

MUSIC
IN THE
RENAISSANCE

Biblioteka IMuz UW



1074001196

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

*Department of Music
University of Chicago*

PRENTICE-HALL, INC., ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

BROWN, HOWARD MAYER.
Music in the Renaissance.

(Prentice-Hall history of music series)
Includes bibliographies and index.

1. Music--History and criticism--Medieval, 400-1500. 2. Music--History and criticism--16th century. I. Title.

ML172.B86 780'.9031 75-28352

ISBN 0-13-608505-9

ISBN 0-13-608497-4 pbk.

FOR R.W.W.



Printed in the United States of America

10 9

© 1976 by Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the publisher.

PRENTICE-HALL INTERNATIONAL, INC., London
PRENTICE-HALL OF AUSTRALIA, PTY. LIMITED, Sydney
PRENTICE-HALL OF CANADA, LTD., Toronto
PRENTICE-HALL OF INDIA PRIVATE LIMITED, New Delhi
PRENTICE-HALL OF JAPAN, INC., Tokyo
PRENTICE-HALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA PTE. LTD., Singapore

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	xi
PREFACE	xiii
INTRODUCTION: MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE	1

part one

The Early Renaissance: 1420-1490 7

I	THE BEGINNINGS: DUNSTABLE AND THE CONTENANCE ANGLOISE	7
	Leonel Power and the Old Hall Manuscript	12
	John Dunstable	18
	English Secular Music	21

- 2 DUFAY AND BINCHOIS 24
 Guillaume Dufay 27 Gilles Binchois 52
 Contemporaries of Dufay and Binchois 59
- 3 OCKEGHEM AND BUSNOIS 66
 Johannes Ockeghem 67 Antoine Busnois 84
 Contemporaries of Busnois and Ockeghem 88

*part two**The High Renaissance: 1490–1520* 93

- 4 ITALIAN MUSIC, 1490–1520 93
 The Frottola and Related Types 99
 Canti Carnascialeschi and Other Florentine Music 106
 Laude and Other Italian Sacred Music 113
- 5 JOSQUIN DES PREZ 117
 Josquin's Motets 122 Josquin's Masses 134
 Josquin's Secular Music 143
- 6 JOSQUIN'S CONTEMPORARIES 151
 Alexander Agricola (1446–1506) 152
 Jacob Obrecht (ca. 1450–1505) 156
 Loyset Compère (ca. 1450–1518) 160
 Heinrich Isaac (ca. 1450–1517) 165
 Pierre de la Rue (ca. 1460–1518) 172
 Jean Mouton (ca. 1459–1522) 175
 Other Contemporaries of Josquin 178

*part three**The High Renaissance: 1520–1560* 185

- 7 THE POST-JOSQUIN GENERATION 185
 Nicolas Gombert 188 Adrian Willaert 199
 Clemens non Papa and Others 206
- 8 NATIONAL STYLES 211
 France 211 Italy 218 Germany 229
 Spain 237 England 243

- 9 INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC 257
 Instrumental Performance of Vocal Music 261
 Settings of Pre-existent Melodies 263
 Variation Sets 264
 Ricercars, Fantasias, and Canzonas 266
 Preludes, Preambles, Toccatas, and Intonations 268
 Dance Music 269 Lute Songs 270
- 10 THE MUSIC OF THE REFORMATION AND THE
 COUNCIL OF TRENT 272

*part four**The Late Renaissance: 1560–1600* 281

- 11 PALESTRINA, LASSO, VICTORIA, AND BYRD 281
 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina 284
 Orlando di Lasso 298
 Tomás Luis de Victoria 314 William Byrd 323
- 12 THE END OF THE RENAISSANCE 337
 Neo-Classical Experiment 337
 The Virtuoso Madrigalists 343

INDEX OF NAMES 375

FOREWORD

Students and informed amateurs of the history of music have long needed a series of books that are comprehensive, authoritative, and engagingly written. They have needed books written by specialists—but specialists interested in communicating vividly. The Prentice-Hall History of Music Series aims at filling these needs.

Six books in the series present a panoramic view of the history of Western music, divided among the major historical periods—Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Classic, Romantic, and Contemporary. The musical culture of the United States, viewed historically as an independent development within the larger western tradition, is discussed in another book, and forthcoming will be similar books on the music of Latin America and Russia. In yet another pair, the rich yet neglected folk and traditional music of both hemispheres is treated. Taken together, the eleven volumes of the series will be a distinctive and, we hope, distinguished

Foreword, continued

contribution to the history of the music of the world's peoples. Each volume, moreover, may be read singly as a substantial account of the music of its period or area.

The authors of the series are scholars of national and international repute—musicologists, critics, and teachers of acknowledged stature in their respective fields of specialization. In their contributions to the Prentice-Hall History of Music Series their goal has been to present works of solid scholarship that are eminently readable, with significant insights into music as a part of the general intellectual and cultural life of man.

H. WILEY HITCHCOCK, *Editor*

PREFACE

Quite simply, I wished to write a book that would introduce university students as well as my colleagues in other disciplines and interested laymen to the music of the Renaissance, a book that would answer several fundamental questions: What were the most significant features of Renaissance music? Who were its greatest composers? How were they great? In short, what is there about this music that still makes it meaningful for us today?

I have placed much emphasis on the contributions of the greatest composers for two reasons. The first is that many (though by no means all) musical scholars in the past have tended to stress secondary figures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries almost as much as the principal composers. We have studied the Renaissance differently from almost every other period in music history, and hence we know more about Palestrina's lesser contemporaries, say, than about Beethoven's. Consequently, the contribution of the most important composers has not always been as sharply focussed in the minds of music students as it

should be. I hope that this book may help to reverse that trend. More important, the history of an art is in the first instance the history of great achievements by individuals. At least a part of the task of conceiving of our past has to do with judging those great achievements against the conventions of an age.

I have been encouraged to stress major composers and great accomplishments rather than genres, conventions, and lesser figures by the existence of Gustave Reese's *Music in the Renaissance* (rev. ed., New York, W. W. Norton, 1959). Reese has been so thorough that I felt more free to omit whatever I wished than I might otherwise have felt, since I could comfort myself with the certainty that interested readers could find whatever information they needed by consulting Reese's book. I do not mean thereby to imply a criticism of Reese. On the contrary, his magnificent achievement has already given several generations of students, myself included, their most precise notions about the music of the period, and it has shaped our conception of this music more than any other single work.

In the course of my book I have assumed on the part of the reader an elementary knowledge of the church modes—Dorian, Phrygian, Mixolydian, and Lydian—and I have therefore felt free to discuss the music in slightly broader conceptual terms. Those who are uncertain of the character of the modes should consult any standard dictionary of music, for example, the article, "Modes," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edition. I have referred to note values and time signatures by modern terms, a practice that seemed to me to help our understanding of the musical style more than it would confuse the unwary reader. Most, if by no means all, modern editions translate the note values of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—breve (□), semibreve (◇), minim (♩), semiminim (♪), and so on—into modern values that imply a reduction by half, into whole notes (♩), half notes (♪), quarter notes (♫), and eighth notes (♬). Moreover, earlier mensuration signs do not mean precisely the same thing as modern time signatures; the differences are explained in Willi Apel's *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), as well as in various other standard reference books.

A number of people have read parts of the manuscript, and offered valuable suggestions and criticisms. I am especially grateful to Daniel Hertz, O. W. Neighbour, Jeremy Noble, Leeman Perkins, and H. Colin Slim. And a number of people have given me invaluable help in turning my manuscript into a book, among them, Kaye Clements, who copied the musical examples with admirable accuracy; Patrick Gallagher, who typed the final copy and improved the punctuation; Genevieve Libin and Carole Richardson of Prentice-Hall, who copyedited the manuscript and saw to the innumerable details with unfailing kindness and efficiency; and the Series editor, H. Wiley Hitchcock, whose patience, encouragement, and advice were badly needed more than once.

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

MUSIC
IN THE
RENAISSANCE

INTRODUCTION

MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE

Masses, motets, and settings of secular lyric poetry were the chief kinds of music written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first task of this book is simply to describe how composers' attitudes changed in the course of two hundred years towards each of these genres. I shall enumerate the diverse ways of approaching the invariable words of the Mass, the musical solutions devised for setting many kinds of motet texts, and the process by which national dialects gradually fragmented the one universal language of music in settings of secular poetry. Only during the fifteenth century did musicians begin to conceive all five sections of the Mass Ordinary—Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei—as a cycle by basing each movement on the same musical material. Whereas motets had existed since the thirteenth century, their character had changed over the years, and many major developments of style between 1430 and 1600 can best be examined by studying this genre. Chansons—settings of stereotyped French courtly lyrics—constituted the principal

sort of secular music in the fifteenth century, regardless of the composers' nationalities. The sixteenth century saw a flowering of compositions in other languages, the Italian madrigal above all, but also settings of Spanish, German, Dutch, and finally English poems.

Historians, however, do not describe the past merely to picture it as it really was so much as they attempt to impose some order on intransigent reality to comprehend it better. Were we ever able to reconstruct the continuum of daily events we might even be tempted to argue that the Renaissance never really existed: the fifteenth century was simply a continuation of the Middle Ages, and the sixteenth century, without any sharp break with the past, prepared the way for the Baroque era. Similar statements might be made about any period, but they are not satisfactory. In order to understand the past we must continue to try to find characteristics common to many diverse phenomena and to decide which events were most significant or typical.

The past may be divided into comprehensible segments by singling out the greatest achievements of individuals, those original inventions and magnificent accomplishments that influenced future generations and raised musical geniuses above their contemporaries. Dufay's brilliant realization of the possibilities for organizing gigantic musical structures around borrowed melodies and his consummate skill in using the mellifluous English sonorities, for example, bespeak a genuinely new attitude toward the art of music. So also do Josquin's amalgamation of Italianate and Netherlandish traits into a highly supple and expressive texture and Monteverdi's stunning demonstration of the musical and dramatic potentials of the new techniques of *basso continuo* and recitative, invented by lesser musicians. These are the great achievements that carried in themselves the seeds of further development. Because they shaped the age they have determined the major divisions of this book.

The invention of a new technique has no importance unless a great composer demonstrates its artistic significance, or unless it raises aesthetic problems and implies technical possibilities that challenge the best efforts of a whole generation of musicians. The historian, then, seeks the most influential as well as the best music as a focus around which to group related compositions in order to determine the specific shape of a period. In singling out the most novel and characteristic features of the music of these two centuries, the historian in effect outlines the history of the art during the Renaissance, a necessary preliminary step toward understanding the term "Renaissance" as it applies to music. By explaining how the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries differ from earlier and later times he can, then, approach a reasonably meaningful definition of the Renaissance that is yet broad enough to tolerate the notion that conflicting and contrasting elements do in fact co-exist.

The fifteenth century saw a last great flowering of older musical techniques based on pre-formed patterns and formal outlines—cantus firmi, *formes fixes*, and isorhythm. Some of these practices, though, underwent important transformations. Earlier composers, for example, often placed a borrowed melody in long notes in an inner voice to serve as a structural foundation; but the practice of basing all five movements of a Mass Ordinary on a single rationally disposed cantus firmus extends the older technique on an altogether different and larger scale. Since the cyclic Mass clearly places aesthetic above liturgical laws, its invention suggests that composers were beginning to see themselves as creative artists and not mere servants of the Church.

In the course of two centuries, composers emancipated themselves from many of these pre-determined strictures. They freed themselves from the shackles of medieval authority by inventing a more flexible and musically self-sufficient technique of organizing form by means of thematic manipulation. Writing music by creating a series of points of imitation went hand in hand with the change from successive to simultaneous composition. Music based on a cantus firmus was conceived one line at a time, but the intricate web of thematically inter-related melodies that constitutes a point of imitation had to be woven all at once by a composer working with one section at a time. Even though composers of the sixteenth century still based new compositions on old—by using Gregorian chant as building material, for example, or by parodying a pre-existent motet, chanson, or madrigal—the new techniques enabled them to shape and transform their borrowed material more freely than had the old, and they could and did construct large musical structures completely free of borrowings, generated entirely by their own imagination.

The imitative polyphony of the sixteenth century was greatly enriched and, indeed, partly determined by the new notion that music ought to reflect the text it set. The desire to write a kind of music inspired by words, a contribution of the generation working between about 1490 and 1520, marks the influence of the humanists. Composers wished to mirror not only the external characteristics of the words—their syntax, grammar, and accentuation—but also their meaning. The relationship of text to music preoccupied composers throughout the sixteenth century, as they sought ways to achieve a new level of expressiveness.

The emancipation from medieval ways of thought and the restrictions of pre-formed structure meant that music became for the first time a self-sufficient, self-generated art. It is no coincidence, then, that the rise of abstract instrumental music—an "absolute art" not related to literary meanings and preconceived patterns—coincides with the invention of these new techniques in the sixteenth century.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the dominion of the church modes over melody and harmony was threatened and finally overcome by a number of forces, chief among them the growth and development of new concepts of functional tonality with its orientation around the cadential formula V-I, dominant to tonic. Dufay's music, permeated with the new sounds of full triads, already recognizes this central principle. Later composers began to explore musical space, expanding the range of usable notes from low to high, and probing the furthest reaches of chromaticism. Composers during the later sixteenth century worked with a well-developed tonal system, although different in important ways from the tonality of the seventeenth century and still relatively little studied.

All of these features—freedom from medieval authority, preoccupation with text expression, the invention of instrumental music, and the development of tonality—lead to the conclusion that music during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries became a more personal and expressive art, with man at its center. This truism about the Renaissance, then, applies as well to music as to every other product of human endeavor during the period.

On the other hand, the primary meaning of the term "Renaissance," a rebirth from classical models, is not so easily applied to music. Although descriptions of the effects music produced in the ancient world played a role in forming composers' attitudes, few actual examples from Greece and none from Rome survived. Most of the extant fragments of Greek music were discovered during the sixteenth century; they were avidly discussed in some circles but remained antiquarian curiosities without influence on the styles of the major composers.

Studies of the Renaissance, from the time of Burckhardt and Huizinga on, have rightly centered on artistic, intellectual, and philosophical events in Italy. Music in the Renaissance, on the other hand, is a northern art, or at least an art by northerners. All of the great composers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were born in what is today northern France, Belgium, and Holland. But it does not follow that Italy was a provincial backwater; on the contrary, Italy was the center of a brilliant and flourishing musical culture. Curiously, though, few if any of the composers working there after about 1420—by which time the burst of energy of the *trecento* had finally died down—were native-born. And even if a few Italian composers do emerge about 1490 they do not threaten the artistic hegemony of the *oltremontani*. Flanders, Burgundy, and Italy were the centers of musical life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Northern composers all flocked to the elegant Italian courts, and, for most of our period, music in Spain, France,

England, and Germany must definitely take second place. In the course of the sixteenth century the relationship between north and south was reversed, and by 1600 Italian composers were acknowledged supreme.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

In the Preface I have already mentioned the standard work on the period, Gustave Reese's *Music in the Renaissance*. A more concise survey may be found in Donald Jay Grout, *A History of Western Music* (New York, 1960). Students should also consult *The New Oxford History of Music*, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham (London, 1960-68), especially vol. 3, *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*, and vol. 4, *The Age of Humanism, 1540-1630*.

Although out of date, Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1920), is still the most comprehensive survey of music theory during the Renaissance. Its first two books, on polyphonic theory from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries, have been translated into English by Raymond Hagg (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1962). Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), contains translations from many of the most important theoretical treatises; those from the Renaissance are available separately as a paperback.

For information on unfamiliar instruments used during the period, the student should consult Anthony Baines, ed., *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (Penguin Books, 1961).

For chronologically arranged examples of the music of the period, see *Historical Anthology of Music*, ed. Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, vol. 1, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Arnold Schering, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen* (Leipzig, 1931); Carl Parrish and John F. Ohl, *Masterpieces of Music Before 1750* (New York, 1951); Carl Parrish, *A Treasury of Early Music* (New York, 1958); and the various volumes in the series *Das Musikwerk* (in English translations as well, under the title *Anthology of Music*), published by the Arno Volk Verlag in Cologne. Students will also find useful and convenient the series of small volumes called *Das Chorwerk* (Wolfenbüttel, 1929-), published under the general editorship of Friedrich Blume.

My exposition of the most significant innovations of the Renaissance is much indebted to Edward E. Lowinsky, "Music in the Culture of the Renaissance," in *Renaissance Essays from the Journal of the History of Ideas*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller and Philip P. Wiener (New York, 1968), and to various other essays by Lowinsky.

Music students should also read discussions of the concept of the Renaissance written by historians in other fields, among them Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought* (New York, 1961-65, 2 vols.); Erwin Panofsky, "Renaissance—Self-Definition or Self-Deception?" in his *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (London, 1965); and Michael Levey, *Early Renaissance* (Penguin Books, 1967).

A number of scholars have begun to apply the term "mannerism" to certain trends in sixteenth-century music. But the concept, problematic in art history and even more troublesome in its application to music, needs to be thoroughly studied by music historians before it can be accepted. See John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Penguin Books, 1967), for a recent and excellent treatment of the subject in art history with some mention of music (especially pp. 96-104). For three recent discussions in English of mannerism in music, see Robert Wolf, "Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque: Three Styles, Three Periods," in *Les Colloques de Wégimont*, 4 (1963); Don Harran, "'Mannerism' in the Cinquecento Madrigali," *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1969); and James Haar, "Classicism and Mannerism in 16th-Century Music," *International Review of Music Aesthetics and Sociology*, 1 (1971).

part one

The Early Renaissance:

1420-1490

ONE

THE BEGINNINGS:

DUNSTABLE AND

THE CONTENANCE ANGLOISE

"Although it seems beyond belief, there does not exist a single piece of music, not composed within the last forty years, that is regarded by the learned as worth hearing." In 1477 Johannes Tinctoris, chapelmaster to the King of Naples, acknowledged the beginning of the Renaissance with that sentence in the introduction to his treatise on counterpoint. He identifies the Englishman John Dunstable (ca. 1380/90-1453) and the Burgundians Guillaume Dufay (ca. 1400-1474) and Gilles Binchois (ca. 1400-ca. 1460) as the founders of a new musical style, and Johannes Ockeghem (ca. 1420-97) and Antoine Busnois (ca. 1430-92) as the most distinguished heirs of the tradition. Tinctoris's historical judgement seems as valid today as when he made it 500 years ago; we still associate the early musical Renaissance with Dunstable, Dufay, and Binchois, and recognize Ockeghem and Busnois as the best composers of the following generation.

The relationship among the composers of the first generation is

made clear in a poem, *Le Champion des dames*, written by the Burgundian Martin le Franc about 1441. Dufay and Binchois, wrote Le Franc, have found a new way to make lively consonances (*"frisque concordance"*). They wear the English guise (*"la contenance angloise"*), and in following Dunstable they have made their music *"joyeux et notable."* To the men of the fifteenth century, then, something new in music began with Dunstable and was then taken up by continental composers.

To the modern listener, early fifteenth-century English music sounds sweeter and fuller than continental music of the same period, and this great euphony undoubtedly constitutes the greater part of what Le Franc meant by *la contenance angloise*. Three technical features explain the sound: full triads, that is, those which regularly include the third; block chords or else lightly ornamented homorhythmic passages; and bland, uniformly consonant harmonies that avoid dissonances on strong beats, or indeed anywhere save as inconspicuous passing notes. Compare Leonel Power's simple setting of the antiphon *Beata progenies* (Example 1-1), in which the undecorated chant is sung by the middle voice, or even his more complicated *Gloriose Virginis* (Example 1-2), which sets an antiphon text without any reference to the chant melody, with a roughly contemporary isorhythmic motet, *Ut te per omnes* (Example

EXAMPLE 1-1. Leonel Power, *Beata progenies*, mm. 1-14. Used by permission of the American Institute of Musicology.

Be - a - ta

5) pro - ge - ni - es

10) un - de Cri - stus

EXAMPLE 1-2. Power, *Gloriose Virginis*, mm. 1-18. Used by permission of the American Institute of Musicology.

Glo - ri - o - se Vir - gi -

5) nis Ma - ri - - -
gi - nis Ma - ri - e or -

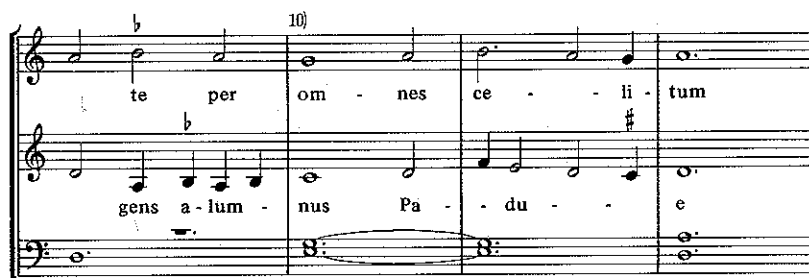
10) e or - tum di -
tum di - gnis - si -

15) gnis - si - mum
- - - mum re - co - la - - -



1-3), by Johannes Ciconia, an Italianized Franco-Netherlandish composer of the same period. All three "English" features, absent from the composition by Ciconia, instantly identify the nationality of Power.

EXAMPLE 1-3. Johannes Ciconia, *Ut te per omnes*, mm. 1-12.



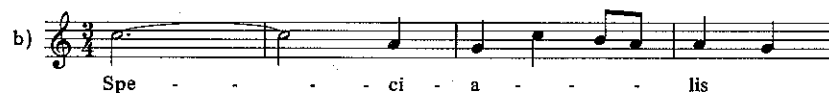
To furnish textural contrast and to give their music some formal design, English composers of the early fifteenth century frequently interrupted the characteristically full sound of all three, four, or even five voices singing together by introducing duets for two equally melodious voices. Both voices in these duos, as well as the upper voice (and sometimes the upper two voices) in the full sections, are written as graceful arches of melody in fluid rhythms that seem always to push forward towards their cadential goals. While the rhythms are conceived within a metrical framework—that is, the barlines of the modern editions often coincide with the real musical subdivisions of the melodic lines—accents are displaced within each bar, syncopations across the barline are frequent, and the melodies are often phrased in irregular groupings of two, three, or four measures. English compositions frequently begin with a characteristic figure or its inversion (Examples 1-4a and b), revealing the triadic orientation of the melodic lines. This supple English melodic style contrasts strikingly with the highly decorated yet static melodic cells in nervous, disjointed rhythms that are found in Italian and French fourteenth-century music.

EXAMPLE 1-4. Some examples of the "English figures," after Charles Hamm, "A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in Fifteenth-Century Continental Manuscripts," *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), pp. 58-59.

Leonel Power, *Et in terra*



Dunstable, *Specialis virgo*



Besides its full sound (characteristic also of later English music) and its graceful melodic style, insular music of the early fifteenth century was distinguished for its formal experiments. English composers tried in various ways to relate the various movements of the Mass Ordinary to one another. Pairing two movements together—Gloria with Credo, or Sanctus with Agnus Dei—led eventually to the establishment of the cyclic Mass in which each movement is organized by means of the same structural melody, a formal ground plan that became one of the great musical conventions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Like the continental composers of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, English musicians turned away from setting the Proper of the Mass—those sections proper only to special occasions during the church year—in favor of setting the Ordinary, the five sections that are an invariable part of the Mass each time it is sung. Similarly, the English as well as the Europeans gradually ceased to write motets that were sophisticated secular pieces (like those by Guillaume de Machaut in the fourteenth century) or that formed a part of the responsorial sections of the Mass Proper. Instead they cultivated the votive antiphon, especially the antiphons devoted to the Virgin Mary. In the course of the first half of the fifteenth century, English composers came to depend less and less on plainchant models in setting antiphon texts. The English composers, then, freed themselves from the restraints imposed by the practice of harmonizing a given plainchant. At the same time they developed a keener sense of large-scale musical form by devising techniques for unifying long compositions by means of a *cantus firmus*.

LEONEL POWER AND THE OLD HALL MANUSCRIPT

To understand precisely how the English influenced European music in the early fifteenth century, we must first look at the music by Dunstable's immediate predecessors and older contemporaries—the music, that is, contained in the most important English musical source of the period, the Old Hall Manuscript, especially the music by the leading composer in that anthology, Leonel Power. The Old Hall Manuscript is not the only source of English music from the period. Besides various fragments and smaller insular sources, there are a number of large continental manuscripts—the great Trent Codices and manuscripts in Aosta and Modena come to mind immediately—which contain among them some 200 English pieces; many of the English compositions are copied out one after another in special sections of these anthologies, as if the continental scribes wished to signal the differences between their own and English music. In spite of persistent efforts to establish two separate English traditions, one narrowly insular and the other expatriate, scholars now seem to agree that all of these compositions reflect the same stylistic outlook; thus the Old Hall Manuscript can be considered a representative source for English music from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The Old Hall Manuscript was named for the Roman Catholic

seminary in England where it was kept until recently. It was compiled about 1410—possibly for the king's Chapel of the Royal Household, or for the Chapel of St. George at Windsor. The main portion of the anthology consists of sections devoted to settings of single movements from the Mass Ordinary; since the beginning of the manuscript is now lost, it opens with a series of Glorias, followed by one of Credos, and so on. Where space permits, scribes have interpolated a few motets and movements from the Proper. Aside from a single piece by Dunstable, two pieces by "Roy Henry" (either Henry IV or Henry V), and a number of works by Power, the composers represented in Old Hall are minor figures: Aelyn, Bittering, Burell, Chirbury, Cooke, Damett, Excetre, Fonteyns, Forest, and others.

The fact that the Old Hall contains no Kyries seems to be simple historical accident: all those originally in the manuscript were lost when its first section became detached from the rest. But English cyclic Masses often lack their Kyries, especially when they are preserved in continental sources. In fact, the English may have preferred to hear the Kyrie sung as chant rather than polyphony, or else they chose to set Kyries to which tropes—textual interpolations appropriate to a particular liturgical occasion—had been added, making them unsuitable for general use. The recent discovery of a number of Kyries by Dunstable does not substantially alter the conclusion that the four-movement polyphonic Mass, lacking a Kyrie, is a common English convention. Moreover, the English sometimes omitted portions of the Credo, especially the clause beginning "Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum," or they telescoped the text so that more than one portion of it was heard simultaneously, apparently in order to get through as quickly as possible the Mass movement with the greatest number of words.

Some of the Old Hall Manuscript is notated in score, an arrangement already out of date in most continental manuscripts of the time. Some is notated in the more conventional "choirbook format," or *cantus collateralis*—that is, with each voice written out separately, two (one above the other) on the left- and two on the right-hand side of each opening (for compositions *a 4*). This difference in notation reflects a difference in musical style. The Old Hall contains, in fact, a mixture of styles, some deriving from French and Italian fourteenth-century music and some from earlier native elements. There are simple homorhythmic discant settings; compositions in which the top voice predominates as in the continental chanson; those pieces using canon in a manner reminiscent of the *trecento caccia*; and works based on the central French technique of isorhythm. Old Hall presents all of the discant settings in score, and most of the contrapuntally complex pieces in *cantus collateralis*.