

Johannes Ockeghem

Missa Quinti toni

Edited with an introduction by
Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

June 2021

ISBN 978-87-93815-10-0

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http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Ock01.pdf

September 2021, corrections, note 31 completed

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Preface

This edition is offered as a companion volume to my edition of Du Fay's mass ordinary *Missa de Sancti Anthonii de Padua*.¹ Ockeghem's three-part mass is already well served by modern editions,² and both of its sources are available in facsimile, in print as well as online.³ However, none of these editions take *Missa Quinti toni*'s quite obvious kinship with Du Fay's mass into account.

The interpretation offered in the present edition is based on an understanding of the hexachordal disposition of Ockeghem's mass. Since some aspects concerning *Missa Quinti toni* have not been touched on in the existing literature, the introduction has become quite extensive. After a survey of the sources and their special features, I discuss the relationship between Du Fay's and Ockeghem's masses, the questions of Ockeghem's use of a model, his composing with hexachordal procedures, the use of imitation, and finally his handling of the rhythmic layout of the mass.

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen
University of Copenhagen, May 2021

- 1 Guillaume Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua (Mass ordinary)*, Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen (June 2019) – at http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Duf01.pdf (hereafter Du Fay, *Anthonii*).
- 2 In two complete editions of the masses, J. Ockeghem (ed. Dragan Plamenac), *Collected Works I*, New York 1959, pp. 1-14, and Johannes Ockeghem (ed. Jaap van Benthem), *Missa Primi toni. Presumably by Johannes Touront. Missa Quinti toni* (Masses and Mass Sections, fascicle III,1), Utrecht 2004 (hereafter Ockeghem, *Quinti toni*), pp. 25-45.
- 3 *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek ms. 5557, Introduction Rob C. Wegman*, Paesen 1989, and at <https://idemdatabase.org/items/show/199>; Herbert Kellman (ed.), *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234* (Renaissance Music in Facsimile 22), New York 1987, and at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.C.VIII.234.

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Introduction

Missa Quinti toni is preserved in two sources, of which one was copied during the lifetime of Ockeghem, while the other dates from shortly after his death in 1497. The so-called 'Chigi Codex' (Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234 (Rome 234)) was probably created as a sort of commemorative collection of his masses. It contains a continuous series of 13 masses by Ockeghem, which takes up the first half of the manuscript. The second part of the manuscript consists of masses by younger composers and of motets, primarily by Johannes Regis – Regis died one year after Ockeghem. The big parchment choirbook was produced in the Burgundian-Habsburg workshops during the years around 1500, with the so-called scribe B as its main scribe.⁴

As Fabrice Fitch has shown in his careful evaluation of the manuscript, the present order of its fascicles is not the original. The lavishly decorated first pages of the Marian mass, *Ecce ancilla Domini* (now ff. 19v-34), opened the volume when it was delivered to its first owner, the Burgundian nobleman Philippe Bouton, seigneur de Corberon. The long life of Bouton (1419-1515) offered him many opportunities to know Ockeghem and his music. He was a courtier and counsellor in the service of the dukes of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon, his godfather, and Charles le Téméraire; later he changed his affinity to the French king Louis XI and finally served Maximilian of Austria. He was *bailli* of Dijon and a poet of some renown.⁵

After the manuscript at some time after 1515 had passed into the ownership of a branch of the Spanish Cardona family residing in Naples, the Bouton coats-of-arms were painted over with those of the Cardona family.⁶ Two fascicles with blank outer pages inside the manuscript contained the *Missa Mi mi*. In the upper left corner of its first opening it was possible to put in a large Cardona coat-of-arms. Therefore these two fascicles were moved forward in the codex in order to function as its new front pages. The scriptorium's original plans most probably had placed *Missa Mi mi* just before *Missa Au travail suis* (ff. 89v-86). Here it formed a small group of works along with *Missa Quinti toni* and the *Requiem* (ff. 115v-136).⁷ The two masses *Cuiusvis toni* and *Prolationum* were then inserted into this group (ff. 96v-114), when they became available to the scribes. This grouping of the masses in the second part of the Ockeghem section gives – as we shall see – good meaning.

The oldest source for *Missa Quinti toni* is the choirbook in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussels, Ms 5557 (Brussels 5557). It is a compilation of paper fascicles, independent

4 Cf. Herbert Kellman (ed.), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535*, Ghent 1999, pp. 125-127, and Fabrice Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, Paris 1997, pp. 11-32.

5 Cf. Kellman, *The Treasury*, p. 127, and Arthur Piaget, 'Les Princes de Georges Chastelain', *Romania* 47 (1921), pp. 161-206 (at pp. 174-179). A list of the works of Bouton is available in *Les Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge* (https://www.arlima.net/mp/philippe_bouton.html).

6 Cf. Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 'The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba coats of arms in the Chigi Codex', *Early Music History* 21 (2002), pp. 223-258.

7 Fitch, *Ockeghem*, p. 22.

fascicles or groups of fascicles belonging together, which were made for or acquired by the Burgundian court chapel between the 1460s and the late 1470s. The collection was bound around 1480 and empty pages inside fascicles or between them were filled out by a series of smaller Latin compositions by Busnoys. The main contents are masses and magnificats (five masses by English composers, Frye, Plummer and Cox, and masses by Du Fay (2), Ockeghem, Heyns, Regis and anonymous). The watermarks of the paper in the eighth fascicle, which contains *Missa Quinti toni*, indicates that this small manuscript was copied in Northern France, most probably in Paris, during the years 1476-1480.⁸ The mass is incomplete, because two pages at the start of the fascicle have disappeared, and the Agnus dei was never copied into it. The curious disposition of the mass in the manuscript with Gloria (incomplete), Credo and Sanctus placed before Kyrie most probably simply reflects the working conditions of its scribe as demonstrated by Jaap van Benthem.⁹ The scribe had the exemplar at his disposal for at short time or intermittently only, not an unknown situation. He started by copying the Kyrie across the opening of a single sheet, either by a mistake or because he expected to have access to this section only. Instead of recopying the Kyrie, when he went on to complete the mass, he just added seven folded and ruled sheets around the first sheet. This made room for copying the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus before the Kyrie, and then the Agnus had to be placed after Kyrie along with much other music. However, the scribe was not able to see his plan to its end. The Agnus was never copied, and the fascicle was incorporated in the choirbook with many empty pages; Busnoys' motet *Anima mea liquefacta est* was later copied in directly following the Kyrie, leaving no space for an Agnus.

As the mass appears incomplete in MS Brussels 5557, it is fortunate that the complete source, which must be dated around two decades later, seems to be based on an exemplar closely related to the one used for the incomplete version, a phenomenon remarked by all scholars reviewing the sources. Brussels 5557 and Rome 234 agree in most details including some errors, especially in the lowest voice, which are tabulated in the editorial report below (see Kyrie, b. 26.1, Credo, bb. 164-165.1 and 217.2, and Sanctus, bb. 9.2, 32.2-33.1 and 111.1; in Sanctus they also share a single error in the upper voice, bb. 84.2-85.1). Another remarkable feature is that in the Credo the long rest in the superius bars 96-108 in both sources is notated as a *semibrevis* rest, six *longa* rests and a *semibrevis* rest; this shows how Ockeghem perceived the distribution of the strong and weak beats in this duo – some scribes would simply have normalized this as one *brevi*s-rest followed by six *longae*.¹⁰ Moreover, in the tenor of both sources bars 109-128 are erroneously written as six *longa*-rests. It should have been 20 bars of rests (ten *longae*); nobody cared as the tenor has nothing more to sing in “Et incarnatus”.

The greatest number of differences between the sources are caused by different scribal habits concerning the use of ligatures, coloration and ornamental notes, and of course by the errors made during copying. In a few places the scribe of Rome 234 had made some

8 Cf. Rob C. Wegman's introduction to the facsimile edition, *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel*. For an overview of older literature, see Rob C. Wegman, 'New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 36 (1986), pp. 5-25.

9 Cf. Ockeghem, *Quinti toni*, pp. VVI-XXII, where also earlier discussions of its disposition in Brussels 5557 are summarized.

10 Benthem describes the rests in this way: “A strikingly misleading notation of rests in the Credo is shared by both sources ...”, *ibid.* p. XXII, note 5.

mistakes, which he soon detected and tried to correct without rewriting whole passages. These corrected errors confirm that his exemplar was very similar to Brussels 5557.¹¹

Not surprisingly, the oldest source, Brussels 5557, copied in Northern France in the mid-1470s, seems to be the one closest to the version put into circulation at an early date, and therefore must be used as the primary source for the edition – as far as it goes. On the other hand, the analysis has shown that Rome 234 as well can be regarded as a trustworthy source. Brussels is more generous with accidentals, of which some were notated in an unusual way, and its version may retain most of the composer's disposition of the hexachordal signatures.

Let us start with the unusual signs. In Kyrie 1 in Brussels 5557, a *mi*-sign on the staff's lowest line appears in the contra before bar 8. It surely does not instruct the singer to sing a G-sharp in bar 10. This sign does not reappear in Rome 234. We meet a similar situation in Credo, where in Brussels 5557 a *mi*-sign, again on the staff's lowest line, stands below the note *c* in bar 2 in the contra. Rome 234 keeps this sign, but has moved it upwards and placed it before the *c*. While a G-sharp in bar 3 certainly is impossible, a *c*-sharp in bar 2 is workable, although it causes a jolt away from the contra's *Bb*-hexachord into a fictive hexachord on *A*. The cross relation between *c'* in the upper voice and the *c*-sharp in the contra is no more striking than the cross relation between *e'* and *e*-flat in the beginning of the Kyrie. However, the credible explanation of the *mi*-signs in Brussels 5557 may rather be that they go back to the composer and function as warning signs that the singer during the next phrases, until he has to mutate away, has to stay in *musica recta* notwithstanding the hexachordal signature of one flat, and sing in the hard hexachord on *Gamma-ut*. The hexachord on *G* fits the music smoothly and is completely logical in these surroundings. These unusual signs were with the distance of time simply in danger of being disregarded or reinterpreted.

The two remaining voices of the second section of Gloria in Brussels 5557 give us a needed flat before *e* in the tenor in bar 97 and an expressive flat before *a* in bar 112, just before the natural *B* in the contra bar 113, which both sources agree on. Both flats mentioned are missing in Rome 234, but space has been left open in the tenor before the *a* in bar 112, as if the scribe was unsure of accepting a flat present in his exemplar. Another expressive accidental appears with the *mi*-sign before *f* in the tenor in the Credo's bar 204 in Brussels 5557; no trace is left of this sign in Rome 234.

In Sanctus, Rome 234 clarifies the situation in the lowest voice by omitting the signature flat before *e* in bars 15-29 and re-introducing the flat by an accidental in bar 26.2. A few bars later, however, it lacks the essential flat before *A* (b. 28.2), which is present in Brussels 5557. A superfluous flat before *e* in the contratenor bar 42.2 in Brussels 5557 might indicate that the passage bars 35-50 ought to have been notated with a signature of only one flat.

For a casual glance the hexachordal signatures in the sources may seem a bit arbitrary. Benthem mentions in passing "the rather bewildering transmission of the signatures in both sources".¹² An analysis of these signatures, which must not be confounded with the more prescriptive key signatures, is summarized in *Figure 1*. It shows that the sources

11 See the analysis in Fitch, *Ockeghem*, pp. 179-183; also touched on in Andrew Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries. Style, Distribution and Case Studies*, New York & London 1995, p. 248.

12 Ockeghem, *Quinti toni*, p. XXII.

Figure 1, hexachordal signatures in the sources for *Missa Quinti toni*
 (- voice missing in source, ♯ no mensural signature, ♭ one flat, ♭♭ two flats)

| | <i>Brussels 5557</i> | | | <i>Rome 234</i> | | | <i>Hypothetical original</i> | | |
|---------------|----------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|---|---------------------|------------------------------|---|----|
| | S | T | C | S | T | B | S | T | C |
| Kyrie 1 | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Christe | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Kyrie 2 | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ |
| Et in terra | - | - | - | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ |
| Qui tollis | - | ♭ | ♭♭ ^a | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Patrem | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Et incarnatus | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Et iterum | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Sanctus | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ |
| Pleni sunt | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ (♭) ^b | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ |
| Osanna | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ |
| Benedictus | ♭ | ♭ | ♭♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Agnus 1, 3 | - | - | - | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ (♭♭) ^c | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ |
| Agnus 2 | - | - | - | ♭ | ♭ | ♭ | ♯ | ♭ | ♭ |

^a The second flat before *e* is most probable an error.
^b The last staff, bars 77-88, has no signature flat before *e*, surely an error.
^c The first staff, bars 1-12, has a signature of two flats, which surely is an error.

agree to a great extent, if we explain and disregard simple errors in the work of the scribes. We find an example of such type of error in the copy of the Kyrie in Rome 234. In the upper voice he accidentally neglected to write a signature in the fifth staff, and he skipped the whole *Christe*-section in the bassus part. Seeing the error, he added *Christe* below the superius, but while the two Kyrie-sections have a two-flat signature in the bassus, *Christe* has only one flat – similar to the superius above. In this way he probably ended up adhering to his exemplar in the *Christe* section. But his original intention surely was to “normalize” the key signatures in the pattern ♭-♭-♭♭.

We find such errors and more or less deliberate changes in both sources. In the second section of *Gloria*, *Qui tollis*, Brussels 5557 has a two-flat signature in the contratenor and a superfluous flat before *e* in bar 97. We most suppose that this flat goes back to the scribe’s exemplar, where it was a needed prescription for safety, because his exemplar just like Rome 234 had a one flat signature. The Brussels scribe probably thoughtlessly continued to use the two-flat signature present in the *Gloria*’s now missing first section. On the other hand, the Rome scribe did not include the flat in bar 97.

Brussels 5557 has in *Sanctus* a uniform set of signatures ♭-♭-♭♭ in all sections. In the second staff of the bassus in Rome 234 (bb. 15-29) the signature flat before *e* disappears, and a needed accidental flat is set in bar 26. This interpretation of the music agrees well with the upper voices and may reflect an older layer in the transmission of the mass.

Similarly, the last staff in *Pleni sunt* (bb. 77-88), the last staff in *Osanna* (bb. 111-124) and all of *Benedictus* (bb. 125-171) in the bassus of Rome 234 all have one-flat signatures only. In the first instance, it is surely a scribal error, but for the others it is difficult to know. In *Osanna* the change comes just where the singers need to sing naturals in a crucial passage, and *Benedictus* may well originally have been notated in a contrasting set of signatures as \flat - b - b , similar to *Kyrie* and *Credo* in Brussels 5557.

It is obvious that the scribe of Brussels 5557 tends to retain the traces of an older tradition of notating hexachordal signatures, which he found in his exemplar, maintaining the preference for no signature in the highest voice, if not strictly necessary, when the lower voices have one-flat signatures only. The Rome 234 scribe working near the end of the century, normalized the signatures by giving the superius a one-flat signature all the way through. This difference in approach is important for the understanding of the nature of this mass.

We can only guess at how Ockeghem had organized the signatures. A very hypothetical sketch of the original pattern of hexachordal signatures is shown in the third column in *Figure 1*.

The inspiration for Missa Quinti toni

In the recent literature on the mass, *Quinti toni* has been discussed from two points of view: as a freely composed mass and as a composition based to some degree on a pre-existing model. Jeffrey Dean implicit and Alexis Luko explicit regarded *Missa Quinti toni* as freely composed and structured according to the traditions of the *Sine nomine* masses.¹³ On the other hand, one of the main theses in Fabrice Fitch's dissertation of 1997 was that the mass is "based on previous material, probably an unnamed song (as in the case of *Mi-mi*), but (unlike *Mi-mi*), a song that has been lost."¹⁴ Aware of Fitch's research, Jaap van Benthem and Andrew Kirkman did not exclude the possibility of it containing vague references to some model, but found that "this may just emphasise the amount of imagination with which the composer, by way of an adventurous compositional technique, challenged structural conventions ..." (Benthem), and "that a clear distinction between 'freely-composed' and 'derived' masses is impossible to draw" (Kirkman).¹⁵ However, both sides of this argument may be correct concerning *Missa Quinti toni*: It is a freely composed mass, and it is clearly inspired by an earlier composition.

The most convincing elements in Fitch's argumentation for *Missa Quinti toni*'s dependence on a model are his discussions of the similar, slightly varied mottos appearing at the start of every main section (see his Example 19), and in particular his demonstration of

- 13 Jeffrey Dean, 'Ockeghem's attitude towards modality: Three-mode and eight-mode typologies' in Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher and Jeffrey Dean (eds.), *Modality in the music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Modalität in der Musik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Musicological studies & documents 49), Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1996, pp. 203-246 (pp. 239 ff); Alexis Fleur Luko, *Unification and Varietas in the Sine nomine Mass from Dufay to Tinctoris*, PhD-dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 2007, pp. 293-341; and Luko, 'Ockeghem's 'Aesthetic of concealment': Varietas and repetition in the *Missa Quinti toni*', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 2011, pp. 3-24.
- 14 Fitch, *Ockeghem*, p. 3. "In short, I contend that all of Ockeghem's Masses (apart from the two 'speculative' ones, which must by their very nature have been freely composed) are based on a *cantus prius factus*."
- 15 Ockeghem, *Quinti toni*, p. XXI; Andrew Kirkman, 'Quinti toni in context: Currents in three-voice mass writing in the later fifteenth century', in Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *Johannes Ockeghem. Actes du XL^e Colloque international d'études humanistes. Tours, 3-8 février 1997* (Collection « Épitome musical » 1), Paris 1998, pp. 481-499 (at p. 497).

the “uncanny similarities” at the ends of the main sections and of subsections, “especially in the method of the Tenor’s melodic design.” (See his Example 20).¹⁶ The similar formulations of the tenor endings are strongly reminiscent of the procedure in Ockeghem’s four-part *Missa Au travail suis*.¹⁷ “The context provided by *Mi-mi* and *Au travail suis* is difficult to ignore, since all three works include similarities in the closing passages of Mass-sections. In two cases out of three, the related passages are derived from a known model, one that is quoted very exactly at the beginning of each movement. Given that these symptoms are exactly those of *Quinti toni*, one is tempted to ascribe them to the same cause.”¹⁸

In 2010, Fitch commented in passing on his earlier assessment: “... those of Ockeghem’s works in which the relation to borrowed material appears problematized, to the extent that scholars differ as to whether material has been borrowed at all. The case of the *Missa My-my* is the most conspicuous, and my own suggestion concerning the *Missa Quinti toni* is still more speculative. Only with the *Missa Au travail suis* is the presence of a model incontrovertible; ...”¹⁹ In fact, the Kyrie of this mass presents the tenor of its song model unaltered in its tenor.

Missa Quinti toni includes a similar revealing instance. In Agnus II, the contratenor comes in after a long duet between superius and tenor in bar 84 and sings only the notes of the hexachord on *c*, *hexachordum naturalis*, starting with two notes only, then three notes adding one more step, incrementally building up the complete *c*-hexachord, which sounds – up and down – in bars 97-104. Only in the last four bars it becomes combined with a fictive hexachord on *F* to bring Agnus II to a close in F. Similarly, in *Pleni sunt* the tenor joins the superius and contratenor duet and sings within the *f*-hexachord only for the last 12 bars (Sanctus, bb. 76-88). The self-imposed limitation of keeping a passage within the hexachord is even more conspicuous at the end of Benedictus, where the tenor comes in again after a long rest with the word “domini” up and down the *f*-hexachord, while the voices around it imitates hexachordal fragments (Sanctus, bb. 162-171). This clearly indicates that *Missa Quinti toni* builds on a play with hexachords. The inspiration for it is easy to find if we look at the tenor endings tabulated by Fitch. He for certain remarked a recurring figure, “an ascent and descent up the hexachord from *f* to *d'* and down again.”²⁰ We do not need to look at all Fitch’s examples; it is enough to single out a couple. *Example 1* compares the tenor endings of Kyrie II and of the first part of Credo in Ockeghem’s mass with the corresponding passages in Guillaume Du Fay’s three-part *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*, whose setting of the mass ordinary is a veritable compendium on free composing of large musical structures with the help of hexachords.

If we turn to the openings of masses and sections, we find the same sort of melody in the tenor voices. *Example 2* shows the start of the tenor of the Introitus “In medio ecclesie”, which opens Du Fay’s plenary mass to St Anthony. He here succeeded in combining the given liturgical chant, which sounds in the highest voice an octave above the chant’s notated pitch, with the perfect melodic bow of the *f*-hexachord in the tenor (bb. 1-6); then the tenor reaches down in the *c*-hexachord before returning to the *f*-hexachord

16 Fitch, *Ockeghem*, pp. 189-191.

17 This mass is discussed in Fitch, *Ockeghem*, pp. 140-158, see his Example 7, p. 158.

18 Fitch, *Ockeghem*, p. 192.

19 Fabrice Fitch, “‘Who Cares Who is Speaking?’ An Essay in Style-Criticism”, *Acta Musicologica* 82 (2010), pp. 49-70 (at p. 58).

20 Fitch, *Ockeghem*, p. 191.



Ex. 1a, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie, tenor, bars 45-52.



Ex. 1b, Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii*, Kyrie, tenor, bars 82-89.



Ex. 1c, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo, tenor, bars 63-69.



Ex. 1d, Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii*, Credo, tenor, bars 72-78.



Ex. 2, Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii*, Introitus 3v, tenor, bb. 1-11.

(bb. 7-11) thereby expanding the melodic bow. In the next section of the plenary mass, the Kyrie with its much fewer words, this melodic line appears as one phrase in the tenor (see below *Example 3*, the middle voice). It goes up a sixth balanced by a dip to the fourth below the final note, the *f*-hexachord followed by the *c*-hexachord, all in graceful rhythms. The superius sings a variant of the tenor's line, and the contour of the hexachord built into this opening gesture serves as a motto in the upper voice disguised in slightly different shapes at the beginnings of all the main sections of the mass; in Gloria and Agnus the motto draws the contours of the C-hexachord.

The motto in Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* is more substantial and involves all three voices. In Kyrie the tenor presents the *f*-hexachord (see below *Example 4*, the middle voice, bb. 1-7), then it goes on in the *c'*-hexachord (in a higher position). In the varied mottos that open the remaining main sections, the tenor invariably starts in F, but varies its continuation according to the course that Ockeghem wished to lay out for the music: in Gloria it remains for a long time within the *f*-hexachord, while the setting moves towards B \flat ; in Credo and Agnus it goes on to hexachords on *g* and *c'*, while the music tends towards C and F; and in Sanctus it combines with the *bb*- and *Bb*-hexachords. Beginnings and endings of the main section as well as much of the music are permeated by hexachordal structures.

Ockeghem was during the 1450s the rising star of the French royal chapel, and he had rich opportunities to acquaint himself with the music of the one generation older Du Fay who 1452-58 was councillor, chapel-master and first chaplain to the duke of Savoy. Likewise, he had opportunities to meet him in person, when the chapels followed their rulers on journeys for diplomacy or festivities.²¹ Ockeghem had joined the French king's chapel in the early 1450s and soon became its de facto leader. In 1454 he was listed as first chaplain to the French king, in 1459 Charles VII appointed him to the influential and lucrative post as treasurer of St Martin in Tours, and in 1464 he was mentioned as councillor and chapel-master to king Louis XI.²² In June 1462 Ockeghem visited Cambrai for about a week, and he returned for maybe three weeks in February-March 1464. These visits were private, and on the second occasion we know for sure that he lodged with Du Fay in his house.²³ He may have come again in 1468 in the retinue of Louis XI.²⁴ Du Fay had returned to Cambrai at the end of 1458 and resided there until his death in 1474. The highly estimated Du Fay led a busy life in Cambrai as a canon participating in the daily administration of the cathedral and supervising its music, the copying of new music and for many years its staff of singers of polyphony, the *petits vicaires*.²⁵

Obviously, the conversations of the two composers could not avoid touching on their respective musical works and projects. Especially *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* was close to the heart of the older master. He owned a valuable parchment manuscript in black notation, which probably contained the complete services for St Anthony, and in his last will of 1474 Du Fay left the now lost choirbook to the cathedral along with a foundation for a yearly celebration on the saint's day of the mass in polyphony.²⁶ This foundation was established after his death, and the feast for St Anthony was celebrated with his music at the Cambrai cathedral at least until 1579.²⁷ From the accounts of the executors of Du Fay's will it appears that the defunct had established the celebration of this feast many years earlier, probably shortly after his return from Savoy in 1458.²⁸

The visit of Ockeghem in early June 1462, where we may assume that he like on the later occasion lodged with Du Fay, may have coincided with the period when Du Fay had started the preparations for the St Anthony celebration on June 13. *Missa Sancti Anthonii* is very difficult to perform. The ordinary sections have passages of sheer vocal virtuosity combined with rhythmic complexities as well as the delicate coordination of the boy singers and the *petits vicaires*, all of which makes it unthinkable that Du Fay would have permitted the use of his music without extensive rehearsals.

21 David Fallows, *Dufay* (The Master Musicians), London 1982 (2nd rev. ed. 1987), pp. 68-72; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay. The Life and Works*, Cambridge 2018 (2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 238-246.

22 Martin Picker, *Johannes Ockeghem and Jacob Obrecht. A Guide to Research*, New York 1988, pp. 5-9; Leeman L. Perkins, 'Jean de Okenhem, musicien méconnu', in Vendrix, *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 11-44 (at pp. 15-23).

23 Craig Wright, 'Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), pp. 175-229; on June 2, 1462, Ockeghem received six loaves of bread from the chapter of the cathedral, and on February 20, 1464, he received 12 loaves and again on March 5 six more loaves; March 3, Ockeghem and Du Fay enjoyed three lots of expensive Burgundy wine (pp. 108 and 117).

24 Picker, *Ockeghem*, p. 7.

25 Fallows, *Dufay*, pp. 73-79; Planchart, *Du Fay*, vol. 1, pp. 265-283.

26 Fallows, *Dufay*, pp. 79-83; Planchart, *Du Fay*, vol. 1, pp. 302-314, Du Fay's will and the executors' accounts are reproduced in full in vol. 2, pp. 798-856.

27 Planchart, *Du Fay*, vol. 1, p. 218.

28 *Ibid.* pp. 222-223 and vol. 2, p. 822.

This mass holds a special position in the development of the setting of the mass ordinary towards its status as the most prestigious musical genre. Du Fay composed the three-part mass while residing in Cambrai in the 1440s, during the period when the four-part cantus firmus mass was established as the dominant type of mass composition, a development which he contributed to with *Missa Se la face ay pale* and later *Missa L'homme armé*. The St Anthony mass, however, did not build on any pre-existing tune, but belonged to the tradition of *Sine nomine* masses, in which the musical coherence of the ordinary sections was assured by other means.²⁹ Du Fay seems here to have explored free composition by focusing on hexachordal manipulation and a systematic investigation of a simple rhythmical relationship, in this case the tension between triple and double time under the equivalence of the *brevis*-values. This was the work he wished to be remembered by. Of course, Du Fay's lifelong veneration of St Anthony may be decisive for his preference of this mass, but we may assume that *Missa Sancti Anthonii* to him represented a special work that combines personal expressivity with some of the most complex music of the period, music that underscores his high demands on performances as well as his status as a learned musicus.

Ockeghem does not in *Missa Quinti toni* try to imitate Du Fay. The musical worlds of the two masses are different, even if they relate to a common basic set of musical materials. While Du Fay had an obviously pedagogical or maybe technique-exploring aim as part of his incentive for his compositional work on *Missa Sancti Anthonii*, Ockeghem's mass is primarily a reaction to the challenges of Du Fay's way of thinking music.

The differences are apparent. Ockeghem's mass is shorter and more compact. If we calculate their respective sounding durations by using a mensural unit, the perfect *brevis*, as a common denominator, Ockeghem's five sections sound for 656 perfect *breves*, while Du Fay's takes up 813 *breves*. His Gloria is much shorter than Du Fay's, 118 *breves* against 214, on the other hand, his three Agnus-sections come to 159 *breves*, Du Fay contents with 87. A smaller percentage of Ockeghem's mass consists of duos, and where Du Fay expand the ranges of his voices parts and thereby demands the participation of boy singers in a subtle interplay of vocal colours in the complete plenary mass, Ockeghem restricts his forces to a small selection of male singers that always was available in the royal chapel and capable of performing his mass without much rehearsal. For the proportions and voice ranges of Ockeghem's mass, see *Figure 2* below, which may be compared to the corresponding figure in the introduction to my edition of Du Fay's mass ordinary.³⁰

As mentioned, the similarities between the opening hexachordal figures and the endings in the tenors are quite conspicuous. However, in Du Fay's mass we do not find such explicit references to hexachords as we find in the tenor of Ockeghem's *Pleni sunt* and *Benedictus* or in the contratenor of *Agnus II*; in Ockeghem's music they stand out as ingenious markers pointing to the hexachordal arrangement of *Missa Quinti toni*. Du Fay's aims were different.

With a tenor part in the range between primarily *c* and *g'* and a finalis on *f* combined with a contratenor in the same range and an upper voice constantly expanding, Du Fay explores the tensions in three- and two-part polyphony based on the three basic hexachords, *molle*, *naturale* and *durum*, or hexachords on F, C and G, and on the rhythmic level he

29 On the *Sine nomine* masses, see Luko, *Unification and Varietas in the Sine nomine Mass from Dufay to Tinctoris*.

30 Du Fay, *Anthonii*, p. ix.

Figure 2, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni* · schematic overview

Proportions of the sections in perfect *breves*, the final sound in every section counts as one.

| Section/ subsection | Voices | Mensuration | Finalis | Ranges (total and S, T and C) | Length in perfect breves |
|------------------------|--------|-------------|----------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Kyrie | | | F | F-c'' | 49 |
| Kyrie 1 | 3 | C | F | c ² -c'' · f-g' · F-f | 16 |
| Christe | 3 | C | C | f-b' · e-f' · F-f | 15 |
| Kyrie 2 | 3 | C | F | f-c'' · f-f' · F-g | 18 |
| Gloria | | | F | F-c'' | 118 |
| Et in terra | 3 | C | F | f-c'' · e-g' · F-a | 76 |
| Qui tollis | 3 | ☉ | F | f-c'' · e-g' · F-a | 42 [☉ 84] |
| Credo | | | F | F-c'' | 185 |
| Patrem | 3 | C | F | f-c'' · f-f' · F-a | 68 |
| Et incarnatus | 2-3 | C | F | f-c'' · e-g' · F-a | 59 |
| Et iterum | 3 | ☉ | F | f-c'' · d-g' · F-a | 58 [☉ 115] |
| Sanctus | | | F | F-c'' | 145 |
| Sanctus | 3 | C | F | f-c'' · d-f' · F-g | 49 |
| Pleni sunt | 2-3 | C | C | b-c'' · f-d' · F-g | 37 |
| Osanna | 3 | ☉ | F | g-c'' · f-g' · F-a | 18 [☉ 35] |
| Ben edictus | 2-3 | ☉ | F | g-c'' · e-g' · F-b | 23 [☉ 46] |
| Osanna | 3 | ☉ | F | g-c'' · f-g' · F-a | 18 [☉ 35] |
| Agnus | | | F | F-c'' | 159 |
| Agnus 1 | 3 | C | F | f-c'' · e-g' · F-a | 52 |
| Agnus 2 | 2-3 | C | F | g-c'' · d-g' · F-a | 55 |
| Agnus 3 | 3 | C | F | f-c'' · e-g' · F-a | 52 |

consistently explores the relations between triple and double time, especially between *tempus perfectum* and *minor modus*.

Ockeghem places his tenor in the same tessitura as Du Fay, but restricts its range to e-g' with a finalis on f, so far following Du Fay, but he keeps the higher voice in a fixed lower range, f-c'', and accordingly lets a lower voice roam below the tenor in the range F-a, thereby moving the mass' sounding realm down a fifth. He explores the same tensions in sound between the hexachords *naturale*, *molle* and *durum*, or – transposed down a fifth – hexachords on F, Bb and C. However, by alternating two sets of hexachordal signatures, ♭-b-♭ and ♭-b-♭♭ he maintains the possibility of like Du Fay keeping his music within *musica recta*, the Guidonian tone system on *Gamma-ut* with only one flexible step, B-flat/B-natural. In the first interpretation of the fifth mode (♭-b-♭) the hexachords on Bb and the low F become *ficta*, while the hexachords on G lies within the *recta*. When he uses the second set of signatures, the tone system is transposed down one step, and hexachords on Bb and low F become *recta* and the variable steps move to E-flat/E-natural. These possibilities co-exist in *Missa Quinti toni* with the fixed tenor in F functioning as its pivot. This flexibility of course expands the musical language and is characteristic of a generation of composers younger than Du Fay. The shift towards prescriptive key signatures is getting nearer.

Mensura = ♩

Ky - ri - e - e - ley - son. Ky - ri - e - ley - son. Ky - ri - e - ley - son. Ky - ri - e - ley - son.

Ex. 3, Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii*, Kyrie, bb. 1-10.

Ockeghem has restricted his exploration of tempo relations to double time, *tempus imperfectum*, and its diminution. It looks as if Ockeghem with *Missa Quinti toni* offers a quite different bid on how to compose a mass in the fifth mode by using the Du Fay's mass as his point of departure: A more manageable mass, shorter and easier to perform.

Composing with hexachords

The opening of the Kyrie by Du Fay is very simple. It looks like an exemplification of hexachordal singing (see *Example 3*; in the following the hexachords is designated by their beginning note and the abbreviation hex(s)). All three voices start in *f*- or *f'*-hexs. When the tenor in bar 3 reaches the fifth above its opening note, the superius and the contra mutates into *c'*- and *c*-hexs; and when the tenor in bar 5 changes to the *c*-hex, the contra mutates into the *f*-hex. Likewise, the tenor's change back to the *f*-hex in bar 8 is followed by the other voices' *f'*- and *c*-hexs. In this way, two voices sing in the same hexachord, or hexachords an octave apart, while the third voice moves within one placed at the fifth or at the fourth. It happens in a smooth complementary interplay, which can be met with in countless freely composed songs. And every singer trained in improvising polyphony based on a given tune knew how to manoeuvre by choosing the right hexachordal position in order to create a varied harmony out of concords and traditional dissonance patterns offered by the changing combinations of hexachords.

This simplicity is not maintained for long. The hexachords on G come more and more to the foreground, and the oscillation between the hexachords with hard and soft B is varied endlessly during the mass. Nearly all the way through Du Fay keeps the voices within *musica recta* – the notes on the hand. As the music evolves, Du Fay moves farther away from stock phrases and creates long elegant lines in chains of hexachords (for example the scale formed by the combined *f*-, *c'*- and *f'*-hexs), which are used also in imitative and canonic passages. An important consequence of the expansion of the range of the upper voice is that it leaves room for a fuller use of the high *g'*-hex; the note *e''* appears

Mensura = ♩

Ky - ri - e_e - ley - son. Ky

f-hex Ky - ri - e_e - ley - son. *Ky* - *c'-hex*

Ky - ri - e_e - ley - son. *Bb-hex* *F-hex* Ky

7 ri - *f-hex* e_e - *c'-hex* - ley - son. *Ky* *f-hex*

ri - e_e - ley - son. *f-hex* Ky - ri -

ri - e e - ley - son. *G-hex* *Ky* *c-hex*

Ex. 4, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Kyrie, bb. 1-12.

often as the top note of phrases. This grants Du Fay freedom to combine hexachords in wide-ranging chains of notes and room to display the effect of three simultaneously sounding hexachords. Furthermore, he tends at important points to make the most of the fluctuating harmony in the service of expressivity; in one place in *Gloria* by crashing the hexachordal structure.³¹

Viewed from the point of hexachordal use, the opening of Ockeghem's *Kyrie* appears demonstrative – beginning where Du Fay got to during his mass – with three simultaneously sounding hexachords (*Example 4*): The tenor sings the *f-hex*, superius lies in the *c'-hex* and the contratenor marks out the *Bb-hex* in triadic movement. A few bars later the sound changes completely with the appearance of a combination of two *c'-hex*s (where the tenor crosses above the upper voice, bb. 8-10) above the low *G-hex* in the contratenor, which in Brussels 5557 is marked by a *mi*-sign (#) before bar 8. This sign does not appear in Roma 234, where the bassus furthermore is supplied with a two-flats signature. This may suggest that scribes during the transmission of the mass in this case have chosen a safer version of the first *Kyrie* with more E-flats sounding also in the upper voices. As it stands in the oldest source, *Kyrie I* demonstrates the use of four different hexachords on F, *Bb*, C and G during the shortest possible span of music. At the same time the F-tonality is assured by the tenor's emphasis on the F-hexachord first and last – the tenor is simply a linear combination of the *f-* and *c'-hex*s.

Christe opens as a canonic imitation between tenor and contratenor starting on *Bb*. Here the tenor linearly combines *f-* and *bb-hex*s and accordingly starts on the note *bb* and ends on *c'*. The counter voices appropriately move in F- and *Bb-hex*chords, until superius ends in singing through the *c'-hex*. The contrast in sound between *Kyrie I* and *Christe*,

31 See further the introduction to Du Fay, *Anthonii*, and my article 'Freedom of creation and the virtuoso composer: Guillaume Du Fay exploring sound and rhythmic relations in *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*' in Kathrin Kirsch und Alexander Lotzow (eds.), »*Music is different*« – isn't it? *Bedeutungen und Bedingungen musikalischer Autonomie. Festschrift für Siegfried Oechsle zum 65. Geburtstag*. Kassel 2021, pp. 49–67.

where a flat has been added to the hexachordal signature of the upper voice, is conspicuous. In Kyrie II a flat before *e* is added in the contratenor, and in the tenor an accidental flat before *e'* appears for the first time. Tenor combines the *f*- and *bb*-hexs with a very long final passage in the *f*-hex; contra combines the *Bb*- and *F*-hexs, while superius goes through the *f'*-, *bb*- and *c'*-hexs. Kyrie II offers a strong feeling of F-tonality, cadencing on F and A/F, while internal cadences in Kyrie I and Christe are on C and *Bb* respectively.

In this way the Kyrie displays the universe of sound, which is characteristic of the entire mass – and the three combinations of hexachordal signatures used. The Guidonian system and its *musica recta* lies behind Kyrie I and its tensions between three simultaneous hexachords, in Christe its sound is moving downwards, and in Kyrie II the transposed system offers a harmonious lightening of tensions.

Ockeghem unfolds these patterns in Gloria and Credo. Gloria is quite compact without duo-passages. Et in terra pax has the hexachordal signature *b-b-bb* and its internal cadences are on *Bb* (twice), C and G (twice); the contratenor sings mostly in the scale formed by the combined *F*- and *Bb*-hexs. Qui tollis has only one flat in the contratenor signature, and it is highly probable that its superius originally did not have a one flat signature, that is, a *b-b-b* signature. The upper voice has been lost in the oldest source, Brussels 5557. That the copyist of the younger Rome 234 has changed the signature into *b-b-b* does not make much difference, the hexachordal layout of the upper voice is evident, and the only B-natural appears in an internal cadence to C. Cadences are on D, C (twice) and F (twice), and the combined *F*- and *c*-hexs dominate the contratenor in the last half of the setting. The two subsections demonstrate the use of two sorts of the fifth mode, the first tending towards the fifth-relationship F-*Bb*, the other towards F-C – compare the imitative display of *Bb*-hexachords following bar 62 and the F- and C-hexachords in the “Amen” (bb. 143 ff).

Credo has three subsections. The middle one, Et incarnatus, consists of extended duos for the three possible combinations of voices (S-T, bb. 70-95; T-C, bb. 95-108; S-C, bb. 109-129). It has a signature of one flat in all three voices, and the first and the third duo keep to F- and C-hexachords, while the central duo rehearses the combination of C- and G-hexachords, nice and symmetrical! The outer full-voice subsections, Patrem omnipotentem and Et iterum, both discard the flat in the upper voice. The cadence points are, as in the Credo as a whole, on F and C. While the F-*Bb* axis had a prominent role to play in Gloria, the Credo is dominated by the sound of the F- and C-hexachords, with some involvement of the G-hexachord.

Gloria and Credo both have passages in their last subsections, where Ockeghem steps outside his established patterns of *musica recta*. In Gloria at “Quoniam to solus” (bb. 111 ff) the music leaves the stable combinations of F- and C-hexachords and goes directly into the confrontation of *eb*-, *bb*- and G-hexs before cadencing in C. At “in remissionem peccatorum” (Credo, bb. 204 ff) the tenor jumps out of *musica recta*'s *f*-hex with a notated *f#*, which leads into the tenor's only *bb*-hex in this subsection. Du Fay used similar notable effects at points of emotional tension, for example in the famous Qui tollis-section in his Gloria.

MS Brussels 5557 has in all four (five) subsections of Sanctus a hexachordal signature of *b-b-bb*. Rome 234 removes the flat before *e* in the lowest voice of Benedictus. This most probable indicates that Benedictus originally was notated with signature without a flat in the upper voice, *b-b-b* (cf. Figure 1 above). The scribe of Brussels 5557 simply continued the signatures of Osanna in Benedictus as they share a single opening (ff. 81v-82). The

music of the first three subsections is strongly coloured by the F-B \flat relation, while Benedictus forms a contrast by highlighting the F-C relation. Nearly all Bs in the upper voice have to be naturals, a flat is needed in a few bars only, and Benedictus ends with an imitative passage at the fifth where contratenor sings the *c*-hex, superius the *g'*-hex, and tenor finally comes in and ends it in the *f*-hex before the return of Osanna.

This interpretation of Benedictus as a contrast to the surrounding music is confirmed by a similar procedure in Agnus dei. It is preserved in Rome 234 alone, and here it has a signature $b-b-b$ all the way through. Agnus I (and III) opens in a display of the flexibility of hexachordal composition by moving serenely through combinations of B \flat -, F-, C- and G-hexachords with cadences on F and C. The closing passage “*misere nobis*”/“*dona nobis pacem*” unfolds entirely within the combined scales of F- and C-hexachords in all three voices. Agnus II begins as a duo between the upper voices. Its first phrase (bb. 54-68) combines the *f/c'*-hexes in the tenor with a superius that runs through *f'*-, *g*- and *c'*-hexes, before it joins the tenor in imitations on the C- and F-hexachords and ending in a cadence on F. Next phrase is a canon at the fifth between the tenor’s *bb*-hex and the *f'*-hex in the superius (bb. 69-73). This canon then transforms itself into a canon at the fourth initiated by the superius and followed by tenor in the *c'*-hex; they reverse roles in a snippet of unison canon on the *c'*-hex and end in C after reintroducing the *g*-hex in the upper voice (b. 84). In this way the duo has traversed the main spectrum of hexachords for this mass before the contratenor comes in and starts to build up the *c*-hex in an expanding ostinato. Thereby it locks the upper voices to the F-C axis with a strong participation of the G-hexachord as shown in *Example 5*. Like in the Benedictus it is highly probable that Agnus II originally was notated without a flat signature in the upper voice. The passages in which the singers have to lower B’s are easy to identify during performance, bars 63-76 and 97-109. Therefore, I have taken the liberty of reconstructing the original signatures in *Example 5*.

Agnus II and Benedictus must both be regarded as carefully planned sections of contrast in sound and tonal colouring, with the same sense of balance and symmetry as is evident in Kyrie and in the paired Gloria and Credo. Taking the hexachordal signatures in Rome 234 to be prescriptive has led earlier modern editions of the mass to slightly incongruous interpretations of the music.³²

The use of imitation

Scholars have pointed out that Ockeghem in *Missa Quinti toni* displays a greater interest in the systematic use of imitation than found in his other masses,³³ and the impressive variation in his imitative patterns has been analysed.³⁴ This reliance on imitative structures is of course a consequence of it being freely composed in accordance with the *Sine nomine* tradition. However, we cannot disregard that its recurrent hexachordal motives and its use of canonic imitation at the fifth to some degree was inspired by Du Fay’s *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*. Ockeghem’s mass is much more contrapuntal dense than Du

32 See for example in Agnus II bb. 84-87 in Ockeghem, *Quinti toni*, p. 45, with *e*-flats in the contratenor, which destroys the idea of the music; or the same passage in Ockeghem, *Collected Works I*, p. 14, which does not disturb the building of the *c*-hex, but keeps the flat in the upper voice.

33 Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass*, p. 261, Fitch, *Ockeghem*, p. 185, and Luko, *Unification and Varietas*, p. 310.

34 Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass*, pp. 260-266, and with an abundance of details in Luko, *Unification and Varietas*, pp. 310-334 (see also Luko, ‘Ockeghem’s Aesthetic’).

Ex. 5, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Agnus II, bb. 79-99 (reconstruction).

Fay's, but we do not in it find anything similar to the canonic passage in the "Amen" of Du Fay's Gloria (*Example 6*). "Amen" opens with an imitation, unison and at the octave, on G-hexachords, which involves all three voices, then the tenor presents the *f*-hex in complementary rhythms with the upper voice in the *c'*-hex, and they slide down to their lowest notes. Here they begin a strict close canon at the fifth, which traverses the entire ranges of the two voices. To do so, Du Fay combines three hexachords in each voice a fifth apart, *g/c'/g'*-hexs above the tenor's *c'/f/c'*-hexs. All in a fast tempo, *tempus perfectum diminutum*.

The passage in Ockeghem's mass that comes closest to this can be found at the end of Osanna (*Example 7*) with the characteristic sound of close canonic fifth imitation in the two highest voices. First comes an exercise of the *c'*- and *f*-hexs, then the tenor displays the *bb*-hex, before superius and tenor, like in the passage by Du Fay, imperceptibly slides into a strict canon in combined hexachords a fifth apart, namely the pair of *c'/g'*- and *f/c'*-hexs, which in bars 118-119 mutate into the pair of *f'/c'*- and *bb/f*-hexs. Ockeghem uses hexachords in four basic positions, where Du Fay used three, but keeps the canon within tighter ranges. The tempo is a bit slower than in the Du Fay example, in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*.

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Ex. 6, Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii*, Gloria, bb. 286-307.

Ex. 7, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Sanctus, bb. 112-124.

Rhythmic relations

As mentioned earlier, Du Fay in *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* explored quite systematically most aspects of the tensions between triple and double time under the equivalence of the *brevis*-values. The mensurations of the mass's subsections are primarily *tempus perfectum* (O) alternating with *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (♢) or rather imperfect *minor modus* (C2), that is, an overriding 3:4 rhythmic relation between the subsections.³⁵ Ockeghem's mass confines itself to *tempus imperfectum* (C), which in the last subsections of Gloria, Credo and Sanctus changes into *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (♢) without any interference of other rhythmic signs in the single voices, on paper a straight 1:2 relation.

In his study of Du Fay's mensural practice of 1964 Charles Hamm singled out *Missa Quinti toni* as an example of a practice completely different from Du Fay's.³⁶ Not only does triple time not exist in its main layout, all major works by Du Fay contrast triple and double time in strict proportion, but even snippets of triple organization in the voice parts are absent. Based on a count of the different note values under C and ♢ respectively, he concludes: "C and ♢ were clearly not thought of as being in a 2:1 ratio to one another in this Ockeghem mass, since movement under both is in semibreves and minimae and suspended dissonance falls on the minim in both. The line through C in ♢ is not a sign of proportion, but a tempo indication."³⁷

Since then scholars have subscribed to this interpretation of the C-♢ relation. A.E. Planchart in 1983 singled out *Missa Quinti toni* as an early work, where the 2:1 ratio became impossible, and pointed out that *fusae* appeared under both mensurations.³⁸ Rob C. Wegman confirmed Hamm's findings and refined the statistics of his note value count by calculating the average note-values for C and ♢ in *Quinti toni* to 0.626 and 0.811 respectively (a piece consisting of *semibreves* only would have a value of 1.0). A small, but significant difference.³⁹ At the 1997 Ockeghem conference, the paper by Bonnie J. Blackburn laid down that in masses with changes from C to ♢ including *Quinti toni*, where the ♢ sections begin slowly but end in minims, the stroke means acceleration, not *proportio dupla*.⁴⁰ In another paper at the same conference, Margaret Bent proposed that the ♢ indications in *Quinti toni* and similar instances were purely graphical signs without any consequences for the tempo of the music: "I think rather that the ♢ is purely conventional and refers back to an older tradition of repeated Osannas in likewise mensurally meaningless ♢." ⁴¹

The last-mentioned interpretation of the ♢ sign is obviously meaningless in the case of *Missa Quinti toni*. The sign has a mensural significance, and Ockeghem was clearly inspired by Du Fay's adherence to the strict equivalence of the *breves* in his St Anthony

35 See further the introduction to Du Fay, *Anthonii*, and 'Freedom of creation'.

36 Charles E. Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay. Based on a Study of Mensural Practice*, Princeton 1964, pp. 159-160.

37 *Ibid.* p. 160.

38 Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'The Relative Speed of *Tempora* in the Period of Dufay', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 1981, pp. 33-51 (at p. 43).

39 Rob C. Wegman, 'An Anonymous Twin of Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* in San Pietro B 80', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987), pp. 25-48 (at p. 29).

40 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Did Ockeghem listen to Tinctoris?' in Vendrix, *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 597-640 (at pp. 615 and 638).

41 Margaret Bent, 'The use of cut signature in sacred music by Ockeghem and his contemporaries' in Vendrix, *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 641-680 (at p. 674).

mass. If we for a moment disregard the conventional slow openings in *breves* and *semibreves* of the subsections in C and look at the musical settings of the word-rich texts in Gloria and Credo, then it becomes clear that C means that the mensura changes from the *semibrevis* under C to the *brevis* under C . In Gloria as well as in Credo we find passages where words are recited on repeated notes with an unambiguous distribution of the syllables. Compare for example in Gloria superius and tenor at “Gratias agimus” (bb. 20 ff) with superius at “Tu solus dominus” (bb. 117 ff) or the passages in Credo shown in *Example 8*. In all instances we find syllables under *semibreves*, *minimae* and an occasional *semiminima* under C, while the syllable-carrying notes under C are *breves*, *semibrevis* and an occasional *minima*. Considering the general text placement in the sections, it becomes evident that syllables are often placed on *minimae* under C, while they primarily fall on *semibreves* under C .

a)

b)

Ex. 8a-b, Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, Credo, Superius, bb. 57-63 and 150-158.

This seems to indicate that Ockeghem had a proportional diminution of the mensuration in mind when composing under influence of Du Fay’s mass, and that the equivalence of *brevis* values was a real influence on his layout of the mass. According to this pattern the relations can be schematized as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 \text{C} & & \text{O} & & \text{C} \\
 \equiv & = & \equiv & = & \equiv \\
 \diamond \diamond & & \diamond \diamond \diamond & & \diamond \diamond \diamond \\
 2 & : & 3 & : & 4
 \end{array}$$

The perfect *brevis* subdivided in three *semibreves* was the basic rhythmic entity during the middle decades of the fifteenth century, so common that often there was no need to indicate the perfect mensuration. The diminished double time, which many composers preferred as contrast to perfect time, only involved a rhythmic acceleration by a third on the *semibrevis* level, while the relation between C and C meant a doubling in speed.⁴² The tempo of C in Ockeghem’s mass would be no faster than it was in Du Fay’s. These sections contain a larger percentage of *semiminima* values and a few pairs of *fusae* can be found: In Gloria a single pair of decorative notes near the end (b. 156) and in Benedictus two pairs (bb. 138 and 146). The fast notes may be challenging to the singers, but Du Fay’s St Anthony mass easily outshines *Missa Quinti toni* in vocal virtuosity.

Regarding the relation between C and C as proportional is probably correct as to the theoretical basis for Ockeghem’s mass. But it does not match what Ockeghem would hear

42 If O had a tempo of c. 60 *semibreves* to a minute, C would be at 80 and C 40 (values chosen because they are easy to manipulate).

in Du Fay's music. A strict proportional performance of the shift from O to C in Du Fay's mass with longer note values predominant at the beginning of the new subsection produces a slowing down; with the change in *mensura* from *semibrevis* to *brevis* the music becomes calmer, more relaxed at the points of change. With a proportional shift in double time in Ockeghem's mass, from C to C, nothing very audible happens; the *mensura* changes, but *semibreves* at the same speed as *minimae* in the preceding passage tends to blur the change.

To solve this problem, Wegman's calculation of average duration of notes comes in handy (see above). The differences between the subsections is small, the notes under C are on average about a third longer than under C. This does not point to a doubling in speed. The procedure intended in performance seems to be: a choice of an unhurried tempo in C with the *mensura* on *semibreves*, at C the *mensura* changes to *breves* somewhat slower than the preceding *semibreves*. In this way the tempo ends up in C very close to that in Du Fay's mass, and it includes brilliant endings of sections, and most important the shift of tempo between sections can obtain a similar effect, as if the music was coming from *tempus perfectum*. It fits in with Ockeghem's earlier mentioned tendency to transform inspirations from Du Fay's music into something new and different.

Ruth I. DeFord has dubbed this type of tempo change "mensural diminution"; it is different from the *acceleratio mensura* mentioned by Tinctoris, which just speeds up the beats.⁴³ In mensural diminution we rather find a slowing down of larger rhythmic units. In the transcription I have tried to render this flexible proportional change as $\downarrow \leq \circ$; that is, the *brevis* (\circ) under the sign C becomes equal to or rather slower than the *semibrevis* (\downarrow) in the preceding section in C.

To conclude: The trends of inspiration that connect the one mass to the other are so pronounced that Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* most probable was composed on the basis of a first-hand knowledge of the *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* by the older master. We cannot know if he had obtained this knowledge of Du Fay's music during his early years in the French court chapel, but to hypothesize that he composed the mass following his visits to Cambrai either in 1462 or in 1464 seems to be preferable. All recent scholarship agrees that the mass belongs to Ockeghem's mature production.

Ironically, Ockeghem's dependence on his model appears most apparent in the way in which he fills out the layout created by Du Fay by re-interpreting elements or by doing the opposite. He composes freely on a hexachordal basis while expanding the scope of hexachords and tightening the web of imitative entries, and he replaces Du Fay's rhythmic framework with something simpler and completely different.

In the original disposition of Ockeghem's complete masses as preserved in the Chigi Codex (MS Rome 234) *Missa Quinti toni* was placed in a group with *Missa Mi mi*, *Missa Au travial suis* and the *Requiem*. Later the main scribe inserted the two four-part, freely composed masses, *Prolationum*, a series of mensural canons, and *Cuiusvis toni*, which by a mental manipulation of hexachordal signatures it was possible to sing in the three different modes, the modes upon *ut*, *re*, and *mi*.⁴⁴ They were inserted just before *Quinti toni*,

43 Ruth I. DeFord, 'On Diminution and Proportion in Fifteenth-Century Music Theory', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), pp. 1-68 (p. 4).

44 See my short note on 'Ockeghem's *Missa Cuiusvis toni* and fa-clefs' at <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/NOTES/MissaCuiusvis.html>, and Dean, 'Ockeghem's attitude', pp. 233 ff.

a placement that seems proper as they both rely heavily on hexachordal procedures in order to structure the compositional challenges that Ockeghem set himself. Moreover, *Quinti toni* has much in common with the two first masses in the group: *Missa Au travail suis* for four voices uses the tenor of Ockeghem's rondeau "Au travail suis que peu de gens croiroient"⁴⁵ transposed down a fifth as tenor in its Kyrie. Otherwise it is composed freely on the song's opening gesture. It is very short and economic with lots of two-part writing and follows the rhythmic layout of *Quinti toni* by primarily using C and Φ ⁴⁶ – a practical mass for male voices in the second tone, a companion to *Quinti toni*. The title of *Missa Mi mi*, which refers to the solmization of all the first and most final notes in all main sections as "mi", indicates that this mass is in the fourth tone.⁴⁷ It is a four-part work, also for male voices, and is composed freely on characteristic motives that Ockeghem had explored on a smaller scale in his bergerette "Presque transi ung peu moins qu'estre mort".⁴⁸

The outcome of Ockeghem's visits to Cambrai and his discussions with Du Fay, which we can only imagine, may have been a heightened awareness of different varieties of free composition. The second group of Ockeghem masses in Chigi Codex could very well all be composed during the 1460s. In addition to the *Requiem*, this group furnished the singers of the royal chapel with three useful masses in different modes, modes which can be classified as being upon *ut* (*Quinti toni*), *re* (*Au travail suis*) and *mi* (*Mi mi*) – and they were supplemented by the mass *Quiusvis toni*, which could be sung in the same three modes, and *Missa Prolationum*, which really outdid Du Fay when it comes to canons and mensural proportions.

45 Attributed to Barbingant in the Dijon chansonnier, see further the edition at <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH080.html>

46 Fitch, *Ockeghem*, pp. 140-158.

47 Ross W. Duffin, 'Mi chiamato Mimi ... but my name is *Quarti toni*: solmization and Ockeghem's famous Mass', *Early Music* 29 (2001), pp. 165-84.

48 Cf. the edition at <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH077.html>, and concerning the relation between chansons and mass, see for example Haruyo Miyazaki, 'New light on Ockeghem's Missa 'Mi-mi'', *Early Music* 1985, pp. 367-375, and Martin Picker, 'Reflections on Ockeghem and *Mi-mi*' in Vendrix, *Johannes Ockeghem*, pp. 415-32

Sources

Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms 5557
(France/Paris 1470-80), ff. 77-83 (Gloria (T-C, bb. 77-160 only), Credo, Sanctus, Kyrie):
Anonymous (Brussels 5557)

Facsimile: *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
ms. 5557, Introduction Rob C. Wegman*. Paesen 1989

Online: <https://idemdatabse.org/items/show/199>

Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234
(Low Countries c. 1500), ff. 115v-125: J. Ockeghem “Quinti thoni” (Rome 234)

Facsimile: Herbert Kellman (ed.), *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS
Chigi C VIII 234* (Renaissance Music in Facsimile 22), New York 1987

Online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.C.VIII.234

Transcription

Note values have been halved in the transfer into modern score notation of the original mensural notation in choir-book layout. The edition observes normal practice as regards marking the use of ligatures, coloration and editorial accidentals. Text in italics has been added by the editor. The original (halved) note values have been retained in the passages under proportional signs, in every case with an indication of its rhythmic relation to the preceding passage. The flexible proportional change of mensuration between sections in C and C I have tried to render as $\text{♩} \leq \text{♩}$; that is, the *brevis* (♩) under the sign C becomes equal to or rather slower than the *semibrevis* (♩) in the preceding section in C. (see further the *Introduction*).

Editorial report

The oldest source, Brussels 5557, which probably was copied in France not long after the creation of the mass, is not complete. Agnus dei was never copied, and the fascicle's two first folios are lost. This leaves us with only the Kyrie, Credo and Sanctus in complete versions. Luckily, the complete source, Rome 234, around two decades younger and produced in Flanders, was copied after exemplars closely related to the one used for Brussels 5557 (cf. *Introduction*).

Kyrie

Brussels 5557

Main source.

C is indicated in all voices in the first Kyrie and does not change in the following sections.

Kyrie starts with no hexachordal signature in the superius and one flat in tenor and contratenor. A flat is introduced in the superius in *Christe*, and the contratenor gets an extra flat (before *e*) in *Kyrie 2*.

Contratenor:

Bar 15, in the signature at the start of its 2nd staff a flat before *d* is added (error); it disappears after the double stroke marking the end of *Kyrie 1*.

Bar 26.1, *A-F* (error).

Text: “*Kyrie / Christe*” and “*leyson*” at the beginning and at the end of all sections in all three voices.

Rome 234

C is indicated in all voices in the first Kyrie and does not change in the following sections.

Kyrie opens with a hexachordal signature of one flat in superius and tenor and two flats in the bassus. In the last mentioned the signature flat before *e* disappears in the *Christe*-section.

Contratenor is labelled “*Bassus*”.

Superius:

Bar 1, a signature of one flat.

Bars 9.2-10.1 are *semibrevis*, *minima* and two *semiminimae* (error).

Bars 14.2-15.2, *semibreves* are in ligature.

Bar 24.2, *minima f'* – 2 *seminimimae e'-d'*.

Bar 26, no coloration.

Bars 35.2-47.1, the signature flat disappears in the 5th staff (error).

Bars 41.2-42.1, no coloration.

Bar 46.2, coloration.

Bar 48, no coloration.

Bars 48.2-49, dotted *minima a'* – 2 *fusae*

g'-f' – *minima e'* – dotted *minima g'* – two *fusae f'-g'* – dotted *minima a'*.

Text: “*Kyrie / Christe*” and “*eleison/eleyson*” at the beginning and at the end of all sections.

Tenor:

Bar 9, instead of the figure in coloration it has dotted *minima g'* – two *fusae f'-e'*.

Bar 10.2, two *minimae*.

Text: “*Kyrie / Christe*” and “*eleison*” at the beginning and at the end of all sections.

Bassus:

Bar 1, a signature of two flats (*B-e-b*).

Bar 8, *minima*-rest – dotted *semibrevis*.

Bar 9.1, no accidental.

Bar 10, in ligature.

Bar 15, in ligature.

Bars 18-33, in *Christe*, written below the superius on f. 115v, a signature of one flat only is present.

Bar 26.1, *A-F* (error).

Bar 30, at the end were originally written 2 *minima d-B*; instead of correcting by colouring the note heads, the first *d* was erased (error).

Bar 44.2, *c-B* (error), no coloration.

Bars 49.2-50.1, the *semibrevis d* is replaced by two *minimae d*.

Text, as tenor.

Gloria

Rome 234

Main source.

C is indicated in all voices in the first section. In “Qui tollis” the mensuration changes into C in all voices.

It is notated with a one flat hexachordal signature in superius and tenor. Contratenor is labelled “Bassus” and has a two flat signature in the first section; the flat before *e* disappears in “Qui tollis”.

Superius:

Bar 65.2, *b'-a'* (error).

Bars 134.2-135.1, *minimae g'-a'-b' – semibrevis c''* (error).

Text: Full text.

Tenor:

Bar 112.2, no flat before *a*, but space has been reserved for it; added according to Brussels 5557.

Bar 133, *brevis*, changed according to Brussels 5557.

Text: Incomplete in the second section; “domine deus rex” starts in b. 35; bb. 41 ff “deus pater”; bb. 151 ff “Amen”. Underlay in the second section follows Brussels 5557.

Bassus:

Bar 97, no flat before *e'*; added according to Brussels 5557.

Text: Incomplete; “Amen” starts in b. 149.2. Underlay in the second section follows Brussels 5557.

Brussels 5557

The source is incomplete; two folios are missing, which leave tenor and contratenor of “Qui tollis” only. The section is notated in C in both voices.

The tenor has a one flat hexachordal signature, while the contratenor has a two flat signature. The flat before *e* is needed for the first staff of the section (bb. 78-103.1), but here we also find an accidental flat before *e* in bar 97; the *e*-flat signature is superfluous for the section’s remaining four staves.

Tenor:

Bar 143.2, a *minima d'* instead of the two *semiminimae*.

Bar 154.2, coloration.

Text: Full text.

Contratenor:

Mensural signature of two flats (error).

Bar 97, accidental flat before *e*.

Bar 111, in ligature.

Bar 120, in ligature.

Bars 126.2-127.1, in ligature.

Bar 135, in ligature.

Bar 146.1, coloration.

Bars 148.2-149.1, no ligature.

Text: Full text.

Crede

Brussels 5557

Main source.

C is indicated in all voices in the first section. In “Et iterum venturus est” the mensuration changes into C in all three voices.

Crede is notated with a one flat hexachordal signature in the tenor and contratenor. Superius has no signature in the first and third sections; the second, “Et incarnatus est”, has a one flat signature. In the transcription a bar of three beats has been introduced at bar 195 in order to maintain a correct accentuation in the remainder of the section.

Superius:

Bar 15.2 is notated as *minima e' – 2 semiminimae e'-c'* (error).

Bar 24, coloured *a'-f'* (error).

Bar 94.1, 2 *semiminiae* (error).

Bars 96-108 are notated as *semibrevis rest – 6 longa rests – semibrevis rest*.

Text: Full text.

Tenor:

Bars 109-128 are written as 6 *longa*-rests; it should be 20 bars of rests (error).

Text: Full text.

Contratenor:

Bar 2.2, accidental *mi*-sign below *c*, placed at the *F*-position.

Bars 164-165.1, the *punctus* is placed after the *G* in the ligature (error).

Bar 217.2, *B-F* instead of *A-F*.

Bar 234.1, no flat before *e*; added according to Rome 234.

Text: Partial, mostly single sentences at the beginning of musical lines.

Rome 234

C is indicated in all voices in the two first sections. In “Et iterum venturus est” the mensuration changes into C in all voices. Crede is notated with a one flat hexachordal signature in all voices in all three sections.

Contratenor is labelled “Bassus”.

Superius:

A signature of one flat in all sections.

Bar 13.1, a *semibrevis c'* (changed from a *minima* by erasing the stem; probably correction of an error).

Bar 31, in ligature.

Bars 39.2-40.1, no coloration.

Bar 53, no coloration.

Bars 61.2-62, coloration.

Bar 64.1, no coloration.

Bar 81.2, *g'-a'* (error).

Bar 86.2, coloration.

Bar 95, in ligature.

Bars 96-108 are notated as *semibrevis rest – 6 longa rests – semibrevis rest*.

Bar 109.2 *minima a' - semibrevis c''*.

Bar 138.2, no accidental.

Bars 152-153.1, dotted *brevis*.

Bars 162-163, two *semibreves* – dotted *semibrevis – minima*.

Bar 175.1, coloration.

Bar 181.1, no accidental.

Bar 224, *c'-b* (error).

Bar 232.2, no accidental.

Text: Full text. Bars 111-114 “in celum”, bb. 115-118.1 “sedet”; bb. 118.2- 122.1 “ad dexteram”.

Tenor:

Bar 10.1, *b-g* (error).

Bar 24.1, coloration.

Bar 43.1, no coloration.

Bars 52.2-53, first group only of *d'-c'* in coloration.

Bars 55.2-56.1, in ligature.

Bar 64.2, no coloration.

Bar 79, no coloration.

Bars 109-128 are written as 6 *longa*-rests;
it should be 20 bars of rests (error).

Bar 147, in ligature.

Bar 149, *a-c'*, no ligature.

Bar 166, dotted *semibrevis* instead of
minima-semibrevis.

Bar 195.1-2, the dotted figure is *c'-f* (error)
in coloration.

Bar 204.2, no accidental.

Bars 206.2-207.1, coloration.

Bar 215.2, coloration.

Bar 217.2, coloration.

Bar 226, coloration.

Bar 237, coloration.

Bar 240.1, coloration.

Text: Full text. Bars 13.2-17.1 “visibilium
... invisibilium”; bb. 90-91 “sub Pontio
Pilato”; bb. 129-139 “Et iterum ventu-
rus est cum gloria judicare”.

Bassus:

Bar 2.2, accidental *mi*-sign before *c*.

Bars 24.2-25.1, no coloration.

Bars 38-51, the staff is missing the flat in
the signature (error).

Bar 41.2, no coloration.

Bar 42, no ligature.

Bars 44-45.1, *minima*-rest – dotted *semi-*
brevis c – *minima B* – 2 *semiminimae*
A-G.

Bars 63.2-64.1, no ligature.

Bar 101, in ligature.

Bars 106-117, the staff is missing the flat
in the signature (error).

Bars 162.2-163, *brevis* – *semibrevis*.

Bars 164-165.1, the *punctus* is placed after
the *G* in the ligature (error).

Bars 171-172, no ligature.

Bar 204.2, coloration.

Bar 217.2, *B-F* (error).

Bars 223.2-224.1, no ligature.

Bar 230, no ligature.

Bar 234, accidental flat before *e*.

Bars 240.2-241.1, no coloration.

Text: Partial, mostly single sentences at the
beginning of musical lines. Bars 1 ff

“Patrem omnipotentem”; bb. 5 ff

“Factorem celi”; bb. 8.2 ff “Visibilium
omnium”; bb. 15 ff “Et in unum

dominum Jhesum Christum”; bb. 24 ff

“unigenitum”; bb. 57 ff “Qui propter

nos homines et propter nostram”; b. 67

“de celis”; bb. 96 ff “Et resurrexit tercia

die secundum scripturas”; bb. 109 ff

“Et ascendit in celum”; bb. 117.2 ff

“sedet”; bb. 120 ff “ad dexteram”; bb.

124.2 ff “patris”; bb. 133.2 ff “Cum

gloria judicare vivos et mortuus”;
bb. 228.2 ff “Amen”.

Sanctus

Brussels 5557

Main source.

C is indicated in all voices in the Sanctus section. In Osanna the mensuration changes into C in all three voices. Sanctus is all the way through notated with a one flat hexachordal signature in the superius and tenor parts and two flats in the contratenor.

Superius:

Bars 84.2-85.1, 3 *minimae* – dotted *minima* (error).

Bar 119.2, *a'-g'* (error).

Text: Full text; the 3rd “Sanctus” is placed below b. 20; “deus” bb. 37-38; “in” b. 110; “excelsis” b. 117; “in” b. 155; “nomine” bb. 157-158.

Tenor:

Text: Full text; the 3rd “Sanctus” is placed below bb. 19-20.

Contratenor:

Bar 9.2, *f-d* (error).

Bar 22.2, no natural before *e*, and b. 26,2, no accidental, both added according to Rome 234, which has a signature of one flat in bars 15-29.

Bars 32.2-33.1, 2 *minimae* – *semibrevis* (error).

Bar 111.1, *c* (error).

Text: Full text; the 2nd “Sanctus” is placed below bb. 15-16; “deus” bb. 32-33; “celi” b. 64; “et” bb. 66-67; “terra” b. 76; “gloria” b. 80; “tua” b. 82; “in” b. 97; “ex-” b. 98; “cel-” b. 114; “in nomine” bb. 158-159; “do-” b. 165; “mi-” b. 167.

Rome 234

C is indicated in all voices in the Sanctus section. In Osanna the mensuration changes into C in all three voices.

Sanctus opens with a one flat hexachordal signature in the superius and tenor parts and two flats in the contratenor. In “Benedictus” and on the last staff of “Pleni sunt” the signature flat before *e* disappears in the lowest voice.

Contratenor is labelled “Bassus”.

Superius:

Bar 8.1, coloration.

Bar 20.1, no accidental.

Bars 27.2-28.1, in ligature.

Bar 34.2, no accidental.

Bar 47.2, two *semiminimae f'-e'* – dotted *minima d'*.

Bar 62, in ligature.

Bar 64, no ligature.

Bar 65, coloration.

Bar 72.1, coloration.

Bar 75.2, dotted *minima g' – 2 fusae a'-b'*.

Bars 84.2-85.1, 3 *minimae* – dotted *minima* (error).

Bars 87-88, above *e'*, a black *longa g'* with fermata.

Bar 119.1, no accidental.

Bar 119.2, coloration.

Bar 145.1, dotted *minima c'' – semiminima b'*.

Bar 161, two *minima e'-c' – semibrevis d'*.

Text: Full text; the 2nd “Sanctus” is placed below bb. 11-12; “deus” b. 36; “in” b. 98; “excel-” b. 99; “nomine” bb. 149-150.

Tenor:

Bars 6-7, the notes in coloration are *semibrevis f' – minima d'*.

Bar 34.1, dotted *minima b' – semiminima g'*.

Bar 138, coloration.

Bar 143.1, coloration.

Text: Full text; the 3rd “Sanctus” is placed below b. 21; “tua” b. 76 is repeated b. 83; “-tus” b. 145; “qui” b. 146; “venit” bb. 150-152.

Bassus:

Bar 9.2, *f-d* (error).
Bars 15-29, no signature flat before *e*.
Bar 26.2, accidental flat before *e*.
Bars 27.2-28.1, no ligature.
Bar 28.2, no accidental.
Bar 29.1. dotted *minima* – *semiminima*.
Bars 32.2-33.1, 2 *minimae* – *semibrevis* (error).
Bar 42.2, no accidental.
Bar 45.1, coloration.
Bars 47.2-48.1, coloration.
Bar 72, coloration.
Bars 77-88, no signature flat before *e* (error).
Bar 77.1, coloration.
Bar 84.2, coloration.
Bars 94-96, in two ligatures.
Bars 111-171, no signature flat before *e*.
Bar 111.1, *c* (error).
Bars 134.2-135.1, *minima G* – dotted *minima c* – *semiminima A* – dotted *minima B*.
Bar 148.2, coloured *semibrevis B* – 2 *fusae A-G*.
Bar 155.2, *G-B* (error).
Bars 156.2-157.1, no ligature, no coloration.
Bar 162, 1, *semibrevis*.
Text: Incomplete text; the 2nd “Sanc-” is placed below bb. 11-12; “-tus” b. 14; bb. 16-50 without text; “celi et terra” missing; “gloria” b. 66: “tua” b. 77 and repeated b. 84; “-tus” b. 136; “in” b. 152.

Agnus dei

Rome 234

Unique source.

C is indicated in all voices, and a one flat hexachordal signature is found in all voices. Contratenor is labelled “Bassus” and has a two flat signature at the start of the first staff, which certainly is a writing error.

Superius:

Bar 48, 2 *minimae f'-g'* and 4 *semiminimae g'-f'-e'-d'* (change of staff).

Text: Incomplete; in Agnus II incipit only.

By an oversight the scribe has entered “dona nobis pacem” below bars 100.2 ff. This text was already in Agnus I, where it belongs to the repeat of the music as Agnus III.

Tenor:

Bar 9.1, *minima* (error).

Text: Incomplete; in Agnus II incipit only.

Bassus:

Bars 1-12.1, a hexachordal signature of two flats, before *B* and *e* (error).

Text: Incomplete; full text in Agnus II.

Johannes Ockeghem

Missa Quinti toni

Kyrie

Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms 5557, ff. 82V-83 (Brussels 5557)

Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234, ff. 115V-116: J. Ockeghem "Quinti thoni" (Rome 234)

[Superius] Mensura = ♩

Tenor Ky - ri - e_e - ley - - - - son.

Contratenor Ky - ri - e_e - ley - - - - son.

6 Ky - ri - - - e_e - - - - ley - -

son. Ky - ri - e_e - - - ley - - - son.

Ky - ri - e e - ley - - - son.

11 son. Ky - - - ri - e_e - ley - - - son.

Ky - ri - e_e - ley - - - son.

Ky - ri - - - e_e - ley - - - son.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 2 – Kyrie

18

Chri - - - ste_e - - - ley - - - - -

Chri - - - ste_e - - - ley - - - - -

Chri - - - ste_e - - - ley - - - - -

22

son. Chri-ste_e - - - ley - - - - -

son. Chri-ste_e - - - ley - - - - -

son. Chri-ste_e - - - ley - - - - -

27

- - - son. Chri - - - ste_e - - - - -

- - - son. Chri - - - ste_e - - - - -

- - - son. Chri - - - ste_e - - - - -

31

- ley - - son.

- ley - - son.

- ley - - son.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 3 – Kyrie

34

Musical score for measures 34-36. It consists of three staves: Treble, Alto, and Bass. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e_e - - - - - ley - - - - -

37

Musical score for measures 37-42. It consists of three staves. The lyrics are: son. Ky - ri - e_e - - - - - ley -
son. Ky - ri - e e - - - - - ley -
Ky - ri - e e - - - - - ley -

43

Musical score for measures 43-48. It consists of three staves. The lyrics are: son. Ky - - - - - ri - - - - - e_e - - - - -
son. Ky - - - - - ri - - - - - e_e - - - - -
son. Ky - - - - - ri - - - - - e_e - - - - -

49

Musical score for measures 49-54. It consists of three staves. The lyrics are: - - - - - ley - - - - - son.
- - - - - ley - - - - - son.
- - - - - ley - - - - - son.

Gloria

Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234, ff. 116V-118 (Rome 234)

Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms 5557, ff. 77 (T and C only – Brussels 5557)

[Superius]

Mensura = ♩

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni -
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus
Et in ter - ra ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

bus bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te, be - ne -
bo - ne vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te, be - ne - di - ci -
ne vo - lun - ta - tis, lau - da - mus te, be - ne - di - ci - mus te,

di - ci - mus te, ad - o - ra - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te,
mus te, ad - o - ra - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te,
ad - o - ra - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te,

gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter mag - nam
gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter mag - nam
gra - ci - as a -

glo - ri - am tu - am, do -
glo - ri - am tu - am,
gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am,

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 5 – Gloria

32

mi - - - ne de - us, rex ce - le - stis,
do - mi - - - ne de - us, rex ce - le - stis, de -
do - mi - ne fi - li

38

de - us pa - ter om - ni - po - - -
us pa - ter om - ni - po - - -
u - ni - ge - ni - - - te Jhe - - - su Chri -

43

- - - tens, do - mi - ne fi - li u - ni - -
- - - tens, do - mi - ne fi - li u - ni - -
- - - ste, do - - - mi -

48

li u - ni - ge - ni - te Jhe - - - su
ge - ni - te Jhe - - - su Chri - - -
- - - ne de - - - us, ag - nus

53

Chri - - - ste, do - mi - ne
- - - ste, do - mi - ne de - us, ag - - -
de - i, fi - li - us pa - - -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 6 – Gloria

61

de - us, ag - nus de - i, fi -
 nus de - i, fi - li -

68

li - us pa -
 us pa -

74

tris.
 tris.
 tris.

78 *Mensura = o*

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no -
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no -
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se -

86

bis. Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe de -
 bis, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, sus - ci - pe de -
 re - re no - bis. Qui tol - lis pec -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 7 – Gloria

94

pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - - - - - stram. Qui se - des
 pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram. Qui se - des
 ca - - ta mun - di, sus - ci -

101

ad dex - te - ram pa - tris, mi - se - re - - - re -
 ad dex - te - ram pa - tris, mi - se - - - re -
 pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram. Qui se -

107

no - - - - - bis. Quo - ni - am
 - - - - - re - no - bis. Quo - ni - am tu so -
 des ad dex - te - ram pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no - bis. Quo -

114

tu so - lus sanc - tus. Tu so - lus do - mi - nus, tu so -
 lus sanc - - - tus, tu so - lus do -
 ni - am tu so - lus sanc - tus. Tu so - lus

122

lus al - tis - si - - - mus, Jhe - su Chri - ste.
 - mi - nus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, Jhe -
 do - mi - nus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, Jhe -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 8 – Gloria

130

Cum sanc - to spi - ri - tu,
su Chri - ste. Cum sanc - to spi - ri - tu, in glo -
su Chri - ste. Cum sanc - to spi -

137

in glo - ri - a de - i pa - tris. A -
ri - a de - i pa - tris. A -
ri - tu, in glo - ri - a de - i pa -

144

tris. A -

151

157

- - - - - men.
- - - - - men.
- - - - - men.

Credo

Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms 5557, ff. 77v-80 (Brussels 5557)

Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234, ff. 118v-121 (Rome 234)

[Superius]

Mensura = ♩

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten -

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten -

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem,

tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re,

tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re,

fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re, vi -

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni -

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni -

si - bi - li - um om - ni -

um et in - vi - si - bi -

um. Et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

um et in - vi -

- li - um. Et in u - num do - mi -

Et in u - num do - mi - num

si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num do - mi -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 10 – Credo

21

num Jhe - sum Chri - stum, fi - li - um de - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la, de - um de - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, de - um ve - rum de de - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum,

26

ni - tum. Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la, de - um de - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, de - um ve - rum de de - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum,

32

tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la. De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, de - um ve - rum de de - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum,

37

o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, de - um ve - rum de de - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum,

42

o ve - ro, ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum,

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 11 – Credo

47

tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem pa - tri, per quem

tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem pa - tri, per quem om -

con - sub - stan - - - ti - a - - - lem per

52

om - ni - a fac - ta sunt. Qui

ni - a fac - - - ta sunt. Qui prop -

quem fac - ta sunt. Qui prop -

58

prop - ter nos ho - mi - nes et prop - ter no - stram sa - lu -

ter nos ho - mi - nes et prop - ter no - stram sa - lu -

ter nos ho - mi - nes et prop - ter no - stram sa - - -

63

tem de - scen - dit de ce -

tem de - scen - dit de ce -

lu - tem de - scen - dit de ce -

68

lis.

lis.

lis.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 12 – Credo

70

Et in-car-na - tus est de spi - ri - tu sanc - to ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi -
ne. Et ho - mo fac - tus

77

est. Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis, sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - to
pas - sus, et se - pul - tus est. Et

84

Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di -
sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di -

91

re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di -
sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di -

97

re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di -
sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 13 – Credo

102

e, se - cun - dum scrip - tu -

e, se - cun - dum scrip - tu -

107

Et a - scen -

ras.

ras. Et a - - - scen -

112

dit in ce - lum, se -

dit in ce - - - lum,

119

det ad dex - te - ram Pa - - -

se - - - det ad dex - te -

124

- - - - - tris.

ram Pa - - - - - tris.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 14 – Credo

$\text{♩} = \text{♩}$

129 Mensura = ♩

Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, ju -
 Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est ju - di - ca - re cum glo -
 Cum glo - ri - a

di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os. Cu - jus re -
 ri - a vi - vos et mor - tu - os. Cu -
 vi - vos et mor - tu - os. Cu - jus

gni non e - rit fi - nis,
 jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis.
 re - gni

et in spi - ri - tum sanc - tum, do - mi - num, et vi - vi - fi -
 Et in spi - ri - tum sanc - tum, do - mi - num, et vi - vi -
 et in spi - ri - tum do - mi - num, et vi - vi

can - tem. Qui ex pa - tre fi - li - o -
 fi - can - tem qui ex pa - tre fi - li - o -
 Qui ex pa - tre pro -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 15 – Credo

164

que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum pa - tre et
 ce - dit. Qui cum pa - tre

170

cum pa - tre et fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra -
 fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra -
 fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra -

176

tur, et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur, qui lo - cu -
 tur, et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur, qui lo - cu -
 o - ra - tur, qui lo -

182

tus est per pro - phe - tas. Et u - nam
 tus est per pro - phe - tas.
 cu - tus est per pro - phe - tas. Et u -

188

sanc - tam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam ec -
 Et u - nam sanc - tam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto -
 nam sanc - tam ca - tho - li - cam ec -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 16 – Credo

195

cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u -
 li - cam ec - si - am. Con - fi - te - or
 cle - si - am. Con -

200

num bap - tis - ma in
 u - num bap - tis - ma in re - mis -
 - - fi - te - or u - num bap - tis -

206

re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum. Et ex -
 - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum. Et ex -
 ma pec - ca - to - rum. Et

213

pec - to re - sur - rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu -
 pec - to re - sur - rec - ti - o - nem
 ex - pec - to re - sur - rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu -

220

o - rum et vi - tam ven - tu -
 mor - tu - o - rum et vi - tam ven - tu -
 o - rum et vi - tam ven - tu -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 17 – Credo

226

se - cu - li. A - - - -

ri se - cu - - - - A - - - -

ri se - cu - li. A - - - -

232

238

men.

men.

men.

Sanctus

Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms 5557, ff. 80v-82 (Brussels 5557)

Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234, ff. 121v-123 (Rome 234)

[Superius]

Mensura = ♩

Superius: Sanc - - - - - tus,

Tenor: Sanc - - - - -

Contratenor: Sanc - - - - -

Superius: - - - - - Sanc - - - - -

Tenor: - - - - - tus,

Contratenor: - - - - - tus,

Superius: - - - - - tus

Tenor: - - - - - Sanc - - - - - tus.

Contratenor: - - - - - Sanc - - - - - tus,

Superius: Sanc - - - - -

Tenor: Sanc - - - - -

Contratenor: Sanc - - - - -

Superius: - - - - - tus do -

Tenor: - - - - - tus

Contratenor: - - - - - tus do -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 19 – Sanctus

27

mi - - - nus

do - - - mi - - - - nus

mi - - - - - nus

33

de - - - - -

de - - - - -

de - - - - -

38

us Sa -

us Sa -

us Sa -

44

ba - - - - - oth.

ba - - - - - oth.

ba - - - - - oth.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 20 – Sanctus

51

Ple - - - ni sunt ce - - -

Ple - - - ni sunt ce - - -

59

Et ter - - -

li

li et ter - - -

66

ra glo - - - ri - - -

ra glo - - - ri - - -

73

a tu - - -

tu - - -

a tu - - -

81

a.

a.

a.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 21 – Sanctus

$\text{♩} = \text{○}$

89 Mensura = ○

Musical score for measures 89-95. It consists of three staves: Treble, Alto (8), and Bass. The lyrics are: O - - - san - - - na. The notation includes a mensural line with a common time signature and a key signature of one flat.

Musical score for measures 96-103. It consists of three staves: Treble, Alto (8), and Bass. The lyrics are: in. The notation includes a mensural line with a common time signature and a key signature of one flat.

Musical score for measures 104-111. It consists of three staves: Treble, Alto (8), and Bass. The lyrics are: in ex - - - cel. The notation includes a mensural line with a common time signature and a key signature of one flat.

Musical score for measures 112-118. It consists of three staves: Treble, Alto (8), and Bass. The lyrics are: cel. The notation includes a mensural line with a common time signature and a key signature of one flat.

Musical score for measures 119-126. It consists of three staves: Treble, Alto (8), and Bass. The lyrics are: sis. The notation includes a mensural line with a common time signature and a key signature of one flat.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 22 – Sanctus

125

Be - - - ne - - - dic - - -

Be - - - ne - - - dic - - -

132

139

tus qui ve - - -

tus qui ve - - -

144

nit in

nit in no - - -

nit in

149

mi - - - ne

no - - -

no - - -

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 23 – Sanctus

154

mi

mi

159

ne do mi

ne do

165

ni.

do mi ni.

mi ni.

[Osanna ut sopra]

Agnus dei

Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234, ff. 123v-125 (Rome 234)

[Superius] Mensura = ♩

Ag - nus de - i.

de - i.

de

11

Qui tol - lis i. Qui

18

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

Qui tol - lis

24

di, mi - se - re - re no - pec - ca - ta mun - pec - ca - ta mun

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 25 – Agnus

32

di, mi do
di,

39

se na no re re no pa
mi se re re
do na no

45

bis pa
bis

50

no pa
bis. cem.
bis. cem.
bis. cem.

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 26 – Agnus

54

Ag - nus de

Ag - - - nus de - - -

61

67

73

79

qui

i qui

Qui

Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni*, p. 27 – Agnus

85

tol - lis pec - - - - -
tol - lis pec - - - - -
tol - - - - - lis pec - ca -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 85 through 90. It features three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef with an 8va marking), and a bass line (bass clef). The music is in a minor key with a common time signature. The lyrics are: 'tol - lis pec - - - - -' on the vocal line, 'tol - lis pec - - - - -' on the piano line, and 'tol - - - - - lis pec - ca -' on the bass line.

91

- - ca - - - - - ta mun - - - - -
- - ca - - - - - ta
ta mun - - - - - di,

Detailed description: This system contains measures 91 through 96. It features three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef with an 8va marking), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: '- - ca - - - - - ta mun - - - - -' on the vocal line, '- - ca - - - - - ta' on the piano line, and 'ta mun - - - - - di,' on the bass line.

97

- - - - - di, mi - se - re -
mun - - - - - di, mi se - re -
mi - se - - - - re - - - - re no -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 97 through 102. It features three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef with an 8va marking), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: '- - - - - di, mi - se - re -' on the vocal line, 'mun - - - - - di, mi se - re -' on the piano line, and 'mi - se - - - - re - - - - re no -' on the bass line.

103

- - re no - - - - bis.
- - re no - - - - bis.
- - - - - bis.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 103 through 108. It features three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef with an 8va marking), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: '- - re no - - - - bis.' on the vocal line, '- - re no - - - - bis.' on the piano line, and '- - - - - bis.' on the bass line.

[Agnus III ut supra]