

Guillaume Du Fay

*Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*

(Mass proper)

Edited with an introduction by  
Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

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### *Preface*

The main purpose of this edition is to supplement my online edition of Du Fay's ordinary cycle *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* with a contemporary cycle of propers in the same format and transcribed and edited according to the same principles.<sup>1</sup> Of course, another incentive has been to publish my comments on the origins of the music and the relationship between the ordinary cycle and the proper settings. The edition was worked out during the summer of 2013 following my work on the ordinary cycle and is here published with a few updates and corrections.

The proprium mass was first published in score by Laurence Feininger in 1947 as part of a series of masses appearing in the Trent codex 88.<sup>2</sup> He proposed that this mass along with several others in the series was composed by Du Fay based on his not fully disclosed analysis of the repertory.<sup>3</sup> This series of masses was of course included in Rebecca L. Gerber's monumental edition of the Trent manuscript.<sup>4</sup> She disagrees in the blanket attribution of proper settings to Du Fay and regards the masses as compilations made by different musicians, but she finds that several masses include a greater or lesser number of items by Du Fay. Latest, the mass has been published online by Alejandro E. Planchart as a plenary cycle for St Anthony as well as for St Francis.<sup>5</sup> In accordance with his earlier articles on the subject he wholly endorses Du Fay's authorship of the complete mass.

*Peter Woetmann Christoffersen*  
University of Copenhagen, October 2019

- 1 See Guillaume Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua (Mass ordinary)*. Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, at [http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma\\_Duf01.pdf](http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Duf01.pdf).
- 2 Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1375 (olim 88), hereafter Trent 88.
- 3 Laurence Feininger (ed.), *Monumenta Polyphoniae liturgicae sanctae ecclesiae romanae. Series II, Proprium missae. Tomus I, Auctorum anonymorum, Missarum propria xvi quorum xi Guiielmo Dufay auctori adscribenda sunt ...*. Roma 1947, pp. 134-147.
- 4 Rebecca L. Gerber (ed.), *Sacred Music from the Cathedral of Trent. Trent, Museo Provinciale d'arte, Codex 1375 (olim 88). Edited and with an Introduction by Rebecca L. Gerber*. (Monuments of Renaissance Music XII), Chicago 2007, pp. 581-597.
- 5 Guillaume Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Antonii de Padua and Sancti Francisci*. Edited by Alejandro Enrique Planchart (Opera Omnia 03/03) – part of the online edition of the complete works of Du Fay at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/du-fay-opera-omnia/>.

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## Introduction

The proprium mass for St Anthony of Padua was entered into the MS Trent 88 on ff. 182v-189. This happened during the last years of the 1450s when Johannes Wiser in Trent got access to a collection of proprium masses, which he with the help of an assistant copied into his own collection. Here the masses follow directly after a group of mass ordinaries, among them Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*. All the mass propers are preserved without composer ascriptions in Trent 88.

The Introitus belonging to *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* can also be found on ff. 57v-58 in the systematically ordered MS Trent 93 along with the Kyrie from the ordinary for St Anthony on ff. 103v-104.<sup>6</sup> The first is placed in the series of Introitus-settings, while the Kyrie is found among the Kyries. Trent 93 was prepared in Munich or in Southern Germany during the first years of the 1450s. Before his move to Trent in 1455, Wiser copied for his own use most of the contents of this MS into a new collection, MS Trent 90,<sup>7</sup> including the Introitus as well as the Kyrie from the St Anthony mass (ff. 38v-39 and 72v-73), and he later added without text on ff. 291v-292 the second section of the verse from Alleluia "Anthoni compar inclite", which belongs to this mass.<sup>8</sup>

This proves that parts of the mass already circulated in the German-speaking area early in 1450s and that differences between the circulating exemplars already had developed. Introitus in Trent 93 and 90 preserves a version of the music, which probably is older than the one we find in Trent 88. Also the partial copy of the Alleluia in Trent 90 comes from an exemplar different from the one used for Trent 88 (see the *Editorial comments* below).

When Johannes Wiser entered the complete mass ordinary for St Anthony in his MS Trent 90, he did not recopy the Kyrie, which was already present in the MS. He only added a composer's name on top of the page, "Duffay", and a reference to the remaining sections placed at the end of his MS. That Du Fay composed all sections of the ordinary can be confirmed by remarks made by music theorists like Tinctoris, Gaffurius, Spataro and Aaron who knew and discussed the mass during the next more than 80 years.<sup>9</sup>

That the Introitus appears along with the Kyrie in Trent 93 does not prove that Du Fay is the author of the mass propers as well. On the other hand, it certainly does not speak against his authorship that these settings, the two first items in the St Anthony plenary mass, at an early date were extracted from similar exemplars (or even the same source containing the complete mass) in order to be placed in the relevant sections of the systematically organized collection. In addition, Trent 93 contains two other proper

6 Trento, Archivio Diocesano, ms. 93\* (olim BL).

7 Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (olim 90).

8 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.

9 Cf. 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.

items, which reappear in the long series of proprium masses in MS Trent 88, the introits “Mihi autem” and “Benedictus sit” (ff. 35-36 and 41v-42) from the masses for St Andrew and *Missa de Sancta Trinitatis*. Both were copied into Wiser’s own collection Trent 90. Moreover, before embarking on Trent 88 Wiser added the Alleluia “Veni creator spiritus” later on in Trent 90 (f. 420) with an ascription to “G. Duffay”. This item is found in a different version in the first cycle of propers for the Holy Ghost in Trent 88.<sup>10</sup>

As in the case of the St Anthony ordinary, some items in the series of propers can be identified with the help of the writings of theorists. In an article published in 1972 Alejandro E. Planchart identified two settings as works by Du Fay, because they were described in a letter of 1532 from Giovanni Spataro to Pietro Aaron.<sup>11</sup> They are the Offertorium “Confirma hoc” in the Holy Ghost mass and the Introitus “Os justi” in a mass for Saint Francis, which follows the St Anthony mass in Trent 88. In this article Planchart rejects the idea that Du Fay should be regarded as the composer of complete cycles, because one or two items in them can be ascribed to him. Concerning the Holy Ghost mass he states that three items showing stylistic similarities with the firmly ascribed Alleluia and Offertorium “... should be admitted into Dufay’s canon, albeit as opera dubia.” Likewise he considers that the two Franciscan masses (St Anthony and St Francis) are showing “strong traces of conflation” or appearing “to be contrafacta”.<sup>12</sup>

Ten years later David Fallows with the help of the same Spataro letter identified the ordinary *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*. At the same time he discovered that Spataro’s *Tractato di musica* of 1531 mentions the Graduale “Os justi meditabitur” as part of Du Fay’s mass for St Anthony of Padua. Spataro’s description of a change from O2 to 3 in the verse fits only the gradual preserved in Trent 88 ff. 183v-185 (in chapter 24; see the passage in *Sources* below). Furthermore, Fallows points to another quite circumstantial evidence for Du Fay’s authorship: The second part of the verse in the Alleluia “Anthoni compar inclite” (Trent 88 ff. 185v-187) appears among the music examples in a treatise on proportions from the end of the 15th century preserved in Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 1013 (Perugia 1013), ff. 85v-86. The example shows superius and tenor only, and it is without text. Close to it on ff. 93 and 96v-97 we find similar textless excerpts from Credo and Gloria belonging to Du Fay’s St Anthony ordinary.<sup>13</sup> Discussing the attribution to Du Fay of eleven proprium masses made by Laurence Feininger, Fallows concludes that “Despite the lack of clear evidence there is a considerable body of circumstantial information pointing to Dufay’s authorship of the cycles.”<sup>14</sup>

This line of reasoning was taken up by Planchart who completely reversed his view of the Trent 88 proprium masses. Through many years of research, the publication of which began in 1988, he has worked to pinpoint the institutions for which the mass propers were created by studying the combinations of liturgical items, texts and tunes found in

10 Cf. Gerber, *Sacred Music*, pp. 60-63.

11 Alejandro Enrique Planchart, ‘Guillaume Dufay’s Masses: Notes and Revisions’, *The Musical Quarterly* 1972, pp. 1-23 (at pp. 14-19). The letter is published and translated in Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky & Clement A. Miller (eds.), *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*. Oxford 1991, pp. 574-608.

12 Planchart, ‘Masses: Notes’, p. 18.

13 Cf. also David Fallows, ‘Dufay and the mass proper cycles of Trent 88’ in Pirrotta & Curti (eds.), *I codici musicali*, pp. 46-59, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘A Lost Guide to Tinctoris’s Teachings Recovered’, *Early Music History* 1 (1981) pp. 29-116.

14 Fallows, *Dufay*, p. 190; see also Fallows, ‘Dufay and the mass proper’, p. 57.

the proper settings.<sup>15</sup> On this background he has identified five masses as belonging to the weekly cycle of votive masses sung in the Sainte-Chapelle in Dijon for the Order of the Golden Fleece, one mass for the Order of St Maurice in Savoy, three for the Cambrai cathedral, and two Franciscan masses including the St Anthony mass.<sup>16</sup> He ascribes all the masses to Du Fay. With a few modifications he reaches the same number of ascribed masses, eleven, as Feininger did. Planchart envisions that all this music in some shape may have been included in a vast effort undertaken by Du Fay during the late 1440s, namely the collection and creation of a yearly cycle of liturgical polyphony for the Cambrai cathedral. Planchart is aware that the arguments for his attributions of the eleven masses in Trent 88 to Du Fay in the absence of hard evidence are “circumstantial although very strong”.<sup>17</sup> In most of his deliberations, he regards Du Fay’s authorship of the masses as historical facts, and he builds a new description of Du Fay’s musical style during the 1440s on these attributions. In this way the obvious stylistic discrepancies appearing in some masses are easily explained.<sup>18</sup> He makes his view completely clear: “The first thing that should be noted about most of these cycles is that they are cycles and not assemblages of pieces produced by a scribe ... The point of this is that the composer of any movement of these cycles is surely the composer of the entire cycle.”<sup>19</sup>

In 1996 Rebecca Gerber published a critical assessment of the idea of unity in the proper cycles of Trent 88.<sup>20</sup> She uses the few relatively securely ascribed compositions from the period to describe the style of Du Fay, and on this background she takes a closer look on three of the masses, among them the St Anthony mass. She finds that especially the communions differ in style and procedure and that the St Stephen mass (which nobody ascribe to Du Fay) simply cannot be his. She upholds and elaborates this distinction of styles in her 2007 edition of Trent 88.<sup>21</sup> While Gerber characterizes quite many mass items as possible compositions by Du Fay, even whole cycles if the communions are disregarded, she dismisses the idea that any of the cycles were composed by a single composer or written as unified liturgical cycles.

Reinhard Strohm published in 2011 a useful account of mass propers in Central Europe. Here he strongly supported the attributions of Planchart and Feininger and defended the unity of the single mass cycles. However, he pointed out that some masses might have changed liturgical function in other institutions before the repertory reached Trent. This presumably happened in the German Empire. Further, that the St Stephen mass probably

15 Most important in Alejandro Enrique Planchart, ‘Guillaume Du Fay’s Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy’, *Early Music History* 8 (1988), pp. 117-171; ‘Guillaume Du Fay’s Second Style’ in J.A. Owens & A. Cummings (eds.), *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood* (Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music, No. 18) Warren, MI, 1996, pp. 307-340; ‘Connecting the dots: Guillaume Du Fay and Savoy during the schism’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 18 (2009) pp. 11–32; his research on the Trent 88 mass propers is summarized in the recent book, *Guillaume Du Fay. The Life and Works*. Cambridge 2018, pp. 168-180, 213-230 and 501-549.

16 Overview in Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, pp. 507-509.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

18 Planchart, ‘Second Style’.

19 Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, pp. 509-510.

20 Rebecca L. Gerber, ‘Dufay’s style and the question of cyclic unity in the Trent 88 Mass Proper cycles’ in P. Wright (ed.), *I codici musicali trentini. Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca. Atti del Convegno internazionale The Trent Codices: New Findings and New Directions, Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 24 settembre 1994*. Trento 1996, pp. 107-119.

21 Gerber, *Sacred Music*, pp. 10-12 and 60-81.

was composed by a musician working in Passau or Vienna; the composer with some skill simply imitated the style and layout he found in masses imported from Cambrai and/or Burgundy.<sup>22</sup>

Planchart's alluring and well-supported hypothesis of Du Fay's authorship of eleven proprium masses may well in the end show up to be true, wholly or partially. But it still is a hypothesis open for discussion and cannot be treated as a historical fact. The question of compilation or co-operation under the direction of Du Fay cannot be put aside. It has to be discussed and evaluated in connection with every single mass in the collection. In the following I shall discuss what evidence can be found in the propers for St Anthony to inform the discussion.

### *The copying of the St Anthony mass*

There cannot be any doubt that the exemplars, which Wiser worked from, have to be regarded as a compilation of masses. Nobody now thinks that for example the three masses for the Nativity, St Anthony Abbot and St Stephen (Trent 88 ff. 162v-167, 176v-182 and 194v-200) could be composed by Du Fay, or that they originated in Cambrai or Burgundy; Strohm proposed that some of the masses came from the Empire. On the other hand, at least 14 masses certainly reached Wiser together as a single collection. Probably not as a bound volume of music, rather they came in the form of loose fascicles each containing one or two masses and maybe kept together in wrappers. He did not collect his exemplars from different sources, from Burgundy, from Cambrai or from German lands. They were collected somewhere else and brought to Trent as a unit, presumably in the luggage of a musician who stayed for a short while, for a temporary job or just traveling between the Empire and Italy, alone or in the retinue of a potentate.

Some time shortly after 1456 Wiser had acquired a great amount of paper with a distinct watermark depicting three mountaintops with flowers above. He probably bought five dozens big sheets, of which 57 sheets are still present in Trent 88, where they have been folded into quartos and organized in 19 fascicles of 12 folios each (fasc. 3-21, ff. 25-252v).<sup>23</sup> He started by folding seven fascicles and marking them up for use as music paper complete with margins and staves on each page (ff. 25-108v). When he got the chance to copy a large repertory of music, which he apparently was able to access only for a limited period of time, he enrolled an assistant to help with the copying. Among the new repertory were three four-voice mass ordinaries, which all were based on secular songs. He gave the assistant, who Peter Wright named "B1",<sup>24</sup> two prepared, empty fascicles and some exemplars to copy; one of them was Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* (ff. 97v-105v).<sup>25</sup> Hand B copied only the music. When Wiser got back the copies, he checked the music

22 Reinhard Strohm, 'The Medieval Mass Proper, and the Arrival of Polyphonic Proper Settings in Central Europe' in David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (eds.), *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Turnhout 2011, pp. 31-57 (at pp. 52-55).

23 Cf. Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, *The Dating of the Trent Codices from Their Watermarks. With a Study of the Local Liturgy of Trent in the Fifteenth Century*. New York 1989, pp. 87-95, 106-108, and 197-198; Peter Wright, *The Related Parts of Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MSS 87 (1374) and 92 (1379)*. New York 1989, p. 310. A summary of datings can be found in Peter Wright, 'Johannes Wiser's paper and the copying of his manuscripts' in Wright, *I codici musicali trentini*, pp. 31-53.

24 Wright, 'Johannes Wiser's paper', pp. 35-42.

25 See the introduction to *Guillaume Du Fay, Missa Se la face ay pale*. Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen at [http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma\\_Duf02.pdf](http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Duf02.pdf).

and added texts and incipits, titles etc. Having finished this round of copying, all the fascicles he had prepared were filled; empty pages before and after the long cycles were later used for smaller compositions. Maybe the five-part *Missa Pax vobis ego sum* was part of the same operation. Wiser readied only two more fascicles for music and had his assistant entering its Gloria and Credo (ff. 109v-113) into the first of the new fascicles.

Soon hereafter, the opportunity arose of laying his hands on a great many proprium masses, and it is quite obvious that also on this occasion time was short. Wiser again called for the services of Hand B, prepared six additional fascicles for music and gave some of them and the last third of the exemplars to Hand B to work on. Wiser started his own copying on the first empty opening after the five-part Credo and entered nine mass propers in quick succession; this includes the five masses, which Planchart has identified as related to the Order of the Golden Fleece (ff. 113v-167v). Wiser did not try to keep the masses within the boundaries of each fascicle. After finishing one mass, he started the next one on the next free opening and let the masses run on across the fascicle divisions. He planned a big, bound volume of music.

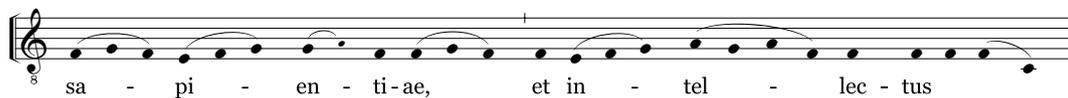
Meanwhile Hand B began his section on the first opening of a fascicle by copying “Missa Sancti Mauritii et sociorum eius” (ff. 169v-176). In the fascicle there was room for the beginning of another mass for St Anthony Abbot, which flowed into the next fascicle (ff. 176v-182). Of his third mass, the one for St Anthony of Padua, he only copied the two first items, Introitus and Graduale (ff. 182v-185). Apparently, he here simply stopped working as Wiser’s assistant and returned the exemplars and his copies of two and a half masses.

Wiser finished the copying of his first group of masses with the Nativity mass (ff. 162v-167v), which filled out fascicle 14 with only the last folio left empty. He then revised the work of Hand B, added texts and incipits, finished the Padua mass, and added two more masses, one for St Francis and one for St Stephan, filling all the prepared fascicles. He only furnished some of these masses with a title above the Introitus. In addition to the St Maurice mass already mentioned, it is “Missa de Sancta Trinitate” (ff. 121v-128), “de Sancta Cruce” (ff. 135v-140), “Missa Sancti Johannis baptiste” (ff. 141v-147), “de Angelis” (ff. 147v-154), and “Missa Sancti Georgii” (ff. 154v-161v). We know the precise title of the Padua mass, because Wiser made a cross-reference to its gradual on f. 192 in the St Francis mass, which uses the same gradual: “Graduale Os iusti queras in missa sancti Anthonii de Padua”.

Probably during his revision of Hand B’s work, Wiser spotted that he earlier had skipped an extra communion for the St George mass, and he copied it on the front page of the fascicle he was working on, before the St Maurice mass (f. 169). It was a simple mistake. There was an empty page available after the St George mass’ first communion, where he could have placed it (f. 162). Now he had to make a reference at the bottom of the last page of the St George mass saying that the communion could be found later on in the collection (f. 161v): “Letabitur iustus queratur postea”. This detail tells us about the temporary relationship between the work of Wiser and Hand B.

We do not find exactly this version of Hand B anymore in the Trent MSS. It is possible that it is identical to the hand(s) that Peter Wright names “B2-4” later on in Trent 88 as well as in Trent 89, and which appear on paper that Wiser acquired after 1460.<sup>26</sup> The differences

26 Wright, ‘Johannes Wiser’s paper’, pp. 41-42; Gerber regards the hands as belonging to different assistants, cf. Gerber, *Sacred Music*, p. 5.



Ex. 1a, Introitus “In medio ecclesie” – excerpt (*Liber usualis*, p. 1190)



Ex. 1b, [Guillaume Du Fay], *In medio ecclesie* 3v, superius, bb. 27-37

in the scribe’s drawing of the notes may represent different phases in the development of a young person’s hand. A year or more may well have elapsed between his periods of participation in the copying.

This fits very well the interpretation that our Hand B1 only worked with Wiser during a short period of hectic activity in the late 1450s. After having secured the 14 proprium masses for his collection, Wiser seems to have augmented his collection at a calmer pace. The last four fascicles made from the paper with mountains and flowers (ff. 205-252v) were prepared as a unit, but seem to be copied in a more leisurely way. This section contains a mixed repertory, mostly sacred for mass and office, with some single settings belonging to mass propers, but also including two cycles (for St Sebastian and for Easter, ff. 210v-215v and 217v-220), which Wiser has placed as near the big collection of propers as he could. It is of course possible that they too were copied from the same collection of exemplars as in the big group, but it seems more likely that he obtained exemplars from other sources in order to supplement his collection.

#### *The settings of the propers for St Anthony of Padua*

The propers follow the order established in the Franciscan *Ordinal*, which tradition has ascribed to the reform work of Haymo of Faversham (dead 1244). We cannot be sure that the plainchants set by Du Fay were identical to the ones preserved in modern versions of the chants. However, they must have been quite similar, but may have contained decorative elements of local origin. Where the composer in some passages has chosen to render the chant unadorned in the upper voice, it is very similar to the modern version.

In the **Introitus “In medio ecclesie”** the chant (6. tone, *Liber usualis*, p. 1190) is placed in the highest voice an octave above the chant’s notated pitch, and phrased and paraphrased in lines of very few words, exactly as described by Rebecca Gerber.<sup>27</sup> The paraphrasing expands the length of the chant as well as its ambitus. A characteristic passage is shown in *Example 1*. The words “... sapientiae, et intellectus”, which in the chant (*ex. 1a*) are kept entirely within the c-hexachord, are in the superius (*ex. 1b*) expanded into two self-contained musical phrases, which both exceed the original’s hexachordal disposition. In bars 27-29 the superius quite faithfully keeps to the notes of the chant (marked by crosses) in the c’-hexachord, then before the cadence in bar 32 it is extended upwards by

27 Gerber, ‘Dufay’s style’, pp. 109-111.

8  
Ec - cle - si - e ap -  
8  
pe - ru - it

Ex. 2a, [Guillaume Du Fay], *In medio ecclesie* 3v, tenor, bb. 1-11

8  
Ky - ri - e e - ley - son.

Ex. 2b, Guillaume Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* – Kyrie 3v, tenor, bb. 1-8

entering the  $f'$ -hexachord. Here it stays for the next bars – reinterpreting the chant – before turning back to the  $c'$ -hex. This procedure is characteristic of the paraphrasing in the superius, whose melodic development all the way unfold within the combined  $c'/f'$ -hexs, sometimes giving prominence to the  $c'$ -hex, at other times to the  $f'$ -hex. In this way the composer has created a melodic profile, which is very similar to what we hear in Du Fay's ordinary mass for St Anthony, especially in its almost demonstratively clear and simple Kyrie.

The association with the Kyrie is not limited to melodic style. If we compare the profiles of their tenor voices, the similarity is striking, see *Example 2*. They both present the  $f$ -hex as a melodic unit (*ex. 2a*, bb. 1-6 and *ex. 2b*, bb. 1-4), before reaching down into the  $c$ -hex and cadencing on the note  $f$ . Like the ordinary mass, where all sections and most subsections end in a solid presentation of the  $f$ -hex's melodic bow in the tenor, this Introitus ends with the same gesture in the tenor (bb. 46-42) – also in the doxology (bb. 72-76). In fact, the three-part ending of the doxology is just a variant of the corresponding bars in Kyrie II. The three voice parts are disposed as in the Kyrie: When two voices sing in the same hexachord, or hexachords an octave apart, the third voice moves within one placed at the fifth or at the fourth in a smooth complementary interplay of changing positions. From the beginning the Introitus superius sings the chant in the  $c'$ -hex slightly embellished by a turn a semitone above, the tenor presents the  $f$ -hex, and the contra weaves around it in the same hexachord (bb. 1-6). When the tenor goes down into the  $c$ -hex, the contra stay at  $f$  (bb. 7-8), and they change position, when the tenor moves back (b. 9). Contra jumps up an octave to the  $c'$ -hex, when superius and tenor at the end of the phrase both sing F-hexachords (bb. 10-11) – etc. Throughout the Introitus they keep to the C- and F-hexachords.<sup>28</sup>

When the Introitus first was copied into MS Trent 93 (and copied again by Wiser into Trent 90) it was not furnished with key – or more exactly: hexachordal – signatures. We saw the same in the Kyrie, which we know only from these two sources. Wiser did not recopy the Kyrie when he entered the remaining parts of the ordinary into the last section of Trent 90. The exemplar containing Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus prescribed flats in the two lower voices in all the sections, and probably also in the Kyrie that Wiser did not copy. The situation is the same concerning the Introitus, no flats in the oldest sources,

28 Further on Du Fay's composing with hexachords, see the edition of the ordinary mass, *Introduction* p. viii ff, and my article 'Freedom of creation and the virtuoso composer: Guillaume Du Fay exploring sound and rhythmic relations in *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*' (forthcoming).

flats in Trent 88, and the music is so simple that there is not any real need for them; the hexachordal positions are evident.

The paraphrased setting of the Introitus chant and the music of the freely composed Kyrie are so similar in style and intention that there cannot be much doubt that they were created by the same composer at the same time, and that their appearances in Trent 93 probably were extracted from a source containing the complete mass music for St Anthony of Padua. This gives Trent 93 a certain authority, which combined with Wiser's addition of Du Fay's name over the Kyrie only can support Du Fay's authorship of this Introitus.

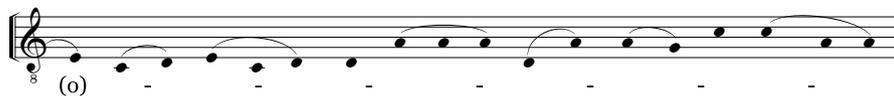
There are some differences between the sources. Some are mere errors, others are more important. In Trent 88, at the start of the doxology, bar 61, the mensuration signs  $\Phi$  in all three voices are clearly later additions, while they in Trent 93 and Trent 90 were written before the first notes. Wiser's assistant, Hand B, probably overlooked these signs, when he copied the pages. Wiser squeezed them in when he added text and incipits to the music, because he found them important. In the mass ordinary Du Fay uses the sign  $\Phi$  to double the tempo and change the phrasing to double bars in the brilliant finish to Gloria (bb. 276 ff) and likewise in the upper voice at the end of Credo (bb. 385 ff). Therefore we may assume that even if the recitation is quite lively in the doxology without these signs, Du Fay may have wanted the effect of double tempo before the repeat of the Introitus.<sup>29</sup>

The **Graduale "Os justi meditabitur"** was identified as a composition by Du Fay in Giovanni Spataro's *Tractato di musica* of 1531, where he described the change from O2 to 3 "nel suo verso de la sua messa di sancto Antonio da Padua". This change appears in the superius at bar 160 and in the contra at bar 175. In his source, which apparently contained the ordinary of *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* along with the propers, 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 much different from normal cut double time, *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, so the majority of scribes just replaced it by the usual sign  $\text{C}$  or just C. The sign O2 indicates correspondingly that the music is in perfect *minor modus*, organized in *longa*-values of three *breves* each containing two *semibreves*, and again diminished by half. Coming from O, perfect undiminished time, it just doubles the tempo, having in praxis with the same effect as  $\Phi$ , but the music is rhythmically phrased as three times two *semibreves* instead of two times three in  $\Phi$ . Obviously, Spataro had access to a source that more faithfully transmitted the notation of Du Fay than the collection that reached Trent. However, in the case of the gradual the scribes had retained Du Fay's original notation. The subtle differences in rhythmical organization and expression, which are integral elements of the mensural notation in the early 15th century, are typical for Du Fay's project concerning *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*, where he explored rhythmical relations on many levels and free composition. The gradual setting fits perfectly into this scheme.

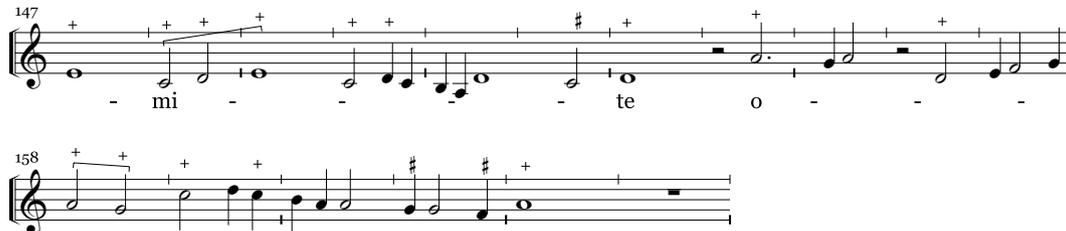
Its chant (1. tone, *Liber usualis*, p. 1191) has a wide range (*c-d'*) and employs in itself the C- as well as the F- and G-hexachords, so here the paraphrasing is somewhat less about reinterpreting the hexachordal structures as filling out the hexachords with extra notes. A

29 During the copying into Trent 93 the intonations before the Introitus verse and before the doxology by an error were moved to the tenor part. In the exemplar they were probably in the upper voice. The scribe wrote on in the tenor clef (C4) without changing the notes and thereby transposed them down a fifth, which does not fit in; in both places C2-clefs are needed. Wiser mechanically copied it all into Trent 90.





Ex. 4a, Alleluia “Antoni compar inclite” – excerpt (Schlager, *Alleluia*, pp. 37-38)



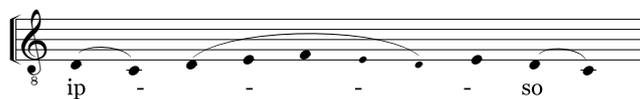
Ex. 4b, Guillaume Du Fay, *Alleluia Anthoni compar inclite* 3v, superius, bb. 147-163

between superius and tenor and in the lively final section (with octave canon between superius and tenor bb. 226-231), and in two places he has expanded its range upwards to *d''* (bb. 108 and 159).

*Examples 4a-b* show a small section of the long melisma on “ora” (*ex. 4a*), which the composer, using a slightly different distribution of the text, chose to shape as a cadence to *d'* on the word “comite” (omitting the word “nos”) in order to start “ora” with the distinctive fifth-movement, which reflects the opening of the preceding line “Te gloriose” (bb. 135 ff). The cadence to *d'* (b. 153, *ex. 4b*) has been expanded in the normal way, while the leap of a fifth down and up again has been transformed into a more extended motive, rhythmically and melodically distinct, which is imitated by the tenor at the fifth below (bb. 154-158). The superius in conformity with the chant starts in the *c'*-hex and follows its lead upwards, but uses the scale of the combined *c'/g'*-hexes to fill out the line and reach the top note *d''* in an upward turn before the cadence.

To accomplish this including the interplay with the tenor, which here adheres to the *g*-hex, the composer had to break the otherwise absolutely stable rhythmic pattern of *longa*-bars characterizing the Alleluia verse by inserting an extra *brevis* bar in this passage. In Trento 88 the mensural relationship between the Alleluia and its verse is notated as O followed by C. In Trent 90 the second section is notated under the sign  $\text{C}$ . This conventional rhythmic relation of 3:4 on the *semibrevis* level between the sections could very well originally have been written with C2 in the verse, similar to what Spataro saw in his exemplar containing the Credo of the mass.<sup>32</sup> As mentioned above C2 indicates that the music is in imperfect *minor modus*, and accordingly the music has to be organized in groups of two *breves* (marked in the transcription by strokes on the lowest staff lines). This interpretation of the rhythmic structure is underscored by the groupings of *longa*-rests in the sources. A *longa*-rest separates the two halves of the verse (bb. 133-134), and thus clearly marks the start of a pattern. During the long duet between superius and tenor, entirely in blackened notes in the upper voices, the contratenor has a *longa* note and 14 *longa*-rests (bb. 164-193), which just as clearly indicate the position of the double-bar pattern. Both sources have black notes in the duet, but in Trent 90 we also find a seemingly superfluous “3” before the black notes. This may be a leftover from the original notation without black notes, a proportional sign indicating sesquialtera, which had to be cancelled by a repeat of the

32 See further my introduction to the edition of the ordinary mass.



Ex. 5a, Offertorium “Veritas mea” – excerpt (*Liber usualis*, p. 1203)



Ex. 5b, Guillaume Du Fay, *Veritas mea* 4v, superius, bb. 26-33

opening mensuration before bar 194. The original version of this setting may have been very similar to the use in Du Fay’s ordinary mass, which excels in such proportional changes.

With fixed patterns in place before and after the passage shown in *Example 4b*, it must have been the composer’s conscious choice to insert an extra rhythmic unit exactly at this point, enhancing the imitation between the voices and the cadential effect of the following, and certainly setting off the sesquialtera duet.<sup>33</sup> This is of course my interpretation of the sources. It is thinkable that this Alleluia, which may seem a little lacklustre and pedestrian in comparison with the two preceding settings of proper items, was the work of a colleague in Cambrai, who helped Du Fay with the task of setting a great many chants for an enormous cycle of propers for the church year. It could be a younger, less experienced composer working within a frame set up by Du Fay and supervised by him. In Du Fay’s other settings using double-bar phrasing he never lost count of the *brevis*-bars! However, exactly the confidence with which the composer here breaks the pattern seems to point in the opposite direction, and we must tentatively accept it as a composition by Du Fay. Certainly, the second half of the verse, where he composed with some degree of freedom, contains the most interesting music. Contemporaries apparently shared this opinion, for this section had a life of its own as a piece without text, possibly instrumental, and as such was entered by Wiser into MS Trent 90 before he started on Trent 88. The textless piece also appears as a two-voice example, without the contra, in the treatise *Regule de proportionibus cum suis exemplis* (Perugia 1013, ff. 78-123) along with excerpts from Gloria and Credo from *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua*. The independent transmission of the “Te gloriose”-section opens a third possibility, namely that Du Fay originally had the long Alleluia and the first part of its verse sung in plainchant and only composed the last section for three voices. Later an assistant may have composed the remainder to make it conform to newer plans for the propers.

The plainchant **Offertorium “Veritas mea”** (2. tone, *Liber usualis*, p. 1203) is in a very low range, G-g. The transposition up an octave puts the tune in a comfortable tenor range, g-a’, slightly lower than in the preceding items. The composer apparently wanted to retain the sound of the chant’s low range, and therefore the tenor is placed generally an octave below the upper voice, A-c’, and it is often singing more than an octave below the chant tune. This makes room for no less than two contratenors in the same range.

It is notated without any hexachordal signatures, but a number of accidental b’s appear in the tenor and the first contratenor, which colour its sound. The chant is paraphrased in

33 In his edition Planchart has in an objectionable way obliterated this effect by letting his barring go across the *longa*-rests and then silently suppressing the *brevis*-rest in bar 193, cf. Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Antonii* (Opera Omnia 03/03) p. 42.

the same way as we found in the Introitus and Graduale, with only a single or a few words to a phrase and expanded in length and range. A typical situation can be seen in *Example 5*, the end of the first section “cum ipso”, where the few notes of the chant are stretched out to cover the complete *c'*-hex.

At the end of the second section similar few notes to the word “eius” have been stretched into a very long melisma covering 27 *breves* (bb. 101-127). For most of the time, the chant tune circles within the C-hexachord. Only at the words “meo exaltabitur” does it dip down into the G-hexachord. The four-part harmonization of the tune uses the usual alternation of the sound characters of the F- and G-hexachords – yet with a preference for the flat side, which makes the passage in two and three voices stand out, where the upper voice changes to the *g*-hex, and tenor and contra keep to *c*- and *g*-hexes (bb. 70-90).

In the first section in *tempus perfectum* the second contratenor is not essential. It fills out the three-part structure and provides its sound with a certain massiveness and dignity. The second section in double time opens as a duo between superius, carrying the chant, and the first contratenor (bb. 34-49). The words “Et in nomine” are repeated by another duo between the two contratenors (bb. 49-69), freely composed with a bit of imitation, but functioning as a varied repeat of the first duo a fifth lower – the first contratenor paraphrases its own line in the preceding duo. A new duo between superius and tenor increases to three parts with the entrance of the first contratenor in bar 80, before the massive four-part sound returns in the long drawn out melisma on “cornu eius”.

The composer has applied formal considerations on the chant, which is completely different from those applied to the other settings in the cycle. The four quite low voices are used for maintaining the sound of the low-range offertory chant, and – more important – as means to establish a rounded formal layout of the setting. The second section, which rhythmically stands in a 3:4 relationship to the first, opens in alternating duos that repeat words (and music) and create contrasts similar to the layout of four-part sections in mass ordinaries from around 1450, and the final four-part music has been expanded in order to balance the form. The quite short offertory chant has been given a setting in polyphony, which places it more in line with the preceding proper chants as regards musical weight.

Only its placement in the proper cycle in Trent 88 indicates that Du Fay composed this Offertorium. In technique and layout it is obviously different from his more securely attributed settings in the cycle, but it is just as obvious that this setting was composed by a master in full control of his craft and in accordance with Du Fay’s practise of paraphrasing chants. Nothing speaks against it as a composition of his, maybe made at a later time than for example Introitus and Graduale.

The last setting in the cycle is even more different. In the **Communio “Domine quinque talenta”**, where the chant (7. tone, *Liber usualis*, p. 1311) lies in a higher range, the highest in the St Anthony propers, the upper voice stays in the tenor range singing the chant *loco, e-f'*, probably because an octave transposition would have put it outside the range of male singers. It is accompanied by two low voices: a tenor (*G-a*), in several places singing more than an octave below the upper voice, and a contratenor occupying the same range (*F-bb*).

The chant is used in a fashion similar to the first section of the Alleluia with very few notes added, only a few expansions before cadences, and the only transgression of the chant’s range between *g* and *f'* comes in a conventional cadence decoration in bar 130. We meet some disagreements with the modern version of the chant, which probably reflect

local use. No traces can be found of Du Fay's tendency in his paraphrasing of chant of "filling out the hexachords". From the start the setting follows his pattern of organizing the music in phrases of one or two words, but from bar 53 on, long phrases without much direction take over.

Rebecca L. Gerber concludes that this setting is certainly not by Du Fay: "The elaboration of the mode 7 chant within the polyphony is minimal, but even more surprising are the Bbs in the lower-voice signatures, given the prominence of B $\flat$ s in the chant itself."<sup>34</sup> Wisner has with a thin pen squeezed in signatures of one flat between the F-clefs and the first notes on every staff belonging to the tenor and contratenor. We can with confidence assume that at least concerning the flat signatures in the tenor Wisner was wrong, and that many of the Bs in the contra have to be sung as naturals.<sup>35</sup> Disregarding most of the flats, the setting loses its weirdness, and we cannot deny it a certain simple dignity. However, the polyphony lacks the melodic charm of Du Fay's paraphrasing and the ease and the changing colours with which his lower voices glide through a smooth interplay of hexachords. This Communion could very well represent the work of a colleague or pupil in Cambrai working under the supervision of Du Fay.

If we look at the plenary mass for St Anthony of Padua as a whole (see *Figure 1*), it becomes obvious that there is a tendency in its changing distribution of voice ranges in the single settings, which may be intentional as a clever design by the experienced composer. While the pitches are rising in the freely composed ordinary sections, the pitches are in general moving downwards in the proper settings. The opening group of music (Introitus, Kyrie and Gloria) are clearly composed with the same ensemble of singers in mind, consisting of male singers working within a comfortable tessitura of two octaves (*c-c'*). In the next group (Graduale and Alleluia) this range for the same type of ensemble is in a few places extended upwards to *d''*. In Credo the high male voices continue singing the tenor and contra parts (*e-a'*), while choirboys participate in executing the upper voice, which momentarily touches *f''*. In return, none of them has to sing in the following Offertorium, which is performed by an ensemble of male voices in a lower tessitura (*A-a'*). The singers are now divided in two ensembles, a high one including the boys singing Sanctus and Agnus, and the relaxed male voices are heard again in the final Communion.

The will of Du Fay tells us that six choirboys participated in the performances of *Missa Sancti Anthonii* at the Cambrai cathedral "ad missam Et in terra pax decantabunt".<sup>36</sup> They probably sang or assisted the male singers in the most exposed subsections of Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus, for example beginning with "Qui tollis" in Gloria, and not only in the Gloria as the words of Du Fay's will imply if taken literally. The disposition of changing voice ranges grants the plenary mass a welcome differentiation in sound and in addition it is practical by permitting singers to rotate, to change functions and take breaks when performing and rehearsing this difficult music – especially Gloria and Credo must be strenuous for the singers.

34 Gerber, *Sacred Music*, p. 74; see also Gerber, 'Dufay's style', p. 114.

35 Similar situations come up in the *Missa Sancti Georgii* in Trent 88, ff. 154v-161v, where Wisner has added flats in three low-voice settings, in all cases in two voices with F-clefs: In Introitus "Protexisti me deus" and Offertorium "In virtute tua" they are put in at a wrong pitch (before *e*), and only the flats in the contratenors are applicable; in Offertorium "Confitebuntur" the signs are at correct pitch, but it can be discussed if they really are needed (modern editions in Gerber, *Sacred Music*, pp. 519-534).

36 Cf. Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, pp. 482 and 853.

Figure 1, Plenary mass for St Anthony of Padua

| <i>Section</i>        | <i>Mensurations</i> | <i>Ranges of S, T, C, C2</i>            | <i>Total range</i> | <i>Finalis</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---|--------------------|----------------|
| <b>Introitus</b>      | ○○ϕ○                | $a-c'' \cdot c-d' \cdot c-f'$           | $c-c''$            | F              |
| <b>Kyrie</b>          | ○ϕ○                 | $a-c'' \cdot c-f' \cdot c-f'$           | $c-c''$            | F              |
| <b>Gloria</b>         | ○ϕ○○ϕ               | $g-c'' \cdot c-f' \cdot c-f'$           | $c-c''$            | F              |
| <b>Graduale</b>       | ○○2                 | $a-d'' \cdot c-f' \cdot c-f'$           | $c-d''$            | D              |
| <b>Alleluia</b>       | ○ϕ○                 | $a-d'' \cdot c-f' \cdot c-f'$           | $c-d''$            | D              |
| <b>Credo</b>          | ○○○ϕ○               | $g-f'' \cdot e-a' \cdot c-a'$           | $c-f''$            | F              |
| <b>Offertorium 4v</b> | ○ϕ                  | $g-a' \cdot A-c' \cdot A-d' \cdot A-d'$ | $A-a'$             | D              |
| <b>Sanctus</b>        | ○○○ϕ○               | $a-f'' \cdot e-a' \cdot d-a'$           | $d-f''$            | F              |
| <b>Agnus</b>          | ○ϕ○                 | $g-f'' \cdot e-g' \cdot e-a'$           | $e-f''$            | F              |
| <b>Communio</b>       | ϕ                   | $e-f' \cdot G-a \cdot F-bb$             | $F-f'$             | G              |

One element in the transmission of the proper mass may call for consideration. We can imagine many answers to the question: Why did Wiser's assistant stop his work copying the proper mass after having written the Graduale, why exactly at this point? The obvious answer is, as mentioned, that other duties called him away. But it is noteworthy that the two first proper settings seem to be composed by Du Fay as part of the flow of musical thinking, which characterize the ordinary mass for St Anthony, while the remainder of the cycle does not show a similar close affinity, even if the last three settings fulfil their mission in a satisfying aesthetic and practical layout of the plenary mass. Maybe something was amiss or misplaced in the exemplars that Hand B had at his disposal, and therefore he decided to let Wiser resolve the matter and simply returned his materials.

It seems thinkable that Du Fay originally for practical reasons intended to have most of the Alleluia and the Offertorium and Communio sung in plainchant. The earliest transmission of the propers, which included Introitus, Graduale and the second part of the Alleluia verse, would then in fact include all his original polyphony for the propers. At a later time he may have decided to bring the propers in line with his on-going project of providing propers for the church year. He then provided a four-part Offertorium himself and instructed collaborators on how to finish the Alleluia and set the Communio. In transmission these new settings may have become separated from the others, so it would require Wiser's expertise to restore them into the correct sequence. Such a process of delayed creation, completely hypothetical it must be stressed, could explain the stylistic

inconsistencies we meet in the settings, while maintaining Du Fay's authorship of the concept of the plenary mass.

Except for the discovery of new sources, we will never know if the settings of the propers for St Anthony of Padua that we find in MS Trent 88 were identical to the ones contained in the parchment choirbook, which Du Fay in his will left to the St Stephen chapel in the Cambrai cathedral, where he was to be buried.<sup>37</sup> He had the feast for St Anthony celebrated with his own music through many years in Cambrai, and thus had many opportunities to revise settings. Likewise, the version of the mass that Spataro had access to during the 1520s was surely different in notational details, and it too could have a different redaction of the proper settings. What we have of Du Fay's propers for St Anthony is the version, which circulated in Central Europe as part of a great collection of masses, and which reached Trent probably less than ten years after its completion.

37 See further the introduction to the edition of the ordinary mass ([http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma\\_Duf01.pdf](http://www.sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Duf01.pdf)) and more detailed in Fallows, *Dufay*, p. 82 and Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, pp. 302-310; Du Fay's will is transcribed in Planchart's book, pp. 849-856.

## Sources

*Trent 88* – Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1375 (*olim* 88; Trent 1456-1462), ff. 182v-189 (Introitus, Graduale, Alleluia, Offertorium, Communio, all anonymous).<sup>38</sup>

*Trent 90* – Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1377 (*olim* 90; Munich and Trent, 1453-56), ff. 38v-39 (Introitus, anonymous), ff. 291v-292 (Alleluia, section “[Te glorioso]” only, anonymous).<sup>39</sup>

*Trent 93* – Trento, Archivio Diocesano, ms. 93\* (*olim* BL; Munich (?), 1450-53), ff. 57v-58 (Introitus, anonymous).<sup>40</sup>

*Perugia 1013* – Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 1013 (*olim* M 36; Venice, July 7, 1509), ff. 85v-86 (Alleluia, superius and tenor of section “[Te glorioso]” only, anonymous).<sup>41</sup>

### *Mentioned in the theoretical literature:*

Giovanni Spataro, *Tractato di musica*, Venice 1531:<sup>42</sup>

Capitolo xxiiii “... come e stato dimostrato da Gulielmo dufai nel suo verso de la sua messa di sancto Antonio da Padua, dove (nel principio del concento) pone questo segno O2 & dapoi (che alquanto ha cantato per le figure o vero note di tale segno) pone el segno sesqualtero ut hic 3, per el quale segno & effecto sesqualtero la breve o vero el tempo over la recta mensura (in principio cantus) con questo predicto segna O2 segnata resta in tre equale parte divisa equalmente & per consequente (mediante lo effecto sesqualtero) el predicto concento resta transferito di modo minore perfecto & tempo imperfecto, in modo minore etiam perfecto & tempo perfecto, come saria transferendo tal concento di questo segno O2 in questo O3 per se considerato & non relato, & per tal ordine el segno sesqualterato produce el suo effecto circa lo immutabil tempo o vero breve continua, & lassa intacta la discreta quantita. ...”

Spataro refers to the verse “Lex dei eius” in the Graduale “Os justi meditabitur” in the mensuration O2, which in the superius from bar 163 is under the sign 3 and in bar 193 changes back to O2.

38 Facsimile: [https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti\\_musicali\\_trentini\\_del\\_%27400/814/sfogliare\\_codice/22660?Codice=Tr88](https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/sfogliare_codice/22660?Codice=Tr88).

39 Facsimile: [https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti\\_musicali\\_trentini\\_del\\_%27400/814/sfogliare\\_codice/22660?Codice=Tr90](https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/sfogliare_codice/22660?Codice=Tr90).

40 Facsimile: [https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti\\_musicali\\_trentini\\_del\\_%27400/814/sfogliare\\_codice/22660?Codice=Tr93](https://secure.trentinocultura.net/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/sfogliare_codice/22660?Codice=Tr93).

41 Cf. Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘A Lost Guide to Tinctoris’s Teachings Recovered’, *Early Music History* 1 (1981) pp. 29-116 (at p. 36).

42 Facsimile: [http://imslp.org/wiki/Tractato\\_di\\_musica\\_\(Spataro%2C\\_Giovanni\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Tractato_di_musica_(Spataro%2C_Giovanni)).

## Transcription

Note values have been halved in 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 to the preceding passage. The sections in double time, in Trent 88 in  $\text{C}$  or  $\text{C}$ , were probably all originally notated under the sign  $\text{C2}$  signifying imperfect *minor modus*. Likewise, the mensuration  $\text{O2}$  appearing in Graduale signifies perfect *minor modus* (see further the *Introduction*). The music under *minor modus* is conceived in *longa*-bars of two or three *breves*. The *longa*-bars are marked by ticks appearing in all voices on the lowest line of the staves. The only exception from the regular *longa*-pattern appears in Alleluia during bars 153-163; it seems to be a compositional decision to break the pattern.

## Editorial report

The main source, Trento 88, is clearly written in an archival, ‘floating’ choirbook layout, not practical for performance. It shows very few scribal errors (see below), and the text is complete and quite carefully placed below the upper voice.

### Introitus “In medio ecclesie”

#### Trent 88

##### Superius, Tenor and Contratenor:

All voices have originally mensuration signs *tempus perfectum* at the start, but the signs indicating *diminutum* in all voices at bar 61 are clearly later additions, which have been squeezed in by Wisner when he added text and incipits.

##### Superius:

Bar 34.1, the first note is *a'*; Trent 90 and 93 both have *g'*.

Text: Full text.

##### Tenor:

Bar 7.2, a  $\flat$  before *f* indicates that this and the next bar are to be sung in the *c*-hexachord; this accidental does not appear in Trent 90 and 93.

Text: Incipits “Ecclesie”, “Et psallete”, “Sicut erat”.

##### Contra:

Bars 30.3-31 are notated as *minima d'* - dotted *semibrevis d'* - *minimae c'-c'-b* (error); Trent 90 and 93 agree on the version in the score.

Bar 42.3, the *minima* is *g* (error); Trent 90 and 93 have *f*.

Bar 44.3 is 4 *minimae* (error); Trent 90 and 93 both have *semiminimae*.

Text: Incipits “Ecclesie apperuit”, “Et psallete”, “Sicut erat in principio”.

#### Trent 93

Trent 90 was copied with Trent 93 as its exemplar. “In medio ecclesie” in Trent 90 is identical with the version in Trent 93 with a few exceptions, see below. The *tempus perfectum diminutum* signs, which appear in all voices at bar 61, seem to be original.

*Superius:*

Intonation, the three notes *f'* are notated as one maxima.  
Bar 3.2, no accidental.  
Bar 4.1-2 is *f'-e'-e'-d'-f'* (error).  
Bar 8.3, the *minima e'* is not coloured.  
Bar 19.1, no accidental.  
Bar 19.3, two *minimae*.  
Bars 20.2-21.2 are notated as *minima*-rest - *minimae g'-a'* - *semibrevis b'* - *minimae a'-b'* - *semibrevis a'* (error).  
Bar 26.1, two *minimae*.  
Bar 39.1, no accidental.  
Following b. 52, no intonation.  
Following b. 60, no intonation.  
Bar 63, one *semibrevis a'* too many (error).  
Bar 65.1, no accidental.  
Bar 67, no fermata.  
Text: Full text. bb. 13 -15, double text “meus / eius”; bb. 23-24.2 “spiritu”; bb. 24.3-32.1 “sapiencie”.

*Tenor:*

No indication of mensuration or hexachordal signature.  
Bar 7.2, no accidental.  
Bar 11.3, *g* (error).  
Bar 42.2-3 is two *semibreves*.  
Bar 45 is *brevis* - *semibrevis*.  
Following bar 52, intonation “Bonum est”, copied after the upper voice in the exemplar without a change of clef, resulting in a pitch a fifth below (error).  
Following bar 60, intonation “Gloria patri ...”, as “Bonum est” (error).  
Bar 67.3, no rest.  
Bar 73.2, *a* instead of *g* (error).  
Text, incipit, “in medio ecclesie”; following b. 52, incipit “Bonum est”. bb. 53-60, full text “Psallere ... altissime”; following b. 60, complete intonation “Gloria ... sancto”, “et spiritu sancto” erroneously written below bb. 61-76.

*Contra:*

No indication of mensuration or hexachordal signature.  
Bar 34.2-3, *e'-d'* and the ligature is missing its upward (*c.o.p.*) left stem (error).  
Bar 42.3, the *minima* is *f*.  
Bar 55.2, the first *minima* is *c*.  
Bar 63.1 is missing.  
Text, incipit, “in medio ecclesie”; bb. 53-56.2, “Et psallere nomine tuo”; bb. 61-62, “Sicut erat”.

**Trent 90**

As Trent 93, except for:

*Superius:*

Text, bb. 13 ff, “eius” only.

*Tenor:*

Text: No text in bb. 61-76.

*Contra:*

The voice label and the text incipit are written in the staff above, in the last staff of the Tenor.  
Bar 1 is a perfect *brevis*.

**Graduale “Os justo meditabitur”**

On top of f. 183v we find the first staff belonging to the superius of the verse “Lex dei”. The scribe had turned a folio too far in his exemplar. He cancelled the entry by writing “nichil est” below.

*Superius:*

Text: Full text.

*Tenor:*

Bar 26 has been changed, a flat and the notes *g-f* have been erased, and *puncti* have been added to the *brevis d* and the *semibrevis a* – the first may be intended as a repair to the staff line and the second is a *punctus divisionis*.  
Text: Incipit “Justi meditabitur”.

*Contra:*

The two first staves on f. 184 have a one-flat signature, which disappears in the two next only to reappear in the last staff. The verse on ff. 184v-185 has no signature.

Text: Incipits “Justi meditabitur” and “Lex dei eius in corde”.

**Alleluia “Anthoni compar inclite”**

**Trent 88**

*Superius:*

Bar 10.1-2 is missing a *semibrevis*-value (error), the notes *b-a* are added.

Bar 33, mensuration sign is C; it should most probable have been C2, which the Trent copyists often reproduced as  $\text{C}$ . Trent 90 has this mensuration from bar 135 forward.

Bar 107.1, a *semibrevis*-value is missing (error).

Text: Full text.

*Tenor:*

No mensuration sign.

Bar 33, no mensuration sign.

Bar 175, the two first notes in the ligature (two *semibreves*) are blackened – this must be interpreted as triplets.

Text: Incipits “Alleluia”, “Anthonii compar inclite”; bb. 71-89, text “nostri quondam itineris”; b. 135, incipit “Te glorioso comite”.

*Contra:*

No mensuration sign.

Bar 33, mensuration sign is C, see *superius*.

Bar 129.1, after *c'* there is a superfluous *semibrevis d'* (error).

Text: Incipits “Alleluia”, “Anthonii compar inclite”; bb. 71-82, text “nostri quondam”; b. 135, incipit “Te glorioso comite”; b. 194, incipit “superis”.

**Trent 90**

The second part of versus “Anthoni compar” only (bb. 135 ff); without text.

*Superius*

Bar 135, mensuration sign  $\text{C}$ .

Bar 163, after the *brevis*-rest, the MS has “3” before the long passage of blackened notes as a sort of warning – or a leftover from the original notation without black notes indicating *sesquialtera*.

Bar 173, no accidental.

Bars 175-176, the ligature includes the note *a'*.

Bars 202-203 in ligature (bb. 204-205 not in ligature).

Bar 218, *minima f' – semibrevis g' – minima e'* (error).

Bar 223, *minima f' – semibrevis a' – minima f'* (error).

Bar 236.2, *c'-b'*.

*Tenor:*

Bar 135, mensuration sign  $\text{C}$ .

Bars 170-171, no ligature.

Bar 174, no accidental.

Bar 175, like Trento 88.

Bar 177, not in the ligature.

Bar 190, no ligature.

Bars 212-213 and 214-215, two ligatures.

*Contra:*

Bar 135, mensuration sign  $\text{C}$ .

Bars 141-143, *brevis f – semibrevis d – brevis f – semibrevis c'*.

Bars 149-150.1, (no *minima*-rest) *minimae c'-b – dotted semibrevis c'*.

Bar 206.2, *e* (error).

Bar 209, not in the ligature.

Bar 217.2, *d* (error).

### **Perugia 1013**

The second part of versus “Anthoni compar” only (bb. 135 ff); superius and tenor only without text (variants according to Gerber, *Sacred Music*, p. 73).

#### *Superius:*

Bars 135-137, dotted *brevis a'* - *semibreves d'-a'-a'*.

#### Tenor

Bars 135-138.1, *longa d'* - *semibreves d'-f'-e'*.

### **Offertorium “Veritas mea”**

#### *Superius:*

Bar 24, the *brevis* is perfect, but this disturbs the suspension at 24.3, therefore a *semibrevis*-rest is probably missing.

Bar 34, mensuration sign C; it should most probable have been C2, which the Trent copyists often reproduced as  $\text{C}$ .

Text: Full text.

#### *Tenor:*

No mensuration sign.

Bar 34, mensuration sign C, see superius.

Text: Incipits “Veritas mea” and “Et in nomine meo”.

#### *Contra:*

No mensuration sign.

Bar 5.2 is *e* (error).

Bar 34, mensuration sign C, see superius.

Text: Incipits “Veritas mea et misericordia” and “Et in nomine meo”.

#### *Contra secundus:*

Bar 21.3, *a-d'* (error).

Bar 34, mensuration sign C, see superius.

Text: Incipits “Veritas mea et misericordia” and “Et in nomine meo”.

### **Communio “Domine quinque talenta”**

Superius has the mensuration sign *tempus imperfectum*, but the music clearly shows that *diminutum* is meant; also the signs following the passage in “3” (at bar 105) are *tempus imperfectum*.

#### *Superius:*

Mensuration sign is C; it should most probable have been C2, which the Trent copyists often reproduced as  $\text{C}$ .

Text: Full text.

#### *Tenor:*

No mensuration sign; the one-flat hexachordal signature is probably an error, maybe squeezed in by Wisner inspired by the flat signature in the contra (see further the *Introduction*, note 35).

The tenor below the Mixolydian chant paraphrased in the upper voice only needs flats after bar 105.

Text: Incipit “Quinque talenta”.

#### *Contra:*

No mensuration sign.

Bar 100, *c* (error).

Text: Incipit “Quinque talenta”.



Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 2 – Introitus

22

um do - - mi - nus spi - ri - tu

um do - - mi - nus spi - ri - tu

um do - - mi - nus spi - ri - tu

27

sa - - pi - en - ci - -

sa - - pi - en - ci - -

sa - - pi - en - ci - -

32

e et in - - tel - - lec - -

e et in - - tel - - lec - -

e et in - - tel - - lec - -

37

tus, sto - - la glo - ri - -

tus sto - - la, glo - - ri - -

tus, sto - - la glo - ri - -

43

e in - du - it e - -

e in - du - it e - -

e in - du - it e - -

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 3 – Introitus

49

um.  
um.  
um.

Trent 88 (in superius):

Bo - num est con - fi - te - ti do - mi - no

Trent 90 and 93 (in tenor):

Bo - num est con - fi - te - ti do - mi - no

53

Et psal - le - re no-mi-ni tu - o al - tis - si - -  
Et psal - le - re no-mi-ni tu - o al - tis - si - -  
Et psal - le - re no-mi-ni tu - o al - tis - si - -

59

me.  
me.  
me.

Trent 88 (in superius):

Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to.

Trent 90 and 93 (in tenor):

Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to.

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 4 – Introitus

o . = ̣ .

61 Mensura = o .

Sic - ut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et nunc et sem - per et in

Sic - ut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et nunc et sem - per et in

Sic - ut e - rat in prin - ci - pi - o et nunc et sem - per et in

69

se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - - - - men.

se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - - - - men.

se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - - - - men.

[In medio ecclesie]

Guillaume Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* – Graduale

*Os justi meditabitur*

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1375 (*olim* 88), ff. 183v-185

[Superius]

Mensura =  $\text{♩}$

Tenor

Contra

Os ius - - - - ti, Jus - - - -  
Jus - - - -  
Jus - - - -

3

ti me - - - -  
ti me - - - -  
ti me - - - -

8

me - di - - - - ta - bi - - - -  
di - - - - ta - bi - - - -  
di - - - - ta - bi - - - -

13

tur sa - - - - pi - - - - en - - - -  
tur sa - pi - en - - - -  
tur sa - - - - pi - en - - - -

19

- - ci - am, ci - - - - am, et  
ci - - - - am, et  
ci - - - - am, et

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 6 – Graduale

et lin - - - - - gua

lin - - - - - gua

lin - - - - - gua

e - - - - - ius

e - - - - - ius

lo - - - - - lo

lo - - - - - lo

que - tur iu - - - - - di - - - - - ci -

que - tur iu - - - - - di - - - - - ci -

que - tur iu - - - - - di - - - - - ci -

um. [Tenor tacet]

um.

um.

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 7 – Graduale

o = o o o

duo Mensura = o

58 duo Lex de - - - - -

Lex de - - - - -

64 i e - - - - - ius

i e - - - - - ius

73

85

94 in cor - - - - -

in cor - - - - -

103

109 de

de

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 8 – Graduale

121  
ip - si - us  
ip - - - si - - - - - us

130

139  
et non  
et non

148

160  
sup - plan - ta - bun - - - tur  
sup - - - plan - ta - bun - - - tur

169

175

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 9 – Graduale

184

gres - sus

gres - - - sus

193

e - - - - ius.

e - - - - ius.

205

217

229

[Superius]

Tenor

Contra

Al - le - lu - ia.

Mensura =  $\text{♩}$

Al - le

7

Al - le

12

Al - le

18

lu

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 11 – Alleluia

23

28

33

Mensura =

45

57

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 12 – Alleluia

69

te no - - - stri

te no - - - stri

te no - - - stri

77

quon - - - dam i - - - ti - ne

quon - - - dam i - - - ti - ne

quon - - - dam i - - - ti - ne

89

ris tu no - - - bis

ris tu no - - - bis

ne - - - ris tu no - - - bis

97

ad - - - huc mi - se - -

ad - - - huc mi - se - -

ad - - - huc mi - se - -

107

re - - - ris in pa -

re - - - ris in pa - tri -

re - - - ris in

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 13 – Alleluia

115

tri - - - a

a iam

pa - - - tri - - a iam

121

iam pre - - - di - - -

pre - - - di - - -

pre - - - di - - -

131

te. Te glo - ri - o - - - so co -

te. Te glo - ri - o - - - so co -

te. Te glo - ri - o - - - so

143

mi

mi

co - - - mi - - -

153

te o - - -

te o - - -

te o - - -

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 14 – Alleluia

164

ra

This system contains measures 164 to 173. It features a vocal line with a melodic line starting on a whole note 'ra' and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand. Measure 164 has a fermata over the first note. Measure 173 ends with a fermata over a whole note.

174

ra

ra

This system contains measures 174 to 183. The vocal line continues with a melodic line. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line. Measure 174 has a fermata over the first note. Measure 183 ends with a fermata over a whole note.

184

fru

fru i

This system contains measures 184 to 193. The vocal line includes the syllable 'fru' and a fermata over a whole note. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line. Measure 184 has a fermata over the first note. Measure 193 ends with a fermata over a whole note.

194

su

pe

su

su

This system contains measures 194 to 201. The vocal line includes the syllables 'su' and 'pe'. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line. Measure 194 has a fermata over the first note. Measure 201 ends with a fermata over a whole note.

202

pe

pe

This system contains measures 202 to 211. The vocal line includes the syllable 'pe'. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line. Measure 202 has a fermata over the first note. Measure 211 ends with a fermata over a whole note.

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 15 – Alleluia

212

Three staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef (8), and the bottom in bass clef (8). The music consists of rhythmic patterns with various note values and rests.

220

Three staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef (8), and the bottom in bass clef (8). The music continues with rhythmic patterns and rests.

226

Three staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef (8), and the bottom in bass clef (8). The music continues with rhythmic patterns and rests.

234

Three staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef (8), and the bottom in bass clef (8). The music concludes with a final cadence. The word "ris." is written below the staves at the end of the section.

[Alleluia]

Guillaume Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Anthonii de Padua* – Offertorium

*Veritas mea*

Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, ms. 1375 (*olim* 88), ff. 187v-188

[Superius]

Mensura =  $\text{♩}$

Tenor

Contra

Contra 2<sup>ndus</sup>

Ve - ri - tas

Me - - - -

Ve - - - - ri -

me - - - -

me - - - -

3

tas me - - - -

8

a et

a et mi -

a et mi -

a et

12

mi - se - ri - cor - - - - di -

se - - - - ri - cor - - - - di -

se - - - - ri - cor - - - -

mi - se - - - - ri - cor - - - - di -

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 17 – Offertorium

16

a

di a

20

me

me a

me

me

24

a cum ip

cum ip

a cum ip

a cum ip

29

so.

so.

so.

so.

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 18 – Offertorium

o . = II  
34 Mensura = o

Et in

Et in nomine

Et in no -

no - - - mi - - - ne

mi - - - ne, et in

Et in

no - - - mi - - - ne

no - - - mi - - - ne

me - - -

me - - - o

me - - - o

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 19 – Offertorium

72

me - - - - - o ex -

o ex -

ex -

82

ex - - - al - - - ta - bi - - - tur

al - - - ta - bi - - - tur

al - - - ta - bi - - - tur cor -

cor -

92

cor - nu ei - - -

cor - - - nu ei -

nu ei -

cor - nu

104

ei - - -

ei -

ei -

ei

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 20 – Offertorium

114

Musical score for measures 114-121. The score consists of four staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a lute line. The third and fourth staves are keyboard accompaniment. The music is in a 4/4 time signature and features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and ties.

122

Musical score for measures 122-125. The score consists of four staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a lute line. The third and fourth staves are keyboard accompaniment. The music is in a 4/4 time signature and features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and ties. The lyrics are "us." repeated in each staff.

[Superius]

Mensura = 

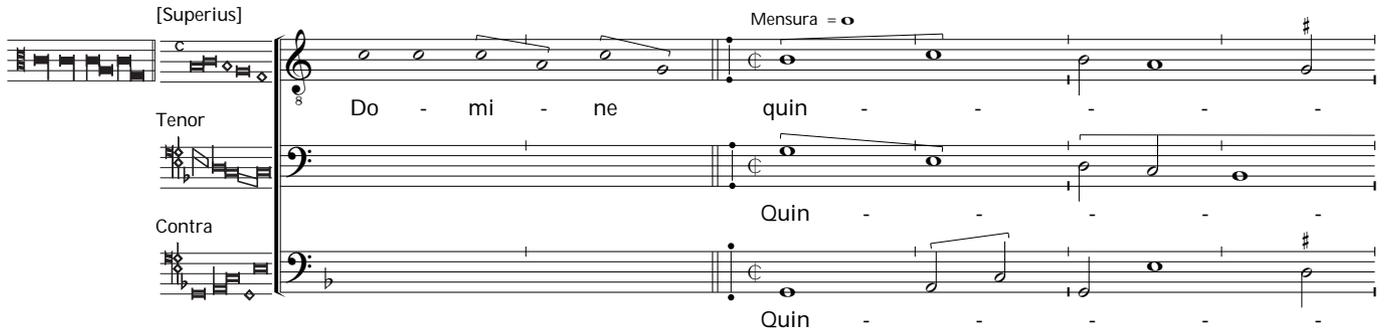
Do - mi - ne      quin - - - - -

Tenor

Quin - - - - -

Contra

Quin - - - - -

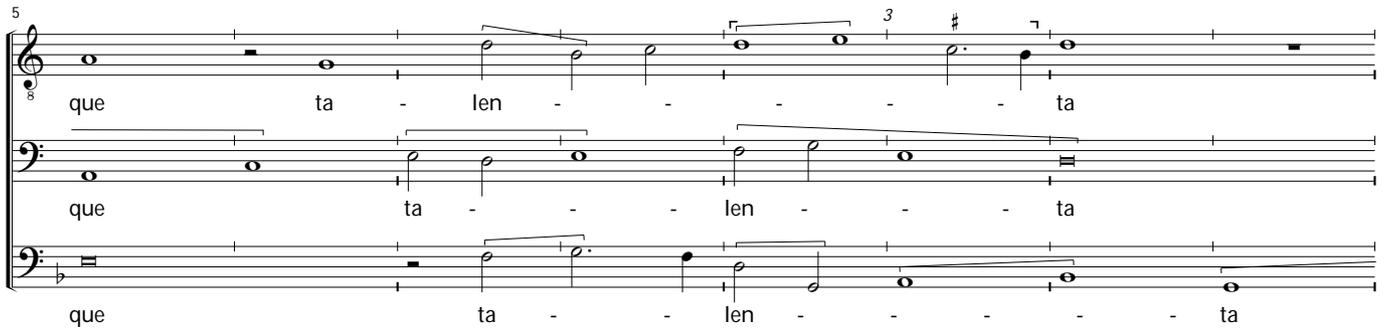


5

que ta - len - - - - - ta

que ta - - - - - len - - - - - ta

que ta - - - - - len - - - - - ta

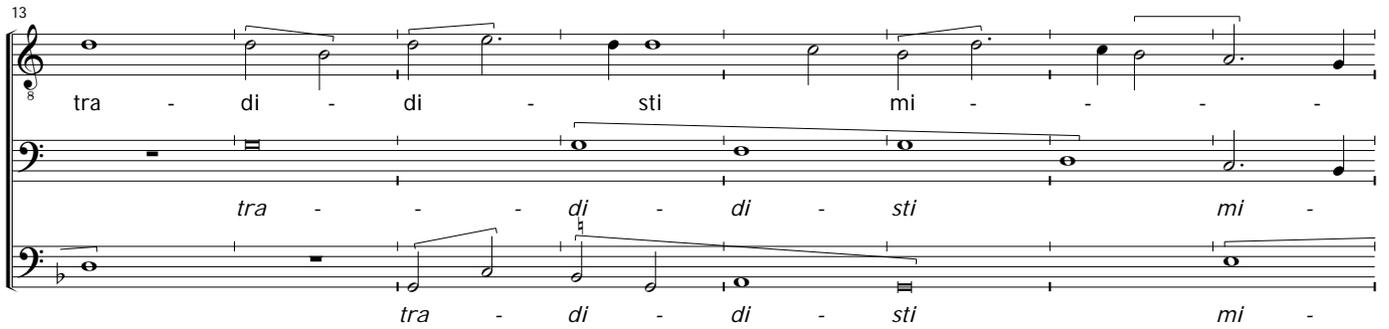


13

tra - di - di - - - - - sti mi - - - - -

*tra - - - - - di - di - - - - - sti mi -*

*tra - di - di - - - - - sti mi -*

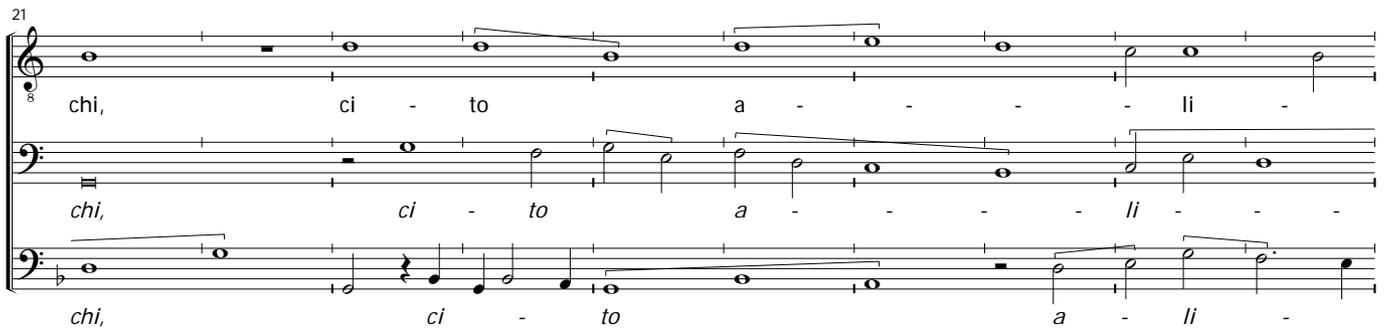


21

chi, ci - to a - - - - - li - - - - -

*chi, ci - to a - - - - - li - - - - -*

*chi, ci - to a - - - - - li - - - - -*



31

a quin - que su -

*a quin - - - - - que*

*a quin - - - - - que*



Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 22 – Communion

39

per - lu - cra - tus

su - per lu - cra - tus

per - lu - cra - tus

49

sum, eu - ge ser - ve fi -

sum, eu - ge ser - ve fi -

sum, eu - ge ser - ve fi -

61

de - lis, qui - a

de - lis, qui - a

de - lis, qui - a

71

in pau - ca fu - i - sti fi -

in pau - ca fu - i - sti fi -

in pau - ca fu - i - sti fi -

81

de - lis, su - pra mul - ta

su - pra mul - ta

de - lis, su - pra mul - ta

Du Fay, *Missa S. Anthonii*, p. 23 – Communion

91

te con - sti - tu - - -  
- - - ta te con - sti - tu - - -  
- - - ta te con - sti - tu - - -

101

am, in - tra in gau - di - - -  
am, in - tra in gau - di - - -  
am, in - tra in gau - di - - -

111

um do - - - mi - - -  
um do - - - mi - - -  
um do - mi - - -

121

ni tu - - -  
ni tu - - -  
ni tu - - -

131

i.  
i.  
i.