Guillaume Du Fay

Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua

(Mass ordinary)

Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

for John Bergsagel

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Preface

The mass was published for the first time in a modern score in 1960 in the second volume of the Du Fay Opera omnia. The editor, Heinrich Besseler, had identified the mass as Missa Sancti Antonii Viennensis. Twenty years later David Fallows proved that the mass rather should be identified with the other Anthonius mass that Du Fay had mentioned in his will, the Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua. It was the musical work by Du Fay that was most commented on by the music theorists of the 15th and early 16th centuries.² Besseler's edition is marred by some misunderstandings of the notation and by misprints, which make it less usable for any detailed scholarly study. Also in 1960 the mass was published in Rudolf Bockholdt's book on Du Fay's early masses - without the majority of the errors of the Opera omnia.3 However, Bockholdt presented the music in a sort of pseudodiplomatic score notation, which saves much space in the book but is difficult to read and right out impossible to perform from. A modern score of Du Fay's most intricate music will never be easy to read, no less to perform, but it ought to be possible to produce a score, which is faithful to the challenges that the composer posed his expert performers, as well as possible to use for modern performances, if the singers make some adjustments to their routines.

In his Du Fay book of 1982 David Fallows carefully pointed out the short-comings of the Besseler edition, but nevertheless declared that "the cycle as it survives in its unique source contains several passages that are patently musical nonsense by any criteria ..." I have not been able to discover any "musical nonsense" in this music, only misconceptions brought into the world by the Besseler edition. In order to oblige a long-held wish to study the rhythmic intricacies of the mass and its special tonal world, I decided to make a new edition based on the then recently published and very clear online facsimile of the Trent

- 1 Guglielmi Dufay (ed. H. Besseler), Opera omnia II (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 1) Rome 1960, pp. 47-68.
- 2 David Fallows, *Dufay* (The Master Musicians) London 1982 (2nd rev. ed. 1987), chapter 14 "The St Anthony Masses and other doubtful Mass music", pp. 182-193, and 'Dufay's Mass for St Anthony of Padua. Reflections on the Career of His Most Important Work, *The Musical Times*, vol. 123, no. 1673 (1982), pp. 467-470.
- 3 Rudolf Bockholdt, *Die frühen Messenkompositionen von Guillaume Dufay* I-II (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte. Bd. 5), Tutzing 1960, vol. II, pp. 68-86.
- 4 Fallows, *Dufay*, pp. 184-185.

codices.⁵ My edition was finished and presented with a dedication to my former teacher, professor emeritus *John D. Bergsagel*, on the occasion of his 85th birthday in April 2013. His inspired and meticulous teaching of the secrets of mensural notation at the University of Copenhagen had formed my interest in musical notation, and I was quite confident that he was one of the few persons in the modern world that would appreciate such a new edition. The online publication, in which only some misprints has been changed, will appear just after his 90th birthday as an expression of my gratitude for his help and kind interest.

The present edition comprises Du Fay's ordinary mass for Saint Anthony de Padua as it is preserved in the MS Trent 90. The proprium mass, which completes the ordinary as a full service for St Anthony, is published in a separate edition. Johannes Wiser had it entered into his MS Trent 88 some years after the copying of the ordinary mass. It is part of a long series of proprium masses of which Du Fay may have composed several items and even complete masses.

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen University of Copenhagen, April 2018

⁵ At https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/ home_page.

⁶ See http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Duf01a.pdf.

⁷ After the completion of this project Alejandro Enrique Planchart has added this mass to his new online edition of the complete works by Guillaume Du Fay (Opera omnia 03/03) at https://www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/du-fay-opera-omnia/. Here it appears as a plenary mass for St Anthony and St Francis, as Missa Sancti Antonii de Padua and Sancti Francisci.

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Introduction

The earliest source for *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* is the MS Trent 93, which includes its Kyrie (ff. 103v-104) in a long series of Kyrie-settings.⁸ This large, systematically organized collection of mass music was most probable created in Southern Germany, in or around Munich, during the earliest years of the 1450s.⁹ A short time later, the young Johannes Wiser, still working in Munich, decided to copy its repertory into a new codex, MS Trent 90,¹⁰ for his own use, as he could foresee that his future career would put the collection out of his reach. He probably started this project in 1453 or 1454. His copy of the Kyrie appears on ff. 72v-73 in Trent 90. Originally, it probably just like in Trent 93 did not include an ascription to a composer. Despite all his efforts and help from an assistant he was not able to complete his copy of MS Trent 93 in Munich.

However, before July 1455 he moved to Trent in order to take up an appointment as *succentor* at the cathedral. Apparently, against his expectations he was able to bring both manuscripts with him to Trent, where he with some help from assistants completed and extended both collections. In Trent he acquired access to a collection of mass ordinaries, which included *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*. He added the mass ordinaries at the end of MS Trent 90. He did not recopy the Kyrie of the St Anthony mass or correct his earlier mistakes; he just wrote the name "Duffay" above Kyrie, and on f. 73, below the music, Wiser added: "Et in terra et totius officium quare post missam bedingam" (Find Gloria and the remainder of the mass after the mass by Bedingham). This is a precise reference to the four mass sections, which he copied on ff. 395v-406. They follow directly after four mass sections (Gloria-Agnus Dei), which was entered ff. 383v-395 with an ascription to "Bedinham" (f. 383v) – the only mass ascribed to Bedingham in Trent 90.

This ascription of the mass to Du Fay in its only complete source would seem rather shaky, if not later writers of treatises on music theory had discussed it several times during the next century, every time stressing his authorship and in some cases his authority (see the list of quotes under *Sources*). In his will dated July 8, 1474, Du Fay mentioned two books containing Saint Anthony masses, which he bequeathed to the Saint Stephen chapel in the Cambrai cathedral, where he was to be buried. One book in parchment contained "missa sancti Anthonii de Padua" and the other, a paper manuscript, had the "missam sancti Anthonii Viennensis et missam meam de Requiem". Du Fay also left funds to pay for annually performances of the Requiem and the "de Padua" masses in services in his memory. The music theorists Tinctoris and Gaffurius referred to a mass "de Sancto Anthonio" by Du Fay, and the more specific references to a "messa"

- 8 Trento, Archivio Diocesano, ms. 93* (olim BL).
- 9 Concerning the relationship between the MSS Trent 93 and Trent 90, see Margaret Bent, 'Trent 93 and Trent 90: Johannes Wiser at work' in Nino Pirrotta & Danilo Curti (eds.), *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro risoperta. Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger la musicologica come missione.* Trento 1986, pp. 84-111, and Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, 'The dating of Trent 93 and Trent 90' in Pirrotta & Curti, *I codici*, pp. 60-83. On the provenance and dating of the MSS, see further Peter Wright, 'Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser's Collection', *Early Music History* 22 (2003) pp. 247-332.
- 10 Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (olim 90).
- 11 The will is transcribed in Jules Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai, ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame.* Paris 1880, pp. 409-414 (at p. 411).
- 12 Fallows, Dufay, p. 82.

ad honorem sancti Antonii di Padova" by Spataro in his *Tractato* and in a letter to Pietro Aaron did not entirely fit the music found in Trent 90. "Et in spiritum sanctum" in the Credo does not begin in C2, but in ¢, and the seven ligatures that he quotes from the Gloria are not immediately recognizable. Therefore, it was difficult to know which one of the two St Anthony masses the music theorists referred to, and Heinrich Besseler had to decide that Trent 90 preserved the "Missa sancti Anthonii Viennensis". Only when David Fallows analysed the Spataro information taking in account that Spataro evidently knew the mass from a manuscript belonging to a scribal tradition different from Trent 90, it all fitted together.¹³

In his Proportionale musices, written in Naples before 1475, Johannes Tinctoris commended Du Fay for his correct use of the mensuration sign € - not committing the "mistake of the English" (see quote from the third book, chapter 2). However, in the first book, chapter 3, and in the third book, chapter 6, he scorned Du Fay for using the sign O3 for sesquialtera where he ought to have used a sign indicating the 9:4 relation - he "wondrously erred"! Many years later Giovanni Spataro in his Tractato di musica, printed in Venice in 1531, was critical of the interpretations of Du Fay's notation by Tinctoris (and restated by Gaffurius). In his source containing the Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua, Spataro saw that "Et in spiritum sanctum" (Credo, bb. 254 ff) was signed C2, which indicates that the music is in imperfect minor modus. This means that the music is organized in longa-values of two breves, which each contains two semibreves, and all is diminished by half. In practise, this mensuration is not different from normal cut double time, tempus imperfectum diminutum, so the majority of scribes just replaced it by the usual sign \mathbb{C} , as happened in all double time sections in Trent 90. Thereby they obliterated the subtle difference between the ¢ rhythmic pattern in breves and the longa-pattern in C2. In this mass Du Fay consequently keeps all the sections in double time in the longa-pattern (the longa-bars are in the edition marked by ticks appearing in all voices on the lowest line of the staves). He even retains this double bar organization in Gloria's fast finish in proportio dupla (0).

The point of Spataro's defence of Du Fay is that Du Fay obviously in this mass regarded perfect and imperfect *breves* as equivalent, while Tinctoris was a strong advocate of the equivalence of *semibreves*, which causes the *breves* in triple and double time to be unequal in length. Therefore, Du Fay's simultaneous juxtaposing of three perfect *breves* under O3 with two imperfect *breves* under C2 at bar 300 in Credo formed a perfect *sesquialtera* relation according to Spataro's point of view, while Tinctoris regarded the relation as nine *semibreves* against four, which ought to be expressed by a proportional ratio.¹⁴

Du Fay's preoccupation with the relation between triple and double time, or with the equivalence of *breves* in different mensurations, is a constituent characteristic of his *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*. If we instead view this relationship on the level of the *semibreves*, Du Fay explores the rhythmic tensions inherent in a 3:4 relation. The changes of pace that we find between the Kyrie- and Christe-sections are certainly conventional. The equivalence of the perfect *breves* in Kyrie (O) and the imperfect *longae* in Christe (¢) creates a 3:4 relation on the *semibreve* level – this is the basic relation between all the sections in

¹³ Cf. note 2.

¹⁴ Concerning *brevis* contra *semibrevis* equivalence in the 15th century, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs. Origins and Evolution*, Oxford 1993; on proportions, see Ruth I. DeFord, 'The mensura of Φ in the works of Du Fay,' *Early Music* 34 (2006), pp. 111-136.

triple and double time. The free-flowing melodic lines incorporating dotted figures, coloration and abundant syncopations – creating quite complex rhythmic configurations – gradually become layered with other rhythmic difficulties.

In Gloria bars 90 ff the first of several passages in the highest voice in sesquialtera occurs, signed by either \(\gamma \) or just 3, which create a 3:2 relation on the semibrevis level with the C mensuration (or probably originally C2) of the lower voices. Later on from bar 178 this relation reappears in a duet between superius and contra in alternation. The "Qui tollis" section is in tempus perfectum (O), but the superius changes in bar 216 into tempus *imperfectum cum prolatione maior* (©). This does not change the equivalence of the *breves* or the *minimae*, but it creates a change in the phrasing of the superius line, underscoring the two against three relationship of the perfect and imperfect semibreves. This effect returns a couple of times, and it was highly commended by Tinctoris and Gaffurius. In bars 265 ff a duet combines the sign O in the superius with O in the contra, which produces a sesquitertia (4:3) relation on the semibrevis level. This is really difficult to perform for the singers, but it is topped by the final, virtuoso flourish, which adds sesquialtera (3:2) to the superius and thereby letting four perfect semibreves sound against three imperfect ones. Du Fay here combines sesquitertia (4:3) on the semibrevis level with sesquialtera (3:2) on the minima level – the singers are only saved by the rock-steady regularity of the contra line towards the end. The resulting accelerando in the superius leads directly into the final section "Cum sancto spiritu" in diminished perfect time, Φ , which doubles the initial tempo.

The complexities of Gloria are far surpassed by the final bars of the "Crucifixus"-section in $\mathbb C$ in the Credo (bb. 240-251). These 12 bars – six *longa*-bars in imperfect *modus* – seem to be forced into perfect *minor modus* or four times three bars by the sign $\mathbb C$ in the superius. In these circumstances it effectuates a *proportio sesquitertia* consisting of four imperfect *breves* sung in the duration of three *breves*, or a 4:3 relation on the *brevis* level between superius and tenor. After the second group of three bars, $\mathbb C$ Du Fay complicates the situation by introducing the sign $\mathbb C$ indicating *sesquialtera* in the contra voice in combination with coloration, which produces a $\mathbb C$ relation on the *semibrevis* level (bb. 246-251). The relation between the three voices singing together can only be expressed in whole numbers over a three-bar period as $\mathbb C$ 0 on the *semibrevis* level. It certainly looks peaceful on paper with movement in *breves* and *semibreves* only, but is fiendishly difficult to perform – see the alternative transcription p. 19. Somebody, Wiser or an earlier copyist, offered an alternative simplified ending to the superius, following the original one, without any proportional change. It is easy to sing, has a similar melodic line, and is absolutely pedestrian.

The next section "Et in spiritum" has the passage criticized by Tinctoris and defended by Spataro (see above); but before Credo ends, Du Fay also exercised the *proportio duplo* by juxtaposing Φ with O (bb. 385 ff) in a 2:1 relation − a very simple relation. But in practise it works as two beats in the upper voice against three in the lower voices, a 2:3 relation. It sounds exactly the same as the combination of Φ with O in the preceding bars (bb. 372-384), only notated in double note values. With Credo Du Fay has explored most of the possible relations between two and four beats against three or visa versa. In the remaining shorter mass sections he did not need such complications, only an inconspicuous *sesquialtera* crops up in the Angus II duet.

In the contemporary or slightly younger four-part *Missa Se la face ay pale*, Dufay explored a completely different rhythmic realm. This mass was composed entirely in perfect

minor modus, that is, organized in perfect longae or groups of three brevis-bars. The mass is all the way through built on a cantus firmus, the tenor voice from Du Fay's own three-part song "Se la face ay pale". This tune is placed in the tenor exactly as it is found in the song, only with long rests added and canon instructions for singing it first in tripled note values, then in doubled values and at last as written (in Gloria and Credo). In the shorter sections (Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus dei) the tune appears once only in doubled note values. This strictly proportional manipulation of the tenor, in which the notes and rests must be multiplied by the singers during performance, is only made possible by Du Fay's adherence to a view of note equivalence, which is opposite to the one displayed in the St Anthony mass. Brevis-equivalence is not possible. Instead he maintains the equivalence of the semibreves, which Tinctoris advocated. In this way, the two roughly contemporary mass ordinaries come to stand as Du fay's quite methodical examination of the musical potentials of different notions of rhythmic organisation.

Masses from the 1440s and 1450s often segment the mass sections according to the repeats of the tenor tune in different mensurations as in the *double cursus* masses of the *Caput* model with all sections divided into two segments, or like the *Missa Se la face ay pale*, where the long sections are divided into three according to the tenor repeats, while the other sections are divided in three or five subsections in accordance with the liturgical texts. For his St Anthony mass Du Fay did not use any pre-existent tune. All sections are freely composed, subdivided in Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus dei as in *Missa Se la face ay pale*, but with the long sections, Gloria and Credo, organised in much smaller subsections, five in each (see Figure 1). This helps Du Fay to compose the music with the freedom of expression that he had enjoyed, for example, in his secular songs.

Besides his rhythmic agenda, he in the St Anthony mass seems keen on exploring hexachordal structures and their combinations. The basic teachings of the Guidonian hand and the positions of the hexachords formed the starting point for any choirboy's meeting with the repertoire of plainchant and polyphony. The hexachords mapped the scale system and laid out roads to take or to avoid, and had to be internalized by every singer. For the singer it was a pedagogical system and a help to keep one's position in improvised polyphony, but here we meet it in a different role, as a supplier of building elements for Du Fay's music.

The Kyrie is notated without hexachordal signatures in both sources – or, without key signatures as defined by later times. This may be intended by the composer. The music is so simple that signatures are not needed, and it opens with easy recognizable figures – the hexachordal positions are given. In Kyrie I all voices start in a F-hexachord and glide into a C-hexachord. The tenor builds a perfect melodic curve on the f-hex: ut-mi-fa-sol-la-sol-mi-fa-sol-ut, and mutates into the c-hex: fa-mi-ut-re-ut-fa-la-sol-fa – up a sixth balanced by a dip to the fourth below the final note, all in graceful rhythms. And this is the entire material of the very short setting. The superius sings a variant of the tenor's line, and the contour of the hexachord built into the melodic opening serves as a motto in slightly different shapes at the beginnings of all the main sections and of several subsections; in Gloria and Agnus the motto draws the contours of the C-hexachord. The final phrase of Kyrie I is characteristic: superius and tenor sing the hexachords on f' and f, while the contra sings in the c'-hex (bb. 13-15), then the upper voices change into hexachords on c' and c, and the contra moves on to the f-hex. This smooth complementary interplay can be met with in countless freely composed songs. The little motive mi-fa-sol in short note

Figure 1, Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* · Schematic overview Proportions of the sections in perfect breves, the final sound in every section counts as one.

Section/ subsection	Voices	Mensuration	Finalis	Ranges (total and S, T and C)	Length in perfect breves
Kyrie			F	c-c''	64
Kyrie 1	3	Ο	F	b - $c'' \cdot c$ - $d' \cdot c$ - f'	18
Christe	3	¢	F	c' - $c'' \cdot e$ - $f' \cdot c$ - f'	23 [¢ 45]
Kyrie 2	3	O	F	a - $c'' \cdot c$ - $f' \cdot c$ - f'	23
Gloria			F	<i>c-c''</i>	214
Et in terra	3-2	Ο	F	g - $c'' \cdot c$ - $f' \cdot c$ - f'	66
Domine deus	3-2	¢	F	g - $c'' \cdot c$ - $f' \cdot c$ - f'	64 [¢ 138]
Qui tollis	3	Ó	D	a - $c'' \cdot d$ - $f' \cdot c$ - f'	29
Qui sedes	3-2	Ο	F	$a-c''\cdot c-f'\cdot c-f'$	39
Cum sancto	3-2	Ф	F	g - $c'' \cdot c$ - $f' \cdot c$ - f'	16 [Ф 32]
Credo			F	c-f"	281
Patrem	3-2	Ο	F	b - $e'' \cdot e$ - $g' \cdot e$ - a'	77
Qui propter	2	Ο	С	g-e"· · e-a'	32
Crucifixus	3-2	¢	F	c' - $f'' \cdot e$ - $a' \cdot c$ - a'	71 [¢ 142]
Et in spiritum	3-2	¢	C	c' - $e'' \cdot e$ - $g' \cdot f$ - a'	46 [¢ 92]
Et unam	3	O	F	b - $f'' \cdot e$ - $a' \cdot f$ - a'	55
Sanctus			F	d-f"	167
Sanctus	3	Ο	F	c' - $e'' \cdot e$ - $g' \cdot f$ - a'	45
Pleni sunt	2	Ο	F	$a - e'' \cdot \cdot \cdot d - g'$	28
Osanna	3	Ο	F	c'-d" · e-a' · f-a'	31
Benedictus	2	¢	F	c'-f'' · · · e-a'	32 [¢ 64]
Osanna	3	O	F	c'-d" · e-a' · f-a'	31
Agnus			F	e-f''	87
Agnus 1	3	Ο	F	c' - $d'' \cdot e$ - $g' \cdot e$ - g'	31
Agnus 2	2	¢	С	$g-f'' \cdot \cdot \cdot e-a'$	26 [¢ 52]
Agnus 3	3	Ŏ	F	b-e'' · e-g' · f-a'	30

values runs through all three voices as a sort of imitation at the start of the section, and it returns many times in the other sections of the mass in very audible ways.

The simplicity of Kyrie I soon becomes challenged. The tenor in Christe builds on the f-hex with a higher central passage using the c'-hex (bb. 46-50), and the superius responds by for the first time moving into the g'-hex, while the wide-ranging contra keeps to the combined hexachords on c, f and c'. At the end of Kyrie II the tenor robustly reaffirms the f-hex by singing it straight through. Hereafter, the music quickly becomes less transparent, and in the remainder of the mass sections one flat hexachordal signatures in the lower voices are required to anchor it in the F-tonality. The oscillation between the F- and G-hexachords with hard and soft B's respectively combined with the C-hexachord is varied endlessly during the mass, and nearly all the way Du Fay keeps the voices within musica recta – the notes on the hand. Du Fay moves still father away from stock phrases and creates long elegant lines in chains of hexachords. At the end of Gloria we meet a canon at the fifth moving through the ranges of the combined hexachords on g, g and g in the superius and on g, g and g in the tenor (bb. 292 ff).

The exploration of new hexachordal combinations induced Du Fay to expand the range of the upper voice until the singers in the last three main sections had to master or share a range between g and f'' passing through the hexachords on f, g, c', f', g' and c'' – a tour de force. If the music was sung at something near notated pitch, he thereby introduced the participation of boy singers. The highest note, f'', only appears in two places in the Credo, at "Et ascendit in celo" (bb. 174-176) and at "Et expecto resurrectionem" (b. 374), both clearly for symbolic reasons. It later reappears twice only in two duos, "Benedictus" in Sanctus and in Agnus II. A consequence of the expansion of the range is that it leaves room for a fuller use of the complete g'-hex; the note e'' appears often as the top note of phrases. This grants Du Fay freedom to combine hexachords in wide-ranging chains of notes and room to display the effect of three simultaneously sounding hexachords. In order to keep the relations between the three voices he had to gradually move up the ranges of the lower voices (see Figure 1). We find a typical example in the Sanctus, where the opening "Sanctus"-acclamation ends solidly in F. The second acclamation transforms its tone-space by letting the g'-hex take over in the superius (bb. 11 ff).

This play with hexachords is used to assure tonal stability in passages where other elements stand in the foreground. But in the service of musical expression, the composer can disrupt the smooth progress and cause a sort of hexachordal breakdown. This is what seems to happen in the "Qui tollis"-section in Gloria, where after a regular period with cadences to G and D – all safely within *musica recta* – the structure breaks up at "suscipe deprecationem nostram" (bb. 221 ff). A supplicating diminished fourth in the superius harmonized in chords opens an unusual passage, where the music suddenly becomes intimate, a sound of personal anguish. Viewed from the side of the hexachords, it leaps into *musica falsa*. Rapid changes between hexachords on F, D, Bb and C in different octaves simply take it off the hand. The D-hexachord including the F-sharp *mi* jolts the sound away from the domineering F-hexachord; this subsection is the only one in Gloria that ends away from F – in D (cf. Figure 1).

The tension inherent in the juxtaposition of the soft and hard hexachords combined with the careful dosage of rhythmic complications gives Du Fay an extraordinary wide palette to work with in shaping the mass music without any pre-existing model. Most of the devices of the 1440s come into play, sporadic imitation, recurrent motives, free and strict canons, and first and foremost his eminent feeling for the pacing of the music. It is no wonder that this was the piece of musical art that he wanted to be remembered by as he pointed out in his last will, where he secured its continued use in services in his memory. When discussing this mass we have to remember that not even the best and most experienced singers would dare to perform it without intensive rehearsals of several passages. Its music is extremely difficult both to sing and to read from the notation as it contains passages demanding a rhythmic security on the high wire and a virtuoso vocal agility. ¹⁶

- 15 On the vocal instrumentation of the complete plenary mass, see the Introduction to the edition of the proprium mass (note 6 above).
- 16 Du Fay's handling of the freely composed mass ordinary is further discussed in my article 'Freedom of creation and the virtuoso composer: Guillaume Du Fay exploring sound and rhythmic relations in Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua' in Kathrin Kirsch und Alexander Lotzow (eds.), "Music is different« isn't it? Bedeutungen und Bedingungen musikalischer Autonomie. Festschrift für Siegfried Oechsle zum 65. Geburtstag. Kassel 2021, pp. 49–67. On the relationship between the St Anhony mass and Ockeghem's freely composed Missa Quinti toni, see the introduction to Johannes Ockeghem, Missa Quinti toni. Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen (June 2021 at http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Ock01.pdf).

Written in the 1440s Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua was created during a period where Du Fay probably was writing a Musica - a short, comprehensive book of music theory. In his competition paper of 1829 François-Joseph Fétis related that he in 1824 at a bookseller saw a manuscript, a fragment of a larger work, which began "Incipit Tractatus de musicá mensuratá et de proportionibus", which also contained the words "secundam doctrinam Wilhelmi Dufais Cimacensis Hann." The vellum manuscript was auctioned off to an anonymous English buyer and was never seen again. Other references to Du Fay's lost *Musica* appear in margin notes in two early treatises by Franchinus Gaffurius, Extractus parvus musicae and Tractatus brevis cantus plani (both around 1474), which can be found in Gaffurius' own hand in Codex 1158 in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma. In the first treatise Gaffurius has added quotes beginning "Dicit autem Guglielmus Dufay in sua musica quod ..." on the different types of dots (puncta) in mensural notation and a very short definition of rests. Similarly he brings several quotes concerning the properties of B quadratum and B rotundum and hexachords in margin of the second text.¹⁸ Christian Meyer has identified the last set of quotes as coming from a fragment of a treatise on solmization, hexachords and modes, ff. 106v-111, in a German compilation of theoretical texts, MS Clm 15632 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. This may offer us a larger glimpse of Du Fay's lost Musica.¹⁹ The source is important, because the copying of it is dated in the autumn of 1458, many years before the excerpts quoted by Gaffurius.

These scattered traces draws up an outline of a little book comprising everything a beginner had to know before mastering the singing of plainchant and the difficult mensural polyphony. During the 1440s when Cambrai were his base, Du Fay may have sought to bolster his renown as a learned *musicus* by writing the treatise. Apparently it circulated widely and was quoted by other writers during the next decades. During the same decade he was busy supervising the revision and recopying of the cathedral's music books, and he probably contributed himself to the renewal of the repertoire.²⁰ It seems to have been a time for reconsideration and refinement of his musical thoughts and practises. The two very different masses, one for Saint Anthony and one on the song "Se la face ay pale", may have been the most spectacular artistic results of this process.

¹⁷ François-Joseph Fétis, Mémoire sur cette question: Quels ont été les mérites des Néerlandais dans la musique. (Verhandelingen over de vraag: Welke verdiensten hebben zich de Nederlanders vooral in de 14e, 15e en 16e eeuw ... Door R. G. Kiesewetter en F. J. Fétis, bekroond en uitgegeven door de vierde klasse van het Koninklijk-Nederlandsche institut van weten schappen, letterkunde en schoone kunsten), Amsterdam 1829, pp, 12-13.

¹⁸ The excerpts from Du Fay's *Musica* is published in F. Alberto Gallo, 'Citazioni da un trattato di Dufay' in Mario Fabbri (ed.), *Studi di musicologia in onore di Guglielmo Barblan in occasione del LX compleanno* (Collectanea historiae musicae 4 (1966)), pp. 149-152, and in Clement A. Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions', *The Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970), pp. 367-388 (at pp. 387-88).

¹⁹ Published in Christian Meyer, *Un témoin de la Musica de G. Dufay*. PDF Dépôt hal (6 novembre 2013), http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00879743.

²⁰ Cf. Fallows, Dufay, pp. 63 and 188 ff.

Sources

Trent 90 – Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (*olim* 90; Munich and Trent, 1453-56), ff. 72v-73: Duffay (Kyrie), ff. 395v-406 (Gloria-Agnus).²¹

Trent 93 – Trento, Archivio Diocesano, ms. 93* (*olim BL*; Munich (?), 1450-53), ff. 103v-104 (Kyrie).²²

Mentioned in the theoretical literature:

Johannes Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*, Naples before 1475.²³

Liber primus, Capitulum III: "Eodem autem signo [03] Dufay suum "Qui cum patre" in "Patrem" de Sancto Anthonio per duplam sesquiquartam proportionatum signare voluit, quo fit ut si ille bene, iste male signavit; diversae enim proportiones diversa signa requirunt." (This is a reference to Credo bb. 300-345 – superius).

Liber tertius, Capitulum II: "Non enim sesquialtera vel subsesquitertia et haec prolatio aequipollent, quoniam una semibrevis prolationis maioris tres minimas valens non sit uni aut duabus semibrevibus minoris commensuranda, immo semibrevi et minimae, ut patet per Dufay in suo "Et in terra" de Sancto Anthonio, sicut hic: [Music example showing superius and tenor from Gloria, bb. 255-259]. In quoquidem signo, quoniam isti tres famosissimi compositores dissentiant, Dufay potius quam aliis, crede quorum primus omnium proportionantium arrogantissimus, nam Anglorum errore labefactus nullas proportiones sciens omnes praecipit."

Liber tertius, Capitulum VI: "Nec si e converso tres breves temporis perfecti ad duas imperfecti referantur, sesquialtera conficietur, sed dupla sesquiquarta. Erunt enim 9 ad 4 eiusdem, prout decet valoris, in quo Dufay in suo "Qui cum patre" de Sancto Anthonio mirabiliter erravit, nam ibi proportionem ipsam, scilicet duplam sesquiquartam, quoniam tres breves perfectas ad duas imperfectas retulit signo quo ipse ac fere omnes alii sesquialteram licet diminutae signant signare voluit, ut hic: [Music example showing superius and tenor from Credo, bb. 296-312]. Quodquidem ita signasse debuit [O 9/4] nam non sesquialtera immo, ut praemissimus, de seque patet, dupla sesquiquarta est."

Franchinus Gaffurius, Practica musice, Milan 1496:24

Liber quartus. Caput V: "Quod quidem sane aduertens disposuit Gulielmus Dufay In Et in terra pax et In Patrem Et vnam sanctam catholicam missae sancti Antonij: vbi perfectam seu maiorem prolationem et tempus imperfectum signauit: tres enim rectas minimas vnicuique contulit semibreui duabus nequequam aequeductas." (He refers to the passages in the superius bb. 216ff in Gloria and bb. 372-385 in Credo).

- 21 Facsimile: https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/sfoglia_codice/22660?Codice=Tr90&CartaLink=072V.
- 22 Facsimile: https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/sfoglia_codice/22660?Codice=Tr93&CartaLink=103V.
- 23 Cf. https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/TINPROM.
- 24 Cf. https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/GAFPM4.

Perugia, Biblioteca communale Augusta, MS 1013 (Venice 1508-09), a collection of theoretical treatises and musical examples culled from treatises:²⁵

f. 93 [Without text] 2v ("Qui cum patre", superius and tenor from Credo, bb. 296-312), ff. 96v-97 [Without text] 2v ("Domine deus rex celestis" superius and tenor from Gloria, bb. 68-103).

ff. 96v-97 [Without text] 2v ("Domine deus agnus dei", superius and tenor from Gloria, bb. 146-205).

Giovanni Spataro, Tractato di musica, Venice 1531:26

Spataro refutes the critiques raised by Tinctoris and Gaffurio against Du Fay's use of proportions and signs by discussing the same passages:

Capitolo xv (and xvi) "... Guilielmus dufai in Et in terra et unam sanctam, misse sancti Antonii, ...".

Capitolo xxxi "...da Gulielmo dufai in lo soprano de la sua particula, Et in spiritum sanctum de la sua messa ad honorem sancti Antonii di Padova composita, doce che (in fronte cantus) pone questo segno, C2, di modo minore imperfecto, et di tempo imperfecto, dapoi (scilicet in processu cantus) pone questo altro segno, 03, de modo minore perfecto, et di tempo perfecto..."

Letter from Giovanni Spataro to Pietro Aaron [December 1532]:²⁷

"Item el predicto Dufay, in prima parte della Gloria del tenore de la soa 'Missa de Sancto Antonio da Padoa', pone questa ligature ...". The music example and the following six examples of ligatures have been identified by David Fallows as being variants of Du Fay's tenor.²⁸

Transcription

Note values have been halved during the transfer into modern score notation of the original mensural notation in choir-book layout. The edition observes normal practice as regards marking the use of ligatures, coloration and editorial accidentals. Text in italics has been added by the editor. The original (halved) note values have been retained in the passages under proportional signs, in every case with an indication of its rhythmic relation with the preceding passage. The sections in double time, in Trent 90 in \mathbb{C} , were probably all originally notated under the sign C2 signifying imperfect *minor modus* (see further the *Introduction*). The music in these subsections is conceived consistently in *longa*-bars according to the imperfect *minor modus*. These *longa*-bars are marked by ticks appearing in all voices on the lowest line of the staves in every second bar.

²⁵ Cf. Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'A Lost Guide to Tinctoris's Teachings Recovered', Early Music History 1 (1981) pp. 29-116 (at p. 36), and David Fallows, 'Dufay's Mass for St Anthony of Padua. Reflections on the Career of His Most Important Work', The Musical Times, vol. 123, no. 1673 (1982), pp. 467-470 (at p. 469).

²⁶ Facsimile: http://imslp.org/wiki/Tractato_di_musica_(Spataro%2C_Giovanni).

²⁷ Edited and translated in Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky & Clement A. Miller (eds.), A Correspondance of Renaissance Musicians. Oxford 1991, pp. 574-608, at pp. 588-589.

²⁸ Cf. Fallows, Dufay, pp. 182-193, and Fallows, 'Dufay's Mass'.

Editorial report

The main source, Trent 90, is clearly written in an 'floating' choirbook layout designed for archival use, not for performance. It exhibits some scribal errors (see below), and the text is complete and quite carefully placed below the upper voice.

Tempus perfectum is the default mensuration and is in most cases not indicated by signs at the beginning of the main sections. *Kyrie* in Trent 90 was copied with Trent 93 as its exemplar – cf. the *Introduction*.

Kyrie

Trento 93

Superius:

Bars 74.3-89, misplaced clefs (C1 instead of C2 – error).

Bars 82.2-3, g'-a'-g' (error).

Text: "Kyrie leÿ [bar 3.2] son. Christe leÿ [bar 29.3] son. Kyrie leÿ [bar 72] son".

Tenor:

Bar 20, mensuration sign missing. Text: "Kyrie. Christeleyson. Kyrie".

Contra:

Bar 5.1, *d* (error).

Bar 10.1, *d* (error).

Bar 20, the mensuration sign is *tempus imperfectum non diminutum* (error).

Bars 24-25 *B* (error).

Bars 37.2-38.1 *d'* (error).

Text: "Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie ultimum in contendo [In convertendo?]".

Trent 90

On fol. 73, below the music, is written: "Et in terra et totius officium quare post missam bedingam".

Superius:

Bars 75.1-89, misplaced clefs (C1 instead of C2 – error).

Bar 78.3, *a-g* (error).

Bars 82.2-3, f'-a'-f' (error).

Bar 85.1, the first note probably consisted of two *semiminimae* g'-f', which have been erased, only a very weak *semiminima* f' is now left.

Bar 88, no signum.

Tenor:

Bar 20, mensuration sign missing. Bar 64, no *signum*.

Contra:

Bar 5.1, *d* (error).

Bar 10.1, *d* (error).

Bar 20, the mensuration sign is *tempus* imperfectum non diminutum (error).

Bars 24-25, B (error).

Bars 37.2-38.1, *d'* (error).

Bar 88, no signum.

Text: Bars 1 ff, "Kyrie ?? [unreadable]"; bars 66 ff, "Kyrie ultim".

Gloria

Superius:

Bar 175, d'-c'-b changed into d'-b-a. Bar 231.3, the notes g'-f' are *minimae* (error).

Bar 233.1, *d'-c'* (error).

Bar 264.1-2, the notes d'-c' are *minimae* (error).

Bar 299.2-3, f'-a' (error).

Tenor:

Bars 146-205 are notated as 18 *longa*-rests (error).

Bars 253-275 are notated as 12 *longa*-rests (error).

Bar 301.3 has in MS: *d'-c'*.

Contra:

Bar 33.3, *d* (error).

Bar 222, the 1st note is g, but the scribe has with the help of a small letter changed it into a, the next note is c' – the correct notes must be g-d'.

Bar 224.3, *e* (error).

Bar 244.2, the accidental is placed in the *g*-space (error).

Credo

Superius:

Bars 240-253, the very difficult passage in *sesquitertia* was also entered in Trent 90 by Wiser in a simplified version – in the edition shown as an *ossia*.

Bars 284-307.1, misplaced clef (C2 instead of C1 – error).

Bar 346, mensuration sign missing. Bar 383.2 is a *minima*.

Tenor:

Bar 64.3, e'-f' (error).

Bars 210-211 are written a third too low; Wiser has corrected this error by placing a custos on the correct staff line.

Bar 71.2-3, the note c' is a *brevis* (error),

Bar 346, mensuration sign missing.

Contra:

Bar 67.2 is a minima (error).

Bar 196.1, *b* (error).

Bar 254, mensuration sign missing.

Bars 302-345 are notated as 10 *longa*-rests (error).

Bars 351-352 are missing (error).

Bars 372.3-373.1, the two *minimae* f'-g' *are* crossed out; probably an error.

Bars 395.3-394.1, the notes e'-f' are black (error).

Sanctus

Superius:

Bar 28.3, the flat is written before the custos at the end of the preceding staff.

Tenor:

Bar 38.3, the two notes are *semiminimae* (error).

Contra:

Bar 43.3 is a minima (error).

Agnus dei

Tenor:

Bar 30.1, the *semibrevis c'* is followed by a *punctus divisionis* (error).

Guillaume Du Fay

Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua

(Mass ordinary)

Kyrie

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (*olim* 90), ff. 72v-73: Duffay (Trent 90) Trento, Archivio Diocesano, ms. 93* (olim BL), ff. 103v-104 (Trent 93)







Guillaume Du Fay, Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua – Gloria

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (olim 90), ff. 395v-398v (Trent 90)



















Guillaume Du Fay, Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua – Credo

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (olim 90), ff. 399v-403 (Trent 90)







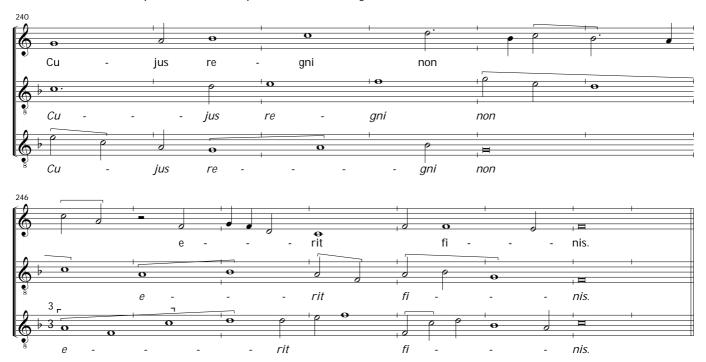








Ossia: An alternative, simpler version of the superius bars 240-253 is given in MS Trent 90, f. 400 $^{\text{V}}$:



Alternative notation of bars 240-253 in the original version:











Guillaume Du Fay, Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua – Sanctus

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (olim 90), ff. 403v-405 (Trent 90)











Osanna ut supra

Guillaume Du Fay, Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua – Agnus dei

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (olim 90), ff. 405v-406 (Trent 90)





