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Notes

Sources. All except Coventry in white and black notation, Coventry in black and red notation.

Coventry, The Coventry Corporation, MS A 3, copied ca 1450, perhaps near Ely, fols. 1r-1v, Agnus 1-2 (tenor and contratenor), Agnus 3 (superius and tenor 2). Ascription, if any, lost.

London, British Library, Additional MS 54324, copied ca. 1460-65, perhaps in London, fols. 6r-6v, Kyrie (section 1, contratenor and tenor 2 on 5r; section 2, superius and tenor). Ascription, if any, lost.

Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238, copied ca. 1460 in Bruges by a certain Waghe or Waghes, fols. 17v-20v, Kyrie, Gloria, section 1, superius and tenor; section 2, contratenor and tenor; Agnus 1-2, superius and tenor, Agnus 3. Anonymous.

Trento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS B.L. (= Trent 93), copied ca. 1453 in southern Germany, fols. 126r-128r, 236v-238r, 297v-299r, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus. Anonymous

Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciale, MS 1375 (= Trent 88), copied ca. 1460 in Trento by Johannes Wiser, fols. 31v-35r, Kyrie and Agnus. Duffay.

Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciale, MS 1376 (= Trent 89), copied ca. 1463-65 in Trento by Johannes Wiser, fols. 246r-256r. Duffay (ascription erased but readable).

Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciale, MS 1377 (= Trent 90), copied ca 1453-57 (partly from Trent 93) in Munich and Trento by Johannes Wiser, fols. 96r-98r, 168v-170r, 228v-230r. Anonymous.

The present work is probably one of the most important and influential works of the fifteenth century. It was composed in England perhaps ca. 1445 and came to be known in the continent not long after. The earliest continental copy for it, Trent 93, dates from around 1453, and I have postulated that the group of English masses, beginning with Caput, copied in that manuscript, probably formed part of the repertory of ordinary of the mass copied by Symon Mellet for the cathedral of Cambrai in 1449, and that copies of it were probably known at Cambrai by 1447. The reason for this is based on the observation of Rob Wegman, that the four-voice texture of the Caput mass produced a virtual revolution in the way fifteenth-century composers approached the writing both of cantus firmus masses and of the four-voice texture itself. It is by now well known that Ockeghem’s Caput mass, Petrus de Domarto’s Spiritus almus mass, and Du Fay’s Se la face ay pale mass are in all kinds of ways these composers’ reaction to the new texture of the English Caput mass, a texture that was retained in the L’homme armé masses of Du Fay and Ockeghem and mutatis mutandis in Obrecht’s own Caput mass as well as a host of other works from the 1450s to the 1470s. But the earliest continental work where one can hear the Caput texture (and in a startlingly close imitation at that) is Du Fay’s motet Fulgens iubar ecclesiae dei, which was probably composed in early 1447. The copies at Cambrai, like the early copies in Trento, probably did not include the long Kyrie with its Latin verses. The Kyrie apparently reached Cambrai only with Ockeghem’s visit to Du Fay in the spring of 1463, since a few months later the accounts of the fabric of the cathedral record a payment to Symon Mellet for copying the Kyrie of the Caput mass on two bifolia, exactly the number of leaves that this very long movement takes in every surviving copy.


The connection of the mass with Cambrai early on probably explains why in the 1460s the work was ascribed to Du Fay in two of the Trent codices, although it is also true that Wiser, in the later of the two manuscripts, canceled the ascription, probably upon receiving better intelligence on the work. It is actually most likely that, as Reinhard Strohm suggests, the mass reached the continent from the first as an anonymous work. All attempts to ascribe it to a known composer are unsatisfactory; a few scholars (though not in any published material) have suggested John Dunstaple, but the work is very different in its melodic and rhythmic drive from anything we have of his music. It points towards the kinds of writing one finds in the late work of Frye, although it is clearly a work of an older composer. To put it bluntly, the Caput master, if this work is any indication, was one of the finest composers of his generation in Europe and the best English composer in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The ascription to Du Fay was taken at face value by modern scholarship until a series of studies by Margaret and Ian Bent, Thomas Walker, and myself, building upon Strohm’s discovery of the manuscript Lucca 238, removed it from the canon of Du Fay’s works. This prompted a reevaluation of both the development of Du Fay’s late style and of the extent of English influence on continental music during the middle decades of the fifteenth century.

The cantus firmus of the mass remained unidentified until 1950, when Manfred Bukofzer published a seminal study of the Caput masses of “Dufay,” Ockeghem, and Obrecht, showing that the cantus firmus was the final melisma of the antiphon Venit ad Petrum sung in France and England during the mandatum ceremony on Maundy Thursday. Bukofzer also unwittingly planted the first seeds of doubt about Du Fay’s authorship of the work with his discovery of a copy in MS Coventry A 3.

There have been five modern editions of the work, all of them published when the mass was thought to be by Du Fay and before the discovery of London 54324 and Lucca 238, the only sources that give an accurate picture of how the Latin verses of the Kyrie were originally set to the music. The earliest of these appeared in 1912 and the last in 1971. In all of these the lower voices were considered to be “instrumental” or at best vocalized, and only the upper voices were provided with text. The two English sources for the mass, although fragmentary, give us a glimpse of a different tradition, although in the London manuscript the Kyrie text in the lower voices has been set

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8 Manfred Bukofzer, “Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950). 317-310. At the time of Bukofzer’s writing most sources of Venit ad Petrum with the Caput melisma known were English Sarum use manuscripts. Since then a considerable number of French sources, particularly Parisian ones, and a very early Aquitanian manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin*, MS 903 (a Gradual from St. Yrieix) have been found that transmit the antiphon as well.


10 The versions in Trent 88 and Trent 89 eliminate the last three invocations and simply give incipits for the first six more or less evenly divided between the two sections of the movement. A discussion of the English distribution of Latin verses in English polyphonic Kyries appears in Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Fifteenth-Century Masses: Notes on Performance and Chronology,” *Studi Musicali* 10 (1981), 3-29.

by breaking not only the ligatures but occasionally some of the longer notes as well, which probably is not part of the original conception of the work.

The present edition is intended to be a practical performance edition. It is perforce based upon the versions in Trent for much of the work, since Coventry, Lucca, and London are fragmentary, but the sources have been collated anew and the best readings have been adopted. The complete filiation of the sources except for Lucca 238 and London appears in Planchart, *Missae Caput*, but this must be read in conjunction with the filiation study offered by Strohm in an essay on the sources for the mass, which is probably the most insightful essay on its transmission.1 A good number of proposed emendations to the text in the Trent codices in my edition of 1964 were supported by the text in Lucca 238, although this source is not entirely free of errors. One or two small emendations of the musical text have been added here, the most important one in measures 163-4 of the contratenor in the Kyrie. The corrupt passage at the very end of the mass has been reworked as well.

The text underlay in the Kyrie follows what can be seen in the superius in London and Lucca, which serve as a guide to the distribution of the Latin verses, which following an established English tradition are distributed with five verses in part 1 and four in part 2. Beginnings and endings of text phrases have been adjusted, not only in the Kyrie but in all other movements to coincide with important articulations in the music. Occasional repeated notes on the same syllable are used since this would have been familiar to any musician who sang plainsong most of the time. In addition occasional text repetitions are used in the Sanctus and the Agnus, again in order to make the phrasing of the music clear. In these repetitions common rules of oratory and rhetoric were used to decided what to repeat. In texting the lower voices the general approach that can be seen in the Coventry manuscript, not only in the fragment of *Caput* but in the fragments of the mass *Tu es Petrus*, which is a close contemporary of *Caput* and for which Coventry transmits part of the Gloria and Credo, was followed. The lower voices not always have a complete text phrase (e.g., *Laudamus* instead of *Laudamus te*) but for those phrases that were not eliminated in the setting itself (as is the case with some of the clauses of the Credo) the complete phrase is clearly audible in the polyphony. I made an effort to have the voices declaim the text as simultaneously as possible. This may or may not be something that fifteenth century composers, singers, or congregations expected, but it is something that helps the modern listener to make sense of the phrasing and the structure of the music and helps with the intonation as well.

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The entire mass has been transcribed at a 2:1 reduction, where the original semibreve is rendered as a half note throughout. This gives a better picture of the notational shape of the work than either Besseler's edition of my own earlier edition, where the sections in ♪ were rendered with a 2:1 reduction and those in ♬ with a 4:1 reduction. At the time the shift in reduction was thought to reflect better the tempo relationships in the mass. Each movement has two sections, one in ♪ and the other in ♬, each with a full statement of the long cantus firmus. Following a long but imprecisely documented English tradition, three semibreves in ♪ are replaced by four in ♬, an acceleration of the tempo that caused the duple meter sections to be copied with ♫ in Trent 93 and Trent 90. Still, the increased rate of reduction had the effect of making the sections in ♬ look fussier, and this can be often heard in many of the early recordings of the work. Most performances of this music usually take inordinately slow tempos that do not allow the phrasing to be heard clearly and worse, allow no distinction between what is the basic melodic line and what is an ornament. I would suggest a tempo of MM 84 to 96 to the semibreve for the sections in ♪ and MM 112 to 128 for the sections in ♬.

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Venit ad Petrum

Do - mi - ne

Ve - nit ad Pet - trum, di - xit e - i Pe - trus:

non la - va - bis mi - hi pe - des in ae - ter - num.

Re - spon - dens le - sus di - xit:

si non la - ve - ro te non he - be - bis par - tem me - cum.

Do - mi - ne

non tan - tum pe - des me - os sed et ma - nus et

caput.
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 03
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 04

80

\[ \text{na-te, coae-ter-ne, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{tri-al-mi na-te, coae-ter-ne, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{na-te, coae-ter-ne, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{Qui-per-di-tum hominem sal-son.} \]

\[ \text{Qui ho-mi-nem} \]

\[ \text{vas-ti de mor-te red-dens} \]

\[ \text{nas-vas-ti de-mor-te red-dens} \]

\[ \text{vas-ti de mor-te red-dens} \]

\[ \text{vi-taे, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{vi-taе, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{vi-taе, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{dens vi-taе, e-lei-son.} \]

\[ \text{dens vi-taе, e-lei-son.} \]
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 06

146
son. Con - - - - so - - - - la - - - - tor
Con - - - - so - - - - la - - - - tor
Con - - - - so - - - - la - - - - tor
Con - - - - so - - - - la - - - - tor

156
- spi - - - - ri - - - - tus, sup - - - - pli - - - - ces
- spi - - - - ri - - - - tus, sup - - - - pli - - - - ces
- spi - - - - ri - - - - tus, sup - - - - pli - - - - ces
- spi - - - - ri - - - - tus, sup - - - - pli - - - - ces

166
y - - - - - mas te ex - o - ra - - - -
y - - - - - mas te ex - o - ra - - - -
y - - - - - mas te ex - o - ra - - - -
y - - - - - mas te ex - o - ra - - - -

176
mus, e - - - - - lei - - son, e - - - - - lei - - son.
mus, e - - - - - lei - - son, e - - - - - lei - - son.
mus, e - - - - - lei - - son, e - - - - - lei - - son.
mus, e - - - - - lei - - son, e - - - - - lei - - son.

A-MC
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 07

186

- - - - - - - - - son. Vir - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son.

Vir - - - - - - - - -

8

- - - - - - - - - son.

- - - - - - - - - son.

Virtus

216

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

de - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

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- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - son. Sum - - - - - - - - -
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 08

224

232

240

248
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 11

Domine Deus, tuam, Domine Deus, riam tuam, Domine Deus,

Rex caelestis, Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus, Rex caelestis,

Omnipotens. Domine Deus, clemens, Domine Deus,

Dominus Deus, Dum sanctificetur nomen tuum, Dominus Deus,
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 12

73

Le - su Chri - ste. Do -

Chri - ste, Le - su Chri - ste. Do -

- su Chri - ste.

79

Mi - ne de - us, a - gnus de - i,

De - us, a - gnus de - i,

a - gnus de - i,

85

Fi - li - us pa - tris,

Fi - li - us pa - tris,

Fi - li - us pa - tris,

89

Quis - tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun

Qui - tol - lis pec - ca - ta

Quis - tol - lis pec - ca - ta

C
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 13
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 14

Missa Caput:

Rex meus, tu solus me susceps in diebus, qui sequi te vult. Praecipue de prescipe, qui sequi tu vult.

Re re nobis. Quo ni am tu sof...
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 16

Patrem omnipotentem

Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, 

Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, 

Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, 

Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, 

Superius

Contratenor

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Anonymous, Missa Caput: 16
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 17

le - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - mi - num u - ni - ge -

Chri - stum. Fi - li - um De -

i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Ex Pa - - - -

i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - - - -

i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - - - -

ni - tum. Ex Pa - - - -

an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la: De -

an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la: De -

an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la: De -

om - ni - a sae - cu - la:

um de De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - cu - la: lu - men de lu - mi -
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 18

Non factum, con substantio. De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.

De ove ro. Non factum, con substantio.
Missa Caput: 19

Anonymous

Qui propter nos homines, et a fac ta sunt.
Qui propter nos homines, et sunt.
Qui propter nos homines.

et propter nostram salutem, de scen dit.
A-MC

Anonymous, Missa Caput: 20

96 C

Et in car natu s est de Spi ritu Sanct 

108

- to: ex Maria Vir gi ne: et hom mo fact us est. Cru ci fi

118

- mo fac tus est. Cru ci fi xus

128

xus etiam pro no bis sub Pon -

A-MC
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 22

178

est cum gloria

188

tuos. Cu ius regni non e rit

198

sanc tam catholicam et apostol

208

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit

uos. Cu ius regni non e rit

anos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

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tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.

tos. Cu ius regni non e rit fi nis.
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 23
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 24

Sanctus

Superius

Sanc

Contratenor

Sanc

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

A-MC
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 27
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 31

Agnus dei

Superius
Contratenor
Tenor 1
Tenor 2
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 32
Anonymous, Missa Caput: 35