this type of opening stands out prominently as something of a peculiarity in the repertory.

Example 5.4 Benet *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, opening of Kyrie movement⁵¹

The musical score is written for Superius and Contratenor voices. The time signature is 3/4, and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e om - ni - po - tens Pa - ter in - ge - ni - te no - bis mi - se - ris e - leis. The score includes measure numbers 1, 10, and 17. Measures 13-17 are marked with square brackets. The score also includes parts for Kyrie eleison (Kle) and Kyrie eleison (Klb).

⁵¹ The musical example is based on the transcription found in *John Dunstable: Complete Works* 8, 2nd revised edition, No. 56. Measures 13-17 in this edition are blank and are thus marked with square brackets.

The *KI Motto Constellation* of Benet’s Mass is initially encountered in a strange position (see Example 5.4). Rather than sounding in the first semibreves of the Kyrie movement (as is the case in most *sine nomine* motto-Masses), the three-voice *KI Motto Constellation* is only heard at m. 19 after the introductory superius/contratenor introductory duet. When the tenor enters it is in long note values – again, suggesting the presence of borrowed, rhythmicized chant (see Example 5.5 for entire KI motto). Any hope that the entry of the long-note tenor signals the presence of a cantus firmus is soon dashed, however, because the long-note style dissipates immediately after motto presentation is complete.

Example 5.5 Benet *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, Kyrie movement I: Entry of KIa constellation

The musical score for Example 5.5 is in 3/4 time. It consists of three staves: Superius (top), Contratenor (middle), and Tenor (bottom). The Superius and Contratenor parts enter at measure 19 with a melodic motif labeled KIa. The Tenor part enters at measure 19 with a long-note melodic motto labeled KIb. The lyrics 'son. Ky- ri- e qui pro- pri-o' are written below the staves. The Tenor part is labeled 'Kyrie' at the bottom.

After the tenor finishes stating its long-note melodic motto (which is approximately the same number of pitches as melodic mottos KIa and KIb), all three voices are equally active, often moving at a uniform pace. The long-note style only returns again for subsequent motto entries.

Some parallels can be drawn between Benet’s *Missa sine nomine* 2 Mass and what Julie Cumming has identified as the four voice “freely composed motet” – a subgenre that “has gone largely unrecognized until now.” Almost all of [the freely composed motets] begin at least one section with a fairly extensive duet, and in many cases the tenor

voices of these pieces begin with large note values, in the style of a long-note cantus firmus, so they do resemble tenor motets to some extent.⁵² Of the four-voice freely composed motets in the Trent codices, Cumming lists four anonymous English works: *Anima mea liquefacta est* (also à 3 in Trent 90), *Regina celi*, *Gaude flore virginali*, and *Ave regina celorum*, and seven Continental works: *Flos de spina* by Pullois, and the anonymous *O quam luce glorifica*, *Gregatim grex audit*, *Gaude regina*, *Levavi oculos*, *Odas clangat/Jesse produxit*, and *Perfunde celi*.⁵³ She observes that “some of these motets begin the two *partes* with the same pitches, but then proceed very differently. This “pseudo-double cursus” may indeed be a reference to the tenor motet.”⁵⁴ The pseudo-cantus firmus procedures found in these freely composed motets are reminiscent of the pseudo-isorhythmic cantus firmus references I have identified in Benet’s *Missa sine nomine no. 2*.

Among the freely composed English motets in the Trent codices, *Anima mea liquefacta est* is of great interest in the present context as before becoming a four-voice freely composed motet in Trent 89, it actually started its life as a three-voice English cantilena in Trent 90.⁵⁵ Both *Anima mea* and Benet’s *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, therefore, have a lot in common: both are English, both are freely composed, both are for three voices, both are explicitly written for a Marian service, both have D finals, and both begin with extended duets. The connections are interesting here, as there is certainly a rich

⁵² Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 278.

⁵³ See Cumming’s Table 12.5 in *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 279.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁵⁵ See discussion in Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 237-9. Cumming writes extensively about the English cantilena – an English genre with “a single top voice and tenor and contratenor in the same range” (p. 85). She also defines it as the “primary genre of Marian polyphony in fourteenth-century England” (p. 87), developed for Marian devotions.

contextual web of influence that links cantilenas (many of which were freely composed), the freely composed motet, and *sine nomine* Masses. As noted by Cumming:

The freely composed motet derives primarily from the Band II English cantilenas, while its form and scale resemble that of the English Mass movement, either the *Caput* Mass or the three-voice “sine nomine” Masses. Free composition is generally associated with secular genres such as the chanson, and does not usually come to mind when we think of the continental motet of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. This is an inappropriate stereotype, even in the fourteenth century: many Italian and English motets had no cantus firmus, while in the Q15 repertory most of the cantilena-style sub-genres and the double-discantus motets lack pre-existent material. With Puylois’s *Flos de spina* we see a new subgenre of freely composed motet comparable in size to the four-voice tenor motet. . . Free composition with similar rhythmic and melodic motion in all voices would become the rule rather than the exception in the motet.⁵⁶

Motivic commonalities abound in the Kyrie and Gloria movements of Benet’s Mass. As shown in Example 5.6, the reiteration of the *KI Constellation* is encountered (including pitches and rests) upon the entrance of the tenor at m. 17 of Gloria I (*Laudamus te/gratias agimus*), while partial KI motto-group restatements are found at Kyrie II (*Kyrie spiritus*), Gloria II (*Qui tollis*), and Credo I (*Et in unum*) (see Table 5.5).

⁵⁶ See Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 296.

Example 5.6 Benet *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, Gloria movement, section I, KIa constellation

A second Kyrie motto (see Example 5.7) -- the KIII constellation, is found at the head of both Kyrie III (*Charismatum*) and Gloria III (*Cum sancto*). Sanctus III and Agnus III follow with their own *Motto Constellation* (see Example 5.8).

Example 5.7 Benet *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, KIII Constellation: KIIIb/KIIIc

a) Opening of Kyrie III

b) Opening of Gloria III

Example 5.8 Benet *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, SIII Constellation: SIIIa/SIIIc

a) Opening of Sanctus III

119 SIIIa

SIIIc

Osanna

b) Opening of Agnus III

SIIIa

SIIIc

Agnus dei

The Sanctus movement has its own sense of internal coherence. The Sanctus I (*Pleni sunt*) in *tempus perfectum* and the Sanctus II (*Benedictus*) in *tempus imperfectum*, which are both in duo texture, sound the recombined GIa'/SIb motto. Further correspondences can be detected in the “modular repetition” in the lead-up to and the continuation after the first cadence on G (see Examples 5.9 a and b).

Example 5.9 Benet *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, GIa''/SIb constellation

a) Sanctus I Pleni sunt

40 GIa''

SIb

Ple - ni - sunt coe -

Modular repetition

b) Sanctus II Benedictus

94 S1a
Be - ne - di - ctus qui

S1b
Be - ne - di - ctus qui

Modular repetition
ve -

There is a distinction between the repetitive and simplistic three-movement Benet Mass of Bologna Q15 (reflecting an Old Hall, “Band I” style), and this more sophisticated Aosta/Trent composition (written in a “Band II” English style).⁵⁷ Clearly, in the span of fifteen to twenty years, Benet (if he is indeed the composer of the latter work) has developed an infinitely more interesting and varied musical language. In his *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, the alternation between triple and duple time, and between two-voice and three-voice textures (as shown in Table 5.3) fit into a carefully wrought design, based on tripartite divisions of movements. Here, Benet employs a decidedly more elaborate melodic language and takes the listener on a much richer contrapuntal journey – one that indulges from time to time, in short imitative writing, and one that is far less clunky than that produced by the cadence-oriented phrases of his earlier *sine nomine* Mass.

There is also a degree of sophistication in terms of motto procedure in Benet’s *Missa sine nomine no. 2* that is simply absent in the earlier Bologna Q15 *Missa sine nomine no. 1*. While only one motto constellation unifies the Bologna Q15 Mass, the more mature Benet Mass features multiple motto constellations, including KI, GI, and SIII, and recombined mottos GI/SI and GI/KI. Furthermore, mottos are organized in a manner suggestive of pre-compositional planning:

⁵⁷ Curtis, “Stylistic Layers,” passim.

- the entire KI constellation is sounded in Kyrie **I** and Gloria **I**;
- the partial KIa/KIb constellation is sounded in Kyrie **II** and Gloria **II**;
- the KIII constellation is heard in Kyrie **III** and Gloria **III**;
- the GIa'/KIc recombined constellation is heard in Gloria **I** and Agnus **I**;
- the SIII constellation is heard in the Sanctus **III** and Agnus **III**.

A glance back at Table 5.4 (where I have used the patterned boxes from Table 5.3 to show where mottos coincide with sectional beginnings) reveals a striking relationship between large-scale cyclic design and local-level motivic repetition. Here, we can see how motto arrangement actually reinforces Benet's sectional, mensural, and textural divisions of movements. Also clear from Table 5.4 is how Benet constructs his Mass around internal Mass pairs (based on mensuration, scoring, and motto correspondences). The Mass-pair connections however, do not follow the typical Gloria-Credo, Sanctus-Agnus paradigm. Instead, through motto repetition from movement to movement, he establishes close connections between *adjacent* movement pairs – Kyrie-Gloria, Gloria-Credo, Credo-Sanctus, and Sanctus-Agnus.

Benet's two *sine nomine* works differ considerably in terms of style and compositional process. The later work is by far the most complex, with its introductory duet sections and delayed motto entries – aspects that seem to reflect the impact of cantus firmus Mass procedures. Though the Mass does not actually use a *cantus prius factus*, its duet introductions and long note tenor lines certainly manage to invoke cantus firmus procedures. Stylistically, I view Benet's *Missa sine nomine 2*, as an experiment in *sine nomine* Mass composition that draws on features of the cantus firmus Mass.

“Englishness” in Benet's *sine nomine* Masses?

Many of the motto-techniques observed in the Benet Masses are reminiscent of Continental procedures already observed in the *sine nomine* Masses of Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia. However, there are also distinct differences between Benet's motto procedures and those of pre-1450 Continental works. One fundamental difference lies in the relative length of melodic mottos. Benet's mottos are shorter than Continental mottos. A second difference can be detected in the *relative lengths* of voices within the motto. Typically, as observed in Continental prototypes, when motto-groups appear in their original formations (i.e. as *Motto Constellations* or *Motto Modules*), the melodic mottos that comprise them usually begin and end together and are typically made up of a uniform number of semibreves. The two Benet *sine nomine* Masses investigated above are less focussed on equality of duration between motto voices. For example, in Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 1* of Bologna Q15 (Gloria/Sanctus/Agnus) the melodic motto in the superius is accorded much more weight (due to length and repetition) than the melodic mottos in the other voices. Likewise, in Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, it is the tenor voice that consistently presents much lengthier melodic mottos than the superius and contratenor. Only one exception can be found in Credo II (where the superius motto is six semibreves longer than the tenor). A third difference can be detected in *how* insular and Continental composers reiterate mottos. In general, Benet's Masses treat motto material quite loosely. Often, voices simply intone the first two or three initial pitches of the motto (see for example the SIIIa melodic motto of Sanctus III and Agnus III of musical example 5.10 above). In the pre-1450 Continental Masses we have seen, though they are almost always varied, mottos are usually repeated in their entirety from movement to movement and section to section. A fourth difference lies in the fact that Benet employs fewer

mottos in his *sine nomine* Masses than his Continental contemporaries. The Kyrie of his *Missa sine nomine 2* for example, only presents two motto constellations, compared to the three to four mottos normally presented in Continental Masses. Perhaps the most prominent difference is that Continental composers manipulated mottos in much more enterprising and creative ways. In the Masses of Dufay, Reson, and Lymburgia, there is more motto variation and recombination than in the English Masses of John Benet. Finally, it is clear that in his *Missa sine nomine 2*, John Benet attempted to superimpose mensuration/scoring organization and motto arrangement. Though this type of procedure was not completely foreign to Continental composers, the “rational” organization of Mass movements seems to have been more of a preoccupation with Benet – and English composers in general.

John Bedingham's *Missa sine nomine*

Another *sine nomine* Mass that typifies “Englishness” is one by John Bedingham, found in Trent 93 along with *sine nomine* Masses by Benet (*Missa sine nomine no. 2*) and Pullois (discussed below). Bedingham’s *Missa sine nomine* (hereafter referred to by its nickname *Missa primi toni*) is one of two extant cyclic Masses by the composer. The other – his *Missa Dueil angoisseux* has been described by Edgar Sparks as a Mass that employs an early type of parody technique and borrows from the cantus firmus in an “irregular” manner – only the opening and closing of the chanson are quoted (with simultaneous quotation of both the superius and tenor voices), and the cantus firmus even disappears at times.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 168.

As shown in Table 5.5 below, the cyclic design of Bedingham's freely composed *Missa primi toni* conforms to several English conventions. Like the Benet Masses above and so many other insular Masses of the time, Bedingham applies a uniform ground-plan to all movements (except the Kyrie), and employs a consistent mensural pattern from movement to movement, alternating frequently between full (three-voice) and reduced (two-voice) scoring. Though the Gloria involves a predictable mensuration change to duple time at the first *Qui tollis*, there are certain irregularities that challenge typical English design parameters. In the Sanctus, for example, the mensuration change to duple time occurs at *In excelsis* instead of *Osanna I*, while the Agnus has an O-C-C rather than an O-O-C mensuration scheme.

Table 5.5 **John Bedingham *Missa primi toni***

Section	I		II		III	
<u>KYRIE</u>	Triple mens.		Duple mens.		Triple mens.	
	<i>Kyrie I</i> <i>Kyrie II</i> <i>Kyrie III</i>	3 voices 2 3	<i>Christe I</i> <i>Christe II</i> <i>Christe III</i>	3 voices 2 3	<i>Kyrie I</i> <i>Kyrie II</i> <i>Kyrie III</i>	3 voices 2 3
<u>GLORIA</u>	Triple mens.		Duple mens.		Triple mens.	
	<i>Et in terra</i> <i>Agimus tibi</i> <i>Domine fili</i> <i>Jesu Christe</i>	2 voices 3 2 3	<i>Qui tollis pec.</i>	3 voices	<i>Quoniam</i> <i>Cum Sancto</i>	2 voices 3
<u>CREDO</u>	Triple mens.		Duple mens.		Triple mens.	
	<i>Patrem omnip.</i> <i>Et ex patre</i>	2 voices 3	<i>Et incarnatus</i>	3 voices	<i>Confiteor</i> <i>Et vitam</i>	2 voices 3
<u>SANCTUS</u>	Triple mens.		Duple mens.		Triple mens.	
	<i>Sanctus</i> <i>Dominus Deus</i> <i>Pleni sunt</i> <i>Osanna I</i>	2 voices 3 2 3	<i>In excelsis I</i>	3 voices (short 2 v opening)	<i>Benedictus</i> (repeat <i>Osanna</i> and <i>In excelsis</i>)	2 voices
<u>AGNUS</u>	Triple mens.		Duple mens.		Duple mens.	
	<i>Agnus</i> <i>Peccata mundi</i> <i>Miserere</i> <i>Agnus</i>	3 voices 2 3 2	<i>Agnus</i>	3 voices	<i>Dona nobis</i> <i>Pacem</i>	2 voices 3

Motto arrangement in the Bedingham Mass is shown in Table 5.7. Bedingham unifies all five movements of his Mass with one primary motto constellation KIa/KIb/KIc. The Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo are the most closely related. In each of these movements, the superius alternates between KIa and KIc statements while the contratenor alternates between KIc and KIb. Bedingham consistently articulates the opening of all sections I and III with mottos. All second sections (with the exception of the Sanctus movement) are consistently free of motto material (marked N/A in Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Motto Arrangement in the *Missa Primi toni* of Bedingham

Mvmnt.	Superius	Tenor	Contratenor	Motto Type
<u>Kyrie</u>				
I <i>Kyrie</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
II <i>Christe</i>				N/A
III <i>Kyrie</i>			KIb	Melodic motto
<u>Gloria</u>				
I <i>Et in terra</i>	KIc	KIb		KI Constellation
" <u>Laudamus</u> "		KIb	KIc	Internal KI Constellation
" <u>Gratias</u> "	KIa	KIb		Internal KI Constellation
II <i>Qui tollis</i>				N/A
III <i>Quoniam</i>	KIc		KIb	KI Constellation
<u>Credo</u>				
I <i>Patrem omnipot.</i>	KIa		KIc	KI Constellation
II <i>Et in carnatus</i>				N/A
III <i>Confiteor</i>	KIc			Melodic Motto
<u>Sanctus</u>				
I <i>Sanctus</i>	SIa		SIc	SI Constellation
" <u>Dominus</u> "	SIa	SIc	SIa	Internal SI Constellation
" <u>Pleni</u> "	SIa		SIc	KI Constellation
II <i>In excelsis</i>		SIc		KI Constellation
III <i>Benedictus</i>	SIa		SIc	SI Constellation
<u>Agnus</u>				
I <i>Agnus dei I</i>	KIa	KIc		KI Constellation
" <u>Agnus dei</u> "				N/A
II <i>Agnus dei III</i>				N/A
III <i>Donna nobis</i>				N/A

Though so much repetition of the same KI motto constellation has potential for tedium, Bedingham varies each and every statement by changing voicing, adding and deleting pitches, and transforming rhythms. Example 5.10 shows the various permutations of the KI constellation in its multi-voice (KIa/KIb/KIc) form. Particularly interesting is how Bedingham mixes up the voicing of mottos. Observe, for example, how KIc moves from the tenor line to the superius, while the KIb melodic motto shifts from contratenor to tenor and back to contratenor.

Example 5.10 Bedingham *Missa primi toni*, variations of KI constellation

a) Opening of Kyrie I: Initial motto presentation

Example 5.10a shows the initial motto presentation in the opening of Kyrie I. It features three staves: KIa (superius), KIb (contratenor), and KIc (tenor). The lyrics are 'Ky - ri - - - -'.

b) Opening of Gloria I

Example 5.10b shows the opening of Gloria I. It features two staves: KIc (superius) and KIb (contratenor). The lyrics are 'Et in - - - - ter - - - - ra'.

c) Opening of Gloria III

Example 5.10c shows the opening of Gloria III. It features two staves: KIc (superius) and KIb (contratenor). The lyrics are 'Quo - ni - am Tu so - lus san - -'.

d) Opening of Credo I

Pa - - - trem

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

e) Opening of Agnus dei I

Qui Tol -

Qui

As was seen in Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 1*, a new two-voice *Motto Constellation* is introduced in the Sanctus movement – SIa/SIc. This constellation however, only acts as a unifying agent within the different sections of the Sanctus movement and never creeps into the texture of the Agnus. Examples 5.11 a through d show how Benet varies the SI constellation at the openings of sections, subsections, and at internal textual phrases (see b and c) throughout the Sanctus movement.

Example 5.11 Bedingham *Missa primi toni*, variations of SIa constellation

a) Opening of Sanctus I: Initial motto presentation

San

San

b) Internal motto in Sanctus I: “Pleni sunt”

c) Internal motto in Sanctus I “Dominus”: S1a melodic motto imitation.

d) Opening of Sanctus III

Now that we have acquired a general sense for English motto procedure in the Masses of John Benet and John Bedingham, I would like to turn to the *Missa sine nomine* of Johannes Pullois. Gareth Curtis has challenged this Mass's attribution, and has argued that it has more of a stylistic affinity with English Masses than with cyclic Masses composed on the Continent. Furthermore, Curtis has found stylistic connections between the Pullois Mass and John Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2*, while Reinhard Strohm has detected certain similarities between the opening motto in the Pullois Mass and that of Bedingham's *Missa primi toni*. The final part of this chapter will explore these alleged connections. Is it possible to establish which *sine nomine* tradition Pullois' Mass best

represents? Is there enough evidence to declare that the Pullois Mass has an English cyclic design?

The *Sine nomine* Mass of Johannes Pullois

The only surviving, complete cyclic Mass of the Franco-Flemish composer Johannes Pullois is a *Missa sine nomine* that, if we are to judge popularity according to manuscript dissemination, must have been a well-loved and oft-performed work.⁵⁹ Complete versions of this Mass have come down to us in the manuscripts Trent 87 and Trent 93 while incomplete versions and individual movements are found in Trent 90, Strahov, and Munich 3154.⁶⁰ The earliest version of this Mass is located in gathering XV of Trent 87-1 (No. 153-157; 167v-174r), a section that, with the aid of watermark dating, Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders has deemed “the most recent part of the manuscript” from before 1445.⁶¹ Peter Wright dates this part of the manuscript even earlier – between ca. 1433-35.⁶² This means that in terms of dating, Pullois' Mass can be seen as a second generation *sine nomine* work following on the heels of the pioneering group of Continental cyclic Masses by Reson, Dufay, and Lymburgia. However, exactly how well the work “fits in” stylistically with its Continental predecessors is a question that has been the subject of debate.

⁵⁹ Pamela Starr, “Music and Music Patronage at the Papal Court, 1447–1464” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1987). Gerald Montagna, “Johannes Pullois in the Context of his Era,” *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 62 (1988): 83–117. Pamela Starr, “Rome as the Centre of the Universe: Papal Grace and Musical Patronage,” *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 223–62.

⁶⁰ A modern edition of the Mass is found in the complete works: Jean Pullois, *Opera omnia*, edited by Peter Gülke, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 61 (American Institute of Musicology, 1967), 1-18.

⁶¹ Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, *The Dating of the Trent Codices from their Watermarks: With a Study of the Local Liturgy of Trent in the Fifteenth Century* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 58. Wright, *The Related Parts of Trent*.

⁶² See Wright, *The Related Parts of Trent* and “Paper Evidence and the Dating of Trent 91,” 487-508.

Gareth Curtis has suggested that the *sine nomine* Mass reputed to be by Pullois has a “dubious ascription. . . which may have begun as a misreading of 'Power'.”⁶³ He argues that connections between the *sine nomine* Mass of Pullois and the *sine nomine* Mass variously attributed to Benet, Dunstable, and Leonel (i.e. Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2*) confirm a direct line of English influence.⁶⁴ Furthermore, according to Curtis, evidence for English style in the Pullois Mass includes triadic melodic movement, a discantus part that “follows the sort of rambling and apparently directionless course that has been associated with the English style. . . across-the-bar syncopation. . . common to all English Mass music from the later pieces of the Old Hall manuscript onwards.. . a steady stream of consonance. . . [that] probably stems from the principles of English discant. . . the frequent exchange of pairs of notes between the contra and tenor. . . the use of telescoping or text-omission in settings of the Credo. . . all five movements [using] the same mensural plan. . . [and in the Sanctus, a mensuration change that] occurs immediately before rather than after the first Osanna.”⁶⁵

The focal point of Curtis's argument for English origins is a hypothetical, paraphrased cantus firmus that he reconstructs for all of the five movements of both the Pullois and the Benet/Dunstable/Leonel Masses. Curtis admits that there is no precedent so early in the century for a Continental Mass in which all movements are linked by a single tenor. Consequently, he goes so far as to suggest that the Mass is not a *sine nomine* Mass by Pullois (even though Trent 93, Trent 90, Strahov and a certain sixteenth-century letter from Spataro to Pietro Aaron all ascribe the work to the composer), but is rather a

⁶³ Curtis, “Stylistic Layers,” 37.

⁶⁴ Curtis, “Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass,” 41-59.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-52.

tenor Mass of English origin.⁶⁶ Curtis's tenor-line correspondences from movement to movement are loose and difficult to accept. I am not the only one who finds his arguments weak – Reinhard Strohm and Julie Cumming have called the tenor reconstruction of both the Pullois and Benet/Dunstable/Leonel Masses “unsuccessful” and “unconvincing” respectively.⁶⁷

Though Strohm does not accept Curtis's *cantus prius factus* theory, he does detect certain motivic connections between the *Missa sine nomine* of Pullois and two Masses of English origin – namely Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 2* and John Bedingham's *Missa primi toni*.⁶⁸ However, Strohm firmly supports Pullois's authorship and supplies certain stylistic evidence (such as motto beginnings and certain stereotypical motives that are found in the composer's French chansons) suggestive of Continental origins.⁶⁹

Motto Unification in the *Missa Sine nomine* of Johannes Pullois

Given the conflicting evidence for and against English origins, it becomes particularly important to ascertain how the *sine nomine* Mass of Pullois is positioned within the motto tradition. Until now, motto unification in the *Missa sine nomine* of Johannes Pullois has been virtually ignored. In Gareth Curtis's article the word motto or head-motive does not appear once, while in Strohm's *Rise of European Music*, which

⁶⁶ It is especially difficult to accept Curtis's hypothesis as no conflicting attributions exist for the Mass. Bonnie Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, “Spataro to Aaron, Dec 1532,” 574-608 (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Fallows discussed this passage in detail in *Dufay*, 182-185. Fallows' discussion focuses on the seven ligatures found in Dufay's *Missa Sancti Anthonii* that are also quoted in the letter.

⁶⁷ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 405. Julie Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 248.

⁶⁸ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 404.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 242. Strohm calls this motive the “Pullois fingerprint.” Strohm also argues that Pullois' Mass is part of a Mass-motet cycle along with the motet *Flos de spina* by the same composer in *The Rise of European Music*, 428-429. I have been unable to find many stylistic or motivic correspondences between the *sine nomine* Mass of Pullois and the Christmas motet *Flos de spina*. Cumming suggests that the four-voice *Flos de spina* motet was modeled in part on the English Caput Mass. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 249.

defends the Mass's Continental traits, the existence of motto-like beginnings is acknowledged, but only “in the tenor in long notes, very reminiscent of Loqueville's and Dufay's 'Vineux' settings” that are “not much more than [formulas] of the first mode.”⁷⁰

I have found that in this Mass, mottos play a significant role as unifying devices and do not only appear in the tenor, but also in the superius and contratenor voices. I think that Curtis is on the right track when he identifies the repetition of melodic material in the tenor voice of the Mass, but he takes his analysis too far by exaggerating the presence of tenor repetition beyond the boundaries of motto beginnings. Furthermore, in his effort to prove that the Mass has a *cantus firmus* basis, he fails to notice that there are actually two other voices that are equally involved in the repetition and variation of musical ideas. What is detectable in these voices are not *cantus prius facti* at all – instead, they perfectly match the profile of Continental mottos.

As illustrated in Examples 5.12 through 5.14, Pullois employs three main tenor mottos to unify his Mass (K1c, K1²c, and G1c). The first, K1c, which is initially introduced in Kyrie I, is actually part of what Curtis has identified as “stage I” of his *cantus prius factus* line. As described by Curtis, “it begins with a rise from *d* to *a*, often followed by a more or less decorated rise to *c'* or *d*.”⁷¹ All K1c mottos appear in Example 5.12.

⁷⁰ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 242.

⁷¹ Curtis, “Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass,” 42. Curtis continues his description of the “stage I” *cantus firmus* line with “a fall back to *a* and an eventual descent to a cadence on *f*.”

Example 5.12 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*, KIc Melodic Motto

KYRIE I
Kyrie

KYRIE II
mm.36-41
Kyrie

GLORIA II
mm.80-4
Qui tollis

AGNUS I
Agnus dei

It is important to note that in Pullois' Mass there are very few instances where melodic mottos are repeated verbatim. In each permutation, rhythms are varied and ornamental pitches are added. Here, Pullois is following normal motto transformation techniques (through ornamentation, pitch deletion, interpolation and melodic contouring).

The second tenor motto initially appears in Kyrie I, phrase 2 (KI²c). It comprises the portion identified by Curtis as “stage III” of the cantus firmus.⁷² This motto is characterized by an octave leap from A to a (omitted in some cases), a rise to c and an ornamented fall through F, followed by a plunge through to D and A. All permutations of KI²c can be found in Example 5.13. This motto undergoes expansion until it reaches its fully realized form in Gloria III (“Qui sedes”) and also undergoes contraction (Kyrie I and Gloria III “Patris” feature the most abbreviated versions).

⁷² Curtis, “Jean Pullois,” 42.

Example 5.13 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*, KI²c Melodic Mottos

KYRIE I
mm. 11-15

KYRIE II
mm. 23-33

GLORIA III
mm. 123-133

GLORIA III
mm. 163-8

SANCTUS I
mm. 13-20

"Qui sedes"

"Patris"

"Dominus"

As shown in Example 5.14, we can find verbatim repetition of yet another tenor motto (GIc) at the opening of both the Gloria and Credo movements.

Example 5.14 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*, GIc Melodic Mottos

GLORIA I

CREDO I

Et in terra pax

Patrem omnipotentem

Each of the three superius mottos that unify the Mass are introduced in the first three Kyrie sections – Kyrie I, II, and III. These are illustrated in Examples 5.15 through 5. 18. Two of the mottos (KIa and KI²a) have closely related but slightly varied motto-subtypes. The KIa motto (Example 5.15a) starts on d, rises to aa, and cadences on f. The KIa varied motto-subtype (Example 5.15b) is an abbreviated version of the original motto that reiterates the first four pitches of KIa (see Credo I and Sanctus I) and alternatively, presents only the most prominent notes of the motto's general contour (see the head of Gloria III “Patris” and Agnus I/III).

Example 5.15 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*

a) KIa melodic motto

KYRIE I

GLORIA I

GLORIA II
mm. 80-84
Qui tollis peccata

GLORIA II
mm. 112-120
suscipe deprecationem

b) Abbreviated KIa melodic mottos

GLORIA III
mm. 163-5
"Patris"

CREDO I
mm. 56-7
"Maria Virgine"

SANCTUS I
mm. 1-3

AGNUS I/III
mm. 1-3

The KI²a superius motto (Example 5.16) outlines the interval of a third from c to e before rising from f to aa, and cadencing on g. All of the KI²a melodic mottos have the same core pitches. The main group of KI²a melodic mottos have a c-d-e *Motto Prefix* (5.16a) while the other varied sub-type is in an abbreviated form (5.16b). A *Motto Prefix* is a term I use to describe when new motivic material is added before a motto. When added

motivic material is encountered at the end of a motto, I call the new motivic material a *Motto Suffix*.

Example 5.16 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*

a) KI²a Melodic Mottos with c-d-e prefix

KYRIE I
mm. 11-13
Prefix
Kyrie
KI²a

GLORIA I
mm. 91-3
Prefix
Gratias agimus
KI²a

CREDO II
mm. 63-9
Prefix
Crucifixus
KI²a

b) KI²a Melodic Mottos with variable “prefixes”

GLORIA III
mm. 123-7
Prefix
Qui sedes
KI²a

GLORIA I
mm. 184-6
Prefix
Domine Fili
KI²a

CREDO I
mm. 36-41
Prefix
Qui propter nos homines
KI²a

The KI²a motto (Example 5.17) starts with an upper neighbour-note figure on e, and continues with a descent to c, then an ascent to f.

Example 5.17 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*, KI²a Melodic Mottos

KYRIE II
mm. 23-5
Christe eleison
KI²a

KYRIE III
mm. 65-6
Kyrie eleison
KI²a

SANCTUS I
mm. 24-5
Pleni sunt
KI²a

Table 5.7 reveals motto arrangement in Pullois' *Missa sine nomine*. In the initial Kyrie movement Pullois opts for a Continental approach by introducing three primary motto constellations in three separate subsections of the Kyrie movement – KI, KI², and KII. All subsequent mottos are derived from these Kyrie motto groups (with the exception of two secondary melodic mottos – KII² and GIc).

Table 5.7 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*, Motto Arrangement

Mvmnt.	Superius	Contratenor	Tenor	Type
Kyrie				
I <i>Kyrie (repeat)</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
<i>Kyrie</i>	KI ² a		KI ² c	KI ² Constellation
II <i>Christe (repeat)</i>	KIIa	KIIb	KI ² c	Recombined Motto
<i>Christe</i>		KII ² b	KIc	Recombined Motto
III <i>Kyrie (repeat)</i>				
<i>Kyrie</i>	KIIa			Melodic Motto
Gloria				
I <i>Et in terra</i>	KIa	KIb	Glc	Recombined Motto
<i>"Gratias agimus"</i>	KI ² a			Internal Melodic Motto
<i>Domine Fili</i>	KI ² a			Melodic Motto
II <i>Qui tollis</i>	KIa	KII ² b	KIc	Recombined Motto
<i>Qui tollis</i>	KIIa		KIc	Recombined Motto
<i>"suscipe"</i>	KIa			Internal Melodic Motto
III <i>Qui sedes</i>	KI ² a	KIIb (contour)	KI ² c	Recombined Motto
<i>"Patris"</i>	KIa		KI ² c	Internal Recombined Motto
Credo				
I <i>Patrem omnip.</i>	KIa	KIb	Glc	Recombined Motto
<i>"qui propter"</i>	KI ² a			Internal Melodic Motto
<i>"ex Maria Virgine"</i>	KI a			Melodic Motto
II <i>Crucifixus</i>	KI ² a			Melodic Motto
III <i>Qui ex patre</i>				
Sanctus				
I <i>Sanctus</i>	KIa	KIb		KI Constellation
<i>"dominus"</i>			KI ² c	Internal Melodic Motto
<i>Pleni</i>	KIIa			Melodic Motto
II <i>Osanna I</i>		KIIb		Melodic Motto
<i>Benedictus</i>		KII ² b		Melodic Motto
<i>Osanna II</i>		KIIb		Melodic Motto
Agnus				
I <i>Agnus I</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation
II				
III <i>Agnus III</i>	KIa	KIb	KIc	KI Constellation

As shown in Table 5.7, mottos are featured at the openings of all movements and most subsections, appearing either alone, in constellations or in recombination. There is a clear rationale dictating motto organization throughout this Mass:

- The KIa constellation (full and partial presentation) is encountered in Kyrie I, Gloria I, Credo I, Sanctus I, and Agnus I
- the KI² motto is sounded in the second subsection of Kyrie I, and as an internal motto in the Gloria I, Credo I, and Sanctus I
- the KIIa motto is found in Kyrie II, and Sanctus II
- the KII² melodic motto is encountered in Kyrie II, Gloria II, and Sanctus II
- the GIc melodic motto appears at the opening of Gloria I and Credo I.

Of all the movements, the Kyrie and Sanctus form the closest matched Mass-pair. As shown in Table 5.8 below, both of these movements adhere to roughly the same fundamental motto design scheme.

Table 5.8 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*: Kyrie/Sanctus Mass-pair

	I	II	III
<i>Kyrie</i>	KI constellation KI ² constellation	KII constellation KII ² melodic motto	KII constellation
<i>Sanctus</i>	KI constellation KI ² constellation (internal motto)	KII constellation KII ² melodic motto KII constellation	

The Gloria and Credo also form a unified Mass pair. Both open with the KIa/b/GIc recombined motto followed by an internal motto KI².

There are five instances in which *Internal Mottos* are encountered. Single-voice, melodic mottos from the KI² constellation make up the majority of these occurrences, highlighting words of the Mass “gratias agimus” in Gloria I, “qui propter” in Credo I, and

“Dominus” in Sanctus I. The K1a motto is internally positioned at the words “suscipe” of Gloria II, and “ex Maria Virgine” in Credo I. The presence of these internal mottos helps to situate the Pullois Mass within a Continental tradition in which it was common to highlight references to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin and other textual incipits (see for example Chapter 4 for the internal mottos on “gratias agimus,” “Dominus,” “dei patris” in Dufay's *Missa sine nomine*, and on “Domine deus rex celestis,” “Jesum Christum,” and “Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum” in Lymburgia's *Missa sine nomine*).

Up to this point, we have ascertained that motto technique was employed in both the Continental and English *sine nomine* traditions. However, motto usage in the Pullois Mass differs markedly from what is encountered in the three English *sine nomine* Masses by Benet and Bedingham. Unlike the English Masses, almost every single section and subsection of the Pullois *Missa sine nomine* is articulated with melodic mottos or motto-groups. Unlike the Benet and Bedingham works, the Pullois Mass has a variety of mottos. These mottos tend to be long, and like Continental Masses by Dufay, Reson, and Lymburgia, they are distributed evenly among the superius, tenor and contratenor voices. When appearing within motto-constellations, individual melodic mottos tend to be of uniform length. Furthermore, many mottos in the Pullois Mass appear in recombination with other mottos – a rarity in contemporaneous English works.

In fact, everything about motto arrangement in Pullois' Mass suggests Continental origins. Based on motto organization, I feel that there is ample evidence to disprove Curtis's claims and to reaffirm the Continental provenance and authorship of Pullois' Mass. I cannot deny, however, some of the obvious Anglicisms in this work. But, by the same token, there is also evidence that counters “Englishness.” For example, in the Gloria the mensuration change to duple does indeed take place at the first “Qui tollis” – a typical

insular attribute. However, the movement ends with a section based on the text “Qui sedes ad dexteram” rather than the more English custom of a final division on “Cum sancto spiritu.” While the Sanctus movement does feature a typically English mensuration change at the Osanna I, the Agnus does *not* follow the normative insular O-O-C mensural scheme.

Table 5.9 reveals a design scheme that does not concur with the English *sine nomine* paradigms observed above. In columns 2, 4, and 6 of this table, I list those textual incipits in which new subsections are encountered, or scoring changes (i.e. 2 to 3 voices) or mottos are present. Here, the English propensity for textural alternations from movement to movement is simply absent. Indeed, the Pullois Mass's more unpredictable formal layout is unlike the neatly organized, rational cyclic formatting that typifies English Mass composition.

Table 5.9 Pullois *Missa sine nomine*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Movement	I		II		III	
KYRIE	Triple time D final		Duple time D final		Triple time D final	
	<i>Kyrie (repeated)</i> Kyrie	3 voices 3	<i>Christe repeat</i> Christe	3 voices 3	<i>Kyrie (repeated)</i> Kyrie	3 voices 3
GLORIA	Triple time A final		Duple time D final		Triple time D final	
	<i>Et in terra</i> <i>bonae voluntatis</i> <i>Laudamus te</i> Gratias agimus <i>Domine Deus</i> Domine Fili	3 voices 2 3 2 3 2	<i>Qui tollis</i> : Qui tollis :	3 voices 3	<i>Qui sedes</i> : (...)	3 voices
CREDO	Triple time D final		Duple time A final		Triple time D final	
	<i>Patrem</i> <i>omnip.</i> <i>factorem caeli</i> <i>visibilium</i>	3 voices 2 3	Crucifixus	3 voices	<i>Qui ex patre</i> (short 2v. entry)	3 voices
SANCTUS	Triple time D final		Duple time D final			
	Sanctus Pleni	3 voices 2	<i>Osanna I</i> Benedictus <i>Osanna I</i> (repeated)	3 voices 2 3		
AGNUS	Triple time D final		Duple time D final		Triple time D final	
	Agnus I	3 voices	<i>Agnus II</i>	2 voices	Agnus I (repeated)	3 voices
KI constellation KII²b melodic motto KI² constellation Gla melodic motto KII constellation						

A provisional case for “Englishness” in Pullois' *Missa sine nomine* might be made based on certain connections between its initial *Motto Constellation* and that found in Bedingham's *Missa primi toni*. As shown in Example 5.18, the two Masses share common motivic material. The contour of the KIa melodic motto in the Pullois Mass is comparable to the first four pitches of the KIa melodic motto in the Bedingham, while the

complete six-pitch KIc melodic motto in the tenor of the Pullois is exactly reiterated as KIc in the contratenor of the Bedingham. These similarities have been pointed out by Reinhard Strohm, who suggests that “a common precedent [for both the Pullois and Bedingham] can be sought in the 'Missa sine nomine' by (Dunstable or Lionel or) Benet, but Bedyngham may have had direct access to Pullois' work, or vice versa.”⁷³

Example 5.18 Bedingham vs. Pullois Motto

a) Bedingham motto

b) Pullois motto

Is it merely coincidental that the Pullois and Bedingham Masses both open with similar melodic mottos? If it is not – if this is indeed a case of homage and imitation – one need not stretch one’s imagination too far to figure out who is imitating whom. First, the musical language in these two Masses could not be more different. Melodically, the Bedingham Mass is highly triadic, chiselled into distinctly compact phrases outlining

⁷³ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 404.

modal octaves, fourths and fifths. Melodic lines in the Pullois Mass on the other hand, meander smoothly about. The Bedingham Mass is a paradigm of organization with a patterned and highly methodical approach to motto construction. Compared to his *Missa Dueil angoisseux* – a work that employs irregular cantus firmus technique – Bedingham's *Missa primi toni* is lacking an experimental spirit. In contrast, the Pullois Mass is brimming with ingenuity in terms of motto construction and organization. It seems almost inconceivable that Bedingham's Mass with its single four- to six-pitch motto constellation could have been modelled on the Pullois. After all, the Pullois mottos are lengthier, meatier, greater in number, and demonstrate creativity in terms of motto construction and variation. What makes more sense is the idea that this may in fact be yet another example of English influence. Pullois' *Missa sine nomine* may indeed be a Continental response to the Bedingham Mass.

Conclusion

Based on our study of Benet's two *sine nomine* Masses and Bedingham's *Missa primi toni*, it is now possible to establish a few parameters that seem to have guided early fifteenth-century motto Mass composition in England. The following ten points reflect some of the most significant trends observed in English *sine nomine* repertory from the first half of the fifteenth century.

- 1) The overall cyclic design of English Masses is often highlighted with mottos. Mottos almost always appear at the openings of movements. They are also employed to articulate mensural subdivisions and scoring changes. In some cases (i.e. Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 1*) they enter after introductory duets, coinciding with full-voice texture.

- 2) There are fewer mottos in English Masses than in Continental Masses. While Continental Masses tend to introduce three to four mottos in the Kyrie movement, English Masses present no more than one or two.
- 3) English mottos are much shorter (ranging between three and seven pitches) than Continental mottos.
- 4) When reiterated, English mottos (like Continental mottos) are usually varied through rhythmic, melodic or voicing changes.
- 5) Because there are usually no more than one or two motto constellations in an English Mass, there is less experimentation with *Motto Recombination*. Therefore, the same *Motto Constellation* often returns repeatedly.
- 6) Like Continental *sine nomine* Masses, English Masses also organize mottos in a “rational” way. However, this is much more pronounced in the English Masses. This is hardly surprising given the English predilection for patterns, symmetry, and repetition from movement to movement as demonstrated in practices involving mensural, proportional (see for example Gareth Curtis's work on proportions and ratios of breves to semibreves in English Mass movements), and cantus firmus organization.⁷⁴

Based on all extant pre-1450 cyclic Masses observed to this point, we could hypothesize a tentative narrative for the *sine nomine* Mass. We now know that, in the early fifteenth-century, two concurrent motto traditions were developed in England and on the Continent. In England, Benet and Bedingham were instrumental in developing the

⁷⁴ Curtis, “Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass,” 154-164. Also see Curtis, “Introduction,” in *Early Masses and Mass-Pairs*, x.

motto Mass, while on the Continent, Reson, Dufay, Lymburgia, and Pullois were all experimenting with their own approaches to motto Mass construction.

Scribal evidence suggests to us that all of these English Masses were known by Continental musicians before 1450.⁷⁵ On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest the opposite – that Continental *sine nomine* Masses were known by English composers before 1450. It is therefore possible that Continental composers were actually introduced to the idea of cyclic *sine nomine* Mass composition through pioneering English Masses such as Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 1* (the first motto-Mass specimen according to stylistic evidence and dating), *Missa sine nomine no 2*, and Bedingham's *Missa primi toni* (a Mass that may have inspired Pullois's *Missa sine nomine*). The history of the *sine nomine* Mass, then, may be similar to that of the cantus firmus Mass. Is the *sine nomine* Mass another example of an English invention that was creatively adapted, expanded, and perfected by Continental composers? Is it yet another product of the Continental infatuation with *contenance angloise*? Regardless of who influenced whom, we can clearly distinguish between two strains of motto Mass composition – one English and one Continental. Though the English motto Masses may have been known on the Continent, composers such as Dufay, Reson, Lymburgia, and Pullois developed their own sophisticated ways of manipulating repeated motto material.

In the following chapters, the motto vocabulary established until now will require significant expansion. As we shall see, the motto develops into a rich and complex tool for unification, far more sophisticated than the simple movement opening described by Bukofzer.

⁷⁵ For example, as Strohm states, the Gloria of the Benet Mass was being used at Cambrai Cathedral in the 1440s and would have been known by Dufay. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 239.

PART III

MODELS OF *REDICTAE* AND *VARIETAS*

Prologue

Part II introduced two basic motto-types – *Motto Constellations* and *Motto Modules*. In the *sine nomine* Mass repertory of the first half of the fifteenth century, most mottos are three-voice contrapuntal constructs that undergo multiple transformations over the course of a Mass Ordinary. As we have seen, mottos can exhibit multiple combinative forms as *Motto Constellations* or as *Recombined Mottos*.

Post-1450 *sine nomine* Masses continue to feature mottos at the beginnings of movements and subsections. There is, however, a new emphasis on other contrapuntal units of repetition – *Motivic Constellations* and *Motivic Modules*. These motives lack the positional context of mottos, as they have nothing to do with movement or sectional “beginnings” and are found in internal positions of Mass Ordinary compositions. *Sine nomine* Mass composers used motives to provide large-scale and local-level unification. Some motives repeat in many movements and subsections while others are found in motivic pairs or in clusters at structurally and rhetorically important points within single subsections.

In Chapter 6, I investigate three Masses from the manuscript Trent 89 (ca. 1460-1466): Barbingant’s *Missa sine nomine*, the Anonymous *Missa Prolatio perfecta* /*Fa-ut*, and Bassere’s *Missa sine nomine*. I introduce new motivic vocabulary and analytical labels, and further expand our understanding of mottos. I also discuss the significance of imitation and the various ways in which it interacts with the motto. In Chapter 7, I

examine repetition and *varietas* in Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* through an analysis of mottos, cadences, imitation, and motives. In Chapter 8, I turn to Tinctoris and investigate connections between his theories on *varietas* (as explored in Chapter 3) and his approaches to varied repetition in his four-voice *sine nomine* Mass.

As we shall see, it is through the lens of *varietas* that the formal structure and purpose of *sine nomine* mottos and motives might be better appreciated. The concept of *varietas* perfectly reconciles repetition, on the one hand, and variation, on the other – two crucial aspects that can help to understand motto and motivic transformation procedures.

Chapter 6 Repetition and *Varietas*: Three Case Studies From Trent 89

In Renaissance vocal polyphony, melodies are of course always sounding against each other, but a module is a contrapuntal combination that repeats, both melodies and vertical intervals. The module is more of a “made object” than a single melodic line, and it is also more restrictive in determining the parts that are added to it. Such a complex structure is not likely to be repeated by accident! Modules may be hard to find at first because the voices that are freely added above and below and in between the voices may be more perceptually salient, and because their “edges” are smoothly joined with the surrounding material. In identifying modules, one must look for the longest combination that repeats, and disregard combinations that do not repeat (even if one component melody recurs).

~ Peter Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s
First Book of Four-Voice Motets.”¹

Introduction: Contrapuntal Repetition of Mottos and Motives

One way that unity is cultivated in the *sine nomine* Mass is through the interaction of repetitive contrapuntal units. To this point, I have focussed my study on the large-scale repetition of mottos. These contrapuntal units have been located predominantly at the openings of Mass movements and subsections. In the next part of our story we shall explore how early fifteenth-century techniques of motto repetition and variation increasingly infiltrate other more local-level sites of repetition in post-1450 *sine nomine* Masses. Throughout this chapter, therefore, we shall be assigning increasing priority to multi-voice *motivic* repetition.

Jessie Ann Owens, John Milsom, and Peter Schubert have been instrumental in conceptualizing multi-voice repetition in analytical studies dedicated to the music of

¹ Peter Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007): 487.

Josquin, Crecquillon, Clemens, Lassus, Willaert, Palestrina, and Rore. These scholars have formulated theories on contrapuntal block repetition as a means of understanding repetitive activity within points of imitation. Jessie Ann Owens, for example, has shown how a point of imitation in the music of Rore can be divided into small “units of activity” or “contrapuntal events” that are comprised of “modules” (i.e. contrapuntal units that are repeated).² As stated by Owens, “instead of thinking of Rore’s task as writing a long, rhythmically complex, five-voice motet, we need to imagine him working on one short, two- or three-voice segment at a time.”³ John Milsom has conceived of the repetitive “modules” within points of imitation in the music of Josquin and Crecquillon as “subject/countersubject cells” and *fuga cells* (interlocking subject/subject segments).⁴ Peter Schubert has identified similar contrapuntal structures in the music of Lassus, Willaert, and Palestrina.⁵ As observed by Schubert, modules are found within individual points of imitation in Palestrina’s motets and are “then generally discarded for new thematic material in the next point.”⁶ Typically obscured within the contrapuntal texture, these modules are often surrounded by additional free/non-modular voices.

² Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition, 1450-1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 251. Jessie Ann Owens, “The Milan Partbooks: Evidence Concerning Cipriano de Rore’s Compositional Process,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 270–298, at 284.

³ Owens, “The Milan Partbooks,” 289-92.

⁴ John Milsom, “Analysing Josquin” in *The Josquin Companion*, edited by Richard Sherr, 431-484 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) and “Crecquillon, Clemens, and Four-Voice Fuga,” in *Beyond Contemporary Fame: Reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon*, ed. Eric Jas, 293-345 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), here at 298-9.

⁵ Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” 483-556. I am indebted to Professor Schubert for kindly sharing this article with me prior to publication. See also: Schubert, “A Lesson From Lassus: Form in the Duos of 1577,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 17 (1995): 1-26; *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), “Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, edited by Thomas Christensen, 503-33 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶ Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” 489.

As argued by all of these scholars, the repetition of such contrapuntal blocks should not be viewed as accidental, but rather, as a vital aspect of a compositional process that necessarily involved the building up of a work by way of short polyphonic segments. I posit that similar types of polyphonic segments form the essential building blocks of *sine nomine* Masses of the fifteenth century. There are several differences to note, however, between these *sine nomine* works and the compositions of Josquin, Crecquillon, Clemens, Lassus, Willaert, Palestrina, and Rore. First, the *sine nomine* Masses we will be investigating in this chapter have very little imitation. Second, when imitation is present, periodic vocal entries and strict pitch or rhythmic repetition are rarely encountered.⁷ Though the blocks of repetition in these *sine nomine* Masses do not occur within points of imitation, they are, nonetheless, comparable to the modules developed by later generations of composers.

In this chapter, I differentiate between two distinct types of contrapuntal blocks. The first, which I term *Motivic Constellations* (comparable to *Motto Constellations*), are comprised of multiple melodic voices, which, when repeated, rhythmically shift about in relation to one another because of the addition or deletion of melodic pitches in one or more of the voices. *Motivic Modules*, by contrast, are contrapuntal units comprised of multiple melodic voices, which, when repeated, line up vertically in the same way. *Motivic Modules* (like *Motto Modules*), however, need not always involve verbatim repetition. In fact, voices sometimes line up in transposition or invertible counterpoint.

The analytical nomenclature for *Motivic Modules* and *Motivic Constellations* is different from that used for *Motto Modules* and *Motto Constellations* in that I do not label

⁷ Periodic Entries (PEn) are discussed by Peter Schubert in “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” 498-504.

each individual melodic voice. Instead, in musical examples, I simply outline each constellation and module with a box. There will be certain situations, however, where labelling will be necessary, in which case I associate each melodic voice with a lowercase roman numeral (i, ii, iii).

We will observe examples of *Motto Constellations*, *Motto Modules*, *Motivic Constellations*, and *Motivic Modules* in three case studies from the manuscript Trent 89 (ca. 1460-1466): the *sine nomine* Masses of both Barbingant and Jo. Bassere, and the anonymous *Missa Fa-ut* (known elsewhere as the *Missa Prolatio perfecta*).⁸ Rather than working towards establishing general theoretical “truths” for these *sine nomine* Masses, however, the three following case studies will consider approaches that are particular to each individual work. These close analytical readings will allow us to examine each Mass’s motivic make-up. The motto vocabulary established in previous chapters will help to steer the discussions below. But, given the level of rich motivic interaction in each of the three *sine nomine* Masses under investigation, this vocabulary will now require significant expansion. These Masses will further push the boundaries of what is expected of a *sine nomine* motto especially as we explore the contexts in which these repetitive blocks of counterpoint are reiterated. Rather than establishing a “horizon of expectation” by discussing stylistic norms for motto composition, I will hold up a magnifying glass to each *sine nomine* Mass. This way, new motivic procedures will be identified and new

⁸ Modern editions of all Masses can be found in Louis Edward Gottlieb, “The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1958) and alternative editions of the Barbingant and Bassere Mass are located in Robert Mitchell, “The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91, Together with Analyses and Editions of Six Mass Cycles by Franco-Flemish Composers from Trent 89” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1989), 725-67; 768-819. Barbingant’s *Missa sine nomine* is found in Trent 89 306v-315r (704-708); the *Missa Fa-ut* is found in Trent 89: 199v-206v (643-647); Bassere’s *Missa sine nomine* is found in Trent 89: 294v-303r (698-702).

vocabulary will progressively be added and, in the words of Philip Brett, a sense for each work's "internal musical logic" will be elucidated.⁹

Barbingant's *Missa sine nomine*: An Early Parody Mass?

According to manuscript sources and to specific references found in the writings of Tinctoris, Eloy D'Amerval and Guillaume Crétin, we know that the composer Barbingant, identified by the alternative designations "Barbinguant" and "Berbigant," was probably active in central France during the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁰ Barbingant's extant oeuvre consists of three chansons (*L'homme banny*, *Der pfoben swanz*, *Esperant que mon bien*) and two three-voice Masses – the parody cycle *Terriblement suis fortunée* and a *sine nomine* Mass with concordances in Trent 89 and SPB 80.¹¹ In 1969, Charles Hamm firmly attributed the latter work (which appears anonymously in both Trent 89 and SPB80) to Barbingant when he identified a musical citation from the Mass in Tinctoris's *Musices Proportionale* (Chapter 2, Book 3).¹² Hamm characterized Barbingant's *Missa sine nomine* as a post-1450 cyclic Mass setting that was not based on a pre-existent model – evidence, he argued, that a *sine nomine* tradition continued to co-exist alongside newer, more popular cantus-firmus and parody Mass types.

⁹ Brett, "Facing the Music," *Early Music* 10 (1982): 348. Here Brett advocates analysis that results "from close reading of the music itself and related not to some abstract method but to the realities of the matter at hand."

¹⁰ David Fallows, "Barbingant," in *New Grove Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 10 January, 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. Regarding the confusion between the composers Barbingant and Barbireau see: Charles Warren Fox, "Barbireau and Barbingant: A Review," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 79–101.

¹¹ Barbingant's *Missa sine nomine* is located in Trent 89 no. 704-708 (306v-315r) and SPB 80 (39r-48v). SPB80 is missing the *Et incarnatus* and *Et in spiritum* sections of the Credo. Robert Mitchell suggests that the Trent 89 version may be a "slightly later copy than SPB80 since it contains more ornaments" in "The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91," 186.

¹² Charles Hamm, "Another Barbingant Mass" in *Essays in Musicology: In Honor of Dragan Plamenac on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert Snow, 83-90 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969).

In this Mass, Hamm ruled out any possibility of a cantus firmus, stating that though the “first 5-6 notes of the tenor of each movement agree” . . . the melodic correspondence goes no further” and that, it is “not even possible that it is an irrational treatment of cantus firmus.” Consequently, Hamm concluded that the Mass was freely composed.¹³

This assertion however, has recently been called into question by Robert Mitchell who, in an entire chapter dedicated to Barbingant's Mass in his dissertation on the Mass repertory of Trent 89 and 91, has argued that though “there is no pre-existent material in the tenor, and no evidence of chant elaboration,” Barbingant's *Missa sine nomine* is actually an early example of a parody mass, and is based on Caron's bergerette *S'il est ainsi*.¹⁴ Mitchell suggests that Barbingant drew upon the chanson in an ad hoc way – “in a similar fashion to some early fifteenth-century Ordinary settings” – namely Dufay's *Missa Resveilliés vous*.¹⁵ According to Mitchell, “These Masses are not parodies in the established sense, and they cannot be classified as reworkings of casually borrowed material . . . Rather, they allude to pre-existent material in an extremely random manner.”¹⁶ Furthermore, Mitchell notes that there are “passages of similar material which occur at approximately the same place in several movements.”¹⁷ The bulk of his evidence for connections between Barbingant's Mass and the chanson *S'il est ainsi* consists of cadential points and cadential-drive passages that he labels 1) “Cadence on A,” 2) “Cadence on F,” and 3) “Imitation at unison.” He states:

¹³ Hamm, “Another Barbingant Mass,” 83-90.

¹⁴ Mitchell, “The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91,” 185-96.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 185 and 193.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 187.

This evidence suggests that the composer is drawing on the chanson in a random manner. . . In the circumstances, perhaps it would be unrealistic to attempt systematic analysis since the pre-existent material is used so sporadically. Only the cycle's Superius is used for quotation, and the most obvious point of reference in the chanson (the beginning) is not used at all.¹⁸

Mitchell also isolates two three-note motives: “the motive F E A [which] occurs frequently, though more in the Gloria and Credo than elsewhere,” and a “second motive, A G A, [which] is equally frequent, but the instances are hard to list since it is difficult to separate them from conventional cadential formulas.”¹⁹

In my opinion, Mitchell is overly zealous in his attempt to assign names to the Masses of Trent 89. After all, it is only by ignoring some key issues that he is able to christen Barbingant's work the *Missa S'il est ainsi*. First, he employs the label “parody Mass” in such a casual manner that one cannot help wondering about his definition. I regard this as a crucial issue – especially in light of all of the conflicting Mass subgenre terminology floating about.²⁰ Second, he bases his reasoning on the precedent of another “pseudo-parody” Mass – Dufay's *Missa Resveilliés vous*, which I believe (as I have argued in Chapter 4) has been erroneously renamed and should remain *sine nomine*. Third, to employ an analytical method that is *exclusively* reliant on connections between cadences is only persuasive if the cadential evidence bolsters an already solid case for

¹⁸ Ibid., 193.

¹⁹ Ibid., 195.

²⁰ Lewis Lockwood, “On Parody as Term and Concept in 16th Century Music,” in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 560-75. J. Peter Burkholder, “Johannes Martini and the Imitation Mass of the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 470-523. Leeman L. Perkins, Reinhard Strohm and J. Peter Burkholder, “Communications,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 130-39, 576-78. Murray Steib, “A Composer Looks at His Model: Polyphonic Borrowing from the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 46 (1996): 5-41.

intertextuality.²¹ Leo Treitler has underlined the importance of exactly such an approach, where, when establishing connections between a Mass and model, “associations are made explicit by some aspect of the context.”²² I am compelled, therefore, to dismiss Mitchell’s claim that Barbingant’s Mass is based on a model. I view it as a freely-composed *sine nomine* Mass.

Mottos and Motives in Barbingant's Mass: The KI and GII Motto Constellations

Barbingant’s *Missa sine nomine* opens with a lengthy three-voice *Motto Constellation* in the Kyrie movement (see Example 6.1).²³ Spanning fourteen semibreves, each of the voices that make up the *KI Constellation* has a distinctive contour. The superius presents a balanced melodic line that outlines a third from d to f, makes its way up to a, and concludes with a descent to d. The tenor begins with a fifth leap from D to a followed by repeated neighbour tone motion d-c(#)-d, d-(c#)-d. The low contratenor voice, with its alternation between D–A–D (no less than three times), outlining both the plagal octave, with the fourth below and the fifth above, has the most distinctive contour.

²¹ Below, in my examination of the *Missa Fa-ut* and Bassere’s *Missa sine nomine* I will demonstrate connections between cadences and discuss links between “tail motive” passages. My arguments are more sound than Mitchell’s because a) it does not exclusively rely on cadential connections between movements; b) I examine similarities between cadences in an individual work while Mitchell’s comparisons are between a Mass and a chanson; c) The portions of the “tail motives” in the *Missa Fa-ut* that I compare do not comprise 6-8 progressions but rather form part of the pre-cadential portion of the “tail” (see Examples 6.35-6.40); d) connections are made between cadences in Bassere’s Mass only because they happen to coincide with a longer section of modular writing (see Example 6.56).

²² Leo Treitler, “Dufay the Progressive,” in *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 217.

²³ Mitchell finds no connections between the mottos in Barbingant’s Mass and the chanson *S’il est ainsi*. For the Mass he notes that, “there is no overall motto either; the Gloria and Credo open with similar material, and the Sanctus and Agnus begin with a different figure. However, all final subdivisions open with similar material, and two groups of inner subdivisions (Christe and Agnus II, and the second sections of the Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus) have related openings as well. The endings of penultimate subdivisions are also melodically related.” See Mitchell, “The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91,” 187.

Example 6.1 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, opening of Kyrie movement, *KI motto constellation*

In Barbingant's Mass, the *KI Constellation* undergoes varied repetition of pitches and rhythms, and features varied combinations of the individual melodic mottos that comprise it. For example, a more compact restatement of the *KI Constellation* is located at the opening of the second Kyrie (KII) section (see Example 6.2). This particular permutation of KI is rhythmically and melodically altered. Even though certain pitches are deleted and the tenor's initial D and the low contratenor's second pitch A are both shifted up an octave, the contours of each of the voices in the *KI Constellation* remain essentially intact and recognizable.²⁴

Example 6.2 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, opening of KII, KI *Motto Constellation*

²⁴ The second note of the contratenor's melodic KI motto has undergone pitch replacement – a minim rest stands in place of the expected descent to A'.

In the Gloria and Credo (Examples 6.3 and 6.4), Barbingant begins to play with the *KI Constellation* in more complex ways. At the opening of both movements, he employs the technique of *Delayed Motto Entry*. Rather than articulating the openings of the Gloria and Credo movements, Barbingant positions the *KI Motto Constellation* at the third line of text so as to coincide with the change from reduced two-voice duet texture to full, three-voice texture.²⁵

Example 6.3 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, third line of text in Gloria I, *Delayed Motto Entry* of *KI Constellation* at “Laudamus te”

The musical score consists of three staves labeled Kla, Klb, and Klc. The time signature is 3/2. Kla (Soprano) has a melodic line starting with a rest, then moving up. Klb (Tenor) has a long note on D, followed by a long note on A. Klc (Bass) has a long note on G, followed by a long note on D. The text 'Be - ne - di -' is under Kla, and 'Laudamus' is under Klb.

In the case of the Gloria movement (Example 6.3), the *KI Motto Constellation* articulates the words: “Laudamus te, Benedicimus te.” Of all the melodic mottos that comprise the KI constellation, the tenor (Klb) statement is the most emphatic. Here, the long, ten-semibreve tenor note on D followed by the long six-semibreve note on *a* signal to the listener and performer that something significant is occurring. If this particular Mass were of the *cantus firmus* variety, this long-note tenor line would certainly coincide with the entry of the *cantus prius factus*. In this particular case, however, Barbingant employs a long-note tenor in order to highlight the *Delayed Motto Entry* of the *KI Constellation*. A comparison between Example 6.3 and Example 6.1 reveals that Kla in

²⁵ *Delayed Motto entry* was previously seen in Agnus I of Dufay’s *Missa sine nomine* in Chapter 4 and in Kyrie I and Gloria I of Benet’s *Missa sine nomine no. 2* in Chapter 5.

the latter example features pitch addition between the first pitch (d) and the second pitch (f) while KIc'' outlines the original fourth and fifth leaps between D and a.

It is not difficult to see the similarities between the *Delayed Motto Entry* passage of Barbingant's Gloria movement and that found at measure 22 at the words "Dominum Jesu Christum" in the Credo movement (see Example 6.4). After all, Barbingant once again lays out the tenor's melodic motto (KIb) in long note values – the D is stretched out to twelve semibreves while the a is six semibreves in length. Both KIa and KIc are embedded in the melodic line but this time, rather than entering in a staggered manner (as they did in the Gloria of Example 6.3 above), they are sounded simultaneously.

Example 6.4 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, third line of text in Credo, *Delayed Motto Entry* of "KI constellation" with imitative/ornamental inserted passage "X" at Patrem/Dominum Jesu Christum"

As shown in Example 6.4, Barbingant adds yet another motivic layer to the *KI Constellation* in the form of a short imitative passage labelled "X" (strictly imitated at the octave) that ornaments the second note of the KIa melodic motto and directly precedes the KIc mottos.²⁶ This "X" ornamental motive later recurs at the opening of both the Sanctus and Agnus movements as a *Motto Prefix* (see Examples 6.5 and 6.6.) – each time

²⁶ *Motto Prefixes* were first encountered in Agnus I of Benet's *Missa sine nomine no. 1* in Chapter 5.

in conjunction with restatements of the *KI Constellation*. Motive “X,” therefore becomes an official “add-on” to the original *KI Constellation*.

Example 6.5 *Barbingant Missa sine nomine*, opening of Sanctus, *KI Constellation* with “X” *Motto Prefix*

Example 6.6 *Barbingant Missa sine nomine*, opening of Agnus, *KI Constellation* with “X” *Motto Prefix*

Both the KIa and KIb melodic mottos that comprise the *KI Constellation* of Examples 6.5 and 6.6 are modeled closely on the initial Kyrie motto of Example 6.1. But, the identity of the lower-contratenor motto as KIc (labelled KIc” in Examples 6.5 and 6.6) is not nearly as obvious. A comparison of contratenor lines at the openings of movements and subsections throughout the Mass (shown in Example 6.7), however, reveals how the opening Sanctus and Agnus contratenors

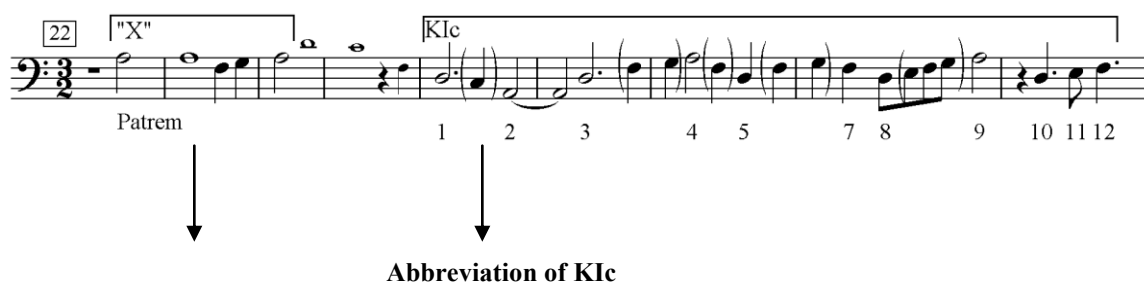
actually grow out of the contratenor of the opening of the Credo movement (also marked X +Klc”).

Example 6.7 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, transformation of Klc melodic motto in low contratenor, Kyrie I, Credo II, Sanctus II, Agnus II (Note that Gloria movement is omitted from this example)

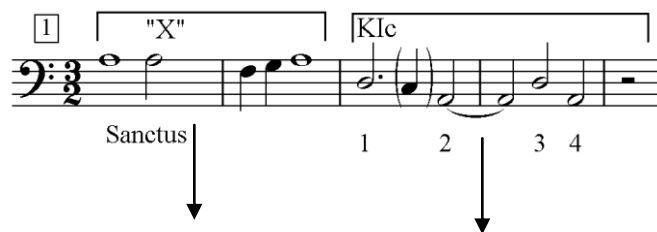
a) Kyrie: Initial form of Klc melodic motto (also see Example 6.1)



b) Credo: Addition of “X” Imitative passage before Klc (also see Example 6.4)



c) Sanctus: “X” becomes Motto prefix to Klc (also see Example 6.5)



d) Agnus: (also see Example 6.6)



The KIc motto undergoes so many alterations over the course of Barbingant's Mass, that by the time it reaches its final form in the Agnus movement, if viewed without the context of all of its varied statements, it is difficult to recognize (Example 6.7 a to d). This is a wonderful example of how a motto can subtly change and merge with other motivic material. Rather than existing as an iconic, self-contained, and isolated symbol for this Mass, this motto expands and contracts through a series of variation procedures. Each new permutation grows out of previous motto statements, thus giving the KIc melodic motto a rich, organic quality that can be compared to passages of thematic transformation or developing variation in music of the Romantic Period.

A much shorter two-voice *Motto Constellation* labelled is encountered at the opening of the Gloria II, Credo II, Sanctus II, and Agnus II (see Examples 6.8-6.11). Each of these movements are further interconnected by way of their vocal scoring – each is for two voices.

Example 6.8 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria II, GII motto constellation

63 | GIIa
Do - mi - ne

GIIc
Do - mi - ne Fi li

Example 6.9 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Credo II, GII motto constellation

71 | GIIa
Qui prop ter nos ho

GIIc
Qui pro - pter nos

Example 6.10 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus II, GII motto constellation

32 | GIIa
Ple ni

GIIc
Pleni

Example 6.11 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus II, GII motto constellation

26 | GIIa
A - gnus

GIIc
A - - nus

GIIc/KIa'': Consecutive Motto Repetition and Motto Imitation

A new melodic motto – GIIc, introduced at the opening of the Gloria movement (preceding the *Delayed Motto* of measure 15 in Example 6.3) plays an equally important role in Barbingant's Mass. As shown in Example 6.12, GIIc is first encountered in *Recombination* with an abbreviated version of the KIa melodic motto (labelled KIa'').

Example 6.12 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, opening of Gloria, KIa''/GIIc *Motto Recombination* and *Consecutive Motto Repetition*

1 | KIa''
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi

GIIc
Et in ter - ra

Barbingant sounds Glc three times in the contratenor through a procedure that I call *Consecutive Motto Repetition*.²⁷ The first repetition features a slightly expanded version heard again in Gloria II (labelled Glc'), while the second repetition features a return to Glc's basic form. *Consecutive Motto Repetition* is typically implemented when a composer wishes to secure the identity of a *new* motto in a *sine nomine* Mass.

The Klā''/Glc *Recombined Motto* is encountered again at the opening of the Credo (see Example 6.13). This time however, Barbingant manipulates the mottos with a new level of sophistication.

Example 6.13 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Opening of Credo, Klā''/Glc' recombined motto, *Consecutive Motto Repetition* and *Motto Imitation*

²⁷ Peter Schubert, "Recombinant Melody: Ten Things to Love About Willaert's Music," *Current Musicology* 75 (2003): 91-113.

7 Kia'

tem fa-cto rem ce-li et ter-re

Glc (#)

13 Kia'

vi-si-bi-li-um

Kia'

At the word “Patrem,” Kia’ (in the superius) and Glc (in the contratenor) are recombined. At the following word, “omnipotentem,” voice exchange places Glc in the superius and Kia’ in the contratenor, thus forming two modules that are embedded in the counterpoint (outlined with boxes). In spite of the voice exchange and rhythmic variation of Glc and Kia,’ when they are repeated, they still line up the same way (indicated with 1-3-3-1 intervals), resulting in the same counterpoint.

Later, at the words “factorem celi et terre” Barbingant superimposes Kia’ and Glc again. This time however, the melodic mottos are offset, so the module does not recur. Then, the following line of text (beginning with the word “visibilium” at measure 13) is punctuated with yet another appearance of Kia’. Here, the Kia’ motto interlocks (to use a term borrowed from John Milsom) with itself to form a passage of strict *Motto Imitation*.²⁸ As the term suggests, *Motto Imitation* occurs whenever the musical material of an imitative *soggetto* is drawn from a motto. In it, Barbingant masterfully juggles Kia’

²⁸ Milsom, “Crecquillon, Clemens, and Four-Voice *Fuga*,” 298.

and Glc' – they are superimposed, they are exchanged, and they engage in *Motto Imitation*.

GV Constellation: Delayed Motto Entry and Consecutive Motto Repetition

A new three-voice *Motto Constellation* introduced in the final Gloria subsection consists of melodic mottos GVa, GVb, and GVC (see Example 6.14). This constellation recurs at the opening of Credo V, Sanctus V, and Agnus III (see Examples 6.15-6.17). In all of these examples the contratenor's melodic motto GVC is the most variable. From the Credo movement onward, variations on GVC predominate. The contour of GVC outlines a descending fifth from A to D, and a fourth up to G. In two particular cases, *Consecutive Motto Repetition* of GVC punctuates the second line of text – “catholicam” of Credo V and “Dei” of Agnus V.

Example 6.14 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria V, GV Motto Constellation

The musical score for Example 6.14 consists of three staves, each representing a different melodic motto. The top staff, labeled GVa, is in treble clef and contains the melody for 'Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu'. The middle staff, labeled GVb, is in alto clef and contains the melody for 'Cum San - cto Spi - ri'. The bottom staff, labeled GVC, is in bass clef and contains the melody for 'Cum Sanc - - - - to'. The time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables spanning multiple notes.

When repeated in the Credo movement (see Example 6.15), initially, only two notes (a' and c') of GVa are heard while GVC is presented in a varied form. GVa is subsequently followed by free material (indicated with small noteheads in Example 6.15). The delayed GVa melodic motto (in a position of *Delayed Motto Entry*) finally chimes in at the text:

“catholicam et apostolicam.” The identity of GVa is unmistakable here as Barbingant employs exactly the same pitches and rhythms (from “tho” of “-tholicam”) as those encountered in the initial statement of the Gloria V (compare GVa in Examples 6.14 and 6.15). In Credo V (Example 6.15), the tenor features an example of *Motto Addition* (indicated with a horizontal arrow head in the tenor voice at the end of the system). Here, Barbingant adds on a short three-note *Motto Suffix* to GVb (a'-f'-g').²⁹ This suffix is reiterated in Sanctus V (Example 6.16).

Example 6.15 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Credo V, GV *Motto Constellation*

166

GVa

Et u nam san- ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam

GVb

Et u nam san- ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam

GVc

Et u nam san- ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam

Motto Suffix

Example 6.16 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus V, GV *Motto Constellation*

92

GVa

O - san - na

GVb

O - san - na

GVc

O - san - na

longest repeated GVc unit

Motto Suffix

²⁹ *Motto Suffix* is defined and discussed in Chapter 5.

Example 6.17 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus III, GV *Motto Constellation*

The “Dominus” *Motive-Motto*

As shown in Table 6.1 below (on page 247) the heavily texted Gloria and Credo movements integrate the largest number of mottos. In addition to being found at the beginnings of sections and subsections, many of these mottos are also located *after* the openings of movements, helping to articulate certain salient phrases of Mass text. On occasion, a motto is initially introduced into a Mass as a repetitive “motive,” only to take on its identity as an actual “motto” (through its placement at a true “beginning” of a section) at a later point in the Mass. I call these *Motive-Mottos* as they have a hybrid identity – first as a motive, and later as a motto.

An example in Barbingant's Mass is the "Dominus" *Motive-Motto* first encountered in the superius of Gloria I at the words "Dominus Deus" (Example 6.18) in conjunction with the melodic motto Glc.

Example 6.18 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria I, superius "Dominus" *Motive-Motto*

The "Dominus" *Motive-Motto* is later reiterated (quite appropriately) at the words "Jesu Christe" of the Gloria II subsection in conjunction yet again with Glc (Example 6.19). Here, the third pitch of the "Dominus" *Motive-Motto* undergoes replacement – g replaces the b.

Example 6.19 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria II, "Dominus" *Motive-Motto* at "Jesu Christe"

The “Dominus deus” *Motive-Motto* later transforms from a mere “motive” into a true motto at the opening of the Gloria IV subsection (example 6.20).

Example 6.20 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria IV, “Dominus” Motive-Motto

80 “Dominus” Motive-Motto

Quo - ni - am tu so -

The “Gratias agimus” Motives

In Barbingant’s Mass, there are also examples of purely motivic correspondences between movements that have no connections to motto-beginnings. For example, there is a “Gratias agimus” motive heard in Gloria I (Example 6.21) that is later repeated in the same section at the text “rex celestis” (Example 6.22), and again at “ante omnia” of Credo I (Example 6.23).

Example 6.21 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria I, initial statement of “Gratias agimus” motive (a + b). Imitative motivic passages indicated with dotted lines.

110 “Gratias Agimus” imitative motive

Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti

“Gratias Agimus” (a)

“Gratias Agimus” imitative motive

Example 6.22 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria I, “Gratias Agimus” motive (a +b).
Imitative motivic passages indicated with dotted lines.

"Gratias agimus" Motive

(a) (b) longest repeated (b) motto

53 Rex - ce - le - stis De - us Pa - ter o - -

"Gratias agimus" (a) (b)

"Gratias agimus" (a)

58 mni

"Gratias agimus" (b)

Example 6.23 Barbingant *Missa sine nomine*, Credo I, “Gratias Agimus” motive

"Gratias Agimus" imitative motive (a+b)

37 tum an - te o - mni - a se cu

"Gratias Agimus" imitative motive (a)

In each of these examples, contrapuntal contexts are very similar. All three passages involve imitation (dotted lines in musical examples connect these imitative passages), each incorporates a semibreve rest in the superius voice that interrupts the

octave leap between a and aa (and incidentally, distinguishes between the end of *motive a* and the beginning of *motive b*), and one of the passages (Example 6.23) reiterates a contrapuntal module introduced in Example 6.21 (outlined with boxes).

Motto Organization

As shown in Table 6.1 below, the Kyrie and Gloria movements feature the initial presentation of all mottos and motives: the KI, GII, GIII, and GV *Constellations* and the Glc melodic motto. Though most of the mottos recur throughout Barbingant's Mass, the strongest motivic correlations occur between pairs of consecutive movements – the Gloria and Credo, the Credo and Sanctus, and the Sanctus and Agnus. Table 6.1 is organized so that these correspondences are more immediately obvious.

As shown, the first sections of both the Gloria and Credo movements feature the most dense concentration of mottos – with almost every single line of text punctuated with motto material. Furthermore, the Sanctus and Agnus movements extrapolate motto and motivic material from the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo movements. In Barbingant's *Missa sine nomine*, form is generated by the interaction of small repetitive units. Most of these units are mottos. In his *Missa sine nomine*, Barbingant employs motto procedures such as *Delayed Motto Entry*, *Motto Imitation*, *Consecutive Motto Repetition*, *Motto Addition*, *Motto Prefixes*, and *Motto Suffixes*. He also introduces *Motive-Mottos* and purely motivic (i.e. non motto) contrapuntal repetition, thus creating a masterful work that consistently presents varied contrapuntal blocks.

Table 6.1 Barbingant *Missa Sine Nomine* Motto Arrangement

KYRIE				
		Superius	Tenor	Contra
I	O	KIa	KIb	KIc
II	C/	KIa'	KIb'	KIc'
III	O			
GLORIA				
		Superius	Tenor	Contra
I	O	KIa''	N/A	Glc
	"bonae voluntatis"	N/A	Glc'	
	"Laudamus te"	KIa	KIb	KIc'
	"Benedicimus te"			KIc
	"Gratias agimus"	GRATIAS AGIMUS		
	"Dominus Deus"	DOMINUS		Glc'
	"Rex celestis"	GRATIAS AGIMUS		
II	O	GIIa	N/A	GIIc
	"Jesu Christe"	DOMINUS	N/A	Glc'
III	C/	GIIIa	GIIIb	
IV	C2	DOMINUS	N/A	
V	O	GVa	GVb	GVc
SANCTUS				
		Superius	Tenor	Contra
I	O	KIa	KIb	X+KIc'
	"sanctus"		KIb'	
II	O	GIIa	N/A	GIIc
III	C/		GIIIb	GIIa
IV	C/	Glc	N/A	GIIc
V	O	GVa	GVb	GVc
CREDO				
		Superius	Tenor	Contra
I	O	KIa''	Glc	N/A
	"Factorem"	KIa''	N/A	Glc
	"Visibilium"	KIa''	N/A	KIa''
	"Patrem/	KIa'	KIb'	X+KIc
	... dominum Jesu christum)			
	"Filius dei"	Glc	Glc	
	"ante omnia"	GRATIAS AGIMUS		
II	O	GIIa	N/A	GIIc
III	C/	GVa/GIIIa	GIIIb	
IV	C2	Glc	N/A	GIIc
V	O	GVa	GVb	GVc
AGNUS				
		Superius	Tenor	Contra
I	O	KIa	KIb	X+KIc'
II	C/	GIIa	N/A	GIIc
III	O	GVa	GVb	GVc
	"dei"		Glc	

The Election of Bishop Hinderbach and the *Missa Fa-ut*

An anonymous Mass, found on folios 199v- 206v (643-647) of Trent 89 will serve as the second case study for this chapter.³⁰ This special work has come to be known as the *Missa Prolatio perfecta* – so named by Louis Gottlieb on account of the use of perfect prolation in the contratenor of the second section of each movement (the middle section of each movement actually combining three mensurations simultaneously: C/;C-dot;O).³¹ The Strahov manuscript provides another concordance for both the Gloria and Credo movements, at the head of which the scribe has written “Fa-ut” – the nickname that I will use in all future reference to this Mass. This designation may refer to the first two notes of the descending tenor line (F-C) – a repetitive motive (and part of a more extended motto) that recurs at the opening of each major section in the Mass, or may be modal, indicating the fifth mode with F final.³²

On folio 199r of Trent 89 (the first of this particular fascicle), directly preceding the *Missa Fa-ut* (fols. 199v- 206v), we find an anonymous poem entitled “Clerus istius venerandus urbis.” The third stanza of this poem, which exclaims “O our bishop, Johannes Hinderbach/May you be a merciful father/A just and truthful ruler of the city” (*Praesul Hinderbach utinam Johannes/Sis pater clemens, dominator urbis/Justus et verax pariterque mores*) clearly corresponds to Johannes Hinderbach’s election as Bishop of

³⁰ A modern edition of this Mass can be found in Gottlieb, “The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89.”

³¹ Gottlieb, “The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89,” 141.

³² Robert Joseph Snow, “The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47,” (PhD: University of Illinois, 1968), 88. Strahov 101v-104r; nos. 97 and 98. On modal designation and the *Missa Mimi* by Ockeghem see Ross W. Duffin, “Mi Chiamano Mimi. . . but my name is Quarti toni: Solmization and Ockeghem's Famous Mass,” *Early Music* 24 (May 2001): 165-186.

Trent on August 30th, 1465. As suggested by Gary Spilsted, given that it appears after the poem in Trent 89, the Mass too may be connected to this event.³³

The “dedicatee” of the poem – Prince-bishop Hinderbach (1418-1486) – was one of the most fervent advocates of humanism outside of Italy. He received his Baccalaureate (1436) and Master’s degree (1438) at the University of Vienna and his Doctor of Laws degree (1452) from the University of Padua. While in Padua, Hinderbach met regularly with Enea Silvio Piccolomini who strongly encouraged him to spread humanism through Germany. In 1452 he was appointed ambassador and secretary to Emperor Frederick III. Subsequently, he proceeded to rise in Trent’s ecclesiastical ranks. He received a canonry and was elected as Dean of the chapter in 1455, he was raised to the rank of nobility by Frederick III in 1459, and was finally elected as Bishop of Trent in 1465.³⁴

A bibliophile of the highest order, Hinderbach avidly collected manuscripts and codices for the library at Trent. His glosses, corrections, and marginalia on texts are still detectable in many of the books that were in his collection. It is still uncertain what role Hinderbach played in the compilation of the Trent codices themselves, but it is possible that this exhaustive resource for fifteenth-century polyphonic music was a project spearheaded by Hinderbach himself.³⁵ Though his handwriting cannot be detected in any of the Trent codices (there is no evidence, after all, that Hinderbach had any musical abilities), there is nonetheless, the fascinating biographical connection of the Bishop in

³³ Gary R. Spilsted, “The Paleography and Musical Repertory of Codex Tridentinus 93,” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1982), 179. The full text and translation of the poem are found at 169-172.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 42, p. 192.

³⁵ Adler, DTO, VII, Bd. 14-15, xx. See discussion of Hinderbach’s career at Trent (including his persecution of the Jews in Trent after the murder of a young boy named Simon Unferdorben) in Spilsted, “The Paleography and Musical Repertory of Codex Tridentinus 93,” 192-5. Peter Wright, “Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser’s Collection,” *Early Music History* 22 (August 2003): 247-332.

the form of the dedicatory poem and the possibility that the musical composition – the *Missa Fa-ut* was specifically composed for this event.³⁶

The *Missa Fa-ut*

Of all the *sine nomine* Masses in the Trent codices, this anonymous work has the most remarkable large-scale design, a fact that has not gone unnoticed over the years.³⁷ Robert Snow has even deemed it “the most tightly structured of the motto Masses . . . perhaps of the whole period.”³⁸ Some of the interconnections between movements are so striking that Louis Gottlieb tentatively suggested its identity as an early parody Mass while Robert Mitchell proposed the anonymous ballade *Voy da plas*, number 66 of the Schedel Liederbuch, as a possible model.³⁹ Andrew Kirkman and Snow, however, both view the Mass as freely composed.⁴⁰ As aptly pointed out by Kirkman, “such coherence need not necessarily presuppose the presence of an antecedent.”⁴¹ Snow has remarked that “[i]t hardly seems possible that such a great variety of motival [sic] material could have been borrowed from a pre-existent chanson or similar work and still be manipulated as it is . . . the Mass probably was freely composed and not necessarily intended for use

³⁶ In “The Paleography and Musical Repertory of Codex Tridentinus 93,” Gary Spilsted has suggested that the text of the poem suggests the “probable year of [the *Missa Fa ut*’s] composition” (p. 179).

³⁷ See Gottlieb, “The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89,” 141-5. Snow, “The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47,” 88. Andrew Kirkman, “Innovation, Stylistic Patterns and the Writing of History: The Case of Bedyngham’s Mass *Dueil Angoisieux*,” in *I codici musicali trentini: nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, Trent, 24 September 1994, ed. Danilo Curti, Marco Gozzi and Peter Wright, 162-164 (Trent: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Servizi Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1996). Mitchell, “The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91,” 86-88; 178.

³⁸ Snow, “The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47,” 88.

³⁹ Gottlieb, “The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89,” 141. Mitchell, “The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91,” 86-88; 178. Like Kirkman, I find Mitchell’s argument unconvincing.

⁴⁰ See Snow, “The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47,” 89. Kirkman, “Innovation, Stylistic Patterns and the Writing of History,” 163 n.55.

⁴¹ Kirkman, “Innovation, Stylistic Patterns and the Writing of History,” 163.

on any specific feast.”⁴² Given the fact that Mitchell provides no musical examples, his claim must be dismissed until further proof can substantiate this claim. The *Missa Fa-ut* may not be a parody Mass but it is a paradigmatic model of *motivicity* – containing several examples of contrapuntal repetition, imitation, and “kaleidoscopic variety” amongst its movements.

KI Constellation + Module

Examples 6.24-28 illustrate the KI *Constellation + Module* (comprised of KIa, KIb, and KIc) at the opening of each of the movements of the *Missa Fa-ut*. I have called KI a *Constellation + Module* because it is a hybrid of the two motto presentation-types. For the first six to eight semibreves, KI typically begins as a module (the modular portion of KI is outlined with boxes in Examples 6.24-28). Thereafter, KI becomes a constellation (here the superius and tenor voices are similarly matched in each movement while the contratenors are more varied).

Example 6.24 *Missa Fa-ut*, Kyrie I, initial presentation of KI Constellation + Module

The musical score for Example 6.24 is in 3/2 time and consists of three staves: Superius (top), Tenor (middle), and Contratenor (bottom). The Superius staff is labeled 'KIa' and contains a boxed module of five notes (1-5) followed by a constellation of notes. The Tenor staff is labeled 'KIb' and contains a boxed module of nine notes (1-9) followed by a constellation of notes. The Contratenor staff is labeled 'KIc' and contains a boxed module of three notes (1-3) followed by a constellation of notes. The lyrics 'FA-' and 'UT' are written below the Contratenor staff.

⁴² Snow, “The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47,” 89.

6

Ut-Fa-Ut Ut-Fa-Ut Fa-Ut-Fa Fa-Ut-Fa

Imitative motive: later becomes KIia

Imitative motive: later becomes KIia

11

e- ley - son

KIb

KIa

Example 6.25 *Missa Fa-ut, Gloria I, KI Constellation + Module*

1

KIa

1 2 3 4 5

KIb

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 "X" suffix

KIc

1 2 3

Example 6.26 *Missa Fa-ut, Credo I, KI Constellation + Module*

1

KIa

1 2 3 4 5

KIb

1 2 3 4 5 6

KIc

1 2 3

Example 6.27 *Missa Fa-ut, Sanctus I, KI Constellation + Module*

Example 6.27 is a musical score for three parts: KIa (Superius), KIb (Contratenor), and KIc (Tenor). The score is in 3/2 time. KIa starts with a box labeled '1' and contains a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. KIb contains a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, followed by a section labeled 'X' suffix. KIc contains a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, 3.

Example 6.28 *Missa Fa-ut, Agnus I, KI Constellation + Module*

Example 6.28 is a musical score for three parts: KIa (Superius), KIb (Contratenor), and KIc (Tenor). The score is in 3/2 time. KIa starts with a box labeled '1' and contains a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. KIb contains a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7. KIc contains a sequence of notes with fingerings 1, 2, 3.

KII Motive-Mottos and Motto Imitation

The *KII Constellation* consists of two melodic mottos: KIIa (comprised of thirteen pitches) in the superius and KIIb (comprised of four pitches) in the contratenor (see Example 6.29). In this appearance at the opening of the second Kyrie subsection, KIIa and b are recombined with a partial statement of the familiar “Fa-Ut” tenor motto (F-C-F) KIIc.

Example 6.29 *Missa Fa-ut, Kyrie II, KII Motto Constellation recombined with KIc (Fa-Ut) motto*

16 KIIa
Chri - ste

KIIb
Chri - ste

KIc
Chri - ste

Interestingly, the opening of the Kyrie II is actually not the first time this recombined motto is heard. In fact, a shorter version of the recombined KIIa/KIc motto is actually first introduced in the Kyrie I (see mm. 8-10 of Example 6.24). Looking back to Example 6.24, we see KIIa as an imitative motive in the tenor and superius. As a counterpoint to this imitative fragment, the contratenor sounds the distinctive “Fa-Ut” motive KIc twice. This means that KIIa/KIc can actually be classified as a *Motive-Motto*. Unlike the *Motive-Motto* of Barbingant’s *Missa sine nomine* (see Examples 6.18, 6.19, 6.20), however, the *Motive-Motto* presented in Kyrie I is not fully worked out. It simply foreshadows what is to come in the following subsection.

After its initial presentation in the Kyrie movement, a veritable flood of KIIa mottos are unleashed. As shown in Table 6.2 below, besides articulating almost every subsection of the Gloria and Credo movements, KIIa also underscores several internal phrases.

Table 6.2 *Anonymous, Missa Fa-ut*

KYRIE			
	Superius	Contra	Tenor
I	KIa	KIb	KIc
“eleyson”	KIIa (imit.)	X	KIIa
II	KIIa(13p)	KIIb	KIc
III	KIIIa(extended)KIIIb		KIc+W
“eleyson”	KIa		KIIa
GLORIA			
	Superius	Contra	Tenor
I	KIa	KIb	KIc
“Laudamus”	KIIa (imit.)	X+Y	KIIa
“Gratias agimus”	KIIa		
“Deus Pater”	KIIa (imit.)		KIIa
II	KIIa	KIIb	N/A
“domine Deus”	KIIa (imit.)	KIIa’	N/A
“Filius “	KIIa (imit.)	KIIa	N/A
III	KIIa	KIIIb	KIc
IV	KIIIa(varied)	KIIIb	KIc+Z
“in Gloria”	KIa		KIIa”
CREDO			
	Superius	Contra	Tenor
I	KIa	KIb	KIc
“Visibilium omnium”	KIIa (imit.)	X+Y	KIIa
“Jesum Christum”	KIIa (imit.)		KIIa
“secula”			KIIa
II	KIIa (imit.)	KIIa’	N/A
III	KIIa	KIIb	KIc
IV	KIIIa(extended)KIIIb		KIc+W
“seculi”	KIa		KIIa
SANCTUS			
	Superius	Contra	Tenor
I	KIa	KIb	KIc
II	KIIa	KIIb	N/A
III	KIIa	KIIIb	KIc
IV			
V	KIIIa(extended)		KIc+W
“in excelsis”	KIa		KIIa
AGNUS			
	Superius	Contra	Tenor
I	KIa	KIb	KIc
II	KIIa	KIIIb	N/A
“Miserere”	KIIa	KIIIb	KIc
III	KIIIa(extended) KIIIb		KIc+Z
“qui tollis”	KIa		KIIa

Examples 6.30-35 show six occurrences of the KIIa melodic motto in the Gloria I and II subsections. We first revisit KIIa in the Gloria movement articulating the words “Laudamus te” in a passage of *Motto Imitation* between superius and tenor (Example 53). Here and elsewhere, appearances of KIIa are often signalled by introductory rests (see Examples 6.30, 6.31, 6.32, and 6.33) or by repeated C’s (Examples 6.30, 6.31, 6.32, and 6.33).

Example 6.30 *Missa Fa-ut, Gloria I, “Laudamus te.” Entrance of KIIa’ articulated with rests in Motto Imitation*

Next, KIIa appears in the superius of the Gloria at the words “Gratias agimus tibi.”

Example 6.31 *Missa Fa-ut, Gloria I, “Gratias agimus.” KIIa in superius*

KIIa is heard again at the words “Deus Pater” in *Motto Imitation* between the superius and tenor (Example 6.32).

Example 6.32 *Missa Fa-ut, Gloria I, “Deus Pater.” KIIa in Motto Imitation*

In the second section of the Gloria, a two voice tenor tacet section (shown in its entirety in Example 6.33) features the same obsessive working out of the KIIa motive.

First, at the text “Domine fili” the *KII Constellation* is heard. This is followed by two long passages of *Motto Imitation* (labelled KIIa’). The first of these occurs at “Domine Deus” (indicated with dotted lines in the superius and tenor) while the second articulates the concluding imitative flourish at the words “Filius Patris.”

Example 6.33 *Missa Fa-ut, Gloria II, “Domine fili,” KIIa in Motto Imitation*

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of four systems of two staves each. The lyrics are: "Do - mi - ne fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su - Chri - ste. Do - mi - ne De - i us A - gnus De - i Fi - li us Pa - tris". The score includes labels for "KIIa" and "KIIb" and uses dotted lines to indicate imitative passages.

System 1 (Measures 38-42): The first staff is labeled "KIIa" and the second staff is labeled "KIIb". The lyrics are "Do - mi - ne fi - li u - ni - ge - ni -".

System 2 (Measures 43-48): The first staff is labeled "KIIa" and the second staff is labeled "KIIa". The lyrics are "te Je - su - Chri - ste. Do - mi - ne De -".

System 3 (Measures 49-55): The first staff is labeled "KIIa" and the second staff is labeled "KIIa". The lyrics are "us A - gnus De - i".

System 4 (Measures 56-62): The first staff is labeled "KIIa" and the second staff is labeled "KIIa". The lyrics are "Fi - li us Pa - tris".

The richly imitative texture and tightly integrated motivic structure of the second Gloria section beautifully exemplifies how the composer of the *Missa Fa-ut* sensitively responds to the underlining gist of the text “*Domine fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine Deus Agnus Dei Filius Patris.*” Here, Christ the Father, Jesus the Son, and (by extension) the Holy Ghost meld into one musico-poetic symbol. The use of imitation in this passage reflects what Christopher Reynolds has identified as a compositional trend that characterizes works from the “last decades of the century. . . before imitative counterpoint became the stylistic norm.”⁴³ During this period, Reynolds argues, “composers had more freedom to use imitation as an expressive tool for interpreting those portions of the Mass that either described unity between separate entities or actions such as leading and following.”⁴⁴ According to Reynolds, examples of Mass text that tend to initiate imitative musical textures include: “Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit” of the Credo movement, “Et iterum venturus est,” and “Qui venit in nomine Domini” of the Benedictus.⁴⁵

The *Missa Fa-ut*, however, features many other examples of KIIa imitation that reach beyond descriptions of “unity between separate entities,” or “leading and following.” Of the twenty-five times that the KIIa motto is sounded in the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo movements, eight (superius/tenor) pairs of these participate in *Motto Imitation*. These are summarized in Table 6.3 below.

⁴³ Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 252.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 252.

Table 6.3 **Points of Imitation based on KIIa in the *Missa Fa-ut***

Movement/Section	Voices <u>Dux/Comes</u>	Pitch Repetition	Rhythmic Repetition	Pitch Interval	Time Interval in sbs	# Motto Pitches	Imitative Extension Beyond Motto?
Kyrie I	T/S	Strict	Free	+8	2	4/5	No
Gloria I “Laudamus”	S/T	Strict	Mostly Strict	-8	3	6/5	No
Gloria I “Deus pater”	S/T	Mostly Strict	Free	-8	1.5	7/4	No
Gloria II “Domine Deus”	S/T	Strict	Strict	-8	3	7/7	Yes (13.5 sbs)
Gloria II “Filius patris”	T/S	Strict	Strict	+8	1.5	9/9	Yes (6.5 sbs)
Credo I “Visibilium omnium”	S/T	Strict	Free	-8	2	8/4	No
Credo I “Jesum Christum”	S/T	Strict	Free	-8	2	3/7	No
Credo II “Et resurrexit”	T/S	Mostly Strict	Strict	+5	3	4/7	No

Each row in Table 6.3 represents a different point of imitation involving the melodic motto KIIa. The first column describes the movement and section in which the motto is found; the second column identifies the voices and the order in which they participate in the point of imitation (T/S: Tenor/Superius); the third and fourth columns describe pitch and rhythmic properties in each point of imitation (specifying whether repetition is strict, free, “mostly strict”); the fifth and six columns pertain to pitch (+/- indicating the imitative interval up or down) and time interval of imitation (in semibreves). The final two columns pertain to the relationship between the point of imitation and the original KIIa motto of Example 6.29. Information in the penultimate column describes how many motto pitches (out of a possible total of 13 KIIa pitches) participate in the point of imitation (S/T or T/S) while the final column indicates whether or not the point of imitation extends beyond the perimeter of the motto.

As shown in Table 6.3, each time the KIIa motto forms a point of imitation, it is varied in some way. It is surely no coincidence that four of the points of imitation involving KIIa highlight text that refers directly to God or Christ, and that the final point pertains to the resurrection of Christ – which incidentally, through transposition upwards at the fifth, is the only point of imitation that musically takes on a “new form” (see final row of Table 6.3) and therefore stands as a powerful musico-poetic metaphor for the risen Christ.

Another imitative passage involving KIIa that has musico-poetic significance is located in the first subsection of the Credo movement at the line of text “visibilium omnium et invisibilium” (Example 6.34). All three voices of this example (including the contratenor’s “X +Y” motives) are recycled from the Gloria I’s “Laudamus te” passage (Example 6.35). Even though there is rhythmic and melodic variation in the individual mottos and motives that comprise Examples 6.34 and 6.35, the resulting contrapuntal units are still modular as all of the voices line up the same way and all intervallic relationships between superius, tenor, and contratenor are the same.

Here, we encounter the repetition of a whole contrapuntal block that spans an entire line of text. It is probable that the words pertaining to the “visible” and “invisible” forms of Christ are what prompted the composer to craftily embed a three-voice module here. This KIIa’/X/Y contrapuntal unit then, through repetition, may be identified as a musical entity – literally a “thing” created (*res facta*) – and therefore, a metaphor for the things created by Christ – both “visible and invisible.” The repetition of this particular “musical creation” (or module) is certainly “invisible,” or at least inaudible, to the average listener. It must have represented, therefore, an attractive and tangible means of poetically representing the spiritual meaning associated with both “visible” and

“invisible” creations. In other words, with this inaudible module – only perceived by composer and analyst – composer as “maker” comes as close as he can to capturing the essence of what it might mean to engage in making an “invisible” thing. As we shall see in Chapter 8, this is not the only *sine nomine* Mass to highlight the complex spiritual implications of this particular Mass phrase.⁴⁶

Example 6.34 *Missa Fa-ut*, Credo I, “visibilium omnium et invisibilium,” Module

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

"X" "Y"

KIIa KIIa

8

Example 6.35 *Missa Fa-ut*, Gloria I, “Laudamus te,” Module

Lau - da - mus - te

"X" "Y"

KIIa KIIa

8

⁴⁶ See Chapter 8: Tintoris’s four-voice *Missa sine nomine*, Example 8.11.

Final Subsections of Movements

Some of the most interesting examples of *Motivic Constellations* are shown below in Examples 6.36 to 6.40. Each of these examples are taken from the final subsections of movements – Kyrie III, Gloria IV, Credo IV, Sanctus V, and Agnus III. They feature motives in individual voices that repeat exactly. When repeated, the relationship between the voices shifts, thus providing the same type of contrapuntal variety found in a *Motto Constellation*.

As shown in the examples below, each of the final subsections in the *Missa Fa-ut* begins with a Motto that is made up of the *KIII Constellation* and the ubiquitous “Fa-Ut-Fa” tenor motto – otherwise known as *KIc*. The *KIc* melodic motto has two sub-varieties. The first, labelled *KIc + W (Motto Suffix)*, is found in the Kyrie, Credo, and Sanctus (see Examples 6.36, 6.38, and 6.39). It begins with “Fa-Ut-Fa” followed by a scalar descent of a sixth from a to c. The second variation, labelled *KIc + Z (Motto Suffix)*, is found in the Gloria and Agnus (see Examples 6.37 and 6.40). *Z* falls a fourth from f to c, and is followed by a semibreve of rest before rising through f to c.

Example 6.36 *Missa Fa-ut*, Kyrie III *KIII/KIc + W Tail Motive*

36 KIIIa
Ky - ri - e

KIIIb
Ky - ri - e

KIc | "W" Suffix
Ky - - - - - ri - e

TAIL MOTIVE

3 v. module 3 v. module

42

KIa

KIIa'

Example 6.37 *Missa Fa-ut, Gloria IV, Tail Motive*

96

KIIIa

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu

KIIIb

Cum San - cto

KIc

"Z" Motto Suffix

Cum San - cto

TAIL MOTIVE

102

KIa

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

KIIa

Example 6.38 *Missa Fa-ut, KIII/KIc' +W Credo IV, Tail Motive*

112 KIIIa
Et vi - - tam ven-tu ri

KIIIb
Et vi - - tam ven - tu ri

KIc
Et vi - - - tam ven - tu

TAIL MOTIVE

118 KIa
se - - - - cu - - - li

KIIa
ri

KIc
ri

Motto Suffix

Example 6.39 *Missa Fa-ut, Sanctus V, KIII/KIc' +W Tail Motive*

75 KIIIa
O - san - - - - -

KIc
O - san - - - - -

KIc
O - san - - - - -

W Suffix

TAIL MOTIVE

Motto Suffix

81

KIa

-na in ex cel -

Example 6.40 *Missa Fa-ut, Agnus III, Tail Motive*

40

KIIIa

A - gnus De - i

KIIIb

A - gnus De i

KIc

"Z" Suffix

TAIL MOTIVE

Motto Suffix

46

KIa

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

KIIa

A remarkable thing happens in each of these final subsections. As indicated in the examples above, each ending is punctuated with a distinctive “tail motive.” The designation “tail motive” is not as common as “head motive” but is used from time-to-

time.⁴⁷ It describes repetitive cadential material that is found at the end of a Mass movement or Mass section. The tail motives in the *Missa Fa-ut*, however, are not cadential, and are not comprised of new motivic material. In fact, these tails are located in positions that directly precede the actual cadential endings. Furthermore, they consist entirely of familiar motivic material from previous movements – KIa and KIIa in recombination (see Examples 6.24 and 6.29 for these mottos in their original forms).

KIa, which appears in the superius of each final subsection, is of course, taken from the opening of the Mass. It is by no means a skimpy abbreviated version of KIa. In all five concluding subsections, in fact, KIa is recapitulated almost in its entirety (sounding an average of nine KIa pitches), thus effacing any doubts that these resemblances may be inadvertent or accidental. What is more, the composer actually highlights the appearance of KIa by preceding each entry with two semibreves of rests. In each of these instances, the KIa melodic motto is recombined with the KIIa melodic motto. The Kyrie, Gloria, and Agnus, however, feature a KIIa melodic motto that stands out more prominently, each entry marked with the sounding of a long C between three and five semibreves in duration.

As evident in Table 6.2, this Mass is motivically integrated throughout. The whole Mass is held together tightly by the same short mottos which are worked out incessantly through different expressions of contrapuntal *varietas* – through varied repetition, imitation, and recombination with other motto material. The *Missa Fa-ut* therefore represents a distinct development in *sine nomine* Mass composition. One need only look to the final group of Examples (6.36-6.40) to notice a decisive change in *sine nomine*

⁴⁷ Murray Steib employed the term in his paper “In the Workshop of a Late Medieval Editor: Johannes Martini’s Modernization of Music in the Modena Mass Choirbook,” Presented at the conference AMS/SMT Annual Meeting, November 11-14 2004, Seattle, Washington.

motivic language. Throughout this Mass, mottos are distributed throughout all subsections of movements, imitation is employed to highlight motivic material, and mottos are repeated and varied in countless different contrapuntal contexts.

If ever we could argue that a sense of organicism existed in music of the fifteenth century, this would be the Mass to represent that notion. Throughout, it is the KII motto that, through persistence and dogged repetition, muscles its way into a position of structural authority. In a certain way we can view the *Missa Fa-ut* as a precursor to Josquin's *Missa La sol fa re mi*, another Mass that focuses on one motive for the duration of the entire work. Indeed, rather than a "motto Mass" the *Missa Fa-ut* would be more aptly designated a "Motivic Mass."⁴⁸

Building with Blocks: Jo. Bassere's *Missa sine nomine*

One of the most fascinating compositions in Trent 89 is a *Missa sine nomine* by a certain Jo. Bassere.⁴⁹ In this Mass, modular writing dominates the counterpoint. Modules are not only implicated in motto construction, but also play a significant role in motivic exchange, and help in imposing form and structure on all subsections. Bassere's obsessive reliance on modular writing presents yet another logical step in the development of *sine nomine* Mass composition whereby modules (only found at motto beginnings in earlier Masses) now begin to permeate the entire Mass texture. I propose, therefore, that this is a work in which we can examine a crucial moment in the history of *sine nomine* Mass

⁴⁸ See Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet: 1420-1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963) where Sparks writes: "The basis is motivic treatment in all its manifestations – sequence, ostinato, imitation, and probably most important of all, variation. An appropriate descriptive term for the work would be "motivic Mass" (p. 326-7).

⁴⁹ Trent 89: nos. 698-702; 294v-303r.

composition -- where modular repetition breaks free from its roots in the motto to become a fundamental unifying force throughout.

Who was Jo. Bassere? Strangely, this *sine nomine* Mass is the only work associated with a composer of this name.⁵⁰ Robert Mitchell has recently suggested that Jo. Bassere was actually Phillipon Basiron.⁵¹ It is also possible that this Mass may have been composed by Johannes Basiron (alternatively spelled Johannes Barizon) – one of three “Basiron” brothers identified by Paula Higgins.⁵² We know from documents that Pierre Basiron, after training as a choirboy, became prior of the convent of Notre-Dame de la Comtale in Bourges in 1469.⁵³ The second brother, Philippe Basiron was appointed master of the choirboys in 1469 at Sainte Chapelle of Bourges and was “entrusted in 1498 with the correction of two new psalters before their illumination, and in 1517 . . . assumed the canonry previously held by the composer Antonine de Longueval.”⁵⁴ On 31 May 1491 upon Philippe’s death, the third brother, Johannes Basiron acquired his benefice as vicariate of Notre-Dame at Saint-Pierre-le Guillard.⁵⁵ Higgins explains that multiple layers of confusion remain regarding the name of Johannes Basiron, stating that a Johannes Basiron is also mentioned “together with a later generation of composers including Willaert, Carpentras, Festa, and L’Héritier.”⁵⁶ Higgins finds it unlikely that this later composer is the Johannes Basiron of Bourges who died in 1495.

⁵⁰ Tom R. Ward, “Jo. Bassere,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 12 July, 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁵¹ Mitchell, “The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91,” p. 197.

⁵² As explained by Higgins, Pierre, Philippe, and Johannes Basiron all worked contemporaneously at the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges and were “all probably brothers.” See Paula Higgins, “Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers: the Case of Philippe Basiron of Bourges,” *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990): 1–28, here at 21.

⁵³ Higgins, “Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers,” 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 21. Johannes Basiron died in 1495, shortly after being excommunicated (for unknown reasons).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

It will be impossible to identify the composer of this *sine nomine* Mass without further archival research. In any case, whoever composed the Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine* of Trent 89, had an extremely progressive approach to composition. His penchant for repetition matches the stylistic profile of Philippe Basiron, and as we shall see -- his use of modular writing looks forward to exactly the type of compositional process identified by Schubert, Milsom, and Owens in music of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷

Mottos in Bassere's *Missa sine nomine*

Bassere's *Missa sine nomine* is unified by three mottos: the *KI Motto Module*, and the *KIII* and *GII Motto Constellations*. The *KI Motto Module* is essentially a self-contained, stable three-voice contrapuntal unit that is prominently stated at the opening of each of the five movements, thus fulfilling its role as a true “head-motive” to the Mass (see Examples 6.41- 6.45). For each repetition, KI's rhythmic, melodic and contrapuntal profile is maintained, hence the designation as a “module” (see boxed outlines in Examples for modules). Exceptions can be found in the Gloria movement, where the motto module is reduced to a two-voice texture (superius and tenor) and at the opening of the Agnus, where it appears in an abbreviated form.

Example 6.41 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie I, initial presentation of *KI Motto Module*

The image shows a musical score for three voices, labeled Kyrie I, Kyrie II, and Kyrie III. Each voice part is enclosed in a box with a number (1, 8, 8) and a motto label (KIa, KIb, KIc). The lyrics 'Ky - ri - e' are written below each staff. The music is in 3/4 time and features a three-voice contrapuntal texture.

⁵⁷ Ward, “Jo. Bassere,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

Example 6.42 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria I, *KI Motto Module*

1

KIa

Et in ter - ra pax no - mi - ni - bus bo - ne

KIb

KIc

Et in ter - ra pax

Example 6.43 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Credo I, *KI Motto Module*

1

KIa

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fa - cto

KIb

Pa - trem

KIc

Pa - trem

Example 6.44 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus I, *KI Motto Module*

1

KIa

San_

KIb

San_

KIc

San_

Example 6.45 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus I, *KI Motto Module*

1

KIa
A - gnus

KIb
A - gnus

KIc
A - gnus

Bassere introduces a new two-voice motto at the opening of the Gloria II at the words “Domine Deus” (see Example 6.46). GIIa is a distinctive melodic motto consisting of a scalar descent from *cc* to *e* in the superius. As shown in Example 30, the tenor accompaniment to GIIa consists of a motive labeled GIIc. Bassere underlines its importance by repeating it twice – once in the tenor in a position of *Consecutive Motto Repetition* and once in the superius in *Motto Imitation*.

Example 6.46 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria II, “Domine Deus,” GII Motto Constellation and *Consecutive Motto Repetition* in tenor and *Motto Imitation*

66

GIIa
Do - mi - ne De - us A -

GIIc
Do - mi-ne De - - - us A

When the *GIIc Motto Constellation* returns at the opening of Gloria III (Example 6.47), the ends of both GIIa and GIIc are articulated with minim rests. Here, text setting mirrors that found in the “Domine Deus” subsection as the melodic motto GIIa, once again, spans the length of the first textual unit “Qui tollis peccata mundi.” For the accompaniment

motto, Bassere chooses long-note values and condenses GIIc so that it takes on a more compact form that only reiterates the essential contour: F-A-G-F.

Example 6.47 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria III, *GII Motto Constellation* Label change to GIIc'

Example 6.47 shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is labeled 'GIIa' and contains the lyrics 'Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di'. The middle staff is labeled 'Y' and contains the lyrics 'Qui tol - lis'. The bottom staff is labeled 'GIIc'' and contains the lyrics 'Qui tol - lis'. The score is in 2/2 time and features various musical notations including notes, rests, and accidentals.

Not long thereafter, the GII motto returns again – this time with GIIa in an exaggerated long-note form (see Example 6.48). Though the note values in both voices are longer, the intervals between the superius and tenor are exactly the same as those encountered at the opening of the Gloria III. The “modular” relationship between the voices is indicated by the boxed outlines in both Examples 6.49 and 6.50.

Example 6.48 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria III, *GII Motto Constellation*

Example 6.48 shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is labeled 'GIIa' and contains the lyrics 'Qui se - des ad de - xte'. The middle staff is labeled 'Z' and contains the lyrics 'Qui se - des ad de - xte'. The bottom staff is labeled 'GIIc'' and contains the lyrics 'Qui se - des ad de - xte'. The score is in 2/2 time and features various musical notations including notes, rests, and accidentals.

A much zippier GIIa returns at the sounding of the second phrase in Sanctus I (see Example 6.49). Here Bassere complements the familiar GIIa melodic motto with two abrupt reiterations of GIIc in the tenor.

Example 6.49 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus I, *GII Motto Constellation*

Example 6.49 is a musical score in 3/2 time, starting at measure 7. The top staff (soprano) features a melodic line with the label 'GIIa' above it, corresponding to the lyrics 'San - - - - ctus'. The bottom staff (tenor) features a melodic line with the label 'GIIc' above it, corresponding to the lyrics 'San - - - - ctus'. The score shows two reiterations of the GIIc motif in the tenor.

An abbreviated appearance of the *GII Motto Constellation* is found in Gloria III (see Example 6.50). Though this motto seems quite stealthily obscured, when compared to Example 6.47 – with which it shares a contratenor passage with exactly the same rhythmic *and* melodic profile (labelled “Y”) – its identity is more apparent.

Example 6.50 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria III, *GII Motto Constellation*

Example 6.50 is a musical score in 3/2 time, starting at measure 146. The top staff (soprano) features a melodic line with the label 'GIIa' above it, corresponding to the lyrics 'Dominus'. The middle staff (contratenor) features a melodic line with the label 'Y' above it. The bottom staff (tenor) features a melodic line with the label 'GIIc' above it. The score shows an abbreviated appearance of the GII Motto Constellation.

A similar pairing can be made between Example 6.47 (from Gloria III) and Example 6.51 from Agnus I. As indicated, the accompanying contratenor melody in both examples is exactly the same (labelled “Y”). What is particularly fascinating about these two passages

is that the correspondences between them are not only musical, but also textual. In fact, both Example 6.47 and 6.51 feature the same line of text – “Qui tollis peccata mundi.” The GIIa/c/Y contrapuntal complex, therefore, acquires intense spiritual significance as it musically signifies Christ’s “taking away the sins of the world.” (Note that measures 27-30 will be discussed below).

Example 6.51 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Agnus I, *GII Motto Constellation*

The musical score for Example 6.51 is presented in two systems. The first system, starting at measure 22, shows three staves: GIIa (top), 'Y' (middle), and GIIc' (bottom). The text 'pec - ca - ta mun - di' is written below the staves. The second system, starting at measure 27, shows the same three staves with the text 'mi - se - re'. A bracket labeled 'A (+2)' spans measures 27-30. A reference '(see Kyrie II, m. 49)' is noted below the bottom staff.

Another Motto Constellation is introduced at the opening of the third Kyrie section – KIIIa/b/c (see Example 6.52). Louis Gottlieb has aptly observed that embedded within this particular motto, is a “tiny example of *Stimmtausch*” between the superius and contratenor (marked with boxes in example).⁵⁸ Rather than thinking of this little passage in terms of *melodic* voice exchange however, it is perhaps more useful to conceive of it in

⁵⁸ Gottlieb actually makes reference to this in its cadence-form, not as the motto, 170.

terms of the repeated blocks of polyphony that are the end result. This brief passage of voice exchange between the two upper voices produces two identical contrapuntal modules varied through voice exchange. Since these modules contribute toward the actual make-up of an individual motto, I call these two contrapuntal blocks *Internal Motto Modules*. They are “internal” because they are “internally” situated within a single motto.

Example 6.52 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie III, *KIII Motto Constellation with Internal Motto Modules*.

Example 6.52 shows three staves of music for Kyrie III, labeled KIIIa, KIIIb, and KIIIc. The lyrics are "Ky - ri - e". The score is divided into two sections labeled "Internal Motto Module". Dashed lines connect notes between the upper voices across the modules, illustrating the voice exchange.

As Gottlieb has observed, the two little modules of this motto return (melodically and rhythmically intact) in the final bars of the Kyrie movement (see Example 6.53).⁵⁹

Example 6.53 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, final measures of Kyrie III, *KIII Internal Motto Module*

Example 6.53 shows the final measures of Kyrie III. The score includes two sections labeled "Internal Motto Module". The lyrics are "e - ley - son." and "e - le - y - son.". Brackets labeled "A" group measures in the first two staves, indicating a return of the modules.

⁵⁹ Observed by Gottlieb, n. 2, p. 166

Here, “head motive” doubles as “tail motive.” Repeating the KIII motto at the end of the Kyrie movement is a compositional tactic which, in the realms of rhetoric, would be referred to by the figure of repetition known as *epanalepsis* – “repetition at the end of a line, phrase or clause, of the word or words that occurred at the beginning of the same line, phrase, or clause.”⁶⁰ Regardless of whether or not Bassere was mimicking precepts of rhetorical practice, one thing is clear – that already in the Kyrie’s introduction, his approach toward motto Mass construction diverges from customary practice. After all, not only is Bassere pushing the boundaries of motto presentation (through the use of two *Internal Motto Modules*) but, by reiterating KIII at a movement ending, he is also altering the usual positional context of a motto. Furthermore, by repeating only the modular segments of the KIII motto at the end of the Kyrie, Bassere is surely communicating the following: what is essential about the presentation of the KIII motto is not so much the individual identities of the melodic mottos involved – KIIIa, KIIIb, and KIIIc – but rather, the compositional concept (i.e. modular writing) that underlies its formal structure.

Rather than providing motivic material (as a motto usually does), the KIII motto offers a conceptual and paradigmatic model, upon which other motivic modular units will be based throughout the remainder of the Mass. The KIII motto then, has an emblematic role as it introduces the unit of formal organization that will recur over and over again – the contrapuntal module. As we shall see in numerous examples below, after this crucial moment in the Kyrie movement, Bassere liberally peppers the contrapuntal texture of his Mass with countless modules of varied forms. In many ways, the module actually surpasses the motto in terms of its role as a unit of coherence in Bassere’s Mass.

⁶⁰ Gideon O. Burton, “Silva Rhetoricae,” (accessed on 5 Nov, 2006), www.rhetoric.byu.edu.

Module Series

Throughout Bassere's *Missa sine nomine*, when a module turns up, it is usually accompanied by a host of other modules. This creates what I term a *Module Series* – a contrapuntal passage densely packed with modular activity. As we shall see below, *Module Series* are often encountered at midpoints and at conclusions to subsections in Bassere's Mass. Through modular repetition in these crucial areas, Bassere generates form by accomplishing a type of “modular heightening” – Joel Lester's and Peter Schubert's term to describe contrapuntal intensification in the music of Bach and Palestrina respectively.⁶¹

Example 6.54 below, from the conclusion to the second Kyrie subsection, is a case in point. At measure 48, a three-voice module is introduced (labelled A), then transposed up a step (mm. 49-50), and then it returns to its original form (mm. 51-52). “Module A” is swiftly followed by “Module B” (mm. 53-54), which is then reiterated down the interval of a fourth.

Example 6.54 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, conclusion of Kyrie II, repetition of Module A and Module B

Modular Heightening

The musical score is written for three staves in 3/2 time. It begins at measure 47, which is boxed. At measure 48, a three-voice module (labeled A) is introduced. This module is then transposed up a step (labeled A (+2)) in measures 49-50. It returns to its original form (labeled A) in measures 51-52. The score is labeled 'Modular Heightening' at the top. Brackets and labels 'A' and 'A (+2)' are used to identify the different instances of the module.

⁶¹ Joel Lester, “Heightening levels of activity and J.S. Bach's parallel-section constructions,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001): 49-96. Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina's *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” 486. Schubert's concept of “modular heightening” in Palestrina's motets involves the “addition of voices, addition of dissonance, increased number or frequency of entries, expansion of overall range, and contrapuntal intensity (e.g., use of invertible counterpoint),” (p. 519).



Extending from the midpoint of the third Kyrie section to its conclusion, another dense collection of contrapuntal modules is featured. As shown in Example 6.55, three modules sound in close proximity. The first, Module A', is so-named because of its resemblance to the Module found at the close of the second Kyrie section (Example 6.54). Here, the original "Module A" undergoes motivic expansion through the addition of pitches (marked with asterisks). First Module A is expanded by one pitch in the superius (f-g-a-b-c), by two pitches in the contratenor (c-d-e-f-g-a), and two pitches in the tenor (a-b-c-d-e-f). With a total of 5 newly added pitches, this varied Module gets the label "A' +5p" (i.e. "Module A + 5 pitches").⁶² This module is followed by another Module A' +3p, two Module C's and two more Module A's (A' + 2p). Within Module C, the two upper voices imitate each other at the interval of a third (shown with dotted lines).⁶³ At the end of measure 71, Bassere introduces Module C, which immediately repeats at a 2nd lower.

⁶² This technique, referred to by Wegman as motivic transformation, is discussed in relation to Obrecht's music in *Born for the Muses*, 179.

⁶³ John Milsom would call this a *fuga cell*. Milsom, "Crecquillon, Clemens, and Four-Voice *Fuga*," 298-9. See also "Imitatio, 'Intertextuality,' and Early Music," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, edited by Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, 141-151 (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2005).

Example 6.55 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, conclusion of Kyrie III, modules

Compression of Module A

69 A' + 5p A' + 3p C C (-2)

72 A A Internal Motto Module Internal Motto Module

KIIIa e - ley - son.

KIIIb e - le - y - son.

e - ley - y - son.

It is within this modular context that the KIII “tail motto” makes its reappearance (mm. 75-76). Here, KIII with its *Internal Motto Modules* (discussed above) becomes the finale to this dense *Module Series*. This compact modular passage therefore serves multiple purposes. The reiteration of Module A (in both Kyrie II and III and later in Gloria III, Credo III, and Sanctus III, Agnus I) imparts a strong sense of motivic coherence to the Mass. Furthermore the *Module Series* heightens contrapuntal activity so as to provide a final “drive to the cadence,” while eloquently paving the way for the final statement of the KIII *Internal Motto Module* of Examples 6.52 to 53.

Similar passages comprised of *Module Series* (consisting of three or more modules) can be found in the Gloria III (Example 6.56), Credo I, Credo III (Example

6.58), Sanctus III (Example 6.57), and Agnus I. Each of these examples of modular repetition is unique and deserves study. We will take the time to look at a few of these below.

Example 6.56 is from the mid-point of Bassere's Gloria III. At measure 130 Module A'' of the Kyrie movement (double prime because of the added note in the middle voice) returns, followed immediately by two repetitions up a 2nd (m. 132 and m. 125). Sandwiched between the second and third repetitions, another little module (Module E is heard twice successively in the tenor and contratenor. Framing all of this modular activity is a stereotypical two-voice cadential module labelled "Cadence" notable here only because this pair of "Cadences" frames the *Module Series*. After a short duet passage of free material, another familiar motive returns – the GIIa/c motto (already discussed in Example 6.50), followed by the repetition of Module F-- a little inverted module (voice exchange marked with dotted lines).

Example 6.56 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria III, *Module Series*

The musical score for Example 6.56 consists of three staves: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. The time signature is 3/2. The score begins at measure 126, indicated by a box around the number. The Soprano staff has lyrics 're - re' and 'no -'. The Alto staff has a bracketed section labeled 'Cadence' and a section labeled 'A'' with a downward arrow. The Bass staff has a section labeled 'A'' (+2)'. The score shows modular repetition and voice exchange marked with dotted lines.

134 A (+2) Cadence

E E

bis.

140

Tu so - lus Do - mi - nus.

146 GIIa/c

"Y"

Tu so -

(compare to "Qui tollis" opening)

151 F F (b)

lus al tis - si - mus Je su Chri

(b) (b)

A similar example of dense modular activity is encountered at the midpoint of the Osanna (Sanctus III) (see Example 6.57), wherein three modules are encountered in a *Module Series*. Between measures 74 and 83, the two voice contrapuntal block “Module P is heard three times. At the words “in excelsis” Bassere begins to spin out Module A’ in a total of four different permutations. Upon each repetition, Module A’ undergoes motivic expansion. In the second appearance of Module A’ (m. 86), the contratenor and tenor motives are expanded by four pitches (marked 4p and indicated with asterisks). The third time Module A’ returns (m. 87), superius, contratenor and tenor expand again (this time by six pitches). Here, modular heightening is not only generated by the *Module Series*, but also by rhythmic diminution of Module A.

Example 6.57 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, Sanctus III, modules

The image displays a musical score for three systems of music, likely vocal parts, in 3/2 time. The first system, starting at measure 74, shows three instances of Module P. The second system, starting at measure 80, shows three instances of Module A' with the lyrics 'in excelsis' written under the first instance. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Modular Heightening

86 A' + 4p A'' + 6p A'' + 4p

Another *Module Series* (consisting of a series of five modules) can be found at the conclusion of Credo III (Example 6.58). The first three modules (labelled “J” “K” and “L” articulate the words “Confiteor unum baptisma” (mm 123- 130). Then, Module A is revisited three times – once in a complete three voice form at m. 155, once with only superius and tenor (m. 130-132), and finally with only superius and contratenor (m. 142-3). Another module, marked “M introduced at measure 132, is later reiterated at the text “Et vitam” between measures 156-158.

Example 6.58 Jo. Bassere *Missa sine nomine*, conclusion of Credo III, modules

123 J J K K L L

Con - fi - te - or u - num

129

bap-tis - ma in re-mis - si - o

A M A'+Ip

136

* nem pec - ca -

142

A L to - rum

149

M Et vi - tam ve - a - tu

Table 6.4 below summarizes motto repetition throughout Bassere's *Missa sine nomine*, while Table 6.5 shows where modules recur.

Table 6.4 Bassere Missa Sine Nomine Motto Arrangement

KYRIE

		Superius	Contra	Tenor	
I	O	KIa	KIb	KIc	Motto Module
II	C/				
III	O/	KIIIa	KIIIb	KIIIc	Comprised of Internal Modules
m. 75-77		KIIIa	KIIIb	KIIIc	Comprised of Internal Modules

GLORIA

		Superius	Contra	Tenor	
I	O	KIa	N/A	KIc	Motto Module
II	O	GIIa	N/A	GIIc-GIIc'	Motto Constellation
III	C/O/C/	GIIa	Y	GIIc'	Motto Module
"Qui tollis peccata mundi" (compare text/motto to Agnus below)					
	"Qui sedes ad"	GIIa	Z	GIIc'	Motto Module
	"Dominus"	GIIa	Y	GIIc	Motto Module
IV	O/	GIIa	Z	GIIc'	Motto Module

CREDO

		Superius	Contra	Tenor	
I	O	KIa	KIb	KIc	Motto Module
II					
III	C/				
	"Et resurrexit"	KIa	N/A	KIc	Motto Module
IV					
V					

SANCTUS

		Superius	Contra	Tenor	
I	O	KIa	KIb	KIc	Motto Module
	"Sanctus"	GIIa		GIIc-GIIc'	Motto Constellation
II	O				
III	C/				
IV	C/				

AGNUS

		Superius	Contra	Tenor	
I	O	KIa	KIb	KIc	Motto Module
	"peccata"	GIIa	Y	GIIc'	Motto Module
"Qui tollis peccata mundi" (compare text/motto to Gloria III above)					
II	C/				

Table 6.5 **Bassere *Missa Sine Nomine* Module Arrangement**

KYRIE

I	O	
II	C/	
m. 48-49		3v MODULE A
m. 49-51		3v MODULE A (+2)
m. 51-53		3v MODULE A
m. 53-54		3v MODULE B
m. 54-55		3v MODULE B (-4)
III	O/	
m. 69-70		3v MODULE A' + 5p
m. 70		3v MODULE A' + 3p
m. 70-71		3v MODULE C
m. 71		3v MODULE C (-2)
m. 72		3v MODULE A
m. 73		3v MODULE A

GLORIA

I	O	
m. 55-56		2v CONTRARY MOTION MODULE D “Domine Fili unigenite”
m. 56-58		2v CONTRARY MOTION MODULE D
II	O	
III	C/O/C/	
m. 128-130		2v CADENCE MODULE
m. 130-132		MODULE A''
m. 132-133		MODULE A'' (+2)
m. 134		2v MODULE E
m. 135		2v MODULE E
m. 135-137		MODULE A (+2)
m. 137-139		2v CADENCE MODULE
m. 151		3v MODULE F
m. 151		3v MODULE F (+3)
m. 151		3v MODULE F
IV	O/	

CREDO

I	O	
m. 14-16		2v MODULE G
m. 16-17		2v MODULE G
m. 33-34		2v MODULE H
m. 36		2v MODULE H
II	O	
m. 49		2v MODULE I
m. 50		2v MODULE I (-2)

III	C/	
m. 123		3v MODULE J
m. 124		3v MODULE J
m. 125-126		3v MODULE K
m. 126		3v MODULE K
m. 127-128		2v MODULE L
m. 128-129		2v MODULE L
130-132		MODULE A'+1p
132-134		3v MODULE M
134-136		MODULE A'+1p
IV		
m. 156-158		3v MODULE M
V		
		3v MODULE N
		3v MODULE N

SANCTUS

I	O	
m. 14-15		2v. MODULE O
m. 16-17		2v MODULE O (invertible counterpoint)
II	O	
III	C/	
m. 75-76		3v. MODULE P
m. 76-77		3v. MODULE P
m. 78-79		3v. MODULE P (-4)
m. 81-82		3v. MODULE A (+2)
m. 86		3v. MODULE A' +4p
m. 86-87		3v. MODULE A''+6p
m. 88-89		3v. MODULE A''+4p
IV	C/	

AGNUS

I	O	
m. 6		3v. MODULE Q
m. 7		3v. MODULE Q
m. 28-29		3v. MODULE R
m. 29-30		3v. MODULE R
m. 37-39		2v MODULE S
m. 39-41		2v MODULE S (invertible counterpoint)
II	C/	
m. 86		2v MODULE T
m. 88		2v MODULE T

Bassere's Mass is almost wholly constructed according to a "modular" compositional process whereby *Motto Modules*, *Motivic Modules*, and *Module Series* serve to provide the substance and formal "building blocks" for the work. Each of the mottos in this Mass has some degree of modular construction. KI, for example, is an extended *Motto Module*, GII is a *Motto Constellation* which, through reiteration from movement to movement, displays varied modular forms (with the "Y" and "Z" contratenor motive), while KIII's actual structure is built from two little *Internal Motto Modules*.

Though Bassere employs contrapuntal motto beginnings, these are by no means the only, nor the primary agents of unification. As we have seen, non-motto contrapuntal blocks or "modules" are found throughout this Mass. One module in particular, Module A, recurs in every movement of the Mass (with the exception of the Agnus), therefore functioning as an alternative unification device.

The remainder of the modules – of which there are twenty (labelled "B" through "T" in Table 6.5) are employed by Bassere for the heightening effect that they have at certain significant points in the Mass. Most of these *Module Series* serve to heighten modular activity at mid-points or at the lead-up to sectional endings. For example, Bassere consistently features a *Module Series* in the third subsection of each movement – Kyrie III, Gloria III, Credo III, Sanctus III, and Agnus III. Furthermore, compared to the other case studies we have investigated to this point, Bassere's approach to *sine nomine* Mass composition is unique. In fact, rather than calling this work a strict "Motto Mass," the designation "Module Mass" would more accurately describe its inner workings.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have developed new vocabulary to describe certain motivic trends detected in *sine nomine* Masses of Trent 89. We have explored motto presentation types such as *Motto Constellations*, *Motto Modules*, the *Motto Constellation + Module*, *Internal Motto Modules*, *Module Series*, *Motive-Mottos*, and *Tail Motives*, and have investigated different motto variation procedures and techniques such as *Motto Addition* (through motto prefixes and motto suffixes), *Delayed Motto Entry*, *Consecutive Motto Repetition*, *Motto Imitation*, and modular heightening through the use of *Module Series*.⁶⁴

Throughout this dissertation, I have consistently defined a “motto” as a repetitive motive found at the openings of movements or subsections. But, as we have observed in the Trent 89 Masses presented in this chapter, there are countless cases in which the designation “motto,” though still viable, does not truly capture the more subtle nuances in a motto’s internal structure, its function, or in its relationship to other motivic material. More exact motto definitions have permitted us to answer *where*, *how*, and in *what contexts* these repetitive units repeat. It is precisely by asking these questions in relation to each individual *sine nomine* Mass, that our understanding of the motto has deepened. As has been made evident in the analyses of the *sine nomine* Masses above, rather than having a fixed identity, the motto is always in flux. *Sine nomine* mottos have an organic quality – they expand, contract, and merge with other motivic material. In some Masses, mottos transform in a successive manner, so that each new permutation grows out of a previous statement.

⁶⁴ Schubert discusses “presentation types” in the music of Palestrina in “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*,” 490-513.

Beyond the motto, this analytical process has given us occasion to review and question what we know about repetition in the fifteenth century. We have investigated the workings of three very different *sine nomine* Masses – a Motto Mass by Barbingant, an anonymous “Motivic” Mass (*Missa Fa-ut*), and a “Modular” Mass by Bassere. Barbingant unifies his *sine nomine* Mass with four motto constellations. Rather than reiterating the same thematic “head motive” at the opening of every movement and subsection, Barbingant fully integrates the motto into the entire fabric of his Mass, varying its presentation upon each repetition. Throughout Barbingant’s Mass, the motto has a significant role as the *fundamental* unification device. Barbingant features the strongest motivic correlations between pairs of consecutive movements – the Gloria and Credo, the Credo and Sanctus, and the Sanctus and Agnus. The anonymous *Missa Fa-ut* is unified by mottos that integrate themselves into every nook and cranny of the Mass. They return incessantly at sectional beginnings, as tail motives at the ends of subsections and movements, and are employed prolifically as the musical substance for points of imitation. Bassere’s Mass, on the other hand, is mostly a “modular” composition wherein entire multivoice contrapuntal blocks – mottos and motives – act as unification devices throughout. Beyond mottos and motives, there are also twenty modules encountered throughout the Mass, most of which aid in demarcating structurally significant events such as middles of subsections and endings. Modules are prominently featured – not simply on an *ad hoc* basis, but as *the* overriding compositional device in each movement. Often these modules are found in densely concentrated *Module Series* at sectional endings, thereby serving to provide “modular heightening,” generating an exciting whirlwind of activity akin to the imitative and rhythmic motion that characterizes “drive to the cadence” passages.

Unlike later works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *Motivic Constellations* and *Motivic Modules* in the Trent 89 Masses examined above are not usually located within points of imitation. Nonetheless, I believe that these units of repetition – whether assuming the form of mottos, modules, or motivic constellations – should indeed be viewed as ancestors to the modules of Josquin, Crecquillon, Clemens, Palestrina, and Rore.

In each Mass, the end result is a type of contrapuntal *varietas* wherein melodic mottos overlap in varied ways (i.e. Barbingant’s Mass), motives return interlocked with themselves, with each other, or within points of imitation (i.e. KII in the *Missa Fa-ut*), and modules return in different contrapuntal contexts (i.e. Module A of Bassere’s Mass). Repetitive contrapuntal units in the form of mottos, motivic constellations, and modules can be viewed as comprising the essential building blocks of these *sine nomine* Masses, thereby making modern concepts of “modular” analysis useful theoretical lenses through which we can better appreciate the way in which these freely composed works are constructed.

Chapter 7 Repetition and *Varietas* in Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*

Introduction

Ever since 1929, when Heinrich Bessler first characterized Ockeghem's style as complex, puzzling, mystical, and “without any recourse to rational structure,” Ockeghem's music has been appreciated more for its supposed “irrationality” and its avoidance of standard compositional techniques than for anything truly concrete.¹ Following Bessler's lead, a host of scholars have chosen to describe Ockeghem's musical style in negative terms. To this end, references have been made to the “unpredictable rise and fall” of melodic lines (Bukofzer), the lack of “decisive articulation of sections” (Stephan), the avoidance of clear phrase structures (Reese), the seamless musical texture (Reese), the subordination of cadences (Morgan), and the sparse use of imitation and sequence.² Bukofzer has even gone so far as to proclaim that Ockeghem “renounces with amazing consistency *all* customary means of articulating a

¹ Heinrich Bessler, ed., *Altniederländische Motetten von Johannes Ockeghem, Loyset Compère und Josquin des Prez* (Kassel: Barrenreiter-Verlag 1929; 1961), i. Bessler's portrayal of Ockeghem's music as “mystical” and “devoid of rational organization” led him to associate the composer with northern European pietism. See Heinrich Bessler, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: Missa Mi-mi*, Das Chorwerk 4 (Wolfenbüttel, 1930), 4. For a fascinating article on the historiography of Ockeghem reception see Lawrence F. Bernstein, “Ockeghem the Mystic: A German Interpretation of the 1920s,” in *Johannes Ockeghem: Acts du Xle Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, Collection Épitome musical, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 811-841.

² Manfred Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950), 291-2. Wolfgang Stephan, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems* (Würzburg Aumühle, 1937; repr. Kassel, 1973), 80. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), p. 119 (phrases), p. 121 (cadences). Mary Kathleen Morgan, “Three-Voice Chansons of Johannes Ockeghem and Antoine Busnoys: Approaches to Form, Process, and Musical Structure in the Chanson ca. 1470,” (Ph D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002), 347-52. Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe 1400-1600* (New York: Norton, 1998), 162. Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999), 73.

composition.”³ Unfortunately, such observations have hindered scholars from defining Ockeghem’s style in positive terms.

Ockeghem’s so-called “irrational” compositional process is often directly equated with his espousal of the aesthetic of *varietas*.⁴ Indeed, the melodic meandering, lack of analyzable organization, diversity in rhythmic values, and lack of rhythmic or melodic repetition, which have all been described as facets of Ockeghem’s style, also happen to coincide with the traditional conceptions of musical *varietas* discussed in Chapter 3.⁵ This association between Ockeghem’s musical style and *varietas* is not unfounded. It is, after all, Tinctoris himself, in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, who singles out Ockeghem (along with Dufay, Faugues, Regis, Busnois, Caron, and himself) as a master of *varietas*.⁶ From Chapter 3, we have acquired a better understanding of what Tinctoris meant by *varietas* (i.e. varied repetition) meaning that it is now possible to better reassess how exactly Ockeghem applies this aesthetic to his music.

In this chapter I build upon analytical studies by Irving Godt, Fabrice Fitch, Wolfgang Thein, Edward Houghton, Mary Kathleen Morgan, and Clemens Goldberg – scholars who have successfully met the challenge of evaluating certain formal and organizational principles in Ockeghem’s works.⁷ I also draw upon the ideas of Lawrence

³ Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” 291-2. Emphasis mine.

⁴ Thomas Brothers, “Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 45. Julie Cumming, “From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony,” forthcoming in *Bruges–Venice: Music in Two Urban Mosaics. 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society (I). Colloquium Proceedings. Bruges, 14–16 December 2001. Leuven, 1–7 August 2002*, edited by Bruno Bouckaert and Eugene Schreurs, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 6 (Leuven: Neerpelt, 2007).

⁵ See discussion in Chapter 3.

⁶ Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica* II, ed. A. Seay, translated as *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 140. See discussion in Chapter 3.

⁷ Irving Godt, “An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the *Missa Mimi*?” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61 (1991): 79-85. Fabrice Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, Centre d’études supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours (Paris: Honoré Champion,

Bernstein, who argues that though “the sacred music of Jean d’Ockeghem is eminently rational in its structural conception,” an “aesthetic of concealment” is nonetheless always at play – one wherein essential stylistic elements are embedded within a deceptively seamless contrapuntal texture.⁸ Bernstein’s notion of Ockeghem’s “aesthetic of concealment” as a dialectic between rational structure and embeddedness can be linked to my conception of *varietas*, which implicates the intersection of “rational” repetition and “concealed” variation.

Does Ockeghem espouse an “aesthetic of concealment” in the *Missa Quinti toni*? Musical language in this Mass has certainly been described in this way. Andrew Kirkman has explained how imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni* is “subsumed into a seamless continuum of ever-changing musical ideas much more typical of the mature Ockeghem” and how “imitative points, chordal passages, and free counterpoint come and go in a density of invention in which, in the words of Edgar Sparks, ‘continuity is prized above articulation.’”⁹ Conversely, does the *Missa Quinti toni* demonstrate any compositional rationale whatsoever? Is there a sense that Ockeghem applied any type of large-scale formal design scheme? Is there a motivic language that unifies each movement? Throughout this chapter I reveal certain continuities between Ockeghem’s *Missa Quinti toni* and the *sine nomine* repertory of the fifteenth century and show how *Constellations*, *Modules*, and imitation infiltrate the contrapuntal framework of the Mass. I demonstrate

1997). Wolfgang Thein, “Musikalischer Satz und Textarbeitung im Werk von Johannes Ockeghem,” *Würzburger musikhistorische beiträge* 13 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992). Edward Houghton, “Rhythm and Meter in Fifteenth-Century Polyphony,” *Journal of Music Theory* 18 (1974): 190-212. Morgan, “Three-Voice Chansons of Johannes Ockeghem and Antoine Busnoys,” passim. Clemens Goldberg, *Die Chansons Johannes Ockeghems: Aesthetik des musikalischen Raumes*, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 19 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1992).

⁸ Bernstein, “Ockeghem the Mystic: A German Interpretation of the 1920s,” 841.

⁹ Andrew Kirkman, “Quinti Toni in Context: Currents in Three-Voice Mass Writing in the Later Fifteenth Century,” in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du Colloque International d’Etudes Humanistes* (Tours, 1998), 261.

how Ockeghem simultaneously articulates and subsumes mottos, cadences, motives, and imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni*. In this way, I relate Bernstein's modern conception of the "aesthetic of concealment" to the fifteenth-century aesthetic of *varietas*.

Questions of Authorship and Subgenre

Much of the attention that Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* has received over the past two decades has been inclined towards speculation and controversy. In 1987, Rob Wegman linked the *Missa Quinti toni* to a so-called anonymous "twin" found in San Pietro B80 – an incomplete cycle which bears the same mensuration scheme, cleffing, and unusually imitative texture.¹⁰ Wegman's proposal that Ockeghem might have also composed the San Pietro B80 Mass was later convincingly countered by Robert Mitchell, who discovered concordances for the Credo and Sanctus movements in the Specialnik Codex where they were attributed to Lannoys.¹¹ In 1990, the authorship of *Missa quinti toni* was called into question by Adelyn Peck Leverett. She asserted that the bassus voice (she calls it a low contratenor), variable head motives, imitative fabric, and uniform tonal structure were indicative of a composer of the Austro-German school based at the Chapel of Friedrich III.¹² These conclusions have since been repudiated by Fabrice Fitch given what he claims is "overwhelming stylistic evidence in favour of Ockeghem."¹³

¹⁰ Rob C. Wegman, "An Anonymous Twin to Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti Toni* in San Pietro B 80," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987): 25-48.

¹¹ The similarities in cleffing (C2 C3 F4) and mensuration between Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* and Lannoys' *Missa sine nomine* have in turn, prompted Andrew Kirkman to investigate three additional similar Masses: *Missa alles regrets* (Verona 756), *Missa Je ne vis oncques* (Munich 3154), and *Missa Forzelement* (by Obrecht in Munich 239). Kirkman, "Quinti Toni in Context," 481-498. Jaap van Benthem, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections: Volume III, Masses Based on Freely Invented and Unspecified Material 1* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging van Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2004).

¹² Adelyn Peck Leverett, "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study of the Manuscript Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 91 (1378)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990), 170-220.

¹³ Fabrice Fitch asserts that "all the evidence supports Ockeghem's authorship." Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 184.

Jeffrey Dean views the *Missa Quinti toni* as a freely composed work. He posits that the unusual titular designation may have been conferred by Ockeghem himself and suggests that the Mass should be regarded as a “programmatically work” that explores the Lydian mode in much the same vein as *Cuiusvis toni* explores “any mode you like.”¹⁴ Conversely, Fabrice Fitch has speculated about the possible presence of a borrowed chanson in the counterpoint of the *Missa Quinti toni*. He suggests that the Mass might employ haphazard quotations from a yet undiscovered model in the same manner as *Missa Mimi* and *Au travail suis*.¹⁵ To support his case, Fitch presents certain musical correspondences that he has detected between movements of *Missa Quinti toni* – most of which involve head motives (five examples) and “tail motives” (twelve examples).¹⁶ Fitch's speculation that there is an antecedent to *Quinti toni* is intriguing as it raises important questions regarding the formal differences (outside of borrowing procedures) between *sine nomine* Masses and Masses that employ *cantus prius facti*.

Does repetition of musical material from movement to movement necessarily guarantee the existence of an antecedent model? Andrew Kirkman suggests that there is

¹⁴ Jeffrey Dean, “Ockeghem's Attitude towards Modality: Three-Mode and Eight Mode Typologies,” in *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, eds., *Musicological Studies and Documents*, 49 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänssler-Verlag, 1996): 203-246. As Dean points out, both the *Missa Cuiusvis Toni* and the *Missa Quinti toni* have red ink rubrics with their titles situated at the head of the superius voice in the Chigi codex. He states that the scribe who compiled the Chigi codex attributed no modal titles to any other Mass in his whole output. Fitch suggests that the title of the *Missa Mimi* also “originates with Ockeghem himself.” Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 161.

¹⁵ On *Missa Mimi* see Haruyo Miyazaki, “New Light on Ockeghem's *Missa Mimi*,” *Early Music* 13 (1985) 367-75. Martin Picker, *Johannes Ockeghem and Jacob Obrecht: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1988), 22 and 156. Godt, “An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the *Missa Mimi*?” 79-80. Wolfgang Thein, *Musikalischer Satz und Textarbeit im Werk von Johannes Ockeghem* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), 115-20. On *Au travail suis* and the *Missa Mimi* see Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 139-177. Murray Steib, “A Composer Looks at His Model: Polyphonic Borrowing from the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 46 (1996): 5-41 and “Ockeghem and Intertextuality: A Composer Interprets Himself,” in *Early Musical Borrowing*, Honey Meconi, ed., 37-64 (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁶ Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 189-192.

no “consistent correlation between repetition of material and borrowing.”¹⁷ Indeed, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the repetition of mottos, melodic motives, motivic constellations, and modules in no way proves that a Mass is based on an antecedent. On the contrary, these elements serve as the predominant building blocks of *sine nomine* Mass composition. Like Dean, I believe that the *Missa Quinti toni* is a freely composed work. The head motives and tail motives (e.g. see the *Missa Fa-ut* discussion in Chapter 6 for other examples of tail motives) detected by Fitch do not necessarily point towards the presence of an antecedent model. As we have seen, head motives and tail motives are, in fact, precisely the type of unification devices encountered in *sine nomine* Mass compositions.

Motto Repetition

Fabrice Fitch has discussed what he views is a “mixture of literal-mindedness and invention” in the mottos of the *Missa Quinti toni*.¹⁸ Below (Examples 7.1-7.5), I have divided the main opening motto into distinctive *Motto Segments*. The first *KIb Segment* (*KIb*¹) stamps out the very distinctive Ut-Fa-Mi motive, while the second *KIb Segment* (*KIb*²) begins on b-flat, ascends by step to c, then outlines the interval of a descending fourth to G. The first *KIc Segment* (*KIc*¹) involves descending triadic motion through F-D-Bb, while the second *KIc Segment* (*KIc*²) begins on Eb, then descends a third to C and up to D.

¹⁷ Kirkman, “Quinti Toni in Context,” 497.

¹⁸ Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 190-91.

Example 7.1 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie I, Opening *KI Motto Constellation*, mm. 1-4

Ky ri e ley

Ky ri e ley

Ky ri e ley

Example 7.2 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Gloria I, *KI Motto Constellation*, mm. 1-4

Et in ter ra pax

Et in ter ra pax

Et in ter ra pax

Example 7.3 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo I, *KI Motto Constellation*, mm. 1-3

Pa trem om

Pa trem om

Pa trem

Example 7.4 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus I, *KI Motto Constellation*, mm. 1-5

Example 7.4 shows the musical notation for the Sanctus I, mm. 1-5, from Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*. The score is presented in three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature. The Soprano staff features segments KIa and K Ib¹ (+4). The Alto staff features segments K Ib¹ and K Ib². The Bass staff features segment K Ic¹. The lyrics are 'Sanc tus, sanc tus, sanc tus, sanc'.

Example 7.5 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Agnus I, mm. 1-5

Example 7.5 shows the musical notation for the Agnus I, mm. 1-5, from Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*. The score is presented in three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature. The Soprano staff features segments K Ic¹ and KIa. The Alto staff features segments K Ib¹ and K Ib². The Bass staff features segment K Ic¹. The lyrics are 'Ag nus de Ag nus de Ag nus de'.

Why have I decided to divide the KI motto into so many segments? These motto segments are found fluidly interacting with each other throughout the *Missa Quinti toni*. As with so many of the *sine nomine* Masses we have investigated to this point, this particular *Constellation of Motto Segments* is not actually restricted to the five movement openings, but can be found at numerous other subsections and internal positions of the Mass. Of all melodic gestures in the *Missa Quinti toni*, it is the triadic K Ic¹ segment and the K Ib¹ segment that are most apparent to a listener. K Ib¹ is employed frequently in imitative passages – see, for example, the Kyrie mm. 18-20, measures 22-27, and 36-41; the Gloria mm. 5-9, 48-52, 68-70, 112-115; the Credo mm. 61-63, and mm. 74-76; the Sanctus mm. 7-12, 69-72, 163-167; and the Agnus mm. 82-85.

As shown in Example 7.6, Ockeghem structures the Kyrie I movement around three principal contrapuntal events: 1) the *KI Motto Constellation*, 2) a short point of imitation between superius and tenor (m. 6), and 3) a three voice *Motivic Constellation* (“A”) that later serves as the material for a series of “tail motives” (discussed below). I have labelled this particular *Motivic Constellation* “A” because it is repeated in other movements.¹⁹ Throughout this subsection, there is a sense of breathing space between each contrapuntal event, as Ockeghem frames each with cadences (marked with arrows in mm. 6, 11, and 16).

Example 7.6 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie I, mm. 1-16

The musical score for Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie I, mm. 1-16, is presented in three staves: Superius (top), Tenor (middle), and Bass (bottom). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: Ky - ri e - ley son, ky - ri - e - ley. The score is annotated with several contrapuntal events: **KIa** (Motto Constellation) in mm. 1-6, **KIb¹** and **KIb²** (imitation) in mm. 7-10, and **KIc¹** and **KIc²** (three-voice Motivic Constellation A) in mm. 11-14. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures, and time signatures, as well as arrows indicating cadences.

¹⁹ I do not label other *Motivic Constellations* that do not recur.

In Kyrie II (Example 7.7) contrapuntal events are more densely packed together – a new *KII Motto Constellation* (KIIa/KIIb) introduced in m. 1 involves *Motto Imitation* in the tenor and bassus voices (mm. 1-5). In tandem with the *KII Constellation*, Ockeghem reiterates the KIIc¹ and KIIb² *Motto Segments*. The next contrapuntal event involves two statements of the same *Motivic Constellation* (mm. 22-24; mm. 26-28). These contrapuntal events all take place in one continuous breath – with a single cadence marking the end of the phrase. The KIIb¹ *Motto Segment* returns three times in this subsection – clearly punctuating the entrance of the two *Motivic Constellations*.²⁰ Ockeghem’s penchant for contrapuntal *varietas* is undoubtedly what drives his decision to shift around motto segments in the *KI Motto Constellation* (mm. 18-21) into new voicing combinations. KIIc¹, KIIb¹, and KIIb² are all shifted into new voices (compare Examples 7.6 and 7.7).

Example 7.7 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie II, mm. 17-31

The musical score for Example 7.7 shows three staves of music. The top staff (Soprano) begins with a bracketed label 'KIIa' over measures 17-18, followed by 'KIIc¹' over measures 19-20, and 'KIIb²' over measures 21-22. The middle staff (Alto) has a bracketed label 'KIIb' over measures 17-18, and 'KIIb¹' over measures 23-24. The bottom staff (Bass) has a bracketed label 'KIIb' over measures 25-26. A bracket labeled 'Motivic Constellation' spans measures 22-24 and 26-28. Lyrics are written below the staves: 'Xpri - ste, xpri - ste e - ley son, xpri -'. A downward arrow points to the beginning of the 'Motivic Constellation' in measure 22.

²⁰ These *Motivic Constellations* are unlabelled because they do not repeat in other movements.

Motivic Constellation
(s/t inverted)

ste e - ley - son.

ste e - ley - son.

ste - ley - son.

As shown in Example 7.8, a cadence at m. 41 divides Kyrie III into two distinct sections. In the first section, Ockeghem spins out *KI Motto Segments*. KIb^1 is shifted from its original position in the tenor to a new position in the superius and is contrapuntally combined with KIc^1 in a way that is comparable to the original Kyrie I configuration (Example 7.1). After the cadence in m. 41, Ockeghem deviates from the KI motto and turns to alternative repetitive devices – *Motivic Constellations* and *Motivic Modules*. *Motivic Constellation A* (first heard in Kyrie I in Example 7.6) is sounded in m. 43, followed by two *Motivic Modules* in mm. 45-48.

Example 7.8 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie III, mm. 32-49

Ky - ri - e - ley - son, ky -

Ky - ri - e - ley - son, ky -

Ky - ri - e - ley - son, ky -

It is in the Kyrie movement, therefore, that Ockeghem establishes the three predominant unifying elements that will be responsible for generating form in his Mass – mottoes, imitation, *Motivic Constellations*, and *Motivic Modules*.

“Tail” Motives

Fabrice Fitch has noticed similarities in the tenor’s melodic shape at the conclusions to certain sections of the *Missa Quinti toni*.²¹ If we move beyond analysis of the monophonic tenor-line correspondences that Fitch has pointed out and consider instead the contrapuntal contexts in which these “tail motives” appear, a fascinating dimension of Ockeghem’s compositional method is illuminated. Within the tails of some

²¹ Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 190-191.

of these subsections, there is some evidence of “modular” and “contrapuntal block” writing – portions where polyphonic units are reiterated from movement to movement. We have already become acquainted with *Motivic Constellation A* – first heard at the close of Kyrie I (see Example 7.6) and revisited at the conclusion to Kyrie III (see Example 7.8). Part of *Motivic Constellation A* is also presented in the “tail passage” or the concluding measures of Sanctus I (see Example 7.12). As shown in Example 7.9 *Motivic Constellation A* is actually comprised of two overlapping modules (labelled Unit 1 and 2).

Example 7.9 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie I, mm. 11- 13, *Motivic Constellation A* (Unit 1 + Unit 2)

The musical score for Example 7.9 shows three staves in 4/2 time. The first staff has a measure rest marked with a box containing '11'. The second staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. Unit 1 is indicated by a box spanning the first two staves, covering measures 11 and 12. Unit 2 is indicated by a box spanning the second and third staves, covering measures 12 and 13. Interval numbers are written below the notes: for Unit 1, the intervals are 6, 6, 3, and 1; for Unit 2, the intervals are 12, 10, 10, 10, 6, 6, and 6. The notes in Unit 2 are transposed down an octave in the third staff.

I have segmented *Motivic Constellation A* into two separate modular units because unit 1 and 2 of the Constellation return separately in “tail passages” of other movements. First, unit 2 is heard in the “tail passage” of Kyrie III (Example 7.10). Here, unit 2 is presented as an inverted module. As shown, even though the upper voice is transposed down an octave from its original form, the notes of both constituent melodic lines still line up the same way (compare intervals between superius and tenor).

Example 7.10 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie III, *Motivic Constellation A*, unit 2

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION A
Unit 2

Unit 1 of *Motivic Constellation A* is repeated in the “tail passage” of Sanctus I (Example 7.11). The placement of *Motivic Constellation A* in Kyrie III (Example 7.10) and Sanctus I (Example 7.11) is notable as individual units 2 (Kyrie III) and 1 (Sanctus I) sound in approximately the same place (measures 44-45 in Benthem’s edition) of each respective subsection.²²

Example 7.11 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus I, *Motivic Constellation A*, unit no. 1 and *Module B*

MODULE B

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION A
Unit 1

us sa - ba - oth, sa - ba - oth.

In Sanctus I (Example 7.11), the portion of the “tail motive” that directly follows *Motivic Constellation A* actually springs from another repetitive unit, *Module B*, originally found

²² Ockeghem draws a further connection between KIII and SI -- both subsections are exactly the same length (49 measures in Benthem’s modern edition).

near the conclusion to the Gloria I subsection in measure 70 (Example 7.12). The Sanctus I “tail motive” therefore, is comprised of two separate modules (Unit 1 of *Motivic Constellation A* and *Module B*) that have been fused together.

Example 7.12 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Gloria I, *Module B*

70 MODULE B

6 5 3 6 7 5 3 3 1 6 5

tris, fi - li - - us - - - - - tris.

To sum up – the tail motives of Kyrie I, Kyrie III, Gloria I and Sanctus I exhibit modular links. In Kyrie I, Ockeghem presents *Motivic Constellation A* in its complete form (including modular units 1 and 2). After reiterating one unit of *Motivic Constellation A* in Kyrie III (no. 1), he introduces a new *Module B* in Gloria I. In Sanctus I, he combines *Motivic Constellation A* (this time Unit 2) and *Module B*. The type of modular writing found in these examples reveals a clever approach to contrapuntal *varietas* that is primarily additive. Here, by experimenting with fusing different modular combinations, Ockeghem plays with different recombinative “tail motive” forms.

Cadential Arrangement and Function in the *Missa Quinti toni*

A close inspection of all formal cadences (i.e. cadences made up of syncopated suspension figures with progressions such as 7-6-8 and 2-3-1) reveals a great deal about how Ockeghem structured the *Missa Quinti toni*. There is evidence to suggest that

Ockeghem worked out a pre-compositional plan for all cadence points in the *Missa Quinti toni*, as cadence distribution is uniform from movement to movement. With the exception of the *Kyrie*, which has nine cadences, each other movement of the Mass has a total of thirteen cadences (see column one in Table 7.1 below which indicates that there are 6 cadences in each C section and 7 cadences in each cut-C section). Particularly astounding is the fact that the *Agnus dei*, which is only 107 breves in duration, has the same number of cadences as the *Credo* movement, which is more than twice as long, at 242 breves.

Each movement (with the exception of the *Kyrie*) has a bipartite structure that is based on the mensural change from C to cut-C. As indicated in Table 7.1, the first subsection of each movement (with C mensuration) has a total of six cadences, while the second subsection (with cut-C mensuration) has a total of seven cadences. Furthermore, there are equal numbers of F and C cadences – twenty-five of each are dispersed throughout the five movements.²³

Table 7.1 Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Cadence Table Summary

	No. of Cadences I II C ; C/	F Cadences I II C ; C/	C Cadences I II C ; C/	Bb Cadences I II C ; C/	A Cadences I II C ; C/	G Cadences I II C ; C/
KYRIE	9	3	3	2	1	0
GLORIA	6 ; 7	2 ; 3	1 ; 3	1 ; 0	0 ; 1	2 ; 0
CREDO	6 ; 7	2 ; 3	4 ; 4	0 ; 0	0 ; 0	0 ; 0
SANCTUS	6 ; 7	3 ; 3	1 ; 3	2 ; 0	0 ; 1	0 ; 0
AGNUS	6 ; 7	3 ; 3	3 ; 3	0 ; 0	0 ; 0	1 ; 0
TOTAL	61	25	25	5	3	3

²³ As pointed out by Dean, “accidental Ebs are often demanded in all voices by the counterpoint.” This suggests an undeniable competition for modality that has led Dean to conclude that the *Missa Quinti toni* is actually a commixture of the Lydian and Mixolydian modes, resulting in a modal hybrid that Dean describes as the “Ut” tonality . . . where the central tonality of F-ut is set off chiefly by C-ut, Bb-ut and G-re.” See Dean, “Ockeghem's Attitude towards Modality,” 239-40.

Table 7.2 depicts all cadential activity in this Mass. The first row of all sections of Table 7.2 indicates the measure number in which each cadence is found while the second row indicates the *finalis* or tenor note of the cadence.

Table 7.2 Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Cadence Table

Kyrie

	<i>Kyrie</i>			<i>Christe</i>			<i>Kyrie</i>		
Measure	6	11	16	24	27	31	35	41	49
Finalis	C	C	F	Bb	Bb	C	F	A	F
Breves	5	4.5	9	5	2.5	3.5	3	5.5	7.5

Gloria

	<i>Qui Tollis</i>												
Measure	9	16	19	34	44	76	82	115	135	141	147	153	160
Finalis	Bb	C	F	G	G	F	A	C	C	F	F	C	F
Breves	8.5	6	3	14	10	31	5	33	19	5.5	5.5	5.5	6.5

Credo

	Et Incarnatus						Et iterum						
Measure	7	11	18	43	50	68	83	85	94	127	195	210	242
Finalis	C	C	F	C	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	C	F
Breves----	6	4	7	24	7	17	14	2	8.5	32	67.5	14.5	31.5

Sanctus

<i>Pleni Sunt</i>					<i>Osanna</i>			<i>Benedictus</i>					
Measure	25	34	40	49	58	83	110	121	138	142	147	159	167
Finalis	F	Bb	Bb	F	F	C	A	F	C	C	F	C	F
Breves	24	9	6	8	8	25	26	10.5	16	3	4	11.5	8

Agnus

	<i>Agnus I</i>						<i>Agnus II</i>						
Measure	8	15	24	27	37	52	57	67	82	85	88	97	107
Finalis	C	F	F	C	C	F	C	F	C	G	F	C	F
Breves	7	6.5	8.5	2.5	10	14	3	10	14	3	2.5	8.5	9

Other patterns can be detected in the spatial organization of the cadences. In order to quantify spatial relationships between cadences, I have used the breve as a unit of measure. The distance between all cadence points is indicated below each section of Table 7.2. The Agnus movement has the most fascinating cadential plan. As indicated by the arrows below Table 7.2, cadences are organized symmetrically around an axis at the

midpoint of the movement. The number of breves between cadence #2 and cadence #3 corresponds exactly to the number of breves (8.5) found between cadences 11 and 12. Furthermore, the distance between cadence #3 and #4 corresponds with the 2.5 breves found between cadences #10 and #11. Moving progressively inward, we find other symmetrically arranged cadences that sound at distances of ten breves, fourteen breves, and three breves. These separate cadences are located between measures 27 and 57 on one side of the axis and between measures 57 and 85 on the opposite side.

Imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni*

When viewed within the context of Ockeghem's own oeuvre, imitation in *Missa Quinti toni* certainly seems to be uncharacteristically pervasive, with approximately ninety-two points of imitation over the five movements.²⁴ Table 7.3 reveals where points of imitation can be located in the Mass. This Table also supplies information regarding the presentation of each point of imitation – including voicing, intervals of imitation, and variations in pitch and rhythm. The first row in Table 7.3 shows the distribution of points of imitation for each movement. As was the case with numbers of cadences per movement, Ockeghem demonstrates a penchant for numerical consistency. Amazingly, every subsection with C mensuration (with the exception of the Kyrie) has a total of fourteen points of imitation, while every subsection with cut-C mensuration has a total of ten points of imitation. According to these numbers, imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni* – rather than serving as mere ornament or as fodder for “drive to the cadence” passages – has a vitally important structural function.

²⁴ Compare this number to the mere thirty-seven imitative fragments of the *Missa Mi-mi*.

Table 7.3 Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Distribution of Points of Imitation

	KYRIE	GLORIA		CREDO		SANCTUS		AGNUS	TOTAL
	C	I C	II C/	I C	II C/	I C	II C/	C	
Number of Points of Imitation Per Section	10	14	10	14	10	14	10	10	92

IMITATION TYPE

Strict imitation	8	12	9	12	6	7	7	8	69
Pitch imitation	2	0	1	2	4	7	3	2	21
Rhythmic imitation	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Retrograde or Inverted imitation	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

VOICING

Superius/Tenor	7	8	7	7	4	8	3	7	51
Superius/ Bassus	0	0	1	4	2	2	5	1	15
Bassus/ Tenor	2	1	0	1	2	4	2	0	12
Superius/ Tenor/ Bassus	1	5	2	2	2	0	0	2	14

PITCH INTERVAL OF IMITATION

+/- 8th	1	1	4	2	3	4	5	1	21
+/- 5th	1	4	1	4	1	3	3	4	21
Unison	6	2	4	0	4	4	0	1	21
+/- 4th	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	5
+/- 3rd	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	5
+/- 6th	0	3	0	2	0	0	1	0	6
+/- 7th	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Mix of intervals/other	0	2	0	2	2	0	1	3	11

Table 7.3 is divided into four sections. The top section shows the total number of points of imitation per subsection. Below, I tally the number of times these points of imitation comprise strict (melodic and rhythmic imitation), pitch, rhythmic, or retrograde imitation (all of which are listed under “Imitation Type”).²⁵ I also tally the number of times these points of imitation involve superius/tenor; superius/bassus; bassus/tenor; or superius/tenor/bassus configurations (listed under “Voicing”). Finally, I tally the number of times they involve imitation at the +/- 8; +/- 5; unison; +/- 4th; +/- 3rd; +/- 6th; +/- 7th (listed under “Pitch Interval of Imitation”). Tally totals for the entire Mass are listed in the final column of Table 7.3.

²⁵ On these imitation types see Irving Godt, “An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the Missa Mi-mi,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 42 (1991): 79-85.

As shown under “Imitation Type” in the Table, Ockeghem’s approach to imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni* is overwhelmingly literal. Strict imitation (wherein the melodic and rhythmic profile of the initial statement are adhered to) dominates the texture of the Mass – 69 out of 92 imitative passage involve strict imitation.

Table 7.3 indicates that there are uniformities in terms of the intervals of imitation that Ockeghem chooses for voice pairs in the *Missa Quinti toni*. The number 21 surfaces four times in the “Total” column. As shown, Ockeghem sounds twenty-one points of imitation at the octave (+/-8), the fifth (+/-5), and the unison. Other intervals of imitation that Ockeghem employs less frequently include the fourth, third, sixth, and seventh. Table 7.3 also reveals that the *superius* and *tenor* participate in more than half of the imitative exchanges (51/92) – a majority that is entirely expected of a work in which these same voices provide the structural dyadic basis. What is surprising, however, is the extent to which the low contratenor (labelled B or bassus in all charts) participates in imitation. Certainly, its presence in points of imitation (41/92) is hardly “occasional” as Fabrice Fitch defines it.²⁶ Nonetheless, it is this emphasis on the low contratenor as a voice that defines the texture of the Mass as “modern” in Kirkman’s terms, and distinguishes it from Ockeghem’s other surviving three-voice *Missa sine nomine*.²⁷ According to Kirkman, this tendency toward a more stratified texture is characteristic of three-voice Masses that date from 1465 onward, thus supporting his 1470 dating for the *Missa Quinti toni*.²⁸

²⁶ Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, 185.

²⁷ Andrew Kirkman questions the authenticity of the *Missa Sine nomine*, suggesting that it falls outside of the Ockeghem canon due to stylistic anomalies. If this is true the *Missa Quinti toni* is Ockeghem’s only surviving three-voice Mass.

²⁸ Other guesses as to the dating of the *Missa Quinti toni* have been made by Rob Wegman, “New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 36: 5-25. On the dating of the manuscript Brussels 5557, Wegman states: “gathering 8, containing Ockeghem’s *Missa Quinti toni*, can be dated with a reasonable degree of precision: 1476-80. Paper-types related to the paper of this gathering are

Imitation and the “Aesthetic of Concealment”

Irving Godt’s “An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the *Missa Mi-mi*,” is one of the first studies to have expanded upon our notions of articulation and concealment in Ockeghem’s imitative language.²⁹ In his article, Godt asks a crucial question about imitative practice: “what degree of exposure (prominence) does the ear require in order to separate a pair of embedded passages from their background?”³⁰ He classifies the various points of imitation he encounters in Ockeghem’s *Missa Mimi* into three main categories: Free Imitation, Strict Imitation, and Pitch Imitation. He argues that points of imitation that are exposed to no varied repetition (where *comes* strictly repeats *dux*) tend to be clearly articulated while points of imitation that are highly varied (where *comes* varies pitches and rhythms) tend to be more concealed.³¹ There are actually many more types of imitation in Ockeghem’s music than suggested by Godt. In fact, we can gain a more nuanced appreciation for Ockeghem’s attitude toward repetition if we vastly expand Godt’s analytical categories of “strict imitation” and “free imitation” to include the multiple ways that points of imitation are exposed to contrapuntal variety. In order to analyze Ockeghem’s “aesthetic of concealment” in relation to his imitative language in the *Missa Quinti toni*, we shall begin by considering those techniques that serve to articulate imitation and then we will move to a discussion of those techniques that serve to conceal it.

found only in northern-French sources; hence, this layer may have been copied in that region, possibly in Paris” (p. 16).

²⁹ Godt, “An Ockeghem Observation,” 79-85. For other “concealed” imitative points see Irving Godt’s description of two imitative passages in the Agnus of the *Missa Mimi*: 79-85. Here, the distance of imitation is compressed, note substitution, omission, the interval of imitation changes, *dux* and *comes* change roles.

³⁰ Godt, “An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the *Missa Mi-mi*,” 80.

³¹ Godt also indicates when imitative passages employ transposition, disguised entry, and divergent pitches.

Articulated Imitation

The following terms may be applied to elements that contribute to articulating or bringing out imitative passages in the *Missa Quinti toni*.

Rest-Initiated Imitation (R and r)*

If we are to take textural elements into account when considering the degree to which an imitative passage is embedded, we must first look to contrapuntal activity that immediately precedes the passage in question. The most efficient way to draw attention to the entry of a point of imitation is to start an imitative passage after a period of rest (in one or more voices). Passages that are initiated by rests in *all* of the voices involved in a point of imitation are so striking that, in terms of articulated imitation, they may be considered hierarchically stronger than other imitative fragments in which only one voice contains a rest (see Example 7.13). In Tables 7.4-7.8, I have classified all imitative segments that are examples of *Rest Initiated Imitation* with the symbol R* (where rests appear in all imitative voices), or “r” (where a rest only articulates one imitative voice).

Example 7.13 Rest Initiated Imitation (R*): Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Gloria mm. 4-6.

The musical score for Example 7.13 is presented in three staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The first staff begins with a square box containing the number '4'. The lyrics 'pax' and 'ho - mi - ni - bus bo -' are written below the notes. The second staff begins with a square box containing the number '8'. The lyrics 'pax' and 'ho - mi - ni - bus bo -' are written below the notes. The third staff begins with a square box containing the number '1'. The lyrics 'ho - mi - ni - bus bo -' are written below the notes. A dashed line labeled 'Rest Initiated Imitation' connects the rests in the first two staves to the start of the imitative passage in the third staff. The symbol 'R*' is placed above the first staff, above the second staff, and above the third staff, indicating that rests in all voices initiate the imitative passage.

Anticipated Imitation (A and a)

Anticipated Imitation occurs when rhythms and pitches of a point of imitation are foreshadowed. The anticipatory voice does not actually participate in the point of imitation, but presents a preliminary version of the imitative passage which simply alludes to an imitative passage to come. After a few notes, *Anticipated Imitation* always breaks off into free material (see Example 7.14). Alongside *Rest Initiated Imitation*, *Anticipated Imitation* serves as another strong articulating technique. I have classified all imitative segments in Tables 7.4-7.8 that are examples of *Anticipated Imitation* with the symbol “A.” Instances of *Anticipated Imitation* melodically and/or rhythmically alludes to a subsequent imitative fragment.

Example 7.14 Anticipated Imitation (A): Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus mm. 64-71.

64

ra glo - ri - a tu -

8 Anticipated Imitation A

ter - ra glo - ri - a tu -

Cadential Punctuation (C and c)

Cadences function in a similar way to rests, in that they highlight the entry and/or conclusion of an imitative passage. In the *Missa Quinti toni*, there are a few instances of imitation that feature *Cadential Punctuation* on both sides of a point of imitation. Such framing cadences succeed in accentuating imitation in a forceful manner – guiding the listener from the beginning of the imitative passage through to the end. In Tables 7.4-7.8,

those points of imitation that are sandwiched between two cadences have been designated “C”, while those that are punctuated with either an introductory *or* conclusive cadence are labeled “c” (see Example 7.15).

Example 7.15 Cadential Punctuation (c): Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Gloria mm. 18-22.

Cadential Punctuation
(c)

fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus

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

mus te. Gra - ci - as a -

Motto Imitation (M)

We have already seen in other *sine nomine* Masses of the fifteenth-century how imitative passages often coincide with motto material (see examples of *Motto Imitation* from Barbingant’s *Missa sine nomine*, the *Missa Fa-ut* and Jo. Bassere’s *Missa sine nomine* examined in Chapter 6). Here, a familiar motto aids in articulating a point of imitation, while reciprocally, the point of imitation also serves to reinforce the motto. In Tables 7.4- 7.8 I use “M” to designate when a motto provides the musical substance of an imitative passage. This is followed by a precise shorthand name for the motto. For example, see M (KIb) in Example 7.16.

Example 7.16 Motto Imitation (M) and Dux/Comes Role Exchange (Role-X): Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Gloria 45-53³²

Role-X
Dux

Comes
Klb

45

Do - mi-ne fi - li u - ni-ge-ni- te, Jhe -

Dux
Klb

Do - mi-ne fi-li, do-mi - ne fi - li u - ni-ge-ni- te, Jhe -

Klc

Do-mi - ne fi - li u - ni - ge-ni - te, Jhe - su xpri-

Rhythmic Articulation: Syncopated or Dotted (s or d)

Many imitative passages are more striking than others simply because of the level of interest that certain types of rhythmic activity create within a musical texture. Dotted notes, a sudden flurry of semi-minims (not encountered in this particular Mass), or syncopation, often serve to articulate points of imitation. Passages where rhythmic articulation is featured prominently are recorded in Tables 7.4-7.8 and are designated with the symbols “sync” or “dot,” for “syncopation” or “dotted note activity” respectively.

Concealed Imitation

The following terms may be applied to elements that contribute toward an aesthetic of concealment in the imitative language of the *Missa Quinti toni*:

³² Role-X is explained below.

*Imitation at Unusual Intervals (IUI)*³³

Pitch intervals of imitation involving intervals other than the unison, octave, fifth, or fourth are relatively rare in fifteenth-century music (see table 7.3). These intervals are more likely to result in different melodic intervals in the *comes*, and are less obvious to the ear. By including imitative intervals such as the third, sixth, and seventh, Ockeghem extends the boundaries of imitative practice. In instances of *Imitation at Unusal Intervals* (labelled *IUI* in Tables 7.4-7.8), imitation is more concealed than in imitative passages involving intervals of the octave, fifth or fourth.

Non-Rest Articulated Imitation (NR)

The aural perceptibility of a point of imitation is often contingent upon the musical texture in which it appears. For example, imitation that is introduced into a contrapuntal texture without *Rest Articulated Imitation* is often more difficult to detect because the beginning of the melody that is imitated in either the leader (*dux*) or follower (*comes*) voices are subsumed into a longer melodic line. The type of “imitative concealment” that results can be observed in the Gloria movement of the *Missa Quinti toni* (see Example 7.17) where the tenor and superius form an almost imperceptible point of imitation. In Tables 7.4-7.8 I have labelled all instances of *Non-Rest Articulated Imitation (NR)*.

³³ James MacKay, “William Byrd’s *Cantiones Sacrae* 1589 and the Use of Invertible Counterpoint at Unusual Intervals.” *In Theory Only*, Volume 14 (forthcoming ca. 2006).

Example 7.17 Non-Rest Articulated Imitation (NR): Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus mm. 87-93

Imitative Overlap (Over)

Throughout the *Missa Quinti toni* Ockeghem frequently overlaps different points of imitation through a procedure I call *Imitative Overlap*. *Imitative Overlap* heightens the sense of contrapuntal excitement by creating a flurry of activity. Passages involving *Imitative Overlap* are typically reserved for sectional conclusions that “drive to the cadence.” Though *Imitative Overlap* articulates formal closes, the sounding of multiple points of imitation often means that attention is deflected from each of the individual points. Here, the punctuating effect of one imitative fragment is obscured because of the “competition” for attention that ensues when each new fragment is introduced. *Imitative Overlap* works against motivic clarity and consequently only serves to entrench one imitative fragment within another. Examples that include overlapping of imitative material are labeled “Over” in Tables 7.4 –7.8.

Example 7.18 from mm. 160-176 of the Credo movement features an example of *Imitative Overlap*. The *dux*, introduced in the tenor at m. 161, is answered by the bassus and then the superius. Before this point of imitation concludes, another point of imitation is introduced at m. 164 (see Dux 1). Here the tenor (m. 164) is imitated by the low

contratenor at the unison (m. 166), the tenor at the fifth (m. 168), followed by the superius at the fifth (m. 170). I classify this as an instance of *Imitative Overlap* because two different points of imitation are overlapping in this example (labelled point of imitation #1 and point of imitation #2).

There is, however, another dimension of *Imitative Overlap* occurring within point of imitation #2 that involves modular repetition. Here, the leader (*dux*) introduced at m. 164 in the tenor (labeled i) is accompanied by a countermelody in the bassus (labeled ii). Together, i and ii form a module which repeats twice. This combination is heard in invertible counterpoint at the fifth in the tenor and bassus between mm. 165-166 and again in invertible counterpoint between the superius and tenor in mm. 168-169. In this passage, wherein the melody and countermelody engage in *Imitative Overlap* periodic modules are generated.

Example 7.18 Imitative Overlap (Over): Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo mm. 160-76.

The image displays a musical score for three voices: Superius (top), Tenor (middle), and Bassus (bottom). The score is in 3/4 time and D minor. It illustrates the concept of *Imitative Overlap* through two distinct points of imitation.

- Point of Imitation #1:** Occurs between measures 164 and 166. The Tenor (labeled 'i') introduces a melody, which is then imitated by the Bassus (labeled 'ii') at the fifth.
- Point of Imitation #2: Periodic Modules:** This section shows the repetition of the module formed by the Tenor's melody (i) and the Bassus's countermelody (ii). The module is repeated twice, first in the Tenor and Bassus (mm. 165-166) and then between the Superius and Tenor (mm. 168-169).
- Invertible Counterpoint at the 5th:** The text indicates that the counterpoint between the Tenor and Bassus in measures 165-166 is invertible at the fifth.

The lyrics for the Superius part are: "pa - tre fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum pa - tre et fi - li - o si". The lyrics for the Tenor part are: "fi - li - o que pro ce - dit. Qui cum pa - tre et fi - li - o si". The lyrics for the Bassus part are: "qui ex pa - tre fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit. si -".

171

MODULE

MODULE

fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi -

mul ad - o - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur; qui

mul ad - o - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi

Unlike so many other instances of *Imitative Overlap* in the *Missa Quinti toni*, this intriguing passage is not found at a structural close to a subsection or movement and therefore does not comprise “drive to the cadence” material. We therefore must look elsewhere to uncover Ockeghem’s compositional motivation. The Mass text holds the key:

Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem *qui ex Patre Filoque procedit.*
Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur.

And [I believe] in the Holy Ghost; The Lord and Giver of Life, *who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified.*

Here, the holy mystery of the Trinity serves as the poetic image for Ockeghem’s rich passage of *Imitative Overlap*. The three elements comprising the divine essence of the holy trinity are musically reinforced in the counterpoint as each module grows organically from the previous one. The fact that each subsequent module is transformed through new voicing and invertible counterpoint at the fifth is metaphorically significant. In a

contrapuntal passage that features the repeated regeneration and transformation (see added pitch in melody i and countermelody ii indicated with dotted lines) of the same melody and countermelody, Ockeghem superbly interprets the biblical image of the Father begetting the Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeding equally from both Father and Son.

Pitch Interval or Time Interval Change Between Dux and Comes From Previous Imitative Segment that is Close in Proximity. (PI or TI)

Partway through certain points of imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni*, there is a shift from one pitch or time interval of imitation to another.³⁴ In Example 7.19, the insertion of two ornamental pitches (indicated with parentheses in the tenor) changes the time interval of imitation (*TI*). Furthermore, the pitch interval of imitation (*PI*) shifts from the unison to the octave. In such instances, because movement from one time interval or pitch interval to the next is often seamless, it is not often immediately obvious as to what has occurred. This technique results in the concealment of imitative passages. In Tables 7.4-7.8, I have labelled all occurrences of *Pitch Interval Change* and *Time Interval Change* as *PI* and *TI*.

³⁴ For this terminology, see Peter N. Schubert, "A Lesson From Lassus: Form in the Duos of 1577," *Music Theory Spectrum* 17 (1995): 1-26. On time intervals of imitation see pp. 3-10. On pitch intervals of imitation see pp. 10-13.

Example 7.19 *Time Interval Change between Dux and Comes (TI): Ockeghem Missa Quinti toni, Gloria, mm. 58-65.*

time interval = $\equiv$ —————> = $\circ$
pitch interval = unison —————> octave

58

ste. Do - mi - nede - us, ag nus - de - i

ste. Do - mi - nede - us, ag - nus - de - i, fi -

mi - nede - us, ag - nus de - i, fi -

Imitation Interrupted by Cadence (Cad-int)

In some cases, cadences can be found within imitative passages, thus breaking up the progress of a point of imitation (see Example 7.20). The cadence deceives our ears into perceiving that a goal has been reached, and conceals the imitative texture. Cadences that interrupt imitative passages have been marked *Cad-int* in Tables 7.4- 7.8.

Example 7.20 *Imitation Interrupted by Cadence (Cad-int): Ockeghem Missa Quinti toni, Credo mm. 10-12.*

10

Cad-int

Dux/Comes Role Exchange (Role-X)

At times, Ockeghem completely reverses the roles of voices engaged in imitative activity – a process I call *Dux/Comes Role Exchange (Role-X)*. Here, one point of imitation begins immediately after another concludes and the *dux* voice takes on a new role of *comes* and vice versa. *Dux Comes Role Exchange* can be detected in Example 7.16. Here, Ockeghem begins with a point of imitation (mm. 45-47) at the fifth between tenor (*dux*) and superius (*comes*). No sooner is this point of imitation complete, then a new one begins – this time at the octave between superius and tenor. Here, superius takes on the new role of *dux* and tenor takes on the new role of *comes*. If this occurred within one point of imitation we would call this a double instance of *PI (Pitch Interval Change)* and *TI Change (Time Interval Change)* – but in this example, two completely different points of imitation are formed after superius and tenor exchange *dux* and *comes* roles.

Articulated vs. Concealed Imitation

The Table below summarizes all of the articulated and concealed imitation devices described above. The first column includes all techniques involving articulated imitation while the second column pertains to concealed imitation. This table serves as a key to the abbreviations found in Tables 7.4 – 7.8.

KEY TO TABLES 7.4 –7.8: Summary of Articulated and Concealed Imitative Devices

ARTICULATED IMITATION <u>REST INITIATED IMITATION</u> R* = rests in all voices r = rest in one or two voices	CONCEALED IMITATION <u>IMITATION AT UNUSUAL INTERVALS</u> IUI =Imitation at interval of +/- 3,6,7.
<u>ANTICIPATED IMITATION</u> A* = anticipation (both rhythmic and melodic anticipation) a = anticipation of (either rhythmic or melodic anticipation)	<u>NON-REST INITIATED IMITATION</u> NR
<u>CADENTIAL PUNCTUATION</u> C = point of imitation is framed by cadences on both sides c = point of imitation is initiated <i>or</i> concluded with a cadence	<u>IMITATIVE OVERLAP</u> Over = overlap between 2 or more points of imitation.
<u>MOTIVIC IMITATION</u> M = motivic or motto material appears in point of imitation	<u>IMITATION INTERRUPTED BY CADENCE</u> Cad-int = cadence interrupts point of imitation. Imitative passage continues through cadence.
<u>RHYTHMIC ARTICULATION</u> sync = syncopation accompanies entry of point of imitation. Dot = dotted note rhythms accompany entry of point of imitation.	<u>INTERVAL/DURATIONAL CHANGE</u> Dur = change of duration between <i>dux</i> and <i>comes</i> partway through a point of imitation. Int = change of interval between <i>dux</i> and <i>comes</i> partway through a point of imitation.
	<u>DUX/ COMES ROLE EXCHANGE</u> Role-X = exchange of dux and comes roles partway through a point of imitation

Table 7.4 Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Kyrie
Kyrie

<i>Articulation</i>						<i>Concealment</i>			
MEASURE NUMBER	# PITCHES; <u>DUX/ COMES</u> ; PI (Pitch Interval of Imitation)	<u>REST INITIATED ANTICIPATION</u> R* = all voices r = one voice A = Other Anticipation	<u>CADENTIAL PUNCTUATION</u> C* = Cadence at beginning and end c = cadence at beginning or end	<u>MOTTO IMITATION</u> M = presence of Motto material in point of imitation. Motto label indicated in brackets.	<u>RHYTHMIC ARTIC.</u> Sync = syncopation Dot= dotted rhythm	<u>Imitation at unusual interval?</u> Y/N	<u>NON-REST ARTIC.</u> NR	<u>IMITATIVE OVERLAP</u> Over <u>IMITATION</u> <u>INTER- RUPTED BY CADENCE</u> Cad-int	<u>TIME INTERVAL/ PITCH INTERVAL CHANGE</u> TI PI <u>DUX/ COMES ROLE EXCHANGE</u> E Role-X
6-7	4 S/T; unison	R*	c (beginning)			N			
11-2	3 T/S; unison	r	c (beginning)			N			
13-4	4 S/T; -5					N	NR		
Christe									
17-21	9 T/B; -8	r	C*	M (KIb ¹)		N			
22-7	2 S/T/B/B; unison			M (KIb ¹)		N	NR	Over	
22-7	3 S/S/T; -4				Sync	N	NR	Over Cad-int	
28-9	3 T/B; unison				Dot	N	NR		
Kyrie									
37-9	3 S/T; unison	r		M (KIb ¹)		N		Over	
37-42	4 S/T; -4			M (KIb ¹)		N	NR	Over	
44-5	9 T/S; unison				Dot	N	NR		

Table 7.5 Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Gloria

Gloria

<i>Articulation</i>						<i>Concealment</i>			
MEASURE NUMBER	# <u>PITCHES</u> i <u>DUX/ COMES;</u> <u>PI</u> (Pitch Interval of Imitation)	<u>REST INITIATED ANTICIPATION</u> R* = all voices r = one voice A = Other Anticipation	<u>CADENTIAL PUNCTUATION</u> C* = Cadence at beginning and end c = cadence at beginning or end	<u>MOTTO IMITATION</u> M = presence of Motto material in point of imitation. Motto label indicated in brackets.	<u>RHYTHMIC ARTIC.</u> Sync = syncopation Dot= dotted rhythm	<u>Imitation at unusual interval?</u> Y/N	<u>NON-REST ARTIC.</u> NR	<u>IMITATIVE OVERLAP</u> Over <u>IMITATION</u> <u>INTER- RUPTED BY</u> <u>CADENCE</u> Cad-int	<u>TIME INTERVAL/ PITCH INTERVAL CHANGE</u> TI PI <u>DUX/ COMES ROLE EXCHANG</u> E Role-X
4-6	4 B/T/S; +5/+5	R*				N			
7-15	6 S/B/T; - 8/+6		c (end)		Dot	Y	NR	Over	
10-11	4 T/S; +5	R*	c (beginning)			N		Over	
11-14	5 T/S; +6			M (Klb ²)		Y	NR	Over	
17-18	4 T/B/S; - 8/+3	r			Dot	Y			
20-1	5 T/S; +6	r	c (beginning)			Y			
24-5	3 S/T; -3	r				Y			
31-3	3 B/T; +7		c (end)		Dot	Y	NR		
36-9	6 T/S/B; +6	R*				Y			
40-2	9 T/S/B; +5/+ 5				Dot	N	NR		
45-7	4 T/S; +5	r	c (beginning)			N		Over	
47-53	15 S/T; -8			M (Klb ¹)		N	NR	Over	PI Role-X
55-9	9 T/S; unison					N	NR	Over	
58-65	19 T/S; unison	R*			Dot	N		Over	TI (at pitch 13)
Qui Tollis									
84-86	4 S/T; -8				Dot	N	NR	Over	
85-88	5 T/S; +8	r				N		Over	
102- 106	13 T/S; unison				Dot	N	NR		
106- 107	4 T/S/T; unison					N	NR	Over	
110- 113	5 T/S; +5	r	c (end)	M (Klb ²)		N			
134- 139	5-6 B/T/S; +8/+8	R*	c (beginning)			N			
140- 141	3 S/B; -7				Dot	Y	NR	Cad-int	
147- 150	6 S/T; unison		c (beginning)			N	NR	Over	
148- 151	6 B/S/T; unison	R				N		Over	
152- 154	4 S/T; -8					N	NR	Over Cad-int	

Table 7.6 Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Credo

Credo

		<i>Articulation</i>				<i>Concealment</i>			
MEASURE NUMBER	# <u>PITCHES:</u> <u>DUX/COMES:</u> <u>PI</u> (Pitch Interval of Imitation)	<u>REST INITIATED ANTICIPATION</u> R* = all voices r = one voice A = Other Anticipation	<u>CADENTIAL PUNCTUATION</u> C* = Cadence at beginning and end c = cadence at beginning or end	<u>MOTTO IMITATION</u> M = presence of Motto material in point of imitation. Motto label indicated in brackets.	<u>RHYTHMIC ARTIC.</u> Sync = syncopation Dot = dotted rhythm	<u>Imitation at unusual interval?</u> Y/N	<u>NON-REST ARTIC.</u> NR	<u>IMITATIVE OVERLAP</u> Over <u>IMITATION</u> <u>INTER- RUPTED BY</u> <u>CADENCE</u> Cad-int	<u>TIME INTERVAL/ PITCH INTERVAL CHANGE</u> TI PI <u>DUX/ COMES</u> <u>ROLE EXCHANG</u> E Role-X
5-6	4 B/S; +5	r	c (end)			N			
10-12	3 S/B; -8	r				N		Cad-int	
18-25	21 T/S; +5	R*	c (beginning)			N			
35-43	18 S/T/B (bassus= abbreviated last part of imitative passage); unison/-8	R*	c (end)	M (K1c ²)		N			
44-46	5 T/S; +4	A (in bassus)	c (beginning)	M (K1b ²)		N	NR		
51-53	6 T/S; +3	r A (in bassus)	c (beginning)			Y			
53-55	4 S/B; -11				Dot	N	NR		
56-60	9 T/S; +6	R*				Y			
60-62	4 T/S; +6			M (K1b ¹)		Y	NR		TI Role-X
63-64	3 B/T/S/T/T; +5/+12/-3/+4				Dot	Y	NR		

Et incarnatus est

73-75	5 S/T; -3			M (K1b ¹)		Y	NR		
83-88	17 T/S; +5	R*	c (beginning)			N		Cad-int	
103-106	6 B/T; +8					N	NR		
124-125	5 S/B; -12		c (end)			N	NR		

Et Iterum Venturus

156-159	5 S/B; -8	r				N			
161-164	5 T/B/S; unison	r A (3p in tenor in m. 157)				N		Over	
164-168	5 T/B; unison				Dot	N	NR	Over	
165-171	9 B/T/S; +5/unison					N	NR	Over	PI Role-X
185-192	9 S/T; unison	R*				N			
196-200	7 S/T; -8	R*	c (beginning)		Dot	N			
208-209	3 B/T; +8	r	c (end)	M (K1b ²)		N			
223-225	3 S/T; unison					N	NR	Over	
224-228	7 B/S/T; +8/-4	r				N		Over	
226-231	5 S/S/T; +5/-5	R*				N		Over	

Table 7.7 Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Sanctus

Sanctus

		<i>Articulation</i>				<i>Concealment</i>			
MEASURE NUMBER	# PITCHES; DUX/ COMES;	<u>REST INITIATED ANTICIPATION</u> R* = all voices r = one voice A = Other Anticipation	<u>CADENTIAL PUNCTUATION</u> C* = Cadence at beginning and end c = cadence at beginning or end	<u>MOTTO IMITATION</u> M = presence of Motto material in point of imitation. Motto label indicated in brackets.	<u>RHYTHMIC ARTIC.</u> Sync = syncopation Dot= dotted rhythm	Imitation at unusual interval? Y/N	<u>NON-REST ARTIC.</u> NR	<u>IMITATIVE OVERLAP</u> Over <u>IMITATION</u> <u>INTER- RUPTED BY CADENCE</u> Cad-int	<u>TIME INTERVAL/ PITCH INTERVAL CHANGE</u> TI PI <u>DUX/ COMES ROLE EXCHANGE</u> E Role-X
	PI (Pitch Interval of Imitation)								
6-7	4 T/B; unison					N	NR	Over	
7-11	6 S/T; -8			M (KIb ²)		N	NR	Over	
10-12	4 T/B; -7	r		M (KIb ²)		Y			
14-18	5 T/S; unison					N	NR	Over	
22-23	3 S/T; -3				Dot	Y	NR		
30-32	5 S/T; -4	r				N			
34-36	8 S/T; unison		c (beginning)			N	NR	Over	
36-39	7 S/B; -8					N	NR	Over	
45-46	4 S/T; -5					N	NR		

Pleni Sunt

50-53	7 T/B; unison	r				N			
53-55	4 T/B; -5					N	NR		
67-71	12 S/B; -8	r A (bassus 4p)	c (end)			N			
75-82	20 S/T; -5			M (KIb ²)		N	NR		
82-84	4 T/S; +8				Dot	N	NR	C-int	

Osanna

87-93	7 S/T; -8					N	NR		
98-102	6 S/T; -6			M (KIb ²)		Y	NR		
114-120	24 S/T; -5			M (KIc ¹)		N	NR		

Benedictus

124-129	4 B/T; +8					N	NR		
148-152	6 B/S; +8	A (tenor 3p)				N	NR		
149-152	5 S/B; -8			M (KIb ²)		N	NR	Over	
153-159	24 B/S; +12		c (end)		Dot	N	NR		TI (at cadence)
159-162	4 B/S/B/S; +12;-12	r	C*			N			
162-164	3 T/B; -8	r			Dot	N		Over	
163-166	6 S/B/S; -8/+5		c (end)	M (KIb ¹)		N	NR	Over	

Table 7.8 Articulated and Concealed Points of Imitation: Agnus

Agnus dei

MEASURE NUMBER	# PITCHES; DUX/ COMES; PI (Pitch Interval of Imitation)	<i>Articulation</i>				<i>Concealment</i>			
		<u>REST INITIATED ANTICIPATION</u> R* = all voices r = one voice A = Other Anticipation	<u>CADENTIAL PUNCTUATION</u> C* = Cadence at beginning and end c = cadence at beginning or end	<u>MOTTO IMITATION</u> M = presence of Motto material in point of imitation. Motto label indicated in brackets.	<u>RHYTHMIC ARTIC.</u> Sync = syncopation Dot= dotted rhythm	<u>Imitation at unusual interval? Y/N</u>	<u>NON-REST ARTIC.</u> NR	<u>IMITATIVE OVERLAP</u> Over <u>IMITATION</u> <u>INTER- RUPTED BY CADENCE</u> Cad-int	<u>TIME INTERVAL/ PITCH INTERVAL CHANGE</u> TI PI <u>DUX/ COMES ROLE EXCHANGE</u> E Role-X
4	3 B/S; +8	r		M (KIa)		N			
27-29	4 S/B/T; -6/+9	r	c (beginning)			Y		Over	
29-32	6 S/T; +5	R*		M (KIb ²)		N		Over	
31-34	7 S/T; -3	R*				Y		Over	
44-48	4 T/S; +5	R*				N			

Agnus II

61-63	9 T/S; +5					N	NR		
68-69	5 T/S; +5	r	c (beginning)			N			
71-76	11-13 S/T/S/S; - 4; unison	R*				Y			
81-84	7 S/T; unison		c (end)	M (KIb ¹)		N	NR	C-int	
88- 103	4 B/ B/TT/T/S/B / B/T/S/T; unison; +5; u nison; unison; +8; -5; unison; +4; +5	r				N		C-int/C-int/C- int	

Points of imitation range between two and twenty-four pitches. The table below provides a tally of articulation and concealment techniques for points of imitation found in each movement of the *Missa Quinti toni*. Note that many points of imitation fall into more than one category of articulation and/or concealment.

Frequently employed articulation procedures include: *Rest Initiated Anticipation*, *Cadential Punctuation*, and *Motto Imitation*. Frequently employed concealment procedures include *Imitative Overlap* and *Imitation Interrupted by Cadences*.

Table 7.9 Tally of Articulated and Concealed Devices

ARTICULATED IMITATION	KYRIE	GLORIA	CREDO	SANCTUS	AGNUS	Total
(R*) Rest initiated anticipation in all voices	1R*	5R*	7R*		4R*	17 R*
(r) Rest initiated anticipation in one voice	3r	7r	7r	6r	4r	27 r
(A) Anticipation of imitation (rhythmic or melodic)			2A	3A		5 A
(C*) Cadential punctuation at beginning and end	1C*			1C*		2 C*
(c) Cadential punctuation at beginning OR end	2c (begin)	5c (begin) 3c (end)	5c (begin) 4c (end)	1c (begin) 3c (end)	2c (begin) 1c (end)	15c (begin) 11c (end)
(M) Motto Imitation	4 M	3 M	5 M	7 M	3 M	22 M
(dot/sync) Rhythmic articulation	1 sync 2 dot	8 dot	4 dot	4 dot		1 sync 18 dot

CONCEALED IMITATION	KYRIE	GLORIA	CREDO	SANCTUS	AGNUS	Total
(IUI) Imitation at Unusual Intervals	0 IUI	8 IUI	5 IUI	3 IUI	3 IUI	19 IUI
(NR) Non-Rest Articulated Imitation	6 NR	12 NR	10 NR	18 NR	2 NR	48 NR
(Over) Imitative Overlap	4 Over	13 Over	6 Over	8 Over	3 Over	34 Over
(Cad-int) Imitation Interrupted by Cadence	1 Cad-int	2 Cad-int	2 Cad-int	2 Cad-int	1 Cad-int	8 Cat-int
(PI) Pitch Interval Change partway through point of imitation		1 PI	1 PI			2 PI
(TI) Time Interval Change partway through point of imitation		1 TI	1 TI	1 TI		3 TI
(Role-X) Dux/Comes Role exchange		1 Role-X	2 Role-X			3 Role-X

By expanding upon Irving Godt's categories of imitation, we have been able to focus on the complexities inherent in Ockeghem's imitative language. A surprising fact that has been illuminated in the analyses above is how extraordinarily varied Ockeghem's

approach to imitation is. He articulates and conceals imitation in diverse ways. Furthermore, most points of imitation actually involve both articulation and concealment (see Tables 7.4-8.8), meaning that Ockeghem's approach to imitation is actually less about an "aesthetic of concealment" and more about imitative variety and balance between articulation and concealment.

The sheer volume of imitative material in Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* is simply staggering. We are investigating a composer, after all, who is famed for his sparse and concealed imitative language. This means that the *Missa Quinti toni* is particularly special because imitation serves as one of *the* most significant compositional "building blocks" in Ockeghem's pre-compositional "blueprint." The fact that there is so much imitation in Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* may have more to do with the works' identity as a *sine nomine* Mass rather than with any changes in Ockeghem's style during his career. This would concur with certain observations made by Mary Natvig regarding composers' use of imitation in sections where the *cantus prius facti* is silent – a phenomenon that is best observed in the reduced texture duo or trio sections of fifteenth-century Mass Ordinary movements.³⁵ This indicates that units of repetition and imitation were regarded by fifteenth-century composers as structural alternatives to the *cantus prius factus*. Given that the *sine nomine* Mass is a genre that is freely composed from beginning to end, it is hardly surprising that a composer like Ockeghem, who so famously explored new compositional issues in every Mass he ever composed, would have viewed his *Missa Quinti toni* as a perfect place to thoroughly explore the outer limits of imitative and repetitive musical language.

³⁵ Mary Natvig, "Investigating Imitation in the Fifteenth-Century Mass Ordinary," Josquin and his Models: The Emergence of Pervasive Imitation." McGill University, June 7-8, 2003.

Ostinato Repetition

In the *Missa Quinti toni*, Ockeghem incorporates yet another compositional technique that has, as of yet, not been recognized for its significance as a structural agent in the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass repertory. It involves exact and/or varied repetition of melodic ideas in the *same* voice. These “figures” of *Ostinato Repetition* involve the sounding of the original melodic line and its partner(s) within close proximity of each other. Typically the reiteration occurs within the same textual line or, on occasion, the subsequent one. *Ostinato Repetition* can occur in any voice. Two instances of *Ostinato Repetition* can be found in Credo I (see Example 7.21).

Example 7.21 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo I, *Ostinato Repetition*, mm. 108-120

108

Et a-scen - dit in ce -

Ostinato Repetition

Et a - scen - dit in ce -

114

lum; se - det ad dex - te - ram pa -

Ostinato Repetition

lum; se - det ad dex - te - ram pa

The Sanctus movement features the densest concentration of passages of *Ostinato Repetition*. As shown in Example 7.22, a series of Ostinato motives form the unifying glue for this subsection. All the voices in the texture participate – when the *Ostinato*

Repetition ceases at mm. 99-110, the tenor and superius take over with a new *Ostinato*. Two *Motivic Module* pairs are introduced near the end of this section – the first between measures 110-114 and the second between measures 116-117. Note how the sounding of this final *Module* pair elicits a final flourish of KIc^1 motto segments.

Example 7.22 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus III, “Osanna,” *Ostinato Repetition*

The musical score for Example 7.22 is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass). The first system (measures 99-110) features an *Ostinato Repetition* in the tenor and superius parts. The second system (measures 109-114) features a *Module Pair* in the tenor and superius parts. The third system (measures 115-117) features a *Module Pair* in the tenor and superius parts, with the motto segment "sis, in ex - cel - sis." repeated. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines, as well as lyrics and annotations.

At the end of the Agnus II (Example 7.23), Ockeghem turns to yet another unification technique – the constructed tenor – or contratenor in this case. Between measures 83 and 100 Ockeghem outlines a C hexachord. The first contratenor statement –

C-D-C – is framed by rests, as is every subsequent hexachordal statement. Adding one note at a time, Ockeghem gradually outlines the entire hexachord.³⁶

Example 7.23 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Agnus II, hexachordal constructed bassus, mm. 82-98

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves: vocal (soprano), vocal (alto), and bassus. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4.

System 1 (Measures 81-90):

- Measure 81:** The bassus staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note C. A dashed line connects this C to the soprano staff, which has a half note G. Below the bassus staff, the text "Hexachordal Outline: C-----D-----C" is written.
- Measures 82-90:** The bassus staff continues with a half note D, a whole rest, a half note E, a whole rest, a half note F, a whole rest, a half note G, a whole rest, a half note A, a whole rest, and a half note B. The soprano staff has the lyrics "di: mi - se-re - re, mi-se-re - re no -".

System 2 (Measures 91-98):

- Measure 91:** The bassus staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note C. A dashed line connects this C to the soprano staff, which has a half note G. Below the bassus staff, the text "Hexachordal Outline: C-----D-----C" is written.
- Measures 92-98:** The bassus staff continues with a half note D, a whole rest, a half note E, a whole rest, a half note F, a whole rest, a half note G, a whole rest, a half note A, a whole rest, and a half note B. The soprano staff has the lyrics "bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis, mi - se - re -".

System 3 (Measures 99-106):

- Measure 99:** The bassus staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note C. A dashed line connects this C to the soprano staff, which has a half note G. Below the bassus staff, the text "Hexachordal Outline: C-----D-----C" is written.
- Measures 100-106:** The bassus staff continues with a half note D, a whole rest, a half note E, a whole rest, a half note F, a whole rest, a half note G, a whole rest, a half note A, a whole rest, and a half note B. The soprano staff has the lyrics "re no - bis."

This type of structure in the Agnus II subsection of Ockeghem's Mass fits within a Mass-writing tradition in which composers often integrated imitative or repetitive writing into Agnus II's.

³⁶ Note that I have omitted all ficta E-flats found in Bentheim's *Missa Quinti toni* edition.

Module Pairs and Motivic Constellation Pairs

In Chapter 6 we explored a *sine nomine* Mass by Jo. Bassere that uses the module as a fundamental agent of organization. Ockeghem too, employs the module as a means of organizing contrapuntal events in his Mass. While Bassere typically presents dense *Module Series*, Ockeghem prefers *Motivic Module Pairs* and *Motivic Constellation Pairs*. Various occurrences of *Module Pairs* and *Constellation Pairs* are illustrated in Examples 7.24 through 7.29.

Example 7.24 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Agnus II, *Module Pair*, mm. 74-79

74

Module

Module (transposed -5)

ii

ii

di, mun - di,

Example 7.25 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo I, *Motivic Constellation Pair*, mm. 3-13

3

Motivic Constellation

Motivic Constellation

Motivic Constellation

trem om - ni po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et ter -

8

Motivic Constellation
(t/cet inverted)

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

Example 7.26 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo III, *Module Pair*, mm. 172-176

172

Module

Module

ad - o - ra - tur et con - glo

Example 7.27 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus I, “Pleni sunt,” *Module Pair*, mm. 62-69

62

Module

Module

K1b¹

ra, ter - ra glo -

Example 7.28 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Agnus II, *Module Pair*, mm. 53-57

Example 7.29 Ockeghem *Missa Quinti toni*, Gloria I, *Module Pair*, “Domine Deus,” mm. 54-62

Conclusion

Mottos, cadences, imitation, melodic and ostinato repetition, *Motivic Constellations*, and *Motivic Modules* interact in Ockeghem’s *Missa Quinti toni* so as to

unify the Mass's large-scale design, emphasize structurally significant musical moments, and link contrapuntal events. Based on the results of my cadential analysis, I have concluded that in the precompositional stages, Ockeghem designed *Quinti toni* with a rational cadential plan. Ockeghem was not only careful to balance the number of formal cadences from movement to movement and section to section, he also employed an equal number of F-final and C-final cadences, and in some cases, he even balanced the spacing between cadences.

Ockeghem features imitation as one of the most important compositional building blocks in the *Missa Quinti toni*. As revealed above, his approach is, once again, systematic and rational. The make-up and the arrangement of each point of imitation seems to be based on a sophisticated precompositional groundplan. Fourteen points of imitation can be found in each subsection with C mensuration while ten points of imitation are in every cut-C subsection. Furthermore, a tally of all points of imitation found at the octave, the fifth, and the unison yields the same number in every case – twenty one.

Above, I have attempted to further deepen our understanding of the purported “irrationality,” and “seamlessness” typically associated with Ockeghem's music by systematizing an analytical approach to Ockeghem's imitative process in this Mass. To this end, I have vastly expanded Irving Godt's imitative categories of “strict imitation” and “free imitation” in order to take into account all of those contrapuntal procedures that contribute toward articulating imitation on the one hand, and concealing imitation, on the other. For articulated imitation, I have created several procedural categories: *Rest Initiated Imitation*, *Anticipated Imitation*, *Cadential Punctuation*, *Motivic Imitation*, and *Rhythmic Articulation*. For concealed imitation I have suggested an alternative set of

categories: *Non-Rest Articulated Imitation*, *Counterfeit Transposition*, *Imitative Overlap*, *Imitation Interrupted by a Cadence*, *Interval/Durational Change*, and *Dux/Comes Role Exchange*.

Through my imitative analyses, I have found Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* to be a Mass that simultaneously employs and resists the "aesthetic of concealment." Indeed, when viewed in relation to Ockeghem's other Masses, the role of imitation in this particular work seems uncharacteristic and wholly atypical. Rather than serving an ornamental purpose, imitation has a crucial structural role as a fundamental "building block." What can this idiosyncratic and highly sophisticated approach toward imitation tell us about Ockeghem's compositional process? Surely the unambiguous cadential and imitative practices in the *Missa Quinti toni* which are revealed above may be seen as somewhat paradoxical for a composer who has commonly been characterized as "irrational." Is his literal approach to imitation in the *Missa Quinti toni* representative of a type of stylistic segue linking the varied imitative textures of the mid-fifteenth century and the strict imitative textures of proceeding Josquin-generation works?³⁷ Another possibility, one that is directly relevant to the issues under consideration in this dissertation, is that Ockeghem's approach is indicative of the particular compositional demands of the genre of the *sine nomine* Mass itself. Given the lack of borrowed material – Ockeghem, out of sheer formal necessity, might have decided to turn toward imitative procedures as a means of endowing his Mass with an underlying structure. This certainly corresponds with the type of repetitive style found in Mass subsections by other

³⁷ Cumming, "From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony," forthcoming in *Bruges–Venice*.

composers who do not employ a cantus firmus (i.e. tenor tacet subsections).³⁸ Of course, as with so many of the *sine nomine* Masses we have investigated to this point, mottos and motives also play a crucial role in unifying Ockeghem's work. Here, Ockeghem's "literal-mindedness" in terms of motto repetition is also very much related to the genre in which he is writing. It is important, after all, that he sets out each motto clearly at the beginnings of movements so that it is recognizable as motto material when it recurs at other points in the Mass. All "literal-mindedness," however, ends here, as motivic recall of these mottos becomes increasingly fragmented throughout the Mass.

Ockeghem's formal strategies in organizing the *Missa Quinti toni* bring together mottos, imitation, ostinato repetition, motivic constellations, modules, and even a constructed contratenor. Indeed, in many ways, we can view this work as evidence of a masterful culmination of close to half a century of *sine nomine* Mass-writing techniques. Here, so many of the procedures we have studied in the *sine nomine* tradition are brought effortlessly together. Only by carefully studying each layer of this work – the mottos, the cadence structure, the imitative language, the ostinato repetition, the *Motivic Constellations* and *Module Pairs* – can we fully appreciate how advanced a work the *Missa Quinti toni* actually is.

Elucidating a compositional rationale for this Mass has required a close examination of both unification procedures and contrapuntal variation techniques. We have seen Ockeghem's crafty manipulation of mottos. With Ockeghem the motto becomes a fluid and flexible entity – one that, by virtue of the fragmentation and constant recall of *Motto Segments*, imbues the Mass with its distinctive "Quinti toni" flavour. We have seen how

³⁸ This was discussed by Natvig in the paper, "Investigating Imitation in the Fifteenth-Century Mass Ordinary."

Ockeghem's cadential language does not only demonstrate a penchant for *varietas* (see Rule 5 in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* discussed in Chapter 3) – but also for unity. We have also seen how imitation is the stylistic thread that runs throughout the fabric of this Mass. From the first point of imitation to the last, Ockeghem manages to infuse his writing with infinite imitative dimensions – employing a gamut of articulation and concealment techniques. While Ockeghem rather uncharacteristically includes a lot of obvious repetition throughout his *Missa Quinti toni* he also employs many different means of concealing that repetition. He finds a perfect balance between strict repetition and varied repetition, articulated imitation and concealed imitation, *Motivic Modules* and *Motivic Constellations* and *redictae* and *varietas* – aesthetics that lie at the heart of Ockeghem's compositional genius.

Chapter 8 The Four-Voice *Sine nomine* Mass by Johannes Tinctoris: Model of *Redictae* and *Varietas*

The study of music in the fifteenth century like that of philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, or any of several other areas should examine how humanistic pursuits changed the traditional possibilities for thought and expression. Just as biblical studies benefited from philological techniques that had developed in the effort to improve and interpret the available texts of Cicero, sacred polyphony gained from rhetorical modes of expression that were tested in civic oratory. In the service of Christian worship, the pursuit of eloquence quickly affected Italian theologians and northern musicians alike.¹

~ Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's*.

Introduction

In Chapter 3, I established that Johannes Tinctoris's eight rules of counterpoint in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* were modelled on ancient rules of rhetoric. Given this context, I argued that Tinctoris's conception of *varietas*, which he discusses in his eighth rule, could be better understood if viewed through the lens of rhetorical practice. In his *Liber*, Tinctoris seems to propose two distinct forms of *varietas*. His examples suggest that *varietas* could be sought through the integration of varied contrapuntal "ideas" (i.e. different melodic and harmonic intervals, different suspensions, and different cadences) in a musical work (*inventio*), or through the varied repetition of musical ideas (*elocutio*). Though Tinctoris establishes *redictae* (repetition) as a vice to be avoided whenever possible, he admits that in some situations it is important to deviate from the usual rules of composition and to use "figures" of musical repetition. In the musical examples of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, the different kinds of melodic and contrapuntal repetition may

¹ Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of Saint Peter's, 1380-1513* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 296-7.

be seen as analogous to rhetorical figures of speech – especially the figures of varied repetition outlined in Chapter 3.

According to Tinctoris, “figures” of *redictae* can provide a means of appropriately reflecting the textual and/or emotional implications of the text. This explains his reference in Example 3.5 to metaphorical “bells and trumpets.” For Tinctoris, all melodic *redictae* (whether in the form of a point of imitation or a melodic motive) must, for the most part, be tempered with contrapuntal variety. True modules, however, involving strict contrapuntal repetition are admissible in a musical composition too – but much less frequently (see the modules in mm. 14-15 of Example 3.5).

Since Chapter 3, we have equipped ourselves with a new musical vocabulary – one that has vastly expanded our understanding of the formal function of *redictae* and *varietas* in the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass. Now that we have seen how fifteenth-century composers negotiated repetition and *varietas* in their Masses, we may attempt to answer one of the questions I posed at the outset of this dissertation. Does theory manifest itself as compositional practice in Tinctoris’s *oeuvre*? Does Tinctoris truly apply the aesthetic principles of *varietas*, initially set down in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, to the composition of his own Masses? This certainly *should* be the case if we are to believe Tinctoris when, besides recommending the exemplary works of Dufay, Faugues, Regis, Busnois, Ockeghem, and Caron, he also approves of his own works *non ab re produxi* (not based on a pre-existent thing) as musical paradigms of *varietas*.² What is it about these *sine nomine* Masses that prompts Tinctoris to uphold them as compositional models? We have already examined how Tinctoris manages to forge links between the

² Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica* II, ed. A. Seay, translated as *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 140. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of this passage.

compositional virtues of ancient rhetorical treatises and the rules of counterpoint in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Now let us examine Tinctoris in action as a composer.

In the first part of this chapter, I will locate all units of repetition in Tinctoris's four-voice *Missa sine nomine* and will analyze how and where the theorist integrates *redictae* into the Mass.³ Along the way, I will point out specific continuities that I detect between Tinctoris's *sine nomine* Mass and those of Trent 89 examined in Chapter 6. As we shall see, Tinctoris's four-voice *Missa sine nomine* utilizes and develops many of the same compositional procedures; mottos, modules, and constellations populate his Mass from beginning to end. Is he committed to forging other links between music and rhetoric? Are there, for example, any linkages between his application of *redictae* and the rhetorical contexts in which these repetitive units appear? In the second part of this chapter, I will extend my study of the relationship of music and rhetoric into what is admittedly more speculative territory. I will suggest further ways in which a fifteenth-century composer like Tinctoris may have sought inspiration in the teachings of rhetorical treatises.

Tinctoris's *Missa sine nomine* no. 3

Tinctoris's extant *oeuvre* of Mass compositions includes his famous *Missa L'homme armé* and three lesser known *Missae sine nomine*. Among the *sine nomine* Masses, two are for three voices – one with low clefs and the other with high. His *sine nomine* Mass for four voices, the work under investigation in this chapter, is unique in

³ All musical examples are based on the modern edition entitled *Sine nomine No. 3* in Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera omnia*, ed. William Melin, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 18 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1976), 55-73.

one of Gaffurius's Milan choirbooks (Milan 2).⁴ Ronald Woodley has suggested that the work may "date from the period of their acquaintance in the late 1470s."⁵ With its three movements (Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus) and foreshortened Credo, this *Missa sine nomine* by Tinctoris is distinctive because it is one of the only *sine nomine* Masses for four voices from the fifteenth century.⁶

Examples 8.1 through 8.3 show the openings of the Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus movements. Here, Tinctoris employs a *Motto Constellation + Module*. Recall that this hybrid motto presentation type had previously been used in the *Missa Fa-ut* of Trent 89.

Example 8.1 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Gloria I mm. 1-3, GI *Motto Constellation + Module*

GI Motto Constellation + Module

1 Gla
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus
Glb
Glc
Gld

⁴ *Missa sine nomine* no. 3 can be found in Milan 2: 37v-43r.

⁵ See Ronald Woodley, "Johannes Tinctoris," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 4 May, 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁶ Tinctoris's two other *sine nomine* Masses are for three voices. One is located in Verona 755 (17v-26r) and the other is in Verona 759 (25v-31r). Both of these Masses are built upon mottos and motives.

Example 8.2 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Credo I mm. 1-4, GI *Motto Constellation* + *Module*

Example 8.3 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Sanctus I mm. 1-3, GI *Motto Constellation* + *Module*

Gloria II (Example 8.4) introduces a new motto that is later repeated in Credo II. This two-voice *GII-Motto Constellation* begins and ends with an *Internal Motto Module*, the same type of structure previously encountered in Jo. Bassere's *Missa sine nomine* (Example 6.52 in Chapter 6).

Example 8.4 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Gloria II, *GII Constellation* with *Internal Motto I* Modules

The musical score for Example 8.4 consists of two staves, labeled 'GIIb' (top) and 'GIId' (bottom). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/2. The score is divided into two 'Internal Motto Module' sections by a double bar line. The first module starts at measure 43. The top staff (GIIb) contains a melodic line with lyrics 'Do - - - - -'. The bottom staff (GIId) contains a bass line with a single note 'Do' in the first measure, followed by rests. The second module continues the melodic and bass lines.

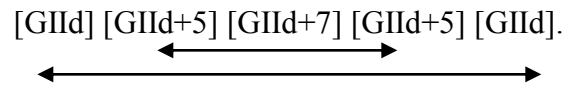
In Credo II (Example 8.5) Tinctoris repeats the *GII-Motto Constellation*, but purposely omits the *Internal Motto Module* units – perhaps as a means of achieving contrapuntal *varietas*.

Example 8.5 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Credo II, *GII Constellation*

The musical score for Example 8.5 consists of two staves, labeled 'GIIb' (top) and 'GIId' (bottom). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/2. The score starts at measure 64. The top staff (GIIb) contains a melodic line with lyrics 'Et in - car - na - tus est'. The bottom staff (GIId) contains a bass line with a single note 'Et' in the first measure, followed by rests. The score shows the continuation of the melodic and bass lines.

This *GII Motto Constellation* is utilized again at the opening of the “in nomine” subsection of Sanctus IV (see Example 8.6). In this particular subsection (shown below in its entirety), *redictae* and *varietas* coexist in a dialectical association – working together and in opposition to generate a formally symmetrical unit. In fact, the entire “in nomine” subsection is unified by a singular melodic motto – GIId which, through *Consecutive Motto Repetition*, assumes the role of a pseudo constructed-bassus ostinato. Here, each repeated melodic unit is varied melodically. Upon each repetition, GIId is transposed – first at the interval of a fifth (mm. 84-86), then at a seventh (mm. 87-89), then at a fifth (mm. 90-92), followed by a return to its initial form (mm. 93-95). The repetition within this bassus line is reminiscent of the tenor activity in the accompanying musical example

to Tinctoris's Rule 6 (see Example 3.3). As shown in Example 8.6 Tinctoris builds the Sanctus IV subsection on a bassus line with a transposition sequence that is symmetrically conceived⁷:



Above this repetitive bassus Tinctoris constructs an equally repetitive superius line comprised of two motives – labelled X and Y in Example 7.6. Both motives are transposed (X+3 and Y-5) and both are recombined with different transpositions of the GIId *Melodic Motto*. Since Tinctoris maintains exactly the same rhythmic values for each repetition, two distinct modules are created (labelled Module 1 and Module 2). These overlapping lines of melodic *redictae* and modular repetition thus form a subsection in this Mass that is comprised exclusively of a *Module Series*. Tinctoris tempers the *redictae* inherent in this dense modular writing through the transposition of each module – Module 1 is transposed up a third while Module 2 is transposed down a fifth.

⁷ On symmetrical forms in early music see Christopher Reynolds, “Musical Evidence of Compositional Planning in the Renaissance: Josquin’s *Plus nulz regretz*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 53-81. Peter Schubert, “Hidden Forms in Palestrina’s First Book of Motets,” forthcoming article in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60, no. 3 (2007).

Example 8.6 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Sanctus IV, *In nomine* subsection, GIId
Consecutive Motto Repetition with Modular treatment

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef).
 System 1 (measures 81-86): Labeled 'Consecutive Motto Repetition'. A box labeled 'Module Series' contains 'MODULE 1' with two entries: 'X' and 'GIId+5'. The lyrics 'in - no - mi - ne' are written below the notes.
 System 2 (measures 87-92): Labeled 'MODULE 1 (transposed +3)' and 'MODULE 2'. The first part is labeled 'X+3' and the second part is labeled 'Y' and 'GIId+5'.
 System 3 (measures 93-98): Labeled 'MODULE 2 (transposed -5)'. The first part is labeled 'Y-5' and the second part is labeled 'GIId'. The lyrics 'ne' are written below the notes.

Another passage that features a *Module Series* is also encountered in Sanctus IV (see Example 8.7), immediately preceding the “in nomine” subsection. Here once again, Tintoris employs transposed modules as the predominant building blocks. As shown, the “benedictus” begins by sounding the first few pitches of the original GII Motto Constellation. In measures 68-70 these GII pitches join with free material to form Module 1. Module 1 is repeated twice – transposed up a second and then up a third respectively (see measures 70 and 73). A smaller module, based on a descending rhythmic motive (labelled b), rounds out the end to this subsection.

Example 8.7 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Sanctus IV, *GII Constellation and Module Series*

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a vocal ensemble and a basso continuo. The first system, beginning at measure 68, is labeled 'MODULE 1' and shows three variations: the original module, a transposition of +2, and a transposition of +3. The lyrics 'Be - ne - di -' are aligned with the vocal lines. The second system, starting at measure 76, is labeled 'MODULE 2' and shows the original module and a transposition of -2. The lyrics 'ctus qui ve - nit' are aligned with the vocal lines. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The time signature is 3/2.

How can we rationalize the blatant modular repetition in Examples 8.6 and 8.7 in light of Tintoris’s rules on *redictae* and *varietas*? Perhaps all of this *redictae* is prompted by the fact that both the “in nomine” and “benedictus” subsections are parts of the Sanctus movement – the most joyous and celebratory of all movements (and often even accompanied by the ringing of bells). In any case, Tintoris undoubtedly viewed the transposition of each module as a way of upholding contrapuntal *varietas*.

While the “in nomine” and “benedictus” subsections feature what might be classified as a “modular” compositional approach from beginning to end, the opening of the Gloria movement (shown in Example 8.8) shows much more diversity in its approach to *redictae* and *varietas*. My analysis reveals a compositional process wherein Tintoris moves from one “contrapuntal event” (to use Jessie Ann Owens’ term) to another.⁸ The first musical phrase (ending with a cadence on D at m. 6) is comprised of the *GI Motto*

⁸ Jessie Ann Owens, “The Milan Partbooks: Evidence Concerning Cipriano de Rore’s Compositional Process,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 270–298, at 284.

Module Constellation and *Module A*. The second musical period (ending with a cadence on F at m. 13) begins with a point of imitation between superius and altus, followed by *Motivic Constellation B* (mm. 8-11) and two small modules (mm. 12-13). In the third musical period, which is also initiated with a point of imitation, Tinctoris employs yet a new set of *redictae* techniques. First, he introduces a bassus “mirror motive” with C (#) as the mid-point note (m. 17). Second, he briefly revisits melodic mottos G1b, G1c, and G1d (m. 23) of the *G1 Motto Constellation*. Notice how both of these contrapuntal “events” are recombined with the same repetitive altus motive (mm. 18-19; 22-23). Here, Tinctoris balances the *varietas* of musical *res* by introducing new ideas and the *varietas* of musical *verba* by varying expressions of individual musical ideas.

Example 8.8 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine no. 3, Gloria I, mm. 1-25*

The image displays a musical score for Tinctoris's *Missa sine nomine no. 3, Gloria I, mm. 1-25*. The score is written for four voices: Gla (Superius), G1b (Altus), G1c (Bassus), and G1d (Tenor). The time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: "Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi-ni-bus bon ne vo - lun ta tis." The score is divided into two main sections: "GI Motto Module-Constellation" (mm. 1-13) and "MODULE A" (mm. 14-25). The first section includes a point of imitation between Gla and G1b, followed by Motivic Constellation B (mm. 8-11) and two small modules (mm. 12-13). The second section, MODULE A, begins with a point of imitation and introduces a bassus "mirror motive" with C (#) as the mid-point note (m. 17). It also revisits melodic mottos G1b, G1c, and G1d (m. 23) of the GI Motto Constellation. The score is annotated with various musical symbols, including accidentals and dynamic markings, and includes a key signature change to C major (indicated by two sharps) in the second section.

7 *Imitation signals entry of Blocks and Modules*

CONSTELLATION B

MODULE MODULE

13 *Imitation signals end of modular passage*

Melodic Motive

MIRROR

21 *Internal GI Motto Constellation*

Glb

Melodic Motive

Glc

Gld

There are many links between the Gloria I (Example 8.8) and the Sanctus I (Example 8.9). Both open with the *GI Motto Module* followed by *Module A*, and *Constellation B*.

At measures 16-18 Tintoris repeats *Constellation B*, this time in an inverted and expanded form.

Example 8.9 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Sanctus I

The musical score is written in 3/2 time and consists of four staves labeled Gla, Glb, Glc, and Gld. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-8) is marked with a box labeled '1' and includes the lyrics 'San - ctus San - ctus San - ctus'. The second system (measures 9-15) is marked with a box labeled '9' and includes the lyrics 'ctus Do mi - nus De'. The third system (measures 16-18) is marked with a box labeled '16' and includes the lyrics 'us'. The score includes labels for 'MODULE A' and 'CONSTELLATION B'. The score also includes a box labeled 'i' and a box labeled 'ii'.

Besides *Constellation B* there is another large *Motivic Constellation* in Tinctoris's *Missa sine nomine* 3 called *Motivic Constellation F* – nicknamed the “Dei Constellation” as it is first encountered in Gloria IV at the word “Dei” (see Example 8.10 where each of the melodic voices in *Motivic Constellation F* have been labelled i, ii, iii, and iv). *Motivic Constellation F* is articulated by a short point of imitation between altus and tenor (mm. 94-5) and it concludes with the reiteration of a short sequential motive “w” in the bassus. *Motivic Constellation F* is heard in four other locations of Tinctoris's Mass in ever-changing contrapuntal contexts. The textual placement of this motive is surely no accident. In fact, Tinctoris's choice to superimpose the sounding of his motive with a reference to God is comparable to the many “Deus” and “Domine” motives previously encountered in *sine nomine* Masses composed earlier in the fifteenth century.

Example 8.10 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Gloria IV, mm. 94-101

The “Dei”/*Motivic Constellation F* is repeated between measures 16 and 20 of Credo I (see Example 8.11). Directly preceding *Motivic Constellation F* Tinctoris writes an extended point of imitation between superius, altus, tenor, and bassus (note that altus

Example 8.11 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Credo I, mm. 9-21

355

In this passage, Tinctoris musically represents the “visible” and “invisible” forms of God. The “visible” forms are represented by a long (fifteen semibreve) and strict point of imitation (all rhythms are the same) between superius and bassus, while the “invisible” forms of God are represented by the obscured “Dei” *Constellation F*. While the point of imitation is readily audible to any listener, the constellation is a “secretly” placed motive – something that is literally “invisible” or “inaudible” that only the composer, a keen performer, or indeed, a modern-day analyst can identify.

Motivic Constellation F is recalled again in measures 38-41 of Credo I (see Example 8.12). Here, Tinctoris isolates only the bassus line of the *Dei Constellation F* (voice iv) and strips away all of its other constituent voices. He uses this motive as a means of providing a link between the first and second statements of the newly introduced *Motivic Constellation G* (located between mm. 36-39 and mm. 43-45). Here, “Deum de Deo” (“God of God”), and “Deum verum de Deo vero” (“true God of true God”) – two textual units represented by *Constellation G* – interact with the motive from the *Dei Constellation* generating a striking overlap of “God” motives.

Example 8.12 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Credo I, mm. 36-45

36

la De - um de De - o

CONSTELLATION G

CONSTELLATION F "Dei"

(strict melodic and rhythmic repetition)

41

De - um ve - rum de De - o ve

CONSTELLATION G

Motivic Constellation F returns again in Credo III (see measures 100-105 of Example 8.13). Here, the melodic content of the “*Dei*” *Constellation* matches most closely with its first appearance in Gloria I (compare with Example 8.10), while the rhythms of the bassus motive are carefully matched with the motive of Credo I (see mm. 38-41 of Example 8.12). Here, the “w” motive makes its predictable appearance once again – this time in a more emphatic manner than ever with altus, tenor, and bassus all simultaneously sounding the motive in homorhythm (m. 105).

Directly proceeding the statement of the “*Dei*” *Constellation*, Tintoris revisits *Motivic Constellation B* – first encountered in Gloria I (see mm. 8-11 of Example 8.8). As

was the case in Example 8.9, in Credo III, he once again articulates the entrance of *Motivic Constellation B* with a clear point of imitation (with entries in the tenor, altus, superius, and altus). This is immediately followed by *Consecutive Motto Repetition* of Glc in the superius. Here the Glc mottos are recombined with *Motivic Constellation B* in the tenor and bassus. It is no wonder that Tinctoris should choose to save his most contrapuntally dense passage of superimposed mottos and motives for the rhetorically important text “resurrectionem mortuorum,” for it is at these words in the Mass that the speaker acknowledges that after death he too will join Christ in the life of the world to come (“I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins, and I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come”). Tinctoris reflects the spiritual intensity of these concluding words to the Credo by colouring them with an equally intense set of overlapping repetitive units.

Example 8.13 Tinctoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Credo III, mm. 94-106

The musical score for Example 8.13 is in 3/2 time and features four staves: Superius (Soprano), Altus (Alto), Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are "re-sur-rec-ti-o-nem mor-tu-o-rum". The score includes annotations for "Imitation signals entry of mottos and constellations" with dashed arrows, "Consecutive Motto Repetition" for the "Glc" and "Glc'" mottos, and "CONSTELLATION B" for the Tenor and Bassus parts, which are further labeled "i" and "ii" respectively.

Motivic Constellation B (mm. 8-11) reappears at the words “qui tollis” of Gloria III (see Example 8.14). Here, *Motivic Constellation B* is recombined with a new motive (labelled “X”). In measure 66 the same contrapuntal unit is repeated, but this time, “i” of *Motivic Constellation B* is omitted. This is subsequently followed by the repetition of the lone “ii” melody of *Motivic Constellation B* in measure 68. But, Tinctoris does not stop here! He manages to include one final step in this process of musico-poetic “subtraction” by following up all of this activity with a short three pitch motive extracted from the “ii” melody (indicated with dotted lines in Example 8.14) and repeating it (in a descending sequence) in the tenor of three little modules (see mm. 70-72). In summary, at the words “qui tollis” Tinctoris gradually pares down the recombined motivic unit (Module B+x). Here, I would like to suggest that Tinctoris is responding directly to the text “Qui tollis peccata mundi” (“You take away the sins of the world”). As Christ takes away the sins of the world, Tinctoris gradually strips away layer after layer from the motivic unit originally established at mm. 63-5.

Example 8.14 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, Gloria III, “Qui tollis,” *Motivic Modules – Rhetorically motivated.*

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a Gloria III, specifically the "Qui tollis" section. The first system, starting at measure 63, features a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The vocal line contains the lyrics "Qui tol - lis pec - ca ta mun - di". Above the vocal line, a bracket labeled "MODULE: CONSTELLATION B + x" spans measures 63-65. Below the vocal line, a bracket labeled "i (from constellation B)" spans measures 63-65. Below the basso continuo line, a bracket labeled "ii (from constellation B)" spans measures 63-65. The second system, starting at measure 69, features a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The vocal line contains the lyrics "sus - ci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - - nem". Above the vocal line, a bracket labeled "EXPANDED MODULE -2" spans measures 69-71. Below the vocal line, a bracket labeled "MODULE -2" spans measures 69-71. Below the basso continuo line, a bracket labeled "(Transposed -5)" spans measures 69-71. The music is in 2/2 time and G major.

Textually motivated modular/constellation units may also be found in the Credo movement of Tintoris’s *Missa sine nomine* no. 2 (see Example 8.15). Here, two modules are situated side-by-side. Other than the voice exchange between superius and altus, both modules are contrapuntally identical (note that the melodies in these modules remain in the same octaves). In this situation, Tintoris employs modular writing in order to bring out the poetic meaning of the associated text. Here, Tintoris is surely echoing the words “Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum” (“And in one Lord Jesus Christ”) and “filium Dei uni genitum” (“Only son of God”), which emphasize the oneness of the trinity. Note how each module is associated with a separate textual unit, and how both modules overlap in the superius. Here, as was the case in Example 6.33 from the *Missa Fa-ut*

(which employed clever imitative language to represent the musico-poetic symbol of the trinity), these modules become musical metaphors which represent one of the most powerful Christian symbols – the complex relationship between God the father and Jesus the son.

Example 8.15 Tintoris *Missa sine nomine* no. 2, Credo, “Et in unum Dominum” *Motivic Modules* – Rhetorically motivated, mm. 11-17.

In the chart below, I have indicated all instances of contrapuntal repetition in Tintoris’s *Missa sine nomine* no. 3. This chart is read in the same way one reads a piece of music – superius, altus, tenor, and bassus line up vertically one under the other. Every square represents a measure. Measure numbers are indicated above while text is below. The key that accompanies the chart describes the different repetitive blocks: *Motto Constellations*, *Motto Modules*, *Motivic Constellations*, *Motivic Modules*, and *Ostinato Repetition*. The chart allows one to see at a glance, the distribution of mottos, modules and constellations through every movement of the Mass. Points of imitation are omitted.

Table 8.1 **Mottos and Motives in Tintoris's *Missa sine nomine***

KEY

MEASURE NUMBER: 65

SUPERIUS

ALTUS

TENOR

BASSUS

TEXT: *Ky- rie*

MELODIC MOTTO OF A MOTTO MODULE

Gla #####

MELODIC MOTTO OF A MOTTO CONSTELLATION

Glb -----

OSTINATO REPETITION

O	*O*

MOTIVIC MODULES

#####	#####

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATIONS

<table border="1"><tr><td> </td></tr><tr><td> </td></tr><tr><td> </td></tr><tr><td> </td></tr></table>					<table border="1"><tr><td> </td></tr><tr><td> </td></tr><tr><td> </td></tr><tr><td> </td></tr></table>				

Gloria I

GI MOTTO MODULE MOTIVIC MODULE A

1	2	3	4	5	6*
Gla	####	####	###	###	###
Glb	###		###	###	###
Glc	####	####	###	###	###
Gld	####	####	###	###	###

Et in ter- ra pax hominibus bone volunta- tis.

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION B (i+ii) MODULE MODULE

7	8	9	10	11	12	13*
	Imit	x----		#####	#####	
	Imit	x----		#####	#####	
	i		ii			

Lau- da- mus te, Be-nedi- ci-mus te, Ad o- ra- mus te (bassus)

GI MOTTO MODULE

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22*	23	24	25	26
						[O****]	[O****]	[O****]	Glb	####		
						[O**]	[O**]	[O**]	Glc	####		
						[O**]	[O**]	[O**]	Gld	####	####	

Mirror Motive (bassus)

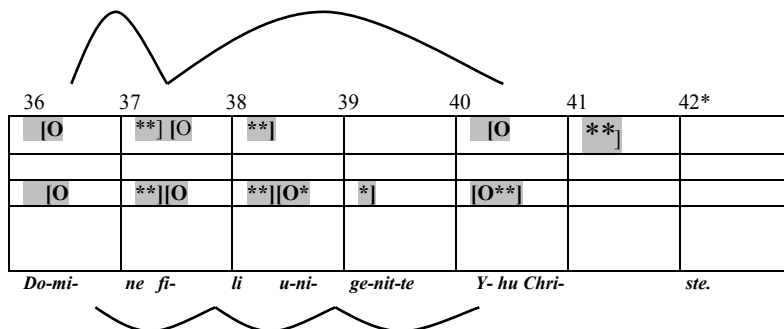
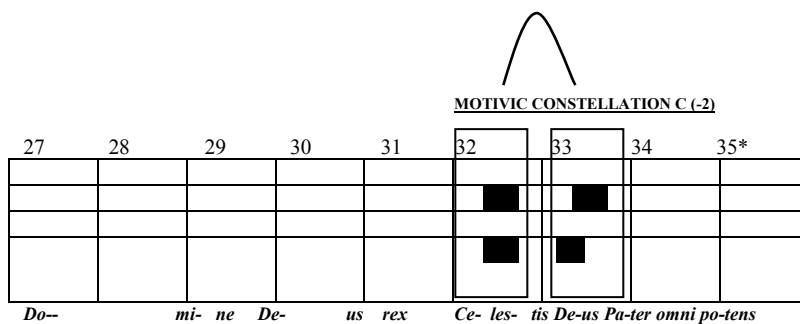
Text:

Adoramus te (superius)

Agimus tibi propter magnam (altus)

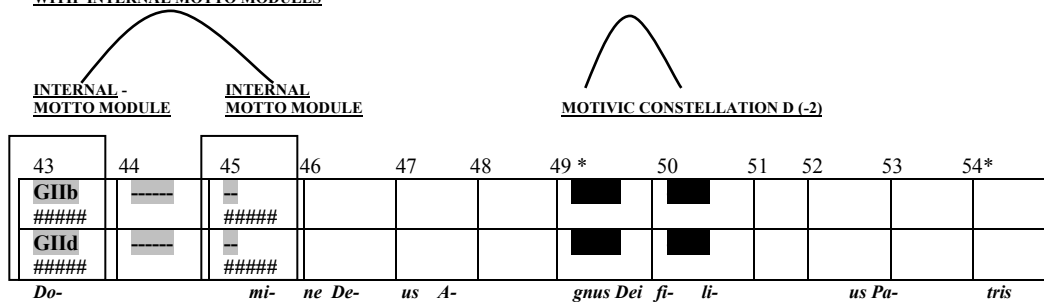
Gratias (tenor)

Gratias propter magnam gloriam tuam (bassus)

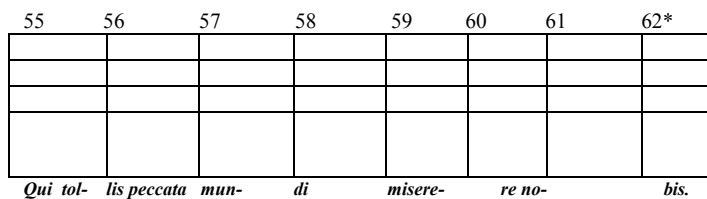


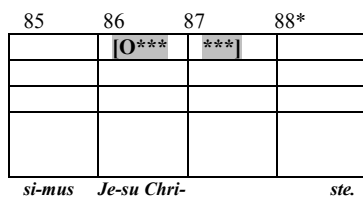
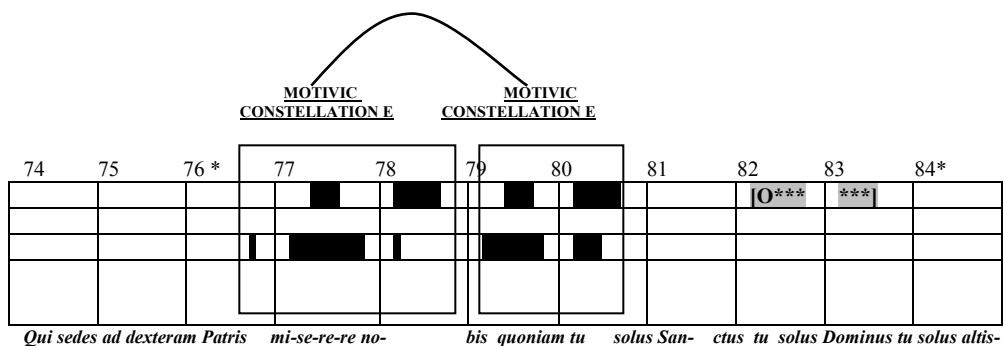
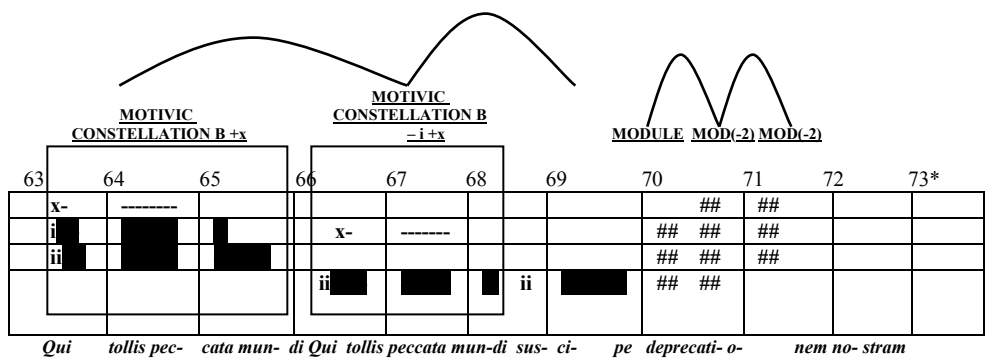
Gloria II

GIL MOTTO CONSTELLATION WITH INTERNAL MOTTO MODULES



Gloria III





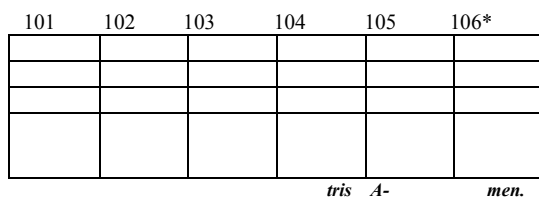
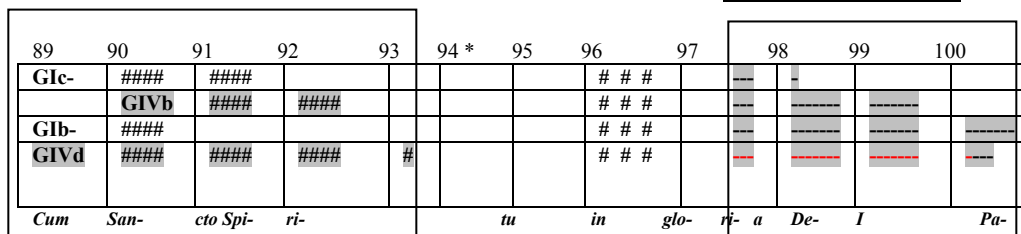
Gloria IV

GI/GIV RECOMBINED MOTTO MODULE



MODULES
-2 -2

see Credo mm. 16-19; 38-41; 100-104
MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION F
(see "invisibilium" m. 16 of Credo)



Credo I

GI MOTTO MODULE

1	2	3	4	5	6*	7	8	9	10
Gla-	####	####							[Imit
Glb-									
Glc-	####	####						[Imit	ation
Gld-	####	####	####	[Imit	ation	*			
Pa-	trem	o-	mni	po- ten-	tem fac- to-	rem ce-li	et ter-	re visibili-	um

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION F (see Dei Patris m. 97 of Gloria)

11	12	13*	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
ation	**] +x-	-- x-	-----							
**]										
	[Imita	tion	*] x-	---						
Omni-	um	et in	----	vi-	si-	bi-li-	um.	Et in	u-	num Do-
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
						[O***	***	**]	[O***	**+4]
minum	Jesum	Chri-	stum	filium	Dei	unigeni-	tum	Et ex Pa-	tre na-	tum an-

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION G

Bassus from CONSTELLATION F
see Gloria mm. 97-100 and Credo 16-19

33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
te	o- mni-a	se- cu-	la.	De-	um de De-	o.	

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION G

41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
De-	um ve-rum	de De-	o	ve-	ro	Genitum	non factem	consubstantiam	Pa-

51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
tri	per quem	o-mni-a	fac-	ta sunt	qui propter	nos homines	et propter	nostram	salutem

61	62	63*
descendit	de ce-	lis.

Credo II

GII MOTTO CONSTELLATION

64	65	66	67	68	69	70
GIIb	---	---		I*	O**	****
GIIId	---	---				

Et incar-na- tus est de Spi-ri- tu San- cto Ex

MOTIVIC
CONSTELLATION H

71	72	73	74

Credo III

GI/GIV RECOMBINED MOTTO MODULE

82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91
Glc-	####	###							
GIVb	####	####	####						
Glb-	####	##							
GIVd	####	####	####	#					

Con- fi- te- or u-num bap- tis- ma in re- mis-si-o- nem peccato-

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION B (i+ii) recombined with Glc (Consecutive Motto Repetition)

92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
					Glc----	- Glc	-----
					i		
					ii		

rum ex- pe- cto resurrecti-o- nem mor-

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION F (see "invisibilium" m. 16 of Credo)

100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111*

tu- o- rum et vi- tam ventu- ri se- cu- li A- men.

Sanctus I

GI MOTTO MODULE

MOTIVIC MODULE A

1	2	3	4	5	6*	7	8	*	9	10
Gla-	####	####				##	###	###		1*
Glb-	##					##	###	###		
Glc-	####	####				###	###	###		
Gld-	####	####				###	###	###		

San-

ctus San

ctus San-



MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION B (i+ii)

Recombined with repeated motive

MOTIVIC CONSTELLATION B (i+ii)

Recombined with repeated motives

11	12	13*	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
O***		*	O***			*	* *	*			
i					ii						
ii					i						
ctus Do-	mi-	nus			De-	us	Sa-	ba-	oth.		

Sanctus II

23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
<i>Ple-</i>	<i>ni</i>		<i>sunt</i>		<i>ce-</i>			<i>li</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ter- ra</i>

34	35	36	37	38	39	40
<i>glo-</i>			<i>ria</i>	<i>tu-</i>		<i>a.</i>

Sanctus III

41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
O-	san-	na							

MODULE **MODULE**

51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	
							###	###	
							###	###	

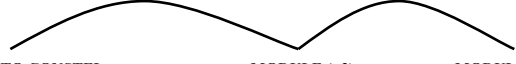
In *ex-* *cel-*



<u>M.M. (-2)</u>			<u>MODULE</u>	<u>M+2</u>	<u>MODULE (+2)</u>		
60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67
		#	#				
# #		#	# #				
# #		#	# #				

sis.

Sanctus IV



<u>MOTTO CONSTELLATION/MODULE</u>			<u>MODULE (+2)</u>		<u>MODULE (+2)</u>							
68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
GIb ####	####	■ ■	####	####	####	####						
GIId ####	####	■	####	####	####	####						

Be- ne- di- ctus qui ve- nit.



			<u>MODULE</u>			<u>MODULE +3</u>		
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
			####	####	####	####	####	####
GIId	---	---	GIId +5	---	---	GIId +7	---	---

In no- mi-

CONSECUTIVE MOTTO REPETITION

MODULE SERIES




<u>MODULE</u>			<u>MODULE -5</u>						<u>MODULE</u>	<u>MODULE+2</u>		
90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
####	####	####	####	####	####					# #		
GIId +5	---	---	GIId	---	---					# #		

ne Do- mi-ni.

Throughout his four-voice *Missa sine nomine* Tinctoris employs three motto groups: The *GI Motto Module* (Examples 8.1-8.3), the *GII Motto Constellation* (Example 8.4), and the *GI/GIV Recombined Motto Module* (Table 8.1). The *GI Motto Module* is found at the head of Gloria I, Credo I, and Sanctus I. The *GII Motto Constellation* is heard at the opening of Gloria II, Credo II, and Sanctus IV. The *GII/GIV Recombined Motto Module* is found at the opening of Gloria IV and Credo III. Of all Mass

subsections, the Gloria I and Sanctus I match most closely. Both sound the *Gloria I Motto Module*, *Module A*, and *Constellation B* in the same order.

Constellation B is the most oft-used repetitive contrapuntal unit found in the Mass – employed far more than any motto. It appears in the Gloria I, Gloria III (three times), the Credo III, and the Sanctus I (twice). In almost all of these permutations it is found in recombination with other short repetitive motives (see Sanctus I mm. 11-18; Gloria III mm. 63-69; Credo III 97-99). The other main repetitive unit is *Motivic Constellation F*, which appears in Credo I (mm. 16-19), Credo III (mm. 100-104), and Gloria IV (mm. 97-100).

There is a real proliferation of repeated modules throughout Tinctoris's Mass – a phenomenon that is comparable to Bassere's "modular" *Missa sine nomine*. There are, however, many differences between Tinctoris and Bassere's approaches to composition. For example, with the exception of mm. 58-67 of Sanctus III, Tinctoris rarely employs modular writing in "drive to the cadence" passages (a hallmark of Bassere's modular style). It is, rather, the openings that are marked by dense modular activity (see Gloria I, Sanctus I and Sanctus IV). Unlike Bassere, many of Tinctoris's modules and constellations integrate important motivic material from other movements of the Mass (e.g. the modules of Sanctus IV integrate GIId motivic material, and *Motivic Constellation F* recombines with the bassus motive of *Constellation G*). Furthermore, given the importance of *Module A*, *Constellation B*, and *Constellation G*, it seems that Tinctoris is more preoccupied with long-range unification than is Bassere, who predominantly integrates modules as local level contrapuntal events.

Where local-level *Motivic Modules* occur, Tinctoris quite consistently makes an effort to temper these repeated units with *varietas*. He applies *varietas* of *inventio* by

integrating many different modules, constellations, and mottos. He applies *varietas* of *elocutio* by transforming constellations and recombining them with different material, by ornamenting them with additional pitches, and by rhythmicizing them in new ways. Another way that he applies *varietas* is by transforming modules through transposition. Notice in the chart, for example, that when repeated, almost every single module in this Mass is transposed. There are two small exceptions – there are short two-voice modules in both Gloria I (mm. 11-12) and Sanctus III (mm. 58-59). Even these exceptions, however, still manage to demonstrate *varietas* thanks to the varied contrapuntal contexts in which they appear (in each case, there are two “free” voices in the accompaniment that provide varying counterpoint). Conversely, wherever long-range *Motivic Modules* and *Motto Modules* occur, Tinctoris maintains exactly the same counterpoint. As we have seen, *Module A*, the *GI Motto Module*, the *GII Internal Motto Modules*, and the *GI/GIV Recombined Motto Modules* are never varied.

In sum, Tinctoris reserves *Modules* for formally important positions like beginnings and for long-range inter-movement motivic unification. Conversely, *Motivic Constellations*, with their varied contrapuntal structures, are employed as local-level repetitive units. By alternating his application of *Modules* and *Constellations*, Tinctoris manages to find a level of equilibrium between *redictae* and *varietas*.

There is evidence to suggest that many of the instances of *Motivic Modules* and *Motivic Constellations* in Tinctoris’s *Missa sine nomine no. 3* are rhetorically motivated. Tinctoris demonstrates musico-poetic sensitivity when musically depicting certain complex spiritual ideas such as the relationship between “God the Father” and the “Jesus the son,” the “taking away the sins of the world,” and the “visible and invisible” forms of God (Examples 8.9-8.15).

Tinctoris's application of modular and constellation repetition throughout his Mass confirms that he was in favour of employing *redictae* in certain cases. Understood in parallel with the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, which rather cryptically suggests the use of *redictae* when "imitating the sound of bells and trumpets," it seems that Tinctoris was advocating a) the use of repetition in joyful musical settings (e.g. see especially the *Module Series* in the Sanctus movement), and b) sensitivity to text setting, repetitive poetic symbols, and striking Christian imagery.⁹

This study of the *Missa sine nomine no. 3* sheds new light on the practical applications of Tinctoris's theoretical ideas. Like so many of the composers of *sine nomine* Masses before him, Tinctoris too employs mottos, modules and constellations. What is new, however, is Tinctoris's propensity for employing units of *redictae* at rhetorically significant musical junctures. Ideas presented in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and his *Missa sine nomine no. 3* suggests that his attempts at forging links between music and rhetoric were not only theoretically based, but also textually motivated.

* * * * *

Ingenium and the Motto

If scholars accept that fifteenth-century composers were exposed to humanist rhetorical theories pertaining to *imitatio*, then it must also be accepted that these same

⁹ Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, ed. A. Seay, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* 22 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-8), 152-4. Tinctoris, *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. and ed. Albert Seay, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 137-8.

composers were exposed to humanist theories pertaining to *inventio* and *ingenium*.¹⁰ For some, the *sine nomine* Mass subgenre would have been recognized as a refreshing and inventive alternative to the cantus firmus, paraphrase, imitation and parody Mass-types, which used *imitatio* procedures.

Throughout this dissertation, I have revealed how, without a model to emulate, composers established fairly standardized ways to structure their five-movement *sine nomine* Mass compositions. Can we view these compositional strategies through the lens of rhetorical practice? We have already seen, after all, that Tinctoris linked contrapuntal practice in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* to the rhetorical teachings of the *Ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De oratore*. Given this evidence, it is not too much of a stretch to believe that Tinctoris may have also seen the actual compositional process – the act of weaving together “contrapuntal events” – as analogous to the formulation of persuasive rhetorical arguments in speech writing. I posit that composers' aesthetic conceptions of unification and coherence may have been strongly influenced by speech-writing techniques and concepts related to *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*.

Inventio, Elocutio, Dispositio and the Motto

As a first step, *sine nomine* Mass composers would have been faced with the challenge of inventing a musical subject on which they could base their composition. To this end, any composer familiar with *The Orator's Education*, would have remembered Book 10, where, immediately after expounding on the merits of paraphrase and competition, Quintilian describes how to work with newly invented subjects:

¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter 2, in ancient and contemporaneous rhetorical discourse, concepts of *inventio* and *ingenium* were often discussed in conjunction with *imitatio*.

It will be useful not only to paraphrase the work of others, but to modify our own in various ways, deliberately taking up some thoughts (*sententiae*) and turning them in as many ways as possible, just as one shape after another can be made out of the same piece of wax.¹¹

Quintilian goes on to discuss what type of subject matter is appropriate for “self-paraphrase” or “self-quotation.”

It is the simplest subjects, I think, which do most to develop our facility. Weakness can easily hide behind the complications. . . when so many ideas present themselves on every side, any one of which can be taken up. The real sign of high quality is the capacity to expand what is by nature brief, amplify the insignificant, vary the monotonous, lend charm to what has already been set out, and speak well and at length on a limited subject.¹²

The same types of ideas are echoed in Alberti’s *De pictura* (1435-6), where, at the close of Book I, Alberti emphasizes how important it is, when striving for creativity and inventiveness in art, or when attempting to say something for the “first time,” to employ brevity and clarity:

I have set out the foregoing briefly and, I believe, in a not altogether obscure fashion, but I realize the content is such that, while I can claim no praise for eloquence in exposition, the reader who does not understand at first acquaintance, will probably never grasp it however hard he tries. As they have been explained by me briefly and without eloquence, they will probably not be read without some distaste. Yet I crave indulgence if, in my desire above all to be understood, I saw

¹¹ Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, Book X: 5.9, p. 360.

¹² Ibid., Book X.5.9-11, pp. 360-361.

to it that my exposition should be clear rather than elegant and ornate. What follows will, I hope, be less disagreeable to the reader.¹³

Alberti's *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (1452), also declares the objective of clarity at the opening of Book I:

But since it is our desire to be as limpid (*facilem*), clear (*apertissimus*), and expeditious (*expeditissimum*) as possible in dealing with a subject otherwise knotty (*duris*), awkward (*asperis*), and for the most part thoroughly obscure (*obscurissimis*), we shall explain, as is our custom, the precise nature of our undertaking. For the very springs of our argument should be laid open, so that the discussion that follows may flow more easily.¹⁴

The reflections of Quintilian and Alberti on how to manipulate original ideas resonate strongly with the compositional planning of fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Masses. Most *sine nomine* Masses have brief, simple motto subjects that are approximately the duration of a word or a phrase. The voices that make up mottos in their original presentation typically start together and end together, and are rarely adorned with imitation – suggestive of more transparent musical “prose” than that found in a cantus firmus Mass, where the main “idea” is more obscured in the tenor line.

As described by Steven Ceruti, the opening statement in Ciceronian oration was “probably the most important part of the speech, for it was in the *exordium* that [Cicero] captured and focused the attention of the audience on what he felt was the central issue,

¹³ Alberti, *On Painting*, 58-9.

¹⁴ Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 1988), I: 1, p. 7.

or *causa*, of the trial.”¹⁵ The purpose of a Ciceronian *exordium* was to “set the tone, create an atmosphere, [and] introduce the individuals and the issues involved in the case on trial.”¹⁶ Cicero identified two styles of *exordia* that could, as deemed appropriate, be applied to any speech. The first type, the *principium*, constituted the most direct and straightforward approach. Here, starting with the initial words that left his lips, the orator would confidently launch himself into his speech. The second type of *exordium*, known as the *insinuatio*, offered a more indirect approach to beginning a speech and was employed when “issues of [the orator's] case [could] not be explained clearly . . . and therefore [he needed to] talk around things or sidestep issues.”¹⁷

The function of the musical motto – as a marker of beginnings of movements and sections – confers it with special rhetorical significance, as it strongly echoes the formal strategies employed in the *exordia* of Classical speeches. Structurally, a *sine nomine* Mass that employs mottos can be viewed as having one primary *exordium* (the introductory Kyrie movement). As we have seen throughout this dissertation, most composers of *sine nomine* Masses dedicated a great deal of thought to the construction of Kyrie movements. It is here that the main subjects (i.e. most of the mottos) were presented in their initial form. It follows then, that most motto Masses employ the *principium* variety of *exordium* as typically, they set out the main “ideas” – or the mottos – at the sounding of the first notes.¹⁸

In the *sine nomine* Masses examined in previous chapters, we have observed how the initial presentation of all prominent mottos (averaging between three to four mottos

¹⁵ Steven M. Cerutti, *Cicero's Accretive Style: Rhetorical Strategies in the Exordia of the Judicial Speeches* (New York: University Press of America, 1996), 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷ Cerutti, *Cicero's Accretive Style*, 12.

¹⁸ On the other hand, the *exordia* found in cantus firmus Masses (especially the English *Caput* variety that begins with a duet introduction before presenting the c.f.) can be viewed as *insinuatio*-types.

per Mass) typically occurs in the three subsections of the opening Kyrie movement. This is comparable to what is advocated by Cicero in Book II of *de Oratore* where he discusses how to arrange the arguments of a speech. According to Cicero, the prologue should set out three to four of the main issues that are to be explored later in the speech, and “should . . . be connected with the speech that follows so that it is not a mere addition like the preludes of the lyre players, but rather resembles a limb that is integrally joined to the rest of the body.”¹⁹ In Book II of *De Oratore*, Cicero ventures a detailed description of how to commence a speech:

in oratory, these beginnings should not be sought from someplace outside, but must be drawn from the very heart of the case. This is the reason why we must explore and scrutinize the entire case, and discover and organize all our common places, before we consider what prologue we should use. Thus it will actually be easy to find a prologue; for it will be drawn from the abundant material present in the arguments as well as in the elements that I said we must often use as subjects for digressions from the case itself. In this way, such materials will even contribute some weight to the prologue being produced virtually from the core of the defence and it will be evident not only that they are not common and not transferable to other cases, but that they have blossomed from the depths of the case that is being conducted at that very moment. Every prologue will have to offer either an indication of the whole of the matter that is being conducted, or provide an entrance into the case and a paving of the way, or impart to it some distinction and dignity.²⁰

¹⁹ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, II:325, p. 212.

²⁰ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, II:318, p. 210.

Here, through the introduction of key themes, and “concept words” or phrases²¹ in the *exordium*, Cicero “builds a rhetorical foundation from which he can move through the various arguments or *loci* of the *exordium*. . . by introducing a term and then carrying it forward and combining it with something new.”²²

Did this Ciceronian desire to construct a prologue “drawn from the abundant material present in the arguments” of the speech, have repercussions on the early *sine nomine* Mass? I propose that it is thanks to these types of ancient unification strategies in speech writing that we can better understand the presentation, transformation, and recombination of different Kyrie mottos in the *sine nomine* Masses that we have studied in preceding chapters. A highly educated man such as Dufay, with his level of education and his employment in Italy could well have brought him into contact with these Ciceronian compositional ideals. It is therefore not unreasonable to believe that he would have sought to incorporate such formal techniques into his musical compositions.

In the context of the *sine nomine* Mass, the motto has a double role as both a unification device and a locus for variation. For Continental composers, the reiteration of a motto from movement to movement was crucial in lending a sense of formal coherence and regularity to a Mass composition while the reworking of the rhythm, melody, harmony, and placement of that motto – comparable to Quintilian’s suggestion to treat thoughts (*sententiae*) like pieces of wax by turning them “in as many ways as possible” – donated an essential dose of fifteenth-century style *varietas*. As a site of varied repetition, the motto perfectly epitomizes the type of *varietas* advocated by Tinctoris in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*; and by extension it also mirrors exactly those figures of speech (i.e.

²¹ Ceruti, *Cicero's Accretive Style*, 17.

²² *Ibid.*, 17.

repetitio, conversio, complexio, etc.) discussed in rhetorical books like the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (see Tables 3.5-3.8), the *Summa de arte dicendi* by fifteenth-century French humanist Pierre de la Hazaardière, and the many other textbooks and similar adaptations of the *Ad Herennium* by writers such as Marbod of Rennes (ca. 1035-1123), Peter Riga (d. 1209), Matthew of Vendôme (twelfth century), Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Gervase of Melkley (1208-16), Eberhard the German (thirteenth century), John of Garland (1231-35), and Guido Faba (ca. 1228-29).²³ The fact that the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* had served as a model for so many other rhetorical treatises, indicates that there was a certain uniformity of approach to repetition and a long-standing *modus operandi* that would have made for unambiguous transfer to the musical arts of the fifteenth century.

For Classical orators and poets, the repetition of the same word in different contexts – whether through its placement in a different verse or strophe – had a structural purpose. Repetition was recognized as capable of defining form, creating regularity, and helping to emphasize important parts of *cola* (i.e. clauses, verses).²⁴ As explained by Eva Guggenheimer, in Classical poetry, models that would have served as examples to students of rhetoric in the fifteenth century, the most typical occurrences of repetition

²³ Martin Camargo, “Latin Composition Textbooks and *Ad Herennium* Glossing: The Missing Link?” in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed., Virginia Cox and John O. Ward, 267-288, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Camargo writes, “That late medieval scribes, commentators, and teachers recognized and valued the broader scope of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is evident from the special attention they paid to the treatment of the *exornationes verborum et sententiarum*, or figures of speech and thought, that occupies most of its fourth and final book” (p. 268-9). A catalogue of rhetorical texts that incorporate the figures of repetition can be found on pages 280-1 of Camargo’s article. On pages 281-3 Camargo includes useful charts that show all figures that appear in each of these treatises.

²⁴ Eva H. Guggenheimer, *Rhyme Effects and Rhyming Figures: A Comparative Study of Sound Repetitions in the Classics with Emphasis on Latin Poetry* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 33.

were at beginnings and endings of *cola*. The following excerpt from the ancient poetry of Tibullus (54-19 BC) illustrates this phenomenon:

Quam cito! Non segnis stat remeatque dies.
Quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores
Quam cito formosas populus alta comas!
Quam iacet, infirmae venere ubi fata senectae.²⁵

According to Demetrius (ca. 270 BC), repetition at the beginnings and ends of *cola* had a strong psychological and emotional impact on the listener: “At any rate we all distinctly remember the first and last [syllables], and by these we are stirred, but less by those in between, as if they were concealed or obliterated.”²⁶ Furthermore, alternation of “similar beginnings,” including word inflection and/or modifications, as illustrated below, were also frequently encountered in Classical verse:

Dianae sumus in fide
Puellae et pueri integri:
Dianam pueri integri
Puelaeque canamus.²⁷

In ancient speeches, ornaments and figures of speech (*ornatus*) were employed with a measure of caution. Typically, Classical treatises warn against saturating a speech with too many rhetorical effects, or overindulging in any one level of style. The Classical mantra reiterated time and again, roughly asserting “artifice pleases but excess disgusts” encouraged a style that varied between ornamental and plain language. Alberti, in *On Architecture*, echoes this ideal when he writes:

²⁵ Tibullus, *Elegiae Liber Primus* 1.4.28-31. Robert Maltby, *Tibullus: Elegies Book I-II* (Leeds: Cairns, 2004).

²⁶ Rhys Roberts, ed. And trans, *Demetrius on Style: The Greek Text of Demetrius De Elocutione, Edited after the Paris Manuscript with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles by Rhys Roberts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), Book II, 39.

²⁷ Caius Valerius Catullus (ca. 84 B.C.–54 B.C.) Catullus 34.1-4. Gaius Vallerius Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus: A Bilingual Edition*, Peter Green, ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).

The parts ought to be so composed that their overall harmony contributes to the honor and grace of the whole work, and that effort is not expended in adorning one part at the expense of all the rest, but that the harmony is such that the building appears a single, integral, and well-composed body, rather than a collection of extraneous and unrelated parts.²⁸

Similarly, Cicero wrote that a speech needs to:

be sprinkled. . . with flowers of language and thought. . . a quality that must not be spread evenly throughout the speech, but must be distributed here and there in the way that decorations and lights are arranged when a public place is adorned.²⁹

This lovely metaphorical parallel between the ornaments of rhetoric and the street decorations of Roman festivals, is one that would have certainly had an influential effect on the aesthetic sensibilities of aspiring writers, artists, and composers of the fifteenth century. In many ways, we can view the motto as an analogous form of rhetorical ornament, one that – like the festive lights that adorned the streets of Rome – gently dotted the texture of a cyclic Mass, indicating formal divisions, highlighting salient words of the Mass Ordinary text, and lending a general sense of dignity, charm and vitality to a musical composition.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to reconcile many of the themes explored throughout this dissertation – Tinctoris's theories, rhetoric, *varietas*, unification, the Mass, the motto, the motive, *ingenium*, and *inventio*. By conducting an analysis of the

²⁸ Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 23-24.

²⁹ Cicero, *On the Ideal Orator*, III.96, p. 253.

repetitive language in Tinctoris's *Missa sine nomine* no. 3, I have provided a practical dimension to Tinctoris's theories on *redictae* and *varietas*. As we have seen, Tinctoris is not averse to repetition. Like other fifteenth-century *sine nomine* composers before him, he employs *Motto Constellations*, *Motto Modules*, *Motivic Constellations*, and *Motivic Modules* throughout his Mass. In fact, his notion of *varietas* in counterpoint necessarily includes repetition. Tinctoris applies *varietas* by varying repetitive constellation units through recombination, rhythmic variation, and melodic ornamentation, and by varying modular units through transposition. Besides employing a musical language that is inherently rhetorical, we have also seen how Tinctoris pays considerable attention to the poetic meaning of the Mass text he sets. As I have argued above, this additional layer of rhetorical involvement means that the placement of many of Tinctoris's units of repetition are actually quite artful – demonstrating a sensitivity to text-setting that is simply unprecedented in any of the other *sine nomine* Masses studied in this dissertation. This is not to suggest that Tinctoris's Mass is a superlative *sine nomine* Mass specimen. Though the final aesthetic product may not reach the lofty heights of the *sine nomine* works of Dufay or Ockeghem, Tinctoris's attention to *redictae* and musico-poetic craft is at once clever and thoughtful. This is a finding that paints a slightly more elegant picture of a man who, in modern-day studies, has, above all else, been celebrated for his theoretical mind.

My Chapter 3 argument that Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* emulates rhetorical treatises has permitted me in the second part of my discussion above, to explore what a rhetorically oriented compositional process might have entailed *vis-à-vis* the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass. As we have seen, Classical treatises recommended inventing a few brief topics or arguments and presenting them in as clear a manner as

possible. Then, like shaping and reshaping a piece of wax, the subject or argument was restated, varied, and intertwined with other subjects or counterarguments. We witness the same types of techniques in the *sine nomine* Mass, which employs multiple mottos rather than arguments and counterarguments, and reiterates and varies them at sectional beginnings, at the beginnings of important lines of text, and to highlight significant words. This type of unification differs markedly from the “scaffolding” effect in a cantus firmus Mass, which features the successive repetition of a borrowed tune in the tenor line of each movement. Though it is true that both the *sine nomine* Mass and the cantus firmus Mass treat *inventio* (mottos and motives in the *sine nomine* Mass and a *cantus prius factus* in the cantus firmus Mass) with procedures of repetition and variation, the two Mass-types espouse very different notions of unity. While in the latter case unification is achieved through a structure akin to scaffolding, in the case of the *sine nomine* Mass, unity is cultivated by the interaction of small repetitive units that intermittently repeat – a model that might be compared to the repetition of metaphorical images or words over the course of a poem, or (as eloquently put by Cicero) the decorations and lights at a street festival. Indeed, with its freshly invented motto beginnings, its musical *exordia* with multiple mottos (the musical equivalent of subjects or arguments), its use of motto repetition at sectional beginnings, and its frequent recourse to procedures involving varied contrapuntal repetition (musical *varietas*), the *sine nomine* Mass, like the imitation Mass can certainly be viewed as a product of humanist culture.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

All medieval arts were conceived and perceived essentially as rhetoric, whether they took the form of poems or paintings or buildings or music. Each work is a composition articulated within particular communities. Regarding a work as rhetoric has the virtue of focussing on it as a social phenomenon first and foremost, on what the rhetorician called its “occasion,” its negotiation of a particular rhetorical economy.

~ from Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 223

Synthesis

Examination of the *sine nomine* Mass has provided a window onto multiple issues connected to the craft of free composition in the fifteenth century. It has allowed for an investigation of the intellectual context into which the *sine nomine* Mass was born – one wherein *inventio*, *ingenium*, and *varietas* were regarded as artistic ideals. It has also permitted us to gain a better understanding of the types of fifteenth-century organizational strategies that existed for the cyclic Mass outside of *cantus prius factus* borrowing. It turns out that composers routinely employed mottos and motives that assumed the form of multi-voice contrapuntal blocks. These mottos and motives were repeated and varied throughout the contrapuntal fabric of the Mass cycles. This is a discovery that has opened up an entirely new conceptual framework through which we can view musical structure and motivic practice in music of the fifteenth-century cyclic Mass.

It is well known that in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, *varietas* is touted by Tinctoris as one of the most valued qualities in polyphonic music. Until now, however, it has been unclear as to how exactly Tinctoris applied the aesthetic of *varietas* to contrapuntal practice. The present study has provided a new interpretation of *varietas*

based upon connections between Tinctoris's counterpoint treatise and ancient books on rhetoric including the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De oratore*.

Read in conjunction with the analyses I have provided of the musical examples in Book III of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Tinctoris's theoretical explanations are now comprehensible. In each musical example, he explores the relationship between *redictae* (repetition) and *varietas*. According to Tinctoris, a composer strives for *varietas* in counterpoint by incorporating varied repetition. Tinctoris, however, does not completely prohibit literal contrapuntal repetition, even deeming it appropriate in some cases. As he explains, literal repetition is permitted when the text suggests celebration or joy.

It is exactly the dialectical relationship between *varietas* and *redictae* that can help us understand the types of motivic practices encountered in the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass. In this dissertation, I have argued that newly invented subjects were valued by humanists as much as borrowed subjects, meaning that modern-day attitudes toward *sine nomine* Mass composition must be revised. Indeed, in the fifteenth century, the *sine nomine* Mass probably had a much higher status than modern-day scholarship has accorded it. Composers such as Dufay, Ockeghem, and Tinctoris turned to *sine nomine* Mass composition at multiple points over the course of their careers, indicating that in its own time, the *sine nomine* Mass was an important and serious subgenre.

In fact, the *sine nomine* Mass played a crucial role in the early history of the cyclic Mass on the Continent, as it was the earliest type of Mass cycle in existence. Composers such as Dufay, Reson, and Lymburgia all wrote *sine nomine* Masses that employed the motto as their predominant means of unification. These Continental mottos were combined into multi-voice blocks of two types: *Constellations*, in which the counterpoint

was varied when the block was repeated, and *Modules*, in which the counterpoint remained the same.

We can detect enough uniformity of approach in these composers' *sine nomine* Mass compositions to infer that there were certain established procedures that guided Continental *sine nomine* Mass composition. Composers unified these early Continental Masses by means of multiple mottos. In most cases, between three and four mottos, introduced in the initial Kyrie movement, serve as the predominant unifying material of a *sine nomine* Mass. Besides punctuating the openings of Mass movements and subsections, mottos are also used as a means of articulating salient lines of Mass Ordinary text and individual words (*Internal Mottos*). On occasion, melodic mottos from one movement or section are combined with mottos from another section through a process called *Motto Recombination*. Other common motto techniques include *Motto Segmentation*, *Contrapuntal Motto Expansion*, *Delayed Motto Entry*, and *Motto Articulation*.

While the English took the lead in *cantus firmus* Mass composition, their motto unification techniques were much less interesting than those of Continental composers. English composers such as Benet and Bedingham employed fewer mottos in their Masses and their mottos were shorter in length, typically articulating a single word. English mottos were mainly employed at the beginnings of movements and were rarely recombined or used within sections (*Internal Mottos*). My identification of two *sine nomine* Mass traditions – one Continental and one English – has provided new evidence about the provenance of the *Missa sine nomine* attributed to Pullois. This work has all the hallmarks of a Continental *sine nomine* Mass. Not only does it have a variety of mottos, but most are quite lengthy. Furthermore, like the mottos found in Continental *sine*

nomine Masses, the mottos in Pullois's Mass articulate the openings of most movements and subsections and exhibit the Continental technique of *Motto Recombination*.

After the mid-century, motto unification techniques continued to evolve. Three Masses from the manuscript Trent 89 – the *Missa sine nomine* by Barbingant, the anonymous *Missa Fa-ut*, and the *Missa sine nomine* by Jo. Bassere – expand upon motto procedures that were established at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Purely motivic (non-motto) multi-voice contrapuntal combinations infiltrate the contrapuntal fabric of these Masses. Motives assume varied forms as *Motivic Constellations*, or contrapuntally repeated forms as *Motivic Modules* – outgrowths of the *Motto Constellations* and *Motto Modules* established earlier in the century. These polyphonic motivic combinations were employed by composers to unify the Mass structure, generate form, heighten contrapuntal activity, and enhance the rhetorical impact of the Mass Ordinary text.

Rather than the strict “Motto Masses” from earlier in the century, composers also wrote what I call “Motivic Masses” and “Modular Masses.” The anonymous *Missa Fa-ut*, in which all movements are motivically interconnected by the same repetitive motives, is an example of a “Motivic Mass.” These motives perfectly embody the notion of contrapuntal *varietas*, as they are repeated incessantly throughout the Mass in countless variations and contrapuntal contexts. Bassere's Mass, on the other hand, is built according to a “modular” compositional process whereby *Motto Modules*, *Motivic Modules*, and *Module Series* provide motivic substance and formal structure.

Through my examination of the *Missa Quinti toni*, I have shown how, in a *tour de force*, Ockeghem brings together mottos, imitation, melodic repetition, ostinato repetition, motivic constellations, modules, and even a constructed bassus. As a way to gain a more nuanced understanding of Ockeghem's “aesthetic of concealment,” I have proposed a

new analytical vocabulary that accounts for those imitative procedures that articulate and conceal imitation. I have shown that although Ockeghem employs a lot of repetition throughout his *Missa Quinti toni*, he also finds many different means of concealing that repetition. Throughout his Mass he reaches a balance between strict repetition and varied repetition, articulated imitation and concealed imitation, *Motivic Modules* and *Motivic Constellations* – thereby concurring with Tinctoris’s rules of counterpoint that call for a balance between *redictae* and *varietas*.

An analysis of repetitive language in Tinctoris’s four-voice *sine nomine* Mass confirms my interpretation of Tinctoris’s theories on *varietas* and *redictae*. The *varietas* in Tinctoris’s Mass corresponds with the *varietas* detected in the musical examples of his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*. Indeed, in his Mass, Tinctoris liberally employs a musical language of varied repetition of mottos and motives. *Constellations* are varied through recombination, rhythmic variation, and melodic ornamentation.

This does not mean, however, that Tinctoris is adverse to literal contrapuntal repetition. On the contrary, he incorporates modules throughout his Mass. What is particularly remarkable is how so many of these modules are situated in rhetorically poignant positions. Indeed, as discussed in his seventh rule of counterpoint (which refers to metaphorical bells and trumpets), for Tinctoris, *redictae* provided a means of reflecting the textual and/or emotional implications of the text.

Varied Repetition Reviewed

Attitudes toward repetition and variation changed over the course of the fifteenth century. I have approached this issue from a theoretical perspective by revealing what exactly constituted acceptable contrapuntal repetition for Johannes Tinctoris. I have also

approached this issue from the perspective of the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Mass – a Mass type that distinguishes itself from the cantus firmus Mass subgenre in that the repeated material in a *sine nomine* Mass is not borrowed, but rather created from scratch thanks to the *ingenium* of the composer himself. Unlike cantus firmus Masses, which borrow long *cantus prius facti*, *sine nomine* Masses employ repetitive material that assumes the form of small motivic units (as mottos or motives). The fact that these units are so small means that their deployment is much freer in that they can be repeated, varied, and combined in countless forms and positions throughout a Mass. In pre-1450 *sine nomine* works, *Melodic Mottos* are highly variable. In fact, mottos are rarely repeated verbatim. In pre-1450 repeated *sine nomine Melodic Mottos*, rhythms are consistently different. Pitches are often inserted, deleted, and replaced. *Melodic Mottos* undergo *Motto Transformation* and *Motto Segmentation* or *Motto Addition* through *Motto Prefixes* or *Motto Suffixes*. The same phenomenon of varied repetition is observed in pre-1450 multi-voice combinations. Most of these early *sine nomine* Masses feature *Motto Constellations* that almost always undergo melodic, rhythmic, and contrapuntal variation. Later in the century, mottos assume a more straightforward and literal form, featuring fewer rhythmic changes and a smaller number of inserted pitches. After 1450 therefore, the *Motto Constellation* is slowly replaced by the *Motto Module*.

Another progressive shift in *sine nomine* composition over the course of the fifteenth century involves the rise of *Motivic Constellations* and *Motivic Modules* – repetitive motivic units that, unlike *Motto Constellations* and *Motto Modules*, have nothing to do with beginnings of movements or subsections, as they are found in internal positions of Mass Ordinary compositions. As the century progresses, *Motivic Constellations* and *Motivic Modules* are incorporated within closer and closer proximity

of each other. Sometimes *Motivic Modules* are even found in pairs, directly following each other in the contrapuntal texture of a Mass. At other times, groups of *Motivic Modules* are integrated into dense passages of modular activity as *Module Series*. These *Module Series* add contrapuntal excitement to passages that require structural (i.e. during drive-to-the-cadence passages) or rhetorical emphasis.

Another post-1450 development that effected *sine nomine* composition involved the use of imitation. Most imitation in this music occurs between two voices and does not involve modules. There are many variation procedures detectable within these passages of “free imitation.”¹ Because it is especially in the music of Ockeghem that we encounter a highly sophisticated attitude toward imitative language, I have used his *Missa Quinti toni* to systematize an analytical approach to fifteenth-century imitative technique. Various procedural categories reveal how repetition can be either articulated or concealed within a passage of free imitation. Categories such as *Rest Initiated Imitation*, *Anticipated Imitation*, *Cadential Punctuation*, *Motivic Imitation*, and *Rhythmic Articulation* describe how imitation is articulated, while categories such as *Non-Rest Articulated Imitation*, *Counterfeit Transposition*, *Imitative Overlap*, *Imitation Interrupted by a Cadence*, *Interval/Durational Change*, and *Dux/Comes Role Exchange* describe how imitation is concealed.

In many *sine nomine* Masses, imitation actually interacts with the motto, often articulating the entry of internally positioned mottos (through *Motto Imitation*). The *Internal Motto Modules* of the sectional openings in certain *sine nomine* Masses point

¹ The term “free imitation” was coined by Irving Godt in “An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the Missa Mimi?” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61 (1991): 79-85. It is also used by Julie Cumming to describe non-modular imitation for two or more voices. Julie Cumming, “Petrucchi’s Motet Prints: Crucible of the New Style.” American Musicological Society, Annual Meeting, Washington D.C., October 27, 2005.

toward sixteenth-century modular practice. In these *sine nomine* modules, it is possible to detect an early phase in the type of modular writing that has been identified by Peter Schubert in the motets of Palestrina.² Most of the modules I have identified in the fifteenth-century *sine nomine* repertory fall into Schubert's category of the *Non-Imitative Module* (NIm). One of the main differences between Palestrina's modules and the modules of the *sine nomine* Masses of the fifteenth century, however, are the contrapuntal contexts in which they are found. While Schubert's modules are typically located within points of imitation, mine are always situated in non-imitative "free" counterpoint. Read in conjunction with Schubert's study of modular repetition, it seems that *sine nomine* modules were precursors to Palestrina's modules. The textural contexts might be different, but the modular results are comparable.³

The Fifteenth-Century *Sine nomine* Mass ca. 1400 - 1480

In the appendix I have included a table that lists all *sine nomine* Masses dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century up to ca. 1480. The *sine nomine* Masses listed concur with the *sine nomine* definitions I set out in Chapter 1. It is my hope that this preliminary list of *sine nomine* Masses will provide scholars with a sense for how vast the

² According to Schubert's definition, in the NIm (*Non Imitative Module*) there is no imitation within the modules themselves. See Schubert, "Hidden Forms in Palestrina's *First Book of Four-Voice Motets*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007): 490.

³ In "Hidden Forms," Schubert finds that two of Palestrina's 1564 motets do not feature much modular repetition. He observes that both ("Ave Maria," #7 and "Gaudent in coelis" #32) are based on cantus firmus. He states: "Because these two motets use a long-note cantus firmus, they are fundamentally different as to both compositional process and aesthetic result, and contain very few modules" (p. 490, n. 16). The connection between modular repetition and non cantus firmus composition is a fascinating one that ties nicely into the same types of issues investigated in this dissertation. Julie Cumming has been investigating imitation and repetition in repertoire composed c. 1500 – within a time frame that links my dissertation and the research of Peter Schubert. In "Petrucci's Motet Prints: Crucible of the New Style," Cumming used Schubert's presentation types, but also added non-imitative texture and free imitation involving no modular repetition.

sine nomine repertory actually is. The table, coupled with the analytical groundwork laid out in this dissertation, is meant to provide impetus to future studies on the *sine nomine* Mass. I have already identified a variety of *sine nomine* Mass-types: The Pre-1450 Continental Motto Mass, the pre-1450 English Motto Mass, the Canonic Mass, the post-1450 Continental Motto Mass, the Motivic Mass, and the Module Mass. The next obvious steps will be to establish additional *sine nomine* subgenre labels, analyze the remainder of the *sine nomine* Mass repertory, and to categorize each Mass.

The *Sine nomine* Mass and Rhetorical *Ductus*

I would like to conclude by drawing further connections between the *sine nomine* Mass and the domain of rhetoric. To this end, Mary Carruthers's study of meditation, rhetoric, invention, and memory in the Middle Ages is most useful. Carruthers examines the rhetorical concept of *ductus* and its application in both meditative and artistic pursuits. As explained by Carruthers, *ductus* denotes ordered, directed movement "channelled by a construction" and "contrasted to wandering aimlessly and formlessly" through places.⁴ For Carruthers, the "construction" through which one "wanders" can assume the form of a prayer, a story, a poem, a building, a painting, or even a work of music. The specific *ductus* of a work prompts the viewer or listener to make a conceptual "stop" in his or her mind, and to contemplate the "place" or prominent symbolic image that presents itself.

Carruthers differentiates between two types of contemplative "stops" in meditation, medieval paintings, architecture, and other works of art: *Bildeinsatz* (a modern designation) and *Ekphrasis*.

⁴ Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 253.

Bildeinsatz starts off a work by addressing the memory of both the fictional onlooker and the reader/hearer with a summary of the principal “matters” of the work to follow. . . It is at the beginning of the work (or of a major division or change of subject within a long work), a trope of the introduction. . . because of its location, it acts as the elementary foundation, the *dispositio* of what follows. Introductory rhetorical pictures serve as orienting maps and summaries of the matters which are developed within a work. They provide its *memoria rerum*.⁵

By contrast, “Ekphrasis . . . provides a meditative occasion within a work, and often sends a reader in a new direction.”⁶

Medieval ekphrases are . . . organizations of images amongst which one moves, at least mentally, following out the *ductus* [or spiritual pathway] of colors and modes which its images set. The ornamentation of such a work forms its routes and pathways, as verbal ornament does that of speech or of chant.⁷

Like the *Bildeinsatz* of Christian artwork and prayer, the *Bildeinsatz* of the *sine nomine* Mass is located at the beginning within the Kyrie movement, wherein most predominant mottos are first introduced. Like an introductory rhetorical picture or orienting map, these initial mottos constitute contrapuntal aural “images” that sound at the outset so as to provide the *memoria rerum* for the *sine nomine* Mass. Links may also be made between ornamental *ekphrasis* and the varied repetition of mottos and motives sounded after the Kyrie movement. Recurrences of mottos and motives in the form of *Motto Modules*, *Motto Constellations Recombined Mottos*, *Motto Series*, *Internal Mottos*,

⁵ Ibid., 197-9.

⁶ Ibid., 199.

⁷ Ibid., 223.

Dominus Mottos, Motivic Modules, Motivic Constellations etc.... function like the rhetorical figures of varied repetition in speech, written poetry and prose.

Mottos and motives in the *sine nomine* Mass serve as aural symbols – thoughtful “stops” that punctuate the act of spiritual contemplation that are akin to the large initials, graphics, ornaments, and pictures encountered in liturgical books, and akin to the decorative paintings, sculptures, and gargoyles that “furnish the routes of prayer” in a church.⁸ When these repetitive multi-voice combinations are sounded, worshippers are forced to pay attention and meditate on the musical motive, the word, or the spiritual image that is articulated.

In this way, the cyclic structure of the *sine nomine* Mass is entirely distinct from that of the cantus firmus Mass. The *sine nomine* Mass does not possess architectural “scaffolding” nor does it reflect anachronistic nineteenth-century ideals of organicism. On the contrary, the *sine nomine* Mass boasts a unified structure founded on rhetorical ideals, figures of varied repetition, and the contrapuntal aesthetic of *varietas* – a structure wherein mottos and motives become points of aural contemplation that articulate a purely musical *ductus* for the Mass, thus reflecting the meditative context for which the *sine nomine* Mass was composed.

⁸ Ibid., 160-1. This expression is taken from a subheading in the final chapter of Carruthers’ *The Craft of Thought*, 261.

Appendix

The seventy-eight *sine nomine* Masses listed in the Table below, concur with the *sine nomine* definitions I set out in Chapter 1. They date between ca. 1400-1480, are comprised of between three and five movements, and are all freely composed – meaning that they do not systematically borrow from plainchant, *chanson*, or any other model.

Because of the scope of this dissertation, there are entire subcategories of *sine nomine* Mass composition that have not been addressed. For example, though my inventory of *sine nomine* Masses includes all non-cantus firmus Masses that are constructed according to canonic principles (such as Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* and others from the Trent codices) and also includes Milanese *Missae breves* – these types of Masses are not featured in any analytical studies in this dissertation as I have primarily chosen to focus on motivic practice and motto unification procedures.

In order to compile this table, I first referred to the Census Catalogue to find which pre-1480 manuscripts contained Mass Ordinary compositions. Next, I turned to inventories, facsimiles, microfilms, dissertations, modern editions, and articles to establish this preliminary list of *sine nomine* Masses. This Table is very much a work in progress and is in no way meant to represent a complete or final list of all extant fifteenth-century *sine nomine* Masses. It is therefore possible, after more in-depth research, that certain Masses will need to be removed. It is equally possible that the discovery of new manuscripts will precipitate the addition of new Masses. Though I have studied each of the Masses in this inventory, close examination has been limited to those Masses featured in the analytical case studies presented in this dissertation.

Inventory of Fifteenth-Century *Sine nomine* Masses up to ca. 1480

Composer	<i>Sine nomine</i> Mass	Manuscript Concordances	Modern Edition
Reson	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bol 2216: 5v-7r, 19v-23r	CVEJIĆ REANEY I (Kyrie: pp. 107-108)
Benet	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bol Q15: 24v-25r (S) Bol Q15: 25v-16r (A) Tr 92: 165v-167v (G)	HUGHES (pp. 85-87) CURTIS (pp. 3-13)
Grossin	<i>Trompeta</i>	AO: 53v-55r, 68v-70r ZW: 54r-54v	REANEY III (28,31)
Dufay	<i>Sine nomine [Resvellies vous]</i>	AO: 26v-27r, 32v-34r, 151v-152r, 155v-156r Bol Q15: 8v-15r Bol 2216: 5, 16v-17r Tr 90: 165v-166r; Tr 92(1): 126r Tr 93: 197v-198r Venice 7554: 1v-5r, 9v-12r, 22v-25r	CMM BESSELER CMM FALLOWS (pp. 1-14) DTO 61
Dufay	<i>Sancti Anthonii</i>	Tr 89: 59v-70v	CMM BESSELER CMM FALLOWS
Lymburgia	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bol Q15: gathering 14, 138v-143r	ETHERIDGE
Leonellus/Benet/Dunstable	<i>Sine nomine No. 2</i>	AO: 194v-195r, 207r-208r; 208v-210r (Benet) Cec 300: 1v-2 (K) Cambrai 11 20v-22r (G) Braidense: 74v-78r (Leonel), 78v-80v Tr 87(1): 37v-39r, 103v-104v, 106v-107v Tr 90: 118v-120r, 193v-195r, 254v-256r, 256v-257v Tr 91: 98r (incomplete) Tr 92: 98r Tr 93: 148v-150r, 263v-265r, 326v-329v	BUKOFZER (pp. 176-179; 138-126) BENT (no. 56, 57, 58, 59, 71) DTO 61 (108, 121)
Pulloy	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Mbs3154: 9v PragU VI C 20a 98v-100r Spec: 436-439 Stra: 147v-151r; 171r Tr 87(1): 167v-174r, 168v-170r Tr 90: 105v-108r, 177v-179v, 225v-227r, 241v-242v, 243r-v Tr 93: 124v-125r, 135v-138r, 214v-216r, 245v-247v, 223v-225v, 311v-312v, 313r-v	GÜLKE (pp. 1-18)
Bedingham	<i>Sine nomine</i>	OxfB: C87 S frag Tr 88 46v-47r; 47v-54r (Bedingham) Tr 93: 30v-36r; 319r-320r	GERBER (pp. 10-59) APFEL (IL 139) DTO nos. 1613, 1614, 1615, 1799
Cousin	<i>Missa Tubae</i>	Tr 90: 92v-93r Tr 93 123v-124r (K), 199v-201r (G)	FLOTZINGER (pp. 3-16)
Henrikus Tek	<i>(Beat a Virgine) in Lucca 238</i>	Lucca: 1v-10v (or 1v-10r?) Stra: 84v-85r (S only) Tr 89: 366v-374r (item 736-740) Tr 90: 348v-349r (S only)	GOTTLIEB 736-740 DTO nos. 1040-1087
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tr 90: 409v-417r	DTO nos. 1095-1122
Anon	<i>Sine nomine (G,C,S,A)</i>	AO: (Ag) 128v Tr 88: 39v-46r Tr 92 (Ag): 82, 95v-96r, 196v-197r	DTO nos. 222-224
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tr88: 54v-60v (or 60r)	GERBER, pp. 60-91
Standley	<i>Sine nomine [Ad fugam reservatum]</i>	Tr 88: 314v-322v	FEININGER (no. 6) LOYAN (pp. 44-60)
Standley	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Stra: 53r-53v; 164v-165r, 167v-171r	SNOW (pp. 252-276)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine [Fons bonitatis]</i>	Stra: 48v-49r Tr 89: 1v- 10v; 509-513	GOTTLIEB

Touront/Tauranth	<i>Septimi toni</i>	Spec: (C/S): 188-190 Stra: (K,G,C,S,A) 68r-75v, 79v, 184r-187r Tr 89: (G,C,S,A) 13v-20r	GOTTLIEB
Touront	<i>Tertii toni</i>	Tr 89: 47v-56v	GOTTLIEB
Anon	<i>Sine nomine "O2"</i>	Tr 89: 273v-281r	GOTTLIEB
Bassere	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tr 89: 294v-303r	GOTTLIEB
Anon	<i>Fa-ut/Prolatio perfectum</i>	Stra: (G and C): 101v-104r Tr 88: G/C 200v-204r Tr 89: 199v-206v (644,645)	GOTTLIEB
Plummer	<i>Ad voces pares</i>	Tr 89: 107v-116r	GOTTLIEB
[Barbingant]	<i>Primi toni</i>	SPB80(2): 39r-48v Tr89: 306v-315r	GOTTLIEB
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tr 91: 49r-58r; fascicle 5	PECK (p. 220)
Vincenet	<i>Sine nomine (K,G,C,S)</i>	Stra: 80r-81r (S) fascicle 16 Tr 91: 179r-184r	DAVIS (pp. 1-27)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tr 91: 236v-243r; fascicle 21	N/A
Anon	<i>Quatuor ex una/Missa ad Fugam</i>	Tr 91: 244v-247r Tr. 89: 46v	LOYAN (pp. 2-15)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Leopold: 141v-147r	NOBLITT (pp. 158-175)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine (4 voices)</i>	Leopold: 273v-281r	NOBLITT (pp. 128-148)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine (K,G,C,S)</i>	Leopold: 380r-388r	NOBLITT (pp. 45-71)
Johannes Aulen	<i>Sine nomine [Officium Auleni]</i>	Apel: 151v-156r, nr. 110 Berlin: 41v-46r [Officium Auleni] Breslau 2016: 1-6; Munich 3151: 400r-407v (GCS) Regensburg: 216-219	APEL (pp. 197-204)
Plummer	<i>Sine nomine (+prosula- Omnipotens)</i>	Br 5557: 10v-20r	CURTIS (pp. 156-182)
Riquardus Cockx	<i>Sine nomine (+prosula- Deus Creator)</i>	Br 5557: 20v-30r	CURTIS (pp. 118-155)
Anon;Ockeghem	<i>Quinti toni</i>	Br 5557: 77r-83r Chigi: 115v-125r	BENTHEM (pp.
Anon [Frye]	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Br 5557: 30v-39r or 90v-99r?	YOUNG (pp. 7-30)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Per 431: 7v-9 (K) SPB80(1): 113v-121v	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	SPB80(1): 122r-129r	N/A
Cervelli (K), Domarto (G,C,S,A)	<i>Sine nomine</i>	SPB80: 143v-154r	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	SPB80: 90v-98v	N/A
Anon [Lannoys]	<i>Sine nomine: (K,G,C,S)</i>	SPB80: 21r-25r	FITCH
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	SPB80: 61v-70v Tr 88: 253v-259 Ver 759: 20v-25r	GOTTLIEB
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	BolSP: fasc. I: 1v-10r	N/A

Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	BolSP: fasc II: 1v-5r	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	BolSP: fasc III: 1r-12v	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	BolSP: fasc IV: 1v-10r	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine (4 voices)</i>	Spec: 209-231 (K,G,C,S)	N/A
Ockeghem	<i>Mi mi (Quarti toni)</i>	Chigi: 3v-18r Vat 41: 114v-128r Vat 63: 20v-30r	BENTHEM
Jo. Okengem	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Br 33346: 228 (K Frag) Ver 759: 2v-9r;	BENTHEM
Tinctoris	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 759: 25v-31r	MELIN (pp. 33-54)
Petrus Congeri	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 755: 9v-17r Ver 759: 31v-38r	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 759: 44r-48v	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 759: 91v-97r	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 755: 1v-8r	N/A
Tinctoris	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 755: 17v-26r	MELIN (pp. 1-32)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 755: 111r-119r (fasc. 11-12)	N/A
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Ver 755: 119v-123r (fasc. 11-12)	N/A
Anon	<i>Tartara</i>	Ver 755: 70v-85r	N/A
Ockeghem	<i>Cuiusvis toni</i>	Chigi: 96v-106r Vat 35: 12v-21r	BENTHEM
Marbriani de Orto	<i>Missa ad fugam</i>	Vat 35: 104v-110r	N/A
Philippi Baziron	<i>Missa de Franza</i>	Vat 35: 124v-135r	N/A
Tinctoris	<i>Sine nomine (4 voices)</i>	Mil 2: 37v-43r	MELIN (pp. 55-73)
Gaffurius	<i>Primi toni brevis</i>	Mil 2: 43v-48r	FINSCHER
Gaffurius	<i>Trombetta</i>	Mil 2: 65v-69r	FINSCHER
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Mil 2: 69v-72r, 143v-144r (S)	N/A
Gaffurius	<i>Sine nomine A Quattro Sexti toni irregularis</i>	Mil 2: 93v-100r	FINSCHER
Gaffurius	<i>Sancte Caterine Quarti toni</i>	Mil 2: 101v-109r	FINSCHER
Gaffurius	<i>Brevis et expedita</i>	Mil 2: 110v-114r	FINSCHER
Gaffurius	<i>De O clara luce</i>	Mil 2: 118r-129v	FINSCHER
(Gaffurius?)	<i>Alia Missa brevis eiusdem toni</i>	Mil 2: 114v-117r; 209v-211r	FINSCHER
Gaffurius	<i>Brevis Octavi toni</i>	Mil 2: 130v-134r; 135v-136r (S)	FINSCHER
Gaffurius	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Mil 2: 176v-191r	FINSCHER

J. Obrecht	<i>"Salve diva Parens"</i>	Apel: 76v-83r (nr. 79) Barcelona 5: 11' Vat 51: 196' Ver 761: 7' Vienna 15 495: 1v	APEL (p. 93)
Verbenet	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Apel: 89'-101 (nr. 83) Ver 756: 84'-96	APEL (p. 115)
M.S.	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Apel: 178'-181, 184'-185 (nr. 133)	APEL (p. 238)
Rud.H.	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Apel: 217-224 (nr. 154)	APEL (p. 306)
Anon	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Apel: 232-240 (nr. 158)	APEL (p. 331)
Ockeghem	<i>Prolationum</i>	Chigi: 106v-114r	BENTHEM

Sources and Sigla

Aosta/ AO	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario maggiore, A ¹ D19
Apel	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 (Nikolas Apel Codex)
Berlin	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preussischer Kulturbestiz, MS Mus. 40021
BolSP	Bologna, Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio
Bol Q15	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 15
Bol 2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216
Braidense	Braidense, AD.XIV.49
Br 5557	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 5557
Cambrai 11	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 11
Cec 300	Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 300
Chigi	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigiana C.VIII.234
Jena	Jena Universitätsbibliothek MS 22
Leopold	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154 (Chorbuch des Magister Nikolaus Leopold)
Lucca	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238
Milan 2	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 2 (<i>olim</i> 2268)
Milan 3	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 3 (<i>olim</i> 2267)
Modena X.1.11	Modena, Biblioteca estense, MS α. X.1.11 (<i>olim</i> lat. 471)
Modena M.1.13	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS M.1.13 (Lat. 456; <i>olim</i> V.H.10)
NapBN 40	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale. MS VI E40
Old Hall	London, British Library, Add. MS.57.950
Per 431	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta. MS 431 (G.20)
Ritson	London, British Library Add. Ms. 5665, layer 3
Schedel	Schedelsches Liederbuch
Segovia	Segovia, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral. MS s.s
Siena	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati. MS K.I.2

SPB80(1)	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80, layer 1
SPB80(2)	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80, layer 2
Spec	Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, MS II A7 (Speciálník)
Stra 47	Prague, Museum of Czech Literature/ Památník Národního Pisemnictví, Strahov Library Ms. D.G.IV.47 (Strahov Codex)
Trent 87/ Tr87	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provenciale d'arte MS 1374
Trent 88/Tr88	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provenciale d'arte MS 1375
Trent 89/Tr89	Trento, Castello del Buon consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provenciale d'arte MS 1376
Trent 90/Tr90	Trento, Castello del Buon consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provenciale d'arte MS 1377
Trent 91/Tr91	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provenciale d'arte MS 1378
Trent 92/Tr92	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provenciale d'arte MS 1379
Trent 93/Tr93	Museo Diocesano Ms. S.s. (olim Archivio Capitolare, Codex Tridentinus 93)
Turin BN I.II.9	Torino, Bibliotheca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9
Turin BN I.27	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. MS Riserva Musicale I.27 (olim Regia Biblioteca dell'Universita, qm III.59)
Vat 35	Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 35
Vat 41	Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 41
Vat 51	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Capella Sistina 51
Vat 63	Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 63
Venice 7554	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS 7554 (olim Italiani IX, 145)
Ver 755	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. 755
Ver 756	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. 756
Ver 759	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. 759
Vienna	Vienna. Sterreichische National bibliothek, Handschriften und Inkunabelsammlung. MS 1783 (olim Theol. 34; VII.A.16)
Warsaw	Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS Mf. 2016 (formerly Breslau/Wroclaw)

Modern Editions

Modern editions referred to in the Appendix are abbreviated as follows:

APEL	Gerber, Rudolf, ed. <i>Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel Ms. 1494 der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig</i> vol 4 and vol. 5. Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 32 and 33. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956-75.
APFEL	Apfel, Ernst and Carl Dahlhaus. <i>Studien zur Theorie und Geschichte der musikalischen Rhythmik und Metrik</i> . Munich: Katzsbichler, 1974.
BENT	Dunstable, John. <i>John Dunstable: Complete Works</i> . Second revised edition. Prepared by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent, and Brian Trowell. Musica Britannica 8. London: Stainer and Bell, 1970. No. 56-59, and 71.
BENTHEM	Benthem, Jaap van, ed. <i>Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections: Volume III, Masses Based on Freely Invented and Unspecified Material</i> 1. Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging van Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2004.
BESSELER	<i>Guilelmi Dufay Opera omnia</i> , ed. Heinrich Bessler. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960.
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CURTIS	<i>Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music IV: Early Masses and Mass-Pairs</i> . Transcribed and edited by Gareth Curtis. Early English Church Music 42. London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer and Bell, 2001.
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