Guillaume Du Fay

Opera Omnia 03/02

Missa Sancti Iacobi

Edited by Alejandro Enrique Planchart



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03/02 Missa Sancti Iacobi Introitus



































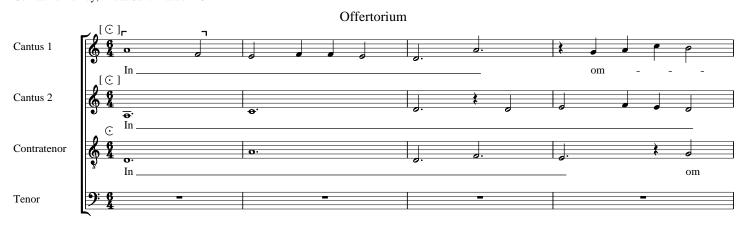


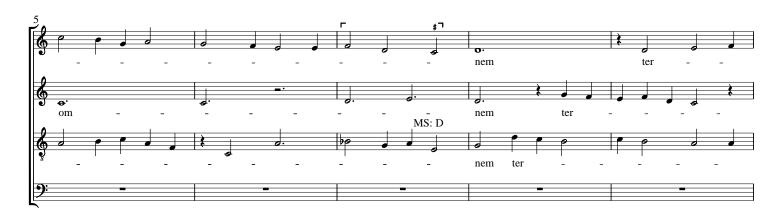


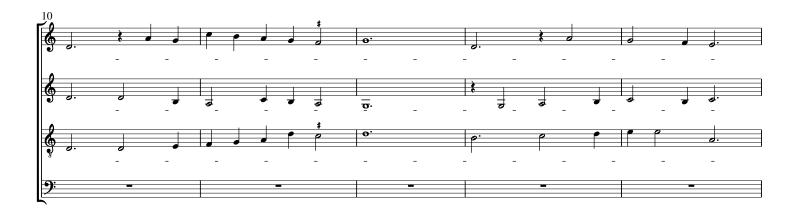


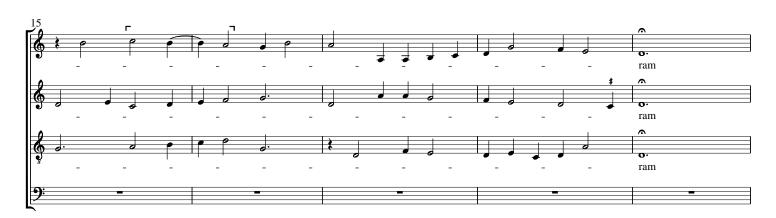


















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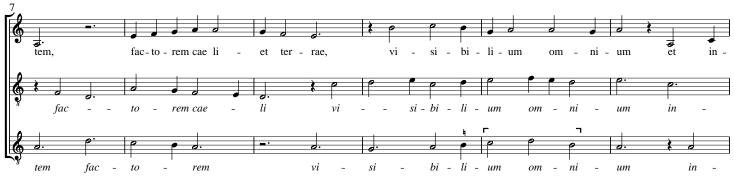




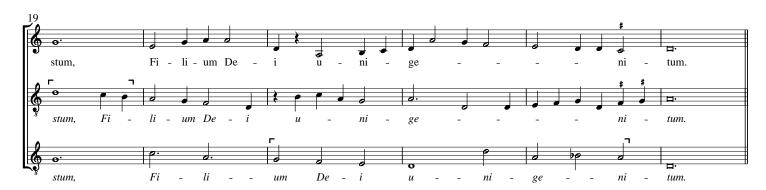


























03/02 Missa Sancti Iacobi

Sources

O15 (I), fols. A 144r-153r, R 121r-129r, M 143-152: individual movements as follows:

Introit 1, *Mihi autem*, fol. A 144r, R 121r, M 143, 4vv, "Introitus misse sancti iacobi G. du fay." Black notation with void coloration and flagged semiminims. Text in cantus 1-2 and tenor, incipit in the contratenor. Chant intonation of the antiphon in the tenor, chant intonation of the psalm and end of the doxology in cantus 1. The plainsong introit for apostles (LU 1304, GT 425) is in the tenor.

Introit 2, *Mihi autem*, fols. A 144v-145r, R 121v-122r, M 144, 3vv, "Repeticio." Black notation with void coloration and flagged semiminims. Chant intonation in cantus. Text in cantus, incipit in the other voices. The plainsong introit for apostles (LU 1304, GT 425) is paraphrased in the cantus.

Kyrie eleison, fols. A 144v-146r, R 121v-123, M 144-145, 3vv for four singers. Cantus 1 and 2 copied seriatim by section in a single part. The tacet sections of tenor and contratenor are not made explicit in any manner. Text in all voices. The melody of Vatican Kyrie IV (Melnicki, no. 18), is paraphrased in the cantus of sections 3, 6, and 9.

Gloria, fols. A 145v-147r, R 122v-124r, M 145-146, 3vv for four singers, "dufay." Black notation with void coloration. Text in the cantus, incipits in the other voices. Cantus 1 and 2 copied seriatim by section in a single part. Tacet sections of the tenor and contratenor indicated by a short "empty measure" between red bar lines, the rubric *duo* and a text incipit.

Alleluia: *Hispanorum clarens stella*, fols. A 146v-148r, R 123v-125r, M 146-147, 4vv, "dufay." Black notation with void coloration. Text in cantus 1 and 2 and tenor, incipits in the contratenor. Plainsong intonations in the tenor, the one for the respond in black notes, the one for the verse in void notes, although in neither case there appears to be a rhythmic significance. The tacet section in the tenor indicated by a small "empty measure" between red bar lines, the rubric *duo*, and a text incipit, but not indicated in any manner in the contratenor. Concerning the plainsong see below.

Credo, fols. A 148v-150r, R 125v-127r, M 148-149, 3vv for four singers, "du fay." Black notation with void coloration and flagged semiminims. Text in cantus 1 and 2, incipits in the other voices. Cantus 1 and 2 copied seriatim by section in a single part. Tacet sections of the tenor and contratenor indicated by a short "empty measure" between red bar lines, the rubric *duo* and a text incipit.

Offertory: *In omnem terram*, fols. A 150v-151r, R 127v-128r, M 150, 4vv "offertorium sancti iacobi G. du fay." Black notation with void coloration. Text in cantus 1 and 2 and tenor, partial text in contratenor. Rests notated for the tacet sections of the tenor. Plainsong offertory for apostles (LU 1327, GT 435), from the last note of *terram* to the last note of *fines*, and transposed down a 5th is paraphrased in the tenor.

Sanctus, fols. A 151v-152r, R 127v-128r, M 151, 4vv, "du fay." Black notation with void coloration. Text in all voices. Tacet sections of the tenor and contratenor indicated by a short "empty measure," the rubric *duo* and a text incipit. Plainsong intonations in the tenor in void notation. Plainsong melody of Vatican Sanctus II (LU 21, GT 717) (Thannabaur, no. 203)⁵ paraphrased in the tenor and in cantus 1 in the duo.

¹ E.g., Kyrie 1 (cantus), Kyrie 2 (cantus 1 followed by cantus 2), Kyrie 3 (cantus), Christe 4 (cantus), Christe 5 (cantus 1 followed by cantus 2), Christe 6 (cantus), etc.

² E.g. These parts have the music for Kyrie 1, a red barline, and the music cor Kyrie 3, etc.

³ Margareta Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Forschungbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1954).

⁴ The composer's name appears in the left margin in fol. A 146v, right at the start of cantus 1, and again in the top margin of fol. A 147v, over the verse.

⁵ Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das eintimmige sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des* 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Munich: W. Ricke, 1962).

Agnus Dei, fols. A 152v-153r, R 128v-129r, M 152, 4vv, "du fay." Black notation with void coloration. Text in all voices. Tacet sections of the contratenor indicated by a short "empty measure," the rubric *duo* and a text incipit, no indication of the tacet sections at all in the tenor. Plainsong intonations in the tenor in void notation. Plainsong melody of Vatican Agnus XI (LU 48, GT 751) (Schildbach, no. 220)⁶ paraphrased in the tenor and in cantus 1 in the duo.

Communion: *Vos qui secuti*, fols. A 152v-153r, R 128v-129r, M 152 (directly below the Agnus), 2vv and *fauxbourdon*, "post communio (sic) du fay." Black notation with void coloration. Plainsong intonation in void notation. Text in the cantus. Plainsong of the communion for apostles (LU 1392, GT 438) paraphrased in the cantus. Canon for the *fauxbourdon*: "Si trinum quaeras / A summo tolle figuras / Et simul incipite / Dyatessaron in subeondo."

Clefs and Mensurations in Q15

Introit 1

		1	34	46	48
Cantus 1	c2	[\$]	2	Ф	-
Cantus 2	c2	[\$]	2	-	Ф
Contratenor	c4	[\$]	-	-	-
Tenor	F3	[\$]	-	-	-

Introit 2

		1	22
Cantus	c2	С	C
Contratenor	c4	ı	ω
Tenor	c4b	С	C

Kyrie

		1	15	37	52	67	87	102	126	146
Cantus 1 and 2	c2	[C]	0	C	0	0	C	Θ	0	\cap
Contratenor	c4	[C]	tacet	С	C	tacet	С	C	tacet	С
Tenor	c4	[C]	tacet	С	C	tacet	С	C	tacet	С

Gloria

		1	26	50	79	99	117
Cantus 1 and 2	c2	[C]	0	C	O	0	С
Contratenor	c4	[C]	tacet	С	©	tacet	С
Tenor	c4	[C]	tacet	С	C	tacet	С

Alleluia

		1	40	70	99
Cantus 1	c2	[\$]	0	Θ	0
Cantus 2	c2	[\$]	0	Ф	0
Contratenor	c4	[\$]	0	tacet	-
Tenor	F3	[\$]	0	tacet	0

⁶ Martin Schildbach, Das Einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. Bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, (Erlangen: Friedrich-Alexander Universität, 1967).

Credo

		1	25	45	66	90	114	147	164	185	226	242
Cantus 1 and 2	c2	[C]	0	С	Θ	0	С	Θ	0	\cup	Θ	0
Contratenor	c4	[C]	tacet	С	C	tacet	С	C	tacet	С	C	0
Tenor	c4	[C]	tacet	С	C	tacet	С	C	tacet	С	C	0

Offertory

		1	20	37	43	79
Cantus 1	c2	[C]	-	၁	0	Ф
Cantus 2	c2	[C]	-	၁	0	Ф
Contratenor	c4	[C]	-	-	0	Ф
Tenor	F3	[Rests]	[C]	-	0	-

Sanctus

		1	19	28	46	59	67	79
Cantus 1	c2	[C]	0	0	0	-	O	0
Cantus 2	c2	[C]	0	©	0	-	C	0
Contratenor	c4	[C]	tacet	-	0	-	tacet	0
Tenor	F3	[C]	tacet	-	0	0	tacet	0

Agnus Dei

		1	18	44
Cantus 1	c2	\cup	Ф	-
Cantus 2	c2	С	Ф	-
Contratenor	c4	С	tacet	Φ
Tenor	F3	С	tacet	Φ

Communion

	1
Cantus	[\$]
Tenor	[\$]

Concordances

Introit 1 and 2, Alleluia, Offertory: none.

Kyrie

Ao(1), fols. 20v-21v, "G. du fay." Cantus 1 and 2 copied seriatim by section in a single part. Tacet sections in tenor and contratenor indicated by a short "empty measure" a mensuration and an incipit. Text in all voices. Mensurations indicated as in Q15 (with the added mensuration signs in the "empty measures").

Ao(2), fols. 50v-52r, "du fay" (on fol. 51v). Each part copied separately, cantus 1 continuously and cantus 2, tenor, and contratenor, also continuously but without indication of the tacet section. Instead each section is provided with a rubric, "kyrie primum," "kyrie tertium," etc. ⁷ Text in all voices. Mensurations as in Q15.

⁷ Margaret Bent, "Divisi and a versi in Early Fifteenth-Century Mass Movements," Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 95-137

- Tr 87₁, fols. 88v-89r. Missing Kyrie 1. The remainder copied as three parts, cantus 1, cantus 2 and tenor conflated, and contratenor. Order of sections: K2, K3, X6, X5, X4, K7, K8, K9. X6 and X5 inverted in the cantus2-tenor part and reordered by a rubric. Text in all voices. Mensurations as in Q15.
- Tr 90, fols. 69v-70r. K3, X6, and K9 only. Text in all voices. Mensuration: ℂ at measure 1.
- Tr 93, fols. 100v-101r. K3, X6, and K9 only. Text incipits. Mensuration:

 C at measure 1.

Gloria

- Ao(2), fols. 64v-66r, "dufay de apostolis." Cantus 1 and 2 copied as separate parts. The tacet sections in the extra cantus part, tenor, and contratenor are not indicated and need to be deduced from the text incipits. Text in cantus 1-2, incipits in the other voices except for the Amen. Mensurations as in Q15.
- Tr 87₁, fols. 1r-2r, "Dufay." Cantus 1 and 2 copied seriatim within a single part; tacet sections not indicated in the tenor or contratenor, but to be deduced from the incipits. Text in cantus 1-2, incipits in the other voices. Mensurations as in Q15.

Credo

- Ao(2), fols. 119v-122r, "dufay de apostolis." Cantus 1 and 2 copied as separate parts. Tacet sections in cantus 2, tenor, and contratenor not indicated and need to be deduced from text and incipits. Text in cantus 1-2, incipits in the tenor, contratenor largely textless. Mensurations as in Q15 except for measure 242, no sign in tenor or contratenor.
- Tr 87₁, fols. 151v-153r, "dufay." Cantus 2: measures 25-44 conflated with the contratenor but without a clef change and hence at the wrong pitch; measures 90-113 and 164-184 copied as a separate part. Tacet sections not indicated in tenor and contratenor, must be deduced from the incipits. Text in cantus 1 and 2, incipits in the other voices. Tenor and contratenor missing from measure 226 to the end. Mensurations as in Q15 for the sections copied.
- Tr 92₁, fols. 118v-120r, "Dufay." Cantus 1 and 2 copied seriatim within a single part. Tacet sections not indicated in the tenor and contratenor, must be deduced from the incipits. Text in cantus 1 and 2, incipits in the other voices. Measures 185 to the end (275) missing, replaced with measures 50-99 of the Gloria set to the text from *Et unam sanctam* to the end. Mensurations as in Q15 for the sections copied.

Sanctus

Ao(2), fols. 149v-150r, "G. du dapostolis." Text in cantus 1 and 2 and tenor, partial text in the contratenor. Plainsong intonations in the tenor. Tacet sections not indicated in tenor and contratenor, must be deduced from the text and incipits. Mensurations as in Q15 but with C in the tenor at measure 1 as well. Final Osanna indicated by an incipit and the rubric *ut supra*.

Agnus Dei

Ao(2), fols. 154v-155r, "dufay de apostolis." Text in cantus 1 and 2 and tenor, partial text in the contratenor. Mensurations as in Q15.

Communion

Tr 87₁, fol. 57r, "dufay." Two notated voices, no rubric indicating *fauxbourdon*. Text in the cantus. Mensuration: none.

Text of the Propers

Introit

Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus: nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.

Ps. Domine probasti me, et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam.

To me your friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened.

Ps. Lord, you have proven me and known me: you have known my sitting down and my raising up.

⁸ The continuous cantus part includes cantus 2 for measures 26-49 and cantus 1 for measures 100-117.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen	Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.
Alleluia	
Alleluia, alleluia. Hispanorum clarens stella, Charismatum Iacob cella,	Alleluia, alleluia. O clear star of the Spaniards, James, storehouse of spiritual gifts,
Mundi liminis sis stella Mare transfretantium.	May you be the star at the end of the world To those hastening across the sea.
Offertory	To those hastering across the sea.
In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum: et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.	Their sound went forth into all the earth; and their words to the ends of the world.
Communion	
Vos qui secuti estis me, sedebitis super sedes, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.	You that have followed me shall sit upon seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

The genesis of this work is quite complicated, and its history in modern scholarship turns out to be equally complex. What follows is a summary of our current state of knowledge about the mass and a brief history of its scholarly history.

The mass was apparently composed in stages over a period of about five years, from 1426 to sometime after 1429. The movements fall into four categories that most likely represent different stages in the composition:

1. Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, are written in a specific texture of "three voices for at least four singers," consisting of cantus, tenor, and contratenor, with strict alternation between sections in or three voices and extended duos for a divided cantus. Each movement has an equally strict progression of mensurations, \mathbf{C} , \mathbf{C} , running three times through in the Kyrie, twice in the Gloria, and three times in the Credo, which ends with an extended close in the in \mathbf{C} and \mathbf{C} leading to a final passage in *cantus coronatus*. The only movement that uses plainsong is the Kyrie, where Vatican Kyrie IV is paraphrased in the cantus of Kyrie 3, Christe 6, and Kyrie 9.

The nature of the ending of the Credo suggests that it was originally meant to be the close of the entire work. According to Margaret Bent, these movements were copied in Q15 in the second stage, after 1430, but were probably composed earlier. They were probably composed in Bologna, where Du Fay was between February 1426 and August 1428.

- 2. Sanctus and Agnus, composed for a texture similar to that of the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, but notated as four voices: cantus 1 and 2, tenor, and contratenor, so that while the first three ordinary movements alternate between passages in two and four voices. Both movements use plainsong, which is paraphrased in the tenor in the four-voice sections and in the cantus 1 in the duos. The strict succession of mensurations found in the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo is not present in the Sanctus and the Agnus.
- 3. Three movements setting proper texts (introit, alleluia, offertory), using the four-voice texture of the Sanctus and the Agnus, and written in the style of tenor motets, with a plainsong cantus firmus in the tenor and little or no paraphrase. The alleluia is an exception in that the "plainsong" was composed *ad hoc* by Du Fay (see below). no chant source for the melody has turned up, but its texture is similar to that of the introit and offertory.
- 4. A second setting of the introit as a three voice chant paraphrase with the plainsong paraphrased in the cantus, and the communion, set as a chant paraphrase in *fauxbourdon*, perhaps the earliest use of this procedure, with the chant paraphrased in the cantus.

Margaret Bent has made a compelling argument connecting the copying of the mass in Q15, which started the extended revision and recopying of the original manuscript, to provisions of the will of Bishop Pietro Emiliani made in 1429. 10 It is thus most likely that the alleluia, a musical and liturgical *unicum* and the only piece in the cycle

⁹ Margaret Bent, "Divisi and a versi in Early Fifteenth-Century Mass Movements," Antonio Zachara da Teramo e il suo tempo, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 95-137; eadem, "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," Proceedings of the British Academy 101 (1999), 124-27.

¹⁰ Bent, "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," 126-28.

12. St. Matthias

that is entirely specific to St. James, was written at the request of either Emiliani or the scribe of Q15, who was a member if the bishop's inner circle. 11

The five movements of the ordinary appear in Ao although not as a cycle with the rubric *de apostolis*, which has misled scholars into overemphasizing the neutral nature of the cycle if one excludes the alleluia. But when one adds the introit, offertory, and communion this neutrality virtually evaporates. The propers for the apostles, with the exception of their alleluias, are among the most stable items in the entire liturgy. These are given in Table 1 with the propers used in the mass for St. James in boldface.

	Introit	Gradual	Alleluia	Offertory	Communion
01. St. Andrew	Mihi autem	Constitues eos	Nimis honorati	Mihi autem	Dicit Andreas
02. St. Bartholomew	Mihi autem	Constitues eos	Per manus	Mihi autem	Vos qui secuti
03. St. James the Elder	Mihi autem	Constitues eos	Vos estis	In omnem terram	Vos qui secuti
04. St. John	In medio	Exiit sermo	Hic est	Iustus ut palma	Exiit sermo
05. St. Mathew	Os iusti	Beatus vir	Te gloriosus	Posuisti domine	Magna est
06. St. Peter	Nunc scio	Constitues eos	Tu es Petrus	Constitues eos	Tu es Petrus
07-08. SS. Philip & James	Exclamaverunt	A. Confitebuntur	A. Tanto tempore	Confitebuntur	Tanto tempore
09-10. St. Simon & Jude	Mihi autem	Nimis honorati	Isti sunt	In omnem terram	Vos qui secuti
11. St. Thomas	Mihi autem	Nimis honorati	Vos estis	In omnem terram	Mitte manum

Constitues

Table 1 Propers of the Apostles

Four of these liturgies are not part of the oldest layer of the Gregorian tradition, that is, they do not appear in the sources for the *Sextuplex*, ¹² namely St. Bartholomew, St. James the elder, St. Thomas, and St. Mathias. The liturgy of these was derived with small variations from the mass for SS. Philip and Jude in the course of the 10th and 11th centuries, but the only one of these derived liturgies that coincides with that of SS. Simon and Jude in most of the 14th and 15th century graduals and missals I have examined, is that of St. James the Elder.

T. Desiderium

In omnem terram

Thus, given the liturgical traditions of northern Italy in the early fifteenth century, a mass containing the introit *Mihi autem*, the offertory *In omnem terram*, and the communion *Vos qui secuti*, was not a generic *missa apostolorum* but a mass either for SS. Simon and Jude or a mass for St. James the Elder. Therefore the possibility should remain open that Du Fay might have begun expanding the three-movement ordinary and even composing a set of propers for St. James while he was in Bologna, where there was an important church dedicated to St. James.

Early scholarship on the mass associated it with Du Fay's colleague, Robert Auclou and with the church of Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie in Paris of which Auclou was curate. The reason for this was the acrostic in the text of Du Fay's motet, *Rite maiorem*, preserved uniquely in Q15, which reads "Robertus Auclou curatus Sancti Iacobi." In 1976 I showed, however, that the entire fifteenth-century liturgy for St. James at Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie survived, and that it contained neither the text used as an incipit for the tenor of *Rite maiorem* nor the Alleluia *Hispanorum clarens stella*. ¹³ At the same time I found out that the church of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna, apparently had a rhymed office for the saint, because even though the summer volumes of the Gradual and the Antiphoner were lost, the other volumes of the antiphoner transmitted a *suffragium* for the saint that was an antiphon with a rhymed text, *O doctor et lux Hispaniae*, and such *suffragia* were usually the Magnificat antiphon for the saint's day. ¹⁴ Bent's compelling case for the connection between the *Missa Sancti Iacobi* and Emiliani's testament, led her at first to posit that the mass was mainly a compilation by the scribe of Q15 and that even the motet was connected with the bishop's will, ¹⁵ though later she came to think the motet and the mass may be unrelated. ¹⁶ In the

Mihi autem

¹¹ Bent, "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," 134-129.

¹² René-Jean Hesbert, Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex (Brussels: Vroomans, 1935. Reprinted Rome: Herder, 1963).

¹³ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Masses: A View of the Manuscript Traditions," *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974*, ed. Allan W. Atlas (New York: Brooklyn College Music Department, 1976), 27-29.

¹⁴ Planchart, op. cit., 26, idem, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 128-29.

¹⁵ Bent, "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," 127.

meantime Barbara Haggh sought to associate the mass and the motet with Robert Auclou, ¹⁷ although the route of the connection, by the Burgundian Sainte-Chapelle in Dijon and through the Dominican order, ¹⁸ is chronologically and politically implausible given Du Fay's Franciscan sympathies and that he had little connection with Burgundy before 1439.

The recovery and restoration after nearly 150 years of the summer volume of the Antiphoner of San Giacomo Maggiore in 2002, provided confirmation that the cantus firmus of *Rite maiorem* came from the first matins responsory for St. James at that church, and that virtually the entire office for St. James was unique. ¹⁹ Given that this shows involvement between Du Fay and the church of San Giacomo it is possible to postulate that he might have, indeed, begun to compile a *Missa Sancti Iacobi* for that church, either in connection with Cardinal Louis Allemand, the papal legate in Bologna and Du Fay's patron. ²⁰

Since San Giacomo did have an office for St. James using a number of unique rhymed pieces, one should keep open the possibility that the mass liturgy for the saint made use also of a rhymed alleluia. But there are two details that can be pointed out that indicate that the *Missa Sancti Iacobi* was incomplete by the time the Canedoli revolted and ejected the papal government in August of 1428, and that the impulse to continue the work came from Emiliani, either directly of more likely through the scribe of Q15, who clearly knew Du Fay, since he had almost immediate access to virtually everything Du Fay wrote until ca. 1433.

By August of 1428 probably the entire ordinary and perhaps the introit and offertory had been composed. After receiving a request to complete the mass sometime in 1430 Du Fay wrote the second introit, the alleluia, and the communion. In the alleluia he retained the style of the first introit and offertory, but the second introit and the communion are written in the style he had begun to cultivate in Rome, a three voice texture either with contratenor or with *fauxbourdon*, and with chant paraphrase in the cantus. ²¹ This is the texture found in the hymns and in the cycle of Kyries.

In the case of the alleluia there is evidence that Du Fay wrote not only the plainsong intonations but the text itself. The text is a simple stanza in the style found in most proses at the time, which any competent versifier could have written. Further, the music of the alleluia provides strong proof that Du Fay did not have a plainsong alleluia before his eyes when composing this piece. Absolutely without exception plainsong alleluias are notated as follows:

Alleluia ----- V. Verse

where the dashes represent the *iubilus*. The singers knew, of course, that a cantor sang the word "Alleluia" and then the schola repeated that word and proceeded to the *iubilus*. We now have at least fifteen polyphonic settings of the alleluia by Du Fay, and in most of those the polyphonic setting of the word itself makes use, somewhere in the polyphony of the melody of the intonation.²² This is not the case in the alleluia of the *Missa Sancti Iacob*, where no trace of the intonation is found anywhere in the polyphony. And there cannot be the possibility that Du Fay had a chant where the repeat of the alleluia was set to different music. That is not how plainsong alleluias worked and not

¹⁶ Private correspondence.

¹⁷ Barbara Haggh, "Guillaume Du Fay's *Missa Sancti Jacobi*: A Mass for his Friend, Robert Auclou?" *Gedenkschrift für Walter Pass*, ed. Martin Czernin (Tutzing: Schneider, 2002), 307-319.

¹⁸ Saint Jacques de la Boucherie in Paris was a Dominican church.

¹⁹ Giacomo Baroffio and Eu Ju Kim, "La tradizione liturgico-musicale in San Giacomo a Bologna," *I corali de San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento*, ed. Giancarlo Benevolo and Massimo Medica (Bologna: Musei Civici d'Arte Antica, 2003), 123-43.

²⁰ San Giacomo has a chapel, actually a separate structure, that served as the parish church and was dedicated to St. Cecilia. Shortly after Du Fay's arrival in Bologna, Pope Martin V elevated Louis Allemand to the cardinalate and conferred upon hi the *titulus* of St. Cecilia in Trastevere.

²¹ From the beginning of his chant paraphrase settings to the mid 1440s, Du Fay clearly views *fauxbourdon* settings and settings with a composed contratenor as closely related. This is obvious from his hymn and sequence settings and from some of the propers written at Cambrai in the 1440s.

²² See Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Second Style," *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren: Harmonie Park Press, 1996), 307-340.

a single example of this turns up in the immense collection of alleluias edited by Schlager. Almost equally suspicious is the fact that the intonation of the verse is identical to the intonation of the alleluia. Again this is a trait that does not ever appear in plainsong alleluias, but which corresponds to the structural use Du Fay made of his made up plainsong intonations in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of his previous mass, the *Missa sine nomine*. With this we have a virtually airtight argument against Du Fay having ever seen a chant version of this alleluia either at San Giacomo or anywhere else. This supports Bent's hypothesis that the *Missa Sancti Iacobi* as transmitted in Q15 was ultimately a consequence of Emiliani's last will. It also remained incomplete; for whatever reason Du Fay never wrote the gradual, and second introit and the communion, beautiful as they are, give the impression of having been written in a bit of a hurry.

The alleluia poses a different problem as well. The text of the verse has a word set down in an unconventional abbreviation the meaning of which eluded both De Van and Besseler, both of whom passed it over in complete silence in their editions. A number of scholars had not only noticed it but also the fact that its absence made the third line of the quatrain three syllables shorter, and a number of practical emendations had been proposed.²⁴ The scribe copied it three times abbreviated in the same odd manner, which really means that the scribe did not know what the word was: the clearest reading is on fol. A 148r, where it could reads "lins.²⁵" The solution came at a seminar in Dozza in the summer of 2002 through the concerted efforts of Margaret Bent, Cesarino Ruini, and Donato Gallo, when Gallo remembered that shortly to the west of Compostela was the westernmost point of Europe, called Finisterre (finis terrae), which the poet was referring to as mundi liminis. This, in turn, reinforces Bent's hypothesis of the connection between the final form of the mass and Emiliani's will. One of the provisions of the will was to send four pilgrims to Santiago to pray for the bishop's soul.²⁶ An attendant rite of all such pilgrimages was for the pilgrims eventually to walk the extra 90 Km to Finisterre, and pick up a scallop shell as proof of the completed pilgrimage.²⁷ The author of the text, with its oblique reference to Finisterre, which is unique among all chants devoted to St. James, must have known of the provisions in Emiliani's will. 28 Still, it is clear that the scribe of Q15 had really no idea of what word he was seeing in his exemplar. Had he, or anyone from Emiliani's circle sent the text to Du Fay the scribe of O15 would have known what this word was, but if he got the text from Du Fay (and at a time when Du Fay was about to leave Rome for Sayoy and could not be reached), he was thrown upon his own devices for reading the unclear word.

This is not the only problem with the text of the alleluia. The setting in Q15 is grammatically absurd in a way no other setting by Du Fay is. A scheme of the piece is as follows:

Music	Text
Intonation	Alleluia
Polyphony à 4	Alleluia
Intonation	Hispanorum
Polyphony à 4	clarens stella
	Mundi liminis
Duo	sis stella
	Mare
Polyphony à 4	transfretantium.

Given that every section of polyphony ends with a very strong cadence this makes absolutely no sense. Thus, even though the scribe of Q15 is entirely consistent in all the parts, I have emended the text setting as follows:

²³ Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien I-II*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 7-8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968-87).

²⁴ See the one used by Andrew Kirkman and the Gilles Binchois ensemble in their recording, Hyperion CDA 66997, which is credited to Brian Trowell and is both elegant and imaginative.

²⁵ This is the evidence that the text was not sent to Du Fay by the scribe of Q15 or anyone in Emiliani's circle; had they sent this text to the composer the scribe or someone in his circle would have known what this word was.

²⁶ Bent, cite #

²⁷ The scallop shell was intimately with the iconography of St. James and relieves of it were to be found in churches and signs along the entire pilgrimage route in France and Spain.

²⁸ Horton Davies, cite #

Music	Text
Intonation	Alleluia
Polyphony à 4	Alleluia
Intonation	Hispanorum
Polyphony à 4	clarens stella
Duo	Mundi liminis sis stella
Polyphony à 4	Mare transfretantium.

The text underlay in the edition follows that of Q15 in all the parts with text. In addition I have provided text for the contratenor of introit 1, the lower voices of introit 2, the contratenor of the alleluia (which has extended incipits), the contratenor of the offertory, which has a virtually complete text with an occasional word or even syllable missing, and the tenor of the communion. The contratenors of introit 1, alleluia, and offertory were almost certainly sung with their full text, the lower parts of introit 2 and the tenor of the communion might have been sung with full text or simply vocalized. Performers who would prefer to vocalize these parts should feel free to ignore the text underlay. Setting the text to the lower parts of the three-voice sections of the Gloria and the Credo is far more problematic because only partial text can be fit to them. Hearing numerous performances of this mass in the last two decades, even with very good ensembles, I find that with modern singers the vocalized parts become obtrusive. For performers who might want to experiment with partial text in the lower parts of the Gloria and the Credo I provide a possible underlay for both movements in an appendix to the edition.

In terms of the tempo, there should be minim equivalence between \mathbf{C} , \bigcirc , and \bigcirc in each movement where these mensurations are present, the beat being on the perfect semibreve in \mathbf{C} and on the imperfect semibreve in \bigcirc and \bigcirc . For these movements I would suggest MM 60-72 for the perfect semibreve and MM 80-108 for the imperfect semibreve. The repetition of the introit appears to call for a slightly slower tempo: MM 72-96 for the imperfect semibreve at the start and MM 48-64 for the perfect semibreve. The tempo and beating of the repetition of the introit apply also to the offertory. In sections in \bigcirc , namely the first introit, the respond (and the verse duo) of the alleluia, and the communion the beat should be on the perfect breve: MM 40-50 in the introit and alleluia²⁹, and MM 50-60 in the communion, while the section in \bigcirc in the verse of the alleluia the beat should be on the imperfect breve moving at MM 80-96.

My assumption that the first introit, the alleluia, and the communion begin in Φ is based entirely on Du Fay's mensural practice. From the beginning of his career until around 1450 he writes consistently two different kinds of rhythmic density in *tempus perfectum*. One moves largely in semibreves and minims, and is consistently signed with Θ . The other moves in breves and semibreves with occasional flourishes of minims, uses a good deal of remote alteration of the breve or the long, groups the breves in a strict minor or imperfect *modus*, and is virtually always signed, when it is signed at all, with Φ . Initial use of this sign is rare in his music, but not absent, and in fact initial use of *any* sign of *tempus perfectum* is less frequent in his music than any other initial sign until the 1450s. It appears that he assumed that singers could recognize Θ , Φ , and even \mathbf{C} , from a first glance at the part.

The sections of the mass signed with C are organized for the most part in an implicit minor or imperfect *modus*, although with occasional extra breves added here and there. In this the *Missa Sancti Iacobi* is less fluid than the *Missa sine nomine* and some of the early Gloria settings, but not as regular as the latter works written in English C (a development from the 1440s on).

Accidentals found only in sources other than Q15 are noted in the score as *musica ficta*, those marked with the comment "rejected" represent those that I regard as unsatisfactory, but it is possible that other performers might find them correct or sufficiently beautiful to incorporate them.

 $^{^{29}}$ Most likely the upper limit in the alleluia should be MM 48 to the perfect breve.