TEXT, MUSIC, AND LITURGY

IN JOHANNES OCKEGHEM'S MASSES

CLEMENS GOLDBERG

In his "Livre de 1'Esperance" (ca. 1429/30), Alain Chartier developed a favourite topic of the 15th century which became the main topic of the *devotio moderna*: how possibly could the individual hope for his own salvation from within the inevitable entanglement with sin, given the fact that the institution responsible for this salvation was in a perverted state of simony, involvement in politics, oppression and moral decay. Chartier's answer is that there is hope in faith itself, represented as "Dame Foi," and that the Church has driven *Dame Foi* from the Church. Faith is to be found in an almost mystical meditation on the secrets of grace and divine justice outside the official pronouncements of the Church. Sacrifice (symbolized in the Holy Lamb) being sullied in the Church, the ordinary Christian must turn to private devotion and prayer. The turning towards an individual mysticism of grace does not preclude an experience of community of the faithful, but has as its very basis such an experience

¹ Francois Rouy (ed.), Collège Littéraire Universitaire de Brest, 1967. In other sources, there are other titles for this book: "Consolation des Trois Vertus," "Exil," "L'Imparfait." Moreover, the work is often confused with another work of Chartier, the very famous "Curial." No exact date of origin is known so far; Rouy has based his dating on conjectures.

² The invectives concerning the state of the church are astounding, but not extraordinary for Chartier's time: "Vous avez fait de 1'eglise de Dieu fosse de larrons, et du saintuaire divin banque de tricherie. Les saintes Evangilles sont supprimez, et les constitutions anciennes sont decroguez et ordonnances plaines de barat et de questueuz prouffit a present triumphent ...Maintenant court le statut de concubinage au contraire, qui lez a attraitz aux estatz mondains, et auz delices sensuellez et corporellez. Et qui plus est se sont renduz a immoderee avarice en procurant par symonie, et par aultres voyez illicitez litigieuses et prophanes, en corruption et autrement, benefices et prelatures espirituelz, et qui plus est se sont souillez et occupez es affaires citoyens et aux negoces et cures temporelles." (XVI, p.127ff.) The book as a whole is an early testimony of Renaissance thinking, the general topic of personal meditation about grace and divine justice being presented with arguments from classical suthors and rationalized through another stage character, "Dame Entendement."

outside the conventional community of the Church. This new experience of community can also be traced in the "official" sacred compositions of the 15th century. There were hardly any text passages better suited in the Ordinary of the Mass to express sin and pardon than the Gloria and Agnus, asking for redemption.

The specific attraction of the image of the Holy Lamb was not confined to literature. There are numerous examples for this imagery in the painting of the period. The most famous painting in this tradition is probably Jan and Hubert van Eyck's Ghent altar piece. Aside from the general representation of the Holy Lamb we find a specific genre connected to the Lamb, an apparition of Jesus mediated through St. John the Baptist. Recently, the Alte Pinakothek in Munich acquired a very beautiful example of this genre, Dierik Bout's (1410/20-1475) "Ecce agnus dei." The aim of the representation of the apparition is not merely a symbolic rendering of an event but the creation of an apparition in the viewer of the painting. Thus, the story represented is not the apparition of the lamb to the donor of the painting. The donor does not view the lamb. The gazes of the donor and of St. John unite outside the painting and join the viewer. Renaissance conceptions of perspective and representation are still linked to a medieval conception of painting as the medium of evocation. This excursion into the representational art of painting may help elucidate the understanding of musical settings of the Mass text with regard to the Lamb and remission of sins.

No other composer of his generation has set those passages in the

³ One of the best books about the tradition of the image of Passion and Redemption symbolized in the Holy Lamb is Hans Belting's Das *Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* -- Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion (Berlin, 1981). Especially noteworthy is Belting's analysis of time and space in these paintings.

Mass text as consistently and with such forceful musical means of representation as Johannes Ockeghem. Until now, the "qui tollis peccata mundi" in the Gloria has found only precursory attention, and with methodological approaches differing from the following analysis. Peter Gülke has presented the setting into music of another example of the Mass text, the "incarnatus est", 4 in the Masses of several important composers of the 15th century. Personally, however, I find it more promising to analyze the development of one text setting in the oeuvre of one composer.

Concerning the significance of the Gloria in the Mass, we find important information in Guilelmus Durandus' *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, the book most widely copied aside from the Bible.^s Durandus interprets the Gloria firstly as the angels' song of praise, repeated by the congregation during the office. Secondly, the Gloria is the ideal passage for transmitting the prayers of the community to God through the chorus of the angels. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the place from which the priest intones the Gloria had changed from the pulpit to the center of the choir in front of the altar, the priest extending his hands and transmitting the prayers through this gesture officiants surround the priest in the choir, just as God is surrounded by his angels.

The explication of the Agnus provides some more significant details. The origin of both the Agnus and the passage mentioned in the

⁴ "Et incarnatus est. Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung des Wort-Ton-Verhältnisses in der Messkomposition des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts,* (Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd. 10 (Kassel, 1984), pp *351-383*.

^s Astonishingly, this most important book for the history of liturgy has not been edited as yet. Therefore, I had to refer to a 1510 copy from the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. However, the late Middle High German translation of the "Rationale" was edited very well by Gerard II. Buijssen (Assen, 1966).

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Gloria is an old litany. The threefold litany is explained by Durandus with relation to the Passion and the Holy Eucharist. The first invocation for Jesus' body, the second for the blood, and the third for salvation of the death of Christ. Another symbol for salvation is the mixing of bread and wine immediately preceding the Agnus. The same threefold structure can be found in the Gloria, the "qui sedes" being the reason given for the redemption of sin: such is the explanation given by Pierre Lebrun in his Explication des prières et des cérémonies de la messe, suivant les anciens auteurs et les monuments de toutes les églises du monde chrétien from 1716.6 Lebrun mentions another tradition in certain churches in France (e. g., St. Quentin and Laon), the habit of kneeling during the "qui tollis" and rising just before or after the "qui sedes." Rising is interpreted a symbol of redemption through the death of Christ. Durandus explains the Agnus as a personal prayer. If there are several officiants in the Mass, they are told to put their hands on the altar so as to avoid any exterior gestures and to symbolize the interior character of prayer. It can be assumed that this character is also valid for the parallel passage in the Gloria. As we shall see later on, Ockeghem evidently viewed this part of Gloria similarly, by giving it a very specific musical expression to be found in the secular repertoire of the period. It is characterized by monophony, very clear syllabic rendering of the text and rhetorical devices which until now have rarely been considered as typical of Ockeghem's style. In this context it is important that both the Gloria and Agnus were originally sung by the entire congregation. The very clear musical setting of the text together with elements normally used in the secular

6 This book was very popular and was re-edited several times. It is accessible in a reprint (Tours,1976).

repertoire presented at least a symbolic link between the secular world and the mystical dimension of the Office.

Looking for criteria for the analysis of musical expression of the Mass text, we can still use most of the criteria developed in an early essay by Fritz Feldmann.' His approach, on the basis of the rhetorical work of Quintilian and his conception of the rhetorical figura, are very well suited to explaining such things as extensions of ambitus, ascending and descending scales, repetitions of several notes and figures of emphasis, modal changes, *musica ficta*, Noema, etc. However, one should avoid interpreting the relationship of music and text as a simple parallel to unidimensional semantic relations in language itself. Thus we should never say: an upward scale *means* resurrection. The text-music relationship is never a signifier-signified relation. There are no one-dimensional processes of significance. The parallel processes between text and music cannot themselves be experienced as concepts. They are always processes of motion which can only be conceptually fixed or understood as an image by way of association *post festum*. The aim of the musical figura is not to enable the listener to identify a movement and to understand it conceptually. The aim is an intensification of the experience of the text, by creating a sensual event which may have a conceptual component. For example, a scale in repeated notes (upward or downward) combined with a homophonic setting connected to the text "qui tollis" may have a

⁷"Untersuchungen zum Wort-Ton-Verhältnis in den Gloria-Credo-Sätzen von Dufay bis Josquin," *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954), pp. 141-171.

⁸Cf. by this author "Musik als kaleidoskopischer Raum -- Zeichen, Motiv, Gestus und Symbol in Johannes Ockeghems Requiem," Zeichen und Struktur in der Musik der Renaissance, Kongressbericht der Tagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Münster 1987 (Bärenreiter, 1989), p. 47ff.

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multiple effect: in the first place, the syllabic rendering of the text leads to a parallel simplification of the musical texture, in contrast to neighbouring polyphonic textures in which the text rises only sporadically "to the surface." The immediate and full rendering of the text thus becomes itself a rhetorical sign. In an extended semantic process of understanding, the upward scale in steps can be associated with the concept of redemption step by step, the sins being taken away (the Latin *tollere* being understood in this sense). The abstract idea is only the end-result of a sensual process. If a downward scale is used, the second meaning of *tollere* may be associated: the burden of the sins must be carried by the Lamb. Sometimes musica ficta is used: For the knowledgeable listener this may evoke a symbolic aspect which is, however, only experienced as a process. The understanding of *musica ficta* presupposes the model of *musica recta*. Thus, the experietce is not only one of contrast between two models; the main experience is the transitional aspect. Finally, musical means of rhetorical expression are often part of an overall syntactical structure. This is the case in the cantus firmus Mass, where expressive musical gestures intensifying the expression of the text coincide with figures paraphrasing

⁹ Recently, the different structural meanings of musica ficta have been brilliantly presented by Karol Berger, Musicaficta, Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino (Cambridge, 1987). In his book Berger calls upon a refined analysis of the different structural possibilities of musica ficta for each genre and each composer. In our case it is essential to distinguish two different aspects: the horizontal modulation in one voice (inflection) and the vertical change through b molle with a changed vertical perception of the mode, naturally the first being able to cause the second phenomenon. Thus, the use of musica ficta in the context of certain concepts (e. g. "sin") is quite interesting. Musica ficta is used to correct forbidden intervals. A natural mental parallel to the concept of "sin" would be the "wrong" interval itself. Instead, the concept is connected to the process of correcting the interval. Thus a direct pictorial parallel is impossible. The process of correcting causes a modulation and a change compared to a "natural" state as it is characteristic for rhetorical expression. The result is a corrected but transposed (modulated) counterpoint.

or commenting on the cantus firmus.

The understanding of "text" in the 15th century was a highly "musical" one. Meaning was conveyed to a high degree through musical qualities of language such as games of rhyme, syllables, assonance, double meanings, etc. In this understanding of "text," transitional processes between a purely conceptual understanding and a musical intensification of language are the essential level of meaning formation. The key word in such transitions is association. In a musical figura, top, association is the fundamental process linking purely musical means of expression to conceptual abstractions. However, the effect of musical figura is not abstraction, but intensification.

Association is closely connected with a concept developed in modern text theories of French linguists: intertextuality. Every element of a text can have multiple functions and meanings through association. The multiple aspects open new perspectives in an intertextual space. These perspectives can be perceived as singular or in combination. Linear perception is enriched through multi-level understanding in the intertextual space constructed by means of associative understanding. Johan Huizinga has analyzed the different perspectives in this space and characterized that space as "kaleidoscopic." The main quality in this kaleidoscopic space is a kind of suspension of the different elements in it; no sign in the text leads to the final significance. "

Ockeghem's three-voice Masses are the first examples in which we can find all the characteristic musical renderings of the Mass text as found

¹⁰ Most importantly Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva.

¹¹Johann Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, Kurt Köster, ed. (Stuttgart 1975); cf. especially the chapter "Niedergang des Symbolismus," p. 285ff.

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in most of the later four-voice Masses. The Missa *sine nomine in* G Dorian¹² is probably an early work. The voices are high, and tenor and countertenor switch positions frequently and have identical range. Except for one characteristic place, the superius has a separate range. Frequent cadences with parallel fourths are another indication of an earlier stage of composition. As in most of Ockeghem's Masses, the Gloria is divided into two parts: the first part is almost always in *tempus perfectum* and the second in *tempus imperfectum* (*diminutum*)¹³. The first part mostly ends with a kind of stretto with shortening of the note values, dotted figures and extensions of the ambitus. The change of *mensura* in the second part is mostly accompanied by a striking change of texture and text diction. The

¹² The music in this article has been transcribed by this author from the Ms. Chigi (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana Ms. Chigi C.VIII 234), with the exception of this Mass, which is only transmitted in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLIX. The edition of Ockeghem's Masses by Dragan Plamenac should be thoroughly revised. It seems that a revision is planned. My transcription is "interpretive" in order to elucidate my analysis. *Mensurae* are indicated by lines between the systems; in the case of cadences, lines are drawn through. Imitations are marked with the letter "i", and musica ficta which is not noted in the source is given above the staff; if considered possible but not necessary, in brackets. In general, the relation between the values in the source and the transcription is 4:1, e. g. the brevis in the source being rendered by a half note.

¹³This division is not at all self-evident. The text of the Gloria has three different parts: the song of praise to the Father, the prayer to the Son and finally the part concerning the Trinity. Thus, a division before "domine fili" would be more logical as to the text and it is indeed found in some Mass compositions of the 15th century. The strong division before "qui tollis" is explained only by the fact that this is the beginning of the older litany and that this part obviously traditionally had a specific place in the Gloria. In the English Masses of the beginning of the century and in Masses by Binchois, we find many subdivisions following the phrase structure of the text. Moreover, it is quite striking that in these early Mass settings there is often no division before the "qui tollis." Only in the course of the century is there a tendency towards a division into two parts with change of *mensura*. However, the division into three parts is still present in Masses as late as the end of the century. The division into two parts may have many reasons, in the first place esthetic ones. The development towards a setting of the Mass as an independent work of art may find its reflection in larger units, structured only through unifying musical devices. On the other hand, the parts in themselves are still composed with the ideal of *varietas*. It may well be that there are liturgical or spiritual reasons behind the division into two parts. The highlighting of the "qui tollis" may be a local tradition.

texture is essentially homophonic, the text being presented syllabically and in a series of repeated notes, which in the following will be called *Repetitionsdiktion*. This element of a series of repeated notes is peculiar to Ockeghem and is used characteristically in this section. At times it may be extended to a larger section of the second part of the Gloria. Ockeghem used this specific diction in his chansons, very often in order to create contrast in the second section of a bergerette or the second half of a rondeau¹⁴. The rising leap of a fourth and the following downward scale, as used in the second "qui tollis," is typical as well. The leap of a fourth denotes the change to the "plagal fourth" in the superius¹⁵. The specific diction is combined with imitation and parallel movement in thirds, another typical element¹⁶. The imitation of all three voices at the unison leads to frequent voice crossings. The orientation of fixed ranges is carefully avoided in favour of constantly switching layers. Thus the "removal" of sins is sensuously and symbolically perceptible. The falling movement is carried by the countertenor until the "miserere." For the first time, the voice is situated below the tenor, while the tenor even rises above

¹⁴ Whereas the use of this diction in the Mass is unique for Ockeghem, its use in the secular repertoire is widespread.

¹⁵In the analysis of modes, the main concern should not be to determine one mode for the whole composition or to list the major cadences but to analyze the expectation caused by a modal projection and its realization or non-realization. It is possible, e. g., that a superius may have generally a plagal ambitus, but for the music it is essential to know whether the melody moves in the sixth or seventh above the central tone of the mode (thus being potentially authentic) or in the (plagal) fourth (or, in Mixolydian and Phrygian, a fifth) below. In addition, most of the time a superius has a combined range which Tinctoris would call "mixtus", thus providing an even greater possibility of expression. More tension might be caused by modal differences between one voice and another or between a vertically projected field-perception of a mode and, e. g., the present mode of a superius.

¹⁶ Imitation, parallel movement and indications of direction are found as early as in a Mass by Arnold de Lantins, later on frequently in Masses of Dufay.

the superius, especially in the rising movement connected with "suscipe." The rising movement on "suscipe" is formulated as an answer to the falling movement of the first "qui tollis," so that the change of direction is clearly connected with the meaning of the word "suscipe," a pictorial indication of prayers rising to heaven. Imitation, direction of movement and voice position cause a multiplication of the call for remission of sins. The technique of imitation is intensified in the third invocation, the countertenor starting with the imitation pattern at the interval of a seventh, followed by the superius and the tenor at the interval of a fourth. The section ends with a transposed Phrygian cadence, a progression which is used only once more in the whole Mass. The fami clause in the tenor is often used by Ockeghem in the context of sin and remission. We already find this cadence close at the beginning of this section, first doubled by the imitation between superius and tenor, then again before the cadence on G at the end of the first invocation. Imitation is used in the first place as a technique of intensification multiplying single expressive gestures. In addition, it has an overall unifying syntactical function. This becomes clear in the "quoniam" where we find the Repetitionsdiktion of the "suscipe" in a varied form. This does not change the rhetorical interpretation of the "suscipe" itself, it only shows the multiple function of this technique. Moreover, it intensifies the logical sense of the text by linking the reason for hoping for forgiveness ("quoniam tu solus sanctus") with the prayer for remission of sins. The interaction of different aspects of the technique of imitation (semantic intensification and syntactical relation) is characteristic of a sign-process in music. This Mass, in its extensive and systematic use of imitation, deserves its own analysis, for again it shows Ockeghem as a higly original and experimental composer. It presents only one of many different paths Ockeghem chose in his Mass settings, and it seems at times

as if he had tried to develop a new and different compositional idea in each Mass.

The Missa *Quinti toni* is probably an early work, too, in spite of the clear separation of voices and a bass which extends to the low F. The numerous parallel movements of this Mass are typical for earlier works of Ockeghem. It is the only Mass in which the two parts of the Gloria change from tempus imperfectum to tempus imperfectum diminutum. Aside from this, we find stylistic features similar to those in the Dorian Mass: the Repetitionsdiktion as contrast of texture to the first part and descending scales, but without the leap of a fourth. The somewhat psalmodic diction is more developed than in the Dorian Mass, the recitation note being a' in the superius. The psalmodic texture is an overall structural element of the Mass. The imitation on the second "miserere" is clearly a semantic gesture. Apart from this instance, imitation is almost completely absent in this Mass. The imitation is connected with upward scales and parallel movement in minimae. The superius leaves its normal plagal range and comprises an eleventh, an almost classic element of gesture in Ockeghem's musical language. The extension of an ambitus is an excellent example of the experience of a musical figura or schema, which is defined as an artificial change or exaggeration of a natural position. The effect is at once a multiplication and musical unification of the invocation. The contrast of texture was already a structural feature in the first "miserere" of the Dorian Mass. Another element used frequently for the representation of the concept of sin is musica ficta. The Mass is not transposed; its mode is Lydian with a fixed b molle. On "deprecationem" as well as on

"peccata" in the bass," a b molle is necessary (and has been given in the source) on the E. This b molle causes a doubly transposed Phrygian cadence. Very often the concept of sin is connected musically with the concept of supplication. In this instance the b molle causes transposition. The e^b in the tenor is not accidental but structural in connection with the b molle in the superius and bass in the cadence region. The Phrygian cadence already has semantic aspects in Ockeghem's generation.

In the Mass Fors seullement, the features analyzed in the other Masses are found to an even stronger degree. The syllabic Repetitionsdiktion is intensified by the idea of unrolling the musical space frem bottom to top with imitation and parallel movement. This is clearly a pictorial association with the concept of "tollere" in the sense of "taking away." It would be interesting to ascertain whether there was a custom in St. Martin of Tours (Ockeghems' church) of genuflecting and rising during this part of the Mass. If this had been the case, the musical image would be an anticipation of the physical movement. In all voices the upward movement comprises a fourth. The clearly E-Phrygian ending of the first part of the Gloria is quite rare in Ockeghem's compositions in E. They oscillate mostly between an A-E-mode and plagal Dorian based on A. Thus the modulation from E-H-Phrygian to plagal Dorian may be interpreted as a semantic element in the presentation of the text. In this Mass the origin of the Repetitionsdiktion in the chanson and its use in the Mass are evident, with the cantus firmus employing this diction. Firstly, the transition from the A-part to the B-part of the rondeau "Fors

¹⁷Another possible interpretation would be to leave the e without b molle, the counterpoint leading from a fifth to a third and the e thus being a passing dissonance. In any case a dissonance is unavoidable. The effect is a direct depiction of the word, and not a transitional semantic process with musica ficta (cf. note 10).

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seullement" is presented in the tenor of the Mass. Secondly, the countertenor anticipates the main entrance of the tenor in imitation. This melodic pattern is well suited to imitation itself, and is very frequently used in both the secular and sacred repertory of other composers as well. On "suscipe," there is a clear modulation towards F, a modulation used in the chanson, in both cases with b molle. However, the contrast of F to the Phrygian mode has a much stronger effect in the Mass. While the modulation has a connection with the word "peccata," the idea of duplication and imitation (intensified by its being used with the cantus firmus) is connected with the word "suscipe." The setting of the text is sometimes quite problematic. Is it possible, for instance, that the scribe immediately set "qui tollis" again after "qui sedes" in the countertenor and immediately thereafter "tu solus" by mistake? The text of the Gloria must have been automatically present in the mind of every scribe. Thus, the question arises whether there is an intentional interpretation in this setting. The repeated dotted figures after the two sequential ligatures could rightly be an intensification for "miserere" or for "quoniam," the latter being the case in vagans and bassus. The use of sequence and repetition of groups of notes are clearly connected to "suscipe" in other Masses. Thus, the linkage of prayer and the reason given for the remission of sins in the "quoniam" might not be accidental (as we have seen already in the Dorian Mass). On "qui sedes," the ambitus of the superius is extended to an octave. The superius is accompanied by the tenor, breaking out of its ambitus very strongly, because the added notes are not part of the cantus firmus. As these means of expression are found in this passage in particular, it may be another pictorial element connected to the concept of heaven. The congregation is carried to heaven through the singing of the choir. In music heaven is not a distant region.

The Mass *Cuiusvis toni* occupies a special position in many respects which cannot be dealt with in this article. ¹⁸ In the Mixolydian version of the Mass, not only a B-flat but also an E-flat and an A-flat are needed on "peccata." ¹⁹. Apart from this instance, in the whole Mixolydian version very rarely is a *b molle* necessary. In the following "suscipe," the *b molle* is not needed, creating a strong contrast to the preceding passage. In addition, we find all the known expressive features: syllabic *Repetitionsdiktion*, a rising scale of a fourth, and parallel movement in tenths. The homophony is even stronger than in the examples analyzed before. The imitation pattern from the Mass *Fors seulement* is found in the superius of this Mass. The "qui sedes" is followed by an extension of ambitus in the superius, but this time in a downward direction. As a whole, this Mass could lead to a revision of the traditional stylistic image of Ockeghem's sacred composidons.

The Mass Mi- mi^{20} shows a strong contrast between the first and the second part of the Gloria. Especially striking is the harmonic contrast.

¹⁸Cf. by this author "Cuiusvis toni - Ansätze zur Analyse einer Messe Johannes Ockeghems, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, *42* (1992), pp. 3-35. I have attempted to show in this article that because of *musica*, *ficta* there are only two versions of the Mass, namely Phrygian and Mixolydian. The "Dorian" and "Lydian" versions consistently need two flats.

¹⁴ It is possible to leave the *b durum* of the countertenor and the superius against the f of the tenor; this is a solution which I find hig6ly improbable, however, given the use of *musica ficta* in many parallel instances in other Masses.

²⁰ As Prof. Perkins pointed out to me personally, the name of this Mass cannot be based on the fall of a ffth in the bass, the second *mi* belonging to a *hexachordum molle* which cannot be meant in this instance. According to Prof. Perkins the name is based on the repetition of the e' in the superius in the beginning of the Mass. This does not change the fact, however, that the fall of a fifth in the head-motive of the Mass is a very important structural feature both of the Mass and of its model, Ockeghem's chanson *Presque trainsi*. Contrary to H. Miyazaki ("New Light on Ockeghem's *Missa Mi-Mi*," *Earty Music 13,3* (1985), pp. 367ff.), I think that the relation between chanson and Mass is only based on the head motive.

The Mass is essentially based on the plagal Phrygian mode, ²¹ but as has been mentioned before, Ockeghem uses the E modes consistently for modal ambiguities, letting the mode oscillate between A-E, G, C and even D-Dorian and G-Dorian. Thus, the first part of the Gloria ends in clear E-B-Phrygian with a wide range of the voices (two octaves). The second part starts with a narrow range, a fifth on a triad d-f-a. This particular effect is heightened by the position of the voices, the tenor presenting the imperfect interval f positioned above the countertenor. These voices return to their normal positions. The tenor strengthens the new tonality, using the lowest note of the chord d-a-d'. This beginning is a striking example of Ockeghem's acute awareness of the effects of sound and the positioning of the voices. The superius moves in the "plagal" Dorian fourth a-d'. A *b molle* for the Dorian sixth occurs in Chigi. Together with the syllabic *Repetitionsdiktion* these are the typical features of the Masses analyzed so far. In this Mass the syllabic texture is even more frequent as one can see for instance in the six Cs in the tenor. In the second invocation, *b molle* and *b durum* follow close behind each other.

Most striking is the transition to the homophonic "suscipe." Again, Ockeghem proves to be a master of the dramatic use of voice entrances and exits. Thus, almost unperceptibly, there is a thinning out of the voices, the lowest point of the superius (a) coinciding with a unison in the countertenor. The other voices enter again in a series of falling thirds (a->f-->d-->B b), the *b molle* indicating a modulation to a transposed mode.²²

² Thus, the Mass is named in one source (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Cod. 41) "quarti toni." The name "my-my" only appears in Ms. Chigi: the third source, Cappella Sistina Cod. 63, does not give any name.

²² The *b molle* should be placed in the superius on *deprecationem* as well, creating a G-Dorian mode.

On "suscipe," the superius is once again in its "plagal" a-d'-range, but this time the mode is transposed Phrygian. These are the darkest colours at the disposal of a composer of the 15th century.

As in the other Masses, the "qui sedes" breaks out of the homophonic texture. The musical space, as in the Mass *Fors seullement*³, unrolls from bottom to top in syncopated figures and leaps and is extended to two octaves, not in one voice but in a kind of dramatic disposition of all voices. For the first time the top note c" is reached. This creates the strongest possible contrast to the antecedent "suscipe." The forceful but coordinated movement of all four voices is followed by invocations of the single voices which have the character of a litany, again requiring a *b molle*. The rising movement in imitation, with *b molle as* the top note, is clearly a semantic gesture, especially since a variation of the imitative voices reaches the C and thus causes an alternation of *b molle* and *b durum*: signs for sin and the remission of sin. The disposition of the invocations strikingly shows that Ockeghem had a distinct conception of special effects in question and answer form. Instances such as these show the close affinity of Ockeghem and Josquin.

In the Mass *L'homme arme*, the litany of praying for the remission of sins is already placed on "suscipe." The upward leap of a fourth is not only a gesture underlining the litany character: it is an element of paraphrase in the *cantus finnus as* well. Thus, the imitation between the voices is an imitation of an element of the *cantus firinus*. The fourth is a structural element of the Mass and is presented in the beginning of the superius in both directions. The idea of rising lines, with the leap of a

²³ This is only one of the striking parallels between these two Masses. It may not be incidental that they share t6e otherwise very rare E-mode.

fourth, is so strong that we do not find modal contrast or contrast to the first part of the Gloria at all, as has been the case in the other Masses. The character of gesture can be clearly seen in the countertenor on "suscipe." The rising fourth is isolated by rests, causing a separation of the syllable "sus" from "ci" and "pe," the latter being clearly distibuted through ligatures. The element of redictum in the countertenor is displaced by one semibrevis and can be found, although somewhat hidden because of its ligature, in the bass. This is an excellent example of the use of ligatures in declamation. Thus, the leap of a fourth is always ligated in this litany. The leaps of a fourth seem to generate each other constantly, and again the musical range unrolls from bass to superius, the latter reaching its top note e." Once again, Ockeghem proves his special dramatic gift. His compositional means are inventive and have become a model for other composers. The technique of imitation is used alternately in exact form, in transposition, and with rhythmic variations. These various forms of imitation are not only used to show compositional skill and variety, they have the function of intensifying the meaning of the text. Text and texture are closely connected.

In the Mass *De plus en plus*, based on a chanson of Binchois,²⁴ we do not find all the elements analyzed in the other Masses. There is no homophony and no syllabic *Repetitionsdiktion*.

² In my opinion there are many links between the style of Binchois and Ockeghem. I am convinced that Binchois was Ockeghem's teacher. It is noteworthy that, apart from the Mass based on *L'homme arme*, this is the only Mass transmitted with a chanson cantus firmus not based on one of Ockeghem's own chansons. If it is true that *L'homme arme* might have been invented by Busnois, this is a striking fact in light of the recently shown evidence that Busnois was a pupil of Ockeghem (Paula Higgins, "In *hydraulis* Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois," JAMS XXXIX (1986), pp. 36-86. As the following analysis indicates, *De plus en plus is* probably an earlier work and could be a homage of the pupil to his teacher.

basically divided into two parts, the first part ends with a duo and without a stretto. ²⁵ This is quite normal in other composers' Masses, who compose a duo for the section starting with "domine fili." ne mode of the Mass is the same as in the chanson of Binchois: Hypomixolydian, with a strong center on C. Thus, it is not surprising to find a change from the first part, ending in a G-octave, to a C-E-G-chord. In the first invocation we find a new feature of text presentation, a dynamically intertwined upward movement of the outer voices in tenths, again an earlier compositional feature. The dotted motive thrice repeated in the bass is a gesture of intensification in Ockeghem's language.

The "suscipe" with its rising fourth and its imitations is a striking parallel to the *L'homme* arme Mass. Already the rising fourth is to be found in the second "qui tollis" (superius). Imitations take place only between two voices in this Mass and cause frequent passing dissonances, creating a contrast to the "qui sedes." As in the *L'homme arme* Mass, the gestures of supplication are alternately composed in a strict fuga *ad minimam* and in free polyphony. The rising lines struggle ever farther upward, to reach their peak on e" in the "qui sedes" (again the top note is placed on the text speaking af heaven). The line of the superius shows Ockeghem's mastery of the rhythmically free line falling down to d'. The second "miserere" is accompanied by a change of mode to Dorian with *b molle*. The frequent parallel fourths, numerous combinations of perfect intervals, and the cantus firmus in long values together with other details, place this Mass among Ockeghem's earlier works. However, it must be

²⁵ The whole voice structure with interspersed duos and the lack of a stretto ending in the iust part is an earlier feature in Ockeghem's Masses.

²⁶ The tactus is on the brevis, and the notation is a real diminution.

taken into account that these features may be a tribute to the style of Binchois. The presentation of the text is an indication that this Mass is linked to the L'homme arme Mass but probably composed earlier.

Compared with the Mass De plus en plus, the Mass Ecce ancilla domini shows all the characteristic elements of the "qui tollis" section to a still greater extent: strong gestures intensifying the text, change of mensura, Repetitionsdiktion and pictorial gestures of supplication. The beginning of the section as a duo is exceptional for Ockeghem but standard for other composers, e. g. Dufay. Even here, however, we find the typical elements: the rising lines in parallel movement on the second "miserere" and imitation with an upward leap of a fourth. As is the case in the whole Mass, the mode oscillates between the main mode, Hypomixolydian (the mode of the cantus firmus), a strong center on C, and Dorian. In the second invocation the superius, having normally a very wide ambitus, moves to its lowest range. After a homophonic exclamation on "suscipe" there is a forceful outbreak of polyphony, with the voices moving upward, starting with superius and bassus in characteristic leaps. The text of the third invocation is placed only in the bass, whereas it is omitted in the superius and countertenor. The primary note value is the minima, the outer voices being connected in a rhythmically variable fuga at the distance of a semibrevis. A sequential pattern causes parallel tenths. The distance of the fuga between the two outer voices changes twice: the first time to a brevis, the second a semibrevis again. This instance is akin to the variation of the parallel passage in the Masses L'homme arme and De plus en plus, though Ecce ancilla was certainly composed after these

two.27

The five-part Mass *Sine nomine* has not attracted much attention in spite of its extreme compositional structure, which is totally contrary to the image Ockeghem's style conferred. The entire Mass is based on a Gregorian *cantus firmus* and has a psalmodic character, the text being presented mostly syllabically. Almost every note has a syllable of text. Because of its brevity the Gloria has no subdivisions. Its mode is once again E, but it changes from time to time to D and F (!), as is the case in the "qui tollis" section. The *b molle* of tenor 2 in Chigi (the only source) has no basis in counterpoint. It may be an anticipation of the modulation to F with a fixed *b modle* on the second "qui tollis" in the superius. The section ends in E again. Although the modulation is parallel to the meaning of the text, it is found several times without such a connection in this Mass.

The Gloria of the Mass *Ma maistresse is* divided into three parts, but the mensural change from *tempus perfectum* to *tempus imperfectum diminutum* takes place after the duo on "domine fili," thus creating a stronger division before the "qui tollis." Extraordinarily, the *cantus firmus* is placed below the superius after having been in the bass in the Kyrie. Once again, the origin of the *Repetitionsdiktion* from the chanson repertoire is evident, the third section of the Gloria having the tenor of the second part of the bergerette as its *cantus firmus*, and this tenor presenting the very same *Repetitionsdiktion*. The diction is used in the superius and bassus as well and thus has the double function of being a sign connected with this section in general, while at the same time paraphrasing the *cantus*

²⁷ Possibly there is a connection between Dufay's Mass Ecce ancilla domini and Ockeghem's Mass, although they do not have the same cantus firmus. Dufay's Mass was composed before 1463, w6en it was copied in Cambrai by the scribe Simon Mellet.

firmus. While the *b molle* of the Lydian bergerette is omitted in its second part, it is still used in the Mass.

The preceding duo closes with an octave on F, the third section starting with a full chord C-E-G, the normal tonal contrast in this Mass. In contrast to other Masses, the invocations are not clearly separated but subordinated to the long elegant line of the *cantus firmus*. Extraordinarily, the *cantus firmus* becomes the upper voice in a three-part Fauxbourdon-like counterpoint on "deprecationem." This technique based on parallel movement could symboüze the united prayers of the congregation. ²⁸ This section is prepared by cadences with parallel fourths, a type of cadence found often in this Mass. ²⁹ The section on "quoniam" is structurally connected to "deprecationem," a parallel to the Masses in G-Dorian and on *Fors seullement*. Once more, the "qui sedes" is constructed in a movement from low to high, Qckeghem making use of the rise of the *cantus firmus*. Again, the expression of the text and paraphrase are connected.

In the Mass *Au travail suis*, the "qui sedes" is completely separated, and the introduction is presented in a duo ending with a cadence on F. As the first section ends with a cadence on D-A ("patris"), the subsequeni modulation to F and its countercenter on C are intensifications of the meaning of the text. This is all the more noticeable as the section finishes after a sudden homophonic exclamation on "suscipe" with a transposed Phrygian cadence.

It is only in the Mass *Caput* that we do not find any of the stylistic features of the other Masses. As this is certainty the earliest of Ockeghem's Masses (maybe the first cyclic Mass based on a *cantus firmus*

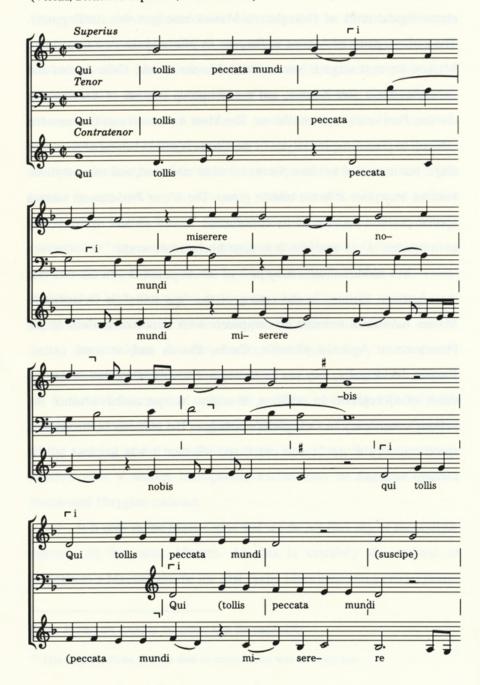
²⁸ The fourths are noted in the music with the number 4.

²⁹This might indicate t6at the date of composition was not very late.

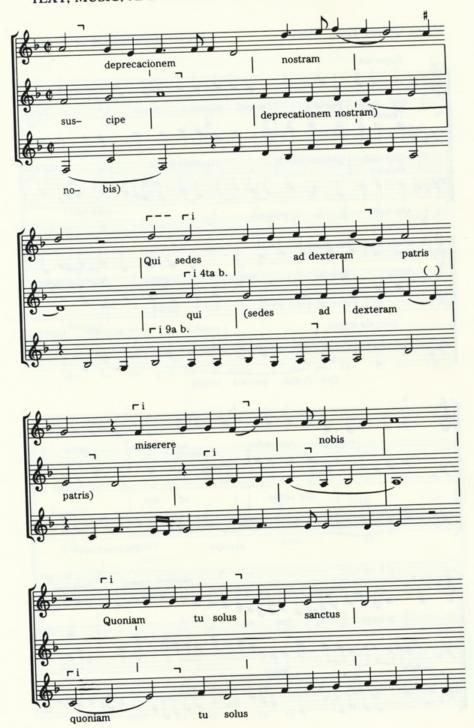
by a continental composer), and as our analysis has shown a clear development of the presentation of the text, I would like to suggest a chronological order of Ockeghem's Masses based on this development. The earliest group of Masses is *De plus en plus* and the two three-voice Masses, the next stage *L'homme arme, Ma maistresse, Cuiusvis toni* and the 5-part Mass *Sine nomine,* and the last group consists of *Ecce ancilla domini, Fors seullement* and *Mi-mi*. The Mass *Au travail suis* is somewhat difficult to place. In our analysis of the Gloria it would belong to an earlier stage, but its use of a cantus firmus is rather advanced, and other stylistic features may place it in the middle group. The *Missa Prolationum* takes a special position because of its construction in canons and has therefore been omitted in our analysis. It is most likely a late work.

Yet another illuminating path of investigation lies in the fact that the consistent features in the setting of the "qui tollis" in Ockeghem's Masses have been imitated by composers with some connections to the French court: Agricola, Ghiselin, Caron, Cousin and, to some extent, Josquin. Incidentally, they are all named in Crétin's "Deploration" on the death of Ockeghem. In addition, it might be speculated whether the striking consistency in Ockeghem's setting of the text can be traced to a specific liturgy at the French court, and whether it was inspired by the *Devotio moderna*.

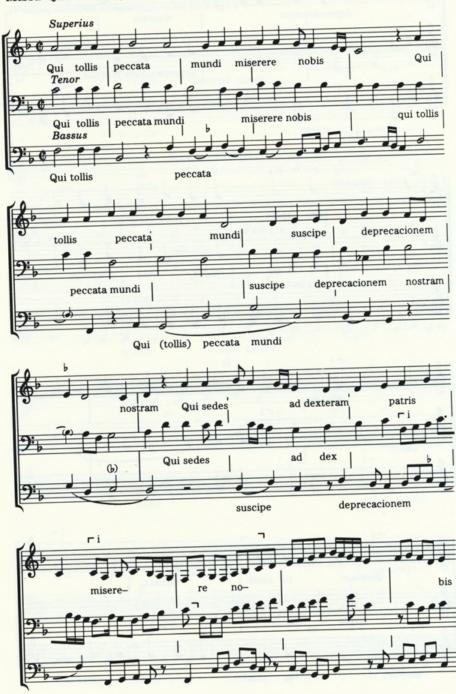
Missa sine nomine, Gloria (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLIX)



TEXT, MUSIC, AND LITURGY IN OCKEGHEM'S MASSES 209



Missa Quinti Toni, Gloria



Missa Fors seullement, Gloria



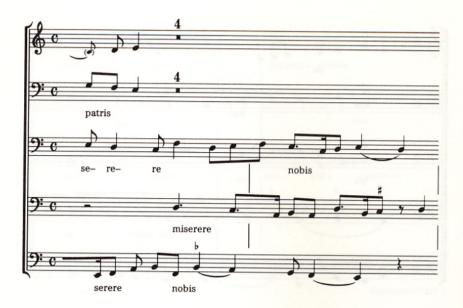


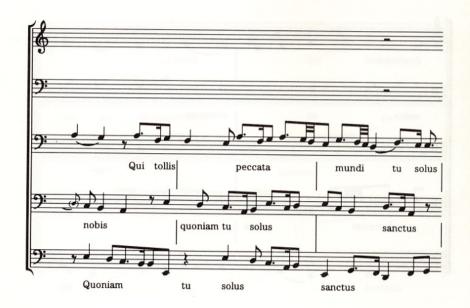












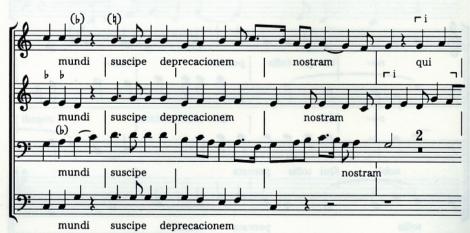
Missa Mi Mi, Gloria



suscipe

Missa cuiusvis toni, Gloria (mixolydian)









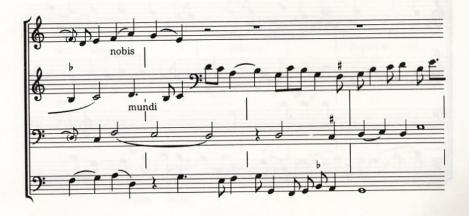
Missa L'homme arme, Gloria





Missa De plus en plus, Gloria

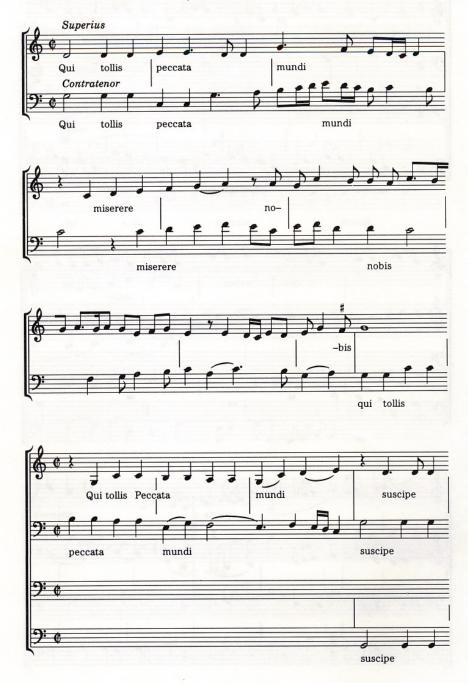








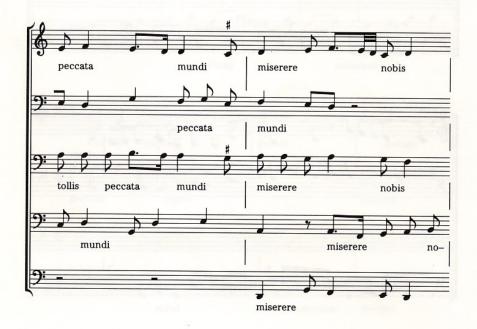
Missa Ecce ancilla domini, Gloria





Missa sine nomine a 5, Gloria



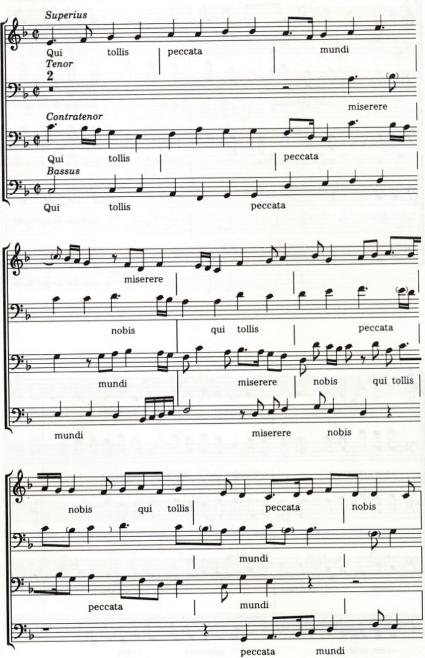








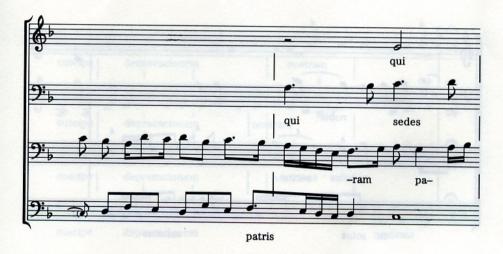
Missa Ma Maistresse, Gloria



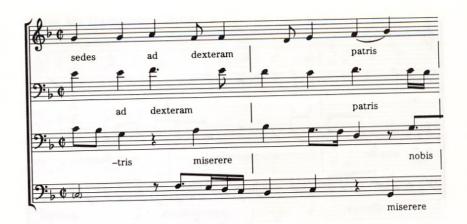


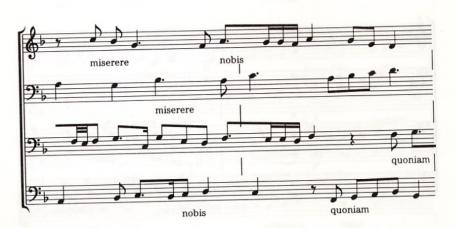


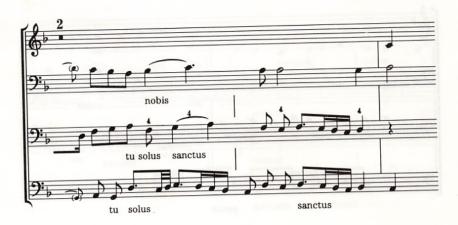




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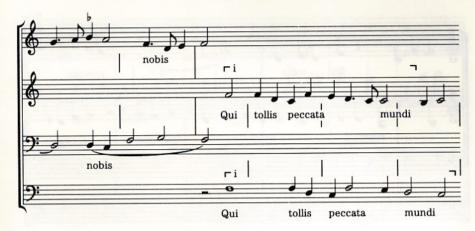


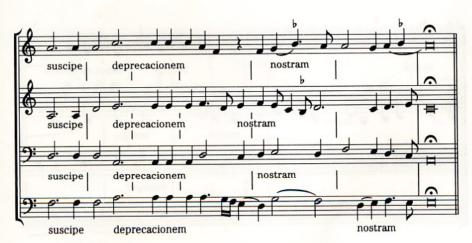




Missa Au travail suis, Gloria







Missa Caput, Gloria



