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A forgotten Mass and its composer

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ABSTRACT. *The present essay explores the cantus firmus use, structure, style and origins of a three-voice Kyrie and Gloria in Trent Codex 89, both of which use the Tenor of Conrad Paumann's lied* Wiplich figur *as their cantus firmus. Both movements may have been part of a Mass cycle which now lacks its subsequent movements. Comparisons are drawn between these movements and the similar Missa* Wünschlichen schön *in order to suggest that the two works may be the work of the same anonymous composer. Further comparisons are also made with works in the Strahov manuscript, Trent 89 and Trent 88, suggesting that at least some of the latter might also be the work of the same man.*

The past twenty to thirty years have seen an increasing interest in sources of fifteenth-century polyphony from the German-speaking world and its borders. This has resulted in several significant studies which describe the nature, characteristics and peculiarities of the sources concerned.[1] As a result, the contents of the Trent Codices, *Glogau* and smaller manuscripts are becoming increasingly accessible and understandable. The present article deals with two small interrelated areas in this field, which (for various reasons) have suffered undue neglect. Firstly, I will describe what survives of a probable Mass which uses Conrad Paumann's only extant lied *Wiplich figur* as its cantus firmus.[2] I first gave brief

[1] Reinhard Strohm's *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 119–24 and 489–539, gives excellent general coverage of Germanic sources and developments, as does his 'Native and Foreign Polyphony in Late Medieval Austria', *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), pp. 205–30. David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford, 1999) also gives invaluable catalogues of lieder and Latin pieces on pp. 412–98 and 569–603 respectively. Amongst studies of individual manuscripts, the following is just a small sample of those which I recommend as noteworthy: Martin Kirnbauer, ' ''Carmina francigenum liber hic predulcia claudit'' – Das ''Schedelsche Liederbuch'' ', *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 9 (1994), 171–93; Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'A Paleographical and Repertorial Study of the manuscript Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 91 (1378)', Ph.D. diss., 2 vols, Princeton University (1990); Robert J. Snow, 'The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV. 47', Ph.D. diss. University of Illinois, Urbana (1968); Gary Spilsted, 'The Paleography and Musical Repertory of Codex Tridentinus 93', Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, (1982); Peter Wright, 'Johannes Wiser's Paper and the Copying of his Manuscripts', *I Codici Musicali Trentini* 2 (1996), 31–54; and Christian Väterlein, ed., *Das Glogauer Liederbuch (III. und IV Teil)*, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 85–6 (Kassel, 1981).

[2] Paumann's piece (*Schedel* no. 23, attributed to M[agister] C[onradus] C[ecus], ff. 25v–26r) is given in Robert Eitner, ed. *Das Deutsche Lied des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1876 and

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notice of this work's derivation in 1989, but as far as I am aware only one other mention of it appears in current literature.[3] Secondly, the composer of this Mass may have been responsible for other works in *Trent 89* and *Strahov* – therefore arguably making him a significant indirect contributor to these repertories. Again, this was something mentioned in my 1989 reference which does not appear to have been taken up by any other party. However, since then I have expanded my thoughts on the subject; so perhaps now is the right time to illustrate the matter more thoroughly.

Admittedly, it is partly my own fault that the Missa *Wiplich figur* has been overlooked. I used a mere single paragraph in my Ph.D. dissertation to suggest its likely derivation, to describe its dismembered state, and to suggest that it might have something in common with the better-known Missa *Wünschlichen schön*.[4] To a browser's eye, too, the movements of the Missa *Wiplich figur* and their apparent musical unity might easily escape notice. The Kyrie (with F finals in its essential voices) survives in *Trent 89*, numbered as 514 (ff. 11v–12r) in the Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich thematic catalogue.[5] All three sections are for three voices. Much later in the same manuscript, this Kyrie recurs (as DTOe no. 709, ff. 315v–316r, transposed a third down) and is placed immediately before a three-voice Gloria (no. 710, ff. 316v–318r) which also has essential-voice F finals.[6] The second copy of the Kyrie (no. 709) also lacks the contratenor given

1880), II, 161–2 (music) and 42 (text). This edition is unreliable. For another, see Herbert Rosenberg, ed., *Das Schedelsche Liederbuch: Ausgewählte Sätze* (Wolfenbüttel, 1933), no. 4. There is also a keyboard intabulation of the lied (entitled *Bekenne myn klag die mir an lyt)* published in Bertha Wallner, ed., *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 37–9 (Kassel, 1958–59), no. 38, p. 285, which is at the same written pitch as the lied. Regarding a six-stanza poem in the Königsteiner Liederbuch which shares the opening line of the single-stanza text in *Schedel*, see Fallows, *A Catalogue*, 493.

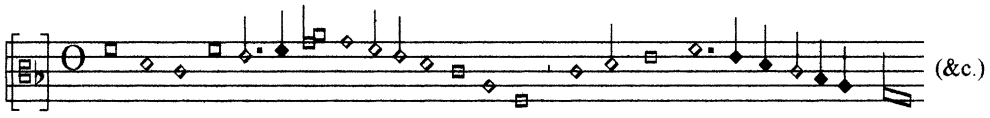
[3] See Robert Mitchell, 'The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91', Ph.D. diss., 2 vols., Exeter University (1989), I, 72, and Martin Kirnbauer, 'Hartmann Schedel und sein ''Liederbuch''. Studien zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Musikhandschrift (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cgm 810) und ihrem Kontext', Ph.D. diss., Basel University (1998). The latter is also now published under the same title as *Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft*, Série II Vol. 39 (Bern, 2000).

[4] Regarding this Mass (the movements of which occur in *Trent 89, Strahov* and *Speciálník*) see Reinhard Strohm, 'Meβzyklen über Deutsche Lieder in den Trienter Codices', in *Liedstudien. Festschrift für Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Just and Reinhard Wiesend (Tutzing 1989), 77–106. Mitchell, 'The Paleography' 84–6, also illustrates the main borrowed material of this Mass, and a tabular analysis is given in Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'Song Masses in the Trent Codices: the Austrian Connection', *Early Music History* 14 (1995), 205–56. Only the Kyrie and Gloria appear in *Trent 89*, on ff. 162v–163r and 163v–164v respectively (nos. 612 and 613 in the DTOe thematic catalogue). The *Wünschlichen schön* text (which is absent from the lied's chief source, *Schedel* ff. 132v–133r, no. 115) is given in the Königsteiner Liederbuch. Further, see Fallows, *A Catalogue*, 496–7. For a previous suggestion of Strohm's that this might be an otherwise lost Tinctoris Mass, see his 'Die Missa super ''Nos amis'' von Johannes Tinctoris', *Die Musikforschung* 32 (1979), 34–51.

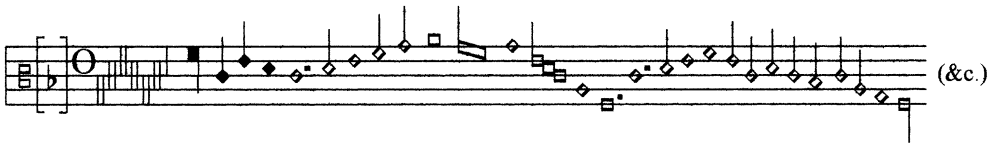
[5] The Denkmäler der Tonkunst series is hereafter referred to as DTOe. For other sigla used in this study, see the Appendix.

[6] The music for the second copy of the Kyrie may only appear transposed to the modern eye because the clefs may have been entered on the page some time before the music was copied – as some sort of 'preparation' for a different piece that was never actually entered. This Kyrie seems performable at both its probable pitch (starting on F) and its newer written pitch (on D) but – unsurprisingly – notable difficulties occur with editorial accidentals in the latter version.

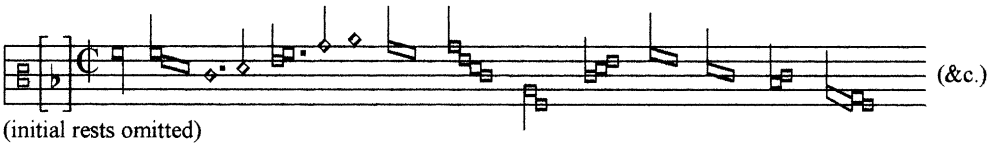
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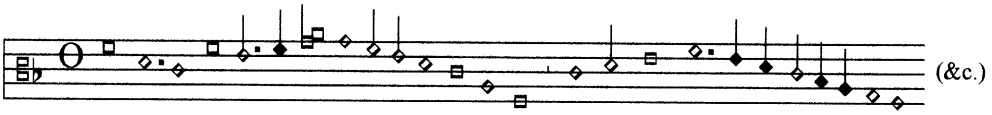
Ex. 1 Tenor incipit of *Trent 89* Kyrie no. 709.



Ex. 2 Tenor incipit of *Trent 89* Gloria no. 710.



Ex. 3 Tenor incipit, *secunda pars* of Gloria no. 710.



Ex. 4 Tenor incipit of *Trent 89* Kyrie no. 514.

by no. 514 for the Christe section. That this Kyrie and Gloria constitute an entity in themselves is suggested by their similar tenor openings. Examples 1–4 illustrate the tenor incipits of both movements, with that of Kyrie no. 709 being transposed to its more probable written pitch starting on F.
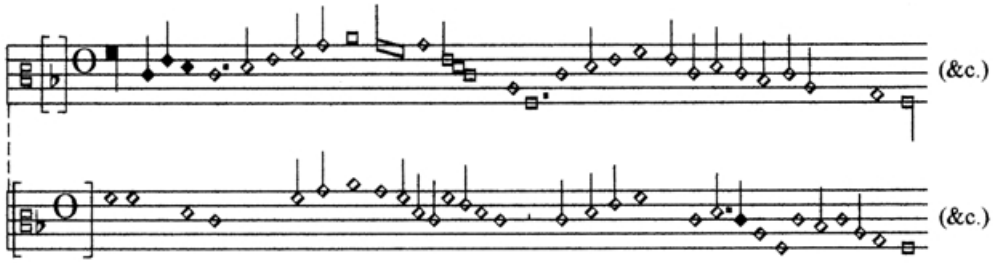
It is therefore likely that both movements have a common cantus firmus which is differently elaborated in each movement, but a comprehensive search has revealed no Credo, Sanctus or Agnus settings which share the same or similar tenor material. Nevertheless, it is at least likely that we have part of a once-complete Mass cycle here, there being several other Masses in the later Trent Codices which have suffered similar dismemberment.[7]

The above incipits also bear a convincing resemblance to the tenor of Paumann's *Wiplich figur*. However, this is not immediately evident because the only

The D version may have passed muster as a Kyrie setting, since its transposed superius opening is coincidentally similar to that of the well-known Kyrie chant *MEL* 171.

[7] For example, the four-voice Mass shared between *Trent 88*, *Trent 90* and *Trent 93* published in part in Marco Gozzi, ed., *Il manoscritto Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, cod. 1377 (Tr 90) con un'analisi del repertorio non derivato da Tr 93*, 2 vols. (Cremona, 1992), II, 52–74 (Gloria and Credo only). The movements of Bedingham's well-known Missa *Dueil Angoisseux* are similarly separated.
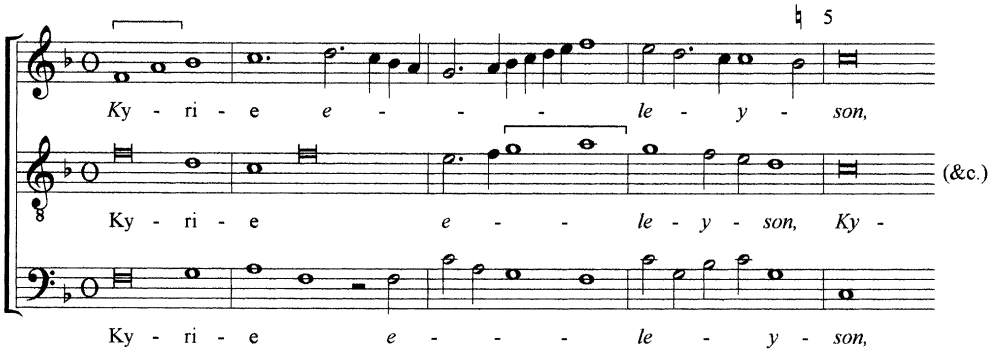
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Ex. 5 Tenor openings of Gloria no. 710 and Paumann's *Wiplich figur*.

texted source for the lied starts on C rather than F. Example 5 compares the Gloria tenor's opening and that of the lied, with the latter transposed up a fourth in this and subsequent examples for ease of comparison. Despite the Mass tenors taking away notes from the suggested parent tenor as well as adding them, the technique here is probably still best described as elaboration, since there are other examples of casual tenor transformation in fifteenth-century song-based Masses.[8]

That both of these movements have a significant relationship to Paumann's lied (despite the lack of a shared motto opening) is also suggested by comparison of the Kyrie and lied superius openings in Examples 6 and 7.[9]



Ex. 6 Opening of *Trent 89* Kyrie no. 514.

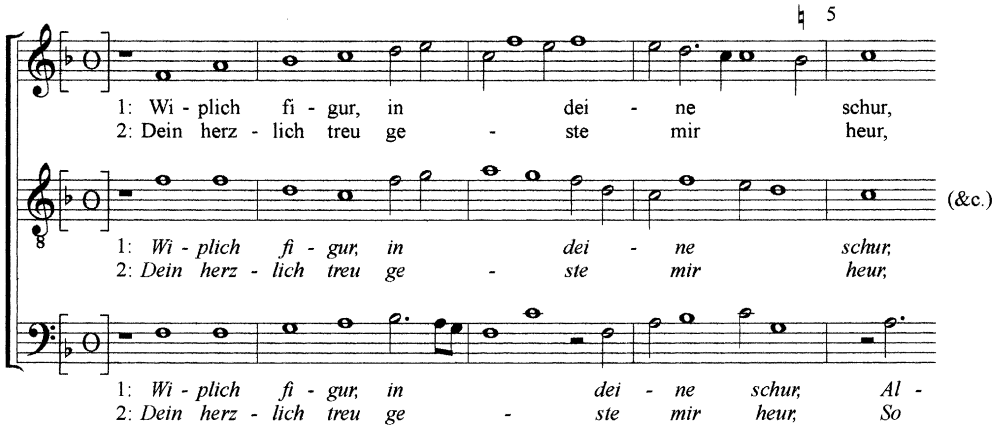
A further noteworthy resemblance tends to suggest that these two movements use *Wiplich figur* as their borrowed material; the Christe opening and the lied's second section *(Abgesang)* opening are particularly close (see Exx. 8 and 9).

The Mass tenors are also fairly easy to describe in terms of basic elaborative behaviour, but a verbal description is necessary here rather than a table detailing
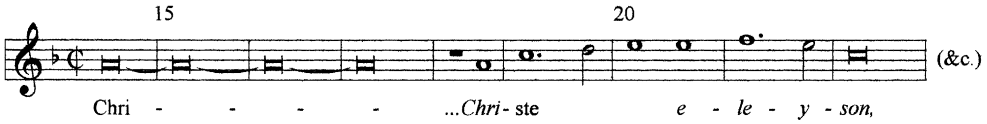
[8] See in particular Mitchell, 'The Paleography and Repertory' I, p. 210 (regarding the Missa *Le serviteur II* in *Trent 89*). I no longer uphold the claim made in that discussion that the Mass in question might be by Ockeghem.

[9] Readers no doubt observe the rhythmic difference between the two examples, but I do not consider that the *Schedel* reading should be modified to suit the rhythm of the derivatory movements discussed here. Despite *Schedel* being well known as a source which contains many errors, rhythmic irregularity is frequent feature of its lied repertory. Further, see Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 496–9.
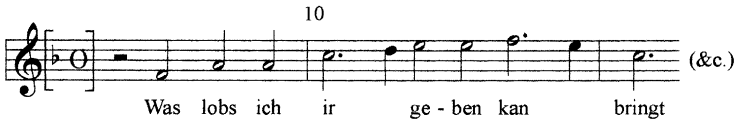
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Ex. 7 Opening of Paumann's *Wiplich figur*.



Ex. 8 Superius opening of Christe.



Ex. 9 *Wiplich figur*, superius, 9–11.

usage, since the music remains unpublished. Kyrie I's tenor elaborates the lied's first-section tenor, adding a short cadential free extension. Apart from the opening previously cited, the Christe contains little material directly related to *Wiplich figur*. However, its internal cadences follow the same pitch pattern as those in the lied *Abgesang* (first cadence on the mediant degree, second cadence a fifth above the final, and last cadence on the final), and the approach to the mediant cadence is not unlike that in the lied. Kyrie II's tenor also begins with an elaboration of the lied's first-section tenor, although the elaboration differs from that in Kyrie I. The movement concludes with a largely free extension, but again (as in the Christe and the lied) the penultimate cadence is a fifth above the final one. The Gloria begins with a twenty-six-bar superius–contra duet that has no lied references, and then the tenor enters with a newly elaborated version of the lied's first-section tenor. Once more, the statement (and the movement's first section) ends with a free extension. The second (𝄵) section opens with another extended outer-voice duet, and again there appears to be no borrowed material here. The tenor then gives yet another elaboration of the lied's first-section tenor, to which a few notes are added that may be suggestive of the lied tenor's *Abgesang* opening. Thereupon (from 'Cum sancto Spiritu' onwards), follows an

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extended and largely free addition, possibly related to the lied only by brief use of imitative changing-note figures and the use of syncopated dotted figures in the superius just before the final cadence.

The latter description tends to confirm that we are dealing with a familiar type of cyclic Mass, in which free invention plays almost as important a part as tenor cantus firmus and occasional superius allusions to the model's superius. It can be quite easily seen from the preceding description, too, that the lied's second section is very much the poor relation in cantus firmus terms and is hardly referred to at all. In both the Kyrie and the Gloria, references to this section are confined to internal subdivisions and quickly peter out in favour of free composition. This is a feature to which I will return shortly, as it is significant that another partially preserved Mass from *Trent 89* (the Missa *Wünschlichen schön)* shares the same tendency. Transposition of the borrowed material is not a unique feature; the anonymous tenor motet *Salve Regina/Le serviteur* (*Trent 89* no 638) gives the famous chanson's tenor a tone up from its normal pitch.

A Germanic origin for this Mass is suggested by the choice of cantus firmus. More specifically, the work could possibly be Austrian since the parent lied of a Mass that is not too dissimilar (the *Trent 91* Missa *Sig säld und hail)* has the title 'Von osterreich' in *Schedel*.[10] The behaviour of the outer voices in the *Wiplich figur* movements perhaps also suggests Germanic provenance, since the contra tends to be bass-like throughout. However, this bass-like function does not exclude the use of octave-leap and doubled leading-note cadences. The use of imitative changing-note figures, the undemanding alternation of O and ¢ mensurations, and the frequency of simple superius–tenor imitation are also features which perhaps suggest Germanic origin – although these features in themselves are certainly not exclusive to German polyphony. These movements contain no rhythmic complexities, and even sesquialtera is absent. Occasional small solecisms (such as constructs featuring sixths in exposed places) maybe also suggest a composer who was not part of the mainstream Franco-Flemish tradition, as does the archaic feature at the start of the Christe superius. Here, the opening syllable 'Chri-' seems to require repetition. Ultimately this feature derives from rondeaux and ballades of the period 1390–1420; many pieces in *Oxford 213* begin with what are either textless (i.e., probably vocalised) introductions or are intended to receive repeated first syllables.[11] The same feature also occasionally reappears in other species of later fifteenth-century polyphony.[12] A further peculiarity of Kyrie no. 709 is that the anonymous scribe writes 'eleyson' as 'eleÿson', suggesting that the word was intended to be sung (at least in this instance) in four-

[10] *Schedel*, ff. 122v–123r and 144v (nos. 105 and 126a).

[11] For examples, see Gilbert Reaney ed., *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. IV, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11, 6 vols., (Rome, 1955–), 3 *(Conbien que loins)*, 4 *(Un soupir amoureusement)* and 5 *(Amours, venés mon cuer reconforter)*.

[12] The famous *O rosa bella* setting (probably by Bedingham) serves as a good example, as does the *Trent 89* setting of the Horatian ode *Tu ne quesieris*, which is published in Oswald Koller and Guido Adler eds., *Sechs Trienter Codices, Erste Auswahl*, DTOe Jahrgang VII, vols. 14/15, (Vienna, 1900), pp. 89–91.

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syllable manner. This is rare in the later Trent Codices; Wiser usually writes 'eleyson'. This in turn begs questions about how the word was pronounced by fifteenth-century singers; the only element that we can be sure of here is the absence of standardisation. Significantly, this is not the only fifteenth-century Kyrie setting which suggests a departure from modern pronunciation norms.[13]

I would not want to make any great claims for what remains of the Missa *Wiplich figur;* this is an unassuming work, and its cantus firmus use is simple. Except in the Gloria's first section, the tenor proceeds in rhythmic values similar to those in the outer voices. Even in this particular Gloria section, moreover, the tenor does not use notably extended values. The thin and sometimes economic scoring of this Mass also resembles the texture of what some recent authors have called 'low-contra' three-voice Masses. Such works were not confined to the central European orbit, as several examples by western composers show.[14] It also seems likely that the Christe contra in the first *Trent 89* copy of the Kyrie is inauthentic. The two upper voices are perfectly self-sufficient without it, and its brief internal use of relatively extended values beneath imitative changing-note figures in the upper voices is harmonically slightly suspect. This could well be a voice added during the transmission process, as there are other Masses in *Trent 91* which are likely to have reached us in forms probably quite unlike their original versions.[15]

In view of the features described, a tentative composition date of *c*. 1455–65 does not seem unreasonable. This would make the Missa *Wiplich figur* look approximately contemporary with many of the chant settings and shorter works in *Trent 89*, and also relatively new alongside such works as the well-known English *Caput* Mass preserved in the same manuscript. Johannes Wiser (the main scribe of *Trent 89)* copied Kyrie no. 514, but the scribe who copied Kyrie and Gloria nos. 709 and 710 is one of the more important subsidiary hands in the manuscript.[16] The anonymous scribe's contributions (at least, in mid-fifteenth-century terms) largely seem to be modern-looking works – or at least pieces that were probably new in the 1460s. But we really cannot tell whether this is

[13] The Christe from the three–voice Mass by 'Jo. Bassere' in *Trent 89* (ff. 294v–295r, DTOe no. 698) concludes with extended values which seem to invite the pronunciation of 'eleyson' as a four-syllable word. The Kyrie from Ockeghem's five-voice Missa *Sine nomine* is similar case in point. The first six notes of the Superius here surely sound as appropriate when sung to 'Ky-ri-e-le-y-son' as they do when sung to 'Ky-ri-e e-ley-son'. Which might be the more authentic pronunciation, though, is beyond the scope of this discussion.

[14] For a discussion of low-contra masses in central European sources, see Leverett, 'A Paleographical and Repertorial Study', 188–96.

[15] Notably the four-voice *Zersundert* and *Sig säld* Masses. Both of these may have originated as three-voice works. Further, see Mitchell, 'The Paleography and Repertory', I, 111–12 and 114–16 (both accounts, though, now need updating slightly in the light of recent findings).

[16] Regarding the likely contributions of this scribe to *Trent 89, 91* and *88* see Mitchell, 'The Paleography and Repertory', 39–42 and 54–7. He appears to have copied (amongst other works) the Missa *Groβ senen* and the Barbingant Mass in *Trent 89,* and also the Vincenet Missa *O gloriosa* in *Trent 91.* He also appears to have helped complete the copy of the [Faugues] Missa *Le serviteur* in *Trent 88*.

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merely an accident of survival or whether it represents some sort of individual selection process. Before we attribute a taste for modernism to any mid-fifteenth-century scribe, it is just as well to consider that works such as the Missa *Caput* probably had extended use over several decades. It may have sounded just as 'modern' to some fifteenth-century singers as the more developed works which present-day textbooks firmly associate with the 1460s. The Cambrai copyist Simon Mellet – for example – made a copy of a Missa *Caput* (quite probably the anonymous one known to us) in 1463–4, and there is little reason to suppose that his efforts were intended for anything but practical purposes.[17]

The nearest counterpart to the Missa *Wiplich figur* is the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, and several features of this cycle prompt the suggestion that both works might be by the same anonymous composer. Firstly, both Masses draw on short, Barform lieder which are in themselves quite similar. We have already seen that the brevity of the *Wiplich figur* first-section tenor does not prompt the composer to invent extended elaborations. In both sections of the Gloria he lets his borrowed tenor run its brief course – taking some liberties with the rhythm of the original – and then follows the elaboration with free or largely free material. The same method is evident in the first sections of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus from the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, although the borrowed material in each case tends to be more faithful to the original than the *Wiplich figur* elaborations are.[18]

Secondly, the extent of freely composed passages in both Masses is similar. The *Wiplich figur* Gloria's second section divides roughly into three continuous panels: (i) introduction and tenorless duet; (ii) full section with tenor elaboration; and (iii) full continuation with only vague allusions to the parent material. The similarly sized duple section of the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* Gloria is free of lied-derived material for most of its length, and only introduces a lied tenor-derived passage in the superius (at 'Tu solus Dominus') for its final fourteen bars. The equivalent section in the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* Credo (Et incarnatus) is shorter, but completely free. The same also applies to the single Osanna section in the Sanctus.

Thirdly, despite overall structural differences (which will be explained below) the layout of both Kyries is similar. Both are trisectional, and (as I have mentioned) the Missa *Wiplich figur* interpolates the two outer elaborated-tenor sections with a Christe duet which makes only passing references to its parent material. The *Wünschlichen schön* Kyrie does things slightly differently (preceding its initial tenor entry with an introductory duet which begins by quoting a Kyrie chant) but still restricts its tenor statements to Kyries I and II. As in the Missa *Wiplich figur*, the *Wünschlichen schön* Christe is only allusive of parent material. The Kyries of both Masses are also of approximately the same length.

[17] See Margaret and Ian Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer – A New Source', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22 (1969), 392–423, particularly p. 408. The Cambrai archival reference to 'les Kyriels de la messe caput c[ontenan]t II feullés' convincingly matches the extent of the Kyrie from the anonymous Mass.

[18] The Gloria's first-section tenor and its free continuation is cited in Leverett, 'Song Masses in the Trent Codices', 227 (as Ex. 2).

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Fourth, the points made above make it clear that these Masses share much in terms of short tenor cantus firmus statements, extended free passages and Kyrie layout. They also share similar rhythmic movement in both O and ¢ mensurations, and the voices are similarly dispositioned. The overall range of the Missa *Wiplich figur*'s contra is one note short of two octaves (bass B♭ to A above middle C) and the Missa *Wünschlichen schön's* overall contra range spans two octaves (bass G to G above middle C). As in the Missa *Wiplich figur*, the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* contras tends to be bass-like, but this does not exclude doubled-leading-note and octave-leap progressions. Fifth, neither Mass makes frequent use of extended values for tenor cantus firmus passages. It has already been noted that extended cantus firmus values only appear briefly in the *Wiplich figur* Gloria, and similarly in the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* only Kyries I and II give cantus firmus values which differ greatly from those in the parent piece.

These clear grounds for comparison should not hide the fact that the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* is a more complex work than what survives of the Missa *Wiplich figur*. Most significantly, each movement of the Missa *Wünschlichen schon* begins with a few notes quoted from different Ordinary chants. These are mostly given in the outer voices, but only the tenor contains such a quotation in the incomplete, single-section Agnus.[19] In addition, the lied's *Abgesang* is drawn upon more methodically than in what survives of the *Wiplich figur* Mass; the final-section tenors of the *Wünschlichen schön* Kyrie, Gloria and Credo quote it completely (in slightly varied forms) and so does the tenor at the end of Agnus I. The Benedictus duet also opens and closes with material which is allusive of the lied. Of equal significance, perhaps, is the more varied mensuration pattern of the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*. The *Wiplich figur* Kyrie uses O/¢/O, and its Gloria uses O/¢. The Missa *Wünschlichen schön* uses O/¢/C in its Kyrie, O/¢/O in its Gloria and Credo, and O/O2/¢/[O2] in the Sanctus. In two short instances, (at 'Tu solus Dominus' and Pleni sunt), the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* superius cites material from its parent piece's tenor. No such transferrals appear in the *Wiplich figur* movements. The *Wünschlichen schön* Christe also makes cadential use of sesquialtera – another feature absent from what survives of the former Mass.

Nevertheless, these differences are arguably less important than the single feature of both Masses which makes their derivation aurally clear: casual superius references to parent material. Right at the beginning of the *Wiplich figur* Kyrie, the work's lied basis is made evident by the quotation in the superius of an elaborated version of the lied superius incipit. The Christe, too, begins with a clear reference to the lied *Abgesang*. Even when the composer is not methodically drawing upon lied material, he uses allusive material at significant points to integrate his largely free sections. I have already mentioned that the *Wiplich figur*

[19] The Sanctus is also unique in that, whilst its superius begins by quoting the first few notes of the Sanctus chant *THAN* 182, the contra below this superius simultaneously quotes a short continuation of the same melody.

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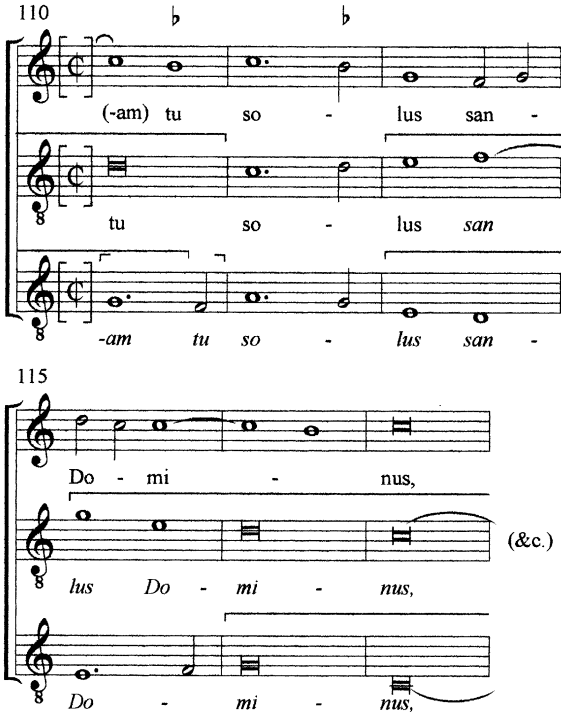
Christe superius follows the cadence-pitches of its model's *Abgesang*, and that at the very end of the Gloria changing-note figures appear – possibly to mimic similar rhythmic movement at the end of the parent piece. The same procedures are very much in evidence in the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, in which the Christe superius opens with lied-related material, and in which the Gloria's last two sections close with clear references to both sections of the *Wünschlichen schön* lied. The original lied is a changing-note model par excellence in view of its imitative and formula-like closing bars. The Gloria, Credo and Agnus endings exploit this by giving clear references to the lied ending – with the Agnus being the clearest citation of all, since most of its brief extent is devoted to parodic treatment of the parent piece. Adelyn Leverett characterised clear model quotations in central European 'Song Masses' (as she called them) by saying that in one particular case the parent song is treated as follows: 'the anonymous composer lets his mass discantus sing out its model for all the world to hear'.[20] The same could easily be said of both Masses considered here, with the terminology perhaps applying more decisively to the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*.

On grounds of allusive behaviour, rhythmic and mensural style and tenor treatment, a case for common authorship of both Masses seems demonstrable. The common properties cited are further reinforced by features which tend to suggest that both works share the same origins. Neither is completely preserved in *Trent 89*, and their dismemberment may suggest that parent copies of both reached Trent together.[21] Putting together the movements of the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* from *Trent 89* and *Strahov* also confirms that there is something slightly uncomfortable (at least, to modern ears) about the overall texture of this work and the Missa *Wiplich figur*. The slightly differing dispositions of the contra voices in the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* give the work a vaguely cobbled-together feel. The *Trent 89* Kyrie and Gloria contras give these movements a clearly functioning and rather bass-like part. The Credo (in *Strahov)* has a contra which is, however, notably less bass-like. In the Et incarnatus section, the contra in fact spends most of its time above the tenor and the same tendency is also apparent in the Osanna. Such features suggest doubts about the authenticity of the voices concerned, as with the probably spurious contra to the *Wiplich figur* Christe. However, this need not necessarily mean that both Masses have hastily added replacement contra voices throughout. It is perfectly possible that the composer (having become used to adding a contra voice in one particular fashion) found it either inappropriate in some way or taxing to vary his normal part-

[20] See Leverett, 'Song Masses in the Trent Codices', 255.

[21] Interestingly, another short three-voice Mass in *Trent 89* (Touront's *Sine nomine*, nos. 516–519) has an incomplete Agnus – consisting of a single section like that of the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*. Could both of these particular Masses also have been fellow-travellers? In support of this, it may also be relevant that movements of both also appear in *Speciálník*. It is not easy to tell at present whether such Masses lost their final sections during transmission, or whether there might have been a regional preference for single-section Agnus movements.

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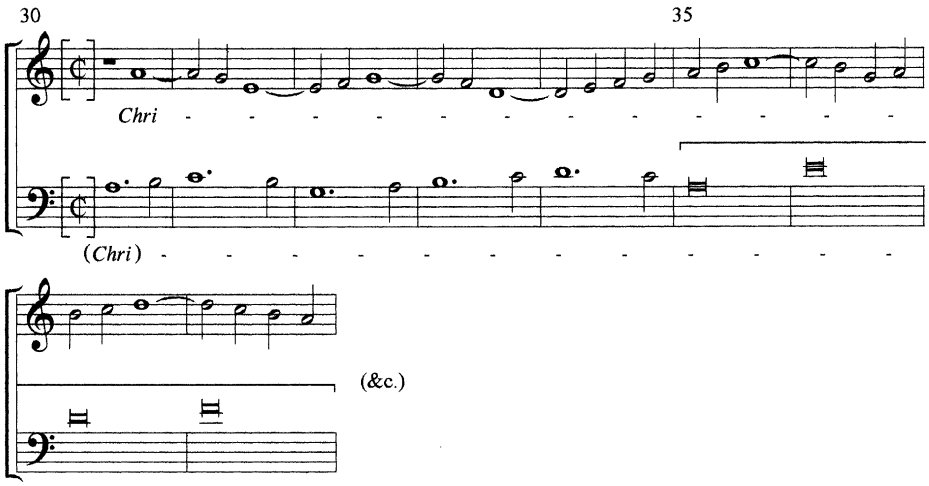


Ex. 10 Missa *Wiplich figur*, Gloria, 110–117.

writing procedure. This is a point to which I will return later when dealing with further likely works by the same anonymous composer.[22]
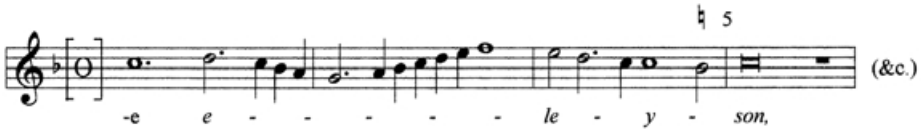
Finally, parts of both Masses leave a strong aural impression that we may be dealing with a single composer, as the following examples will help to illustrate. Examples 10, 11, 12 and 13 show similar points in both Masses involving superius voices which ascend or descend stepwise rapidly in fairly extended scalic patterns. Ascents of this type are more common than descents in both Masses, and this seems to be a fairly infrequent method of putting together a superius part (other examples mostly occur in chant-derived tenor cantus firmus settings). Examples 14 and 15 show similar treatments of imitative changing-note patterns before cadence points. As previously indicated, these derive in part from the models of both Masses. Whilst there is little particularly individual about these despite their similarity, Examples 16 and 17 illustrate a rarer type of cadential approach: imitative material is constructed from small groups of three to six stepwise notes – either in sets of minims or semibreves – which are repeated (or repeated transposed) to give the effect of a cadential drive. Whilst not even the latter is absolutely exclusive to the Masses concerned, the accumulation of

[22] The *Strahov* copy of the *Wünschlichen schön* Sanctus (ff. 117v–118r) also has a patently spurious contratenor secundus, which is added untidily at the bottom of f. 118r and only consists of a few notes which fill in the harmonies of the introductory duet.

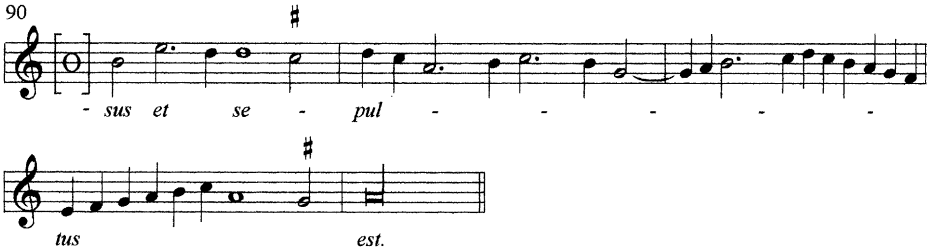
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Ex. 11 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Kyrie, 30–38.



Ex. 12 Missa *Wiplich figur*, Kyrie superius, 2–5.
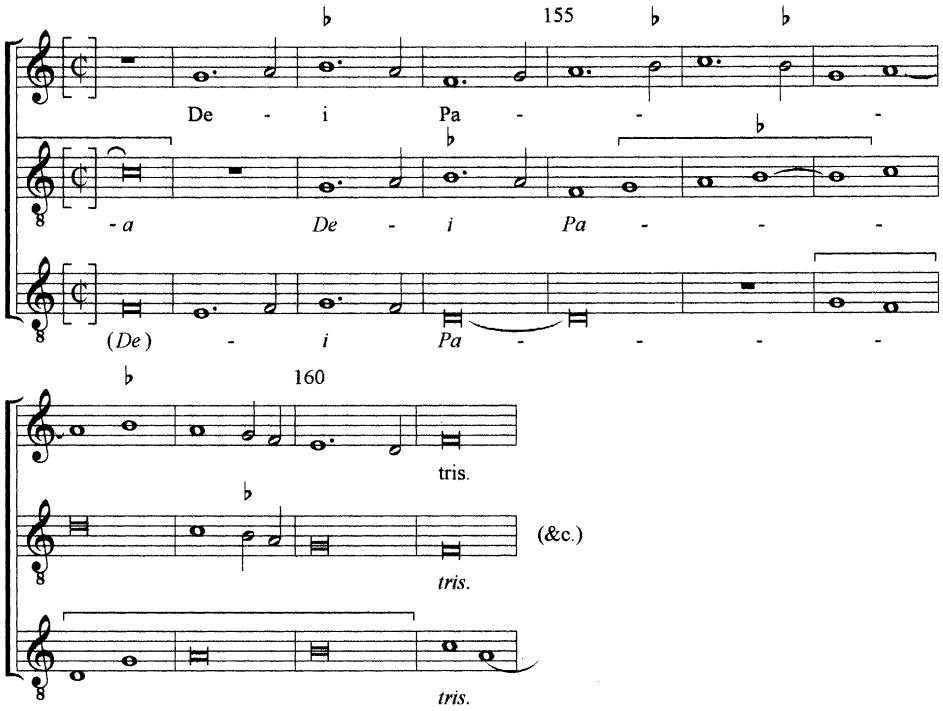


Ex. 13 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Credo superius, 90–94.

all of these features in both works reinforces the points already made concerning their common ground.
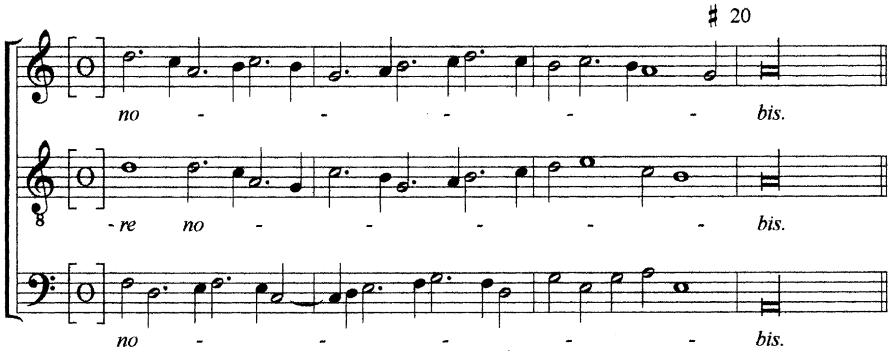
In one respect, though (and one which is important for my subsequent suggestions), the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* has a significant variance with the *Wiplich figur* movements. At two or three places in the former Mass, the superius is even more melismatic than the previous examples suggest. Examples 18–21 present outstanding instances, and it should be noted that the clichéd superius cadence at the end of the first passage quoted is also an occasional feature of the Missa *Wiplich figur*.

Investigation of related sources reveals some interesting parallels. There are a few pieces in *Strahov*, for example, which share the floridity of the latter passages and have contra voices generally similar in function to those of the two Masses.

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Ex. 14 Missa *Wiplich figur*, Gloria, 151–161.
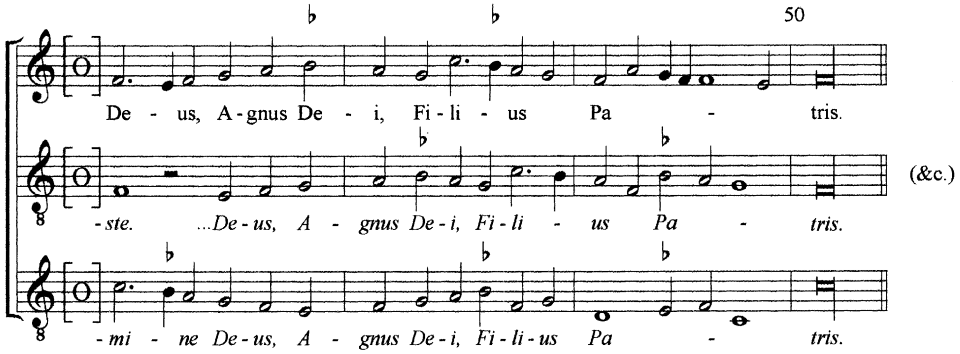


Ex. 15 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Agnus, 17–20.
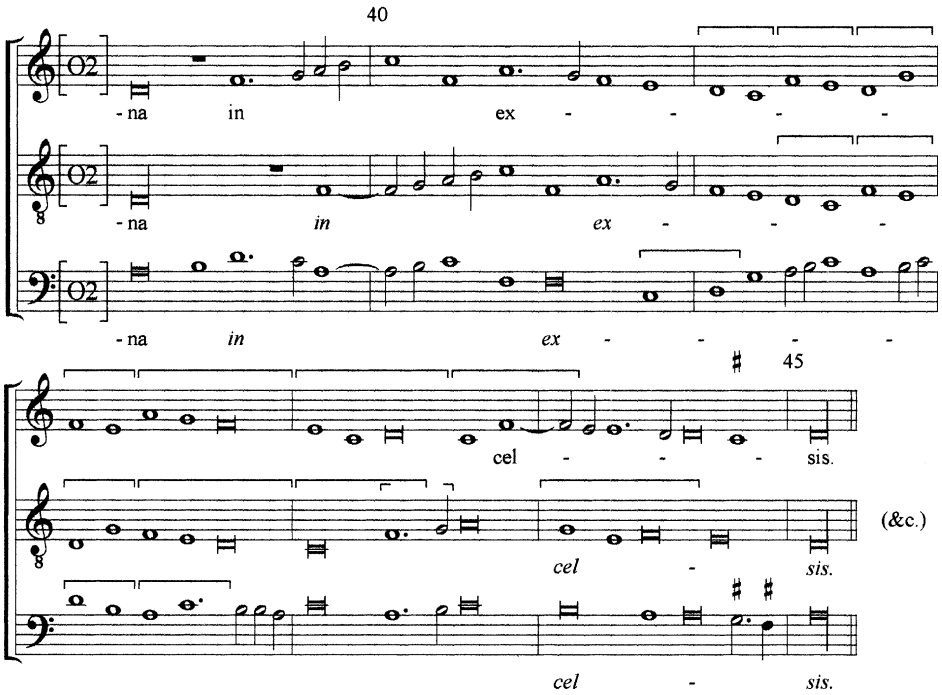
Perhaps the most arresting piece in this respect is the three-voice *Alma redemptoris* setting on ff. 214v–216r. Parts of the superius of this paraphrase setting are so melismatic that they sound almost organistic. Its layout, too, seems to recall an older work since the piece has the same succession of panels (triple, duple and triple) and the same sectional scoring as the well-known Dunstable/Leonel *Alma redemptoris*.[23] Sectional divisions also occur at the same textual points in both

[23] Published in Manfred Bukofzer (ed.), *John Dunstable. Complete Works*, 2nd, rev. edn prepared by Margaret and Ian Bent and Brian Trowell; Musica Britannica 8 (London, 1970), 106–7.
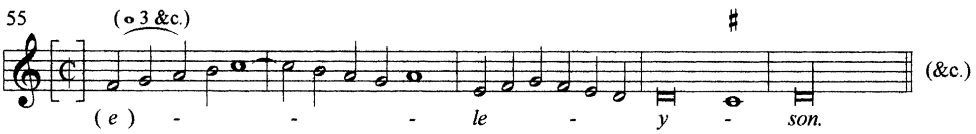
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Ex. 16 Missa *Wiplich figur*, Gloria, 47–50.
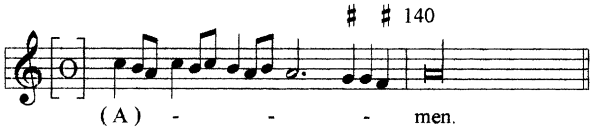


Ex. 17 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Sanctus, 39–45.
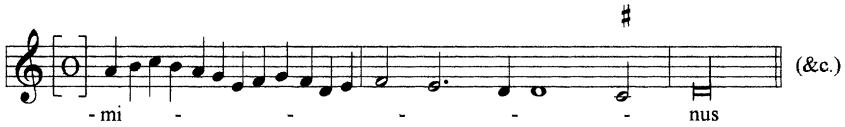


Ex. 18 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Kyrie superius, 55–59.

settings, and perhaps a case could be made for minor melodic resemblances between both pieces being more than coincidental. The alternatim Kyrie setting *Strahov* ff. 51v–52r (although less melismatic than *Alma redemptoris*) is a similarly distinctive piece. This migrant (but rather undistinguished) setting of the *MEL*

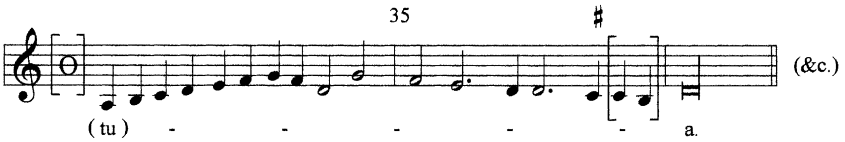
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Ex. 19 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Gloria superius, 139–140.



Ex. 20 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Sanctus superius, 17–19.



Ex. 21 Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, Sanctus superius, 34–36.

18 chant features chant-bearing voices written out in Hufnagelschrift and also a notably synthetic-sounding superius in its tenor cantus firmus passages. Apart from the more florid passages of the Missa *Wünschlichen schön*, there is very little sacred music like these pieces in surviving sources.[24] Therefore I am inclined to suspect that a common composer might be responsible for both of these as well as the two Masses.

Two further short works are also relevant in this respect, and again both are for three voices. The brief *Ave vivens hostia* (*Trent 89* no. 697) is another migrant piece, with the first half of the parent cantio melody paraphrased in the first (O mensuration) section. In the following (¢) section the tenor has the cantio tune's continuation – this time as an unelaborated cantus firmus section. The first-section superius also ends with a sequential melismatic passage very similar to those previously illustrated, and the contra throughout combines the familiar bass and filler functions. Common authorship might be a possibility here as well. Finally, amongst these medium- to short-length works, *O sacrum convivium* (*Strahov* ff. 233v–235r) also has some long-winded melismatic writing and is rhythmically and imitatively similar to the *Strahov Alma redemptoris*.[25] I doubt that this piece can be associated with those already cited; its use of unison imitation and duple mensuration seems more developed than in any of the latter. Superius floridity is also less pronounced here. Nevertheless, it may also be

[24] The *Strahov* tenor setting of *Mein hercz [in hohen] freyden ist* (ff. 213v–214r) also has a florid superius similar to that in *Alma redemptoris*, but I hesitate to widen the scope of this discussion to include secular pieces, since active upper voices are quite common in true tenorlieder.

[25] Transcription in Snow, 'The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV. 47', Appendix I, 441–5 (albeit in a version which uses slightly fewer emendations than I would prefer). Parts of *Strahov* are particularly problematic in this respect, and the copy of the *Wünschlichen schön* Kyrie on f 118v is full of likely errors.

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significant that both *O sacrum convivium* and *Ave vivens hostia* are Corpus Christi texts, and (intriguingly) that the former features the same type of short-winded imitation as that illustrated in Examples 16 and 17. Additionally, the relative freedom of the paraphrase treatment in all of these devotional pieces (with the exception of the strict-presentation Kyrie and the second half of the cantio setting) may be important. The parent chant for *O sacrum convivium* (*AM* 555) is hardly evident at all in parts of this *Strahov* setting's superius.

The two Masses discussed here also find some interesting parallels in the Missa *Grune linden* from *Trent 88*.[26] *Grune linden*, a three-voice Mass similar in dimensions to the *Wiplich figur* and *Wünschlichen schön* Masses, differs from them insofar as it is based on a monophonic lied. No complete fifteenth-century version of the melody survives, but Margarethe Loew convincingly reconstructed the tune from its various appearances in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century prints.[27] Nevertheless, the Missa *Grune linden* differs considerably from our previous pair of Masses. Firstly, due to the originally monophonic tenor (which is elaborated differently in each movement although mostly stated in full) we lack the means to demonstrate structural kinship between this Mass and the two others. Secondly (and partly due to the tenor layout) the contra throughout this work is slightly less bass-orientated than in either of the other Masses. Thirdly, the Missa *Grune linden* is rhythmically less complex than either of the previous Masses. The latter two features may mark it as a slightly older work than either the *Wiplich figur* or the *Wünschlichen schön* Mass. Since we lack additional pieces which might act as a missing link between the works in question, a case for common authorship is not yet easy to make.

Nevertheless, the *Grune linden* Mass still has significant features in common with both of the Masses discussed, which leads me to list these shared features in the hope that their importance will be recognised. Even if there is not enough evidence to suggest that all three Masses might be the work of a single individual, the following points regarding *Grune linden* surely make a start towards finding a home for this long-published but infrequently discussed Mass.

(i) The Missa *Grune linden* shares the textural disparity highlighted in the *Wünschlichen schön* Mass. At all three-voice entries except one the contra occupies a range on the upper half of the bass staff and practically never uses its lower notes at these points. The Sanctus, however, begins with a double-octave construct in which the contra is the lowest voice and functions as a true bass. It continues to do so for the first seven bars of the movement.

[26] *Trent 88* ff. 375v–384r (DTOe nos. 482–5). Published in Oswald Koller *et al* (eds.), *Sechs Trienter Codices, Dritte Auswahl* (DTOe 38 (Vienna, 1912), 159–73. The edition has several drawbacks, not least of which is the patent error at the first full Credo entry (p. 164, bar 15) and the use of the sign C for all duple mensuration sections. However, since this edition is in wide circulation I have used it for all subsequent references.

[27] See Koller *et al*., *Sechs Trienter Codices, Dritte Auswahl,* introduction, pp. xx–xxi, which cites related melodies used by Michael Praetorius and Triller. The opening of the tune is also used in a quodlibet in *Glogau* (no. 117, *Nu lobe)* as the fourth tenor quotation of several borrowed incipits.

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(ii) At one point only, the Missa *Grune linden* tenor has a free extension following a cantus firmus statement as in the *Wiplich figur* and the *Wünschlichen schön* Masses. In the Sanctus (again), the first section's tenor ends with a brief passage unrelated to the lied.
(iii) Despite the tenor having far more extended-note cantus firmus passages than either previous Mass, the contra still has a wide overall range: one note short of two octaves as in the Missa *Wiplich figur*. The contra in each movement also swaps between filler-part and bass functions as in both previous Masses, although (as previously noted) the former function predominates.
(iv) The frequency of internal duets and duet sections is approximately the same in all three Masses, although the Missa *Grune linden* has more sectional divisions than either the *Wiplich figur* or the *Wünschlichen schön* Mass. In addition, the *Grune linden* Credo has fermatas at 'Et homo factus est' – a feature also found in the *Wünschlichen schön* Gloria at 'Jhesu Christe'. Further comparisons of this type are frustrated, however, by the incompleteness of the Missa *Wiplich figur* and by the truncation of the *Wünschlichen schön* Credo text which ends at 'passus et sepultus est'.
(v) As in the *Wiplich figur* and *Wünschlichen schön* Masses, changing-note figures and similar patterns are used in animated passages. (See Gloria 105–7, Credo 103–5, Sanctus 42–5 and Agnus 85–6). Also as in the *Ave vivens hostia* setting previously cited, the superius is synthetic in places, due partly to the fact that both works involve a tenor cantus firmus. The superius at the opening of the *Grune linden* Agnus IIb serves as a typical example.
(vi) The superius in the Missa *Grune linden* features clichéd cadences like that illustrated in the latter bars of Example 18. For examples see Kyrie 55–6, Gloria 83–5 and 108–9, Credo 142–4, Sanctus 48–50 and 86–7, and Agnus 75–7.
(vii) Simple imitation features frequently in the Missa *Grune linden*, as it does in both Masses previously discussed. Some passages are similarly imitative, too: the Sanctus at 74–6 should be compared with the imitation in Example 17. Restrained forms of the floridity previously discussed are also evident – partly as a result of synthetic superius patterns, and partly as a result of duet passages generally being more animated than full sections.
(viii) The Missa *Grune linden* Credo features two internal doubled-leading-note cadences which involve upper-voice consecutive fifths (at 127–128 and 172–173). These (which are rather an old-fashioned feature in a mid-century Mass cycle) perhaps provide a parallel with minor archaisms in the other two Masses, although no such cadences appear in either work previously examined.

Many of these similarities are without doubt commonplaces amongst fifteenth-century compositions, but I would single out the textural disparity mentioned under (i) and the points made in (vi) and (vii) as particularly significant. However, it is not possible to proceed beyond this point for reasons already made clear. To summarise, this investigation has shown that what remains of the Missa *Wiplich figur* and the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* may well be the work of a single,

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possibly Germanic composer. In terms of cantus firmus usage and texture, the two works have much in common despite structural differences. Certain features of the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* also invite comparison with a handful of pieces in *Strahov* and *Trent 89* which have superius voices with some notably florid passages. Whilst features of both sets of pieces find resemblances in the Missa *Grune linden,* their accumulation is not significant enough in itself to voice more than tentative thoughts regarding the latter's authorship. A sceptical conclusion might chiefly feature the argument that similarities between different fifteenth-century works are an endless but pointless fascination, since what we identify as significant points may only turn out – in the long run – to be merely superficial. However, I hope to have shown that the closeness of detail shared between the *Wiplich figur* and *Wünschlichen schön* Masses is significant in itself, and that their shared idiosyncrasies are highly suggestive of common authorship.

If my argument that these two Masses might be by the same composer is accepted as reasonable, two features of the works discussed here (the parody borrowing in the *Wünschlichen schön* Agnus, and the quotation of Ordinary chant incipits in the same Mass) also show our likely composer to have been familiar with the latest local developments. Likewise, the sectional makeup of the *Strahov Alma redemptoris* (if this is by the same person) suggests that our composer had at least some knowledge of English music from the preceding generation. He would certainly not have been unique in this respect, since several works by Touront and others seem to reflect familiarity with at least some well-distributed older works. If the *Strahov* Kyrie is also by our anonymous composer, it shows that he was called upon to produce less demanding polyphony than motets and Masses – as seems to have been common amongst German musicians of the period; both *Trent 89* and *Strahov* contain large numbers of functional chant settings, and few of these have demonstrable links with the west. In addition, future investigations could well reveal that the Missa *Grune linden* might also be the work of the same man. On the basis of the works cited, the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* 'anonymous' (and no other name seems to be so apt for him) was probably no great master and may not have been of much more than provincial importance in his own homeland. Even at the most optimistic estimate, his output is less varied than that of Touront (who left at least three Masses and a considerable handful of shorter works) and is less advanced in rhythmic and harmonic terms than the 'Philippus' of the four-voice Missa *Hilf und gib rat* in *Strahov*.[28] None of the works discussed dares to venture into four-voice texture. Nevertheless, for a very important reason our anonymous does seem to have

[28] The output of 'Philippus' (possibly a resident foreigner like Touront) also seems to be expandable on the evidence of two anonymous pieces preserved in *Trent 89.* The *Salve Regina* / *Le serviteur* cited earlier is possibly his, since the length and scope of the introductory duets are similar to those in his *Salve Regina* / *Hilf und gib rat.* Likewise, a brief four-voice *Christus surrexit* setting (*Trent 89* no. 631, which is based on the well-known leise) has a very extended opening duet; only the final few bars involve all four voices. *Strahov* also gives a chant-based Agnus Dei ascribed to 'Philipi' (f. 130r) to which the similar Sanctus on f. 131v seems to be paired. I remain sceptical of previous identifications of this 'Philippus' with known western composers.

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an identifiable output. The Masses discussed are amongst the very few in mid-century sources that seem to lie stylistically halfway between probably Germanic imitations of foreign models (such as the Heinricus Collis Mass and the *Trent 89* Missa *Christus surrexit)* and the distinctive national style of the other lied-based Masses in *Trent 89* and *91*. The latter involve extensive use of declamatory word-setting and greater use of quodlibet technique than the Missa *Wünschlichen schön* anonymous seems to allow. Finally, I hope that increased familiarity with the works discussed in this article will help to clarify their common features, and also hope that our composer – even though he remains nameless – comes to be recognised as significant within our widening view of music in fifteenth-century central Europe.

My thanks for assistance with this article go to the British Academy (for providing grant support) and also to Martin Staehelin and Martin Kirnbauer. I also wish to express my gratitude to Mike Kiely (for helping with translations) to David Fallows and Margaret Bent (for kindly reading previous drafts and offering useful suggestions) and to the Servizi Beni Culturali of Trent for permission to publish musical examples

APPENDIX

Sigla used throughout

Secondary sources are asterisked

*AM**	*Antiphonale Monasticum pro diurnis horis* (Tournai, 1934)
DTOe*	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich
Glogau	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, MS 40098 *(olim* Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus MS 40098 (Glogauer Liederbuch)
*MEL**	Melnicki, M., *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters,* Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Regensburg, 1954)
Mu 3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus ms 3154
Oxford 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici misc. 213
Schedel	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus ms 3232 *(olim* Clm 351A; Schedel Liederbuch)
Speciálník	Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, Ms II.A.7 (Speciálník Codex)
Strahov	Prague, Památník Národního Pisemnictví, Strahovská Kníhovna, MS D.G. IV. 47
*THAN**	Thannabaur, P., *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts,* Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Munich, 1962)
Trent 88	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1375 *(olim* Codex 88)
Trent 89	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1376 *(olim* Codex 89)

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Trent 90	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1377 (*olim* Codex 90)
Trent 91	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1378 (*olim* Codex 91)
Trent 93	Trent, Museo Diocesano, MS B.L. (called Codex 93)

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