

seem to imply. The several versions of *Talent m'est pris* indicate that it was widely known, and a second copy of *Se je chant* is preserved in a manuscript fragment of northern French origin.²¹ The same fragment contains the close of a fifth chace that is also found without its beginning in still another remnant of a larger manuscript. How many other examples have been lost we cannot know, but the evidence suggests that chaces were not uncommon in the early part of the fourteenth century. Subsequently, the chace retained its canonic technique but lost its descriptive function. In Machaut's Lai 11, the even-numbered stanzas are three-voice canons identified as chaces. The stanzas of the following lai (No. 12) lack the identifying label, but all twelve are set as three-voice canons. A similar canon occurs in Machaut's Ballade 17, with a different text for each voice. Although hoquet passages appear in some of these nineteen canons, they have no programmatic relationship with the texts, which are normal examples of their poetic types (see pages 407–09). Toward the end of the fourteenth century the descriptive and programmatic aspects of the chace reappear in a number of French virelais.²² One of these pieces, *Or sus vous dormez trop* (Get up, you sleep too much), is included in the Ivrea Codex, but probably as a later addition to the original contents. For the most part these virelais deal with pastoral themes and confine their descriptive effects to imitations of the songs of birds—the lark, the nightingale, and the inevitable cuckoo. The transfer of programmatic music from the chace to a form that was free of the restrictions imposed by canonic writing seems sensible enough, but it had to wait on Machaut's development of an appropriate style and distribution of voices for the polyphonic secular song.

The French chace was not without its counterparts in other countries during the fourteenth century. Its relationship with the Italian caccia is somewhat problematical and will be considered in connection with the emergence of Italian secular polyphony (Chapter XVIII). A more direct connection seems to exist between the chace and three pieces labelled *caça* in a Catalonian manuscript known as the *Llibre Vermell* (Red Book) from its red-velvet nineteenth-century binding. These pieces have Latin texts in praise of the Virgin, and rubrics indicate that they may be performed as either two- or three-part canons. Two are short rounds that involve little more than voice exchange. The other is a longer, non-circular canon with a chantlike melody in unmeasured notation.²³ All three serve as a final reminder that musical description was only a secondary and nonessential characteristic of the chace.

21. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coll. de Picardie 67, fol. 67 (*Pic*). Facsimile in MGG, 1, cols. 715–16.

22. They are all available in W. Apel's publications of fourteenth-century French secular pieces (see Bibliography). *Or sus* is No. 70 in FSM and No. 212 in FSC, 3.

23. See O. Ursprung, "Spanisch-katalanische Liedkunst des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1921–22), pp. 153–55.

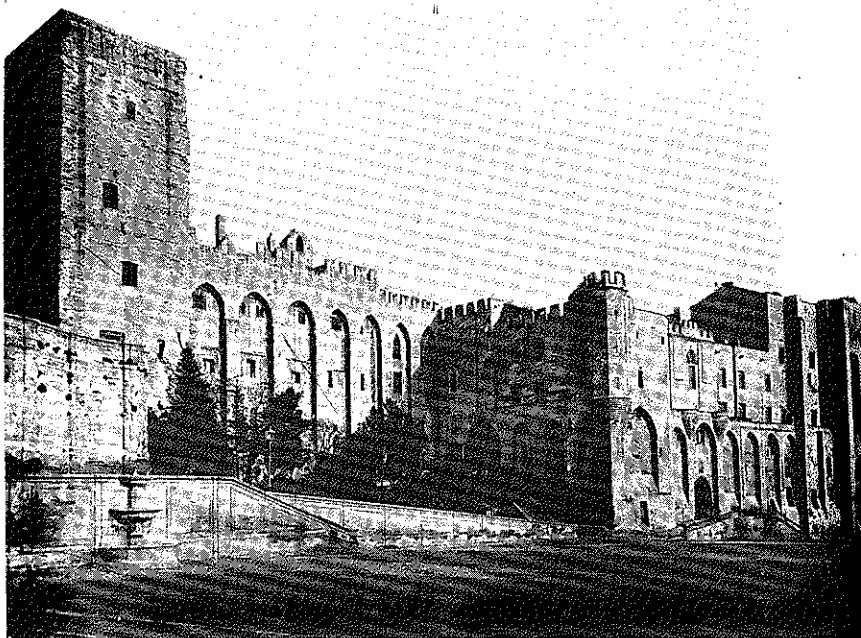
CHAPTER XVI

Liturgical Polyphony in the Fourteenth Century

The appearance of polyphonic Mass movements in the fourteenth century obliges us to consider the contemporary state of liturgical music. Historians in general tend to regard the period as one of increasing secularization in all the arts, and they account for this situation on both religious and economic grounds. With the "Babylonian captivity" of the popes in Avignon (1305–78) and with two and finally three rivals contending for the papal throne during the Great Schism (1378–1417), the power and prestige of the Church sank to a new low. On the other hand, the increasing wealth of the cities and their inhabitants created a vast new market for secular architecture, painting, and sculpture as well as music. Certainly these factors were in part responsible for the advance of secular culture, but even at its lowest ebb the Church—or individual churches and churchmen—did not entirely cease to patronize the arts. More than most, perhaps, historians of music had some excuse for over-emphasizing secular composition. The accidents of history decided which of the fragile monuments of music should survive and which should first become known in modern times. Thus it was that the overwhelming preponderance of secular polyphony in the works of Machaut and of Italian composers came to be regarded as typical of the entire fourteenth century. By an unlucky chance, a famous decree of Pope John XXII (1316–34) provided a too-convenient explanation of this phenomenon. Issued in 1324 at Avignon, the decree used strong language to condemn composers who overloaded their music with a multitude of small notes—semibreves and minims—and who distorted the melodies of the Church with hoquet and elaborate polyphony. Singers too were censured for their vocal display and for using gestures to express the sentiment of the music. The decree forbade all of these practices and prescribed penalties for failure to observe the prohibition. Only on solemn occasions might plainchant be enriched by a few concords—octaves, fifths, and fourths—as long as the established melodies remained unchanged and undisturbed.¹

As a contemporary record of reactionary opposition to the innova-

1. For the text in both Latin and English, see *The Oxford History of Music*, 1, 2nd ed. (London, 1929), p. 294 ff.



The fortress-like Palace of the Popes in Avignon (courtesy of the French Cultural Services, New York).

tions of the *Ars Nova*, Pope John's decree possesses considerable interest, but its effect on the course of musical development has been greatly overemphasized. In the usual view, the Church now permitted only the simplest forms of improvised organum, and the production of sacred music all but ceased as composers turned their attention to secular forms. Holders of this view seem to overlook much that had happened in the thirteenth century. The large repertory of *trouvère* chansons and the many motets with secular French texts contradict any assumption that interest in secular music had to await the stimulus of John's decree. As far as we know, moreover, the composition of liturgical polyphony had been almost totally neglected during the preceding hundred years. In at least a few places, Notre Dame organum continued in use until the fourteenth century, and Latin motets undoubtedly found a place in church services. Even secular French motets were sometimes performed, as the complaints of religious authorities prove. Whatever new music may have enriched or debased the liturgy, that music evidently did not include new polyphonic settings of strictly liturgical texts. At least such settings are almost nonexistent in the musical sources that have come down to us from the period between the School of Notre Dame and the middle of the fourteenth century. It seems scarcely correct, therefore, to say that Pope John's decree caused a decline in the composition of sacred music. We might better stress its ineffectiveness. Within twenty or twenty-five years, as the Ivrea Codex bears witness, liturgical polyphony had not only been reborn but was flourishing in Avignon itself. Another and somewhat later source of music from Avignon is now preserved in the nearby city of Apt. This manuscript

and *Iv* have several pieces in common, but *Apt* also includes pieces by composers whose activities extended into the early years of the fifteenth century. A number of smaller collections of liturgical polyphony apparently originated in musical establishments outside of Avignon, yet almost without exception these sources contain at least one piece that is also found in *Iv* or *Apt*. We may safely assume, therefore, that the papal chapel and the rival chapels of noble and wealthy cardinals took the lead in making Avignon the central source of liturgical polyphony. Recent publications of that polyphony make it clear that the music of the fourteenth century was by no means as predominantly secular as had once been thought.²

MASS MOVEMENTS

When composers returned to setting liturgical texts after a lapse of a century or more, their music differed in many ways from the older forms and styles of liturgical polyphony. Almost without exception, the School of Notre Dame had limited the composition of organum to the solo sections of responsorial chants for the Offices and the Proper of the Mass. But in the fourteenth century, it is the texts of the Ordinary of the Mass that received exclusive attention. This shift of emphasis must have resulted in part from the greater usefulness of Ordinary texts as compared with Proper texts that would be sung but once during the course of the Church year. However, the shift also reflects—or anticipates—a change in the nature and function of liturgical polyphony itself. Unlike responsorial chants, the texts of the Ordinary were sung by the choir after short solo intonations. We do not know whether the polyphonic settings of these texts were still performed in the old way by a group of soloists, but it seems probable that in some circumstances they may have been sung by a small choir with several singers for each part. In any case, the Mass movements of the fourteenth century foreshadow the conversion of soloistic polyphony that would culminate in the choral Masses of the Renaissance.

Also, in the fourteenth century the word *Mass*, as applied to music, took on the specialized meaning that it still has today. In liturgical usage, of course, the Mass includes everything that is spoken or sung in both the Proper and the Ordinary. As a musical composition, however, a Mass normally consists of the five sung items of the Ordinary—Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. Some of the Machaut manu-

2. The most inclusive publication of liturgical polyphony from *Iv*, *Apt*, and other sources is H. Ståblein-Harder, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, 2 vols. Two "companion" volumes contain 78 compositions (CMM, 29) and a "Critical Text" (MSD, 7), which is primarily a study of the sources and the music. I wish to thank Dr. Armen Carapetyan for granting permission to take most of the examples in the present chapter from this publication.

scripts already use the word with this restricted meaning when they give his Mass the title *Messe de Notre Dame*. As the only complete Mass by one composer to have been written in the fourteenth century, the *Messe de Notre Dame* may best be considered in connection with the other works of Machaut (Chapter XVII). Our primary concern here, however, is with the collections of polyphonic Mass movements, independent and unrelated settings of individual items from the Ordinary. Although such settings can be found almost from the beginning of polyphonic writing, they are scattered and few in number, and most are the shorter items of the Ordinary, particularly the Kyrie. The Ivrea Codex represents a new departure in being a rather large collection of Mass movements in which the Gloria and Credo predominate. Its twenty-five pieces include only four settings of the Kyrie, two of the Sanctus, and none of the Agnus Dei. The remainder is divided almost equally between Gloria and Credo, with nine polyphonic settings of each plus one monophonic Credo. In performing these two texts, it should be recalled, the officiating priest sang the opening phrases "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Credo in unum Deum." Composed settings therefore begin with the next phrase of each text—"Et in terra pax" and "Patrem omnipotentem." This practice, which continued throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, accounts for the fact that these Mass movements are often listed and referred to as *Et in terra* and *Patrem* rather than as Gloria and Credo.

THREE STYLES OF POLYPHONIC MASS MOVEMENTS

The lapse of Notre Dame organum and the new interest in setting texts of the Ordinary meant that fourteenth-century composers of Mass movements had no continuing tradition of liturgical polyphony to follow. They were equally unhampered by any feeling that sacred polyphony called for a particular and distinctive musical style. It is no surprise, therefore, to find them writing Mass movements in the styles they were accustomed to using for other types of contemporary polyphony. One of these styles derives from the motet; a second adopts the new style of the polyphonic secular song. The origin of the third style is less certain. It is sometimes called "conductus style" because all the voices sing the text more or less together, but its derivation from the long obsolete conductus is unlikely. More probably, this "simultaneous style" represents in written form the contemporary practice of improvised polyphony. The opening measures of three Glorias in the Ivrea Codex (Example XVI-1) will illustrate these three styles and will also serve as a starting point for a more detailed discussion of their identifying characteristics.

Example XVI-1: Excerpts from Three Glorias in *Iv*

a. MOTET STYLE (*Iv*, No. 45)

b. SONG STYLE (*Iv*, No. 25)

c. SIMULTANEOUS STYLE (*Iv*, No. 62)

MOTET STYLE

As the only type of polyphonic music widely cultivated in the early years of the fourteenth century, the motet naturally exerted a predominating influence on the composition of Mass movements. This influence is clearly evident in the twenty-five movements in *Iv*, of which no fewer than fifteen are written in motet style. Ten have a duplum and triplum with text above an untexted tenor, while the remaining five add a contratenor, also without text, as a fourth voice. Most of these movements differ from true motets in having the same text in both upper voices, but in some cases, the presence of tropes gives partially or completely different texts to each voice. One unusual example occurs in a

Gloria that has the official text in the triplum while the duplum has a longer Latin poem in praise of Pope Clement VI (1342–52).³ More often it is the shorter items of the Ordinary that have different tropes added to the original texts, and the upper voices then alternate between singing the same and different words. At times the resemblance to a motet is so strong that pieces have been classified in different ways. This is especially true of motets on *Ite, missa est* and *Benedicamus Domino*. One such piece in Ivrea (No. 34) has a French triplum, a Latin duplum, and a tenor with the text *Ite, missa est*.⁴ In this case, neither text refers to the liturgical situation, and neither, therefore, can be regarded as a trope. Both are edifying, however, and their moral injunctions might not be too out of place at the conclusion of a Mass. The same function is much more obviously intended for the Ivrea “motet” *Post missarum sollemnia—Post misse modulamina* (After the ceremonies of the Mass—After the songs of the Mass).⁵ Both texts are extended tropes that end with the words “Deo gratias,” the response to *Ite, missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*. In musical structure, the piece is a four-voice isorhythmic motet with an additional solus tenor that permits performance by only three voices. The original tenor has no identifying text, and its plainchant source, if any, remains unknown. There can be no doubt, nevertheless, that the motet belongs with other examples of fourteenth-century liturgical polyphony.

Most Mass movements in motet style are much further removed from the contemporary motet than the two pieces just cited. Plainchant tenors and isorhythmic construction are rare, and both upper voices usually sing the same text, as has already been noted. The lower parts move in longer note values than the upper, but all voices tend to cadence together. Thus, the individual voices in a Mass movement display less rhythmic diversity and independence than in a true motet, and the tenors appear to have been composed to fit particular settings of the texts. As a rule, Mass movements also differ from motets in being sectional rather than continuous forms. The repetitive texts of the Kyrie and Agnus Dei naturally suggest three musical sections, and the Sanctus is usually subdivided into at least two, of which the second begins with the words “Benedictus qui venit.” Almost without exception in these movements, the sections end with a cadence on longs in all voices followed by double bars. In most cases, Glorias and Credos are similarly divided, but in a less systematic way. A common treatment of both texts creates three large sections plus the Amen. The divisions do not always occur in the same places, however, and a few movements have more and shorter sections. One curious feature of several Glorias and

3. Iv No. 42; *Mass Music*, No. 22.

4. Besseier called this piece a motet in his index of *Iv*, AMW, 7 (1925), p. 189. It also appears after the Agnus Dei as the final item in the so-called Mass of Tournai.

5. Iv No. 11; *Mass Music*, No. 73.

Credos is their use of one- and two-measure textless interludes as a sort of musical punctuation within the larger sections of the movement. These interludes usually involve only two voices in varying combinations that, in three-voice movements, must include one upper voice and may include both duplum and triplum. They are sometimes assumed to be instrumental, but it is also possible that the upper voice or voices sang them as short melismatic interjections. Much longer melismas close the large sections of several movements, particularly Credos, and the Amen of both Gloria and Credo normally receives an extended melismatic setting. An almost excessive use of hoquet in many of these melismas proves how quickly Pope John's censure of the device had been forgotten (Example XVI-2).

Example XVI-2: *Closing Melisma of Second Section in Credo, Iv, No. 57*⁶

6. *Mass Music*, No. 42.

SONG STYLE

The creation of a distinctive polyphonic style appropriate for secular song was largely the achievement of Guillaume de Machaut in the first half of the fourteenth century. As will be seen in the following chapter, Machaut's ballades, rondeaux, and virelais illustrate the formative stages of this style as well as its fulfillment in the three-voice disposition that remained standard for a century or more after his death in 1377. In essence, the new style consists of a solo song (*cantus*) above a supporting tenor part without words. This two-part framework can and sometimes does stand alone, but more often another part without text, a contra-tenor, gives added strength and harmonic richness to the accompaniment of the solo song. The newness of this song style undoubtedly accounts for its appearance in only six of the Ivrea Mass movements.⁷ In sources from the latter part of the fourteenth century, it replaces motet style as the favorite type of liturgical polyphony.

Of the six pieces in *Iv* in secular song style, two are Kyries for which only the music for the first section has been preserved complete. Both are simple two-part pieces for cantus and tenor. The other four, two Glorias and two Credos, have the standard distribution of three voices. One Gloria is a continuous setting of the text except for separate sections at the close on "Cum sancto spiritu . . ." and "Amen," and one Credo is continuous up to the separate Amen. In both pieces, the two lower parts punctuate the text with the one- and two-measure interludes we have already noted in movements in motet style. Such interludes, indeed, are common in motet and simultaneous styles but rare in song style. They are not found in the other Gloria and Credo, which are subdivided into many short sections. These sections, like the longer ones in motet style, end with strong cadences on longs and are set off from each other by double bars. It is difficult to account for the fact that multiple subdivisions of Glorias and Credos became typical of movements in song style. Perhaps the style was used for antiphonal performance by a divided choir or by two small groups of singers. Plainchant Glorias were normally sung in this way, and the practice was sometimes adopted for the Credo as well. It would have been natural, therefore, to introduce antiphonal singing in polyphonic Mass movements when the style permitted. Choirs of the time were small and might well have had difficulty in providing two groups to alternate in singing the two voice parts of motet style or the three or four parts of simultaneous style. The single vocal melody of song style would present no such difficulty. We cannot be sure, of course, how Mass movements in any style were performed in the fourteenth century, and practices must have varied ac-

7. *Mass Music*, Nos. 6, 8, 27, 28, 47, and 50. Stäblein-Harder uses the designation "discant style" for these pieces, but it seems preferable to speak of song (*chanson* or *cantilena*) style to avoid confusion with the quite different style of English discant (see Chapter XX).

cording to the musical resources available at any given time or place. It seems certain, nevertheless, that movements in song style did not long remain—if, indeed, they ever were—music for a solo singer. By the middle of the century the solo song in secular polyphony had already developed an elaborate and highly melismatic style that was soon to be joined with tremendous rhythmic complexity. In liturgical polyphony, on the other hand, song style retained a characteristic simplicity of rhythm and a nearly syllabic text setting except for the *Amens*. Few, if any, movements in the style could not be performed with ease by choirs of very modest ability. Documented evidence of choral performance comes early in the fifteenth century, along with obvious proof of a new kind of antiphonal or responsorial performance (see Chapter XIX).

SIMULTANEOUS STYLE

The designation *simultaneous style* has two important implications: that all the parts are vocal, and that, with minor exceptions, all voices sing the words of the text together. From the latter characteristic, it follows that the rhythmic structure of all voices will be similar if not identical. This lack of rhythmic differentiation between the upper and lower voices is the primary *musical* characteristic that distinguishes simultaneous from motet and song styles. In movements with lengthy texts, Glorias and Credos, the voices often move together in note-against-note counterpoint to produce a chord on each syllable. At times, however, one or more voices may add rhythmic variety with ornamental figures that break up longer note values. All voices, moreover, sometimes have short melismas, usually on either the first or the penultimate syllable of a phrase. A few movements are less various and adhere more consistently either to syllabic or to slightly ornamented settings of the text.⁸ As in motet style, Glorias and Credos in simultaneous style may be continuous movements, but more often they are divided into several large sections plus a melismatic Amen. In both styles, as we have already noted, short textless interludes commonly create subdivisions within the large sections of the movements.

MELISMATIC MOVEMENTS AND HYBRID STYLES

The method of performance—whether one, two, or all voices sing the text—may seem to be the primary basis for distinguishing the three styles of liturgical polyphony. It must be remembered, however, that different dispositions of the text produce different rhythmic and pitch relationships among the voices and thereby give each style a distinctive

8. Compare, for example, the two Credos, Nos. 53 and 54 in *Mass Music*.

musical structure. In *Glorias* and *Credos*, which always tend to be syllabic, a high degree of correspondence between musical structure and method of performance makes determination of the style relatively simple. Melismatic movements, such as the *Kyrie* and *Sanctus*, are often more difficult to classify. Careless or incomplete underlay of the text may leave doubt as to whether a part is intended to be vocal or instrumental. The structure of the musical fabric may also be ambiguous or may fluctuate between different styles. In some movements, finally, the disposition of text and the musical structure simply do not correspond. One of the most obvious examples occurs in a *Sanctus* found in *Iv* (No. 58).⁹ All voices sing the text, but the musical structure resembles a three-voice motet with lively upper parts above a tenor moving in longer note values (Example XVI-3). This piece is typical of most movements for which the stylistic classification may be subject to differences of opinion. It is usually the lower part or parts that differ from the expected style and about which questions arise as to vocal or instrumental performance. The existence of these ambiguities suggests that, regardless of its musical structure, a Mass movement might be performed by various combinations of voices and instruments or by voices alone. That performance practices did vary in this way is proved by the appearance of a few movements in different manuscripts with different dispositions of text. One of the best known examples is a *Credo* that appears in three sources, including *Apt* and the Mass of Tournai, as a three-voice movement in simultaneous style. A fourth manuscript preserves the same music with text only in the top voice.¹⁰ Although the version in song style is apparently the oldest of the four that have been preserved, it does not necessarily represent the original form of the composition. In cases such as this, it is often impossible to establish the priority of one version over the other. As a rule, however, the characteristics of the musical structure, rather than the disposition of text, provide a better guide to the composer's original intent.

Example XVI-3: *Sanctus* in Motet Style with Text
in All Voices (*Iv*, No. 58)



9. Ibid., No. 64.

10. All four versions are published in C. van den Borren, *Missa Tornacensis*, CMM, 13 (AIM, 1957), pp. 9-28.

MASS CYCLES

Most fourteenth-century Mass movements are independent pieces and show no evidence of being composed to provide a complete polyphonic setting of the Ordinary. The *Ivrea* and *Apt* Codices, both large collections that preserve the repertory of musical circles in Avignon, are somewhat haphazard in their arrangement, but they tend to group together settings of the same text (*Glorias*, *Credos*, etc.). Neither manuscript presents five movements as a unit that forms a complete Mass; indeed, one cannot be formed from *Ivrea*, which lacks any setting of the *Agnus Dei*. We have already noted that the *Messe de Notre Dame* by Guillaume de Machaut is the only fourteenth-century example of a complete Mass by one composer. However, the existence of four other Masses from this period suggests that polyphonic performance of the entire Ordinary was gradually becoming an accepted practice. These four Masses are known by the present location of their manuscript sources in Tournai, Toulouse, Barcelona, and the Sorbonne. The last-named was once called the Mass of Besançon from its presumed place of origin.¹¹ Later writers have disputed that origin and have generally adopted the designation Mass of the Sorbonne to be consistent with the naming of the other three Masses. The present location of a manuscript, be it remembered, does not necessarily indicate its place of origin, which—in turn—is not necessarily the source of its contents. Whatever the origin of the four Masses may have been, they all prove to be related in some way to the repertory of Avignon preserved in the *Ivrea* and *Apt* manuscripts. Nevertheless, they all differ from one another in a number of ways. Short descriptions of each Mass will therefore complete the picture of liturgical polyphony in the fourteenth century.

THE MASS OF TOURNAI

A manuscript in the library of the cathedral of Tournai preserves what is thought to be the oldest of the polyphonic Masses. It consists of the five movements of the Ordinary followed by a motet on *Ite, missa est*. A later hand has added a *Sanctus* and a *Kyrie*, neither of which has any connection with the original Mass. The *Kyrie* is for three voices in simultaneous style, but the *Sanctus* is monophonic except for a three-voice setting of the words "in excelsis" at the close of each *Osanna*.¹² The rest of the Tournai manuscript consists of five sections devoted to portions of the plainchant repertory. These sections appear to be fragmentary and are unrelated to each other or to the polyphonic Mass.

11. J. Chailley, "La messe de Besançon et un compositeur inconnu du XIV^e siècle: Jean Lambelet," *AnM*, 2 (1954), pp. 93-103.

12. The two movements are Nos. 17 and 62 in *Mass Music*. The complete Mass is also published in Schrade, PM, 1, and the Van den Borren edition cited above in fn. 10.

The nature of this odd collection of music makes it clear that the Mass of Tournai was copied as a unit to provide a completely polyphonic performance of the Ordinary. It is equally clear, however, that the Mass was not composed as a unit. The Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei use Franconian notation of longs and breves in note-against-note counterpoint with modal rhythms that suggest a possible origin in the latter part of the thirteenth century (Example XVI-4). Freer rhythms and the notational innovations of the Ars Nova characterize the other three movements, particularly the Gloria (Example XVI-5). This movement applies the principles of Philippe de Vitry in ways that would have been impossible before the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Even for this period the Gloria seems unusually advanced in its occasional use of parallel triads in first inversion to approach a cadence (Example XVI-5b). Only at a somewhat later time do such progressions become frequent, and they are still likely to be regarded as a distinctive trait when they appear in fifteenth-century music. To judge from their divergent styles, then, the movements of the Tournai Mass may have been composed over a time span of nearly fifty years. Further evidence that the Mass was not composed as a unit comes from the presence of two of its movements in other manuscripts. The Credo must have been widely known, for—as noted above—it is found in three other sources, including the Avignon repertory preserved in *Apt*. Similarly, the related repertory of the Ivrea Codex includes the motet on *Ite, missa est*. All of this evidence marks the Mass of Tournai as a compilation of independent movements that were brought together to permit polyphonic performance of the complete Ordinary. By his choice of movements, however, the compiler of the Mass did achieve a degree of artistic and stylistic unity. All of the movements are for three voices, and all but the final motet are in simultaneous style. This unity remains superficial, nevertheless, and scarcely blunts the sharp contrasts of musical style that are illustrated by the Kyrie and Gloria excerpts in Examples XVI-4 and 5. The Mass as a whole thus provides another demonstration that the same method of performance may be used with widely differing musical structures.

Example XVI-4: Mass of Tournai, Kyrie I

Example XVI-4: Mass of Tournai, Kyrie I. The score is for three voices in 2x3/4 time. The lyrics are "Ki - ri - e" and "ley - son." The notation uses note-against-note counterpoint with modal rhythms.

Example XVI-5: Mass of Tournai, Gloria

a. MEASURES 1-7

Example XVI-5a: Mass of Tournai, Gloria, Measures 1-7. The score is for three voices in 2x2/4 time. The lyrics are "Et in ter - ra" and "pax ho - mi - ni - bus". The notation includes triplets and note-against-note counterpoint.

b. MEASURES 43-45

Example XVI-5b: Mass of Tournai, Gloria, Measures 43-45. The score is for three voices in 2x2/4 time. The lyrics are "om - ni - po - tens." The notation includes triplets and note-against-note counterpoint.

THE MASS OF TOULOUSE

The Mass of Toulouse has been preserved in a strange way that leaves some doubt as to whether it was intended to be a complete polyphonic setting of the Ordinary. The municipal library of Toulouse now owns a large manuscript devoted entirely to the texts and plainchants of the Mass. This missal dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, but much later—probably around 1400—someone entered the polyphonic movements that constitute the Mass of Toulouse. These movements were copied in empty spaces throughout the manuscript, and only the Sanctus and Agnus Dei appear together. After the latter movement, the scribe noted where the "motetus super *Ite missa est*" could be found and

thus suggested that he was copying a complete Mass. There is no trace of a Gloria, however, and all that exists of a Credo is the tenor part from *Crucifixus* to the end. This fragment is sufficient to establish its identity with a widely known Credo that appears in both *Iv* and *Apt* as an independent movement and that also forms part of the Barcelona Mass. The only other movement of the Toulouse Mass that might establish a connection with the repertory of Avignon is the *Agnus Dei*, which also appears in a fragmentary manuscript now in the archives of the cathedral of Gerona in northeastern Spain. Of the three other Mass movements in this fragment, a Kyrie and a Kyrie trope are also found in *Iv* and *Apt* respectively. As it stands, then, the Mass of Toulouse consists of four movements—Kyrie, Sanctus, *Agnus Dei*, and a motet on *Ite, missa est*—plus a Credo that can be completed from other sources.¹³ Why the scribe failed to complete the Credo himself or to provide a Gloria remains unknown. Perhaps the Mass, like some in plainchant, never included these two movements.

Despite differences in age and style, the Tournai and Toulouse Masses resemble each other in two important ways. Both are compilations of musically independent movements, and each is unified to some extent by having the same disposition of voices in all movements. The Toulouse Mass, however, is in song rather than simultaneous style. This is true of the incomplete Credo and even of the misnamed “motet” on *Ite, missa est*, which has only one voice with text above textless tenor and contratenor parts. The designation probably reflects the tradition of such motets and the fact that the one text—*Laudemus Jesum Christum* (Let us praise Jesus Christ)—ends with the word “gratias” and may be regarded as a trope. One wonders whether the scribe or compiler of the Mass simply ignored the musical structure or whether he omitted the triplum of a four-voice motet to bring the piece into stylistic agreement with the other movements. The Sanctus of the Mass also suggests the possibility of such an adaptation. Its contratenor lies in the same range as the cantus, and both voices use the same rhythmic and melodic figures above a tenor in longer note values (Example XVI-6). Only the absence of text in the contratenor prevents classification of this movement as three-voice motet style.¹⁴ In the other movements, the contratenor lies in a lower range than the cantus and is somewhat less active rhythmically, although the two parts often engage in hocket patterns. Whatever the original form of the Sanctus may have been, it again illustrates the difficulty of classifying highly melismatic styles. In the *Agnus Dei*,

13. In PM, 1, Schrade published only the four complete movements in the Mass of Toulouse, but the Credo is included in the Mass of Barcelona. Harder included a transcription of the Credo from *Iv* in “Die Messe von Toulouse,” MD, 7 (1953), p. 119 ff. In *Mass Music* (No. 47), the transcription is from *Apt*. The other movements of the Toulouse Mass in this publication are Nos. 5, 58, 67, and 74.

14. In *Mass Music*, the movement (No. 58) appears with other Sanctus settings in motet style.

with the trope *Rex immense pietatis* (King of infinite mercy), a syllabic setting of the text in short note values clearly differentiates the cantus from the lower parts. Here, song style is unmistakable, as it is in the final “motet” and the Credo.

Example XVI-6: *Mass of Toulouse, Sanctus, measures 1-6*



THE MASS OF BARCELONA

The Mass of Barcelona differs from the Masses of Tournai and Toulouse in several important ways. In the first place, the source in which it is found has no connection with plainchant. Instead, the five movements of the Barcelona Mass—it has no motet on *Ite, missa est*—appear in succession at the beginning of a small manuscript that is completed by two Latin motets and two other Mass movements, an anonymous troped Kyrie and a Gloria by Peliso. The quality of the handwriting and decoration in the twelve folios that contain these pieces makes it probable that the manuscript is only the first section of what must have been a large and important collection of late fourteenth-century polyphony. What has been preserved, however, is enough to show that the repertory is more closely related to Avignon than either the Tournai or Toulouse Mass.¹⁵

The compilers of the Tournai and Toulouse Masses, it will be remembered, achieved a measure of unity by choosing movements that already had, or could be reduced to, a common disposition of voices: three-part simultaneous style in Tournai, three-part song style in Toulouse. In the Barcelona Mass, a quite different principle seems to have determined the choice of movements. Instead of being in the same basic style, each of the five parts of the Mass presents a different arrangement of vocal and instrumental parts.¹⁶ The Kyrie is a short setting in simultaneous style, with an obvious correspondence between musical structure and the prescribed manner of performance. For the most part, the three

15. See *Mass Music*, Critical Text, p. 98.

16. The Mass is published as a unit in Schrade, PM, 1, pp. 139-64. In *Mass Music*, it is Nos. 19, 25, 47, 56, and 72.

voices move together in rhythms that are similar when not identical. A somewhat more independent contratenor in the *Christe* adds variety to the texture, as does the imitative use of a three-note figure in Kyrie II.

Example XVI-7: *Mass of Barcelona, Kyrie II*

In the Apt manuscript, the Gloria and Credo are both in song style, and each has tenor and contratenor parts that are rhythmically similar and lie in the same range beneath the cantus. As it appears in the Barcelona Mass, however, the Gloria has a different contratenor, which lies in the same range and uses some of the same rhythms as the cantus.¹⁷ The musical structure thus resembles a three-voice motet or a secular song with a textless triplum instead of a contratenor (see Chapter XVII). Whether or not this modification resulted from a deliberate effort to enhance the stylistic contrasts of the Barcelona Mass, it does distinguish the Gloria from the more usual song style that is retained in the Credo. In quite different ways, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei form a second pair of movements that are stylistically related, yet clearly distinguished from one another. With its two paraphrase-tropes, the Sanctus appears at first glance to be a normal motet in which all three voices are quite strictly isorhythmic throughout six statements of a nineteen-measure talca. A closer look at the structure reveals that what seems to be the motetus is actually the tenor part. It is the lowest of the three voices, and with the cantus it forms a two-voice framework for the composition. The textless third part completes that framework when the tenor or cantus

17. *Mass Music*, No. 25, gives both contratenors plus a third from still another version of the Gloria in a different Barcelona fragment.

rests, but at other times it functions as a contratenor and justifies its being so named in the manuscript. In form, then, the Sanctus is an isorhythmic motet, but the distribution of vocal and instrumental parts is one that first appears in Italian secular songs of the later fourteenth century (see Chapter XVIII). A similar distribution occurs in the Agnus Dei, where the tenor and cantus are again the two voices that have the text. Now, however, there are two textless contratenors, a higher that lies in the range of the cantus and a lower in the range of the tenor.¹⁸ The resulting texture differs from a normal four-voice motet not only in having a vocal tenor and cantus, but also in the rhythmic similarity of all four parts. Every part, moreover, is essential to the musical structure, and none could be omitted without damage to the harmonic and rhythmic organization. The increased sonority of four-part polyphony in the Agnus Dei does more than provide a fitting climax for the Barcelona Mass. By its style and structure, that polyphony foreshadows fifteenth-century developments, including the emergence of an international musical style that will be discussed in the final chapters of this book. The entire Mass, indeed, might have been designed as a survey of musical styles from simultaneous, through secular song, to the newest hybrid styles of the closing fourteenth century. It is this aspect of the Barcelona Mass that makes it both the most unusual and most interesting of the early Mass compilations.

MUSICALLY RELATED MASS MOVEMENTS AND THE SORBONNE MASS

Most fourteenth-century Mass movements appear to have been composed as independent pieces with no thought of establishing musical relationships among the various parts of the Ordinary. Indeed, the stylistic contrasts in the movements brought together to form the Barcelona Mass stand in direct opposition to the concept of a musically unified Mass cycle. Even the superficial unity of the Tournai and Toulouse Mass compilations probably reflects no higher artistic consideration than a desire—or need—to maintain one method of performance throughout the service.

In the Sorbonne Mass, however, the Agnus Dei quotes sections from both the Kyrie and the Sanctus and thus gives evidence of an attempt to create some measure of unity in the Mass as a whole. This is by no means the only peculiarity of the Sorbonne Mass. On the basis of a "signature in the middle of the Kyrie," the entire Mass has been attributed to one Johannes Lambuleti.¹⁹ Whether Lambuleti was responsible for

18. *Mass Music*, No. 72, adds text to the higher contratenor part.

19. The Mass was first described, with a complete facsimile and partial transcriptions, by J. Chailley in the article cited in fn. 11 above. All movements are published in *Mass Music*, Nos. 3, 36, 63, 70, and 75.

the composition or compilation of all the movements, or even of the Kyrie, remains somewhat doubtful. If the Mass is indeed his work, Lambuleti, following Machaut, would become the second fourteenth-century composer to write what was probably a complete polyphonic setting of the Mass Ordinary.

As it now stands, the Sorbonne Mass lacks a Credo but ends with a fifth movement in the form of a two-voice *Benedicamus Domino*. With possibly this one exception, every movement is incomplete to some extent, but enough has been preserved to establish that they all draw some part of their musical material from other sources, primarily the older Avignon repertory of the Ivrea Codex. Such borrowings from preexistent polyphony are not without precedent, and in a few other instances the same or similar material appears in different Mass movements. We may use the Sorbonne Mass, however, to illustrate some of the ways in which composers used borrowed material to create related but different Mass movements.

For the Sorbonne Kyrie in motet style, Lambuleti took the tenor of a two-voice Kyrie in *Iv*²⁰ and added two upper voices, neither of which resembles the cantus of his source. Both Kyries are tropes, but with different texts and a curious discrepancy of position. The Ivrea Kyrie is sung to the first three stanzas of the trope *Sol justicie* and is therefore Kyrie I. (The Christe and Kyries II and III are either missing or illegible in the three versions copied in *Iv*.)²¹ The text of the Sorbonne Kyrie, on the other hand, is the ninth stanza of a widely known trope, *Kyrie Rex genitor*. It seems probable, therefore, that the Sorbonne Mass originally began with a much more extended Kyrie in four sections—Kyrie I, Christe, Kyrie II, and Kyrie III—of which only the last survives.

The Gloria in simultaneous style is also for three voices and is incomplete at the end rather than at the beginning. All of the upper voice has been preserved (132 measures), but the tenor is missing after measure 29 and the middle voice after measure 55. This movement opens with an almost exact quotation of the first two measures of a Credo in *Iv* (Example XVI-8). Thereafter, the two movements go their separate ways, and the claim that one is a "parody" of the other rests on a few and scattered similarities that might be found in any two movements written in the same mensuration and mode.²²

The correspondence between the opening measures of the Sorbonne Gloria and the Ivrea Credo must have been deliberate, but it is the only link between the two movements that can be established with any certainty. That link makes it probable, nevertheless, that the Sorbonne Mass once included the Ivrea Credo.

Despite the fragmentary state of the Sorbonne Sanctus, it clearly

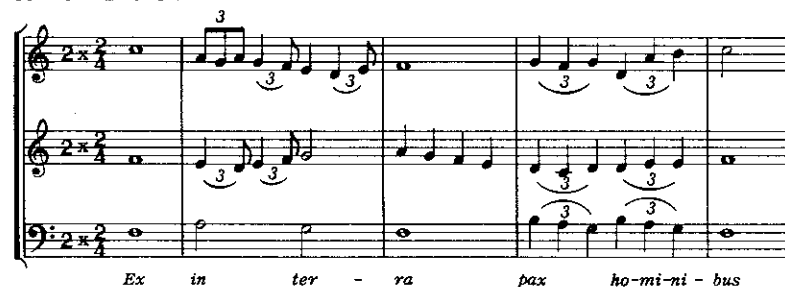
20. *Mass Music*, No. 6.

21. See *Mass Music*, Critical Text, p. 26.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 54, and 90, with n. 176.

Example XVI-8: Opening Measures of Sorbonne Gloria and Ivrea Credo

SORBONNE GLORIA



IVREA CREDO No. 48 (*Mass Music*, No. 43)

derives from an Ivrea Sanctus, which, in turn, is a reworking of an Agnus Dei in a manuscript now in the municipal library of Cambrai.²³ The relationships of the three movements are again complex, but the order of their composition is unmistakable. In the Sorbonne Sanctus, literal quotations from the Ivrea Sanctus include parts of an introduction that this intermediate movement added to the Cambrai Agnus Dei. Interspersed among these quotations we find other, more or less varied excerpts from the Ivrea Sanctus and a few passages that appear to be entirely new.

Only two voices of the Sorbonne Agnus Dei have been preserved, but in Agnus I they fit perfectly with the single voice of the Sanctus, measures 1-12.²⁴ Confirming this restoration is the resulting literal quotation of the first four measures of the Ivrea Sanctus. Thus we can be sure that both the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the Sorbonne Mass were originally three-voice compositions and that the surviving parts of the latter movement are the upper voice and the tenor. The second Agnus is unrelated to any surviving part of the Sorbonne Mass, but the outer voices of the Kyrie return with only slight changes in Agnus III. It seems probable, therefore, that Agnus II also quoted preexistent material, perhaps from an earlier portion of the Kyrie.

23. See *Mass Music*, No. 66 for the Ivrea Sanctus, and No. 71 for the Agnus Dei.

24. The three voices are reassembled in *ibid.*, No. 63.

Following the Agnus Dei, a two-voice setting of *Benedicamus Domino* seems to conclude the Sorbonne Mass. Whether it was meant to fulfill this function is somewhat doubtful. The text normally replaced *Ite, missa est* only when the Gloria was not sung, and the setting is stylistically incongruous with the rest of the Mass. The upper voice is the well-known plainchant *Benedicamus II* (LU, p. 124) transposed up a fourth. With this melody, the added voice moves almost entirely in contrary motion and in strict note-against-note counterpoint with only two note values, longs and breves. More than two-thirds of the intervals are perfect consonances—unisons, fifths, and octaves—and the rest are either thirds or sixths. In effect, therefore, the *Benedicamus Domino* differs scarcely at all from free organum as described and illustrated by John of Afflighem some three centuries earlier. It suggests, indeed, that counterpoint of this sort—probably improvised more often than written down—continued to be used when more elaborate compositions were not available.

The Sorbonne Mass has been hailed both as an early example of parody technique and as a forerunner of the unified cyclic Mass. Neither claim can be accepted without qualification. The sixteenth-century parody Mass drew on a preexistent polyphonic composition—motet, chanson, or madrigal—for the musical material that unified its five movements. Composers displayed their ingenuity and craftsmanship by the ways in which they adapted and expanded this basic material to meet the formal requirements of the different liturgical texts. The fourteenth-century use of borrowed material seems to have had other goals. In its simplest form it is but another instance of the common medieval practice of providing old music with new words. The first and third Agnus of the Sorbonne Mass, in fact, are no more than contrafacta. More elaborate reworking of borrowed material in the Sorbonne Sanctus does resemble the later parody techniques to some extent. What was common practice in the sixteenth century, however, was extremely rare in the fourteenth, and there is no evidence of continuous development or indeed of any historical connection between the two.

A consideration of musical unity in the Sorbonne Mass imposes much the same conclusions. Four of the five movements—if we include the *Benedicamus Domino*—draw to some extent from outside sources wholly unrelated to each other. Thus, although the Sorbonne Mass consists of arrangements rather than ready-made movements, it too is essentially a compilation and not a composed musical entity. Only the Agnus Dei introduces a measure of unity by its quotations from the Sanctus and the Kyrie. This process does not mean that the Kyrie and Sanctus are themselves related. Indeed, the Agnus Dei emphasizes diversity rather than unity in a way that almost seems intentional. Its three sections are in different modes, or at least end on different notes—G, D, and C—and Agnus II contrasts with the outer sections by being in triple rather than

duple mensuration. Even more than the Mass as a whole, therefore, the Agnus is a pastiche of unrelated material, and its unifying effect is largely offset by its own lack of artistic unity. We cannot know, unfortunately, whether the complete Mass revealed more interrelationships than the existing fragments indicate. It seems unlikely, nevertheless, that Lambuleti—if he was indeed the sole arranger and compiler—was greatly concerned about the musical unity of his Mass. As we shall see in the next chapter, neither tonal nor melodic nor even stylistic unity is to be found in the one fourteenth-century Mass known to be wholly original and the work of a single composer, Guillaume de Machaut. It remained for composers of the following century to develop the concepts and techniques that would make the musically unified Mass cycle the crowning achievement of Renaissance choral polyphony.