INTRODUCTION

EARLY HISTORY OF POLYPHONY FOR THE ORDINARY OF THE MASS

The practice of performing polyphonically parts of the Ordinary
of the Mass seems to be almost as old as liturgical polyphony itself.
It is true that the Musica Enchiriadis and Guido's Micrologus do not
use as examples of organum any sections of the Ordinary — and here one
may wonder with Ludwig if the particular categories of composition found
in the earliest sources may be a matter of chance —,[1] but what may be
the oldest practical (non-theoretical) monument of polyphony, one of the
Winchester Tropers,[2] already includes a number of Ordinary pieces.
Among the more than one hundred and fifty two-part organa, chiefly
Alleluia Verses and Responsories, we find twelve settings of the Kyrie
(four troped) and eight Gloria tropes. The staffless neumes of the

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[1]Friedrich Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 11. und 12.
Jahrhunderts," Bericht des III. Kongress der Internationalen
Musikgesellschaft, Wien, 1909 (Vienna, 1909), pp. 102 and 106.

[2]Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 473. Jacques
Handschin dates the Winchester polyphony soon after 1000 in his Musik-
geschichte im Ueberblick (Lucerne, 1948), p. 153. The two-part
antiphon in MS Einsiedeln 121 cited by Ludwig ("Die geistliche nicht-
liturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des
Mittellaters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," Handbuch der Musik-
geschichte, ed. Guido Adler [Vol. I, 2nd. ed.; Berlin-Wilmersdorf,
1929], pp. 164 and 166) as an example of tenth-century polyphony has
been questioned by Handschin ("The two Winchester Tropers," The Journal
of Theological Studies, XXVII [1936], 161) and Gustave Reese (Music in
the Middle Ages [New York, 1940], p. 263).

Winchester manuscript preclude an exact reading of the melodies, but
they do reveal that the counterpoint is homorhythmic (note against
note), and follows a procedure which is not incompatible with the rules
of Guido.

A style of free organum which places more emphasis upon contrary
motion is presented in the late eleventh or early twelfth century trea-
tise Ad organum faciendum,[1] a source, moreover, which provides us with
a few more of the rare examples of Ordinary compositions before the
thirteenth century. One of the three pieces prefixed to this treatise
and employing its characteristic letter notation is the widely used
Kyrie trope, "Cunctipotens genitor". Since only the verses for Kyrie I,
Christe I, and Kyrie IV are given,[2] we may assume that the remaining
verses were sung in plainsong (if, indeed, the pieces in this manuscript
were ever intended to be used in the divine service; they serve merely
as illustrations to a theoretical text). Another of the three composi-
tions is an untroped Benedicamus Domino with three alternate upper parts.

The last-named brings up a question of general importance in
connection with our study. The Benedicamus Domino, both with and with-
out tropes, was one of the most widely used texts for polyphony

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[1]Found in Milan, Bib. Ambrosiana, MS 17. Published in
C. Coussemaker, Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge (Paris, 1852),
p. 226ff.

[2]The complete text is in AH, XLVII, No. 4.

throughout the Middle Ages. Were these settings intended for the Benedicamus which is sung at the end of most Offices (in particular, Vespers and Lauds), or the one sung at the end of the Mass when the Ite missa est is not used? A solution for this problem is extremely difficult. According to Josef Jungmann, the Ite missa est was originally used in Rome in every Mass of whatever character, as well as at the end of other services. On the other hand, the Benedicamus Domino may have been the closing formula for the Gallican liturgy. There is no trace of the Benedicamus in Rome before 1000, but in the eleventh century it was introduced alongside of the Ite missa est on the days when the Gloria is omitted (i.e., during Advent and the period from Septuagesima to Easter, in ferial Masses, and a few other occasions).[1]

While this is the case for the churches in Rome, it must not be thought that it was a general practice. The Roman liturgy was increasingly adopted throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, but there was still considerable variation in details from diocese to diocese. Monastic churches, particularly, tended to retain their traditional liturgies. The twelfth century Calixtinus Codex from Santiago de Compostela contains an (extensively troped) monophonic Mass cycle of St. James including Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Lesson, Sanctus, Agnus, and

[1]Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia (3rd ed.; Freiburg, 1952), II, 528f.

Benedicamus Domino.[1] Evidence of a practice differing from the Roman

as late as the fourteenth century may be seen in the Huelgas codex,

discussed in detail below. The liturgical music in this manuscript is

exclusively for the Mass. Together with five settings of the Kyrie,

one of the Gloria, one of the Credo, eight of the Sanctus, nine of the

Agnus, and a few items from the Proper of the Mass, there are thirty

settings of the Benedicamus, but not a single Ite missa est. An

example from Italy is the polyphonic Mass cycle found in the fourteenth

century manuscript P, which contains both a Gloria and a Benedicamus.

We may also cite the fourteenth century Mass of Besançon.

In view of all this, we can by no means be certain of the

liturgical position of the polyphonic settings of the Benedicamus left

in the sources. A decision would have to be made for each case, taking

into account the character of the manuscript, its date and place of

origin, and the liturgical usage of the locality with which it was

connected. Since knowledge of one or all of these is very frequently

lacking for a particular source, it is obvious that the question is far

too complicated to be taken up in a brief survey such as the one with

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[1]Fols. 133-139v.

which we are concerned here.[1] It may only be added that most of the
Benedicamus settings found in the Notre Dame sources and in England
during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries were probably intended for
the Offices.[2]

The oldest St. Martial manuscript,[3] which may date from the
end of the eleventh century, has two Benedicamus tropes for two voices.
No further pieces for the Ordinary appear to have survived from this
early period.[4]

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[1] The statement by Jungmann (op. cit., p. 541) that the
Benedicamus in the Mass (in contrast to the Offices) was, in general,
not troped, would seem to provide a point of departure for the inves-
tigation of this problem. But — aside from the fact that both troped
and untroped versions could be used in the Offices — Jungmann's
statement must be accepted with reservation. He himself cites one,
exception, and the evidence of the Huelgas and Calixtinus manuscripts
speaks against it. (22 of the 30 Benedicamus compositions in Huelgas
are troped.)

[2] Frank Harrison (Music in medieval Britain [London, 1958], pp.
109ff. et passim) gives information taken from various Ordinals
(Ordines) and Customaries (Consuetudinaria) in use in England indicat-
ing the frequent polyphonic performance at Vespers and Lauds of the
Benedicamus or a Benedicamus-substitute (i.e., a composition usually in
the poetic and musical form of the conductus, either including the
liturgical words — hence, a trope — or not, which was performed in
place of the Benedicamus. Motets could also have been used). Concern-
ing the Benedicamus-conductus, termed "Benedicamus-paraphrase" or
"Benedicamus-introduction" by Handschin, see his Musikgeschichte, p.
157ff. and his chapter, "Trope, sequence, and conductus," in Early
medieval music up to 1300, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes ("New Oxford history
in music," ed. J.A. Westrup, et al., Vol. II; London, 1954), pp. 128ff.

[3] Paris, Bib. Nat., f. lat. 1139 (main part).

[4] The listing of the two-part Kyrie in Venice, Bib. Naz. di San Mar
Marco, MS LIII 125 as eleventh century in Margareta Melnicki, Das
einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters (Dissertation, Erlangen,
1954), p. 78, is obviously an error. On page 136 the author lists this
manuscript as fifteenth century, and, on page 125, the MS LIII 124 as
eleventh century.

Does this scarcity of practical monuments mean that polyphony

was employed only with extreme rarity in the Mass? Not at all. Modern

writers have probably underestimated the extent to which improvised

polyphony was performed throughout the Middle Ages. A large number of

treatises, beginning with the organum sections of the Musica Enchiriadis

and extending through the fourteenth, fifteenth, and even the sixteenth

century are primarily guides to improvisation in homorhythmic style. At

first called "organum"; later, after the sustained-tenor style came into

practice, it was often called "discant"; but the terminology was never

standardized.[1] Anonymous II names it directly: discantus ex improviso.[2]

The rules are applied by the singer supra librum (i.e., reading from a

plainsong book). Parts of the Ordinary of the Mass, along with many

other types of chant, would seem to have been sung this way often.[3]

Handschin cites an Ordo Officiorum from Siena in 1213 compiled by the

Sienese canon Odericus.[4] He reports that of all the Ordinals or

Ceremonials which he has seen, this one provides for the greatest use

of polyphony. The number of pieces marked cum organo is even much

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[1] An excellent survey of the whole topic of discant, both
improvised and notated, may be found in the article by M. Bukofzer,
"Discantus" (MGG, III, cols. 559ff.).

[2] C. Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi, nova series
(Paris, 1864-76), I, 311.

[3] Cf. Bukofzer, op. cit., col. 569.

[4] Musikgeschichte, p. 182.

greater than those left in the Notre Dame manuscripts (if we do not

count conductus and motets, which are not mentioned in the Sienese

source). Parts of the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus)

were included. Bishop Grandisson's Ordinal for the Cathedral in Exeter

(1337) allows polyphony to a surprising degree, including parts of the

ritual for which no known polyphonic settings have come down to us

either in the fourteenth century or later. On Greater Double Feasts

all of the Ordinary, including the "Deo gratias" response of the Ite

missa est, plus the Introit when sung the third time,[1] the Sequence

(Prosa), and the Offertory could be sung polyphonically. Interestingly,

polyphony could also be used post Sanctus, ex licencia (i.e., during

the Canon!). Even on ordinary Sundays, the Kyrie, Sequence, Sanctus,

and Agnus were allowed.[2] Notably absent in these lists are the solo

responsorial chants which play such a large part in the Notre Dame

sources. What the Exeter Mass parts have in common is that they are all

chants usually assigned to the chorus. The same cannot be said, how-

ever, about a Statute of the Chapel of Bourges in 1407: "Jubemus quod in

omni missa cujuscunque solemnitatis sit, . . . semper officium

[= Introit], Responsorium [= Gradual], Alleluja, Offertorium et

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[1]Thus, the older practice of repeating the Introit between
the Verse and the Gloria Patri was used.

[2]Harrison, op. cit., pp. 109ff. For a theory of what might
have been sung after the Sanctus, see pp. 122ff.

Postcommunio discantabuntur, et similiter Kyrie eleison, Gloria in excelsis, Prosa, Sanctus, Agnus, nisi organisentur."[1]

The manner of notation in the Winchester Troper is interesting, and may also be related to the practice of improvised discant. Most of the music in the manuscript consists of plainchant. Grouped together in one section are additional voices to some of the chants under the heading: Incipiunt melliflua organorum modulamina super dulcissima celestia preconia. This is, in effect, merely writing down what was usually left to improvisation.

> It would not even be unreasonable to argue that
> Winchester, just because it has left such a
> large amount of polyphony notated, was inferior
> to others that could rely entirely on improvi-
> sation. But I think that would be too paradox-
> ical. I would rather see in that collection a
> proof of the special care devoted to polyphony
> at Winchester, and probably also in other
> English cathedrals.[2]

While the above is probably true for Winchester, due to its early date, we would be rash to offer the same explanation for a number of pieces in the same "primitive" style, or nearly so, which have come down to us from a later period, particularly in Germanic countries in

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[1] Quoted in P. Wagner, Geschichte der Messe (Leipzig, 1913), p. 81. Organisentur refers to the use of the organ.

[2] Handschin, "The two Winchester Tropers," loc. cit., p. 162.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some of these pieces are still written in plainchant notation. A manuscript in Engelberg, Switzerland written in 1372 has thirty polyphonic pieces, among them troped Kyrie compositions, two Santus tropes, an Agnus trope, and four Benedicamus settings (two troped), all in two voices.[1] A fourteenth century Gradual from the Cistercian abbey of Altenryf (now in the library of the Maigrauge monastery near Freiburg, Switzerland) has a three-voiced Agnus trope in the form of a _rondellus_.[2] An Italian example may be seen in the "contrapunto" for two voices on the Credo text found in a fifteenth century manuscript from Pisa.[3]

All of the above examples of late "primitive" discant lie outside the main line of development of medieval polyphony, to which we now return. A troped Benedicamus in two voices is found in a twelfth century manuscript from Lucca (probably the oldest Italian practical monument of polyphony).[4] The later St. Martial sources have a number

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[1]See Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Werke der Handshrift Engelberg 314," _KJ_, XXI (1906), 48ff, and Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," _Schweizerisches Jahrbuch fur Musikwissenschaft_, III (1928), 64ff. Several of the Ordinary pieces are transcribed in the supplement. A number of sources for this style and further references are given in H. Anglès, _El, codex musical de Las Huelgas_ (Barcelona, 1931), I, 103f.

[2]Wagner, _Geschichte der Messe_, p. 31.

[3]Seminario, MS without signature. Two pages of the Credo are reproduced in _MGG_, II, Plate 59.

[4]Bib. capit., MS 603. The Benedicamus is transcribed in A. Hughes, _Early medieval music up to 1300_ ("New Oxford history of music," II), p. 281.

of Benedicamus tropes as well as one untroped Benedicamus.[1]   The
Calixtinus codex from Santiago de Compostela[2] includes two polyphonic
Kyrie tropes, five Benedicamus tropes (a middle voice was later added to
one of these), three pieces which do not contain some form of the words
"Benedicamus Domino" but seem to have been substitutes for it, and three
settings of the Benedicamus without tropes.

The two styles characteristic of the twelfth century are found
in all these pieces: melismatic organum and discant, the latter either
strictly homorhythmic or a modification of this style which is frequently
to be observed throughout this and the following century. This modified
style is characterized by a group of notes in one part against a group
of notes in the other, not necessarily the same number in both groups
(but rarely, if ever, will the lower voice have more notes than the
upper). Typically, a neume of from one to five notes is set against
another neume of from one to five notes; hence, "neume against neume"
style rather than "note against note":

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[1]In Paris. B.N., f. lat. 3719. Wagner's statement (op. cit.,
p. 30) that [other] Ordinary pieces are found in the St. Martial MSS
seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Ludwig, Kongressbericht 1909,
p. 107.

[2]Complete ed.: Liber sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus, ed. Dom G.
Prado and W.M. Whitehill (2 vols; Santiago de Compostela, 1944) Vol. II
includes facsimiles and transcriptions into modern plainsong notation
of all the music.

Ex. 1   Beginning of <u>Rex immense</u>, Calixtinus Codex, f. 189

The great Notre Dame School in Paris does not appear to have used polyphony for the Ordinary of the Mass, to judge from the manuscripts which are preserved,[1] which leave almost entirely settings of the solo portions of responsorial chants (Graduals, Alleluia Verses, Responds of Matins, etc.), as well as conductus and motets. As stated above, the several settings of the Benedicamus (<u>e.g.</u>, eleven in <u>F</u> and four in <u>W</u>$_2$) were probably sung at the Offices.

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[1]Catalogued in Ludwig, <u>Reportorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili</u> (2 vols.; Halle, 1910).

The most considerable body of polyphony for the Ordinary that
has come down to us after the Winchester Troper is found in the manu-
script which preserves as well the earliest repertory from the Notre
Dame School, W_1.[1] Originating in the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrew's,
Scotland, it preserves in its main corpus (Fascicles I-X) not only a
large amount of early thirteenth century music from France, but also a
certain number of pieces which in the opinion of Handschin probably were
composed in the British Isles, although not at St. Andrew's itself.[2]
Among these pieces are a trope to the Sanctus (fol. 20v)[3] and two Agnus
tropes (fols. 111v and 167v) in two voices, and a group of three Sanctus
tropes and two Agnus tropes (fols. 82v-85v) in three voices. All of
these compositions have music only for the tropes, with the liturgical
plainchants indicated by brief incipits which serve as cues. This is
common practice of the period even for monophonic tropes (as can be

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[1]Inventory (except conductus): Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 7ff.
Facsimile edition: J.H. Baxter, An old St. Andrew's music book (London,
1931). Alphabetical index: A. Hughes, Index to the facsimile edition
of MS. Wolfenbüttel 677 (Edinborough, 1939).

[2]"A monument of English medieval polyphony: The manuscript
Wolfenbüttel 577," The Musical Times, LXXIII (1932), 510ff; LXIV (1933),
697ff.

[3]The numbers refer to the new foliation, not the old.

observed in Fascicle X, which has a group of six tropes to the Sanctus
and six to the Agnus, fols. 168v-174v). None of the polyphonic tropes
occurs in any other source. The style is rather close to that of Notre
Dame with perhaps a less exaggerated difference between organum and dis-
cant and more use of thirds in the counterpoint. Handschin's suggestion
of an "insular" origin of these pieces may turn out to be correct, but in
the absence of further evidence we must consider it merely a hypothesis.

Most of the settings of the Benedicamus Domino[1] are to be found
in other Notre Dame manuscripts. Those without tropes are set as melis-
matic organum. The one on fol. 96v-97 is in the same style except that
it is followed by a conductus-trope. The last two are quite long
conductus with the words "Benedicamus Domino" coming at the end.

One composition deserves special attention: on fols. 95v-96,
interspersed between some Benedicamus settings, there is a two-part com-
position which on first glance appears to be a trope to the Gloria. The
piece occurs also in the conductus fascicles of F and Ma. Clemens Blume
lists only these two sources for the text,[2] and G. Milchsack prints it
after the version in W₁;[3] thus, it is a composition apparently found only
in Notre Dame manuscripts. The piece is unusual in several respects.

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[1]Three in two voices, ff. 62-62v and ff. 94v-95v; three in three
voices, ff. 7v-9; three troped in two voices, ff. 96v-97 and ff. 122v-
123v.

[2]AH, XLVII, No. 246, where Ma is referred to as "Cod. Matriten.
Tolet. 33-23."

[3]Hymni et sequentiae, I (Halle, 1886), p. 171ff.

Not only does it begin polyphonically with the words "Gloria in excelsis
Deo" (followed by the first stanza of the trope), but the liturgical text
only goes as far as "bonae voluntatis"; thereafter, the text continues
for several stanzas in the manner of a sequence. The liturgical words
are pulled apart and imbedded within the poetic metrical structure of the
verse. This is highly uncharacteristic of Gloria tropes in verse, which
almost without exception intersperse self-contained stanzas between the
prose phrases of the Gloria text. (This unusual technique is found, how-
ever, in a certain small class of Sanctus tropes.)[1] In his summary of
the contents of the various fascicles of W_1 Handschin evidently was
including this composition along with the Agnus tropes on fols. 111v and
167v when he stated that there are three Ordinary tropes in Fascicle IX.[2]
Blume calls it simply a "paraphrase" of the Gloria,[3] adding that it is
"obviously not a trope," a judgment which seems indisputable since it is
not remotely similar to any other trope to the Gloria of the Mass.

It seems likely, however, that this composition is a trope to the
Verse of *Hodie nobis caelorum*, the first Responsory in the first Nocturn

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[1] See AH, XLVII, Nos. 279, 284, 285, 304, and others. Tropes to
the very brief texts of the Kyrie, Ite missa est, and Benedicamus, of
course, use this as a standard technique.

[2] *The Musical Times*, LXXIV (1933), 697 ff. However, in his
Musikgeschichte, p. 191, he mentions only tropes to the Sanctus and
Agnus for fascicles I-X.

[3] AH, XLVII, p. 299. Ludwig follows Blume. (*Repertorium*, I, 40.)

of Matins on Christmas Day.[1] This "verse" is the beginning of the

Greater Doxology: "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus

bonae voluntatis." The whole Responsory has the form R V R' D R, where

D is the Lesser Doxology in its older, shorter version: "Gloria Patri,

et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto." A closer examination of our trope

reveals that references to this are also found. The complete text is

as follows:

1a. Gloria in excelsis Deo,
Redemptori meo,
Galileo,
Sidereo
  Binae maiestatis.[2]
	1b. Et in terra pax hominibus,
	Non tamen omnibus;
	Ergo quibus?
	Fidelibus
	  Bonae voluntatis.

2a. Hinc amor, inde tremor;	2b. Inter utrumque premor.

3a. Alleluia; expositum
  Laudate invisibilem
	3b. Patrem, filium, spiritum,
	  Magnum, rufum et humilem!

4a. Christe, nostram electrum,
Tu lyrae nostrae plectrum
  Angelicis adapta;
	4b. Formam nostram reforma,
	Nos angelis conforma
	  Captivitate capta.

5a. Ergo sit gloria
  Patri et filio,
	5b. Et sit laus tertia
	  Flamini tertio;

6a. Patri potentia,
Nato scientia,
  Flamini bonitas;
	6b. Trina est gratia,
	Una essentia,
	  Aequalis deitas.

The eleventh fascicle of W_1 contains fifteen two-part composi-

tions for the Ordinary, thirty-two for the Proper, a sequence, and a

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[1] Liber responsorialis pro festis I. classis et communi sanctorum juxta ritum monasticum (Solesmes, 1895), p. 56.

[2] W_1 reads here: "Fide reo, / Bone maiestatis."

Marian antiphon, all grouped in categories according to the order of the
Mass liturgy. These pieces were probably intended for the small Votive
Masses of the Virgin (in distinction to the great feasts of the Virgin)
which were so popular during the Middle Ages. Many churches celebrated
a weekly Mary-Mass on Saturdays; some even observed it daily.[1] Among
the Ordinary sections, we find seven Kyrie tropes (ff. 176-177v), a
Gloria (ff. 178v-179v) which sets polyphonically the complete liturgical
text -- even the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" which is traditionally
assigned to the officiant -- as well as the trope verses, four Sanctus
tropes (ff. 195-196), and three Agnus tropes (ff. 197-197v). Only the
last Sanctus has the liturgical text as well as the trope; the others
have plainchant cues. Similarly, only the first Agnus has the complete
liturgical text with the trope; but here, apparently, the two other
tropes are meant to be used with the liturgical parts of the first.

The style of all the compositions in the last fascicle of W_1 is
that of neume against neume. The relative modesty of these pieces in
comparison to those of the earlier fascicles is probably due to their
use in the smaller-scale Votive Masses, as Handschin believed,[2] rather

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[1] See Harrison, op. cit., p. 77ff. It is interesting to observe
that at the end of his life Guillaume de Machaut and his brother Jean
endowed a weekly Mary Mass to be celebrated on Saturdays at the small
altar of the Roulle in the cathedral of Reims. See A. Machabey,
Guillaume de Machault; le vie, l'oeuvre musicale. (2 vols.; Paris,
1955), I, 69f. Machabey thinks this was probably the origin of the
Machaut Mass (II, 113f.), but it seems doubtful that such a large and
impressive work was intended for weekly performance, especially in the
small-scale Votive Masses.

[2] Musikgeschichte, p. 191.

than to cultural backwardness. It is also important to note that these
pieces are not unique. Two of the Kyrie tropes are found in several man-
uscripts of the period, including that of Las Huelgas, which also has a
third Kyrie concordance without the trope text.[1]

The same style is found in a manuscript from Northern France
from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century
which includes a Sanctus and a Benedicamus.[2] Another French example from
this period may be seen in the Agnus trope in Lille, Bib. de la ville,
MS 95.[3] Even a breviary of ca. 1300 from Paris itself has this old"prim-
itive" style.[4] More and more we are beginning to realize that there
existed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a normal, conservative
style which is that of the last fascicle of W_1. The brilliant effusion

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[1] There are other concordances; see the index by Hughes, op. cit.

[2] See Handschin, "Gregorianisch-Polyphones aus der Handschrift
Paris lat. 15129," KJ, XXV (1930), 60ff. The Benedicamus is transcribed
pp. 73f., and the Sanctus in Handschin, "Eine wenig beachtete Stilrichtung
innerhalb der mittelalterichen Mehrstimmigkeit," Schweizerisches Jahrbuch
für Musikwissenschaft, I (1924), appendix 6. Facsimiles in Coussemaker,
Histoire, Pls. XXIX and XXX (with the old library number, MS 812, and
assigned incorrectly to the twelfth century).

[3] Facsimile in Coussemaker, Histoire, Pl. XXVI. Pl. XXXIII has
part of a (Gloria) "Spiritus et alme" trope in three voices from the
fourteenth century. This Marian trope, perhaps the most popular in the
entire history of the genre, even survived the Tridentine reforms, for
it is found in manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
See D. Bosse, Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlichter Melodien zum
"Gloria in excelsis Deo" (Regensburg, n.d. [Dissertation: Fr. Alexander
Un., Erlangen]), pp. 66 and 68f.

[4] Paris, B.N., f. lat. 15163. See Handschin, Musikgeschichte,
p. 190.

of creativity in the Notre Dame School, with its exaggeration of the
organum style almost to the point of distortion, has so dazzled students
of the Middle Ages that they have, understandably, sometimes forgotten
that it was in fact a fantastic overgrowth which sprung out of a well and
broadly cultivated field.[1]

The over-all situation may be put this way: throughout the Middle
Ages the most extensively used liturgical music was plainchant, espe-
cially in the smaller churches. The next most usual, and very widely
cultivated, was improvised discant. Then we have the style which is
little more than a written-down version of the latter plus its more
artistic extension, the style we have been discussing above. This would
have been practiced in the larger churches and in the great ones on less
important occasions. Finally, we have the elaborate music which could
only have been performed by the highly trained singers of those cathe-
drals and convents which were especially devoted to the highest artistic
cultivation of music.

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[1]cf. ibid., p. 191. For a study of the repertory of one of the
local schools, see David Hughes, "Liturgical polyphony at Beauvais in
the thirteenth century," Speculum, XXXIV (1959), 184ff.

Spanish sources of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centur-

ies[1] preserve a number of compositions for the Ordinary of the Mass in

the Ars Antiqua style:

> Burgos, Parròquia de Sant Estere, unnumbered fragment:
> Et in terra . . . spiritus et alme a 3.
> Agnus a 2.

> Tortosa, Catedral, MS c. 135:
> f. 18v: Sanctus clangat cetus a 2.

> Madrid, Bib. Nac., MS 19421 (a. C.- 88):
> f. 116: Benedicamus a 2.

> Barcelona, Orfeó Català, MS 1:
> Nos. 8, 10-12 (ff. 3v-8): 4 troped Sanctus compositions a 2.
> No. 13 (f.9): Troped Agnus a 2.
> No. 14 (f.9): Troped Agnus a 3.

> Tarragona, Arxiu Episcopal, MS 12:
> No. 20 (f. 20): Agnus trope a 2 (intonation a 1)

> Barcelona, Arxiu Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll 139:
> f. 93v: Agnus trope a 3 (= Huelgas, No. 23)

These manuscripts are all overshadowed by the great collection

of Las Huelgas,[2] which contains polyphony exclusively for the Mass

(unless some of the Benedicamus compositions are for the Offices): forty-

five for the Ordinary, seven for the Proper.[3] The five Kyrie composi-

tions (Nos. 1-5), of which the first three are troped, are all in

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[1] Described in detail in Anglès, El codex musical de Las
Huelgas, I, 63ff.

[2] Complete edition: Anglès, op. cit., 3 vols.

[3] Curiously, Anglès (op. cit., I) gives the figures 42 and 5 on
p. 103. The figures above agree with those he gives on p. 109. There
was originally more music for the Proper. (Ibid., p. 112).

neume-against-neume style in two voices. The troped sections have a
syllable for each neume; the untroped do not. None of the five has all
nine sections composed separately: Nos. 1 and 2 have six troped and
untroped sections alternating; No. 3 has only three troped sections
(Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie); Nos. 4 and 5 have only these three sections
without tropes. Thus, we see that there was an effort to have a variety
of performance possibilities, combined with the alternation of plainchant
or, perhaps, the organ.

The single three-voiced Gloria (No. 6), likewise in neume-
against-neume style (as are all the Ordinary compositions except some of
the Benedicamus pieces), sets "Et in terra . . . voluntatis," and then
only the trope, leaving the liturgical text to be sung in plainchant.
The first of the eight Sanctus compositions (Nos. 13-19 and 48, all in
two parts) is the only one which has the liturgical text without trope;
the others are tropes only,[1] which leaves open the possibility that one
or more of them may have been sung with the first as well as with plain-
chant (a situation similar to what we have seen above with the Agnus
pieces in the eleventh fascicle of W_1)[2] Five (Nos. 14-17 and 48) are
more specifically tropes to the Hosanna. Five (Nos. 15-17, 19, and 48)

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[1] No. 18 has the beginning ("Sanctus" twice) of the Sanctus
GR LV in the lower voice (with counterpoint above) at the end of the
trope. A change of clef is missing in the manuscript (and in the
edition).

[2] See p. 15.

are constructed like sequences, and one (No. 18) like a hymn with five

stanzas. All of the Agnus pieces (Nos. 20-28; Nos. 21-23 and 25 are in

two parts, the others in three) are tropes only with the exception of

one (No. 21), which has "Agnus Dei" a 2, "qui tollis . . . nobis" a 1,

followed by the trope a 2.

Reference has already been made to the large number of

Benedicamus settings in Huelgas. Twenty-one of these are polyphonic

(Nos. 29-45, 144, 174, and 183), all in two voices except for four of

the pieces, which are set for three voices. These four are all in

neume-against-neume style; one (No. 29) has "Benedicamus Domino" fol-

lowed by a trope and another (No. 43), which is rather long, has the

reverse in model rhythm.[1] The other two settings in three voices are

untroped; one of them (No. 144) is a long organum triplum found in the

Notre Dame sources — Anglès thinks that such a long Benedicamus would

certainly have been sung only at Vespers —[2], and the other (No. 40)

is an unusual composition, highly melismatic in model rhythm (first mode,

eighth ordo), which has the form of a rondellus:

Voices	Sections					
III	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
II	b	c	a	b	c	a	b
I	a	b	c	a	b	c	a

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[1]The question of rhythm and meter in many of the Huelgas
compositions is problematic. We shall not go into the matter here,
but merely follow the transcriptions of Anglès.

[2]Ibid., I, 303.

Each section carries one syllable of the text. (There is an extra note at the beginning for "Be-".)

The two-voiced compositions show a variety of styles which might be grouped as follows:

1. Pure organum duplum: No. 49 (untroped).

2. Organum duplum with sections in neume against neume: Nos. 31, 42-42 (troped); 37 (untroped).

3. Neume against neume only:

   a. one syllable per neume: Nos. 33-36, 38-39, 174, 183 (troped); 44-45 (untroped, quite short).

   b. Melismatic: Nos. 30, 32 (untroped).

In the transcriptions by Anglès, the first category and all of the pieces in the third category save one (No. 32) are given in nonmensural notation, whereas all of the pieces in the second category save one (No. 31) are interpreted in modal rhythm. Nos. 174 and 183 are marked in the manuscript: "Johannes Roderici me fecit." Further variety would be observed if we were to take account of the various ways in which the tropes are constructed.

Huelgas also contains a Patrem in three parts (No. 176), but this is a later addition to the manuscript in Ars Nova style. It was a widely-known composition, for it is found in several manuscripts of the fourteenth century, including the Mass of Tournai.

A contemporary and analogous repertory to that of _Huelgas_ in English sources is preserved in the Worcester Fragments.[1] Of polyphony for the Mass Ordinary there are three compositions for the Kyrie (Nos. 1, 2, 29) — discounting No. 97d for which the scribe wrote the text but never entered the music — two for the Gloria (Nos. 80, 88), seven for the Sanctus (Nos. 58-61, 77, 83, 108), and one Agnus (No. 84). All are (or, at least, may be presumed to be from the fragmentary state in which most of them have survived) in three voices with the exception of three: Sanctus No. 77 (which is nothing more than another version of the two lower parts of Sanctus No. 61), Sanctus No. 62, and Gloria No. 80 (both for two voices). The Sanctus No. 83 has no text.

The Worcester compositions fall into two groups; the first group consists of four pieces which are a) in relatively simple discant style, b) either nonmetrical or, at least, not in the characteristic modal

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[1] Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. MS 68; Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS Lat. Liturgy, d. 20. Both of these are collections of leaves from several original codices. The numbering of pieces is that of the _catalogue raisonné_ and complete transcriptions in L. Dittmer, _The Worcester Fragments_ (Rome, 1957), which supercedes A. Hughes, _Worcester mediaeval harmony_ (Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Bucks, 1928).

rhythm of the Ars Antiqua,[1] and c) without tropes. The Et in terra No. 88 (which is also found in Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS Mus. c. 60, ff. 82-83b) is the simplest of all. Non-mensural, it is almost exclusively homorhythmic with one note per syllable varied by a discreet use of two and three note neumes. A liturgical cantus firmus has not been identified, and it is extremely unlikely that one is employed, for the piece is constructed entirely out of simple recitation formulas which are merely harmonic cadences on F for each phrase of the text, excepting only one out of twenty-four phrases: "Agnus Dei" cadences on G. The longer phrases are divided by one or two slight intermediate cadences on other pitches. Dissonances are almost wholly absent, and both perfect and imperfect consonances are used freely in parallel as well as contrary motion. The basic formula, variously and skillfully extended in the beginning for the longer text phrases, may be understood from the form it takes at the words "Glorificamus te":

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[1] As in the case of Huelgas, the Worcester Fragments present several problems concerning rhythm and meter. Of the four pieces under discussion here, Dittmer leaves the Gloria No. 88 in the original notation, transcribes the Sanctus No. 108 in modern reduced note values which, although not put into any meter, use binary subdivisions of the units and, finally, transcribes the Sanctus No. 83 and Agnus No. 84 in simple duple meter. See Dittmer, "Binary rhythm, musical theory, and the Worcester fragments," MD, VII (1953), 39 ff.

Ex. 2. From Et in terra, Worcester No. 88 (after
Dittmer, Worcester Fragments, p. 163)

Glo-ri-fi-ca- mus te.

Although the version in Oxford Mus. c. 60 has the complete text, the one

in Worcester has an interesting omission. At the end, after "Jesu

Christe," the phrase "Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."

is left out completely and the music intended for it is made into a long

melisma on "Je-"[su]. Omission involving references to the Holy Spirit

are common in settings of the Credo in sources (particularly English) of

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. R. Hannas has maintained that

these excisions are theologically inspired.[1] The present case is

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[1]"Concerning deletions in the polyphonic Mass Credo," JAMS, V
(1952), 155ff. Hannas suggests that the omissions reflect the efforts
of Ecclesiastical leaders to find a rapprochement with the Eastern
Church.

especially interesting on two counts: first, because of its early date;
and second, it shows that these considerations influenced not only the
Credo -- which, being a dogmatic statement of Faith, is especially
critical -- but also the Gloria.

The textless Sanctus No. 83 and the Agnus No. 84 show a slight
elaboration over the style of the Gloria. They are in a characteris-
tically English form of discant: the middle voice has the cantus firmus
(here in "neumatic" style), the lowest is a counter to this in homo-
rhythm, and the highest is added with frequent embellishments of two and
three note groups against one note of the others.[1] These two composi-
tions show an interesting interrelationship, a point to which we shall
return later.

The last of the first group of pieces is the Sanctus No. 108,
which is elaborated still more than the previous two. The lowest voice
is almost entirely syllabic, the middle has frequent two and three note
neumes against each of the notes in the lowest voice, and the highest
part has such groups even more frequently. The plainsong cantus firmus

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[1] See Ex. 5, p. 54. Harrison (Music in medieval Britain, p. 152,
note 2) has declared untenable the thesis of Bukofser (Geschichte des
englischen Diskante und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen
[Strasbourg, 1936]) that English discant is characterized by parallelism
with the plainsong normally in the lowest voice. A detailed discussion
of this point may be found in S.W. Kenney, "'English discant' and dis-
cant in England,"MQ, XLV (1959), 26ff.

— if there is one — is probably in the lowest voice.[1] This composition shows a striking degree of unification, similar to, but going beyond, certain plainsong settings of the Sanctus which show highly developed schemes of formal organization.[2] The following analysis will make this clear (var. = variation, tr. = transposition):
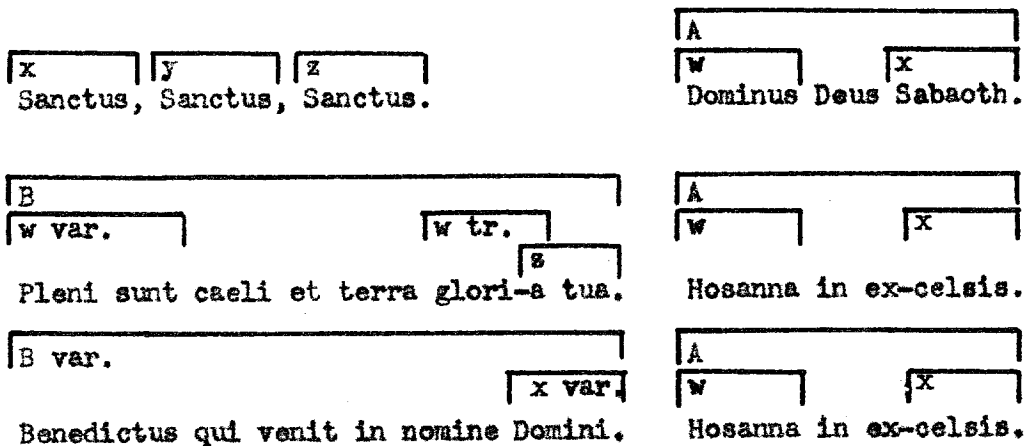
Further, z is really only another, simplified version of x, and y is obviously derived from it. The main motive x is, in effect, the same formula which we saw in the Gloria No. 88:

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[1]Handschin ("Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter," ZfMW, X [1928], 519) proposed that the present tenor is a "simplification" of Sanctus GR VIII. This seems unlikely, since — as he himself pointed out (p. 519, note 2) —, in spite of similarities, the structures of the two melodies are not the same.

[2]E.g., GR XIV and XVII. See W. Apel, Gregorian Chant (Bloomington, Indiana, 1958), p. 416f.

Ex. 3.   Beginning of Sanctus, Worcester No. 108 (after
Dittmer, Worcester Fragments, p. 184).

The compositions of the second Worcester group are in the usual

modal rhythm of the Ars Antiqua, and they are extensively troped. More-

over, they set a trope (sometimes two different ones) against the voice

which carries the plainchant cantus firmus with the unadorned liturgical

text — unless the text is omitted entirely in this part, presumably for

instrumental performance. Thus, these pieces have the character of

motets. This procedure is not wholly new; it goes back at least as far

as the St. Martial sources, which leave two compositions which set a

troped text over an untroped,[1] but it is carried out with such consistency

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[1]See Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, p. 266.

and purpose here that we may recognize it as characteristic of a special category of Mass polyphony of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The tropes in these pieces are not conventional ones of the period. They either take standard tropes and expand them,[1] or else they are known only from this source.[2]

In the Sanctus compositions the voice which has the plainsong melody, where it can be identified with certainty, has a rhythmic form which respects the original phrases of the melody; i.e., it does not impose a foreign, abstract rhythmic scheme upon it. This can be seen most clearly in No. 62, where the Pes (tenor) has the melody of the Sanctus GR VIII, and No. 60, where the Pes has the melody of the Sanctus GR XVII.[3] As nearly as one can determine from the occasionally fragmentary evidence, Sanctus No. 59 uses the trope in the middle voice only[4] and Sanctus No. 60 in the highest voice only. Apparently, No. 61 is the only Sanctus composition which has two different tropes in the upper voices.

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[1] E.g., Sanctus No. 62 (AH, XLVII, No. 291).

[2] E.g., Sanctus No. 60 (AH, XLVII, No. 300).

[3] For the latter, cf. Handschin, ZfMW, X (1927-28), 520.

[4] The words "Mariae filius" are inserted after "Benedictus" in the other two parts.

Sanctus No. 58 is unusual. Only two voices have survived, but
Dittmer thinks that these are the two lower voices and that probably the
missing highest voice had the cantus firmus. The piece is constructed
almost entirely out of voice-exchange: one part has a phrase with the
trope text while the other has no text; then, the two phrases are inter-
changed. This procedure continues throughout the composition; only the
last phrase of the first section and the final phrase of the composition
have the text in both voices simultaneously.

No. 80 is properly a composition of the Regnum tuum solidum rather
than the Gloria. This famous Gloria trope was so widely used that it
achieved a kind of independent status, and was itself often troped.[1] The
present example, similar in style to most of the Sanctus compositions,
has the Regnum text in the lower voice and a trope to that in the upper
voice.

All three Kyrie compositions presumably had plainsong cantus firmi
-- perhaps all without text -- in the lowest voices, and each of the upper
voices had a different trope. All nine sections of the Kyrie are com-
posed and, unlike the Sanctus pieces, the melody of the Pes is arranged
in simple ostinato rhythmic patterns. Thus, these are true motets in the
classical thirteenth century style.

Motets with tenors derived from a plainsong of the Ordinary of
the Mass are sometimes found in thirteenth century sources such as the

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[1] See AH, XLVII, pp. 282ff.

Montpellier and Bamberg codices,[1] but it is a question whether such motets were ever intended for use in the Mass. The Worcester examples, on the other hand, show every indication that they are liturgical compositions.

Under the influence of the Old Hall manuscript and later English Mass cycles which omit the Kyrie, scholars once thought that the Kyrie was normally sung in plainchant during the Middle Ages in England. However, as Bukofzer has pointed out,[2] the number of polyphonic Kyrie settings is unusually high in the fragments of English origin recently discovered. The following is a list of fourteenth century English manuscripts, mostly fragmentary, which contain polyphony for the Ordinary of the Mass:

Cambridge, Univ. Lib., Add. 710
London, Br. Mu., Add. 24199
_____, Add. 38651
_____, Add. 40725
_____, Arundel 14
_____, Sloane 1210
London, Public Records Office, E. 149/7/23 dorse
Oxford, Bod. Lib., 652
_____, mus. c. 60
_____, mus. d. 143
_____, Barlow 55
_____, Fairfax 27
_____, Seldon B 14
Wales, National Lib., Gwysaney 19

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[1] E.g., Kyrie tenors in Mo: Nos. 84, 262, 264, 267, etc.; Ite missa est: No. 261. See Y. Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle*, (4 vols; Paris, 1935-39).

[2] "Changing aspects of medieval and Renaissance Music," MQ, XLIV (1958), 7.

A survey of the polyphonic settings of parts of the Ordinary of the Mass in the earliest centuries (before the Ars Nova) reveals that this liturgical category was not quite so neglected as is commonly supposed. The opinion that little or no polyphonic music for the Ordinary was written before the fourteenth century is largely based on the fact that such pieces apparently found no place in the repertory of the Notre Dame School. Except for this leading center, however, Ordinary pieces are to be found in almost every other school of polyphony known to us. Still, it cannot be denied that the Proper of the Mass and the Offices received more attention from composers than did the Ordinary throughout Europe during these early periods.

Within the area of the Mass Ordinary, the movements with short texts were much preferred over those with long texts; indeed, polyphonic settings of the Credo were rare in the extreme, and the few Gloria settings were usually tropes only. The Benedicamus was the most favored category, with as many untroped examples as troped. For the other movements, however, — Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus — tropes were the rule and

untroped liturgical texts quite exceptional.

The basic style for all of this music was homorhythmic counter-point, either in its strict or in its modified, neume-against-neume form, ordinarily with one syllable per neume. Other styles — e.g., the motet-type Kyrie compositions in the Worcester fragments — were occasionally employed, but they must be regarded as deviations from the norm.

Fourteenth Century French music for the Mass

Turning now to the leading musical nation of Europe during the later Middle Ages, we observe that the old preoccupation with the Proper of the Mass and Offices and the relative unimportance of the Ordinary gives way to a situation in which these roles are quite reversed. This is understood in better context if we remember that the basic change of repertory was from sacred to secular. The extant sources give the impression that composers, while not neglecting liturgical music, were more interested in writing ballades, rondeaux, and virelais plus, of course, motets, but even these were often on secular subjects.[1]

One of the most important centers of liturgical polyphony seems to have been the papal chapel in Avignon, which may have been the place

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[1] For a view that fourteenth century French music for the Mass held a more important place than has usually been accorded it, see L. Schrade, "The chronology of the Ars Nova in France," L'Ars Nova: recueil d'études sur la musique du XIVe siècle. Les colloques de Wegimont, II -- 1955 (Paris, 1959), pp. 54ff.