The anonymous

Missa Sine nomine
in MS Cappella Sistina 14

Edited with an introduction by
Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

October, 2018

ISBN 978-87-93815-07-0

http://sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_An01.pdf

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Preface

During Spring 2004 a few students at the University of Copenhagen wanted to take the then obligatory course on mensural notation. In preparation for their final projects I made a transcription of the anonymous four-part mass without title in the MS Cappella Sistina 14 in the Vatican Library. At the time there was no accessible modern edition of this mass except Laurence Feininger's diplomatic score.[1] They had to work from enlargements made of an older microfilm kindly put at my disposal by professor emeritus John D. Bergsagel. The projects eventually became exercises in the realistic working conditions of the modern musicologist doing 15th century music who seldom is able to spend long periods of time with primary sources in far away locations. Working with the nearly unreadable pictures of a paper manuscript disfigured by the acidity of its ink and an unsuccessful restoration brought a lot of other resources into play: knowledge of fifteenth-century style, of the rules of counterpoint etc.

A short time later I put the finishing touches on the edition of the mass with the intention of publishing it online as a companion to an article in a collection planned for publication in 2008. When the article outgrew the permitted space, I had to put the project on hold. Since then the sources containing the mass have appeared in printed editions. First in Reinhard Strohm's edition of the English masses in the Lucca Codex of 2007,[2] and in 2009 in Richard Sheer's complete edition of MS Cappella Sistina 14.[3] Who would ever have dreamed that this anonymous work would end up to be so well served by modern editions. Moreover, the Vatican manuscript was restored once again in 2001 and is made available in a perfectly legible facsimile online,[4] and Reinhard Strohm published a commented facsimile of the Lucca Choirbook in 2008.[5]

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[1] Laurence Feininger (ed.), *Monumenta polyphoniæ liturgicæ sanctæ ecclesiæ romanæ. Ordinarium tomus* II.2, fasc. V, Roma 1952.

[2] Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music VI. Mass Settings from the Lucca Choirbook. Transcribed and edited by Reinhard Strohm* (Early English Church Music 49). London 2007, pp. 98-133.

[3] Richard Sherr (ed.), *Masses for the Sistine Chapel. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 14. Edited and with an Introduction by Richard Sherr.* (Monuments of Renaissance Music XIII), Chicago 2009, pp. 273-315.

[4] At https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Capp.Sist.14.

[5] Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *The Lucca Choirbook: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238; Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, MS 97; Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Biblioteca Maffi, Cartella 11/III.* (Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile 2), Chicago (University of Chicago Press) 2008. A partial facsimile is available online at https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/196/#/images; it does not include the folio with *Missa Sine nomine*.

Now when my article is about to appear in a heavily revised version,[6] I have decided to publish also my edition of the mass in order to have an easily accessible score for reference. The mass, so far without title or composer attribution and building on a tenor tune, which until now has been impossible to identify, is as anonymous as can be. Only two masses in the Vatican manuscript are without a written composer ascription, the *Missa Puisque je vis* and this one, and it is the only one, which is not identified by a title. Therefore, to name it "Missa Sine nomine in CS 14" constitutes an unambiguous identification of it among the multitude of *missae sine nomine* in other sources; in the following I shall for short refer to it as *Sine nomine*.

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen
University of Copenhagen, October 2018

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[6] 'An experiment in musical unity, or: The sheer joy of sound. The anonymous *Sine nomine* mass in MS Cappella Sistina 14', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology 42* (2018), pp. 54-78 (online at http://www.dym.dk/dym_pdf_files/volume_42/dym42_1_03.pdf).

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Introduction

The earliest source for *Missa Sine nomine* is a single folio, which on its front side has the high contratenor and the tenor of the final sections of its Credo, and on its reverse side the beginnings of the highest voice and the "Contra bassus" of the Sanctus. The folio once formed part of an illuminated parchment choirbook, the fragments of which Reinhard Strohm discovered in the archives of Lucca in 1963. He reconstructed and published the fragments along with additional uncovered folios as *The Lucca Choirbook* in 2007-08.[7] Strohm proposes that the choirbook was created for use in the chapel of the English Merchant Adventures in the Carmelite friary in Bruges during the years 1463-64. Its main copyist was the singer Waghe Feustrier who at the time was en route from a position in the chapel of Charles le Téméraire, then count of Charolais, to the French king's chapel in Tours. A few years later, the banker Giovanni Arnolfini acquired the choirbook and donated it to the choir school of the cathedral in Lucca. Arnolfini was born in Lucca, but had a successful business career based in Bruges. He died in 1472, so the transference of the choirbook to Lucca must have happened around 1470. In Lucca, the cathedral's chapel master, the English musician and theorist John Hothby, had additional masses and motets added to the manuscript.

Given the date of Lucca 238, the years around 1460 must be the latest date for the creation of *Missa Sine nomine*. It was modelled on the English mass tradition with the tenor set in four-part polyphony and a low contratenor regulating the harmony, which was instituted by the *Caput* mass and became known and widely circulated on the Continent during the 1440s.[8] As its setup seems to include inspirations from followers of the *Caput* model, the most probable dating of *Sine nomine* must be sometime during the 1450s. Dating music on the basis of style, however, cannot of course be secure or very precise. In any case, the mass was quite old when it was included in the big illuminated paper choirbook, which found its final place among the music books in the new papal Cappella Sistina in Rome, and as far as we know is the only source for the complete mass.

While the road taken by Lucca 238 from Flanders to Italy around 1470 never has been put in doubt, the scholarly discussion of the provenance of the Cappella Sistina choirbook has not yet reached any clear consensus. Adalbert Roth established in his detailed description of the manuscript that it was not copied in a papal institution in Rome during the 1480s, and he argued that it originated from the court chapel in Naples in the middle years of the 1470s as a gift from the Aragonese court to the pope along with the original main body of MS 51 in the same collection (containing 19 masses). Today the two choirbooks represent the oldest witnesses of polyphony in the Cappella Sistina.[9] Roth's discussion of the provenance of the choirbooks has not been completely convincing to all colleagues, and shortly after the publication of his dissertation in 1991 several comments appeared.[10] Flynn Warmington proposed in two unpublished, but much commented, papers that Rome CS 14 was created in Florence or Venice during the 1480s based on examinations of the big painted initials in the manuscript.[11] Roth has in great detail countered this critique and maintained his thesis – but doubt remained.[12] Since then Emilia Talamo has proposed that some of the paintings were executed by an artist working in Ferrara during the late 1470s,[13] and Richard Sherr has offered as a new hypothesis that Rome CS 14 was ordered or bought in Ferrara by Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona (1456-1485), a son of the later King Ferrante I of Naples, and from him passed into Cappella Sistina.[14]

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[7] Hereafter Lucca 238. On its provenance, cf. the editions mentioned in notes 2 and 5 above, and further Reinhard Strohm, 'Alte Fragen und Neue Überlegungen zum Chorbuch Lucca (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Manoscritti 238 = I-Las 238)' in Ulrich Konrad (ed.), *Musikalische Quellen – Quellen zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag*. Göttingen 2002, pp. 51-64.

[8] The research concerning the influence of the Caput mass on the Continent is discussed in Rob C. Wegman's article 'Petrus de Domarto's Missa Spiritus almus and the early history of the four-voice mass in the fifteenth century,' *Early Music History* 10 (1991), pp. 235-303, especially pp. 295 ff.

What seems obvious and relevant in relation to the study of *Missa Sine nomine* is that Rome CS 14 was a costly project produced by professional scribes in Italy on single paper sheets of large format, which was sent to a painter's shop to be embellished with high-quality illuminations. This shop may very well have engaged with book-painters from Northern Italy.[15] The choirbook was created at the end of the 1470s – this seems to be the consensus – for a wealthy sacred institution or as an expensive gift, and it contained a carefully selected repertory of masses from the preceding 25 years, quite retrospective in nature. *Sine nomine* stands side by side with masses composed by Du Fay (three masses), Regis (two masses), Domarto, Vincenet, Eloy d'Amerval, Busnoys, Ockeghem, Caron, Faugues, Weerbecke and Wrede, witnessing the dominance of French-Flemish music in leading Italian institutions. Its repertory represents exactly the sort of music that Johannes Tinctoris knew and commented upon in his series of treatises written in Naples during

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[9] Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471-1484). Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.* (Capellae apostilicae sixtinaeque collectanea acta monumenta 1), Città del Vaticano 1991, pp. 233-388. For previous descriptions of the MSS, see F.X. Haberl, *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom.* (Beilage zu den Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte XIX-XX), Leipzig 1888, and José M. Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae Codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi* (Studi e Testi 202), Città del Vaticano 1960.

[10] Cf. reviews by Rob C. Wegman in *Early Music* 20 (1992), pp. 152-153, and especially by Mitchell P. Brauner in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993) pp. 306-312.

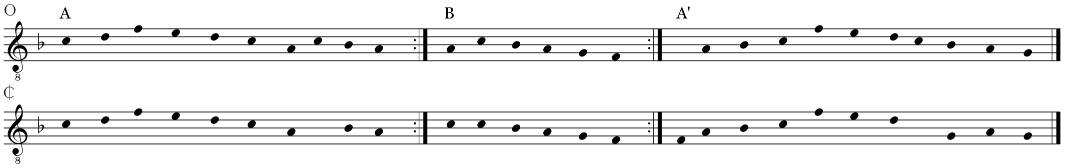
[11] Flynn Warmington, 'The Winds of Fortune: A new View of the Provenance and Date of the Vatican Manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14 and 51'. Paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music. Oxford, July 1991, and '*Abeo Semper Fortuna Regressum*: Evidence for the Venetian Origin of the Manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14 and 51'. Paper read at the Twenty-second Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music. Glasgow, July 1994.

[12] A. Roth, 'Napoli o Firenze? Dove sono stati compilati i manoscritti CS14 e CS15?' in Piero Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo Il Magnifico. Congresso internazionale di studi Firenze, 15-17 giugno 1992* (Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologica 30) Firenze 1993, pp. 69-100. In a paper from the same conference Alejandro Enrique Planchart discusses the provenience of MSS CS 14 and 51 and comes out rather strongly in favour of Florence ('Northern repertories in Florence in the fifteenth century', *ibid.* pp. 101-112).

[13] According to Sherr, *Masses,* pp. 10-15.

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 15-18. Sherr's Ch. V 'Date and Provenance' sums up the discussion in an instructive way.

[15] Latest Agnese Pavanello has pointed to an origin of the decorations in Florence or even in Rome itself, in 'Fortuna on the dolphin: Notes on an iconographic motif in Cappella Sistina 14 and 51', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 67 (2017), pp. 51-67.



Example 1. *Missa Sine nomine,* pitches of the tenor tune

the 1470s, and the selection of repertory for the big choirbook may very well have been strongly influenced by Neapolitan circles.[16] To get an idea of what qualified *Sine nomine* to be included in this company, we must take a closer look on its tenor tune, its formal layout and its details.

Cantus firmus

It has not been possible to identify the tune, which the tenor voice presents twice in every setting of the texts of the Mass ordinary. Reinhard Strohm has pointed to melodic similarities with a verse in a sequence, "Sacrosancta hodierne" for St Andrew, and has accordingly described the mass as "de S Andrea".[17] However, the similarity of the tunes is too slight for an identification. The sequence verse lacks the characteristic descent through a sixth before its first segment repeats, and thereafter the tunes are different.[18] If we remove the tenor's mensural attire, disregard a few decorative notes and most of the repeated notes, we get a very simple structure (see *example 1* – the original tenor with melodic variants is shown in *example 2*).

As mentioned, *Sine nomine* adheres to the mass model set up by the English *Missa Caput*. *Caput* builds on a strict rendering in its tenor of the long melisma on the penultimate syllable "ca-" in the antiphon "Venit ad Petrum" for Maundy Thursday. This highly repetitive Mixolydian melisma can be schematized: A BA BA C C D D E.[19] The much shorter *Sine nomine* tune is repetitive as well: A A B B A', and could be a quote from a similar melisma lifted from some plainchant. Its melodic shape is, however, a bit peculiar: Most of the tune tends towards F, but it ends on G, witch places the tenor in the G-Dorian realm, and much of the tune – four or five notes at the end of each segment – is taken up by descending patterns, which are convenient for cadencing in four-part polyphony (to A in element A, to F in B, and to G in A'). This makes it rather implausible that it had existed as part of a real song. It looks more like a construct made by its composer in emulation of the *Caput* tune, just very much easier to set in four parts. Where the *Caput* tune lacks descending lines and cadencing opportunities, this one is nearly nothing but such possibilities.

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[16] Cf. John D. Bergsagel, 'Tinctoris and the Vatican Manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14, 51 and 35', *Collectanea II. Studien zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Kapelle. Tagesbericht Heidelberg 1989* (Capellae apostolicae sistinaeque collectanea monumenta 4), Città del Vaticano 1994, pp. 497-527.

[17] Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges.* Oxford 1990 (rev. ed.), p. 126, and *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, p. 98.

[18] Cf. for example the tune for the verse "Gratulare ergo tanto patre" in the 13th-century processionale in Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 130, f. 154v (http://www1.arkhenum.fr/bm_verdun_ms/_app/visualisation.php?cote=MS0130&vue=320), or a fifth lower in the *Sarum Missal* 1508 (cf. *The Sarum Rite. Sequentiarium. Edited by William Renwick and Caroleen Molenaar*. 2014, p. 92 – at https://dokumen.tips/documents/the-sarum-rite-mcmaster-university-sarum-rite-is-distributed-over-the-internet.html); see also Andrew Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries. Style, Distribution and Case Studies.* New York & London 1995, p. 189.

[19] For an analysis of the tune and its transformation into a mass tenor, see Manfred F. Bukofzer's classical study '*Caput:* A Liturgico-Musical Study' in his book *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music.* New York 1950, pp. 217-310, at pp. 245-263.

The *Caput* model requires that the tenor tune is sung twice in each setting, first rhythmized in triple time (O) then in double time (C), while keeping the pitches unchanged. In *Sine nomine* this repeat is not absolutely strict. In the double time version the cadencing on A in first segment and on G in the last segment has been made more emphatic, and by repeating the last note in the B-segment at the start of the last segment he gets the full *f-f′* range to sound before ending on G. Why he choose this ending is impossible to know. Maybe he simply wanted to follow his model by ending in G. A bright Mixolydian sound colours the final chords of most sections in the mass.

The mensural shape of the tenor is shown in *example 2*. It is obvious that the Gloria tenor presents the original layout on which the other settings are based (the example only shows the differences appearing in the other songs; numbers indicate the many whole-bar rests). In Gloria, Credo and Sanctus the sound of the tenor is exactly the same. The differences in ligatures affect solely the distributions of the words. This is also true of most of the differences in Kyrie and Agnus dei, which do not change pitches – except for some conventional formulas at cadences – or the total duration of phrases. In Agnus dei I, bar 35, a *brevis*-bar rest is transformed into an upbeat *semibrevis a* preceded by rests (marked by an “a” in the example). This was a decision made while composing the four-part structure and probably caused by the wish to hear the tenor imitate the superius two bars earlier. This, however, prolongs the sounding duration of tenor to 45 bars instead of the 44 bars we hear in all other sections. The composer apparently liked the idea and made a similar insertion in the Kyrie (b. 40), which along with a prolongation of the notes *d′-e′* shifts the tenor by two *brevis*-bars in relation to the fixed plan. This delay is, however, soon recovered by shortening the two long *c′*-notes in the following phrases (marked by “b”). Apparently, the structure of regular durations in the tenor part was important to the composer.

Overall design and motto

Figure 1 below gives a quick overview of the *Caput* model. In the schematic representation of *Missa Caput* the so-called double *cursus* structure stands out.[20] The patterns of the tenor tune (shown as the lowest line in the scheme) appear unchanged in every setting except for the shortened *Agnus dei*. It sings for 30+12+16+12 *brevis*-bars in the sections in triple time (O), and in double time sections (C) it is segmented in 46+44 bars (Agnus dei 32+32). The tenor only comes in after introductory duos in every section between the superius and the highest contratenor. The tenor is normally set in four-part polyphony, which can be prolonged by changing the durations of the rests in the tenor tune and by insertion of duo passages of varying length, all in order to accommodate the number of words in the texts. In this way the Kyrie, which includes the long trope or prosula “Deus creator omnium”, has become of nearly the same length as Credo. The long stretches of four-part polyphony may be lightened by longer rests in the other voices, see Gloria and

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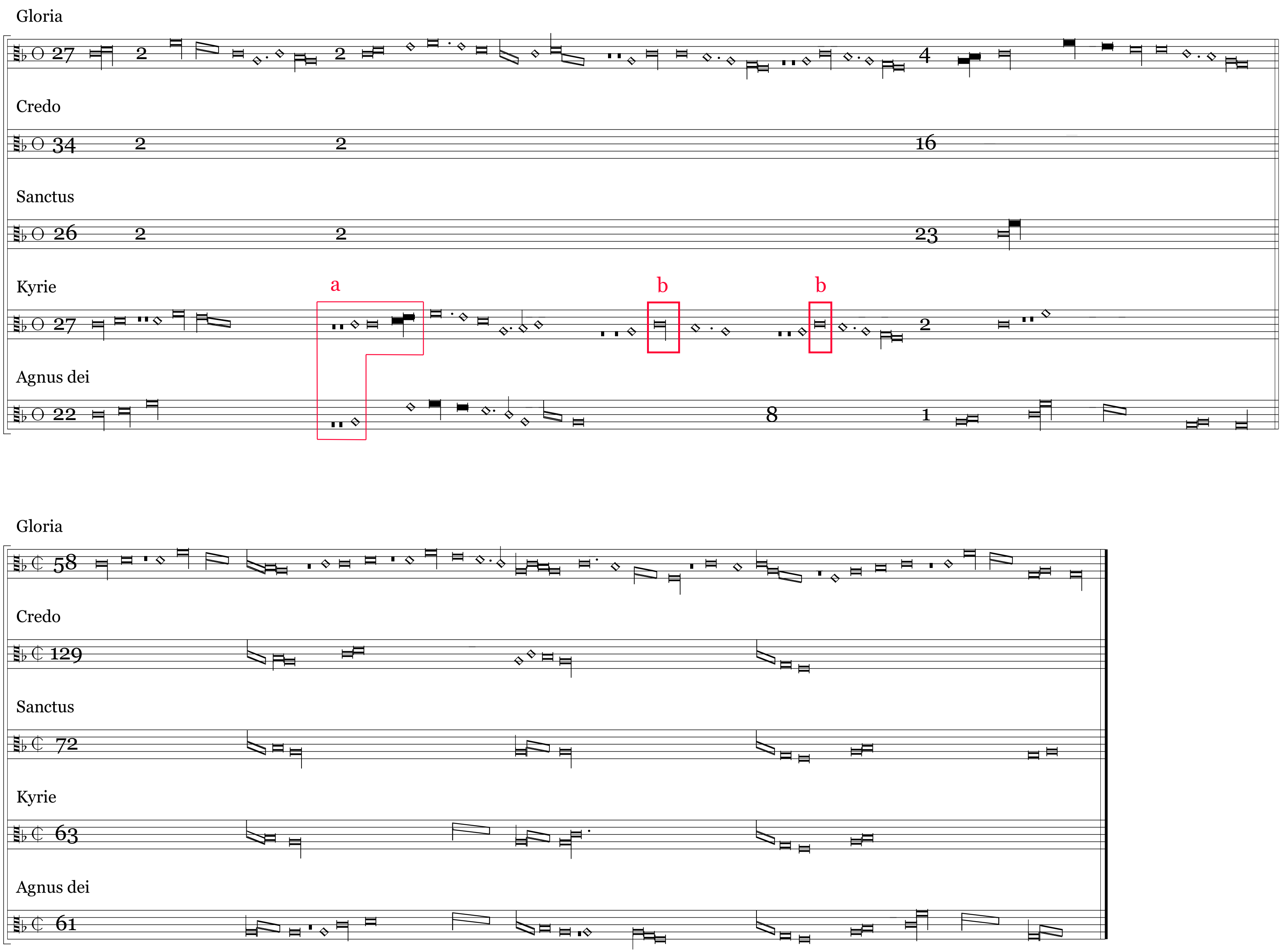
[20] Based on the edition in Strohm, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, pp. 46-81.


Gloria
27
2
2
4
Credo
34
2
2
16
Sanctus
26
2
2
23
Kyrie
27
a
b
b
2
Agnus dei
22
8
1
Gloria
58
Credo
129
Sanctus
72
Kyrie
63
Agnus dei
61

Example 2. *Missa Sine nomine*, comparison of tenor parts

Credo. This thinning out is in Sanctus and Agnus dei in the triple time sections developed into duo (and trio) passages, in which the tenor participates, in order to set off "Pleni sunt" and Agnus II as independent sections. The relationship between the settings consists not only in their building on the exactly same double *cursus* tenor and in varying the same pattern, each setting opens with same music, a short two-part part phrase (see *example 3a*), the so-called *motto*, slightly varied through the mass.

That this pattern became an established standard is demonstrated by the contemporary or slightly younger *Missa Veterem hominem*, also of English origin, which appeared along with Guillaume Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* in the 1450s in the manuscript Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, ms. 1375 (olim Cod. 88).[21] The similarities between *Figure 2* and *Figure 1* are obvious. The two masses are so closely related that it has been proposed that *Veterem hominem* was a creation of the English composer of *Missa Caput*.[22] It sets a Mixolydian tune lifted from an antiphon in the Sarum antiphonale. This tune is shorter than the *Caput* melisma, therefore the composer had to rely more on duo-passages in his setting of the same long Kyrie-trope "Deus creator", which ended up having the nearly same length as the *Caput* Kyrie, being the longest setting in *Missa Veterem* with Sanctus as the next. Gloria and Credo obviously vary the exactly same, more compact scheme.

In Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* on his own three-part chanson and created around 1450 the pattern has reached a greater complexity (see *Figure 3*).[23] The idea of identical, but varied schemes for Gloria and Credo fostered the use of the chanson tenor trice through, in triple and double augmentation and as it stands, creating really large musical structures. The tenor is sung through only once in double augmentation in Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus dei making these settings relatively shorter. Compared with the English masses the music is more varied as to the duos as well as to the occurrence of rests in the full-voiced sections, both contributing to its elegance. The tenor only participates in duos in the last sections of Gloria and Credo, where its tune can be heard in natural song tempo – without augmentation.

On this background, the overview of *Missa Sine nomine* appears simple (*Figure 4*). Every single section of the five settings of the Mass ordinary texts consists of first a duo between the superius and the high contratenor followed by another duo between the two contratenors; then the tenor comes in clad in four-part harmony. In Credo an extra round of duos has been inserted into the triple time tenor presentation (O), probably to lengthen the section and give it weight, because the last fourth of this section sets quite few words. We find the same procedure in the two last settings, but here the duos mark the start of "Pleni sunt" in Sanctus and the second "Agnus" in Agnus dei. In Credo the two duos in double time has grown to independent sections, "Et incarnatus est" and "Et resurrexit", both set off by double lines in the voice parts. Nowhere in the music does the tenor take part in anything like duos. A special trait is the appearances of the *motto* in every section of the mass, not only at the beginnings of the settings as normal, but also at the start of

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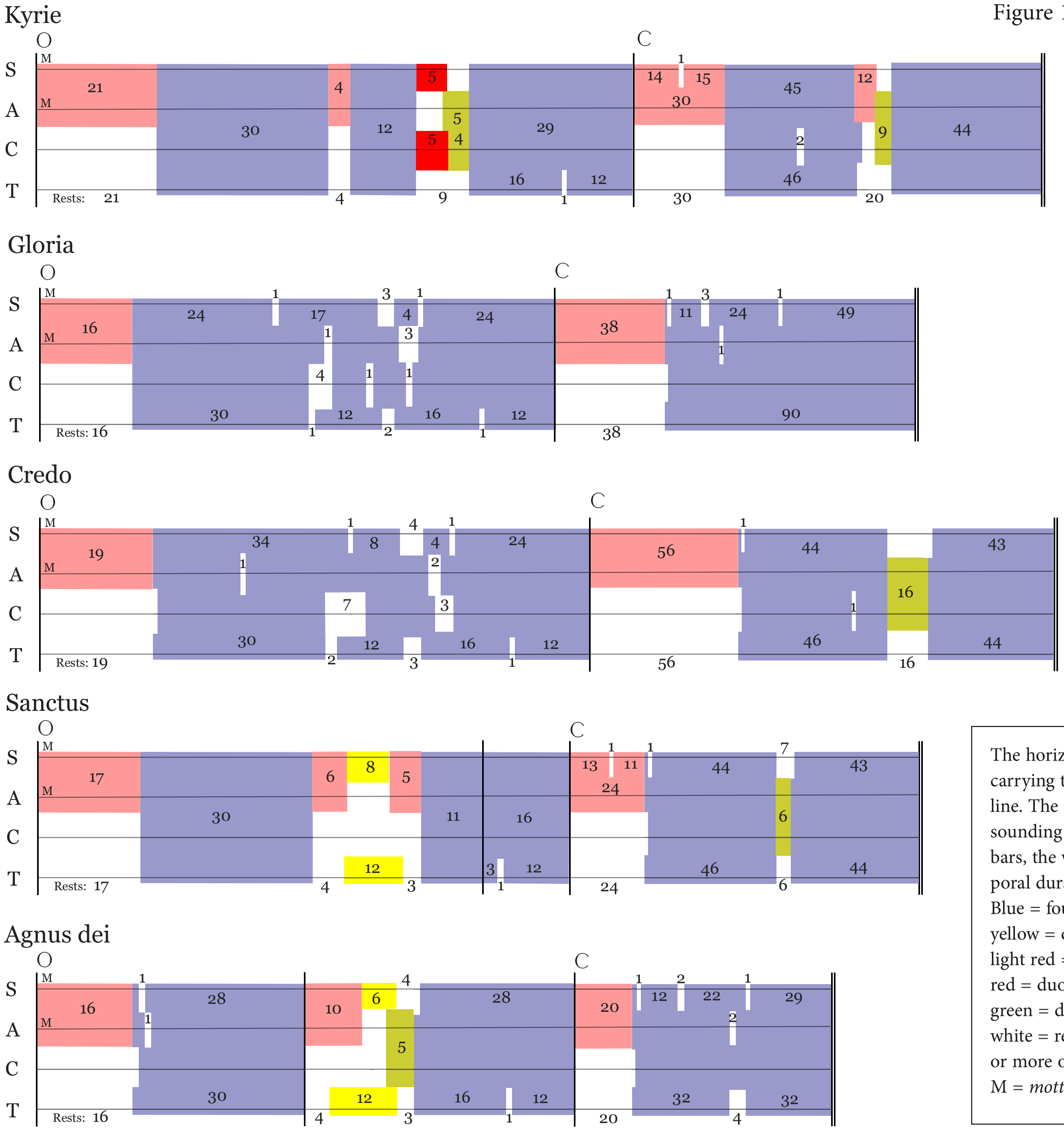
[21] *Trent 88*; published complete in Rebecca L. Gerber (ed.), *Sacred Music from the Cathedral of Trent. Trent, Museo Provinciale d'arte, Codex 1375 (olim 88). Edited and with an Introduction by Rebecca L. Gerber*. (Monuments of Renaissance Music XII), Chicago 2007.

[22] Gerber, *Sacred Music*, p. 41; figure 2 is based on her edition, pp. 127-159.

[23] Based on my edition, *Guillaume Du Fay, Missa Se la face ay pale. Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen* (at http://sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Duf02.pdf); further on this mass, see its introduction.

Figure 1, schematic overview of *Missa Caput*



The horizontal lines stand for the voices. The tenor carrying the cantus firmus is placed as the lowest line. The coloured areas show the extents of their sounding with numbers indicating notated *brevis*-bars, the widths of these areas represent their temporal duration. Colour scheme:
Blue = four or three voices singing;
yellow = duo involving the tenor;
light red = duo superius–high contratenor;
red = duo superius–low contratenor;
green = duo high–low contratenors;
white = rests (showing rests of one whole *brevis*-bar or more only);
M = *motto* in one or two voices.

Figure 2, schematic overview of *Missa Veterem hominem*

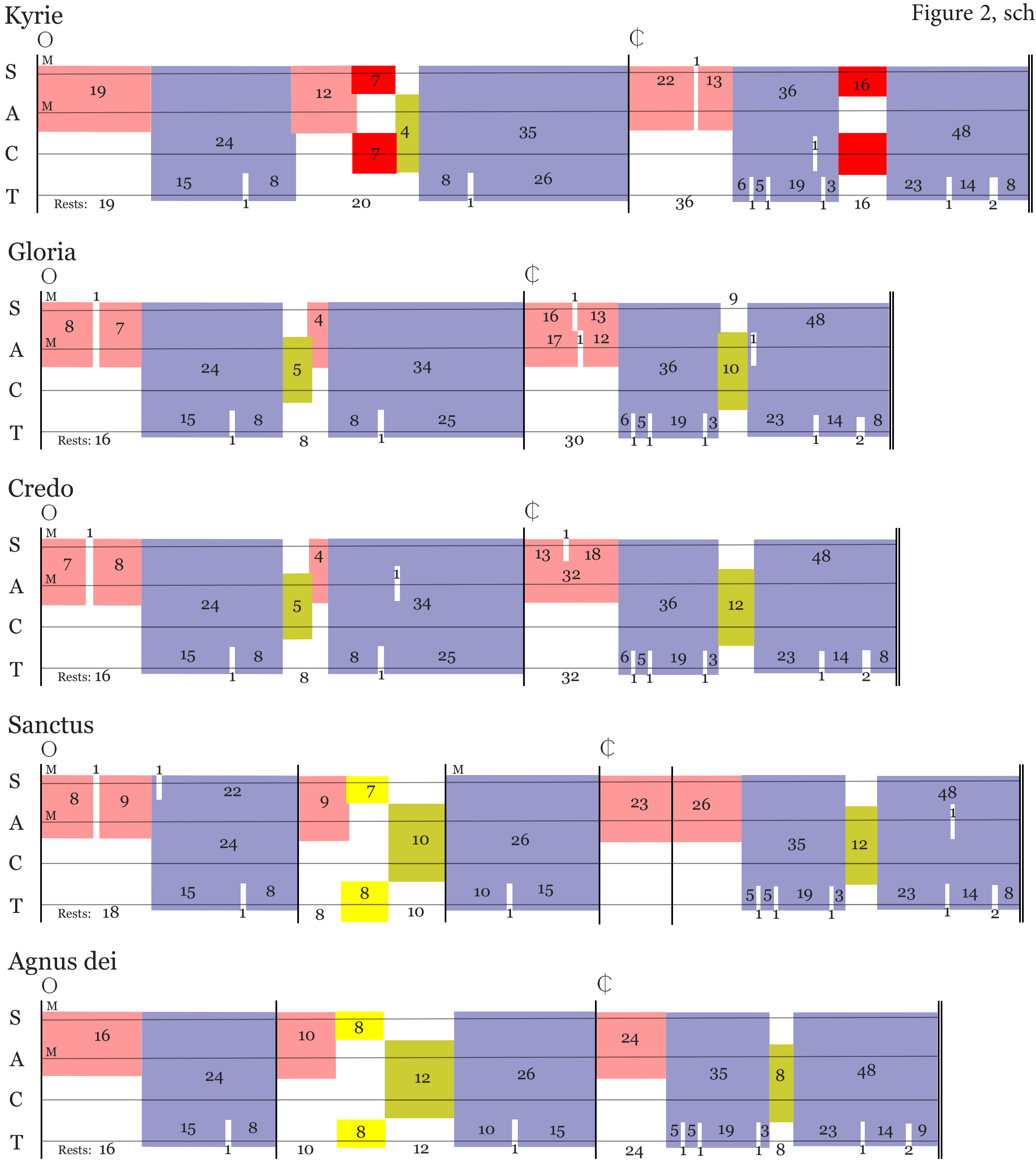


Figure 3, schematic overview of Du Fay, *Missa Se la face ay pale*

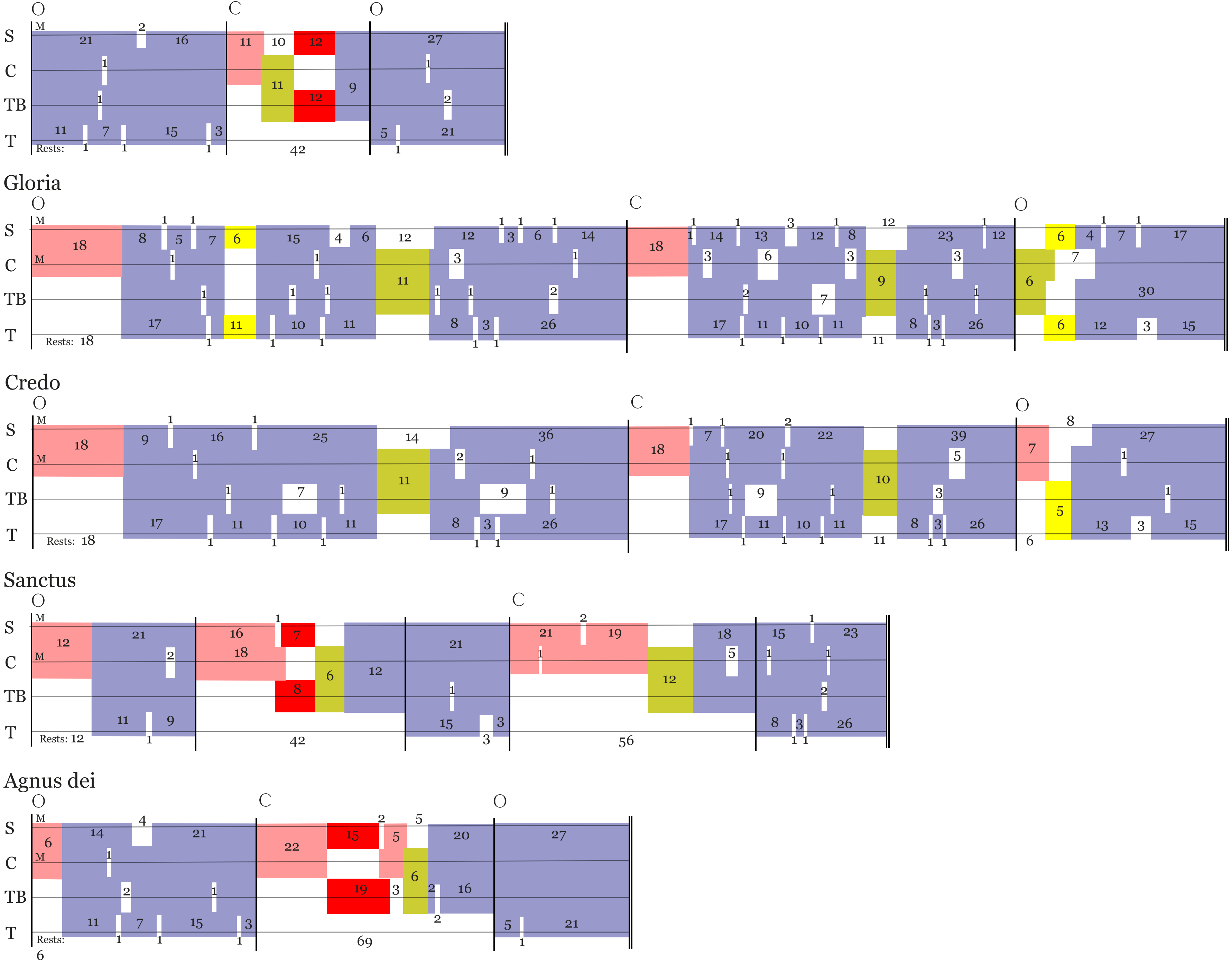
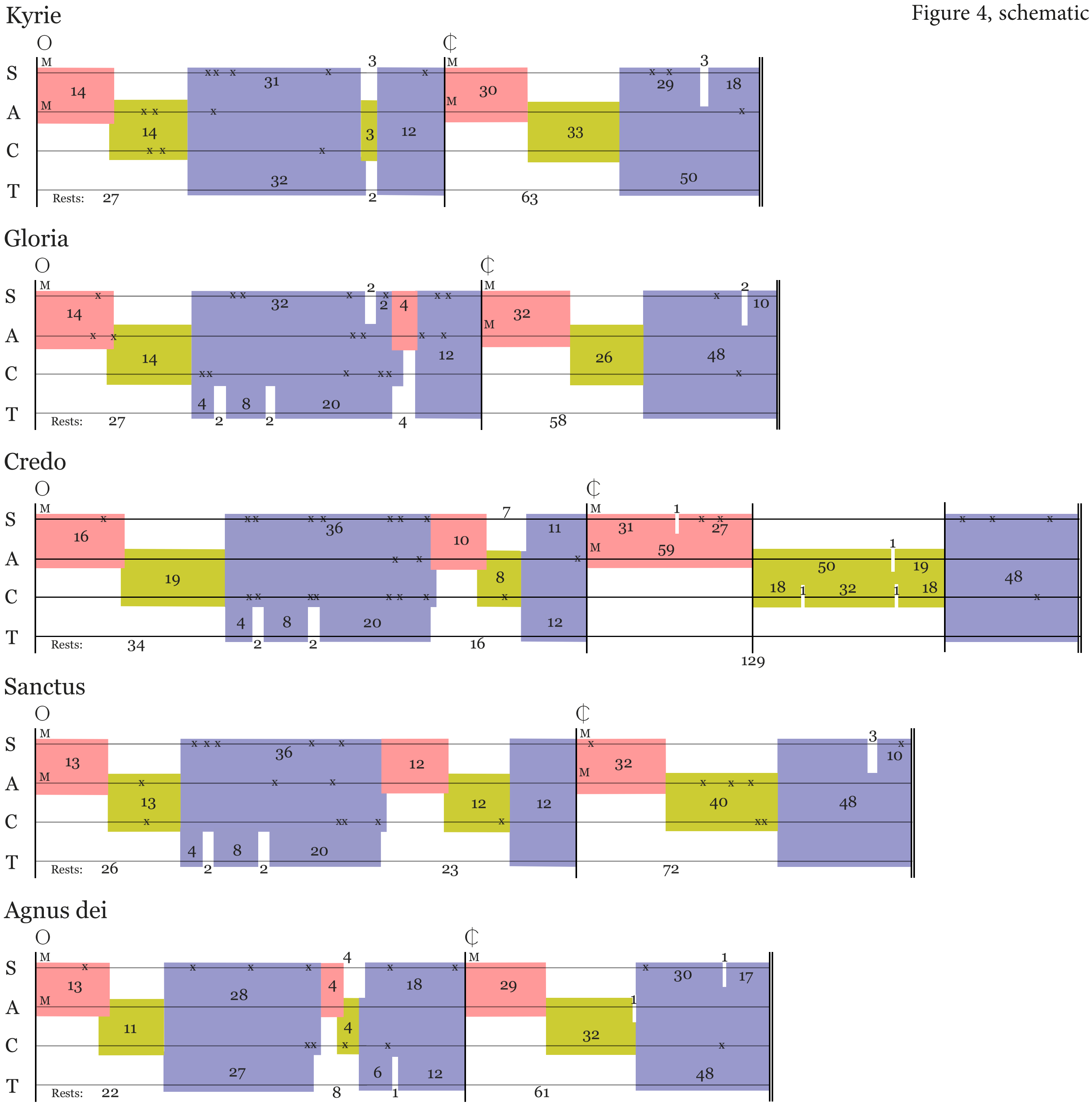
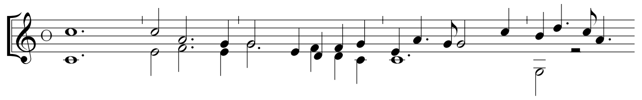


Figure 4, schematic overview of *Missa Sine nomine*

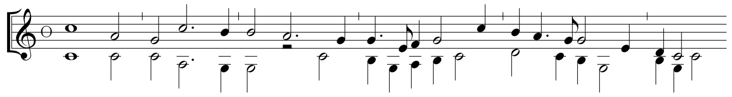

Kyrie
O
₵
S
A
C
T
M
Rests:
27
14
14
31
32
3
3
2
12
30
33
29
18
50
63
Gloria
27
14
14
32
4
8
20
2
2
4
12
32
26
48
10
58
Credo
34
16
19
36
4
8
20
2
2
10
7
8
11
12
16
31
59
27
1
50
18
32
19
18
1
1
1
129
48
Sanctus
26
13
13
36
4
8
20
2
2
12
12
12
23
32
40
48
3
10
72
Agnus dei
22
13
11
28
27
4
4
18
6
12
8
1
29
32
30
17
1
48
61

Example 3, *mottos* in the four masses

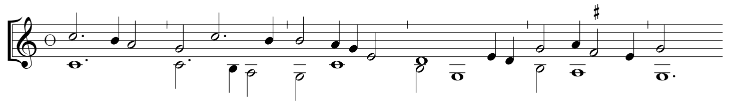
a, *Missa Caput*, Sanctus



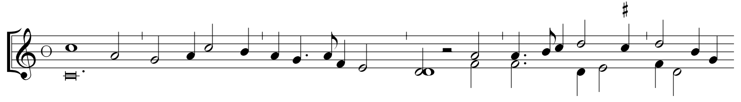
b, *Missa Veterem hominem*, Gloria



c, *Missa Se la face ay pale*, Sanctus



d, *Missa Sine nomine*, Sanctus



the sections repeating the tenor in double time (₵).[24] It looks as if the composer was familiar with the *Caput* double *cursus* pattern, simplified it radically for use in his first sections in triple time, and then just repeated the whole procedure in the double time sections in a near mechanical manner. In the overview the four-part passages look denser than in the other mass examples, and this is also how the music sounds, counterbalanced, however, to some degree by the long, more airy duo passages.

It is not only the nature of its tenor tune and its adherence to the *Caput*-pattern that binds *Sine nomine* to this group of masses, its *motto* or head-motif, as well, is clearly derived from the *caput*-tradition. *Example 3* shows the *mottos* of the four masses. They are all constantly varied through the masses but easy recognizable. The *Caput-motto* (3a) presents the basic idea, an inverted melodic curve reaching from the opening *c''* to *d'* and up again involving some rising fourths. This idea is further developed in *Missa Veterem hominem* (3b), which moved the leap of a fourth forward and imitates the melodic line in the contratenor. Presumably Du Fay knew this opening and took it over in a more elegant, less fuzzy shape (3c). The *motto* of *Missa Sine nomine* is of the same mould (3d). One could say that the descending line of the superius simply passes through the 'safe' concords for an improvised voice against a long-held note: octave, sixth, fifth etc., until the held note changes. However, its inversed curve is so similar to the others that the *motto* too most probable was inspired by this tradition. Moreover, the composer discovered that the *caput-motto* could be combined with a short quote of his tenor tune in the contratenor: *c'-d'-f'-e'-d'*. This combination of the superius figure and the tenor tune appears more or less prominent at the start of the Kyrie, in "Et incarnatus est" in Credo, in both sections of Sanctus, and at the start of Agnus dei. The use of a *motto* to underscore the unity of the mass settings was common in the middle of the 15th century. But to let the *motto* open both halves of each setting seems like some sort of overkill.[25]

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[24] In *Missa Caput* the double time sections are notated in C-mensuration. This mensuration was routinely changed into ₵ (*tempus imperfectum diminutum*) by Continental music scribes as seen in *Missa Veterem hominem*. The C-mensuration in *Missa Se la face* does not indicate diminution, as Du Fay in this mass uses *semibrevis* equivalence in accordance with the proportional augmentation of the tenor tune.

An English mass?

Nearly every scholar who has commented on *Sine nomine* has assumed that it was of English origin.[26] There are some good reasons for this view, which I will discuss one by one in the following. Apart from *Sine nomine*'s obvious dependence on the structure of the English masses *Caput* and *Veterem hominem*, the main argument for its Englishness has been its remarkably long setting of the Kyrie-acclamations.

In several cases long English Kyries with prosula texts of nine verses, which only were of relevance for English liturgical uses, in the hands of scribes on the Continent were either omitted entirely in the scribes' copies of masses, or they were reworked in different ways or simply stripped of their prosula texts. It has been remarked that the standard text of the Kyrie in *Sine nomine* "is clearly corrupt" (Kirkman), and "the well-known Kyrie trope *Deus creator omnium* can easily be underlaid in the Kyrie of this mass" (Sherr).[27] The text in Rome CS 14 is to some degree corrupt, but that happens on one single page only, folio 67 recto, which contains the altus and the low contratenor of the second half of the Kyrie. In the first half of Kyrie the texting is clear and logical with three invocations in every voice, even in the tenor, which is quite unusual. Superius and tenor are texted in the same way in the second half, but when writing the text under the high contra (altus), the scribe skipped a system when entering the second "Christe leyson" and had to place the third where the "Kyrie leyson" should return. This made him give up writing any more text in the altus, and in order to make the page look all right, he placed the text in the low contra exactly as in the voice above it. The "clearly corrupt" text in the Kyrie turns out to be a common copying error. The exemplar probably had a completely regular texting. What is much more remarkable is the full texting of the cantus firmus tenor, which clearly does not point to an origin as a prosula Kyrie.

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[25] Among contemporary masses, the anonymous three-voice *Missa Esclave puist* in Trent 88 has an opening *motto* derived from the superius of the chanson by Binchois; it also appears in the duos "Qui tollis" in Gloria and "Benedictus" in Sanctus, cf. the edition in Gerber, *Sacred music*, pp. 1131-1154. In Petrus de Domarto's widely circulated *Missa Spiritus almus,* which also can be found in Lucca 238 and Rome CS 14, the composer in ingenious ways opens internal sections sounding like an echo of mass' *motto*, quite noticeable in "Benedictus" (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 1155-1180).

[26] The mass was attributed to Guillaume Du Fay without any explicit justification in José M. Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae Codices*, p. 19 – probably because of its adherence to the model of Missa *Caput*, which then was thought to be by Du Fay –, while L. Feininger in the preface to his edition proposed that it might be composed by John Dunstable (Feininger, *Monumenta II.2, fasc. V*). Rob C. Wegman classifies the mass as English in 'Concerning Tempo in the English Polyphonic Mass, c. 1420-70', *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989), pp. 40-65 (at p. 63). Andrew Kirkman also argues for an English origin primarily based on the mass' long bipartite Kyrie in 'The transmission of English Mass cycles in the mid to late fifteenth century: A case study in context', *Music & letters* 75 (1994), pp. 180-199 (at p. 194) and in his book *The Three-Voice Mass*, p. 159. The mass is included in Gareth Curtis and Andrew Wathey's catalogue of liturgical music "that is now thought to be (or has, with varying degrees of certainty) English" in 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: a List of the Surviving Repertory', *RMA Research Chronicle* 27 (1994), pp. 1-69; it is mentioned on pp. 28, 30, and 52 as "M49". Reinhard Strohm includes the mass in his volume of English masses in *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, even if he seems to maintain his earlier characterization of the mass as 'Burgundian' (p. x). Richard Sherr declares that it is "a clear example of English mass composition" (Sherr, *Masses*, p. 7). Likewise, James Cook regards the mass as English in his PhD Thesis, *Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles in Continental Sources 1-2*, University of Nottingham 2014 (http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/30778/), and in his article 'The Style of Walter Frye and an Anonymous Mass in the Lucca Choirbook', *Music & Letters* 96 (2015), pp. 1-27.

[27] Kirkman, *The Three-Voice Mass*, p. 159, and Sherr, *Masses*, p. 35.

The Kyrie is long, and it is possible to put the words of "Deus creator omnium" under the music. James Cook noticed that the length of the Kyrie is about 70 % of the most extended setting in *Sine nomine*.[28] The Kyries belonging to the probable originators of the *Caput*-model are much longer (99%, *Caput*, or 100%, *Veterem hominem* – see *Figures 1-2*), but it is still long in comparison with the shortened Kyrie in Du Fay's interpretation of the same model (*Figure 3)*. Such a view of the *Sine nomine* Kyrie disguises that it in fact is the shortest one of the mass' five settings (*Figure 4*). As we have seen, Gloria, Credo and Sanctus constitutes the original nucleus of the mass, all using the same version of the tenor tune. The composer has consciously sought to make the setting of Sanctus very long by incorporating long passages with very few words in order to maintain congruence with the *Caput*-model, where the Sanctus is among the most extended settings. Moreover, the *Sine nomine* composer has made an effort to concentrate the music in Agnus dei and Kyrie. Most of the rests in the tenor tune have been eliminated, instead he made changes in the tune to vary the sound (cf. *Example 2*), and the duo-passage just before the final 12 *brevis*-bars in the first section of Kyrie has been reduced to nearly nothing (cf. *Figure 4*). He has succeeded in shortening Kyrie and Agnus dei without diverging the least from the pattern set up by the three central settings – Du Fay just removed or reduced the opening duos, his agenda was different.

The dimension of the *Sine nomine* Kyrie has to be regarded as a result of the composer's strict adherence to a pre-compositional plan, which includes a careful balancing of the five settings, rather than it was a traditional English setting of a nine verse prosula. Thereby the composer created something quite unusual. If we take a look at contemporary mass cycles from the Continent, there are not many of similar Kyrie dimensions. In fact, the monumental *Missa Le serviteur* on Du Fay's chanson, which stylistically is very far from *Missa Sine nomine,* has an even longer setting of the Kyrie. It is in the contemporary MS Trent 88 (ff. 411-422v), where it is ascribed the "Jo Okeghem", but Tinctoris tells us in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477) that the mass was composed by Faugues.[29]

An argument in favour of *Sine nomine*'s English origin is that it appears among English masses with and without prosulas in the MS Lucca 238. However, interspersed in this repertory we find several non-English compositions. Among them are Petrus de Domantus' *Missa Spiritus almus* and Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé*.[30] It seems more significant that precisely these two masses along with *Sine nomine* later reappeared in Rome CS 14, a collection of masses without any discernible English influence.

Two classic signs of Englishness do not have much relevance for *Missa Sine nomine*: Rob Wegman mentions "simultaneous rests in duos"[31] as sure indicators (cf. *Missa Veterem hominem* in *Figure 2*). On the contrary, the *Sine nomine* composer has made every effort to avoid simultaneous rests in the voices of its very long duos. Only in one place, just before “Et ascendit in celum” (Credo, b. 176), has he permitted the singers to take a breath together; in all other places one voice keeps on while the other breathes.

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[28] Cook, *Mid-Fifteenth-Century,* Vol. 2, p. 31.

[29] Cf. Johannes Tinctoris (Albert Seay ed.), *The Art of Counterpoint (Liber de arte contrapuncti). Translated and edited by Albert Seay* (Musicological Studies and Documents 5), American Institute of Musicology 1961, p. 130; the mass is published after Trent 88 in Gerber, *Sacred Music*, pp. 1183-1218.

[30] Lucca 238, ff. 11v-17 and 44.5r-v, cf. Strohm, 'Alte Fragen', pp. 53-54.

[31] Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo', p. 63.

Deletions in the Credo text can be a sign of English origin, if the omissions were caused by Continental scribes, who simply disregarded the telescoping of sentences in English Credos.[32] Like other polyphonic masses from the years around 1450, English as well as Continental, *Sine nomine* does not set the sentences from “Et in spiritum sanctum” until and including “Et unam sanctam catholicam ...”. This part of the Credo includes the words “qui ex patre filioque procedit”, which were the subject of long-standing controversies between the Eastern and Western churches concerning the understanding of the Holy Spirit. In connection with the Council of Florence in 1439 attempts at an agreement on this issue were made. It may have been for political reasons that the controversial words were left out in some Credo settings.[33]

James Cook writes “that even the *Sine nomine* (M49) was very likely originally telescoped.”[34] A reason for this should be that the two long duos in the second section of its Credo have different texting in the sources. In the complete version of the mass in Rome CS 14 the duos set the words from “Et incarnatus est ...” until “... cuius regni non erit finis”, while the text in Lucca 238 starts one sentence later with “Crucifixus ...” and ends with “qui ex patre filioque procecedit”, including the controversial sentence. No telescoping is necessary. It would be quite easy to include the sentence “Et incarnatus est ... homo factus est” in the text of the preceding section in triple time, which has long stretches with very sparse texting (see bb. 70-98), and this is probably what happened on the many missing folios in Lucca 238.[35] If we compare the two versions (cf. the Lucca version in the Appendix), it soon becomes clear that the complete version must be the original, and that the Lucca version is an adaption. In Rome CS 14 words and music fit like fingers in glove, while it in Lucca can be difficult to place the words, see for example the syllabic setting of “Cruxifixus” in bars 131-133, which has been replaced with “Et resurrexit” in Lucca 238. The omission of the “filioque” clauses probably did not pose a problem in Italy, in Naples, Ferrara or Rome or wherever the MS was produced. At least two other masses in Rome CS 14, Eloy d’Amerval’s *Missa Dixerunt* dicipluli, ff. 56v-65, and Busnoys’ *Missa L’homme armé,* ff. 106v-117, also omitted these words. In the North, however, the mass circulated in a version, which with a bit of trouble succeeded in including the controversial “filioque”. This indicates that the question of its inclusion was of some importance.

Another variant in the Credo text likewise does not point to England. In their first duo, altus and contra sings “Et in unum dominum *nostrum* Jesum Christum, filium unigenitum” (bb. 16-26). This sentence, with the added word “nostrum”, belongs to the Mozarabic-Gallican Credo,[36] or, as the remainder of the Credo setting follows the wording of the standard Roman version, this variant represents a local conflation of the standard text with the older Nicene Creed.

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[32] Charles Hamm, ‘A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in Fifteenth-Century Continental Manuscripts’, *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968) pp. 47-76, at p. 57.

[33] Cf. Ruth Hannas, ‘Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952) pp. 155-86.

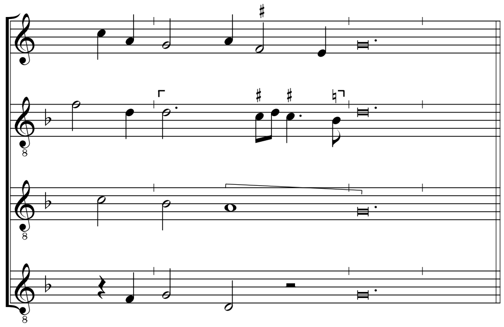
[34] Cook, *Mid-Fifteenth-Century,* Vol. 1, pp. 222.

[35] Strohm, too, found that the idea of telescoping was not viable; cf. Strohm, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, p. 99.

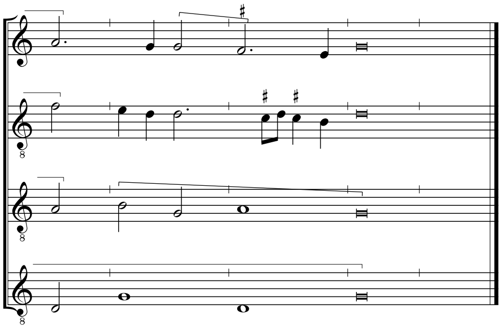
[36] Cf. Hannas, ‘Concerning Deletions’, p. 180.

Charles Hamm found that a certain cadential figure was "a strong clue to English origin", as it "appears time and time again in pieces known to be by English composers, and in anonymous pieces exhibiting other English features, and virtually never in compositions by continental composers."[37] Rob Wegman has, however, pointed out that "the 'English Figure' was far more widespread in Continental music than the name suggests. Yet its frequency there is indeed significantly lower than in English music, and becomes all but negligible after the 1450s."[38] Maybe its appearance was a consequence of the trend of emulating English models.

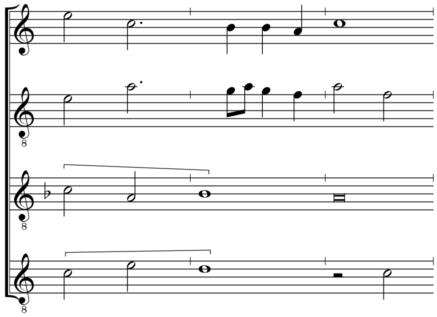
The "English figure" is present in *Missa Sine nomine* in several disguises. It makes its appearance in the correct dress at the end of the first section of Sanctus (bb. 94-95, see *Example 4a*), in *tempus perfectum* and in coloration. It takes on a secondary role as a supporting line in the high contratenor, a fourth below the highest voice, the real counter voice to the tenor. Exactly the same can be found in *Missa Caput* at the end of Gloria (*Ex. 4b*). The two cadences are so similar that it is noteworthy – not the first sign that *Sine nomine* was modelled on *Caput,* and not the last either. Variants of the "English figure" appear in quite dissonant textures. In Kyrie, bars 145-146 (*Ex. 4c*) two sets of cadential movements to A (with the "English figure") and to C are played out simultaneously; flattening the consciously introduced *b′*-natural will only slightly lighten the harshness. *Example 4d* shows the figure in the upper voice clashing with the low contra's *c.*



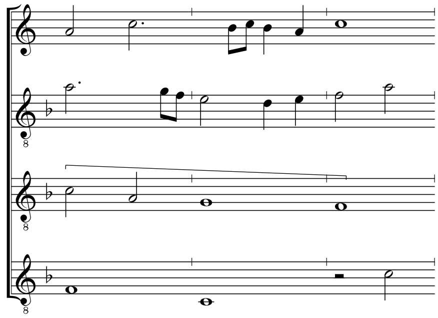
Example 4a, *Missa Sine nomine*, end of first section, Sanctus



Example 4b, *Missa Caput*, end of Gloria



Example 4c, *Missa Sine nomine*, Kyrie, bars 145-147



Example 4d, *Missa Sine nomine*, Gloria, bars 170-172

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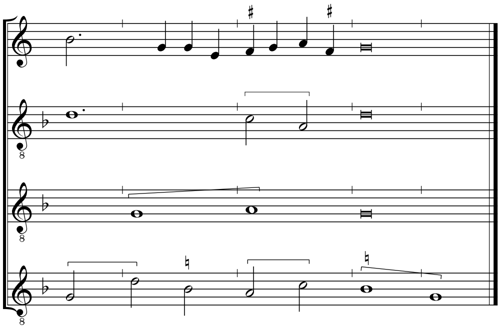
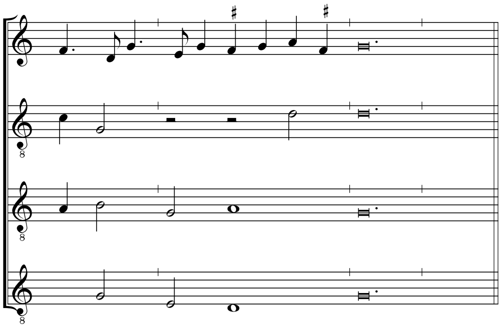
[37] Hamm, 'A Catalogue', p. 59.

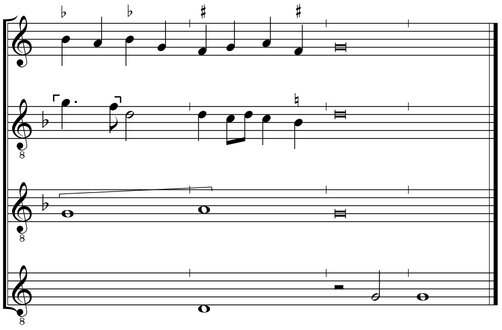
[38] Rob C. Wegman**,** 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Anyoine Busnoys' in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys. Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music.* Oxford 1999, pp. 175-214, at p. 202.



Example 5a, *Missa Sine nomine*, end of Gloria



Example 5b, *Missa Caput*, end of first section, Kyrie



Example 5c, *Missa Sine nomine*, end of Credo

Like *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* the mass excels in non-standard embellishments of cadential points, with or without suspensions. A typical one can be found at the end of Gloria (see *Example 5a*); a very close relation to it ends the first section in the *Caput* Kyrie (*Example 5b*). This figuration can also be combined with the 'English figure' in the high contratenor as shown in *Example 5c,* the final cadence of Credo in *Sine nomine.*

These examples demonstrate that *Missa Sine nomine* was composed by someone with an intimate knowledge of the *Caput* mass more than they are signs of an English origin; they stand out as quotes. Like much else in the mass they fit in with the composer's preconceived plan. With this we are moving on to discuss the style and sound of the mass, which also has been conceived as English. Richard Sherr found some confirmation in that "Other English traits are the many duos and the intensely triadic texture and melodic movement."[39] And when Reinhard Strohm investigated imitative counterpoint in English masses, he found that *Sine nomine* "... exceeds the uses described so far in almost every direction: in the quantity of cases, in intensity (ostinatos), in word-enhancing effects, in the length of its *fugae*, in semantic significance of the underlying words. Nevertheless, perhaps the most characteristic achievement of this composition is more of the type cultivated by Frye: the general 'integration' of its motivic language, which can also function without stricter imitative procedures."[40]

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[39] Sherr, *Masses*, p. 35.

[40] Reinhard Strohm, 'Imitative Counterpoint in Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Settings' in Emma Hornby and David Maw (eds.), *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell. Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography.* Woodbridge 2010, pp. 143-161 (at p. 158).

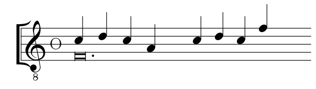
In other words, the style of *Missa Sine nomine* differs in many details from the English idiom during the decades around 1450, it "exceeds" the norm, just like its use of *mottos* in every section! The conclusion of this discussion has to be: It is most probable that *Missa Sine nomine* was composed in Northern France or in Burgundian Flanders by a musician who had a strong personal experience of the English masses, who had sung the masses *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* and probably several other English works at services around 1450, during the years when these masses were widely admired and emulated on the Continent. He reacted to the *Caput*-model as a composer in a similar way as contemporary colleagues, but the sound of his efforts became different. Composers from this part of Europe grabbed the *Caput*-model and created new types of masses: Petrus de Domarto instituted an influential use of mensural transformation of the tenor tune in *Missa Spiritus almus*, Guillaume Du Fay perfected the proportional transformation in *Missa Se la face ay pale*, and Johannes Ockeghem in his early *Caput*-Mass borrowed the *Caput* tenor more or less as written in the English mass, transposed it down an octave in order to let it sound at the bottom of the texture, and thereby defied the whole idea of the *Caput* model. The anonymous composer of *Missa Sine nomine* made his contribution in the same spirit as his colleagues. It has been difficult for modern musicology to realize this, because the obviousness of its many English traits routinely has placed the mass in a different category.

A sacred sound?

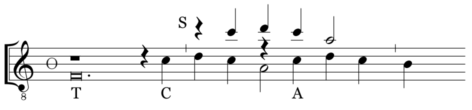
The most remarkable trait of *Missa Sine nomine*, which stands out when one reads the notation or imagine its sounding presence, is its curious, absolutely rigid construction scheme. As mentioned above, it seems as if the composer did analyse the *Caput*-model, which inspired and challenged so many of his contemporaries, and reduced its essential characteristics into a minimum setup. He distilled it so to say into a basic formula consisting of a duo between superius and the high contratenor, which included a *motto*, followed by another duo between the two contratenors before the entrance of the tenor with its simplified cantus firmus tune in four-part polyphony. In every setting of the mass items this formula is first presented in triple time (O) and then repeated in double time (₵), the only variable being the lengths of the sections, which may be expanded or slightly reduced. The last 12 *brevis*-bars of every first section and the last 48 bars of the second are close to being fixed elements (cf. *Figure 4*). In this way *Missa Sine nomine* comes out as a musical entity, which ten times runs through the same overall course of events, where only some of the notes, those not sung by the tenor, may be varied. In such a scheme it becomes very important how the composer administers the variable notes.

Singing in two voices occupies a great part of the duration of the settings in *Sine nomine*, between 43 and 55 %, almost double the time the duos fill out in *Missa Caput*, where their percentages lie between 24 and 34 %. A great number of contemporary masses can be found with long introductory duets, but these duets nearly always involve the two highest voices only, or are quite variable. *Sine nomine* seems to be unique in its adherence to a rigid scheme. Among the masses from the 1450s and early 1460s something comparable can only be found in a handful of pieces. In MS Trent 88 the Gloria of the anonymous *Missa Se tu t'en marias* opens in exactly the same manner as every mass section in *Sine nomine*. It is a mass building on a popular French song, entered in Trent 88 along with Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* and very close to it in structure. However, its composer begins in different ways in all its other sections. The anonymous *Missa Rozel im Garth* in the same manuscript builds very freely on a presumably French song; it uses an antiphonal layout with several contrasting duos at the start of each main section. The second duetting pair of voices does not include the lowest voice but instead the freely handled tenor.[41] Long passages in two- and three-part polyphony open Gloria and Credo in Antoine Busnoys' *Missa L'homme armé* in MS Rome CS 14, starting like *Sine nomine* but soon becoming much more complicated.[42] Maybe the closest relative of *Sine nomine* in this respect was the anonymous *Missa Nos amys*, a fragment of which is found near *Missa Sine nomine* in MS Lucca 238. Reinhard Strohm has been able to reconstruct much of its Credo, and it runs through exactly the pattern of *Sine nomine*. We do not know any more of this mass, or if the composer used a similar procedure in the missing settings. It is based on Adrien Basin's rondeau "Nos amys vous vous abusées". Strohm proposes that Basin, who was a musician in the household of Charles le Téméraire in the 1450s, like Du Fay composed the mass on his own chanson using the same means of proportional transformation of the tenor tune.[43] It is thought-provoking that all the examples that I have been able to find with openings similar to *Missa Sine nomine,* appear to come from Northern France or Burgundian lands.

The composer probably started by working out the Gloria. Here we find the elements of his technique in what looks like their first formulations. The four-part dressing of the tenor tune is simple. Its first note *c′* (b. 28) is placed as the fifth in a triad on F, just like the opening note *b* in the *Caput* melisma was harmonized with an *e* below. The superius and altus recite the first word "Gratias" together in distinct rhythm, and the upper voice continues to deliver the words very clearly, while the lower voices soon get out of synchronization. A polyphony of words is typical of this type of setting: the words can be heard distinctly in the top voice, stretched out in long melismas or recited in fast notes, all on top of lower voices trailing behind or participating with the superius in the delivery. The two contratenors move between notes concordant with the tenor. Their movements are often disjunct and keeping to the notes of triads, or to fundamentals of the concords in the low contra; only when the tenor rests, their melodic profiles become stronger, more linear. When the tenor comes to rest on a long *f* in bar 56, we hear a sudden imitative activity in the other voices. This activity builds on the most basic technique of improvising a counter voice against a held tenor note. The concords of fifths, sixths and thirds are safe to use, and moving between them in the form 5-6-5-3 only and variants hereof are even safer (*Example 6a*), and they can be combined into interlocking imitative patterns (6b). If we look further back in the superius, we meet this motif several times in varying shapes in bars 38-39 and 40-41. The tenor's long *d′* in bar 30-31 is accompanied by the concords



Example 6a, basic figures of counterpoint



6b, combined into an imitative pattern

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[41] The two masses are published in Gerber, *Sacred Music*, pp. 326-344 and 883-911.

[42] Cf. Sherr, *Masses*, pp. 400-433.

[43] Cf. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 128; the rondeau and the mass fragment are published there pp. 208-219.

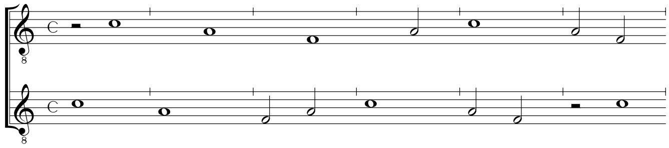
6-5-6-8 in the contra, an inversion of the basic figure. I have marked the figure with an "x" in the schematic overview of *Sine nomine* (see *Figure 4*) where it is foregrounded in an audible way. A single glance at the scheme shows that this figure appears so often that it becomes a strong element in the sounding identity of the mass.

The last appearance of this figure in the first section of Gloria is in the form of a linear ascent *a'-d''* and then back to *a'* repeated three times (bb. 72-76). It creates an ostinato effect similar to the three-part imitation in bars 56-57. The ostinato is another characteristic technique of improvising multiple voices against an unmoving tenor. Here the composer performs the ostinato against a moving tenor. It is a very effective way of building up tension towards the final cadence. Entering a sort of ostinato mode is another distinguishing trait of this mass; the first sections of Kyrie, Credo and Sanctus make similar use of ostinato passages leading to their final cadences, and ostinato effects are heard in several other places, in the duos as well.

The upper voice has a range of ten notes, *c'*-e'', and at the start of the first four-part section in Gloria it makes use of most of its range, or at least the singer has to run through more than one hexachord (bb. 26-37). From bar 38 the upper voice becomes curious restricted, almost keeping within one single hexachord at the time. First for nine *brevis*-bars in the F-hexachord, then with turns to the G- and C-hexachords before becoming stuck again in F. Also this melodic dependency on motifs and lines formed by a quite slowly changing array of hexachords seems to be characteristic of improvised counterpoint. If you keep to a selection of steps offered by a hexachord and keep an eye on the tenor tune while selecting the steps to sing, it cannot go very wrong. This technique is characteristic of all the music in *Sine nomine*, and it clearly contributes to the prominence of ostinato passages. *Sine nomine* is not improvised music. It was painstakingly worked out in notation, but its composer consciously relied heavily on the style and sound of singing polyphony *super librum* in the liturgy, and he did not shrink from sounding improvisatory mishaps happening when cadential movements collided (see *Example 4c* – or Sanctus, b. 54, where superius has a common cadential embellishment, while the altus starts the x-figure early).

The constant oscillation between F- and G-hexachords is to some degree mirrored in the main source's use of hexachordal signatures and accidentals. In Rome CS 14 the tenor has a fixed one-flat signature, and the superius is without one all the way through, but exhibits several accidentals that signal hexachordal shifts. Signatures with or without a b-flat changes constantly in the two contratenors. They are not inconsistent, even if we cannot exclude a few copying errors, rather, in most cases they are practical. If a flat would govern very few notes only, it does not appear on the staves. On the single folio left of the mass in Lucca 238, the high contratenor has a one flat signature, where Rome CS 14 has none. It makes no difference for the performance of the music, as the hexachordal positions are unmistakable. However, it could mean that Rome CS 14 transmits a version closer the composer's original, while the mass in Lucca 238 may be adapted to the standard format with no signature in the upper voice and flats in all the lower voices, similar to the revision of the choice of text for the Credo duos.

The four-part sections of the other settings develop these ideas. In Credo and Sanctus the composer seems to be "in love" with his x-motif, which generates a lot of imitating ostinatos. Agnus dei is similar, but here he succeeds in letting the melodic lines flow more freely, less busy and obsessive with hexachordal figures. Especially the last part of Agnus



Example 7, triadic imitation figure in altus and contra (Gloria, bars 112-117)

dei is successful. Maybe he was helped by a shift of his attention towards the tenor tune, which caused him to make changes. One of the changes permitted him to let the tenor participate in imitations with the superius and the low contra (bb. 33-36, 58-59, 149-150, see also *Example 2* above). The Kyrie was probably composed alongside Agnus dei and contains all the traits described in a compact delivery.

If we turn back to the Gloria and look at its duos, we find the same sort of melody. At first the lines traverse a greater range of notes, then they become more restricted to the confines of a hexachord; this is more typical of the upper voice of a duo than of the lower one. After the motto, the voices continue in free polyphony, which often turn to imitative passages, strict or free, but always at the unison or the octave. A first hint comes in bar 10, where the x-motif is introduced by the altus and repeated by the superius in the next bar. Declamation of the words in syllabic settings is quite common (bb. 17 ff). All the duos take care to let the words be clearly heard. In the duos that introduce the second section, a new basic motif appears, also belonging to the improvisatory bag of tricks. In bars 112 ff the contratenors moves down and up the F-triad in unison close imitation on the words "Qui tollis peccata mundi" (*Example 7*) before declaiming "suscipe deprecationem nostram" in free imitation in C-haxachords, keeping everything simple and very effective. The triadic motif, which we could call "y", reappears often in the mass in different guises (Kyrie, bb. 58 and 119, Credo, bb. 3, 19, 110, 141, 162 and 207, Agnus dei, bb. 17, 89 and 117). Along with the x-figure this imitative motif reaffirms the musical sameness of all the mass sections. In general, there are much more imitation in the duos than in the four-part music, even passages in canon, free or strict, as in Sanctus bars 66-68, a unison strict canon resulting in parallel thirds.

To conclude on the sound of *Missa Sine nomine*, we must say that it contains nothing spectacular, only smooth unchallenging counterpoint in an unchanging pattern of duos leading to four-part carpets of sound decorated with swarms of standard figures, a sound of many concords of thirds and full triads with the occasional improvisatory sharp dissonance. If anything, we experience the same sound picture again and again. It is not that the same music is repeated; in fact, it is quite admirable how the composer has avoided repeating passages note for note, even if some of the imitative passages on the x-figure are close. However, all the variety put into his use of expressive, declamatory passages, imitations and play with canons only serves to maintain an extremely consistent sound picture.

Musical unity is a constituent trait of the four-part cantus firmus mass as it emerged during the decades around 1450. The use of a liturgical or a secular tune as a recurrent element could link the single mass cycle to a specific liturgical feast, to a civil occasion, to a donor's preferences, or it could enrich the mass music as participant in a rich network of symbolic associations. And combined with the recurrent motto, it assured a degree of unity between the five elements of the ordinary. Moreover, the majority of composers sought to keep the music within carefully circumscribed stylistic boundaries, not least in order to maintain a recognizable personal style in the developing fierce competition among musicians. The *Caput* model carried on from the older motet a heritage of varying a set of melodic ideas within a strict framework. This comes into a full flowering of expertly varied elegance in Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*, and it may have inspired the composer of *Missa Sine nomine*. However, after a short time the fast development of the complexity of contrapuntal skills, of displays of musical artifice, tended to make the musical surface of many masses difficult to perceive for the lay listener; the unity of the liturgy became veiled by a maze of sound, which was enjoyable to the expert listener and intriguing to the reader of musical notation.

In his book *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass* Andrew Kirkman concludes that for the believers participating in the High Mass the sacred moment of transubstantiation and Elevation of the Host, which was performed by the celebrant in secrecy during the singing of Sanctus, could be stretched out through the whole Mass. "It is not hard to see how the spread of imagery ... of the redeemer throughout the Mass could have encouraged a similar consistency in physical phenomena devised to enhance and adorn its message, including the music. This, I propose, is the ultimate force behind the creation of the cyclic cantus firmus Mass and its celebrated musical unity."[44] This may also be the reason for the creation of *Missa Sine nomine*. It is difficult to think of any candidate better equipped to demonstrate the unity of the mass music in a way so easily perceivable to any believer, even when the listener was placed in a humble position outside the choir, far away from the altar. The musical world of the sacred actions performed during the Sanctus sounds clearly already from the first notes of the Kyrie, and it never stops or changes.[45] It celebrates the Eucharist in a musical language of relative anonymity that was cultivated in improvised polyphony, in the practice of *Singing upon the book*, which adorned a great number of liturgical services.

Missa Sine nomine may be regarded as a far-reaching experiment in musical unity comprehensible to everybody. Obviously, it was a conscious compositional decision to reduce the *double cursus* layout from the *Caput* model to essentials in a rigorously maintained structure of duos and four-part polyphony, to introduce every first and second section of the setting with a *motto*, and to pervade the music with easily recognizable contrapuntal commonplaces. We have as little knowledge of the identity of the tenor tune as the 15th-century scribes. If it was a tune constructed by the composer for use in this mass composition, it fits perfectly into the way he planned all its other elements. The composer has shown the utmost care to assure that coherence and structure are immediately accessible to listeners. The total effect may be bordering on the naive, but there is nothing naive about his boldness in using improvisatory practices to create a pervasive, sacred sound.

In a sister manuscript to Rome CS 14, the contemporary MS Capella Sistina 51, we find an anonymous mass building on Ockeghem's chanson "D'ung aultre amer" (ff. 113v-122), which Rob C. Wegman also characterized as "an experiment". Here the experiment went in an opposite direction. The anonymous composer used "the whole range of contemporary cantus firmus treatment—from strictest to freest—" within a double *cursus* framework in order to create the greatest possible variety. This resulted in reaching "a point where the tenor had ceased to be effective as a structural voice. ... The composer's solution, the chain structure, was a masterstroke, it not only enabled him to present a wide range of styles in succession, but also offered the possibility of creating a new type of musical coherence, replacing the coherence provided by the cantus firmus."[46] This mass may be a decade younger than *Missa Sine nomine*, and it too relies heavily on two-voice passages. In Gloria and Credo especially, we find duos just as extended as in *Sine nomine* – and in similar patterns – but also quick exchanges between changing pairs of voices. The voices move through their ranges in a way quite different from the hexachord fixation in *Sine nomine*; the long stretches of four-part polyphony are characterized by the greatest possible variety and care for word expression. As Wegman remarked, *Missa D'ung aultre amer* is far more listener-oriented than the pure cantus firmus mass.

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[44] Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass. Medieval Context to Modern Revival.* Cambridge 2010, p. 203.

[45] A digital performance of Kyrie and Sanctus can be heard at http://sacred.pwch.dk/; a different interpretation of the complete mass is available on Rob C. Wegman's site *Renaissance Masses, 1440-1520* (at http://www.robcwegman.org/mass.htm).

The existence of two such 'experimental' masses, however different they are, in the repertory of the representative collections, which ended up in the Cappella Sistina in the early 1480s, shows that the development of the cyclic cantus firmus mass during its first decades was anything but linear. Alongside the masses developing complex cantus firmus treatment, canonic sophistication and use of multiple tunes as in the works by Du Fay, Domarto, d'Amerval and Regis and the series of five *L'homme armé* masses in Rome CS 14, a keen interest in the direct appeal of sacred music persisted, even if musicology largely disregarded such music when telling the history of the cyclic mass. The legacy of the *Caput* model had many facets. *Missa Sine nomine* is evidence of the model's success and potential of opening up for different directions, and as such it fits perfectly among the masses of Rome CS 14. Like *Missa D'ung aultre amer* the mass was received favourably in international musical life from Flanders to Italy during the second half of the 15th century and is preserved in the same sources as the works by famous musicians.

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[46] Rob C. Wegman, 'The Anonymous Mass D'ung aultre amer: A Late Fifteenth-Century Experiment', *Musical Quarterly* 74 (1990), pp. 566-94 (at pp. 588). The mass was published in Rex Eakins (ed.), *An Editorial Transnotation of the Manuscript Cappella Sistina 51, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, Liber Missarum,* The Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ottawa, Canada, vol. 3, 2001, pp. 235-315; an online edition is available as Agostino Magro (ed.), *Missa D'ung aultre amer (4 vv),* (Le Corpus des Messes Anonymes du XVe siècle), Programme Ricercar 2016 at http://ricercar-old.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/MessesAnonymes/sources/75.pdf. A digital recording of the mass can be heard on Wegman's site *Renaissance Masses, 1440-1520*.

Sources

Rome CS 14 – Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14, ff. 65v-75. Copied in Naples or Ferrara in the second half of the 1470s. Online facsimile: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Capp.Sist.14.

Lucca 238 – Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238, f. 30.5. Copied in Bruges, c. 1463. The single folio contains on the recto side from Credo: "Crucifixus"; "Et iterum" and "Confiteor" (bb. 99-275, altus and "Tenor" only), and on the verso side the beginning of Sanctus (bb. 1-45, superius and "Contra bassus" only). For a reconstruction of the two duos in Credo, see the Appendix. Facsimile edition by Reinhard Strohm.[47]

Transcription

Note values have been halved during the transfer into modern score notation of the original mensural notation in choirbook layout. The edition observes normal practice as regards marking the use of ligatures, coloration and editorial accidentals. Text under the music in regular typeface reproduces the text placed as in the MS; deviations from this are discussed below. Text in italics has been added by the editor.

Editorial report

The main source, Rome CS 14, a paper manuscript in very large format (c. 57 x 42 cm), is written in standard choirbook layout with superius and tenor standing to the left on the openings and altus and contra at the right. It was copied by the main scribe according to a preconceived plan of allocating two openings to each mass section, ten openings in all. This has forced the scribe to space the notes very tight in the longer mass sections. The music shows some scribal errors (see below); no attempts have been made to correct them during or after performance. Of its four voices the two lowest voices are consistently labelled "Tenor" and "Contra", while the two higher voices are without voice designations except for f. 67 where the high contratenor is labelled "Contra" too. This *contratenor altus* is in the modern score designated "Altus". The intention of the copyist was apparently to supply the music with text in all voices in order to facilitate its performance. It is nearly complete and quite carefully placed below the highest voice, slightly less consistent and complete in the lower voices. Omissions and displacements caused by the closely written notes are noted below. The highest voice is notated without any hexachordal signatures in all sections of the mass, while the tenor has a one flat signature in all sections except in the first half of Credo, which probably is a scribal error. The two contratenors (altus and contra) are quite varying in their use of flat signatures as reported below and followed in the edition. Their arrangement is probably copied from the scribe's exemplar, or they may represent his interpretation of how to vary the singer's default choice of either the soft or the hard hexachords (F- or G-hexachords).

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[47] Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *The Lucca Choirbook: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238; Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, MS 97; Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Biblioteca Maffi, Cartella 11/III.* (Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile 2), Chicago 2008.

In the fragment consisting of only one folio, which is preserved in MS Lucca 238, the altus in Credo has a signature of one flat, where Rome CG 14 has none. This could mean that the mass in this older source was notated like many other pieces of music from the period with no signature in the highest voice and signatures of one flat in the lower voices all the way through. But we cannot know for sure without discovering more fragments of the mass. Lucca 238 was a parchment manuscript of smaller dimensions than Rome CS 14 (c. 47 x 34 cm), and the original copyist entered the music with a more generous spacing of the notes – the verso side of the folio contains only 45 bars of the superius and the "Contra bassus" of the Sanctus. Therefore, the text underlay is very clear. The duos in the Credo sets a different selection of the Credo-text than the Rome CS 14 version – a reconstruction of the Lucca version can be found in the Appendix.

Kyrie

Superius:
No signature.
Bar 176.2, a *semibrevis* value is missing; a custos indicates that the missing note beginning the next staff is *g'*.
Text: Complete.

Altus:
No signature.
After b. 2 a *punctus divisionis* is missing.
Between b. 71.1 and b. 71.4 a *semibrevis* value is missing; the *minima g'* has been prolonged to a dotted *semibrevis* in accordance with the cadence in the superius in Gloria b. 77.
Bar 167.1 a *semibrevis* value is missing.
Bar 186, *longa*.
Text: Complete in the first section, incomplete in the second. Bar 28 has "leyson", probably a copying error, as "leyson" ought to be coordinated with the syllables in contra b. 24; furthermore, this causes a displacement of the following "Kyrie"-entry (b. 30.3), which should be coordinated with superius. In the second section, the "Kyrie" invocation does not return. Instead three "Christe leyson" invocations are distributed below the music (bb. 74 ff, 104 ff and 153 ff). The introductory superius-altus duo needs the first two "Christe eleyson", while the following altus-contra duo probably sings this text once. With the tenor entry in b. 127 it probably was the intention that all parts sing "Kyrie eleyson" trice.

Tenor:
A signature of one flat in both sections.
Bars 1-27 are missing one *brevis*-rest.
Bars 74-136 are written as 64 *brevis*-rests; only 63 are needed.
Text: Complete.

Contra:
No signature.
Bars 1-13 are written as 14 *brevis*-rests.
Bar 66.2, *b-f.*
Bar 115.2, *f-e.*
Text: Complete in the first section, incomplete in the second. In the second section "Christe leyson" appears twice (bb. 104 ff and 158 ff). The "Kyrie"-text does not return, see the comments above concerning the altus.

Gloria

Superius:
No signature.
Bar 34.3, *e'.*
Bar 170.1 is a dotted *semibrevis.*
Text: Complete.

Altus:
The first section has a one flat signature, which disappears in the last two staves on f. 68 (bb. 56-79). The second section also has a signature of one flat, which however disappears in staves 3 and 5 on f. 69 (bb. 126-148 and 168.2-185); as the note *b* does not appear in the last staff, this change has been ignored.
After b. 77 a *punctus divisionis* is missing.
Bar 123.2, the last *minima d'* is missing.
Bar 169.1, the *f'* is a *minima.*
Text: Complete. In bb. 56-73 the text has erroneously been displaced to the left: bb. 55-58 "Jesu Christe. Domine", bb. 58.2-62 "deus agnus dei", b. 63 "filius". In the second section the copyist had problems in placing the text: "Qui sedes ad dexteram" is placed below bb. 138-147, ”patris" bb. 149-153; b. 154 onwards the words "miserere ... gloria dei patris" are written closely together without any coordination with the music. The problem with placing "dexteram" has probably put the copyist off track. The text underlay in superius and contra seems more deliberate, and the altus was probably intended to be to some degree coordinated with them. Such a solution has been attempted in the transcription.

Tenor:
A signature of one flat in both sections.
Bar 60.3, a *punctus divisionis* is missing.
Text: Incomplete.

Contra:
The first section starts with a one flat signature, which disappears in the 2nd staff. The second section has one flat in all staves.
Bar 185 is a *longa*.
Text: Complete with some omissions owing to the dense copying of the music.

Credo

Superius:

No signature.

Bars 32-33, the rests are missing.

Text: Complete; b. 47.2 a superfluous word "de". Bb. 249-256 have in the MS "resurrectionem mortuorum" where only the first word should be used when compared to the text disposition in the altus. This causes the displacement of the text by one word for the remainder of the section: "Et vitam" b. 257, "venturi" bb. 261-263, "seculi" bb. 264-266, "Amen" bb. 267ff.

Altus:

No signatures in both sections except for the last staff on f. 71 (beginning b. 248), which has a signature of one flat.

Bar 39.3, *f'-e'*.

Bar 61.1, *d'*.

Bar 98.2, *longa*.

Bar 273.1, a *semibrevis*-value is missing; added in accordance with the version in Lucca 238.

Text: Complete. The words "de deo vero" are laid under bb. 44.3-52, and "Genitum non ..." begins b. 52.3. Apparently, the latter is and error, as "Genitum" ought to start in b. 57.3 along with the superius. Some sentences have been displaced: "consubstantialem ..." starts b. 64, "salutem" b. 88, "descendit" b. 90. In the second section "et sepultus" starts in b. 146.

Tenor:

The first section has no signature, which probably is a scribal error; the flat only appears in the second section at "Confiteor" (b. 228).

Bar 61.3, a *punctus divisionis* is missing.

Text: Incomplete.

Contra:

The first section has a signature of one flat, which is introduced in b. 17; the second section has no signature.

Bar 275, *longa*.

Text: Complete with some omissions owing to the many notes below the staff. Bb. 181-183 has "celum"; and "sedet" starts b. 184, which clearly belongs to bb. 187 ff. In bb. 202 ff the low notes again force the copyist to omit text, and "cuius regni" comes too early in b. 215.

Credo in Lucca 238 f. 30.5 (recto)

This page contains the final sections of altus and of tenor only.

Altus:

Signature of one flat.

"Duo", bb. 99-157, with the text "Crucifixus etiam pro nobis", see transcription in appendix with superius after Rome CS 14 (text underlay adjusted to Lucca 238).

"Duo", bb. 158-227, with the text "Et iterum venturus est", see transcription in appendix with contra after CS 14 (text underlay adjusted to Lucca 238).
Bars 245-244 are in one ligature.
Bars 269-270, *d′-e′* in ligature c.o.p., *g′* not in ligature.
Text: Complete, see transcription concerning the duos; "Confiteor" as in Rome CS 14.

Tenor:
"TACET Crucifixus | Et iterum venturus".
Signature of one flat.
Bars 228-230 in ligature.
Bars 248-249 in ligature.
Text: Incomplete, "Confiteor unum baptisma in remissi".

Sanctus

Superius:
No signature.
Bars 75-85 are notated as 10 *brevis*-rests; must be 11.
Bars 130-169 are notated as 39 *brevis*-rests; must be 40.
Text: Complete. Some words seem to have been displaced under the very long lines of music: "dominus" bb. 26.2-39.1, "deus" bb. 39.3-47.1, "sabaoth" bb. 47.3-61.

Altus:
The first section has a one flat signature; the second has none.
Bar 7.1, a *minima*-value (*g′*) is missing.
Bar 178.1, *f′*.
Bar 217, *longa*.
Text: Complete.

Tenor:
A signature of one flat.
Bar 38.3, a *punctus divisionis* is missing.
Bar 53.3, a *punctus divisionis* is missing.
Bars 98-169 are missing 8 *brevis*-rests.
Text: Complete.

Contra:
Signature of one flat in the first section; the flat is missing in the two first staves in the second section (b. 98-167).
Text: Near complete in the first section; fragmentary in the second.

Sanctus in Lucca 238 f. 30.5 (verso)

The page only contains the beginning of superius and “Contra bassus” until and including bar 45.

Superius:
No signature.
No mensuration sign.
Bar 12 has *minima a'*, *semibreves g'-f'*, *minima e'.*
Bar 27.1, no *signum*.
Text: Complete. “Sanctus” bb. 1-8.1, “Sanctus” bb. 8.1-13, “dominus” bb. 26.3-33.1.

Contra bassus:
Signature of one flat.
No mensuration sign.
Bar 17.1-2, not in ligature.
Bar 25 has *minima b♭*, dotted *minima d'*, *semiminima c'*, *semibrevis c'*, *minima b♭*.
Bar 27 is a *brevis* with *punctus divisionis.*
Text: Complete; “deus” bb. 34.3-45.3.

Agnus dei

Superius:
No signature.
Text: Complete with some omissions. The copyist has skipped “peccata mundi”, which logically should follow the short altus-contra duo bb. 54-59 and accordingly has stretched the last words: “miserere” bb. 59.1-60.2, “nobis” bb. 66-72.3. In the second section the word “dei” starts in b. 84.2, and “pacem” in b. 178.2.

Altus:
Signature of one flat in the first section; no signature in the second.
Bar 26.2, the *minima is* e'.
Bar 185, *longa*.
Text: Incomplete.

Tenor:
Signature of one flat.
Text: Incomplete.

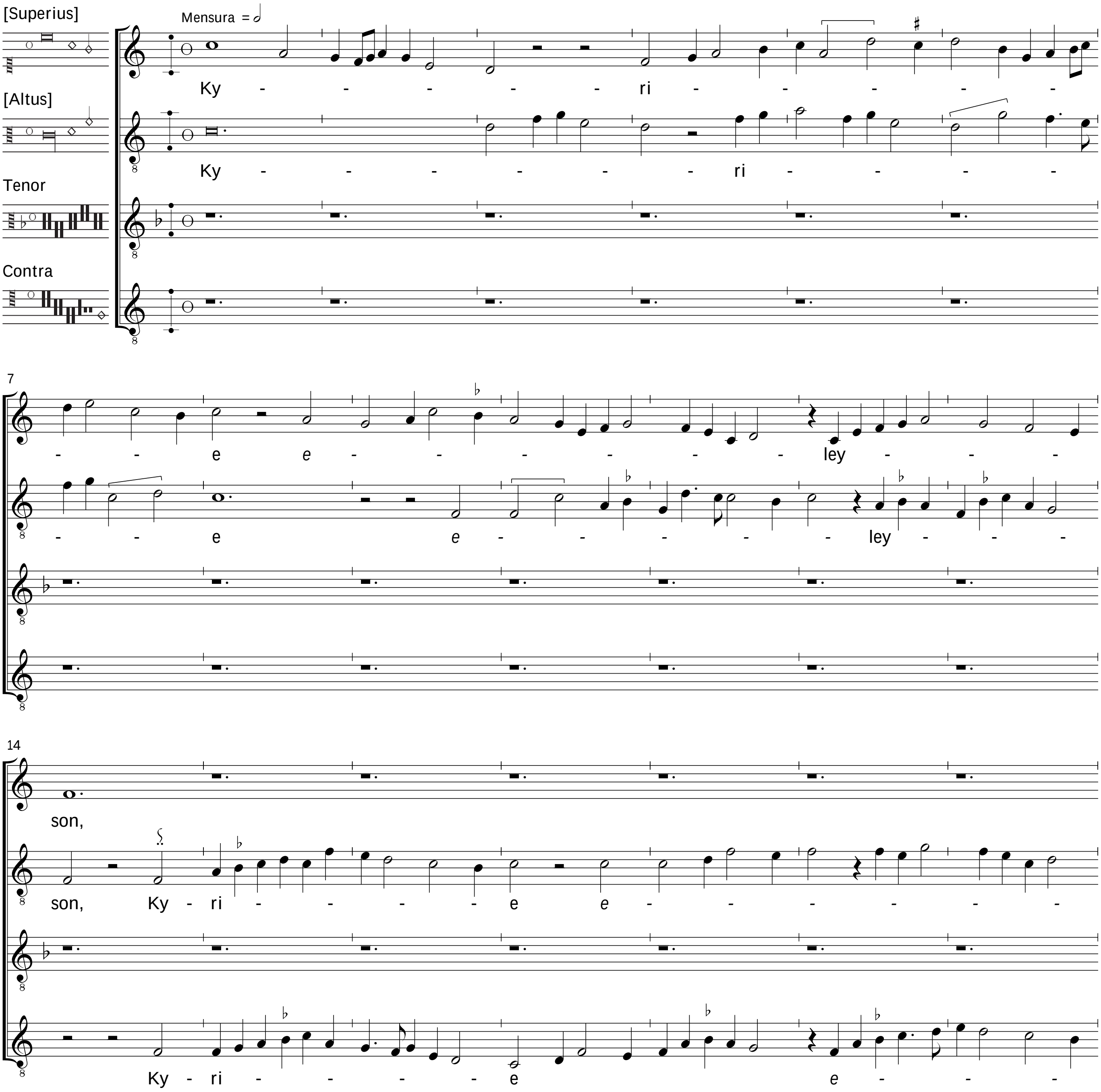
Contra:
Signature of one flat.
Bar 45 is missing – probably overlooked because of its similarity to the preceding bar.
Text: Complete.

Anonymous

Missa Sine nomine in MS Capp. Sist. 14

Sources:
Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Cod. 14, ff. 65v-75 (Rome CS 14)
Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238, f. 30.5, fragment of Credo and Sanctus (Lucca 238)

Kyrie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[Altus]
Tenor
Contra
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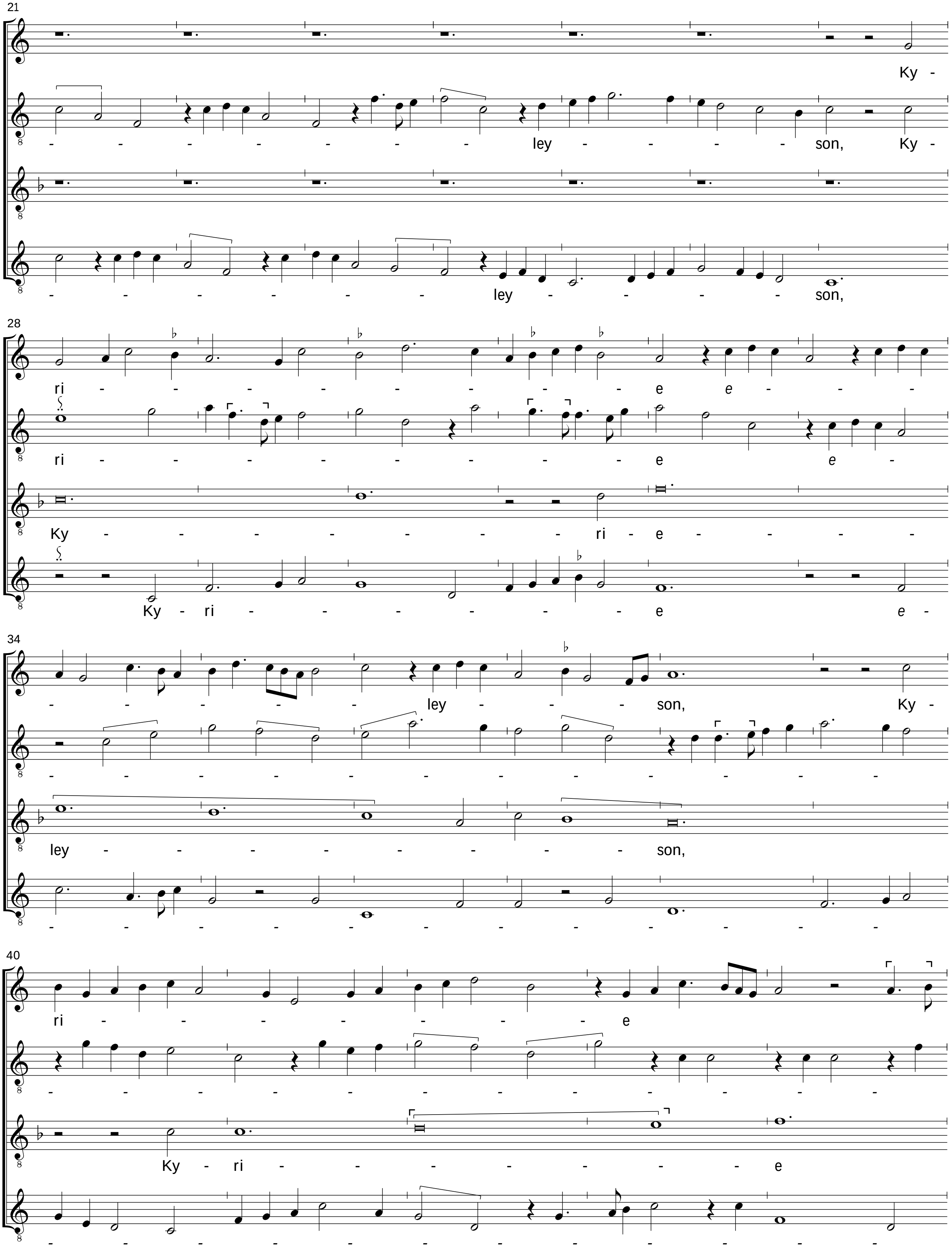
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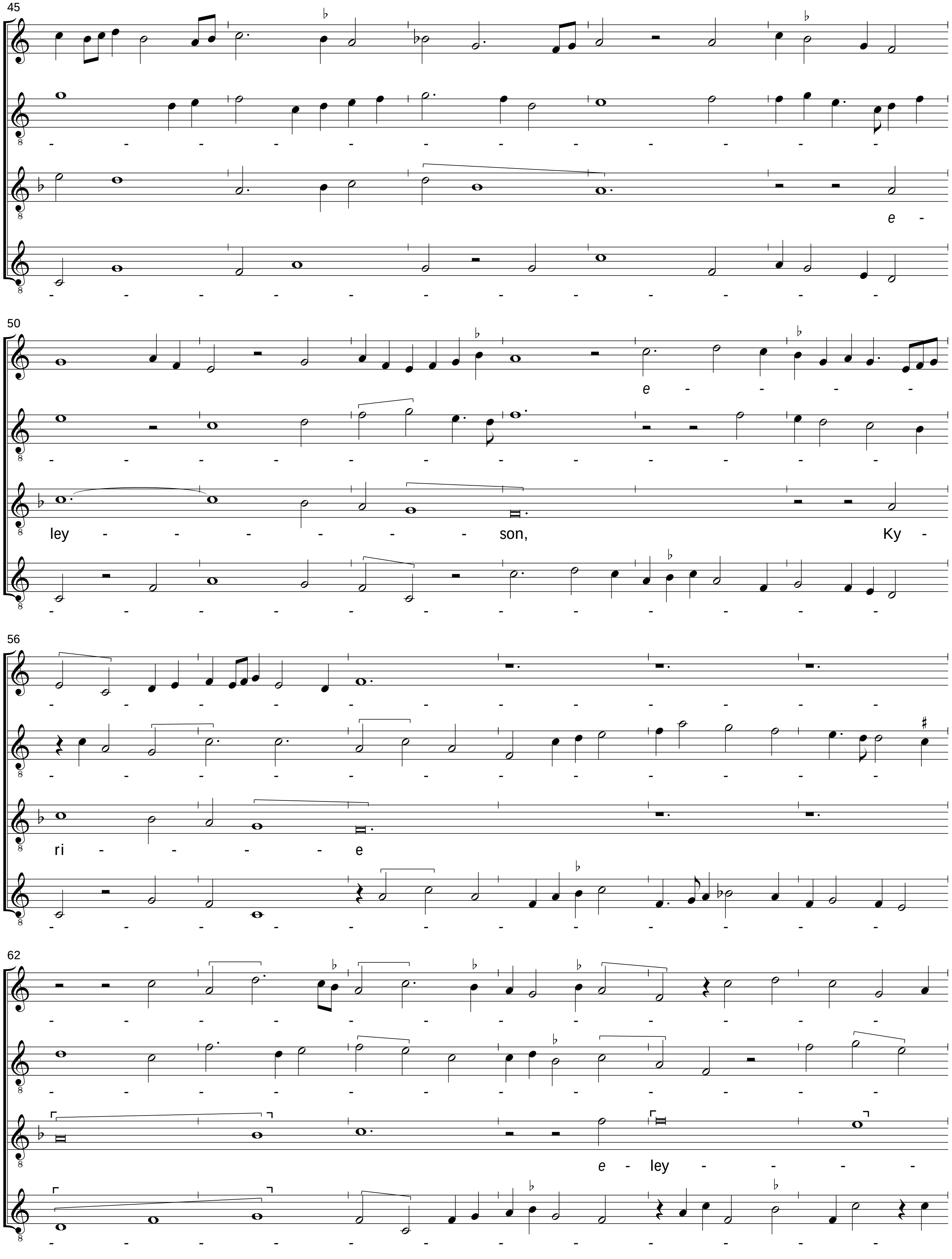
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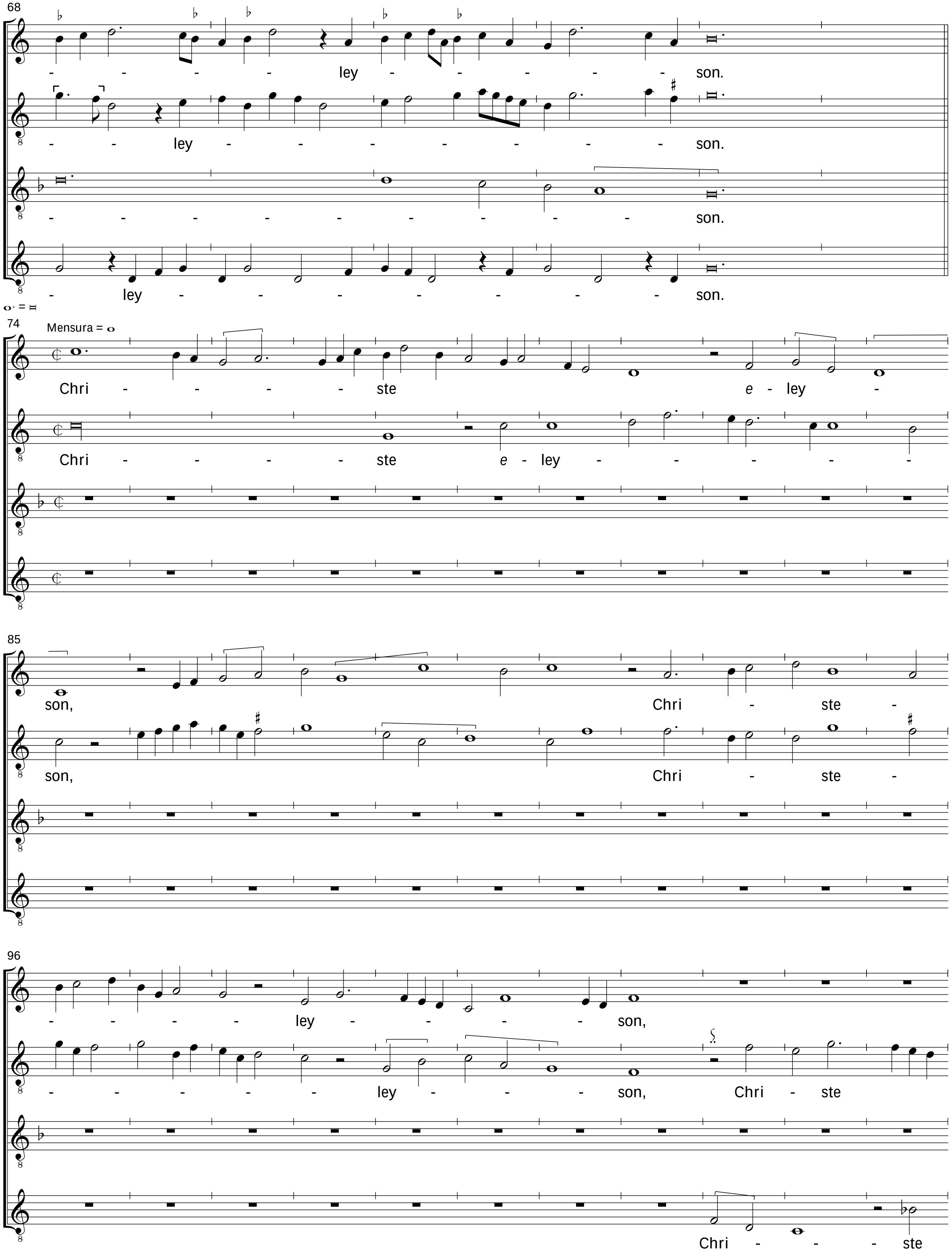
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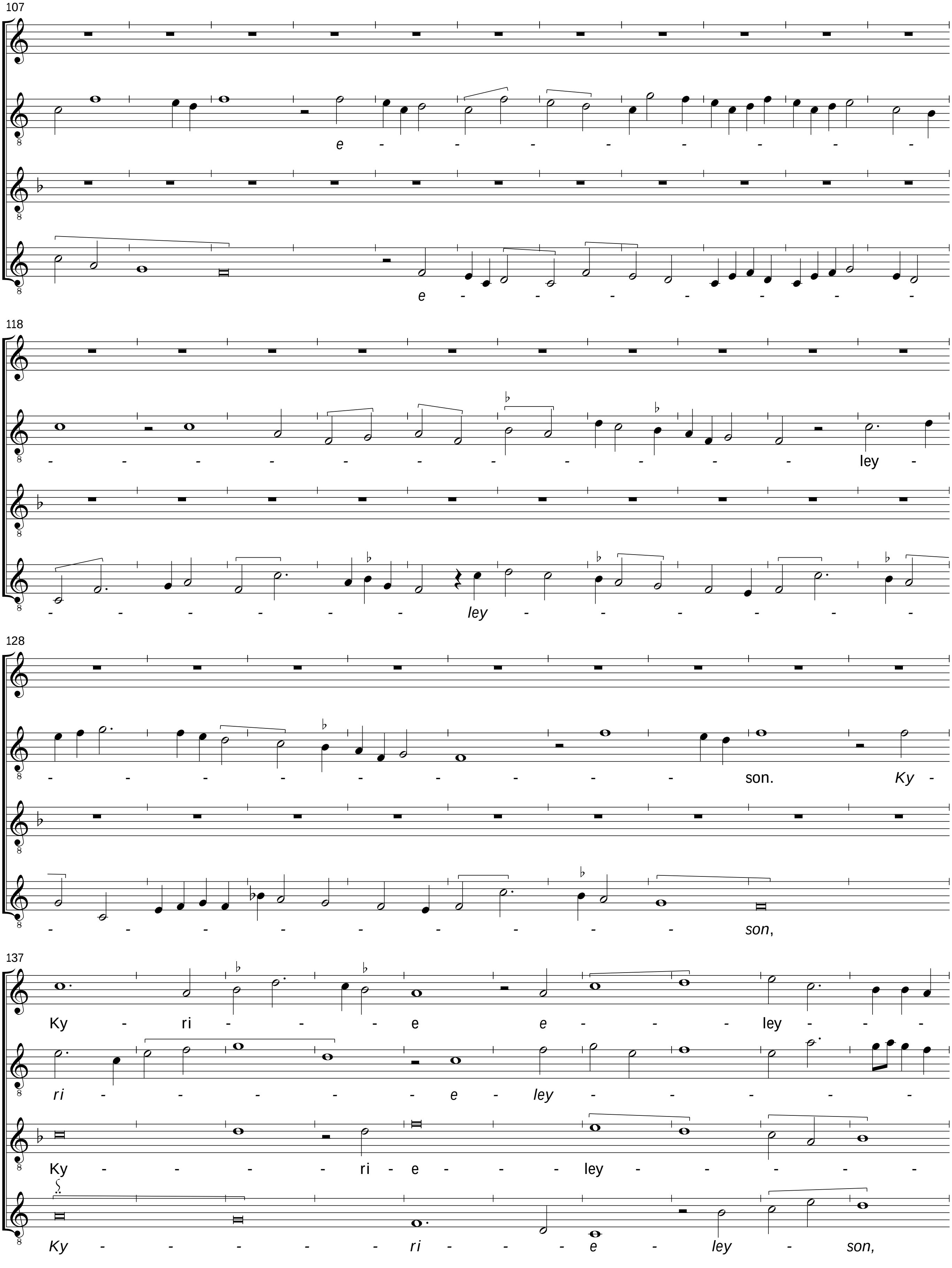
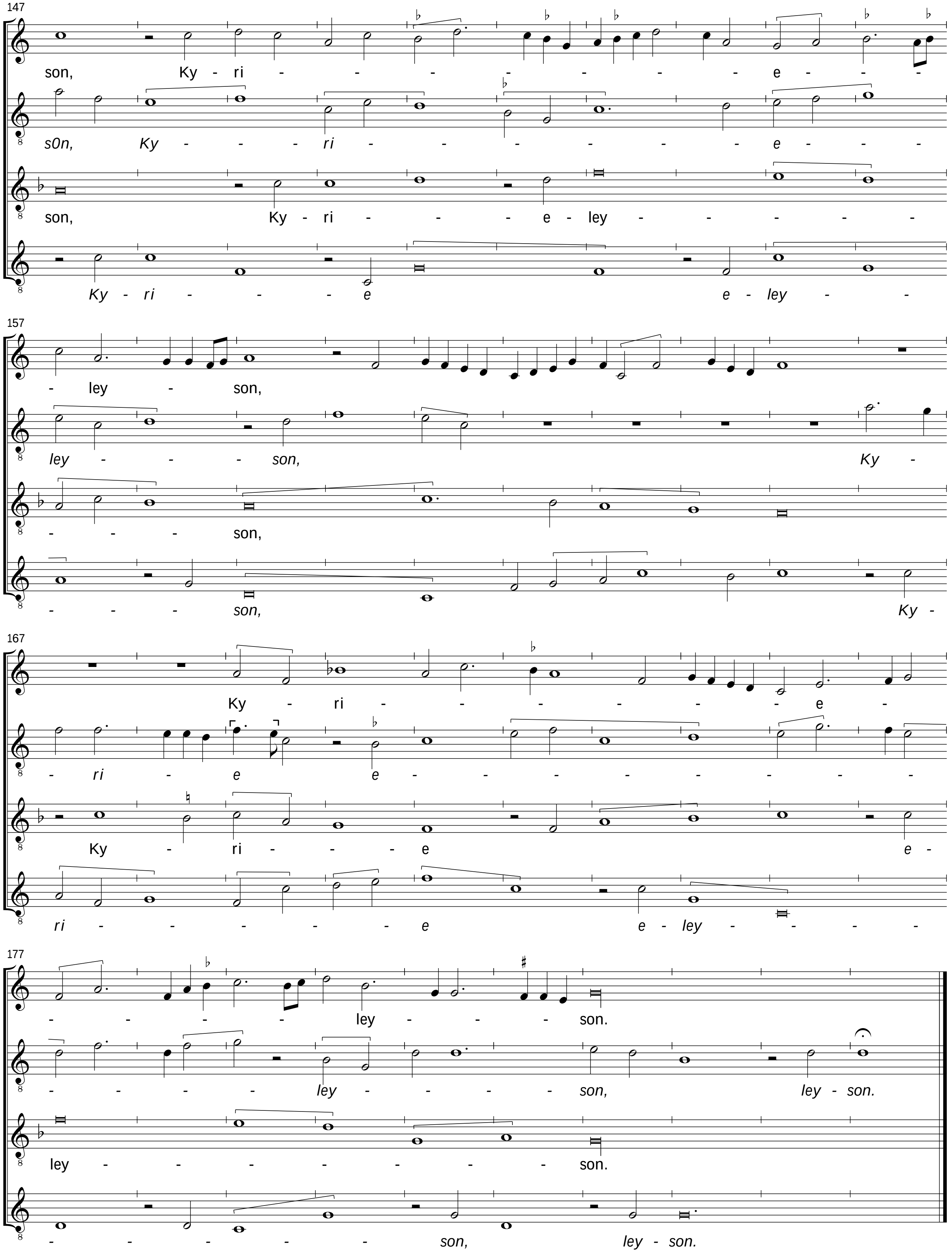
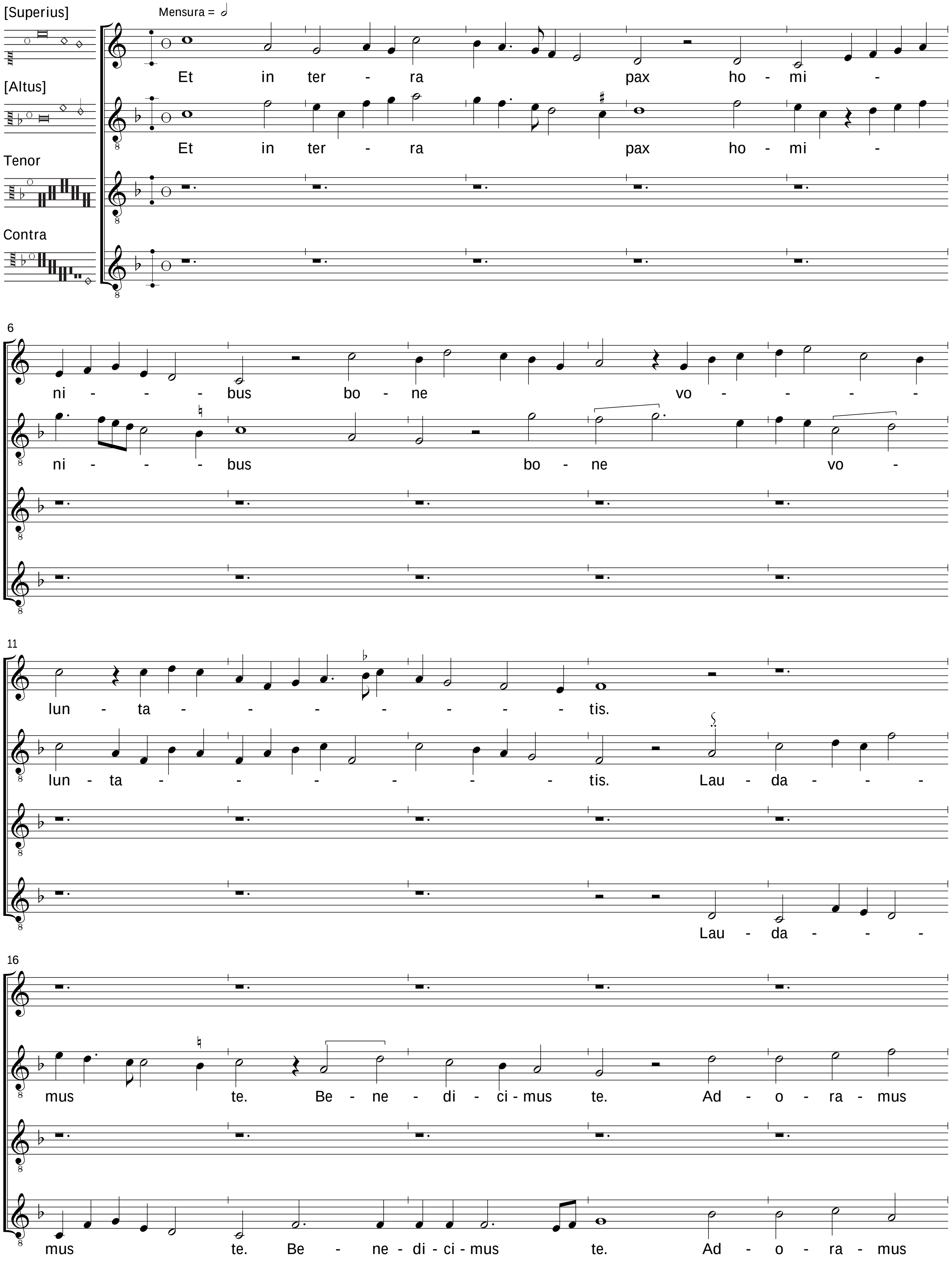
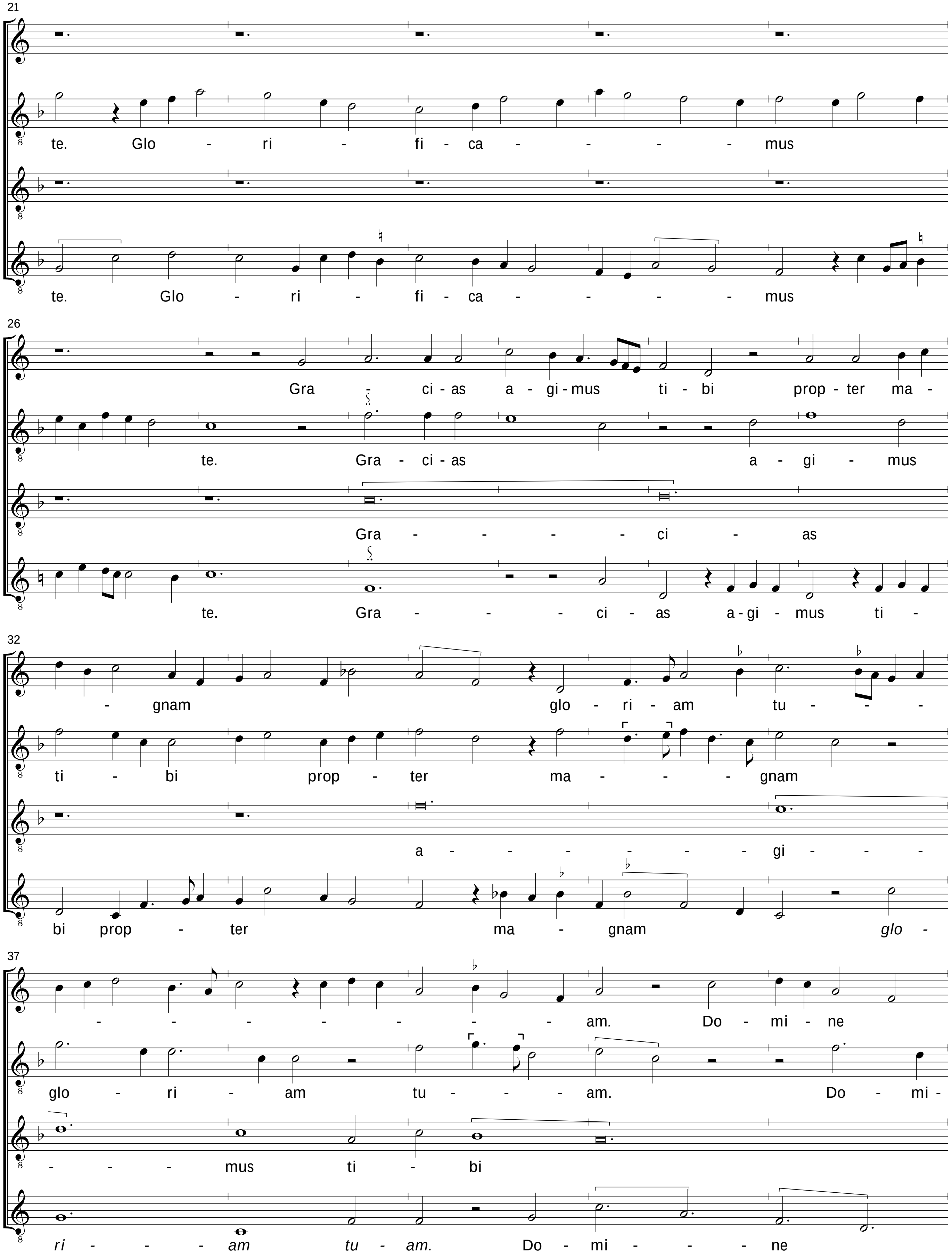
- ley - - - - - - - - son.
74
Mensura =
Chri - - - - ste e - ley -
Chri - - - - ste e - ley - - - - -
85
son, Chri - ste -
son, Chri - ste -
96
- - - - ley - - - son,
- - - - - ley - - - son, Chri - ste
Chri - - - ste

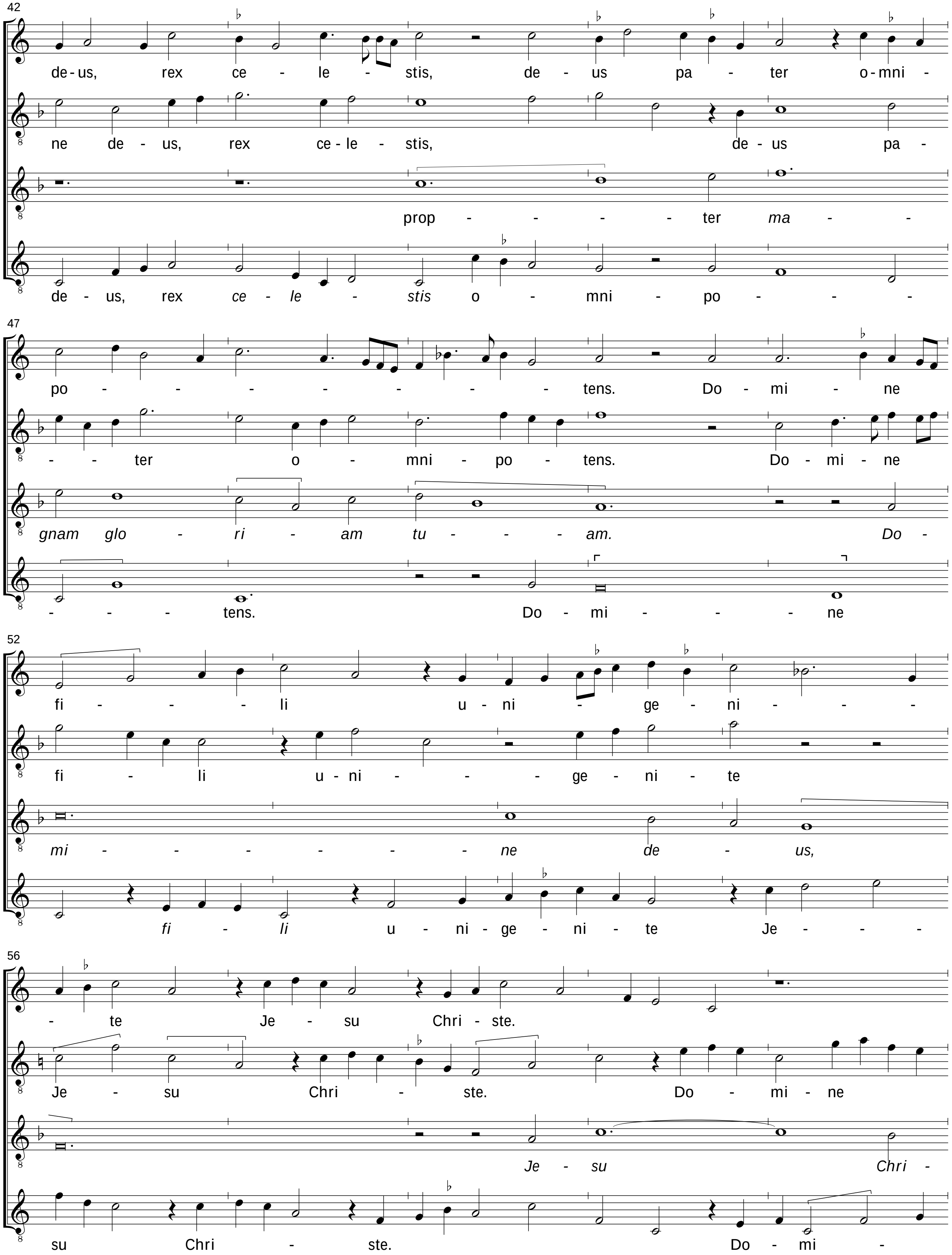

107
e
118
ley
ley
128
son.
Ky
son,
137
Ky ri e *e* ley
ri *e* *ley*
Ky ri e ley
Ky *ri* *e* *ley* *son,*

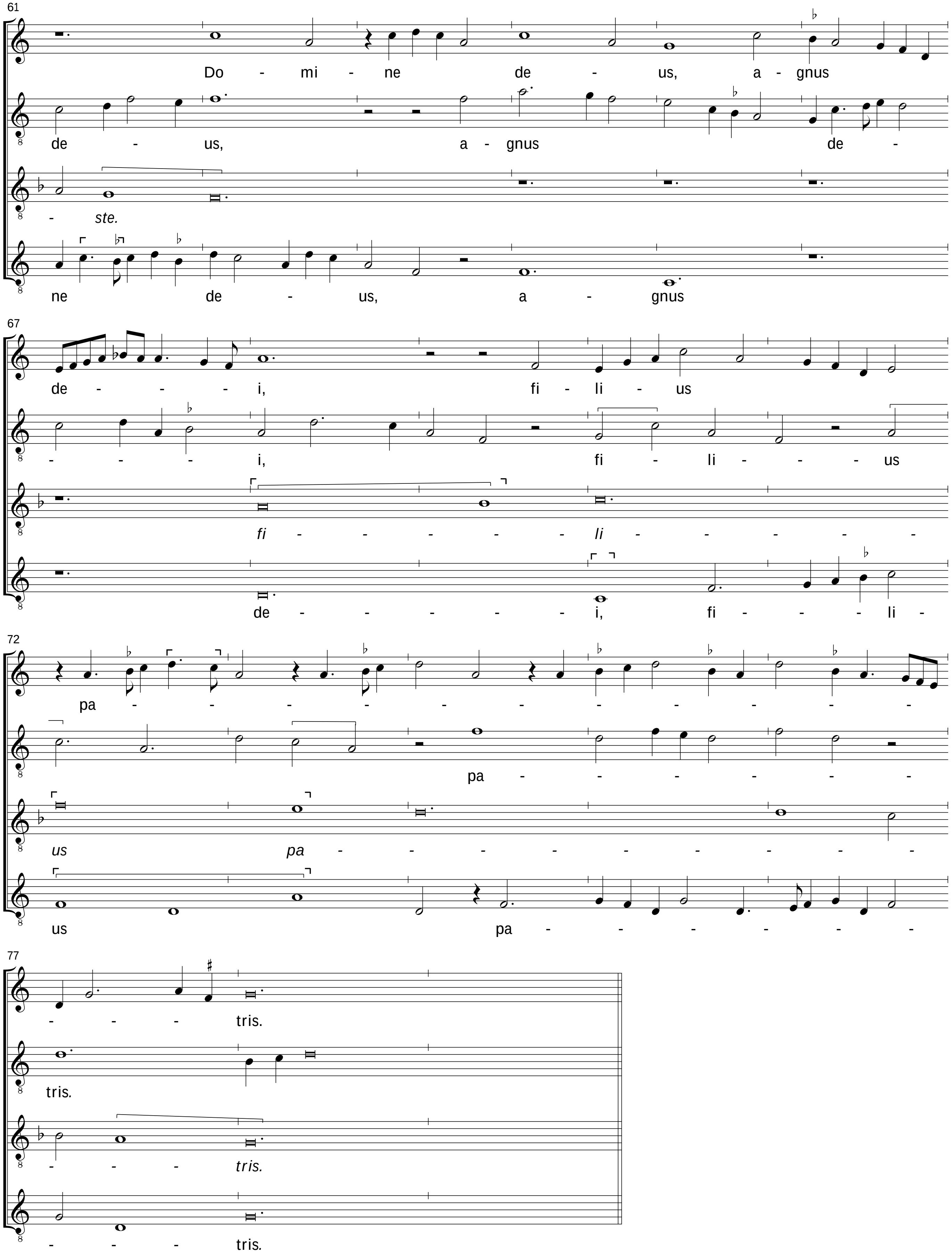

147
son, Ky - ri - - - - - - - - e - - -
s0n, Ky - - - ri - - - - - - e - - -
son, Ky - ri - - - e - ley - - - - - -
Ky - ri - - - - e e - ley - -
157
- ley - son,
ley - - - - son, Ky -
- - - - son,
- - - - son, Ky -
167
Ky - ri - - - - - - e -
- ri - e e - - - - - - - - - - -
Ky - ri - - - e e -
ri - - - - - e e - ley - - - -
177
- - - - - ley - - - - son.
- - - - - ley - - - - son, ley - son.
ley - - - - - - - - - - - son.
- - - - - - son, ley - son.

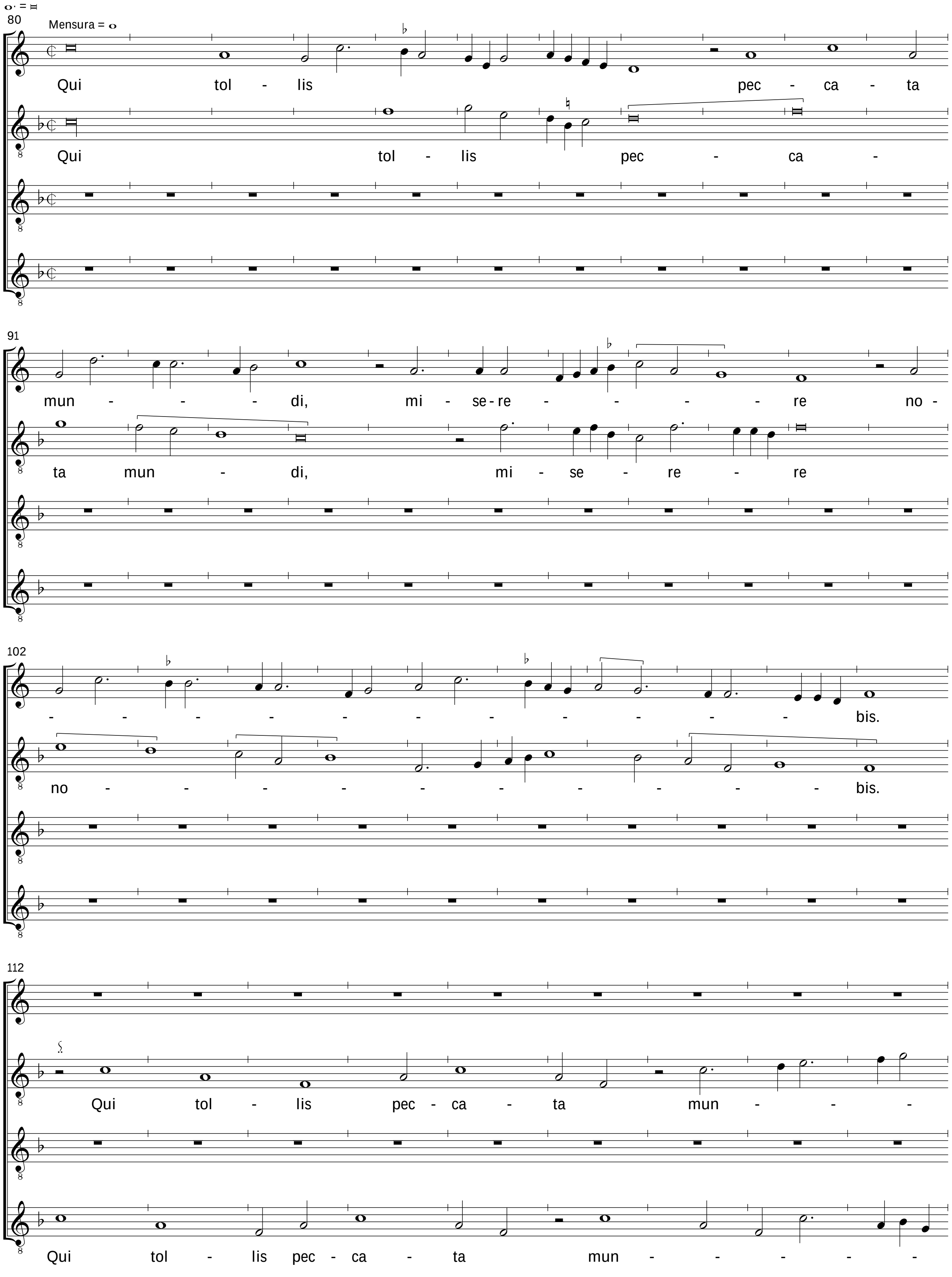
Gloria

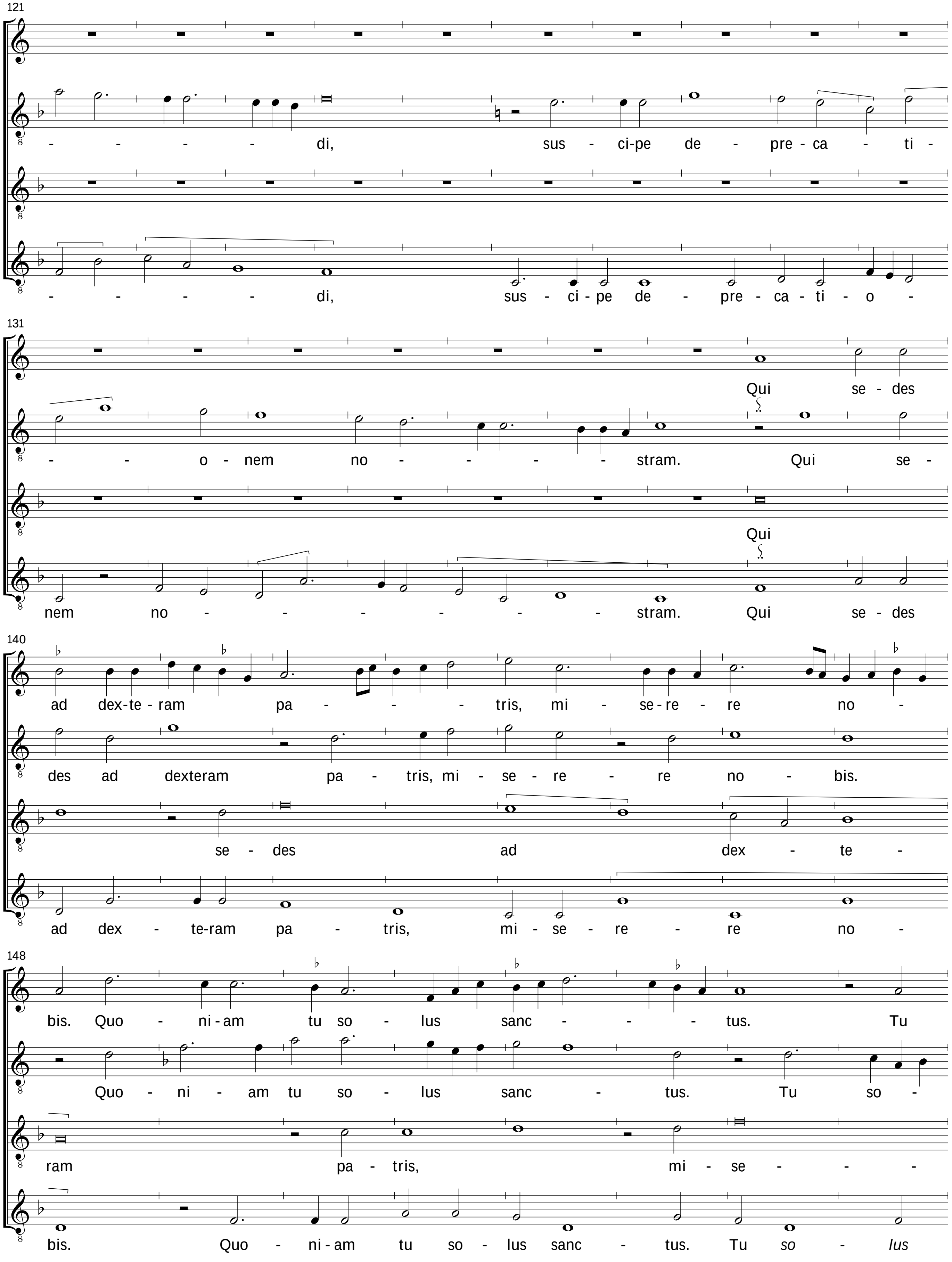

[Superius]
Mensura =
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi -
[Altus]
Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi -
Tenor
Contra
6
ni - - - bus bo - ne vo - - - -
ni - - - bus bo - ne vo -
11
lun - ta - - - - - - - tis.
lun - ta - - - - - - tis. Lau - da - - -
Lau - da - - -
16
mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus
mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus

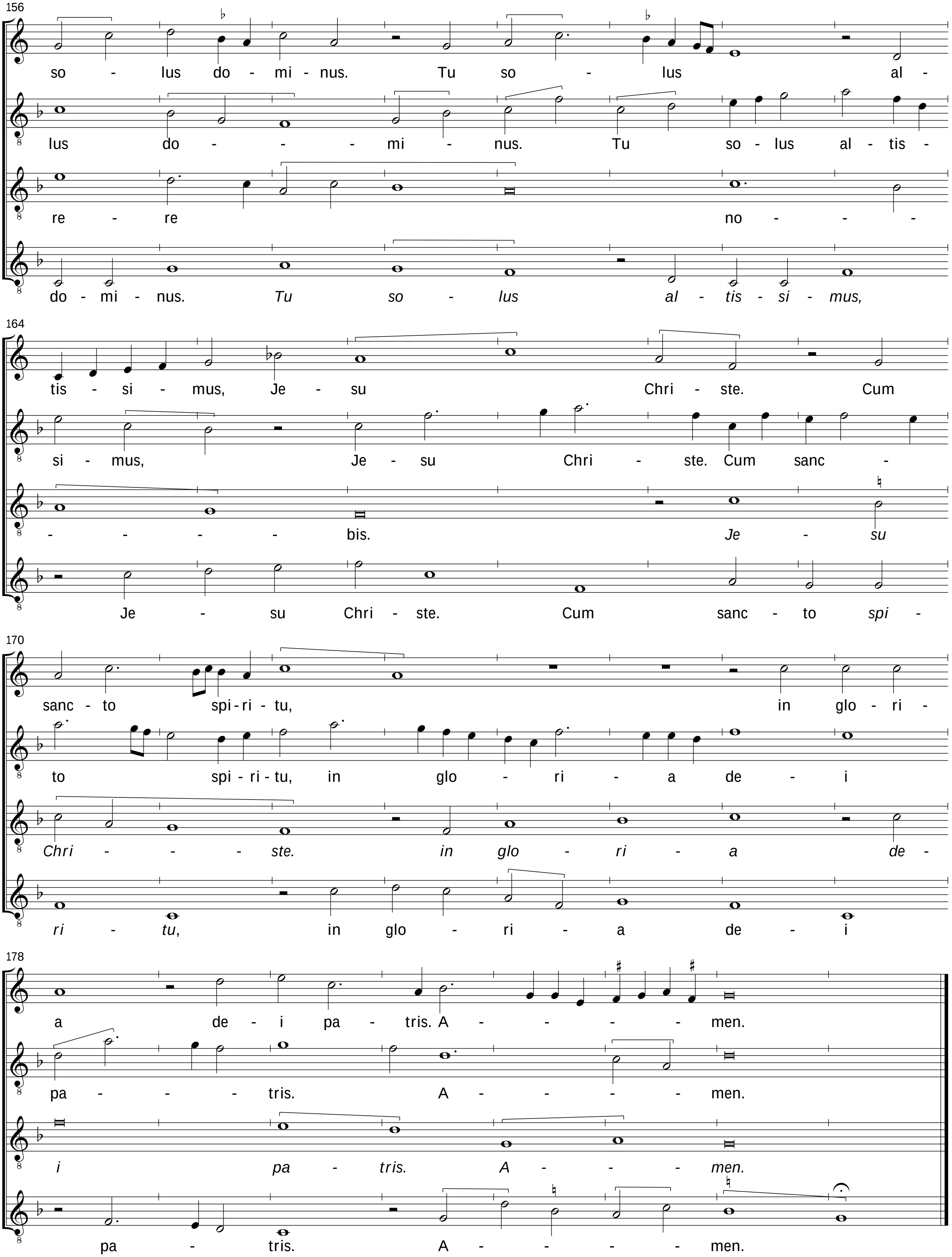

21
te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - - - mus
te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - - - mus
26
Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter ma -
te. Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus
Gra - - - - ci - as
te. Gra - - - ci - as a - gi - mus ti -
32
- gnam glo - ri - am tu - - -
ti - bi prop - ter ma - - - gnam
a - - - - - gi - - -
bi prop - ter ma - gnam *glo* -
37
- - - - - - - am. Do - mi - ne
glo - ri - am tu - - - am. Do - mi -
- - - mus ti - bi
ri - - - *am* *tu* - *am.* Do - mi - - - - ne


42
de-us, rex ce - le - stis, de - us pa - ter o-mni -
ne de - us, rex ce-le - stis, de-us pa -
prop - - - - ter ma - -
de - us, rex ce - le - stis o - mni - po - - -
47
po - - - - - - - - tens. Do - mi - ne
- - ter o - mni - po - tens. Do - mi - ne
gnam glo - ri - am tu - - - - am. Do -
- - - tens. Do - mi - - - ne
52
fi - - - li u-ni - ge - ni - - - -
fi - li u-ni - - - ge - ni - te
mi - - - - - - - ne de - us,
fi - li u - ni-ge - ni - te Je - - - -
56
- te Je - su Chri-ste.
Je - su Chri - ste. Do - mi - ne
Je - su Chri -
su Chri - ste. Do - mi -

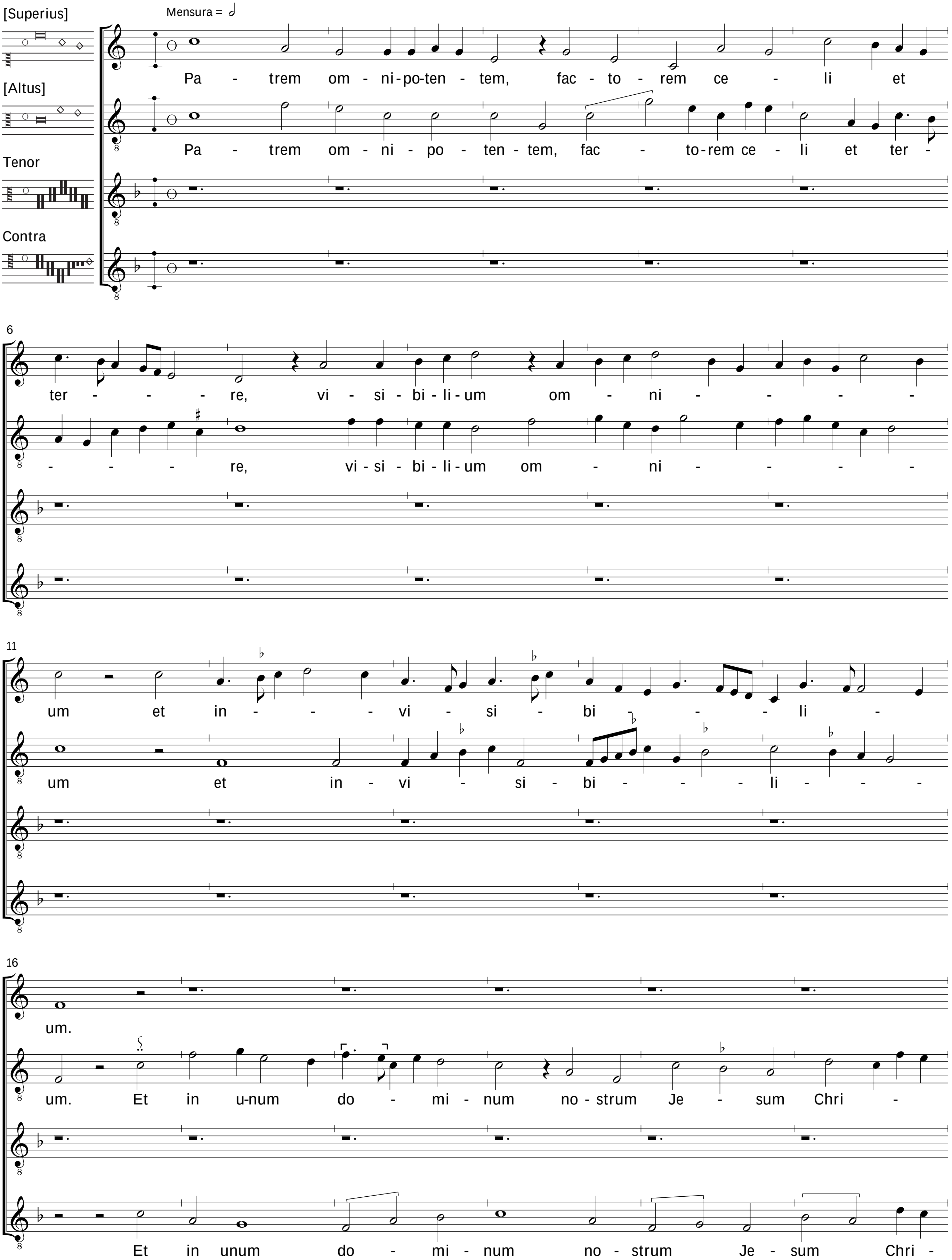

61
Do - mi - ne de - us, a - gnus
de - us, a - gnus de -
- ste.
ne de - us, a - gnus
67
de - - - i, fi - li - us
- - - i, fi - li - - - us
fi - - - - - li - - - - -
de - - - - - i, fi - - - li -
72
pa - - - - - - - - - - - -
pa - - - - - - -
us pa - - - - - - - - -
us pa - - - - - -
77
- - - tris.
tris.
- - - tris.
- - - tris.

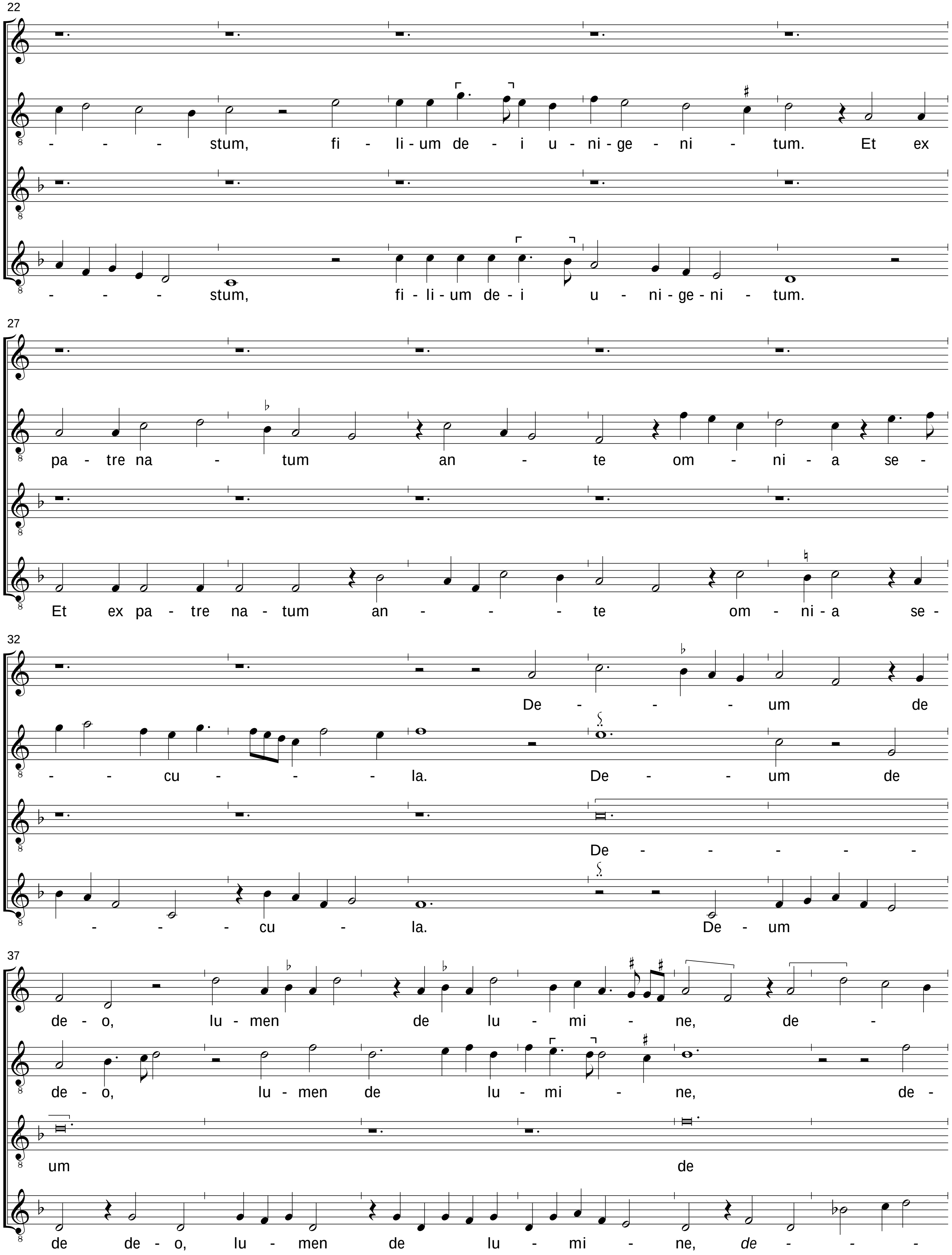

80
Mensura =
Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta
Qui tol - lis pec - ca -
91
mun - - - di, mi - se - re - - - - re no -
ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re
102
- - - - - - - - - - - - bis.
no - - - - - - - - - - bis.
112
Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - -
Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - - -

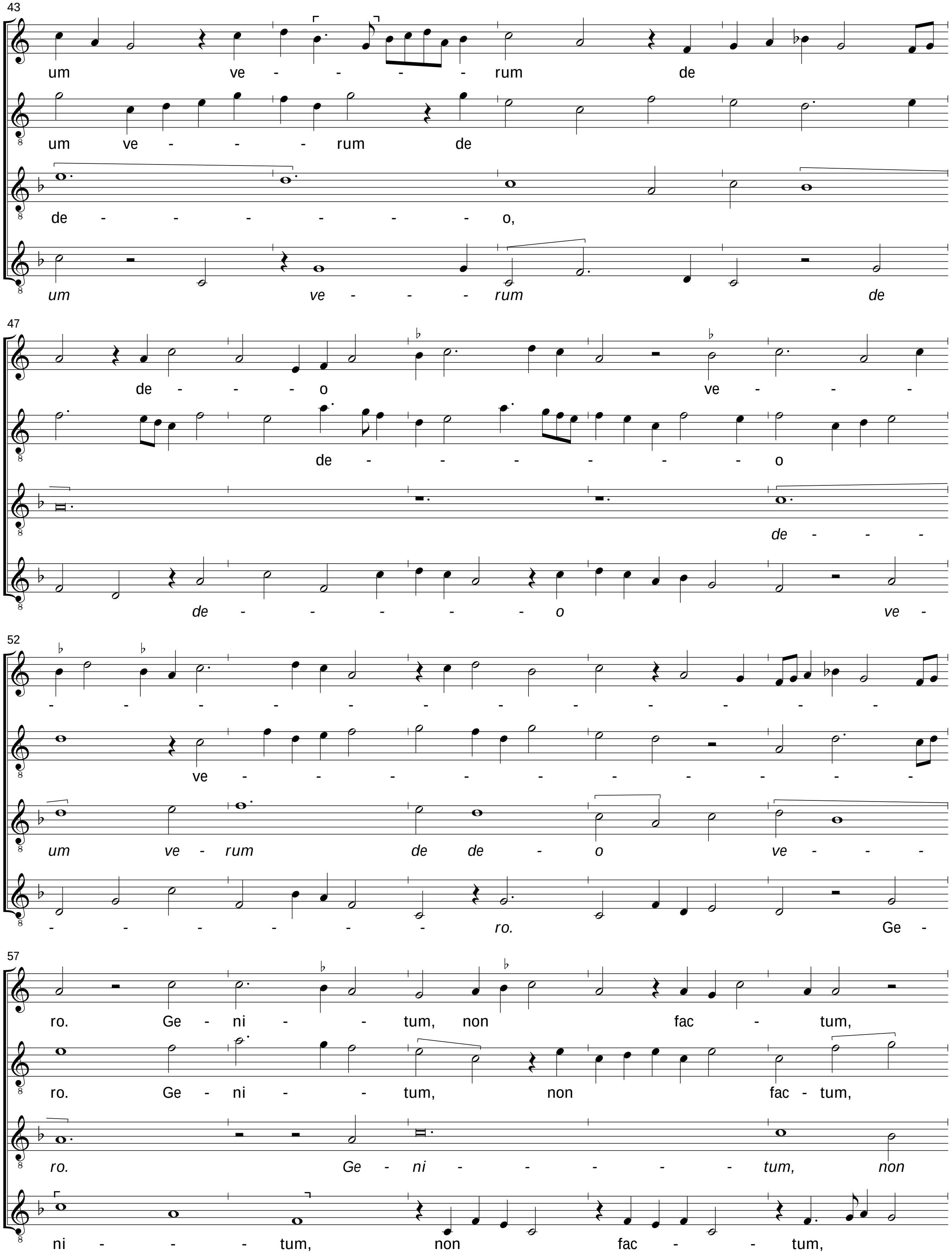

121
- - - - di, sus - ci-pe de - pre - ca - ti -
- - - - di, sus - ci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o -
131
Qui se - des
- - o - nem no - - - - stram. Qui se -
Qui
nem no - - - - - - stram. Qui se - des
140
ad dex-te - ram pa - - tris, mi - se-re - re no -
des ad dexteram pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no - bis.
se - des ad dex - te -
ad dex - te-ram pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no -
148
bis. Quo - ni-am tu so - lus sanc - - - tus. Tu
Quo - ni - am tu so - lus sanc - tus. Tu so -
ram pa - tris, mi - se - - -
bis. Quo - ni-am tu so - lus sanc - tus. Tu so - lus

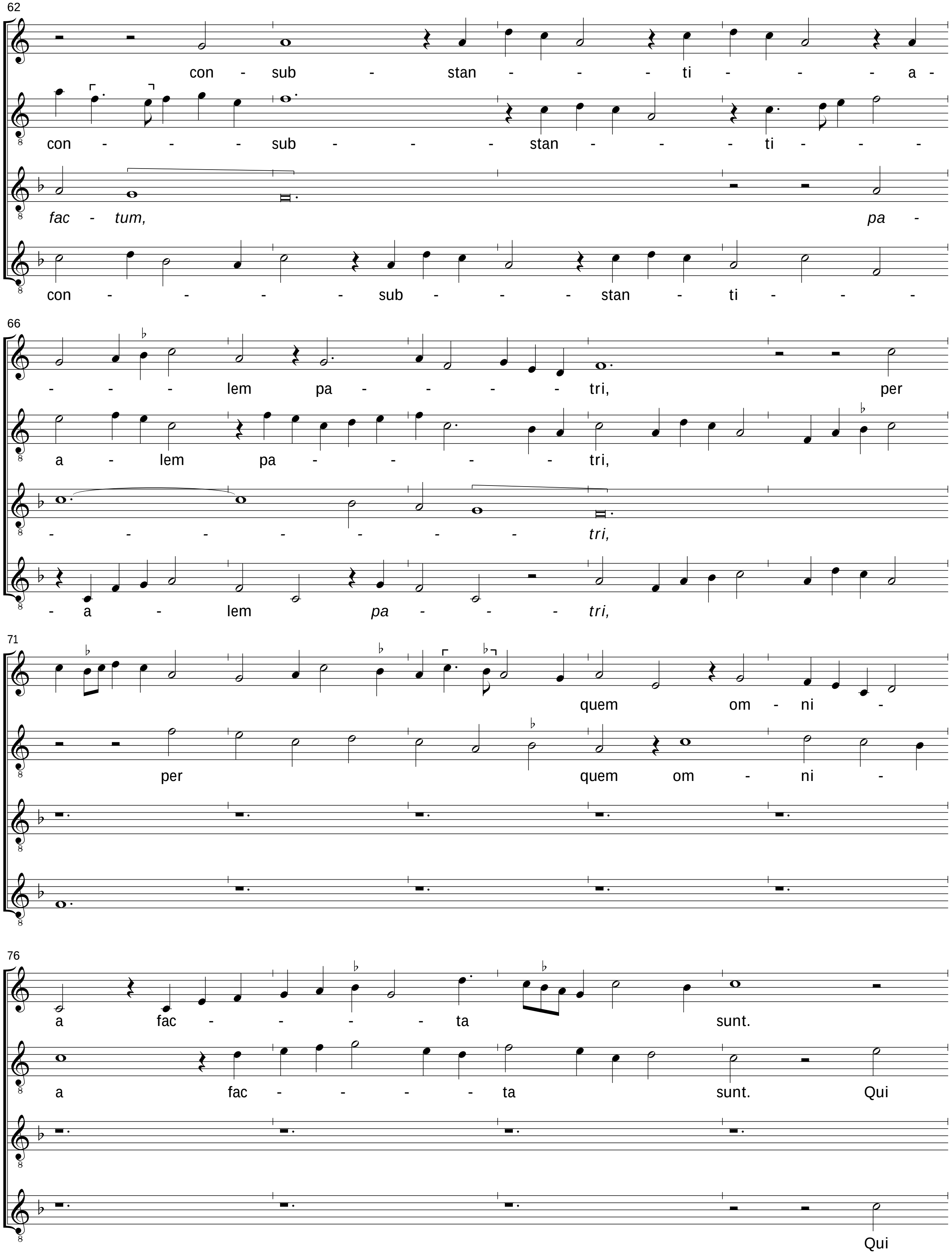

156
so - lus do - mi - nus. Tu so - lus al -
lus do - - - mi - nus. Tu so - lus al - tis -
re - re no - - -
do - mi - nus. Tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus,
164
tis - si - mus, Je - su Chri - ste. Cum
si - mus, Je - su Chri - ste. Cum sanc -
- - - - bis. Je - su
Je - su Chri - ste. Cum sanc - to spi -
170
sanc - to spi - ri - tu, in glo - ri -
to spi - ri - tu, in glo - ri - a de - i
Chri - - - ste. in glo - ri - a de -
ri - tu, in glo - ri - a de - i
178
a de - i pa - tris. A - - - - men.
pa - - - tris. A - - - - men.
i pa - tris. A - - - men.
pa - tris. A - - - - men.

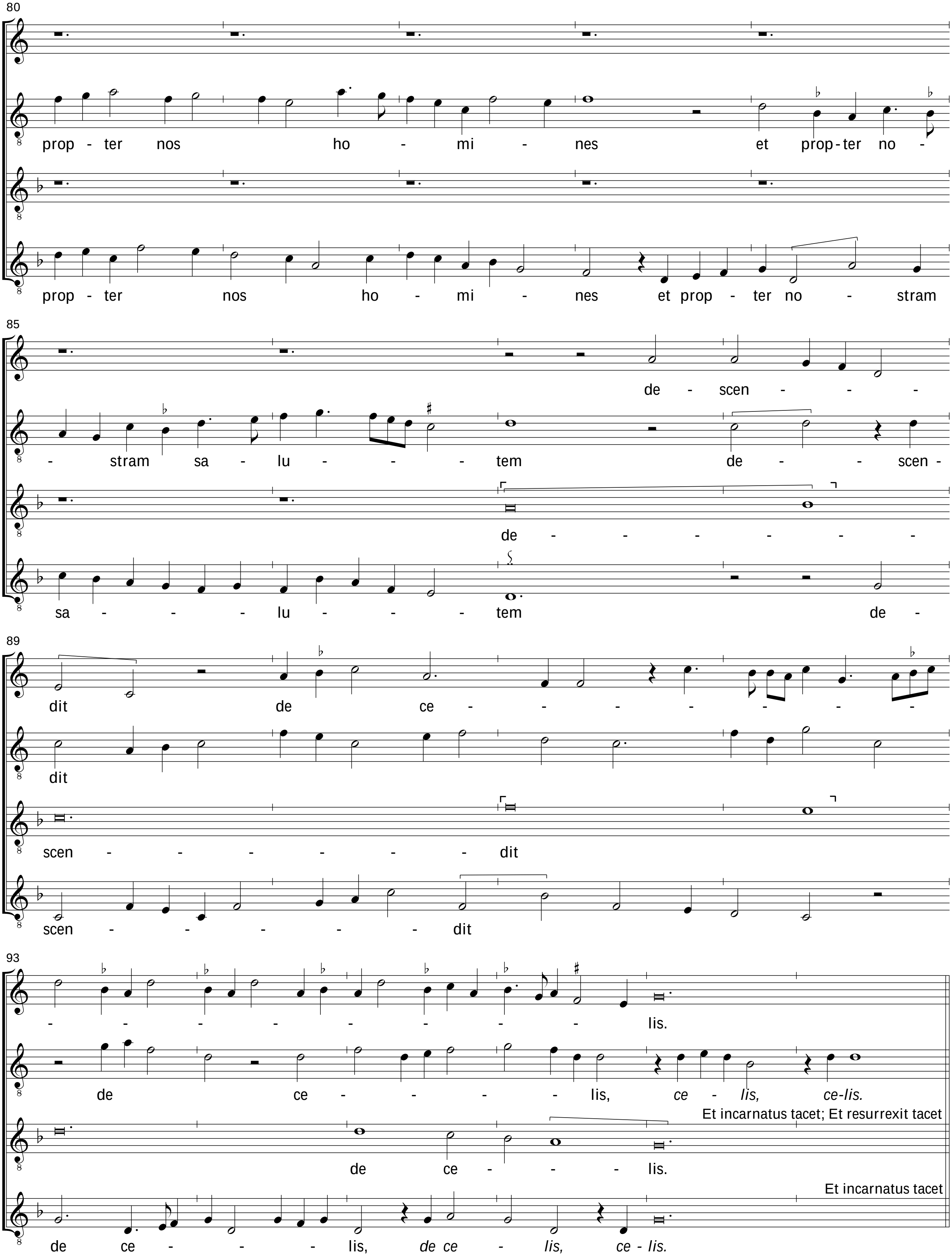
Credo

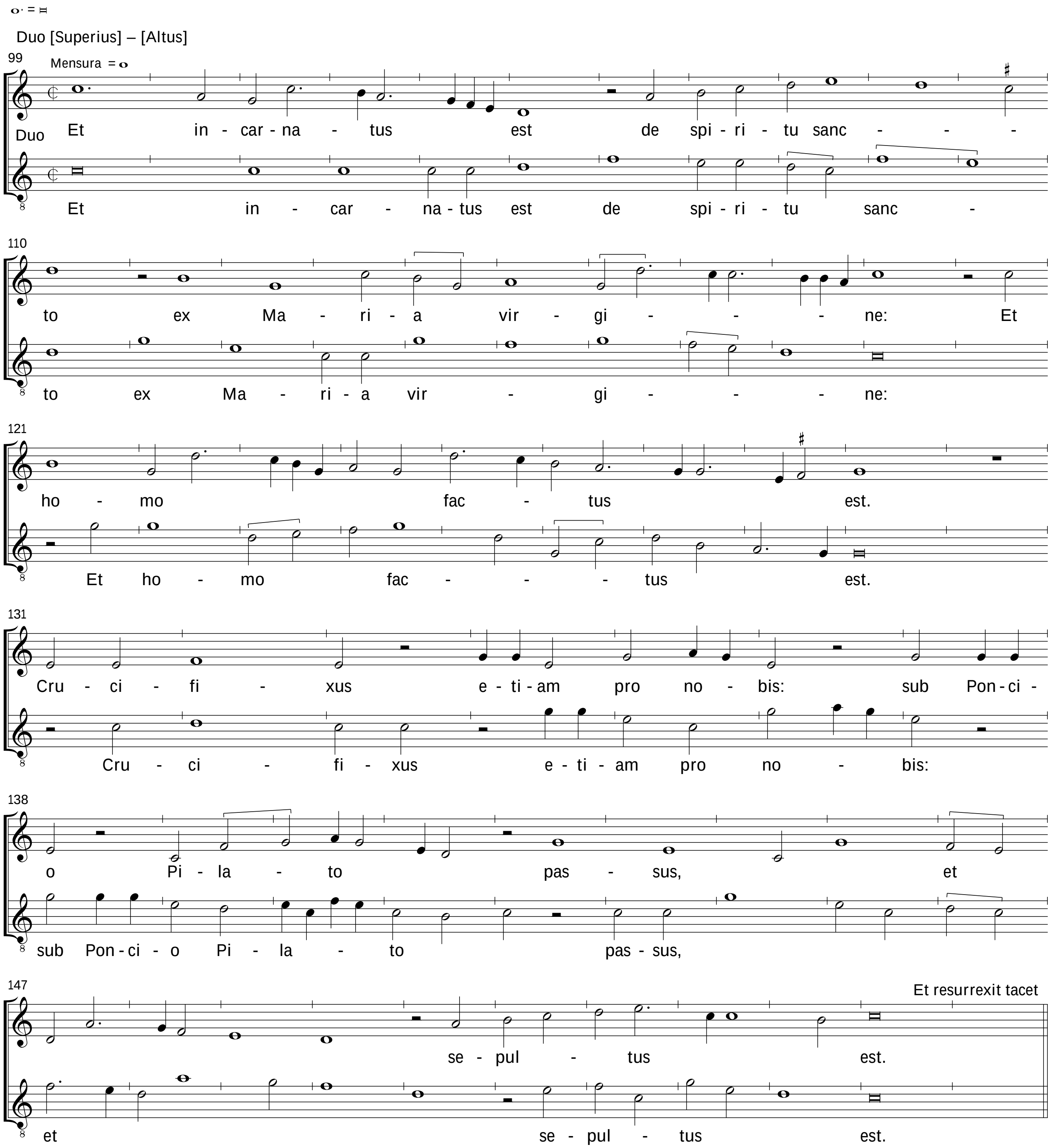

[Superius]
[Altus]
Tenor
Contra
Mensura =
Pa - trem om - ni-po-ten - tem, fac - to - rem ce - li et
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to-rem ce - li et ter -
6
ter - - - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - - - - -
- - - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - - - - -
11
um et in - - - vi - si - bi - - li -
um et in - vi - si - bi - - - li - - -
16
um.
um. Et in u-num do - mi - num no - strum Je - sum Chri -
Et in unum do - mi - num no - strum Je - sum Chri -

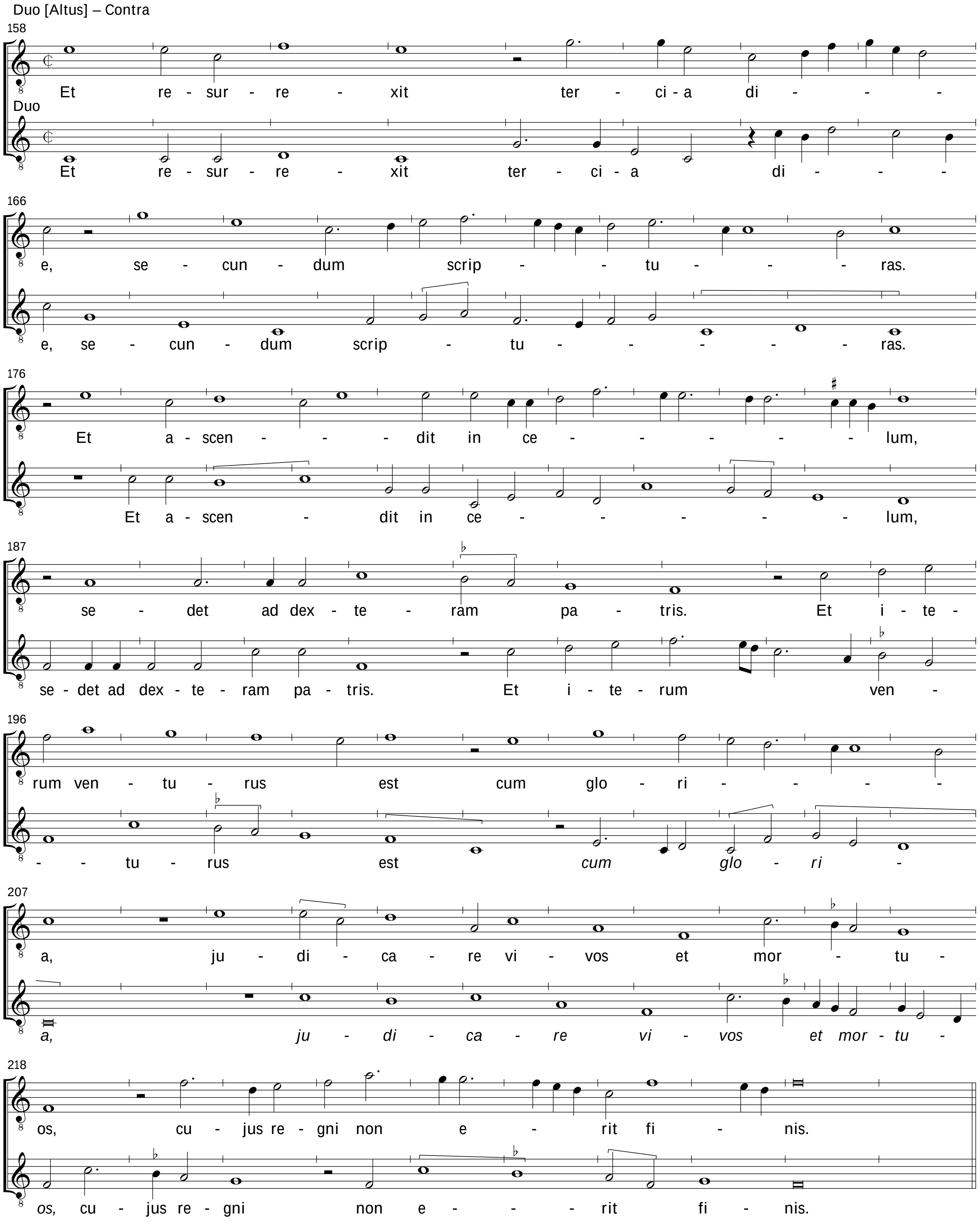

22
- - - - stum, fi - li - um de - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex
- - - - stum, fi - li - um de - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum.
27
pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a se -
Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - - - te om - ni - a se -
32
De - - - um de
- - cu - - - la. De - - um de
De - - - - - -
- - - cu - la. De - um
37
de - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, de -
de - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, de -
um de
de de - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, *de* - - -

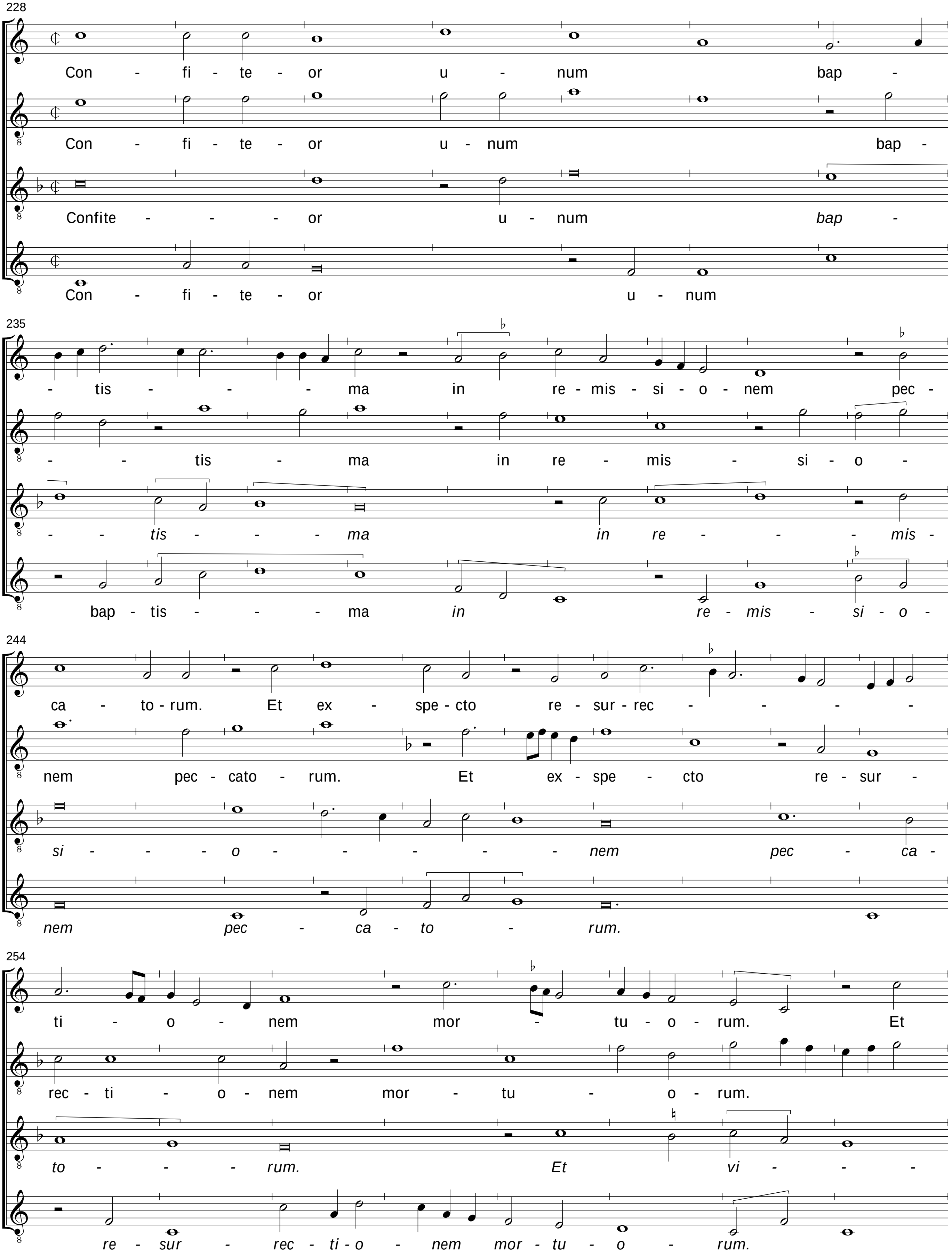

43
um ve - - - rum de
um ve - - - rum de
de - - - - - - o,
um ve - - - rum de
47
de - - - o ve - - -
de - - - - - - o
de - - -
de - - - - - - o ve -
52
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ve - - - - - - - - - - - -
um ve - rum de de - o ve - - -
- - - - - - - - ro. Ge -
57
ro. Ge - ni - - tum, non fac - tum,
ro. Ge - ni - - tum, non fac - tum,
ro. Ge - ni - - - - - - tum, non
ni - - - tum, non fac - - tum,

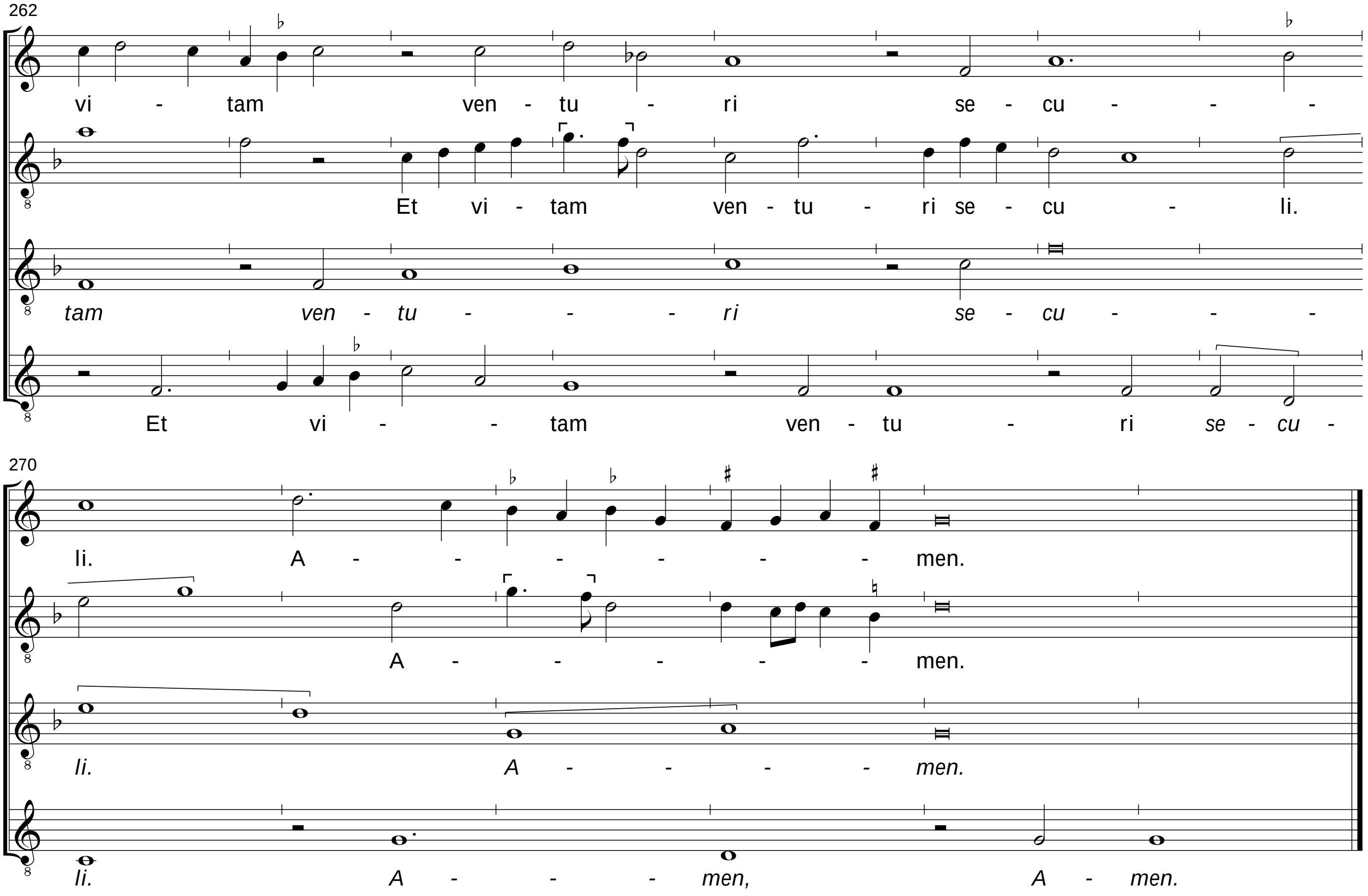

62
con - sub - stan - - - ti - - - a -
con - - - - sub - - - stan - - - ti - - -
fac - tum, pa -
con - - - - sub - - - stan - ti - - -
66
- - - lem pa - - - - tri, per
a - lem pa - - - - - tri,
- - - - - - - tri,
- a - lem pa - - - tri,
71
quem om - ni -
per quem om - ni -
76
a fac - - - - ta sunt.
a fac - - - - ta sunt. Qui
Qui


80
prop - ter nos ho - mi - nes et prop-ter no -
prop - ter nos ho - mi - nes et prop - ter no - stram
85
de - scen - - -
- stram sa - lu - - - tem de - - scen -
de - - - - - - -
sa - - - lu - - - tem de -
89
dit de ce - - - - - - - -
dit
scen - - - - - - dit
scen - - - - - - dit
93
- - - - - - - - - lis.
de ce - - - - - lis, *ce* - *lis,* *ce-lis.*
Et incarnatus tacet; Et resurrexit tacet
de ce - - - lis.
Et incarnatus tacet
de ce - - - lis, *de ce* - *lis,* *ce* - *lis.*

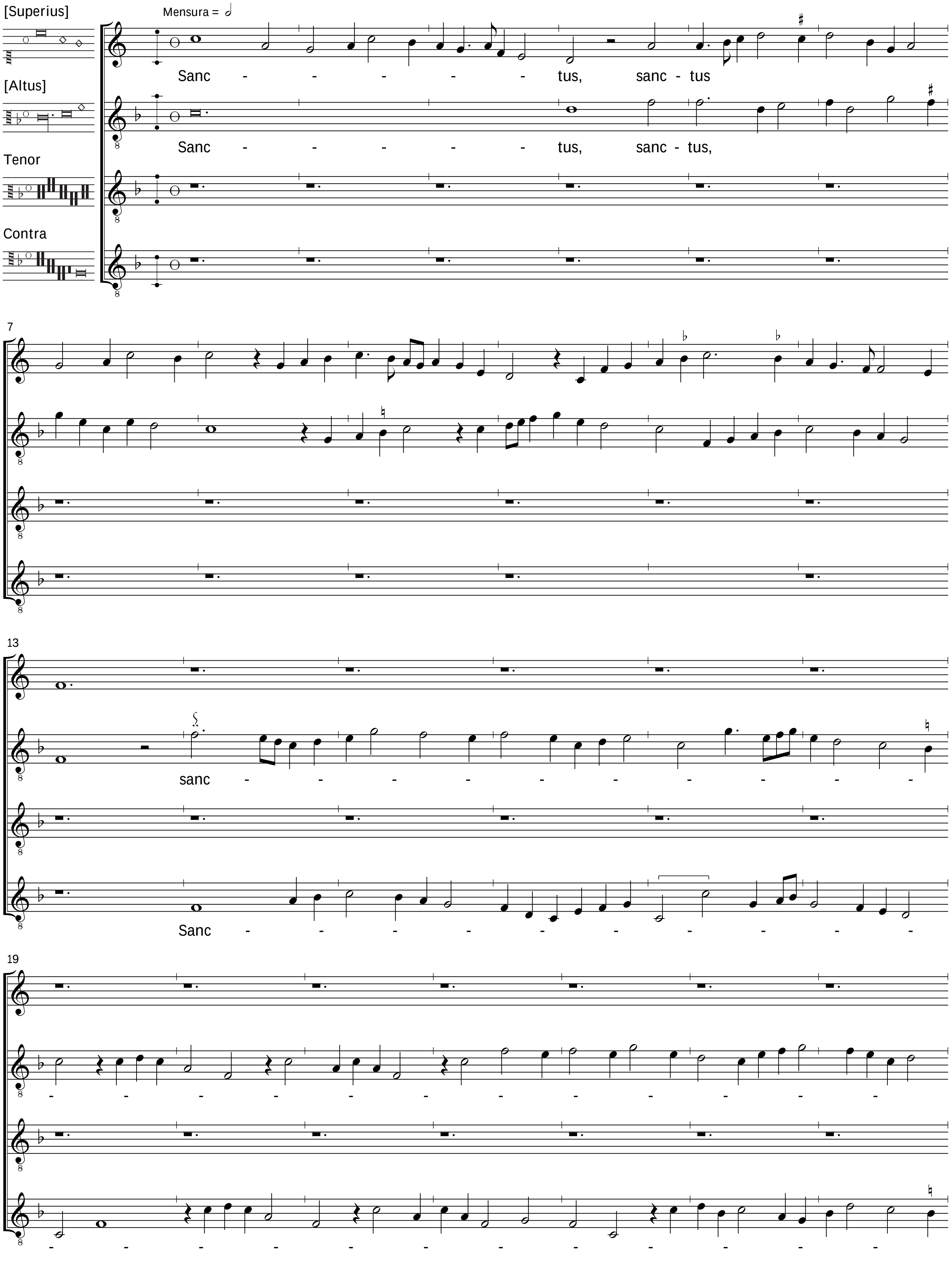

Duo [Superius] – [Altus]
99
Mensura =
Duo
Et in - car - na - tus est de spi - ri - tu sanc - - -
Et in - car - na - tus est de spi - ri - tu sanc -
110
to ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - - - ne: Et
to ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - - - ne:
121
ho - mo fac - tus est.
Et ho - mo fac - - - tus est.
131
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ci -
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis:
138
o Pi - la - to pas - sus, et
sub Pon - ci - o Pi - la - to pas - sus,
147
Et resurrexit tacet
se - pul - tus est.
et se - pul - tus est.

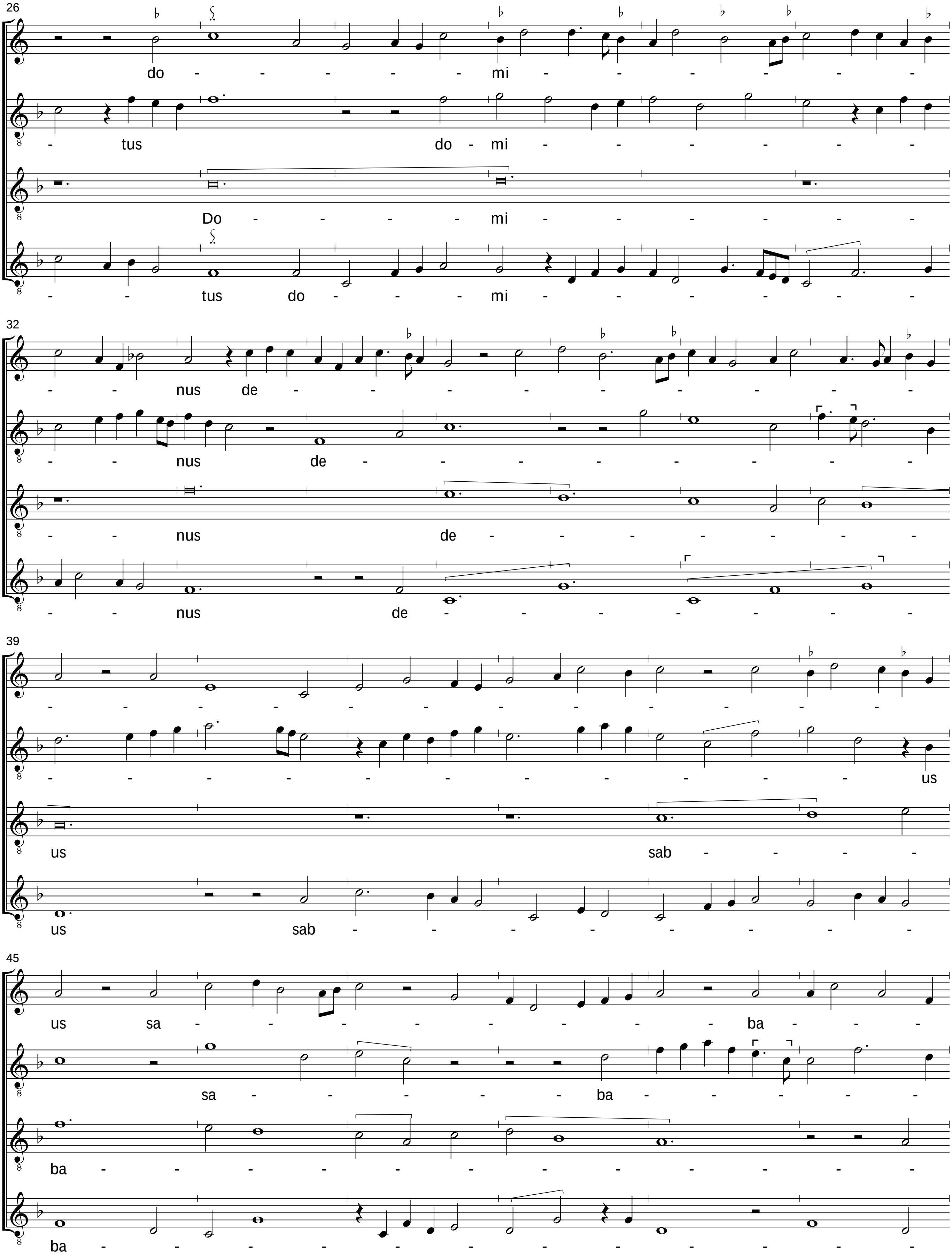

Duo [Altus] – Contra
158
Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di - - - -
Duo
Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di - - -
166
e, se - cun - dum scrip - - tu - - - ras.
e, se - cun - dum scrip - tu - - - - - ras.
176
Et a - scen - - - dit in ce - - - - - lum,
Et a - scen - dit in ce - - - - - lum,
187
se - det ad dex - te - ram pa - tris. Et i - te -
se - det ad dex - te - ram pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven -
196
rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - - - -
- - tu - rus est cum glo - ri -
207
a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu -
a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu -
218
os, cu - jus re - gni non e - rit fi - nis.
os, cu - jus re - gni non e - - - rit fi - nis.

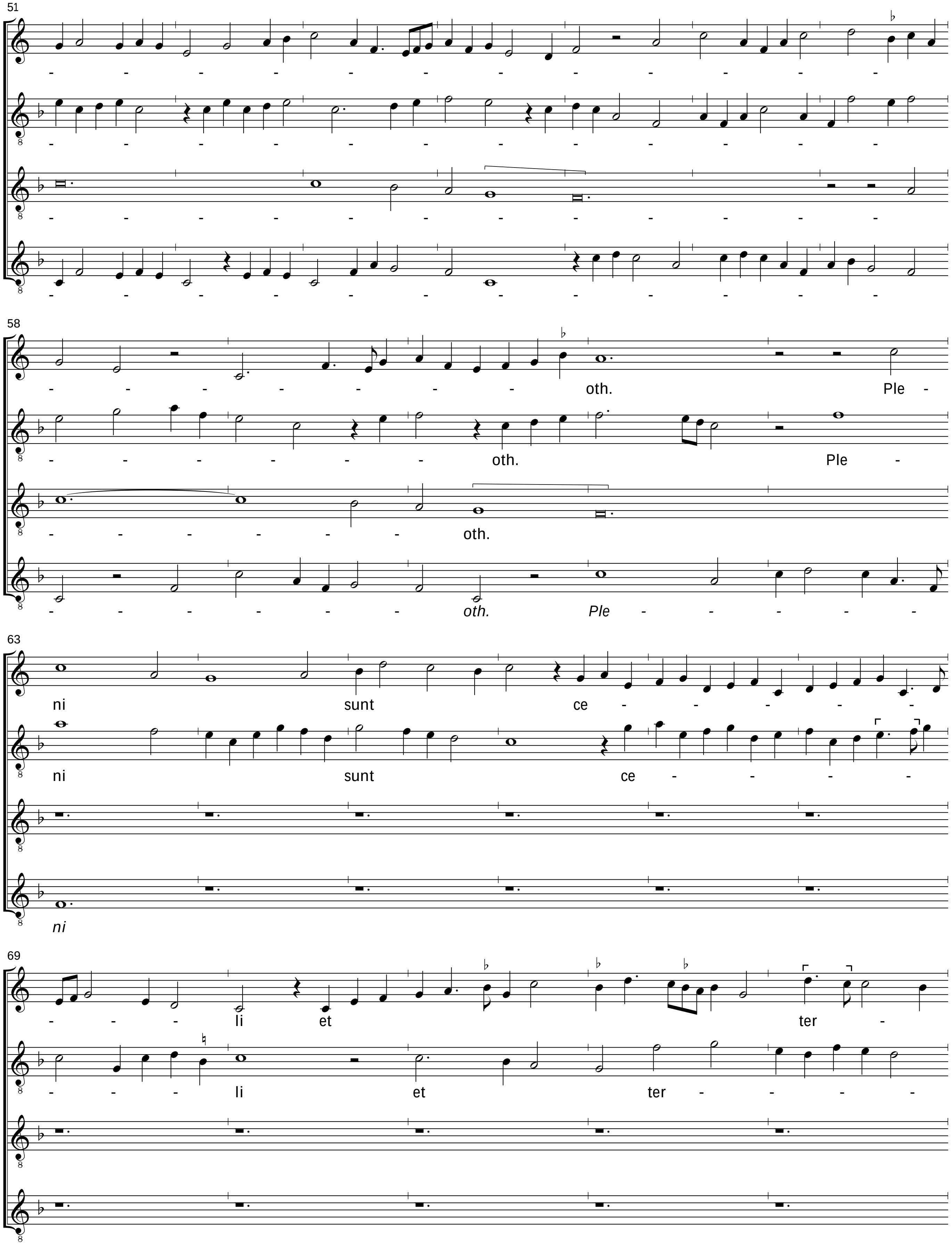

228
Con - fi - te - or u - num bap -
Con - fi - te - or u - num bap -
Confite - - - or u - num bap -
Con - fi - te - or u - num
235
- tis - - - ma in re - mis - si - o - nem pec -
- - tis - ma in re - mis - si - o -
- - tis - - - ma in re - - - - mis -
bap - tis - - - - ma in re - mis - si - o -
244
ca - to - rum. Et ex - spe - cto re - sur - rec - - - -
nem pec - cato - rum. Et ex - spe - cto re - sur -
si - - - o - - - - - nem pec - ca -
nem pec - ca - to - rum.
254
ti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum. Et
rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum.
to - - - rum. Et vi - - -
re - sur - rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum.

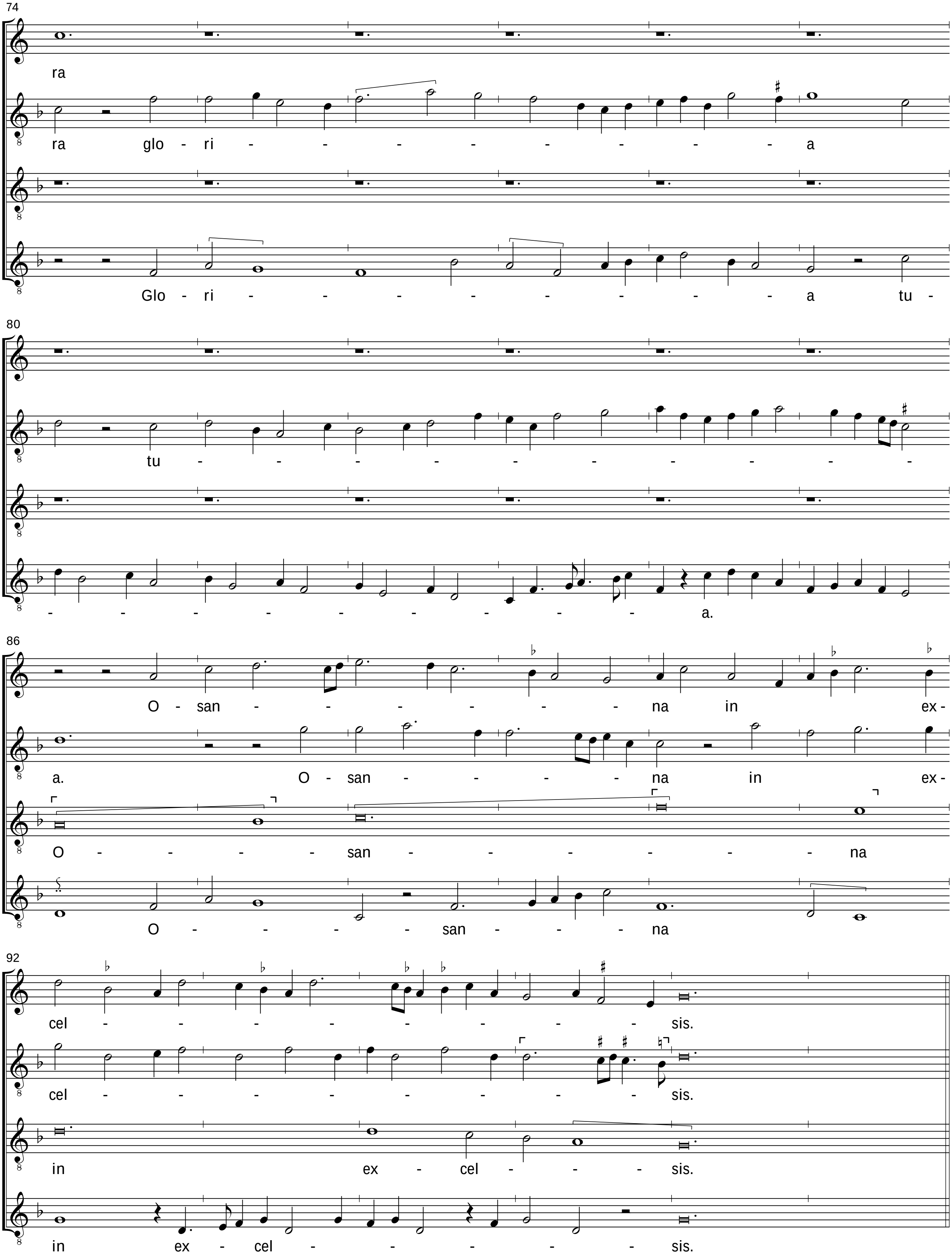

262
vi - tam ven - tu - ri se - cu - - -
Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se - cu - li.
tam ven - tu - - - ri se - cu - - -
Et vi - - tam ven - tu - ri se - cu -
270
li. A - - - - - men.
A - - - - - men.
li. A - - - - men.
li. A - - - men, A - men.

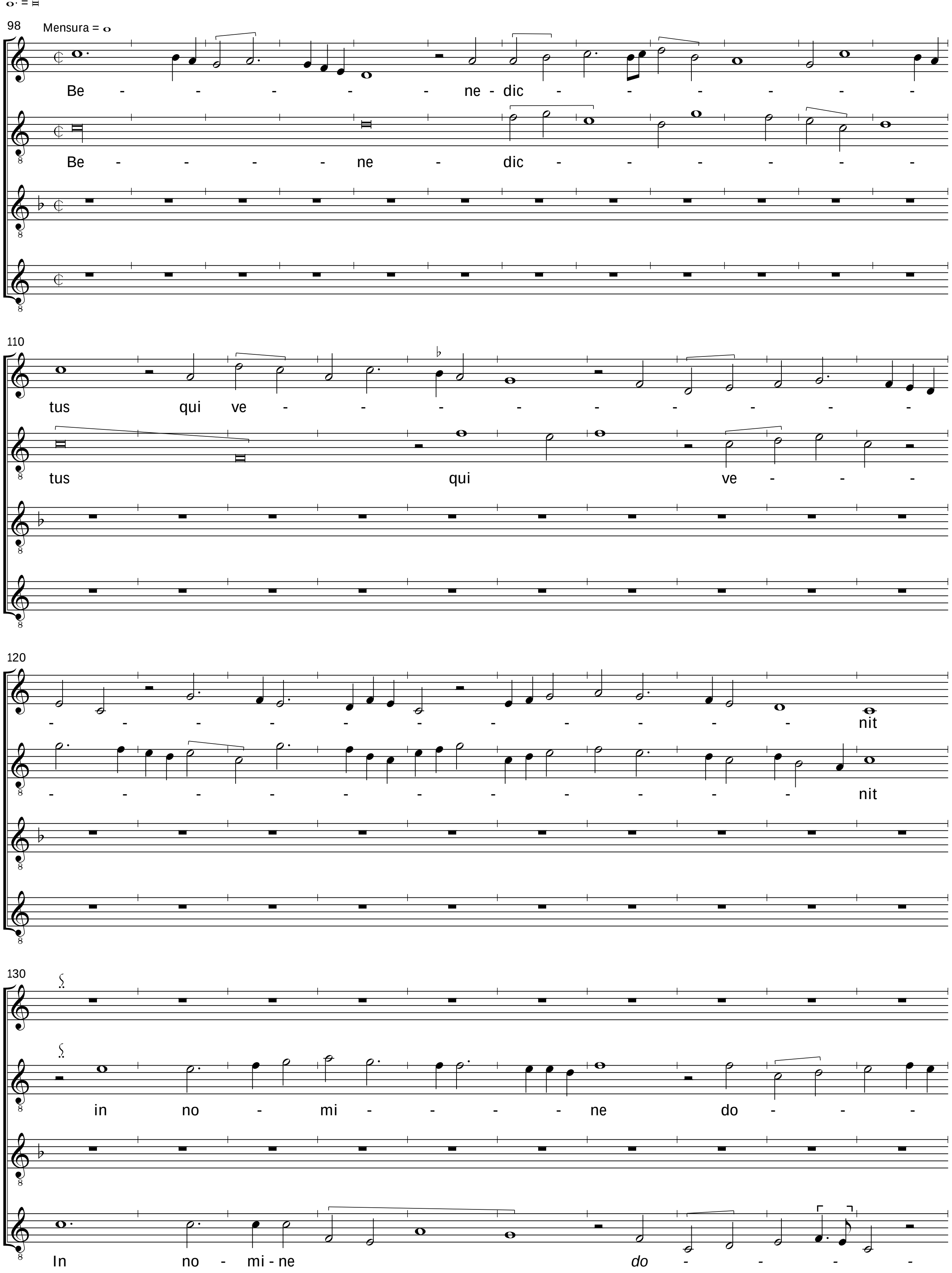
Sanctus

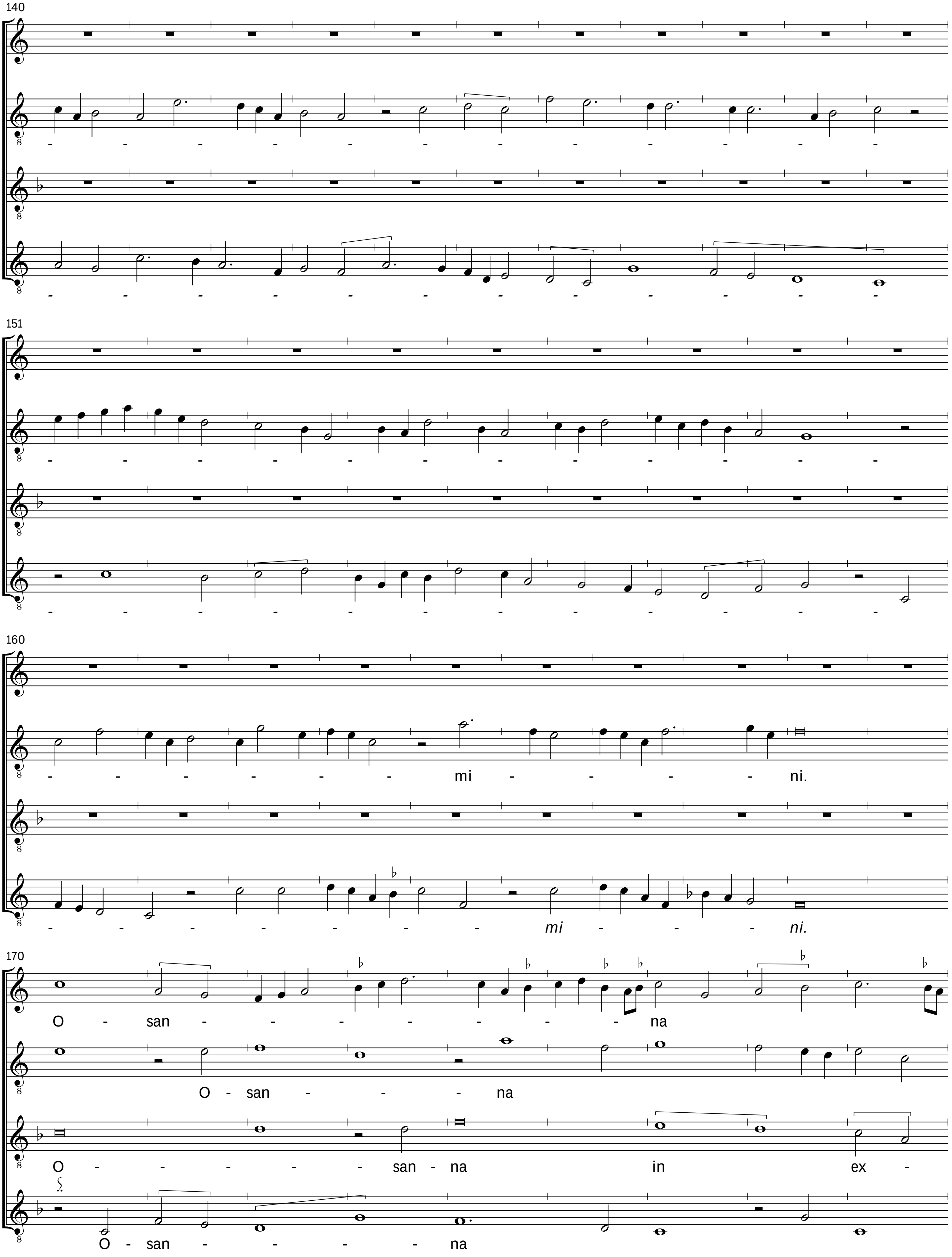

[Superius]
[Altus]
Tenor
Contra
Mensura =
Sanc - - - - - tus, sanc - tus
Sanc - - - - - tus, sanc - tus,
7
13
sanc - - - - - - - - - - - -
Sanc - - - - - - - - - - - -
19
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

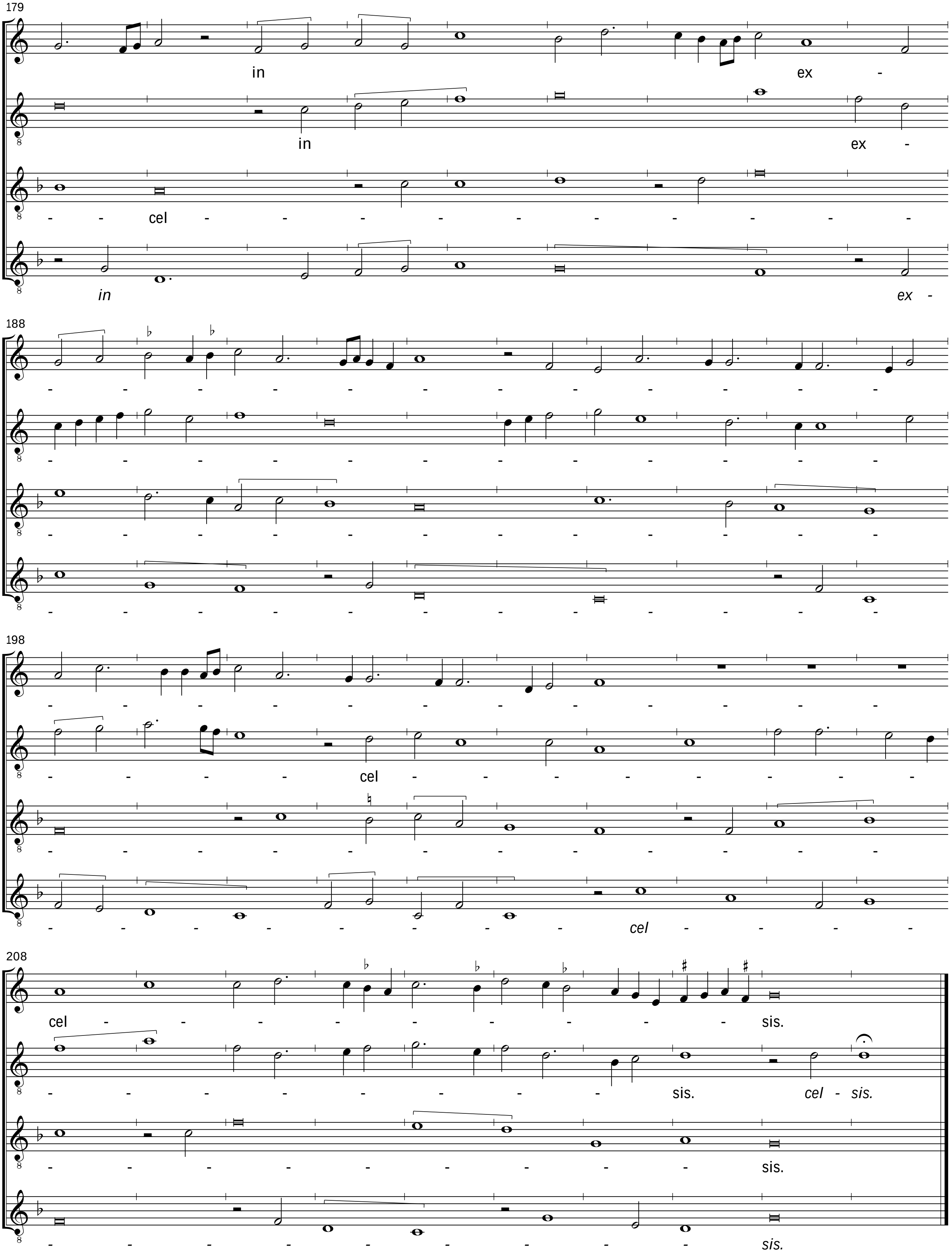

26
do - - - - - mi - - - - - - -
- tus do - mi - - - - - - -
Do - - - - mi - - - - - - -
- - tus do - - - - mi - - - - - - - -
32
- - nus de - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - nus de - - - - - - - - - -
- - nus de - - - - - - -
- - nus de - - - - - - -
39
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - us
us sab - - - - -
us sab - - - - - - - - -
45
us sa - - - - - - - - - - ba - - -
sa - - - - - - ba - - - - -
ba - - - - - - - - - - - - -
ba - - - - - - - - - - - - - -


51
58
oth. Ple -
oth. Ple -
oth.
oth. *Ple* - - - - -
63
ni sunt ce - - - - - -
ni sunt ce - - - -
ni
69
- - - li et ter -
- - - li et ter - - - -

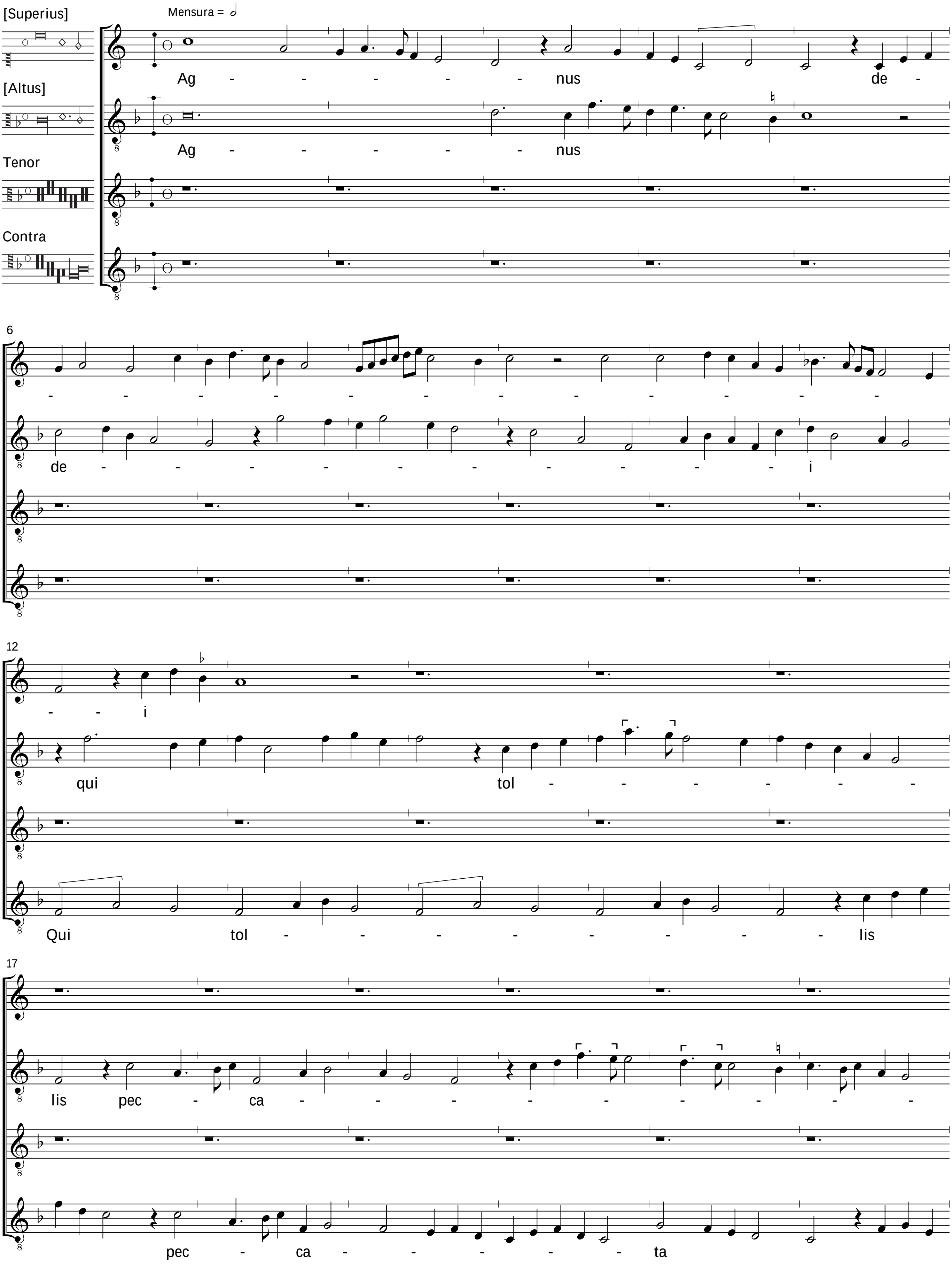

74
ra
ra glo - ri - - - - - - - - - a
Glo - ri - - - - - - - - - a tu -
80
tu - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - a.
86
O - san - - - - - - na in ex -
a. O - san - - - - - na in ex -
O - - - - san - - - - - - - na
O - - - - - - san - - - - na
92
cel - - - - - - - - - - sis.
cel - - - - - - - - - - sis.
in ex - cel - - - - sis.
in ex - cel - - - - - - sis.

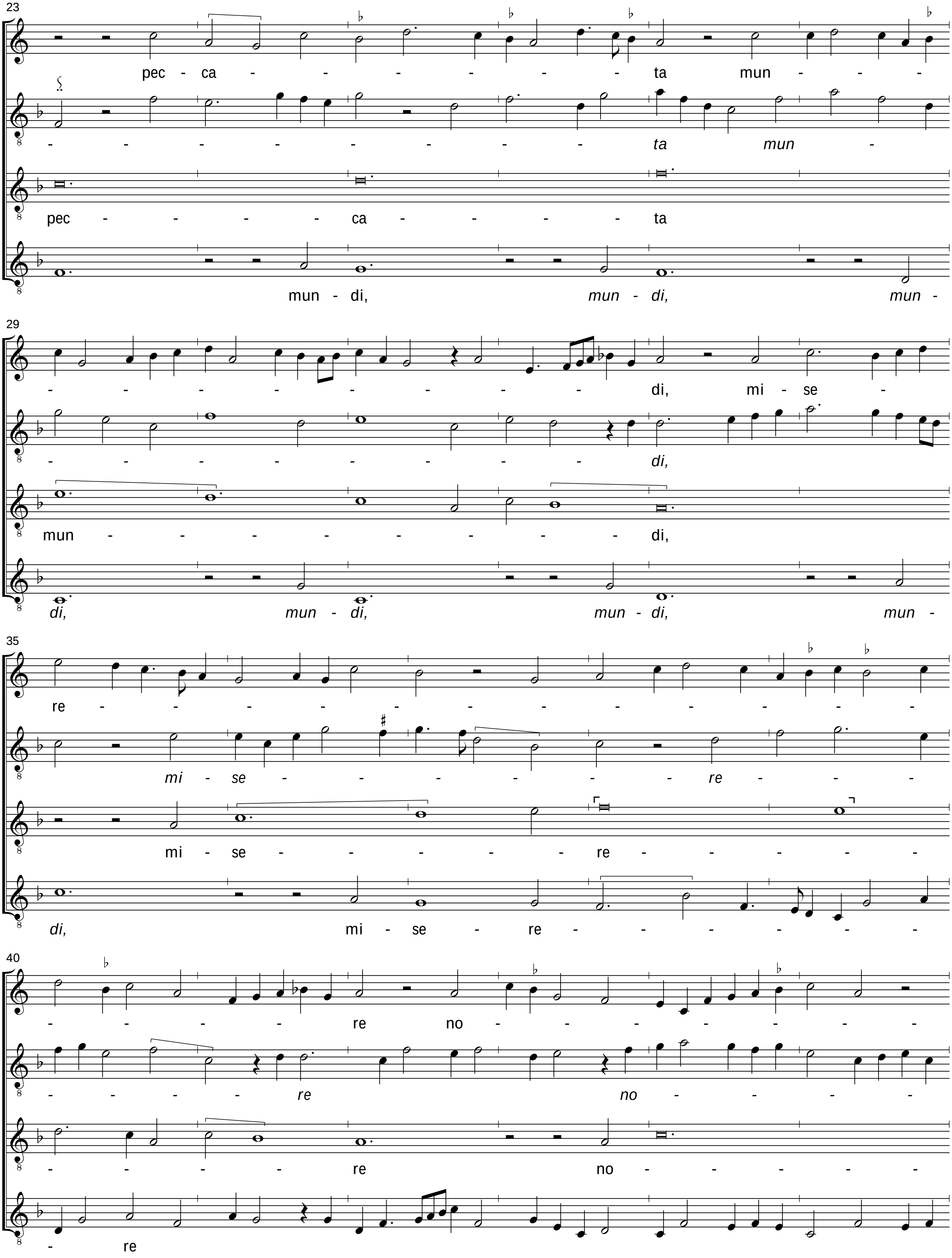

98
Mensura =
Be - - - - - ne - dic - - - - - -
Be - - - - ne - dic - - - - - -
110
tus qui ve - - - - - - - - - -
tus qui ve - - -
120
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - nit
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - nit
130
in no - mi - - - - ne do - - -
In no - mi - ne *do* - - - -

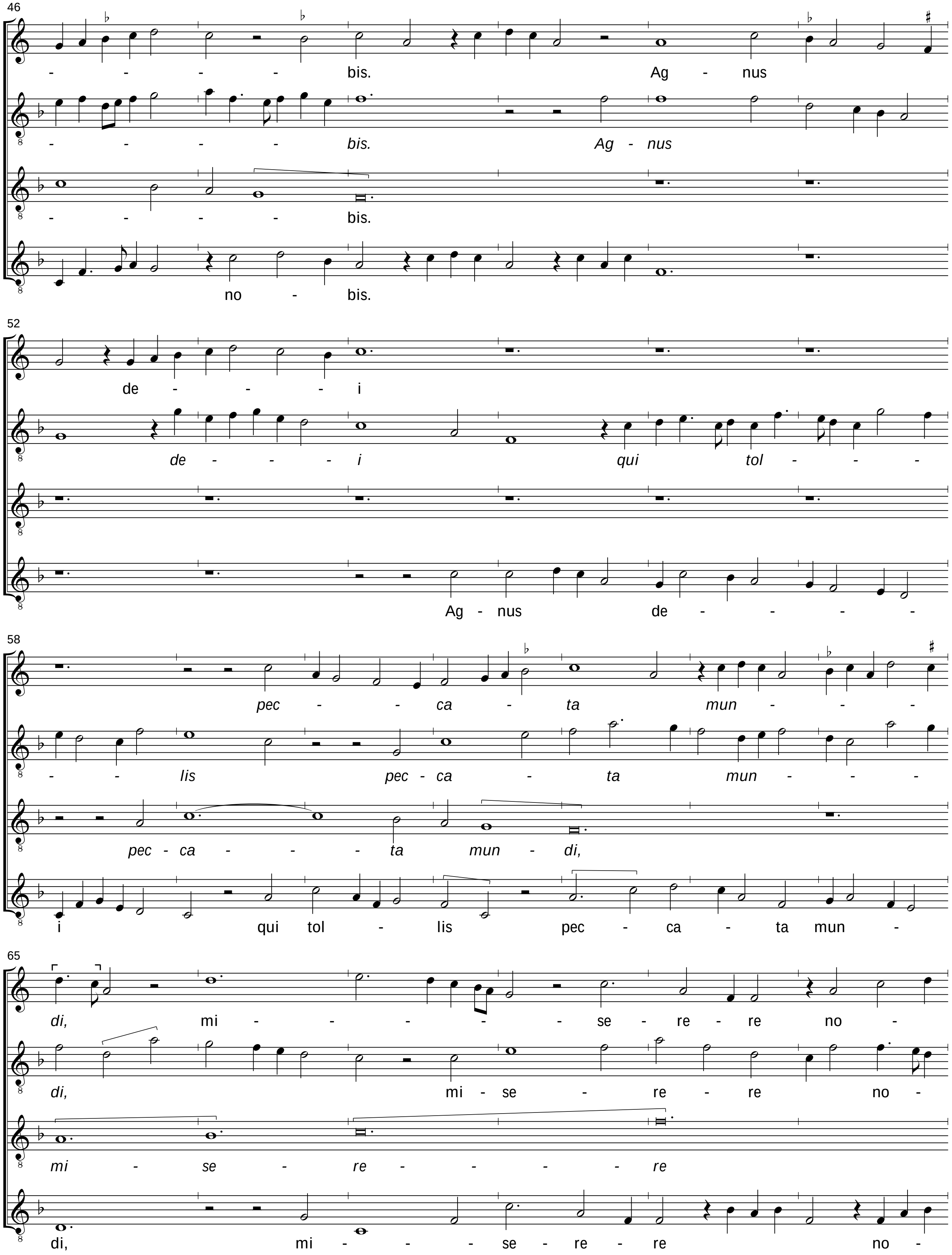

140
151
160
mi - - - - - ni.
mi - - - - ni.
170
O - san - - - - - - - - na
O - san - - - na
O - - - - - san - na in ex -
O - san - - - - na

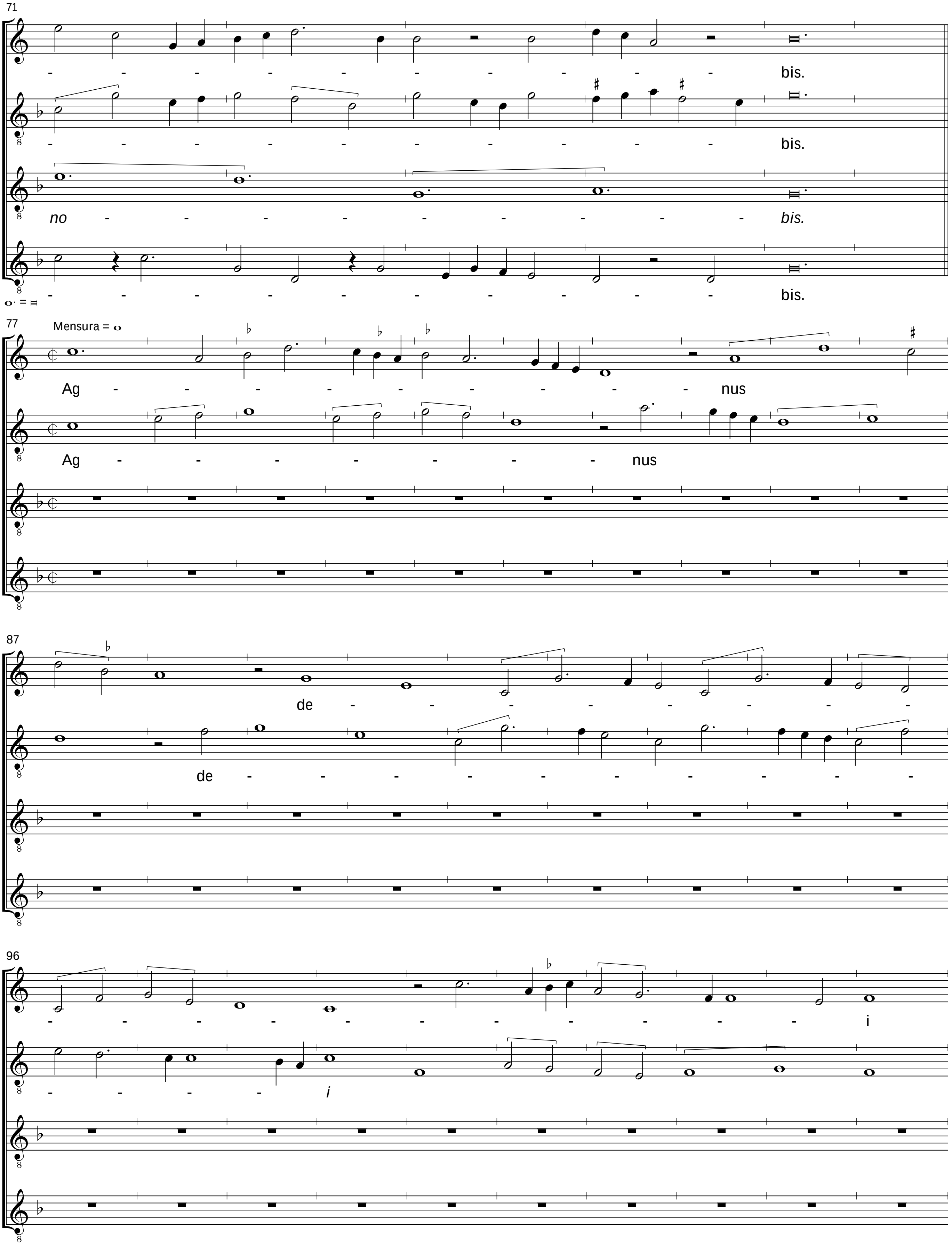

179
in
ex -
in
ex -
cel
in
ex -
188
198
cel
cel
208
cel
sis.
sis.
cel - *sis.*
sis.
sis.

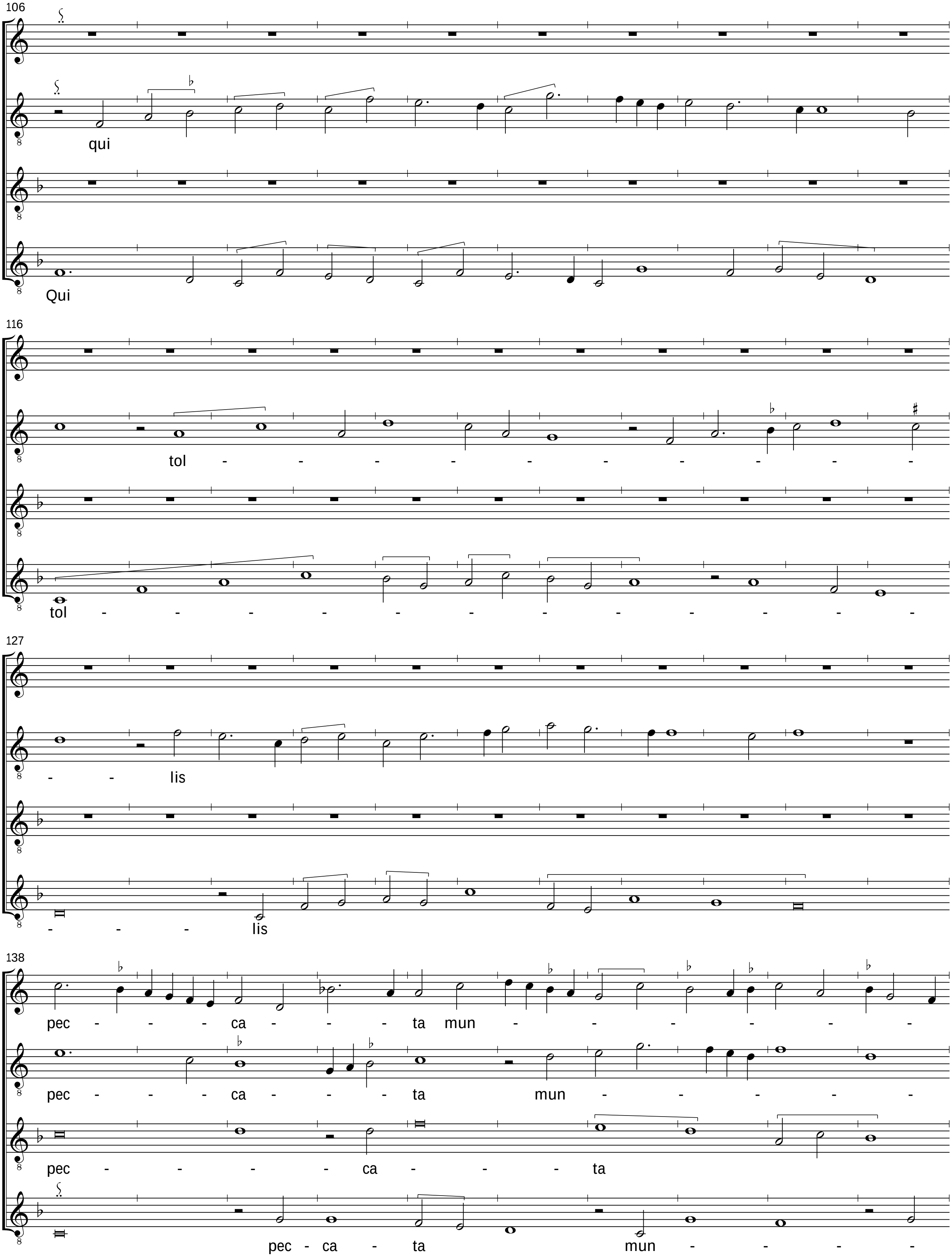
Agnus dei

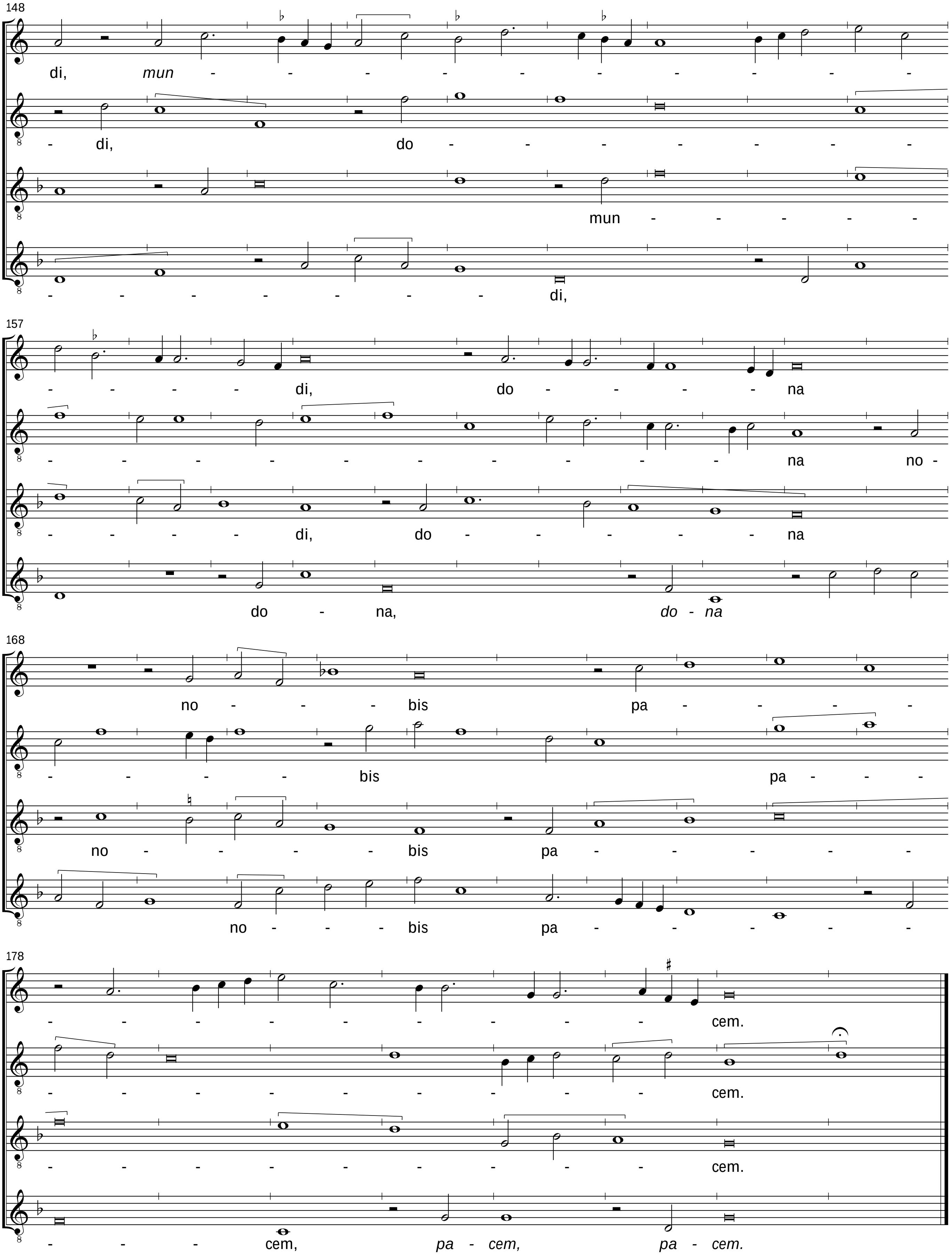

[Superius]
[Altus]
Tenor
Contra
Mensura =
Ag - - - - - nus de -
Ag - - - - - nus
6
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
de - - - - - - - - - - - i
12
- - i
qui tol - - - - - -
Qui tol - - - - - - - - lis
17
lis pec - ca - - - - - - - - - -
pec - ca - - - - - ta


23
pec - ca - - - - - - - - ta mun - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - *ta* *mun* -
pec - - - - - - ca - - - - - - ta
mun - di, *mun* - *di,* *mun* -
29
- - - - - - - - - - - - - di, mi - se -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - *di,*
mun - - - - - - - - - - - - - di,
di, mun - *di,* mun - *di,* *mun* -
35
re - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
mi - *se* - - - - - - - - - *re* - - - -
mi - se - - - - - - - - re - - - - - -
di, mi - se - re - - - - - - - - - -
40
- - - - - re no - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - *re* *no* - - - - -
- - - - - re no - - - - - -
- re


46
- - - - bis. Ag - nus
- - - - *bis.* *Ag - nus*
- - - - bis.
no - bis.
52
de - - - - i
de - - - i *qui tol - - -*
Ag - nus de - - - - -
58
pec - - ca - ta mun - - -
- - *lis* *pec - ca - ta mun - - -*
pec - ca - - - - ta mun - di,
i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
65
di, mi - - - - - - se - re - re no -
di, mi - se - re - re no -
mi - se - re - - - - - re
di, mi - - - - se - re - re no -

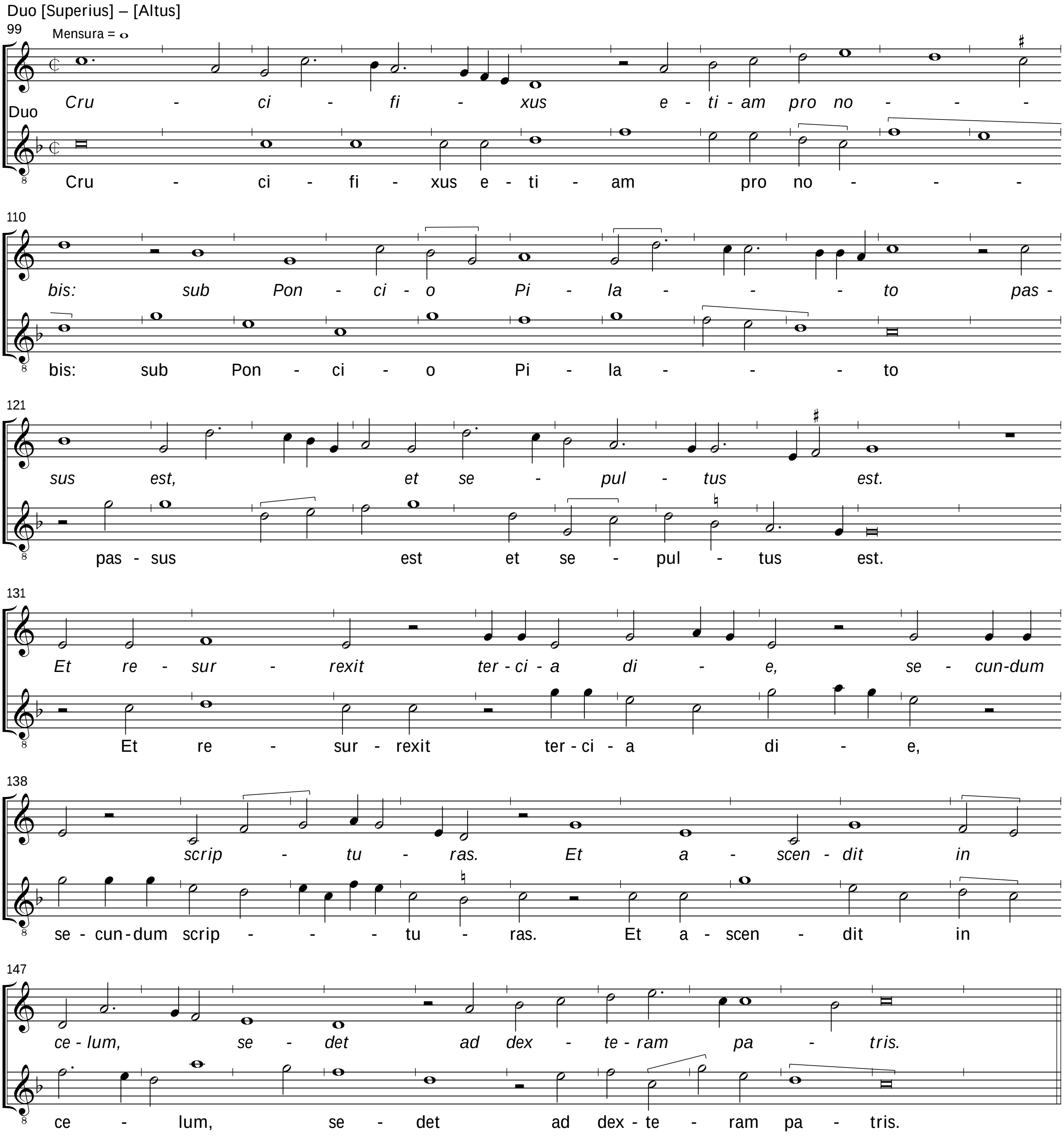

71
bis.
bis.
no
bis.
bis.
77
Mensura =
Ag
nus
Ag
nus
87
de
de
96
i
i

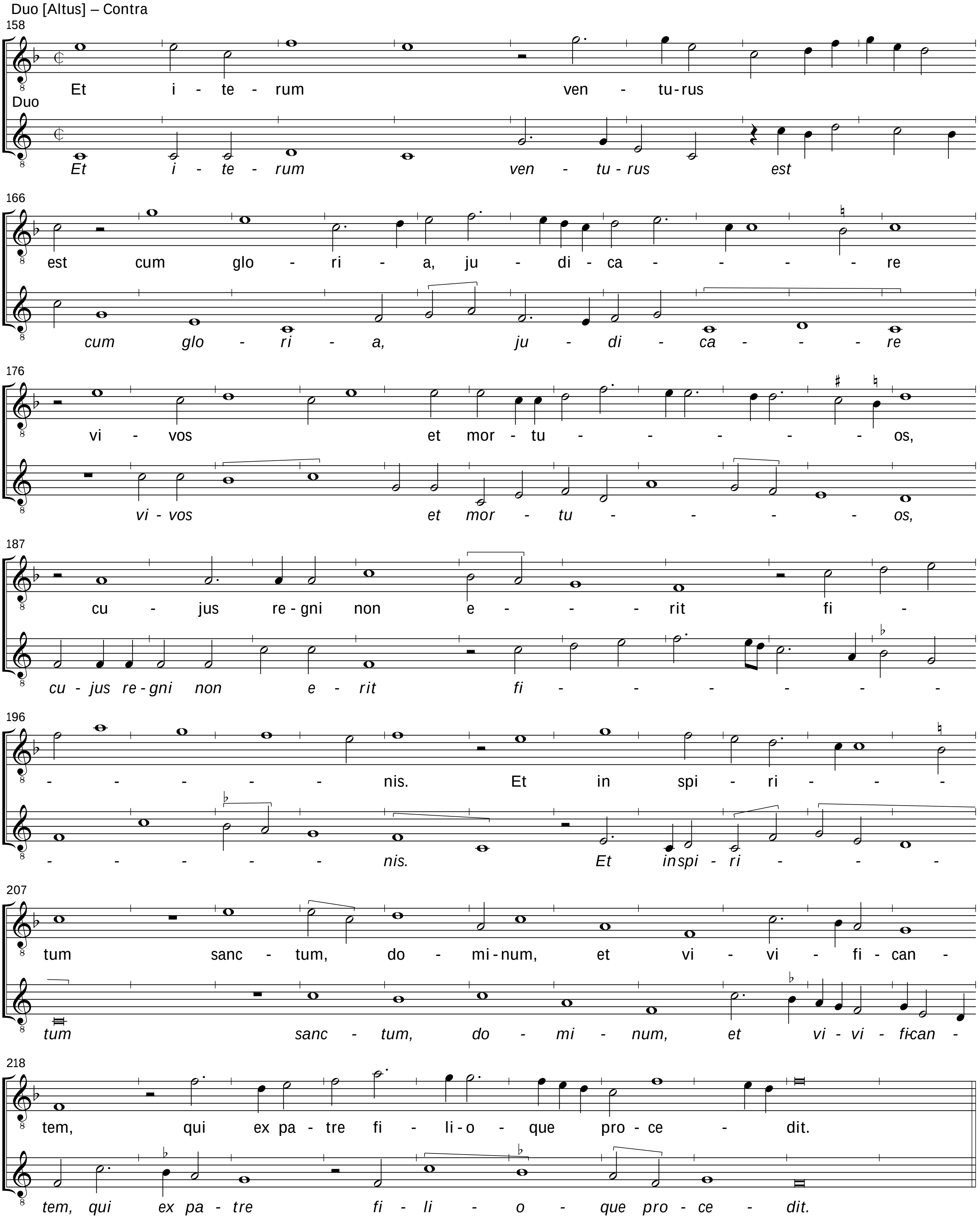

106
qui
Qui
116
tol - - - - - - - - - - -
tol - - - - - - - - - - - - -
127
- - lis
- - - - lis
138
pec - - - - ca - - - ta mun - - - - - - - -
pec - - - - ca - - - - ta mun - - - - - -
pec - - - - - ca - - - - ta
pec - ca - ta mun - - - -


148
di, mun - - - - - - - - - - -
- di, do - - - - - - - - -
mun - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - di,
157
- - - - di, do - - - - na
- - - - - - - - - - - - na no -
- - - - di, do - - - - - na
do - na, do - na
168
no - - - bis pa - - - -
- - - - bis pa - - -
no - - - - - bis pa - - - - - -
no - - - bis pa - - - - - -
178
- - - - - - - - - - cem.
- - - - - - - - - - cem.
- - - - - - - - - - cem.
- - - cem, pa - cem, pa - cem.

Appendix – *Missa Sine nomine*, “Crucifixus” & “Et iterum”

Altus after Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238, f. 30.5 (recto); Superius and Contra after Rome CS 14 with text underlay adjusted according to the Lucca version.


Duo [Superius] – [Altus]
99
Mensura = o
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - - - -
Duo
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - - - -
110
bis: sub Pon - ci - o Pi - la - - - to pas -
bis: sub Pon - ci - o Pi - la - - - to
121
sus est, et se - pul - tus est.
pas - sus est et se - pul - tus est.
131
Et re - sur - rexit ter - ci - a di - e, se - cun-dum
Et re - sur - rexit ter - ci - a di - e,
138
scrip - tu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in
se - cun - dum scrip - - - tu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in
147
ce - lum, se - det ad dex - te - ram pa - tris.
ce - lum, se - det ad dex - te - ram pa - tris.


Duo [Altus] – Contra
Duo
158
Et i - te - rum ven - tu-rus
Et i - te - rum ven - tu-rus est
166
est cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - - - - re
cum glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - - - re
176
vi - vos et mor - tu - - - - - os,
vi-vos et mor - tu - - - - os,
187
cu - jus re-gni non e - - - rit fi -
cu-jus re-gni non e - rit fi - - - - - - -
196
- - - - - nis. Et in spi - ri - - -
- - - - - nis. Et in spi - ri - - -
207
tum sanc - tum, do - mi-num, et vi - vi - fi-can -
tum sanc - tum, do - mi - num, et vi-vi-fi-can -
218
tem, qui ex pa - tre fi - li-o - que pro-ce - dit.
tem, qui ex pa - tre fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit.