IV WORK DISCUSSION 1

Matthaeus Pipelare, *Missa Fors seulement*

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Pipelare wrote his five-part mass *Fors seulement* using the tenor of one of his chansons with the same name. On fol. 1^{v} of Mech, at the very beginning of the mass, a rubric under the tenor primus carries the first verse of the original secular composition (with a variant I will discuss later), thus revealing to whoever opened the manuscript that this was a cantus firmus mass, and that the tenor was not a new invention, but rather taken from a pre-existing chanson whose incipit was *Fors seulement* (▶ Fig. IV.1).

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Fors seulement was not just any incipit. These two words identified some of the most widely circulating secular compositions between the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century. It was Johannes Ockeghem (c. 1410–97) who around 1460 first set the rondeau *Fors seulement* – the lament of an abandoned woman. His *Fors seulement* for three voices became one of his most well-known chansons, and he would reuse its material in three other works.[1] Yet the fame of this chanson grew particularly thanks to younger composers who reworked its material (especially the tenor) in numerous cantus firmus settings that began to circulate in the late 1490s.[2]

1 These three works are: the rondeau *Fors seulement contre ce qu'ay promys* (cantus firmus setting of the tenor of *Fors seulement*); the *Fors seulement* mass (only Kyrie, Gloria and Credo; cantus firmus mass with multiple voices borrowing from the model); and the motet *Intemerata dei mater* (first eight breves of the tenor quoted and paraphrased at the beginning of the second part).

2 I consider the higher of the two upper voices to be the tenor of Ockeghem's rondeau. The nomenclature and function of the voices of this chanson is a much debated question; for a survey of the discussion and an explanation of my choice, see Borghetti, "Fors seulement", 45–56. On reworkings of chansons during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Meconi, "Art-Song Reworkings".

Pipelare was amongst the composers who most contributed to reworkings of *Fors seulement*. Besides his mass, we have two other derivative compositions of his: one, known as *Fors seulement I*, a cantus firmus setting for four voices of the tenor of Ockeghem's chanson; the other, known as *Fors seulement II*, a four-voice setting of a new cantus firmus, which has only the initial melodic-rhythmic gesture of Ockeghem's tenor.[3] Both set only the refrain of the rondeau. Notwithstanding the differing material, however, the latter retains some elements of the original work: it is for high voices (Ockeghem's rondeau has two voices in a high register), and it opens with a duet (eight breves in Ockeghem; twelve in Pipelare), with the tenor entering at the cadence at the fifth (in Pipelare, this occurs together with the contratenor). In contrast to *Fors seulement I*, transmitted by a single manuscript source,[4] *Fors seulement II* was one of the most widely circulated reworkings of *Fors seulement*, and is also the composition of Pipelare surviving in the greatest number of sources: it is this *Fors seulement* that is the model of the opening mass of Mech.

No direct connections between Pipelare and the court of the Low Countries are known today. Nonetheless, judging by the number of his works included in manuscripts connected to the Habsburg-Burgundian court, it seems difficult to believe that he was never involved with it. His compositions were certainly appreciated there, in particular *Fors seulement II*, which was included in the chansonnier of Margaret of Austria, B-Br 228.[5] Such an appreciation could explain the choice of a mass written on this chanson at the opening of a presentation manuscript like Mech, compiled by Alamire for a member of the court.[6] It could also suggest that the *Fors seulement* mass might have been a specific commission of the court: a commission of which Mech constitutes the principal and oldest source.

It is usual with Alamire's presentation manuscripts, at the beginning of a composition, before the superius, to find a large historiated miniature, generally of a sacred subject. That on fol. 1^{v} of Mech (▶ Fig. I.1) has an unusual iconography within Alamire's corpus, inasmuch as it pres-

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3 See CMM 34/1.

4 *Fors seulement I* is an *unicum* in I-Fc 2439, a manuscript belonging to the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex (the so-called Alamire manuscripts).

5 The court was one of the centres that cultivated reworkings of *Fors seulement*: three court complex manuscripts have multiple *Fors seulement* settings (A-Wn 18746 and I-Fc 2439 – both with *unica* – and B-Br 228).

6 See As-Vijvers's chapter in the present volume, and Meconi's on composers and repertoire.

ents a contemporary scene. In the centre, Archduke Charles is depicted on the throne of the Habsburg Low Countries, identified by the coat of arms hanging from the surmounting canopy. Seated at his feet are his brother and his four sisters. At the sides we see representatives of the clergy on the left (a pope, a cardinal, and a bishop), and of laity on the right (a nobleman, a warrior and a peasant), who pay homage to the sovereign. Both groups hold pennants, with the inscriptions "Domine refugium factus es nobis a generationem [*sic*] in generationem" (the clergy), and "Respice domine in servos tuos et in opera tua dirige filios eorum" (the laymen).[7] On the canopy, a double-headed eagle bearing the coat-of-arms of Austria and surmounted by an imperial crown brandishes a branch of lilies and a sword; at its feet we see a pennant with the inscription "Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos."[8]

This miniature, which must date from 1515 or early in 1516, shows Charles at the time when he came of age and began to rule the Low Countries in his own right. Emperor Maximilian I, his grandfather, had not yet managed to assure his succession to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, which from the reign of Maximilian's father Frederick III had been in the hands of the Habsburgs. It is significant in this respect that the double-headed eagle above the throne has the Empire's heraldic traits and attributes (it is completely black, including beak and talons; it has a very long and stylised tail; and its two heads are surrounded by halos), but is not (yet) part of an imperial coat of arms.[9] The scene represented in Mech thus shows homage not only to the young archduke just raised to the throne, but also to the person whom the family hoped would become emperor: protector ("umbra") of his house and of the world (as the pennant on the canopy declares), "refugium" of the clergy, and "dominus" of the laity (as in the other two).

The miniature suggests possible reasons for the rubric in the tenor primus on fol. 1^{v} being a variant of the first verse of the chanson (▶ Fig. IV.1). The rubric reads "Fors seullement l'attente que ie *demeure*" instead of the original "Fors seulement l'attente que je *meure*" (my em-

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7 "Lord, you have been our refuge from generation to generation" and "Look down upon your servants and upon your works, [and] direct their sons."

8 "Protect us under the shadow of your wings." This and the other pennant inscriptions are taken from the Psalms, with slight paraphrase in the cases of the pennant of the canopy and that of the laymen.

9 For a comparison, see the double-headed eagle in the imperial coat of arms at the opening of La Rue's *Missa pascale* (fol. 17), which in Mech follows Pipelare's *Missa Fors seulement*.

phasis).[10] "Demeure", the last word of the second verse of the refrain ("en mon cueur nel espoire ne demeure"), replaces the last word of the refrain's first verse.[11] With this variant the verse acquires a meaning opposite to that of the chanson: the hope of death ("perhaps only the expectation that I *die*") becomes that of permanence ("perhaps only the expectation that I *remain*"). Thus the rubric functions as a sort of caption for the historiated miniature; by playing on the text it makes explicit a series of possible messages contained in the scene: the hope that Charles *remains* on the imperial throne, and thus that the imperial title *remains* with the Habsburgs.[12]

What role does Pipelare's mass play in this allegory? Would any other mass based on *Fors seulement* have done in its place, or does Pipelare's instead contribute to the significance of the allegory through its musical characteristics? If the latter is the case, what are the elements supporting the hypothesis that Pipelare composed the *Fors seulement* mass on commission of the court, and with specifically celebratory intent?

There is no documentary proof to sustain this hypothesis conclusively, but a detailed analysis of the mass in Mech offers interesting indications in its support. This choirbook, copied in 1515 or early 1516, is the oldest source of Pipelare's mass, which might be one of his last compositions (it is his only mass for five voices).[13] If this dating of the mass and of its source is correct, it is surprising that a "modern" chanson (that is, one that renounces the *formes fixes* and that, while a cantus firmus setting, does not distinguish the tenor from the free voices), could serve as the basis for a mass with predominantly archaic traits. Pipelare's is a rigid cantus firmus mass in which the tenor normally has doubled values with respect to the chanson's, and therefore is usually differentiated from the surrounding voices rhythmically as well as melodically. Polyphonic borrowing, moreover, is restricted to the "Benedictus". The prevailing rigidity of the technique contrasts with the late dating of the work, and is particularly surprising for Pipelare, who in older mass-

10 The first to comment on this variant in the rubric of the tenor was Van der Heide, "De symboliek", 71; see also Blackburn, "Messages in Miniatures", 170; Borghetti, "Petrus Alamire und die *Missa Fors seulement*", 314. Van der Heide identifies the figure on the throne as Maximilian I and not his grandson Charles.

11 None of the other sources of the mass have the rubric in this form, not even the other Alamire manucripts (D-Ju 2, E-MO 766, and the fragment D-BÜ 1601).

12 See Borghetti, "Il manoscritto", 84–91.

13 For the dating of Mech, see Flynn Warmington, "Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliothek MS s.s.", in Kellman (ed.), *The Treasury*, 112.

es (e.g., *Dicit dominus*, *Sine nomine*, and *Pour entretenir mes amours*) permeates, or even saturates, the voices with elements taken from the pre-existing melodies on which they are based, or eliminates the rhythmic distinction between the cantus firmus and the free voices.[14]

In order to understand the reasons for these compositional choices, it is useful to analyse the music of the mass within the context of its transmission in Mech. As was usual with cantus firmus masses, Pipelare places the tenor of the pre-existing composition in the tenor of the mass: the voice that music theory defined as *fundamentum relationis*, the basis of the polyphonic composition.[15] The *Fors seulement* mass is for five voices; it is the tenor primus that carries the cantus firmus. In Mech, each voice except the superius is associated with a coat of arms at the opening of the work: New Burgundy (tenor secundus); Portugal (contratenor); Hungary quartered with Habsburg-Burgundy (bassus); and for the tenor primus, that of Austria (▶ Fig. IV.1). The musical pre-eminence of this last voice is the raison d'être for its use for symbolic ends. By associating it with Austria, Mech considers this tenor as the voice most worthy of representing the Habsburgs within the musical fabric: just as the tenor is the basis of the composition, Austria is the basis of the political power of this family. The tenor, drastically separated from the other voices, functions as the musical analogy to the historiated miniature: according to the rubric, it aspires to "remain", and for this reason it is the voice that moves the least with respect to the others. It also functions with regard to another allegory: with its long notes, the tenor-Austria is practically the "Unmoved Mover" of a complex of voices, which, through the coats of arms, symbolises a constellation of territories. Both voices and territories have in that very tenor-Austria their origin and centre.

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It is possible that for the *Fors seulement* mass Pipelare had a model in Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie*. Written most probably in the early sixteenth century, the *Missa Hercules* rapidly became the archetype of celebratory compositions for a prince, and was soon known and

14 On this aspect see Cross, "Matthaeus Pipelare", 277–90. As Cross points out (234), the *Sine nomine* mass seems to be based on a polyphonic composition that has not yet been identified.

15 See, e.g., the late fifteenth-century theorist Johannes Tinctoris's *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*: "Tenor est cujusque cantus compositi fundamentum relationis" ("The tenor is the basis of a polyphonic composition").

appreciated at the court of the Low Countries.[16] The *Hercules* mass is a cantus firmus composition with the tenor drastically separated from the free voices. Josquin uses here an age-old technique for sacred music, applying it, however, with a rigour and formal clarity that have no precedents in the mass repertory.[17] Through this fusion of old and new, in the *Hercules* mass Josquin develops a style that attempts to blur the perception of the work's temporality, placing it beyond history, together with the prince and his ideology of princely power, both objects of the celebration.[18]

Pipelare's stylistic choices in the *Fors seulement* mass are close to those of Josquin in his *Missa Hercules*. Perhaps following a specific request from his patrons, he realises through music and its media an allegory of the imperial aspirations of the Habsburgs, together with a glorification of their family power. In contrast to Josquin, however, the identity of the addressee(s) of the celebration is made explicit not through a *soggetto cavato*, but from the sum of different elements that involve the music (the cantus firmus and its treatment) and the forms of its mediation (its texts, paratexts, and decoration).

The *Fors seulement* mass is transmitted by three other Alamire manuscripts apart from Mech – a sign of its importance for these manuscripts' patrons and dedicatees (▶ Appendix 4, p. 221). Its political, celebratory message, however, is explicit only in Mech. None of the other three Alamire choirbooks have the variant in the rubric, let alone comparable decoration. Significant traces of the political and celebratory elements of Pipelare's mass survive, however, in a concordance outside the Alamire complex: D-W A Aug. 2°, a manuscript produced for the dukes of Bavaria (c. 1518–20). Its decorative programme there celebrates the alliance between the Habsburgs and the Wittelsbachs; the coats of arms of the two families and portraits of some family members appear in several of its masses. In light of this analysis, it is significant that the only prominent appearance in this manuscript of an escutcheon with the double-headed eagle,

16 In the Alamire manuscripts the *Missa Hercules* is present three times: in B-Br 9126 as *Missa Philippus Rex Castilie* (for Charles's father Philip the Fair); in D-Ju 2 as *Missa Fredericus Dux Saxonie* (for Frederick the Wise); and in A-Wn 4809 with its original title. The oldest manuscripts are largely contemporary with RISM J 670, the first known source of the *Missa Hercules*.

17 On the *Missa Hercules* as an unprecedented fusion of archaic and modern traits, see Fallows, *Josquin*, 259.

18 This is one of the reasons for modern difficulties with dating the *Hercules* mass. For a synthesis of the various hypotheses, see Fallows, *Josquin*, 256–62.

the coat of arms of the Holy Roman Emperor, comes in the first opening of Pipelare's *Fors seulement* (fol. 55^{v}, bassus). This similarity of decorative apparatus with Mech seems to confirm the imperial meaning of this composition.[19]

Pipelare was not the first to write a mass on *Fors seulement*: before him Ockeghem composed a mass on his own *Fors seulement* (only a Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo). Its sole source today is the Chigi Codex (I-Rvat Chigi 234), again a choirbook from the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex. We can thus imagine that Pipelare knew Ockeghem's mass, since it was available in a milieu where his music was well known and with which he might well have been connected, as pointed out earlier. Moreover, there are some musical characteristics of Pipelare's mass that support this hypothesis. As shown above, although setting a new tenor, *Fors seulement II* refers to Ockeghem's chanson. The *Fors seulement* mass does the same with the mass of his predecessor. Like Ockeghem, Pipelare takes as model a composition for high voices (the three upper voices all have a C1 clef; the bassus uses a C4 clef), but writes a mass for five voices with a particularly low range, where the tenor cites a voice from the original composition transposed down an octave (▶ Ex. IV.1 compares the vocal ranges of the two compositions).[20]

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In the tenor primus Pipelare presents the tenor of his chanson, almost always with note values doubled. ▶ Ex. IV.2 shows the cantus firmus plan of the mass, highlighting the passages where values are the same as in the chanson.[21] Notably, Pipelare starts reducing the note values in the same sections as Josquin does in his *Missa Hercules:* the last section of the Credo and the "Osanna" (boxed in ▶ Ex. IV.2).

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The tenor is almost always distinct from the free voices. The sounding effect is the same even in "Agnus Dei" II and III: although the tenor has here its original values, they are longer than those of the other voices. Exceptions to the use of contrast are the segments of the Credo and "Osanna" mentioned above, which use *integer valor*. There are other

19 See Borghetti, "Il manoscritto", 94, 100; Becker, "Zum historischen Hintergrund", 187–88, 226–30.

20 On the range of Ockeghem's mass, see Kreitner, "Very Low Ranges", 472–75. On low ranges in early sixteenth-century music see Meconi, "The Range of Mourning". I compare only the Kyrie and Gloria of Ockeghem's mass because the Credo has a different range. This discrepancy has encouraged some scholars to suggest that the Kyrie and Gloria come from one mass, and the Credo from another: see Kreitner, "Very Low Ranges", 473; Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem*, 126.

21 Agnus II has doubled note values like the preceeding sections, but they sound in *integer valor* because of the proportional time signature under which they are sung.

passages as well where the tenor and the free voices move at the same pace: the first seven bars of the "Christe", bb. 51-60 of the Gloria ("Jesu Christe"), and bb. 75-84 of the Credo ("et homo factus est"). In these three passages the text of the mass ordinary addresses God through the figure of the Son (in the "Christe" and in the Gloria), and recalls the mystery of the Incarnation (in the Credo). In polyphonic masses of the time these passages are often marked by long notes. In the *Fors seulement* mass, however, the homogeneous rhythm of the free voices and the tenor, which in these sections has no reduced note values, assumes a specific significance because of its context in Mech. Here the music highlights the figure of Christ, he who, according to the sacred scriptures, "the Father has consecrated and sent into the world" (John 10:36). This is a fundamental element for the allegorical and celebrative purpose of the mass. In underlining specific portions of the text, the music contributes significantly to the message of the initial miniature: the emphasis on Christ, sent by God, highlights the Christological role of the (future) emperor, who, like Christ, is consecrated by means of unction, and whom, like Christ, the world awaits as its own "dominus", "refugium", and "umbra".

The *Fors seulement* mass is in the mode of its chanson model, mode 1. This is the same mode of the *Missa Hercules*; it is therefore possible that this choice was made due to symbolic values associated with this mode at the time ("constant" and "severe" according to Gaffurius; "majestic", "serious", "heroic", according to Glarean), and also including the simple fact that it is the first.[22] But in contrast to the high voices of the chanson, the mass is for distinctly low voices, with the superius never rising above *a'*, while the bassus descends as far as *C* (▶ Ex. IV.1b). The low register gives the mass a dark character, which is appropriate given the mournful text of its chanson model.[23] But this very low range could also be connected with the function of the mass. According to later theorists such as Glarean and Vicentino, the low register could be called up by the "gravitas" of a particular composition's "content": in the case of the *Fors seulement* mass, its being a celebrative and dynastic allegory referring

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22 Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan: Forni, 1518), book 4, chap. 4; Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Petri, 1547), book 2, chap. 21.

23 This could be the reason why Pipelare's other *Fors seulement* setting (*Fors seulement I*) is also for low voices (its clefs are from top to bottom C2, C4, F3, F5).

to the election of a Holy Roman Emperor.[24] In favour of this hypothesis, we can note that, as far as we know, Pipelare used low ranges in a way comparable to the *Fors seulement* mass in only one other mass, the *Missa L'homme armé*: again, significantly, a composition that, by virtue of its cantus firmus, can be connected with the celebration of princely power.[25]

Fors seulement is Pipelare's only mass to be written in duple time throughout. It occupies a distinct place amongst the composer's masses also by reason of its formal clarity and for renouncing the dense polyphony rich in florid figurations typical of his earlier compositions. Its movements consist of a series of clear-cut episodes – often duets – marked by cadences and, when present, by the entry of the tenor with the cantus firmus.[26]

INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENT DISCUSSION

The Kyrie opens with a duet between contratenor and superius. It presents a head-motive that returns in a more or less extended form in all the other movements except the Credo. The presence/absence of the motive underlines the formal clarity of the mass, for the movements are arranged symmetrically: the Kyrie and Gloria with head-motive, Credo without head-motive, Sanctus and Agnus Dei again with it.

As with the chanson model, the opening is in imitation; then the two voices proceed towards the cadence, where all the voices enter, including the first tenor. This gesture recalls the chanson, but also the beginning of Ockeghem's original rondeau and his *Fors seulement* mass. Like the rondeau on which it is based, Ockeghem's mass opens with a passage in reduced scoring that ends with a cadence at the point where the tenor enters a fifth away from the resolution. In contrast to Ockeghem, Pipelare in his mass makes no direct reference to his own chanson (▶ Ex. IV.3).

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The "Christe" introduces a new element: it begins with a passage in which the cantus firmus and the free voices move together with long notes on the word "Christe". The rest of the section consists of duets and reduced scorings, expanding to five full voices only towards the end. This

24 On "gravitas" (seriousness) associated with low registers, see Kreitner, "Very Low Ranges", 478; Carey, "Composition for Equal Voices", 309–10.

25 For a discussion of the potential political and ideological meanings of *L'homme armé* masses at this time, see Borghetti, "Music and the Representation of Princely Power", 197–207.

26 In this it is close to the *Credo de Sancto Johanne Evangelista*, an isolated movement for five voices, and probably also a late composition.

"Christe" contains some of the most characteristic elements of Pipelare's style: the use of sequences and the repetition of brief motives, melodically limited and rhythmically poignant, as in bb. 44–54 (contratenor and bassus) and especially bb. 69–74 (contratenor, second tenor, bassus; ▶ p. 201 ▶ Ex. IV.4). But episodes of this kind are infrequent in the *Fors seulement* mass, and one does not find the long and repeated sequences and ostinatos that characterise his other masses – for example, *L'homme armé* or *Floruit egregius* (both, it would seem, of earlier date).

"Kyrie" II returns to the full sonorities and fluent phrases of "Kyrie" I. It is possible that the beginning contains a reference to the *Missa Hercules*: the two tenors perhaps cite the beginning of Josquin's Kyrie trans- ▶ p. 201 posed down a fourth (▶ Ex. IV.5). This may be another sign of a relation between the two works.

The Gloria is divided into two parts. The initial duet with head-motive lasts for ten breves, but in contrast to the other movements, involves differing couples of voices: first tenor secundus and superius, then superius and contratenor, and finally bassus and tenor secundus. The movement consists for the most part of a series of duets or reduced scorings. Pipelare uses all five voices rhetorically, highlighting portions of the texts such as "gratias agimus tibi" (bb. 21–24) and "suscipe deprecationem nostram" (bb. 92–97). A perfect fusion of all the voices, including the tenor primus, however, takes place only at the words "Jesu Christe", where the cantus firmus is not rhythmically differentiated from the oth- ▶ p. 202 er voices (bb. 51–60; ▶ Ex. IV.6).

The Credo, too, is bipartite. It begins with a duet between tenor secundus and bassus without head-motive; the tenor secundus paraphrases here the melody now known as Credo IV.[27] The same chant model returns a number of times in other voices throughout the movement. At bb. 7–11 follows another duet between superius and contratenor, now with some melodic elements of the head-motive: an ascending minor third and a descending second, the same intervals that mark its beginning. Like the Gloria, the Credo alternates duets and reduced scorings with passages where all voices move homorhythmically: e.g., at the words "genitum non factum" and "et in spiritum". Both coincide with the entrance of the tenor primus, which, although present, does not move together with the

27 See the edition in *Liber Usualis*, 71–73.

surrounding voices. This will happen only at the words "et homo factus est" (bb. 75–84; ▶ Ex. IV.7).

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The Credo lacks the third verset, "et in unum dominum Jesum Christum, filium Dei unigenitum". Apparently Pipelare did not set it, since it is missing from all sources of the mass.[28] Omissions in the Credo were fairly common at the time, but it is not always possible to discern their reasons, including in this case. This particular verset was not among the most frequently omitted, but it is also missing, for example, in Ockeghem's *Missa De plus en plus* and Obrecht's masses *Beata viscera*, *Sub tuum praesidium* and *Veci la dance Barbari*. In all these works, however, the fifth verset ("Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de deo vero") is also missing, while it is present in Pipelare's mass.[29]

The Sanctus is divided into four sections, two of which are without cantus firmus ("Pleni" and "Benedictus"). The duet with head-motive occupies twelve measures at the start of the movement. In contrast to the other movements, however, duets are limited; they are absent in the "Osanna", the section being written almost entirely for five voices throughout. The "Pleni", for four voices, consists instead of a series of duets with imitative entries. The "Benedictus" is also for four voices; here the tenor with cantus firmus is silent. This section is a polyphonic borrowing of the chanson: the superius cites its top voice almost literally, while the other voices paraphrase their corresponding parts. The presence in the rite of the one "who comes in the name of the Lord" (the "Benedictus" was sung at the elevation) coincides in the music with the presence of the complete chanson, which resounds here in a way found nowhere else in the mass. In Mech the presence of the chanson model recalls the initial rubric: he "who comes in the name of the Lord" occurs with the music of the one who states his "hope of remaining". Through the use of polyphonic borrowing, in the "Benedictus" Pipelare makes the one who was sent by God "appear" before the very ears of the people who participate in the rite of the mass, analogous to the body of Christ consecrated at the moment of elevation.[30]

28 The mostly syllabic text declamation in this passage leaves little room for a scribal error.

29 Ruth Hannas ("Concerning Deletions", 158, 176) points out that the combined omission of the versets 3 and 5 occurs in masses explicitly devoted to the Virgin or honouring her "by symbolical application of some secular song" (at her time the mass *Veci la danse Barbari* was still known as *Sine nomine*), and points to examples of this usage in Ockeghem and Obrecht.

30 On the coordination of the "Benedictus" with the elevation, see Kirkman, *The Cultural Life*, 192–207.

The Agnus Dei is tripartite. The first two sections employ the first two phrases of the cantus firmus; the last the entire melody. The first and last are for five voices, the second for four; the second and last make use of the same note values as the chanson.[31] Although "Agnus" II is for four voices, Mech transmits an incomplete version here. The tenor primus is the highest voice in this section, but the scribe who prepared the leaves of Mech neglected to indent a system for this voice, and the voice was consequently not inserted. Perhaps so as not to spoil the layout of such an important mass, opening an equally important choirbook, Mech thus transmits the second "Agnus" without one of its voices.[32]

"Agnus" III, as is frequent in masses of the time, functions as the climax of the work, thanks to the introduction of new elements. It uses a texture without duets, in which the free voices all enter with differing motives. The tenor primus does not arrive on the cadence, and for the first time is wholly in *integer valor*. It is, nonetheless, always distinct from the surrounding voices. In this, too, one can find confirmation of the allegorical and celebrative significance of the mass: the cry for peace arrives at the conclusion of the ritual, in which the Lamb of God becomes symbolically close to the people who prayed for help. Similarly, the tenor primus with the cantus firmus now sounds less aloof than before. We thus see as correspondingly less distant the Christological figure of the (future) emperor, who, as Mech and its initial miniature show, the whole world beseeches, begging for protection and peace.

31 The scribe of Mech was probably copying from an exemplar with the tenor primus in doubled values, but with C2 as the mensural indication: see Borghetti, "Da Ockeghem a Pipelare", 232–34.

32 On the problems of transmission of the "Agnus" II in Mech see Borghetti, "Petrus Alamire und die *Missa Fors seulement*", 314–15. The section is still performable, although essential cadence formations are lacking at two points.