

Guillaume Du Fay

Opera Omnia 03/05

Missa *L'homme armé*

Edited by Alejandro Enrique Planchart



Marisol Press
Santa Barbara, 2011

Guillaume Du Fay

Opera Omnia

Edited by Alejandro Enrique Planchart

01	Cantilena, Paraphrase, and New Style Motets
02	Isorhythmic and Mensuration Motets
03	Ordinary and Plenary Mass Cycles
04	Proper Mass Cycles
05	Ordinary of the Mass Movements
06	Proses
07	Hymns
08	Magnificats
09	Benedicamus domino
10	Songs
11	Plainsongs
12	Dubious Works and Works with Spurious Attributions

03/05 Missa L'homme armé

Kyrie eleison

Guillaume Du Fay

Cantus
Ky - - ri - - e e - - - - -

Contraténor
Ky - - ri - - e e - - - - - lei - - -

Tenor 1
L'homme armé
Ky - - ri - e e -

Tenor 2
Ky - - - - ri - - - e e - - - lei - - -

7
- - lei - son. Ky - - - - - ri - e e - - - -

son. _____ Ky - - - - - ri - e e - - - -

lei - - - son.

son. _____ Ky - - - - - ri - e e - - - -

13
- - - - - lei - son. Ky - ri - - e e - - -

- - - - - lei - son. _____ Ky - ri - e e - - -

Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e - - -

- - - - - lei - son. Ky - ri - e e - - -

19
- - lei - son. Ky - ri - e e - - - lei - son. _____

- - lei - son. Ky - - ri - e e - - lei - son. _____

lei - - - son. Ky - ri - e e - - - lei - son. _____

lei - - - son. Ky - ri - e e - - - lei - son.

25

Chri - - - - - ste e - - - -

Chri - - - - - ste e - - - -

35

- - lei - son. Chri - - - - - ste e - - - -

- - lei - son. Chri - - - - - ste e - - - -

45

- lei - son. Chri - ste e - - - - - lei -

- - lei - son. Chri - ste e - - - - - lei -

55

son. Chri - - - - - ste e - - - - - lei - - son.

son.

Chri - - - - - ste e - - - - - lei - - son.

Chri - ste e - - - - - lei - - son,

65

Chri - ste

Chri - - - ste, Chri - - - ste

Chri - - - ste

Chri - - - ste, Chri - - - ste e - - - -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 65 through 74. It features four staves: soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The soprano staff begins with a whole rest and then has a half note 'Chri' followed by a half note 'ste' with a flat. The alto staff has a half note 'Chri' followed by a half note 'ste,' and then a half note 'Chri' followed by a half note 'ste'. The tenor staff has a half note 'Chri' followed by a half note 'ste'. The bass staff has a half note 'Chri' followed by a half note 'ste,' and then a half note 'Chri' followed by a half note 'ste' and a whole note 'e'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

75

e - - - - lei - son.

e - - - - lei - son.

e - - - - lei - son.

lei - - - - son.

son.
CS 14: B-D
LU, Ed, CS 49: G

Detailed description: This system contains measures 75 through 83. It features four staves: soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The soprano staff has a half note 'e' followed by a half note 'lei' and a whole note 'son.' with a sharp. The alto staff has a half note 'e' followed by a half note 'lei' and a whole note 'son.' with a sharp. The tenor staff has a half note 'e' followed by a half note 'lei' and a whole note 'son.' with a sharp. The bass staff has a half note 'e' followed by a half note 'lei' and a whole note 'son.' with a sharp. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

84

Ky - ri - e e - - - -

Ky - ri - e e - - - -

Ky - - - ri - e e - - - -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 84 through 88. It features four staves: soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The soprano staff has a half note 'Ky' followed by a half note 'ri' and a whole note 'e' with a sharp. The alto staff has a half note 'Ky' followed by a half note 'ri' and a whole note 'e' with a sharp. The tenor staff has a half note 'Ky' followed by a half note 'ri' and a whole note 'e' with a sharp. The bass staff has a half note 'Ky' followed by a half note 'ri' and a whole note 'e' with a sharp. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

89

Lu

Detailed description: This system contains measures 89 through 93. It features four staves: soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The soprano staff has a half note 'Lu' followed by a half note 'Lu' and a whole note 'Lu' with a flat. The alto staff has a half note 'Lu' followed by a half note 'Lu' and a whole note 'Lu' with a flat. The tenor staff has a half note 'Lu' followed by a half note 'Lu' and a whole note 'Lu' with a flat. The bass staff has a half note 'Lu' followed by a half note 'Lu' and a whole note 'Lu' with a flat. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

94

Lu

lei - - son.

lei - - son.

lei - - son.

lei - - son.

99

Ky - - ri - e e

Ky - - ri - e e

Ky - - ri - e e - lei - - son. Ky - ri - e,

Ky - - ri - e e

104

lei - - son. Ky - - ri -

lei - son. Ky - ri - e

Ky - ri - e e - - lei - - son.

lei - son. Ky - - ri - e

109

e e lei - son.

e e lei - son.

Ad medium referas pausas linquendo priores.
Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Ky-ri - e, Ky-ri - e e - lei - son.

e e lei - son.

Gloria

Cantus
Et in ter - - - ra pax ho - - mi - -

Contratenor
Et in ter - - - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

7
ni - - bus bo - - - - - nae vo -

bo - - - - - nae vo - -

12
lun - ta - - - - - tis.

lun - ta - - - - - tis. Lau -

17
Lau - da - mus te. Be - - - ne - - - di - ci - - - mus

da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. Ad - - - o -

L'homme armé

Be - - - - - ne - - - di - - -

Be - - - ne - - - di - ci - - - mus te.

22

te. Ad - - - o - ra - - - mus te. Glo - ri -
ra - - - mus te. Glo - -
- - - ci - - - mus te.
Ad - - - o - ra - - - mus te.

27

- - - fi - ca - - - mus te.
ri - - - fi - ca - - - mus te. Glo - ri - - - fi - ca - - -
Gra - - - ti - - - as
Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - mus te. Glo - ri - - - fi - ca - - - mus

32

Gra - - - ti - as a - - - gi - mus ti - - -
- - - mus te. Gra - - - ti - - - as a - - - gi -
a - - - gi - mus ti - - -
te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus

37

bi pro - - - pter ma - - - gnam
mus ti - - - bi pro - - - pter ma - - - gnam
bi pro - - - pter
ti - - - bi pro - - - pter ma - - - gnam

42

glo - ri - am tu - am. Do

glo - ri - am tu - am.

47

mi - ne De - us, rex cae - le -

De - us rex cae - le -

mi - ne De - us, rex

Do - mi - ne De -

52

stis, De - us

stis, cae - le - stis, De - us

cae - le - stis, De - us

us, rex cae - le - stis,

57

pa - ter om - ni - po - tens. Lu

pa - ter om - ni - po - tens.

pa - ter

pa - ter om - ni - po -

62

tens. Do

om ni po tens. Do

tens.

tens.

67

mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te Ie

mi ne Fi li u ni ge ni te Ie

U ni ge ni te Ie

Do mi ne u ni

72

Lu

su Chri ste. Do

su Chri ste. Do

su. Do

ge ni te Ie su Chri ste. Do

77

mi ne De us A gnus, A gnus De i,

mi ne De us, A gnus De i.

mi ne A gnus De i,

mi ne De us, A gnus De i,

83

Fi - li - us Pa - tris.

Fi - li - us Pa - tris.

Fi - li - us Pa - tris.

Fi - li - us Pa - tris.

89

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta

97

di mi - se - re - re no -

mun - di, mi - se - re - re no -

107

bis. Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -

bis.

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta

117

di, su - sci -
mun - di, su - sci -

127

de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem
pe de - pre - ca -
L'homme armé de pre -
pe de - pre -

137

no - ti - o - nem no - stram,
ca - ti - o - nem no - stram,
ca - ti - o - nem no - stram, no -

147

Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram,
Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram, no -
stram, Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram, no -

157

des ad dex te ram Pa
 ad dex te ram Pa tris,
 stram. mi se re re
 ad dex te ram mi se re

167

tris, mi se re re no
 mi se re re no bis,
 mi se re re no
 re no

177

bis. Quo ni am tu
 no bis. Quo ni am tu
 bis. Quo ni am
 bis, no bis. Quo ni am tu

187

so lus san ctus. Tu
 so lus san ctus. Tu
 tu so lus
 so lus san ctus.

Lu

197

so - lus Do - - - mi - nus. Tu so -
san - ctus. Tu so - - - lus Tu so - - - lus
Tu so - - - lus Do - - - mi - nus.

207

so - - lus al - - - tis - si - mus, le - - -
lu - - - lus al - - - tis - si - mus, le - - -
al - - - tis - si - mus, Tu so - - - lus

217

- - su Chri - ste, le - su -
- - su Chri - - - ste, le -
Ie - - - su -
al - - - ti - - - si - - - mus Ie - - - su

227

Chri - - - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - - - ri - - - tu,
- - - su Chri - ste. Cum San - - - cto
Chri - - - ste. Cum san -
Chri - - - ste. Cum San - - - cto

237

in glo - ri - a De - i Pa -
Spi - ri - tu, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa -
- - - - - cto Spi - ri - tu,
Spi - ri - tu, in glo - ri - a De -

247

tris, De - i Pa - tris.
tris, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.
in glo - ri - a De - i Pa -
i Pa - tris. A -

257

Lu
A
A
tris. A

267

men.
men.
men.
men.

Credo

Cantus
Pa - trem om - ni - - - po - ten - tem, fac - to - - -

Contranenor
Pa - trem om - ni - - - po - ten - tem, fac - - - to - - - rem

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

7
- - - rem - cae - - - - - li et - - - ter -

cae - - - - - li et - - - ter -

13
- - - - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um - - -

- - - - - rae, vi - si - bi - li -

19
om - - - - - ni - um, et in - vi - - - -

um - - - - - om - - - - - ni - um, et in - vi - - - -

25

si - bi - li -

si - bi - li -

31

um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Ie - sum Chri - -

um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Ie - sum

L'homme armé

Et in u - num Do - mi - -

Et in u - num Ie - sum

39

stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - -

Chri - - stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - -

num Fi - li - - um.

Fi - li - - um De - - i u - - ni - ge - ni - -

45

ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre na - - - tum an

tum. Et ex Pa - - - tre na - - - -

Et ex Pa - tre na - - -

tum. Et ex Pa - - - tre na - tum

51

te om - ni - a sae - - - - -
tum an - te om - ni - a
tum an - te om - ni - a
an - te om - ni - a sae - -

57

cu - la. De - - - - - um de de De - - - - -
sae - - - - - cu - la. De - - - - - um de De - - - - -
de De - - - - -
cu - la. De - - - - - um de

63

o, lu - - - - - men de lu - mi - - - - - ne, De - - - - -
o, lu - - - - - men de
o, lu - - - - - men de lu - mi - - - - - ne,
De - - - - - o, lu - - - - - men de

69

um ve - - - - -
lu - - - - - mi - ne, De - - - - - um ve - - - - -
De - - - - - um
lu - - - - - mi - ne, De - - - - - um

75

rum de De o ve

81

Rest not in CS 49

ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum, con sub

de De o ve ro. Ge ni tum, non fac tum con sub

87

stan ti a lem Pa tri: per quem om ni a fac ta

stan ti a lem Pa tri: per quem om ni a fac ta sunt.

tum, non fac

stan ti a lem Pa tri: per quem om ni a fac ta sunt.

93

sunt. Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes, qui prop ter nos ho mi nes,

Qui prop ter nos ho mi nes,

99

nes, et prop - ter no - stram sa - lu - - - tem, de - scen dit - -

nes et prop - ter no - stram sa - -

et prop - ter no - - - stram

et prop - - - ter no - stram sa - - - - lu - -

105

de - - - cae - - - - - lis. - -

lu - tem, de - - - scen - dit de cae - lis. - -

sa - lu - tem, de - - - scen - dit de cae - - - lis. - -

tem, de - scen - dit de - - - cae - - - - lis. - -

111

Et in - car - na - - - - -

Et in - car - na - - - - -

121

tus est de Spi - ri - tu San -

tus est de Spi - - - ri - tu

131

Musical score for measures 131-140. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, alto line, tenor line, and bass line. The vocal line contains the lyrics: "cto ex". The alto line contains the lyrics: "San cto ex". The tenor and bass lines are mostly rests.

141

Musical score for measures 141-150. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, alto line, tenor line, and bass line. The vocal line contains the lyrics: "ex Ma - ri - a vir". The alto line contains the lyrics: "Ma - ri - a vir". The tenor and bass lines are mostly rests.

151

Musical score for measures 151-160. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, alto line, tenor line, and bass line. The vocal line contains the lyrics: "gi - ne: et ho - mo fac - tus est." The alto line contains the lyrics: "gi - ne: et ho". The tenor and bass lines are mostly rests. A triplet of eighth notes is marked in the bass line.

161

Musical score for measures 161-170. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, alto line, tenor line, and bass line. The vocal line is mostly rests. The alto line contains a triplet of eighth notes. The tenor and bass lines are mostly rests.

171

mo fa

181

Cru - - ci - - fi - xus e - -
ctus est. L'homme armé
Cru - - ci - - fi - xus e - -

191

ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - -
e - - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - -
xus e - - ti - - am

201

to pas - - sus et se - pul - - tus est.
to pas - - sus et se - pul - - tus est.
pro no - bis:
et se - pul - - tus est. Et

211

Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di - e, se - cun -
 Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di -
 re - sur - re - xit ter - ti -
 re - sur - re - xit

221

dum scri - ptu - ras.
 e se - cun - dum scri - ptu - ras. Et a - scen - dit in
 - a di - e, se - cun - dum scri - ptu - ras.
 ter - ti - a di - e. Et a - scen - dit in

231

Et a - scen - dit in cae - lum, se - det ad dex - te - ram
 cae - lum, se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris.
 Et a - scen - dit se -
 cae - lum, se - det ad dex - te - ram

241

Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a, iu -
 Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo -
 det dex - te - ram Pa - tris.
 Pa - tris. i - te - rum

251

di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: cu - ius re -
 ri - a, iu - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: cu - is re -
 Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est

261

gni non e - rit fi - rus est
 cu - ius re - gni non e -

271

nis. Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi -

281

tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi -

291

Pa - tre Fi - li - - o - - que pro - - - ce - dit.
Fi - - li - - o - - que pro - - - ce - dit.
- - li - o - - - que pro - ce - - - dit.
Fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit.

301

Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra - tur,
Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra - tur, et

311

et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - - - tur: qui lo - cu - tus
con - glo - ri - fi - ca - - - tur:
qui

321

est per pro - phe - - -
lo - cu - tus est per pro - phe - - -

331

tas. Et u - nam

Et u - nam san - -

Et u - - -

tas.

341

san - ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li -

sctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li -

nam san - ctam ca - - -

Et u - nam san - - - ctam ca - tho - - -

351

cam Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - num bap -

cam Ec - cle - si - am. Con - fi - te - or u - - - -

tho - - - li - - - cam et a - po - sto - - - li - - - cam

li - cam Con - fi - te - or u - num bap - -

361

tis ma in re - mi - si -

- - - num bap - - - tis - ma in re - - - mis - si -

Ec - cle - - - si - - - am. Con - - - fi - - - te -

tis ma in re - - - mis -

371

o - nem pec - ca - to - - rum. Et ex - spec - - - - - to

o - nem pec - ca - to - - rum. Et ex - spec -

- - or u - - num bap - - - tis - ma Et ex -

si - o - - - nem pec - ca - - - - to - rum

381

re - sur - rec - ti - o - - nem mor - tu - o - - - rum.

to re - sur - rec - ti - o - - nem mor - tu - o - - - rum, mor - tu - o - - - -

spec - - - to re - sur - rec - ti - o - - - - - nem mor - tu - o - - - rum,

re - sur - rec - ti -

391

Et vi - - tam, et vi -

rum. Et vi - - - tam, et vi - -

re - sur - rec - - ti - o - - - nem mor - tu - o - - rum.

- o - - - nem mor - tu - o - - - rum. Et

401

tam, et vi - - - - - tam ven -

tam, et vi - - - - - tam ven - tu -

Et vi - - - - - tam ven -

vi - - - - - tam ven -

411

Musical score for measures 411-414. The score is written for four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: tu - ri sae - - - - - cu - li. A - - - - -
ri sae - - - - - cu - - - - - li. A - -
- tu - ri sae - - - - - cu - li. A -
tu - ri sae - - - - - cu - - - - - li. A - - - - -

421

Musical score for measures 421-424. The score is written for four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: - - - - - men.
- - - - - men.
- - - - - men.
- - - - - men.

431

Musical score for measures 431-434. The score is written for four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: A - - - - -
A - - - - -
A - - - - -
A - - - - -

443

Musical score for measures 443-446. The score is written for four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are: - - - - - men.
- - - - - men.
- - - - - men.
- - - - - men.

Sanctus

Cantus

San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - -

Contratenor

San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - -

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

7

ctus,

ctus, San - ctus, _____
L'homme armé

San - - - - -

13

San - - - - - ctus, _____ San - - - - -

San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - -

ctus, _____

San - - - - - ctus,

19

ctus, _____

San - - - - -

25

San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus,

31

ctus, Do - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - ctus, San - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - ctus,

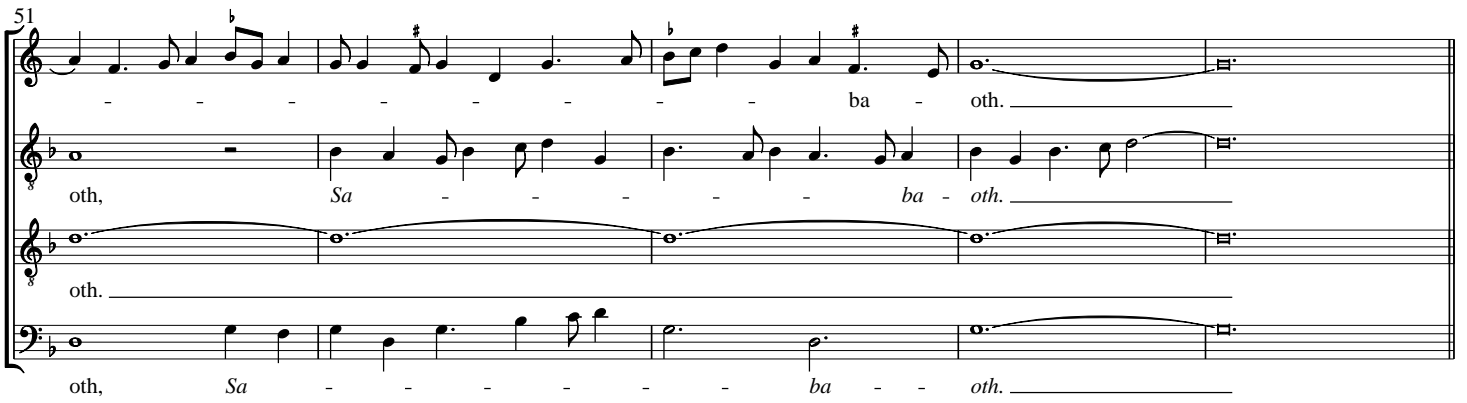
37

mi - nus De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus,

43

us, De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus, Do - - - - - mi - nus De - - - - - ctus,

51



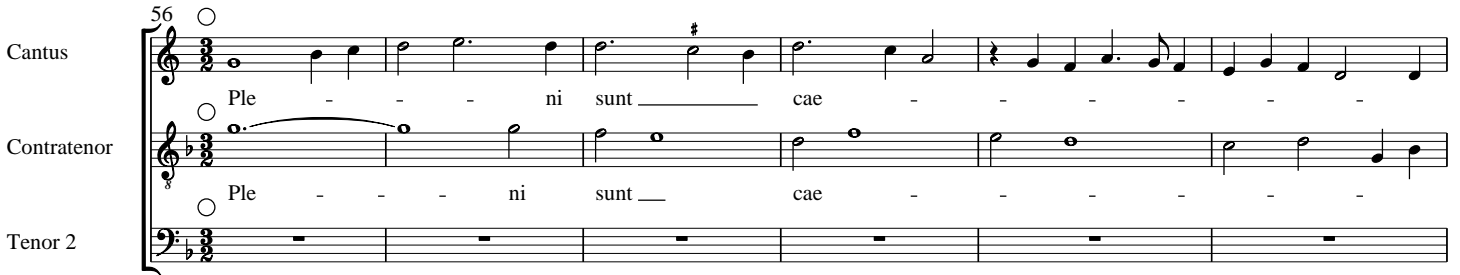
ba oth.
oth, Sa ba oth.
oth.
oth, Sa ba oth.

56

Cantus


Contratenor

Tenor 2



Ple ni sunt cae
Ple ni sunt cae
Ple ni sunt cae

62

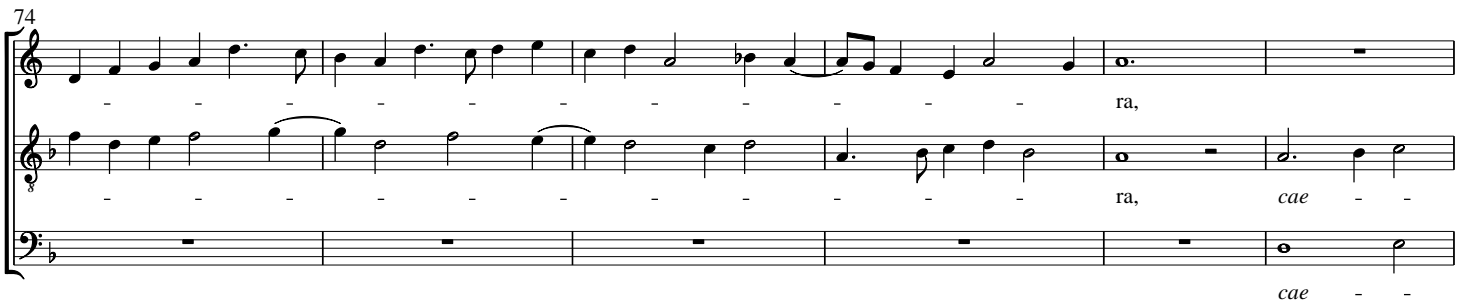


68



li et ter
li et ter

74



ra,
ra, cae
cae

80



li et ter
li et ter

86

ra glo
ra glo

Detailed description: This system contains measures 86 through 91. It features a vocal line with lyrics 'ra glo' and a piano accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line starts with a whole note 'ra' followed by a half note 'glo' and then continues with a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment provides a steady harmonic support.

92

glo - - - ri - a, glo - - - ri - a
ri - a, glo - - - ri - a tu -
ri - a, glo - - - ri - a tu -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 92 through 97. The vocal line has lyrics 'glo - - - ri - a, glo - - - ri - a' and 'ri - a tu -'. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are spread across multiple lines to fit the musical phrasing.

98

tu - - - a.
a.
a.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 98 through 102. The vocal line has lyrics 'tu - - - a.' and 'a.'. The piano accompaniment features more complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth notes. The system ends with a double bar line.

103 C

Cantus

Contratenor

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

O - - - san - - - a
O - - - san
L'homme armé
O - - - san
O - - - san a

Detailed description: This system contains measures 103 through 112. It is a choral setting for four parts: Cantus, Contratenor, Tenor 1, and Tenor 2. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/2. The lyrics are 'O - - - san - - - a', 'O - - - san', 'L'homme armé', and 'O - - - san'. The Cantus part has a melodic line with a fermata. The other parts provide harmonic support.

113

na, O - - - san Lu - - - na in -
na, O - - - san na
na, O - - - san na
na, O - - - san na

Detailed description: This system contains measures 113 through 117. The vocal line has lyrics 'na, O - - - san Lu - - - na in -', 'na, O - - - san na', 'na, O - - - san na', and 'na, O - - - san na'. The piano accompaniment continues with a steady harmonic support. The system ends with a double bar line.

125

ex - - - -

in ex

in ex

137

cel - sis.

cel - sis.

cel - sis.

cel - sis.

148 [C]

Cantus

Be - - - ne - - - dic - - -

Contratenor [C]

Be - - - ne - - - dic - - -

156

tus qui

tus qui

164

tus qui

tus qui

174

ve

ve

184

nit in no
nit in

194

no

204

mi ne Do
mi ne Do

214

mi ni.
mi ni.

221

O san na in ex cel sis. O san na
O san na in ex cel sis. O san na, O
L'homme armé
O san na in ex cel sis. O san na, O san
O san na in ex cel sis. O sa na in

227

in ex cel sis. O san na in ex
san na in ex cel sis. O san na in ex
na in ex cel sis, in ex cel sis.
ex cel sis, in ex cel sis. O san

233

cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis.

239

- na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis, in ex - cel - sis.

245

sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis, ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis. sis. in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na in ex - cel - sis.

251

san - na in ex - cel - sis. san - na, O - san - na in ex - cel - sis. O - san - na, O - san - na in ex - cel - sis. san - na, O - san - na in ex - cel - sis.

Agnus Dei

Cantus
A - gnus De - - - - - i, qui

Contratenor
A - gnus De - - - - - i, qui

Tenor 1
A - gnus De - i

Tenor 2
qui tol - lis,

7
tol - - - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - - - Lu
tol - - - lis pec - ca - - ta mun - - - - - di,

qui tol - - lis pec - ca - ta, A - gnus De - i qui tol - -

qui tol - - lis pec - ca - - ta mun - - - - - di,

13
di, qui tol - lis pec - ca - - ta
qui tol - - lis pec - ca - - ta
lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, tol - lis pec - ca -
pec - ca - ta mun - - di, tol - lis pec - ca - - -

19
mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun - - di, mun - -
mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun - - - - - di, mun -
ta mun - di, tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
ta, pec - ca - - - ta mun - - - di, mun -

25

di, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis, no - bis, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis, no - - - bis. mi - se - re - re no - - - bis, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis, no - bis. ___

33

re, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis. ___ Lu bis, mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re - re no - bis. ___ no - - bis, pec - ca - ta, mi - se - re - re no - - bis. ___ mi - se - re - re no - - - bis. ___

41

Cantus A - - - gnus De - - - i, qui
Contratenor A - - - gnus De - - - i,
Tenor 2 A - - - gnus De - - - i, qui

51

tol - - - lis, qui tol - - - lis, qui tol - - - lis, qui tol - - - lis, qui

61

lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - -

71

di,
di, mi se re
mi se re

81

mi se re re, mi se re
re, mi se re re,
re, mi se re re, mi se

91

re re no bis, mi se re
mi se re re no bis,
re re no bis, re no bis

101

re re no bis.
mi se re re no bis.
re re no bis.

110

gnus De
gnus De i,
L'homme armé Cancer eat plenus sed redat medius
gnus De-i, Agnus Dei
gnus De

118

i, qui tol - lis, qui tol -
 qui tol - lis, qui tol -
 A - gnus De - i, qui tol -
 i, qui tol - lis, qui tol - lis, qui

MS: 2 mi

126

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
 lis pec - ca - ta, pec - ca - ta, pec -
 lis pec - ca - ta, pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec -
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta, pec - ca - ta mun - di,

132

pec - ca - ta mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun - di,
 ca - ta mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun - di,
 ca - ta mun - di, pec - ca - ta mun - di,
 pec - ca - ta, pec - ca - ta mun - di,

Lu

138

di, pec - ca - ta, qui tol - lis, pec - ca - ta
 di, pec - ca - ta, qui tol - lis, pec - ca - ta
 pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis, pec -
 di, pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis, pec -

144

mun - di, do - na no - bis, do -

mun - di, do - na no - bis, do -

ca - ta mun - di, do - na no -

ca - ta mun - di, do -

150

na no - bis pa - cem, do -

na no - bis pa - cem, do - na

bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis

na no - bis, no - bis pa - cem, do - na

156

MSS: mi, mi, sb

na no - bis pa - cem, do - na

no - bis pa - cem, do - na

pa - cem do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem.

no - bis pa - cem, do - na

162

no - bis pa - cem.

no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem, pa - cem.

do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem.

no - bis pa - cem, pa - cem.


03/05 Missa L'homme armé

Sources

CS 14, fols. 101v-105r: "Dufay." Kyrie and Gloria only.

CS 49, fols. 36v-55r. Anonymous.

Ed 5.I.15, fols. 24v-40r. Anonymous.

Lu 238, fols. 38.9v-39.8v: fragmentary: Kyrie (left side leaf cut off vertically halfway through), Gloria (right side leaf cut off vertically halfway), Qui tollis (only left side leaf, cut vertically halfway), right side voices of Osanna 1, Benedictus, Osanna 2, and Agnus Dei 1-2, left side voices of Agnus Dei 1-3: "G du  y."¹

Voice names

CS 14: 1. -; 2. Contra/Contratenor; 3. Tenor; 4. Contra/Contratenor/Contra 2^{us}.

CS 49: 1. -; 2. Contra; 3. Tenor; 4. Contra/Bassus/Contra Bassus.

Ed: No labels for any part.

Lu 238: 1. -; 2. Contra; 3. Tenor; 4. Tenor/Tenor 2^{us}.

Edition: 1. Cantus; 2. Contratenor; 3. Tenor 1; 4. Tenor 2.

Clefs and Mensurations

Throughout the copy of the mass CS 49 and Ed 5.I.15 have redundant mensuration signs for all voices at the start of every opening, whether there is a change of mensuration or not. These are not reported below.

Kyrie

		1	25	84
Cantus	c1, CS14, CS 49, Lu ² ; c1b, Ed	○, all but Lu ³	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed; C, Lu	○, all
Contratenor	c3b, all	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed; C, Lu	○, all
Tenor 1	c3b, all ⁴	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed; C, Lu	○, all
Tenor 2	c4b, all	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed; C, Lu	○, all

Gloria

		1	89
Cantus	c1, CS14, CS 49, Lu; c1b, Ed ⁵	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed; C, Lu
Contratenor	c3b, all ⁶	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed
Tenor 1	c3b, all	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed; C, Lu
Tenor 2	c4b, all ⁷	○, all but Lu	♃, CS 14, CS 49, Ed

¹ Facsimile in Reinhard Strohm, *The Lucca Choirbook, Lucca Archivio di Stato, MS 238; Lucca Archivio Arcivescovile, MS 97; Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Biblioteca Maffi, Cartella aa/III*, Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), no. 13.

² Clefs and signatures cut off in Lu. The clef can be deduced from the surviving music.

³ From what survives of Lu 238 it is clear that the initial ○ in every movement was never entered.

⁴ Cf. Note 2 above.

⁵ Signature added later, disappears at measure 89.

⁶ Cf. Note 2 above.

⁷ Cf. Note 2 above.

Credo, CS 49 and Ed agree. All duple signatures except that at 431 miscopied as C .

		1	83	84	93	111	319	338	341	431
Cantus	c1 ⁸	○	-	-	-	C	3	C	-	-
Contratenor	c3 \flat	○	-	C	○	C	-	-	-	-
Tenor 1	c3 \flat	○	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	C
Tenor 2	c4 \flat	○	C	-	○	C	3	-	C	-

Sanctus (Lu has only contratenor and tenor 2 starting at measures 103)

		1	56
Cantus	c1, Ed; c1 \flat , CS ⁹	○, CS, Ed	○, CS, Ed
Contratenor	c3 \flat , all	○, CS, Ed	○, CS, Ed
Tenor 1	c3 \flat , all	○, CS, Ed	tacet
Tenor 2	c4 \flat , all	○, CS, Ed	○, CS, Ed

	103	148	180	182	206	221
Cantus	C , CS, Ed	C , Ed	3, CS, Ed	-	C, CS; C , Ed	○, CS, Ed
Contratenor	C , CS, Ed; C, Lu	C , Ed; C, Lu	-	3, CS, Ed, Lu	C, CS, Lu; C , Ed	○, Ed, Lu, ϕ , CS
Tenor 1	C , CS, Ed	tacet	tacet	tacet	tacet	○, CS, Ed
Tenor 2	C , CS, Ed; C, Lu	tacet	tacet	tacet	tacet	○, CS, Ed, Lu

Agnus Dei (Lu 238 has all voices to measure 199 and cantus and tenor 1 to the end)

		1	41	200
Cantus	c1, Ed, Lu; c1 \flat , CS	○, CS, Ed	C , CS, Ed; C, Lu	○, CS, Ed, Lu
Contratenor	c3 \flat , all	○, CS, Ed	C , CS, Ed; C, Lu	○, CS, Ed
Tenor 1	c3 \flat , all	○, CS, Ed	tacet	○, CS, Ed, Lu
Tenor 2	c4 \flat , all	○, CS, Ed	C , Ed; C, CS, Lu	○, CS, Ed

The chronology of these sources is as follows:

1. Lu 238: the main corpus of the manuscript was copied in Bruges, almost surely for the Chapel of Saint Thomas Beckett in the Carmelite friary in Bruges, where the wealthiest English establishment in Flanders, the English Merchant Adventurers had established a confraternity.¹⁰ The manuscript was copied most likely around 1462-64 by a man who signed only his last name: "Waghe(s)" (both forms of the name appear in the manuscript) and who is surely Waghe Feustrier, a singer who served Count Charles de Charolais (documented in 1457) and later in the French royal chapel until his death in 1479.¹¹ Eventually the manuscript was given to the cathedral in Lucca probably in 1467 by Giovanni di Arrigo Arnolfini (d. 1472), a merchant from Lucca residing in Bruges and related to the man of the same name, Giovanni di Nicolao Arnolfini, whose wedding portrait in 1434 was done by Jan van

⁸ CS 49 has a one flat signature from measure 23:7 to measure 99,

⁹ Lu 238 is missing the Cantus for all of the Sanctus, but it surely had no flat signature.

¹⁰ Strohm, *The Lucca Choirbook*, 33.

¹¹ David Fiala, "Le mécénat musical des ducs de Bourgogne et des princes de la Maison de Habsbourg, 1467-1503: Étude documentaire et prosopographique," 2 vols. Ph.D. Dissertation (Université François Rabelais, Tours, 2002), also (Tornhout: Brepols, 2007), I, 269-73; Strohm, *The Lucca Choirbook*, 31. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 122-123, placed the copying around 1467, he has revised this date in *The Lucca Choirbook*, 8.

Eyck in what is now one of the most famous Renaissance paintings.¹² The manuscript was surely taken to Lucca by John Hothby, an English Carmelite who had resided in Bruges and became the *magiscolus* of Lucca in 1467.¹³

After the music it contained was no longer in use (early in the 17th century), the manuscript was dismembered and its leaves used as cover for notarial booklets. Thirty-one double-leaves from it were discovered in bindings in the Archivio di Stato in Lucca, and one more leaf was found in the Episcopal Archive in Pisa. Some other leaves may still lie undiscovered in other Tuscan archives.¹⁴

2. CS 14, copied in the middle or late 1470s and in the library of the Sistine Chapel at least from 1487. Its place of origin has been the object of considerable controversy. Originally it was thought to have been copied in Rome for the papal chapel after 1481,¹⁵ but Adalbert Roth showed that it (and its companion volume CS 15) had none of the characteristics of the manuscripts known to have been copied for the chapel.¹⁶ Roth's contention, that the manuscript was copied at the court of King Ferrante in Naples, however, has come under attack from a number of scholars, particularly on account of the illuminations in the manuscript that are unlike anything found in other Neapolitan sources. Flynn Warmington, in a number of unpublished papers proposed first Florence and then Venice as the origins.¹⁷ Roth sought to reaffirm the Neapolitan origins,¹⁸ but further more solid evidence of the miniatures being the work of Venetian illuminators has been adduced by Lilian Armstrong.¹⁹ Emilia Talamo has also proposed that the illuminators, and hence the scriptorium that produced the manuscript was in Ferrara, connected with the Este court.²⁰ None of these hypothesis is entirely provable. Richard Sherr, in his recent edition of the manuscript balances them quite judiciously noting a number of traits in the manuscript. The repertory itself, containing several works that serve as example in the writings of Iohannes Tinctoris, point to Naples, but some of the illuminations are certainly the work of artist working in the Veneto. Several of these illuminators worked also in Ferrara, and the Este court, unlike Venice at that time, did have a chapel capable of singing this repertory. The daughter of King Ferrante of Naples, Eleonora d'Aragona, married Duke Ercole d'Este in 1472, and her brother, Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona was an ardent bibliophile, and visited Ferrara a number of times between 1479 and 1483, and Tinctoris himself visited Ferrara in May 1479, so it is possible that the repertory, as a repertory, might reflect either a Neapolitan or Ferrarese repertory, and that the manuscripts themselves were produced in Ferrara and illuminated by Venetian painters and eventually taken to Rome by Cardinal Giovanni.²¹ It is also possible that CS 14 and 15 might have been copied not at a chapel but as "commercial" projects by a stationer, and eventually acquired by the papal chapel. If

¹² The cathedral inventory of 1492 mentions the book as a gift of Arnolfini, cf. Strohm, *The Lucca Choirbook*, 31.

¹³ Strohm, *The Lucca Choirbook*, 29.

¹⁴ The fundamental work on the Lucca Choirbook is Strohm, *Music*, 120-36 and 192-200, now expanded in idem, *The Lucca Choirbook*, 1-42.

¹⁵ Franz X. Haberl, *Wilhelm Du Fay*, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888. Reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 72-74.

¹⁶ Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV (1471-1484), die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1991).

¹⁷ Flynn Warmington, "Abeo Semper Fortuna Regressum: Evidence for the Venetian Origin of the Manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14 and 51," Paper read at the Twenty-Second Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, Glasgow University, 10 July 1994.

¹⁸ Adalbert Roth, "Napoli o Firenze? Dove sono stati compilati i manoscritti CS 14 e CS 51," *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ed. Piero Gargiulo (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 69-100.

¹⁹ Lilian Armstrong, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, 2 vols. (London: Pindar Press, 2002), with references to a number of her earlier studies. Emilia Talamo.

²⁰ Emilia Talamo, *Codices cantorum: Miniature e disegni nei codici della Cappella Sistina* (Florence: Officine del Novecento, 1997), 26.

²¹ Richard Sherr, *Masses for the Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 14*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music 13* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 10-16.

this is the case, then the individual sheets would have been sent to an illuminator's workshop, anywhere in northern Italy for decoration.²²

3. CS 49, copied at the Vatican during the pontificate of Julius II (1503-13).²³

4. Ed, copied in Scone Abbey (Scotland), probably by Robert Carver, between 1503 and 1520, probably closer to 1420 in the case of the mass by Du Fay.²⁴

If Lu 238 survived intact it would be our earliest and best source for the mass. Bruges was a major cultural center in the lands of the Duke of Burgundy and the court spent a good deal of time there. Whatever copies of the mass Du Fay had given to the duke's chapel would have been available also to singers and scribes Bruges.

CS 14 may reflect the repertory gathered by Johannes Tinctoris for his musical treatises. Tinctoris knew Du Fay personally and obviously kept up with his music, further, he was a learned musician unlikely to misunderstand some of the stranger aspects of Du Fay's piece, although CS 14 has a number of strange readings,²⁵ and the usual changes to Du Fay's mensural usage, e.g. using C , for English C .

CS 49 may be a copy of an older source, now lost, sent by Du Fay to Rome. We know that he had sent a number of his masses to Rome in 1467,²⁶ and the one surviving 15th-century choirbook of Saint Peter's Basilica (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, B 80), has a copy of Du Fay's last mass the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* (1472-73) and the only surviving copy of his funeral motet, *Ave regina caelorum*.²⁷ Like all Italian scribes of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the scribe of CS 49 uses C , for Du Fay's English C , but is not always consistent in the revision.²⁸

Robert Carver probably obtained his copy of Du Fay's mass from Bruges, since there was a very active commerce between Bruges and Scotland in the early 16th century.²⁹ In most variant readings, when Lu 238 differs from the CS versions, Ed aligns with Lu 238.

Two earlier editions of the entire mass have appeared, one by Heinrich Bessler,³⁰ and one by Laurence Feininger,³¹ the Bessler edition is marred by inconsistent rates of reduction tacitly applied throughout the mass, and a number of transcription errors. The Feininger edition is a quasi diplomatic transcription and very accurate.

The mass uses as a cantus firmus a monophonic *chanson rustique* that originated at the court of Burgundy sometime after the birth of Charles, the only surviving son of Philip the Good, in November of 1433, and was

²² This is proposed in Jeffrey Dean, "Verona 705 and the *Incomprehensibilia* Composer," *Manoscritti di polifonia nel quattrocento europeo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Marco Gozzi (Trent: Soprintendenza per I Beni library e archivistici, 2004), 93-108. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Dean for further details, as yet unpublished, that refine this hypothesis and place the copying itself possibly back in Rome.

²³ Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 5 (Neuhausen : American Institute of Musicology, 1996).

²⁴ Denis Stevens, "The Manuscript Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 5.I.15," *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955), 155-67.

²⁵ E.g. Kyrie, measure 71, tenor, the G breve is missing, and compensated for by an extra breve rest at measure 73, the final progression of tenor 2 in the Christe (measures 82-83) is entirely implausible, jumping from a D to a double note b (flat?)-d. Where every other source has D to G. Sherr tacitly provides an emendation by making the two notes successive (Sherr, *Masses*, 389), the final gesture of tenor 2 in Sherr's edition is typical of Du Fay, but it is never approached by a leap of a sixth. The double note in CS 14, if it was in the exemplar, is surely a miscopying of G-b.

²⁶ David Fallows, *Dufay*, rev. ed. (London: Dent, 1987), 223-24, n. 68.

²⁷ Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 257-304, idem, *Papal patronage and the music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1995), 80-110.

²⁸ Cf. the discussion of the mensuration signs below.

²⁹ On Carver [or Carvor] see Kenneth Elliott, "Robert Carvor," Oxford Music on line. On the transmission of Du Fay's mass to Scotland see Strohm, *Music*, 131.

³⁰ Heinrich Bessler, *Guglielmi Dufay Opera Omnia*, 6 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-66), III, no. 2.

³¹ Laurence Feininger, *Missae super L'homme armé*, 10 vols., Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae, Series I (Rome: Societas Universalis Sanctae Ceciliae, 1948), I, fasc. 1.

connected with the recently founded Order of the Golden Fleece. The song was also used by Du Fay as a basis of a combinative chanson, *Il sera par vous – L'homme armé*, composed most likely in 1459, teasing Du Fay's friend, Symon le Breton, into having to go on the crusade called for by Pope Pius II in 1458. I have published an extended study of the origins of the *L'homme armé* tradition, showing that the masses by Ockeghem and Du Fay are roughly contemporary.³² They were commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy for the order of the Golden Fleece in response to the papal call for a crusade. In that study I thought that in all likelihood the Duke of Burgundy, estranged as he was from King Charles VII, probably waited until the death of Charles before asking Ockeghem to write the mass. Now I believe that I was too timid in this assumption; after all, the duke had obtained permission for the king to recruit in France for the Burgundian crusade in 1455,³³ and it is even more likely that he used Du Fay as his contact with Ockeghem, which would explain why Ockeghem also came to know Du Fay's song *Il sera par vous – L'homme armé*, which is cited in Ockeghem's mass. With this in mind I now think that both masses were indeed performed at the last general meeting of the order under Philip the Good's rule, which took place in Saint-Omer in May 1461, and which was precisely the meeting called in response to the pope's call for a crusade. Du Fay's mass, then, can be dated now with some precision as having originated late in 1460 or early in 1461.

The monophonic tune was entered as such in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VI E 40, fol. 62v, a manuscript containing six anonymous masses on *L'homme armé* and copied at the court of Burgundy ca. 1468.³⁴ The original version of *Il sera par vous – L'homme armé* (as opposed to a later four-voice arrangement) survives uniquely in the Mellon Chansonnier, fols. 44v-45r.³⁵

The edition is based upon CS 49, but not only the readings of CS 14 and particularly Lu 238 are taken into account, but in addition the mensural policy in Lu 238 is projected upon the entire transcription.³⁶ Note values are reduced 1:2 consistently. Readers will note that in those sections in the Kyrie and the Agnus Dei, where a canon asks the singers to "cut values in half" in tenor 1 the half note of tenor 1 equals a quarter of the other voices. Only at the end of the Credo it seemed advisable to transcribe the canonic section of the tenor at a 1:4 reduction.

The tempi taken in virtually all available recordings of this work are absurdly slow. This is virtuoso music, and I would suggest a pulse of MM 84 for the breve in *tempus perfectum*. It is barely above the MM 72 of the human pulse, and it allows the places where *L'homme armé* is intended to be heard as a real "quotation" of the song, to have the tune sung at the tempo its monophonic version calls for. The tempo in the *tempus imperfectum*, which is notated in the English manner, that is with C with breve and semibreve motion, reflects the traditional acceleration, where four semibreves in C equal three in O, yielding MM 112 for the semibreve.

A particular problem with most of the copies of this piece, is that there was a significant stylistic change between the time of Du Fay's mass and the time when CS 14, 49 and Ed were copied, a change that must have made aspects of Du Fay's mass incomprehensible to copyists and singers of the early 16th century, and CS 14, CS 49, and Ed show traces of discomfort on the part of the copyists.

At the root of the problem is the tonal language of the piece.³⁷ The tune of *L'homme armé* is a straightforward G-mixolydian melody. As such it appears in the Naples manuscript with six masses on *L'homme armé*, in Du Fay's three voice setting *Il sera par vous – L'homme armé*, and in Jehan de Ockeghem's *Missa L'homme armé*.³⁸ Du Fay chose to recast it in G-Dorian, and to write the contratenor, and tenors 1-2 with a B♭

³² Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*," *The Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), 305-357.

³³ Planchart, "The Origins," 324.

³⁴ The text of line A3 in the Mellon setting is "Et l'homme armé," which is probably the original text for that line.

³⁵ Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 93.

³⁶ A list of the places where the reading of Lu 238 was adopted appears at the end of these notes. I am also deeply grateful to Professor Jesse Rodin for great number of observations on the stemmatic weight of the variants and, more importantly for their musical implications.

³⁷ Not surprisingly the earlier but tonally less problematic (to 16th-century ears) *Missa Se la face ay pale*, fares better in late copies.

³⁸ Ockeghem shifts the cantus firmus down a fifth in the Credo (to a C final for the tune) by means of a verbal canon, but retains the G final for the entire movement by leaving out the repeat of the opening phrases of the tune in the last statement of the cantus firmus in the Credo. In the Agnus Dei he moves the cantus firmus down an octave, also by a verbal canon. He retains the mode of the tune in Agnus 1, but changes it to G-Dorian in Agnus 3, but in this case all four voices have a B[flat] signature.

signature but the cantus without any signature.³⁹ This creates an enormous amount of cross-relations as well as outright clashes that need to be resolved by the use of *musica ficta*, but at the same time it points to the fact that Du Fay apparently wanted to write a work where there was a tonal tension between the B \sharp of the cantus and the B \flat of the other voices. Modern editors, as a rule, have been extremely timid dealing with the cross-relations in this work as well as with the sudden shifts of sonority that appear time and again in the piece. These tonal clashes and cross relations hark back to the contrapuntal style of Du Fay's youth, when he favored a tonal system where the third above the final changed frequently from major to minor, and so did, to a lesser extent the third below the final. Thus in a G-centered piece one would encounter a fair amount of alternation between B \sharp and B \flat , a smaller amount of alternation between E \sharp and E \flat , and an occasional A \flat in addition to the far more frequent cadential F \sharp and C \sharp . The need for the majority of these accidentals could be heard by competent singers during the first few readings of work,⁴⁰ but a number of them could not always be so heard and needed to be notated.⁴¹ The best manuscripts for Du Fay's early works show a considerable number of such "discursive accidentals," to use the term that Thomas Brothers has coined.⁴² Brothers has made a convincing case for the fact that composers of the generation after Du Fay abandoned such an approach, and used a largely diatonic pitch field, and that this tendency became even stronger in the 16th century as theorists sought to apply the rules of modality to polyphony and not just to plainsong.⁴³ One thing Brothers has noticed is that Du Fay's works lose many of their signed pitch inflections in copies made in the late 15th century. All the sources for this mass, with the exception of the very fragmentary Lu 238, come from the other side of this stylistic divide, so that we will probably remain in the dark as to how many signed inflection were in Du Fay's own copy.

Another aspect of the mass that is unusual for Du Fay is its rhythmic and phrase structure. In his previous cantus firmus mass, *Se la face ay pale*, based on the tenor of his own chanson, Du Fay, retained the rhythm of the original tenor intact throughout the piece, even as he subjected it to double and triple augmentation and the melodic integrity of the original is never compromised. Here he subjects the rhythm of the original tenor tune to all kinds of distortions, adds occasional melodic ornaments to it,⁴⁴ and in virtually every case adds freely composed extensions at the end of each major section. The two surviving late masses, *Ecce ancilla – Beata es Maria* (1463-64) and *Ave regina caelorum* (1472-73), provide no points for comparison since they use plainsong cantus firmi. These are given a flexible and varying rhythmic shape and provided with melodic ornaments, but this is something that Du Fay had been doing with plainsongs in his polyphonic settings since the 1420s. My sense is that he knew that Ockeghem was also composing a mass on *L'homme armé*, and was trying here to pay homage to the style of the younger composer whom he clearly admired. This may also be behind the relatively asymmetric phrase structure one finds in the mass, already noted by Richard Crocker.⁴⁵

Some aspects of the rhythmic language of Du Fay's mass puzzled scholars, particularly the sudden bursts of triple motion (found also in the *Ecce ancilla – Beata es Maria* and *Ave regina* masses), and one short passage of fiendishly complicated polyrhythm (Credo, measures 83-92) that seems to come out of nowhere and is gone before

³⁹ This puzzled the copyists of Cs 14, CS 49, and Ed, which add a B \flat signature to the cantus here and there, but Lu 238 consistently gives the cantus without a signature.

⁴⁰ This has been pointed out forcefully by Margaret Bent in a series of essays now collected in *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (London: Routledge, 2002), particularly chapters 3-6 in that collection.

⁴¹ The most obvious example of these are the high E fa's at the start of the two main trope clauses where Du Fay asks the Virgin's mercy in his *Ave regina caelorum* of 1464.

⁴² Thomas Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), particularly pp. 184-202. The entire field of *musica ficta* is filled with controversy and misunderstanding. The best introduction to it is Karol Berger, *Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), but Brothers and Berger should be read in conjunction with Bent's *Counterpoint*.

⁴³ Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty*, 208-09.

⁴⁴ These melodic ornaments play an important role in the motivic structure of the mass, both by assimilating the tenor to the rhythmic language of the other voices and by generating motives that are used in the other voices and integrate the entire polyphonic fabric of the work. Leo Treitler, "Dufay," provides a particularly insightful analysis of this aspect of Du Fay's compositional technique in the mass.

⁴⁵ Richard Crocker, *A History of Musical Style* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), 155-59.

one has had time to even digest what is happening. This might be a complicated theological pun by Du Fay: the text of the passage is *consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt* [of the same substance as the Father, by whom all things were made]. As any cleric in the middle ages knew, this passage states the philosophical kernel of the divinity of Christ and therefore of the paradox of the God made man, followed by the simple statement that the Father created everything. Du Fay reacts to this by constructing an immensely complicated passage that has literally “everything” in it. This passage as well as the bursts of black notation in *tempus imperfectum*, were regarded as either unique in Du Fay’s style or throwbacks to his very early works,⁴⁶ until myself and David Fallows made a case for Du Fay’s authorship of a number of masses dating from the 1440s and probably spanning the entire decade, that show some of these features,⁴⁷ and one of them shows a text-generated musical pun similar in nature to what one encounters in the Credo of the *L'homme armé* mass.⁴⁸ It is probably no coincidence that six of these masses were also commissioned by Duke Philip the Good for the Order of the Golden Fleece. Thus some of the rhythmic and notational antecedents for what we find here are in works that Du Fay had composed for the Duke of Burgundy nearly twenty years before.

Another element in the mass that may be the result of Du Fay thinking about Ockeghem’s music are the increases in rhythmic activity before the final cadence, not only at the end of each movement but at the end of major sections. This trait, called “the rush to the cadence” by modern scholars is typical of much of Ockeghem’s music and is present in his first cantus firmus mass, the *Missa Caput*. This trait is absent from most of Du Fay’s music. The stretches of fast music at the end of the Gloria and Credo of the *Missa Se la face ay pale* have more to do with the quotation of multiple voices of the chanson than with any rush to the cadence, and the final cadences of the different movements of the masses *Ecce ancilla – Beata es Maria* and *Ave regina caelorum* are, quite stately.

A number of studies have dealt, sometimes at length, with Du Fay’s mass on *L'homme armé*.⁴⁹ Among them Treitler’s study of the derivation of motives from both the cantus firmus and the modal divisions of the octave, and the function of motives in this work remains one of the best studies of compositional (as opposed to purely contrapuntal practice) in Du Fay’s music, while Fallows’s description of several of the musical characteristics of the work presents a number of particularly insightful and musically astute remarks about particular sections of the work. To approach the entire mass in the kind of detail that Treitler and Fallows use would require an entire monograph and, in some ways would not add except in quantity to the insights they have provided. My purpose here is rather simpler, to explicate the large-scale structure of the work, particularly in terms of its cantus firmus, in order to place it in a stylistic context in terms of other mid 15th century masses and to tease out what I believe is the symbolic program of the work, a program already adumbrated in Craig Wright’s recent work.⁵⁰

Like all of Du Fay’s cantus firmus masses, the *Missa L'homme armé* is not only built around a cantus firmus set in tenor 1 but also begins with a head motive that lasts, for all intents and purposes four perfections. With

⁴⁶ Charles Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice*, Princeton Studies in Music 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 144-46.

⁴⁷ Planchart, “Guillaume Dufay’s Masses: Notes and Revisions,” *The Musical Quarterly* 58 (1972), 14-19, Fallows, *Dufay*, 182-93, Planchart, “Guillaume Du Fay’s Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy,” *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 142-68.

⁴⁸ 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 Cummings (Warren: Harmonie Park Press, 1996), 337.

⁴⁹ The most important among these are Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1963. Repr. New York: Da Capo, 1975), 122-33, Wolfgang Nitschke, *Studien zu den Cantus-Firmus-Messen Guillaume Dufays*, 2 vols., Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 13 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1968), 201-43, Massimo Mila, *Guillaume Dufay, corso monografico di storia della musica*, 2 vols. (Torino: Giappichelli, 1972, Rev. ed. Turin: Einaudi, 1997), II, 117-39, Leo Treitler, “Dufay the Progressive,” *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974*, ed. Allan W. Atlas (New York: Brooklyn College Music Department, 1976), 115-127, and Fallows, *Dufay*, 199-207. A more recent study is Jacques Barbier, “Guillaume Dufay: *Messe de l'Homme armé*,” *Analyse Musicale* 34 (1999), 77-90, but it does not go beyond a general list of characteristics.

⁵⁰ Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior, Symbols in Architecture, Theology and Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 175-84.

the head motive Du Fay gives us a hint of how he views the large-scale organization of the mass. The head motive in the different movements is presented as follows:

Example 1
Head motives in Du Fay's mass⁵¹

The image displays three musical staves, each representing a different movement of the mass. Each staff consists of two parts: a cantus part in the upper staff and a supporting voice part in the lower staff. The first staff is labeled 'Kyrie' and includes a 'Tenor' part. The second staff is labeled 'Gloria and Credo'. The third staff is labeled 'Sanctus and Agnus' and includes a 'Tenor in Agnus' part. The notation shows the melodic lines and harmonic support for each movement.

The melody of the cantus is the same in all movements for the first two and a half perfections, and so is the bass, provided by the contratenor in all movements but the Kyrie. But the first four perfections are identical in both voices in the Gloria and the Credo as well as in Sanctus and the Agnus, while the Kyrie has an extra voice and the end of motive is not only more elaborate but in addition it does not cadence at all but leads to the entrance of tenor 1, which never again enters this close to the start of the movement until the Agnus Dei. The motive of the Gloria and the Credo closes with a pseudo cadence much beloved by Du Fay,⁵² which leads to a C sonority, while the motive in the Sanctus and the Agnus closes with a true cadence on G. The motive in the Sanctus and the Agnus also plays on the conflict between B \sharp and B \flat , which does not appear this close to the beginning of a movement elsewhere in the mass. The melody in the cantus explores the pentachord of the modal octave, which as Treitler has shown, is the locus of some of the important motives of the mass, even though the motives using the pentachord in the lower voices use a different species of fifth, with a B \flat .⁵³ Except for the Kyrie, where the contratenor explores the modal tetrachord, there is a stark contrast between the characteristic shape of the head motive in the cantus and the virtually static supporting voice below it, a contrast that Du Fay used in none of his other masses and that throws the cantus motive into high relief making it more easily remembered.

The conclusion one can draw from this is that Du Fay regarded the mass as a Gloria-Credo pair followed by a Sanctus-Agnus pair, with the Kyrie serving as both a prelude and a summation in the sense that it is heard before all the other movements but contains the germs of everything that is to come. This led Fallows to make the

⁵¹ In the Agnus (and the edition) the contratenor follows Lu 238 rather than CS 49 at measure 5.

⁵² This gesture, a drop of a third without a real cadence, becomes ubiquitous and used in the same manner as Du Fay does here, in the music of Josquin des Pres.

⁵³ Treitler, "Du Fay the Progressive," 118-19. I hear a bit more motivic interpenetration of the cantus and the lower voices than Treitler does, but he is right that the characteristic melodic shape of the head motive is something that Du Fay restricts to the cantus.

observation that perhaps Du Fay did not compose his masses “in performance order,” but that the Kyries were most likely written last, when the composer had a clear view of what happened in the rest of the work.⁵⁴

This large-scale structure of the Mass on *L'homme armé*, finds parallels all the other late masses of Du Fay. The mass on *Se la face ay pale* consists indeed of two pairs preceded by a Kyrie. The head motive is the same in the last four movements, while the Kyrie presents a four-voice variant of it, but in addition the Gloria and the Credo of this mass are structurally identical twins, and the player of the cantus firmus can use the same music for both movements.⁵⁵ Of the two later masses *Ecce ancilla – Beata es Maria* is formally the most irregular (also the shortest), perhaps because it was apparently intended as a tribute to Ockeghem.⁵⁶ The head motive is a simplified quotation of the head motive of Ockeghem's *Ecce ancilla* mass.⁵⁷ The head motive in *Ecce ancilla – Beata es Maria* groups the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus together against the Gloria and Credo, but in the Sanctus Du Fay adds a third voice to it, an oddly capricious trait at this point in work, which one may interpret as yet another token of his esteem for Ockeghem, whose music shows often such traits. The head motive of his last mass, *Ave regina caelorum*, is the same in all five movements and is eight perfections long, the Gloria and the Credo are joined together also by an identical coda, 28 breves long.⁵⁸ The remaining three movements are, however, quite different from each other.⁵⁹

The shape of the Gloria and the Credo in the mass on *L'homme armé* is heavily indebted to the English tradition of the mid 15th century exemplified by the *Caput* mass: one section in \circ and one in \mathbf{C} , each introduced by a long duet, but Du Fay's treatment of the cantus firmus is unlike that of any English mass, and shows instead some influence of the work of Petrus de Domarto, whose work Du Fay admired, but who was held particular contempt by Iohannes Tinctoris. Domarto's influence upon composers of the mid 15th century was apparently immense, particularly in terms of the use of mensuration signs and diminutions in order to manipulate the cantus firmus to affect the large-scale form of the piece. Du Fay, Ockeghem, Busnoys, and Obrecht were all affected by his ideas.⁶⁰ The simultaneous use of \mathbf{C} against either \circ or \mathbf{C} , where \mathbf{C} is to be sung twice as slow as the music in the other mensurations, which pervades the music of Ockeghem's mass on *L'homme armé* and, after his mass, those virtually all composers who wrote masses on this cantus firmus until the second decade of the 16th century, can be traced to

⁵⁴ Fallows, *Dufay*, 206.

⁵⁵ I use the term “player” here advisedly, since I believe that the Mass on *Se la face ay pale* was intended for a three-part vocal ensemble and a slide trumpet and an organ.

⁵⁶ On this see Planchart, “Notes on Guillaume Du Fay's Last Works,” 55-72. Since the writing of this, however, the antiphon *Ecce ancilla*, with the opening G-C found only in the cantus firmus of the masses of Du Fay and Iohannes Regis, has been found in a cantatorium of Saint-Pierre de Lille, Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, opening 30, 49, and 50, raise the possibility that the *Ecce ancilla* mass of Du Fay was written for a celebration of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Lille.

⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the cantus firmi of the *Ecce ancilla* masses of Du Fay and Ockeghem are two entirely different chants, which happen to begin with the same words. But in addition to the quotation of motive from Ockeghem at the start of each movement, Du Fay's mass is his only mass set on a very low tessitura (roughly a fifth below the tessitura of his other masses), which recalls the sonority of most of the Ockeghem masses (Ockeghem, according to Tinctoris had a deep bass voice, the bass lines of his music, probably written for himself, are not only unusually melodious, but reach as low as great C).

⁵⁸ The structure of this mass has apparently been misunderstood since shortly after Du Fay's death according to Rob Wegman in “*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*, the Creation and Transmission of Guillaume Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum*,” *The Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), 18-54. His analysis of the structure of the mass and its transmission is quite insightful, but some of the historical commentary is inaccurate.

⁵⁹ On the structure of the *Ave regina* mass see Wegman, “*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*,” 43-45.

⁶⁰ On Domarto and his influence see Rob Wegman, “Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the 15th Century,” *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 235-304, evidence of Du Fay's (and Ockeghem's) interest in his music as reflected in their own work on works, more direct evidence appears in an entry of the chapter acts of the cathedral of Cambrai for 20 October 1451, when the canons, surely at Du Fay's instigation, sought to contact Domarto, “who is reputed to be a good musician,” [qui etiam famatus est bonus musicus (this last term meaning a “learned” musician or a composer)] to come to Cambrai as *magister puerorum* [CBM, MS 1059, fol. 1v].

Domarto's practice (and is one of the issues over which Tinctoris excoriates him).⁶¹ Some of the cantus firmus manipulations in Du Fay's mass on *Se la face ay pale* and *L'homme armé* are obviously indebted to Domarto, but Du Fay, who was profoundly conservative in matters of notation, rather than using a mixture of mensuration signs, used verbal canons to create the rhythmic changes in both masses.⁶²

The Kyrie consists of three large sections, the outer ones in \circ and the middle in \mathbf{C} . This structure is matched by that of the Agnus Dei, but while in the Kyrie all three sections are scored for four voices in the Agnus the middle section is a trio with the tenor tacet. The structure of the Sanctus is more elaborate: Sanctus for four voices in \circ , *Pleni sunt* for three voices (no tenor 1), also in \circ , Osanna for four voices in \mathbf{C} , Benedictus for two voices (cantus and contratenor) also in \mathbf{C} , and the final Osanna for four voices in \circ . In a certain sense the Sanctus does reflect the same structure as the Kyrie and the Agnus in that it begins and ends in triple meter with an internal section in duple meter. Unlike composers of later generations, who wrote the same music for both settings of the Osanna, Du Fay wrote new music for the second Osanna in virtually all of his masses.⁶³ In this he aligns himself with an older generation and an English tradition exemplified by the master of the *Caput* mass and against the continental tradition that begins with the generation of Ockeghem and continues to the end of the 16th century.

The interaction between cantus firmus usage and formal structure in the mass on *L'homme armé* is far more complex than that in any of the other masses by Du Fay. I give here the melody as it appears in the Naples manuscript.

⁶¹ Tinctoris, *Proportionale Musices*, in *Opera Theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay, 2 vols., Corpus scriptorum de musica 22 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-1978), IIa, 28-49.

⁶² Tinctoris, in fact, notes this with approval in the *Proportionale*, 50. I believe that Du Fay's use of \mathbf{C} instead of \mathfrak{C} in all of the music he wrote after 1450 is another symptom of this conservatism. Du Fay also persisted in the use of black notation for some works until the late 1440s. His own copy of the mass for St. Anthony of Padua, which Fallows has argued was composed for the dedication of Donatello's altar at the Basilica del Santo in Padua in 1450 [Fallows, *Dufay*, 182-91], is listed in the inventory of his possession after his death as follows: "Item, i livre en grant volume en parchemin contenant les messes de Saint Anthoine de Pade avec plusieurs aultres anthiennes en noire note [LAN, 4G 1313, p. 5].

⁶³ The only exceptions are Sanctus in the Sanctus – Agnus pair in Bessler, ed., *Opera omnia*, IV, no. 6, and the Sanctus of the mass for St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis.

Example 2
L'homme armé, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40, fol. 62v

1 A Lom - me lom - me lom - me ar - me

2 A lom - me ar - me lom - me ar - me doit on doub - ter

3 A doit on doub - ter

4 B On a fait par tout cri - er

5 B que chac - un se viegne ar - mer

6 B dun hau - bre - gon de fer

7 A Lom - me lom - me lom - me ar - me

8 A lom - me ar - me lom - me ar - me doit on doub - ter

The cantus firmus is employed in this mass as follows:

Kyrie: One statement throughout the entire movement, first phrase group (A 1-2) for the opening Kyrie (in \circ), second phrase group (A 3 and B 1-3) for the *Christe* (in C), and third phrase group (C 1-2) for the final Kyrie (in \circ); the final phrase group is repeated at the end in diminution.

Gloria: One statement in the section in \circ and one statement in the section in C .

Credo: One statement in the section in \circ and two statements in the section in C . The final statement is read from the music of the previous statement sung in diminution and without any of the *longa* rests.

Sanctus: One statement spread over the *Sanctus* (in \circ), and the first *Osanna* (in C); there is no tenor 1 in the *Pleni sunt*, and a second statement in the second *Osanna* (in \circ).

Agnus Dei: One statement in *Agnus 1* (in \circ), no tenor 1 in *Agnus 2*,⁶⁴ and two statements in *Agnus 3* (in \circ). Both statements in *Agnus 3* are sung from the same music, the first in retrograde and the second in forward motion and in diminution.

In all movements except the *Agnus Dei* Du Fay introduces pauses of varying length between phrase groups of the cantus firmus, and in a number of places he adds elaborate melodic ornamentations or extensions at the end of the first and the third phrase groups, where tenor 1 becomes essentially another free voice. In addition he changes the rhythmic structure of the tune in several of the statements. But in the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, where the rhythmic changes to the tune are most extensive and often present the cantus firmus in notes of such length that hearing the tune as a tune becomes virtually impossible Du Fay takes special care that for the first and second phrase groups of the tune (from *L'homme armé* to *haubregon de fer*) the rhythmic shape given to the tune in the *Gloria* is duplicated identically or nearly so in the *Credo*, both in the section in \circ and the section in C . The correspondence breaks down only in the last phrase group of the tune (the final *L'homme armé*). Du Fay goes even further, the melodic extension at the end of the first phrase group in the *Gloria* is duplicated almost identically by the melodic extension at the end of the first phrase group in the *Credo*. A table of the cantus firmus settings for the entire mass, divided by phrase

⁶⁴ In *Agnus 2*, however, the tune of *L'homme armé*, stated baldly, ornamented, or outlined, migrates at one point or another throughout all the three voices of the texture.

groups is presented below as Example 3. In the example the semibreve is rendered consistently as a half-note. Rests with numbers above them indicate the number of breves, perfect or imperfect, that the tenor is silent.

Passages where both the rhythmic structure of the tenor and the added melodic ornamentation are virtually identical are bracketed together in Example 3, so one can see immediately the isomelic connections that Du Fay establishes between the different movements, particularly the Gloria and the Credo, in terms of the first two phrase groups of the cantus firmus, and the abandonment of such connections in the final phrase group.

One of the consequences of the manipulations to which Du Fay subjects the cantus firmus, and of the melodic ornamentation he adds to it, is the acceleration of the contrapuntal flow towards the end of every section. These accelerations are not as dramatic as those one encounters in the music of Ockeghem, but they are noticeable nonetheless. They are of two kinds: those produced by the melodic ornamentation at the end of a phrase of the cantus firmus (e.g., Kyrie, measures 20-24; Gloria, measures 83-88; Credo, measures 104-110), and those produced by the acceleration of the cantus firmus itself (e.g. the very end of the Kyrie and of the Agnus Dei). The first type of these accelerations sounds almost like free “cadenzas” for the entire ensemble that serve to prepare the final sonority of the section. An exceptional case is provided by the end of the Credo, measures 425-453, where the acceleration begins over the last few notes of the cantus firmus (measure 425), at measure 425 tenor 2 drops out, and for six breves we have some of the fastest surface counterpoint in the movement leading to a full cadence on the final at measure 430. Thus far, except for the absence of tenor 2 this sounds exactly like the final cadence of some of the other sections, including the final cadence of the Gloria, but then at measure 431 tenor 2 enters and the longest passage of four-voice free counterpoint in the mass ensues, 22 breves before the final long, where the voices move, for the most part in breves and longs, creating the exact opposite of what we have been lead to expect. The ending of the Credo is solemn and sedate. This ending, surprising as it is, has a precedent in Du Fay’s own music, the ending of the Credo in the early *Missa Sancti Iacobi*. In the first three ordinary sections of this mass Du Fay sets up a cycle of changes going from **C** to **○** and then to **C**, with increasing rhythmic activity at each change. This is carried in the mass throughout the Kyrie, the Gloria, and most of the Credo, but at the end, when we expect the final section in **C** in the Credo, he gives us instead a passage of complete homophony, 14 breves long, moving mostly in breves with a few semibreves and longs, where every single note is provided with a fermata.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Guillaume Du Fay, *Opera Omnia*, 03/02, ed. Alejandro Enrique Planchart (Santa Barbara: Marisol Press, 2011).

Example 3

The cantus firmus: first phrase group followed by the transition figure in the Gloria – Agnus Dei

L'homme armé



Kyrie, measures 1 to 24



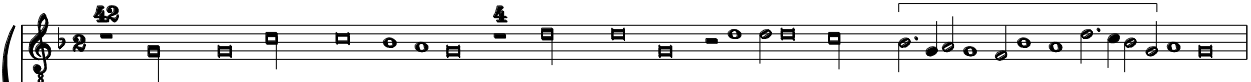
Gloria, measures 1 to 40



Credo, measures 1 to 54



Gloria, measures 88 to 178



Credo, measures 111 to 228



Credo, measures 367 to 387, a canon instructs the singer to sing it twice as fast



Sanctus, measures 1 to 34



Sanctus, measures 221 to 231



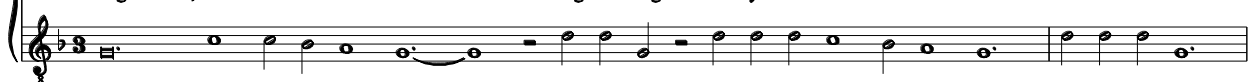
Agnus Dei, measures 1 to 15



Agnus Dei, measures 238 to 200, going backwards. A canon instructs the singer to sing the melody in retrograde.




Agnus Dei, measures 239 to 242. A canon directs the singer to sing the melody as written but twice as fast.




Example 3 (continued)

The cantus firmus: second phrase group preceded by the transition phrase in the Kyrie.


L'homme armé




Kyrie, measures 25 to 83



Gloria, measures 41 to 58



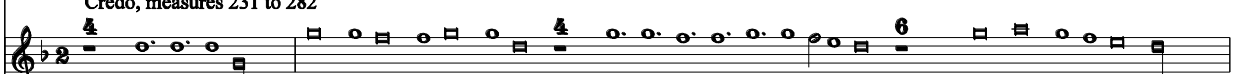
Credo, measures 55 to 72



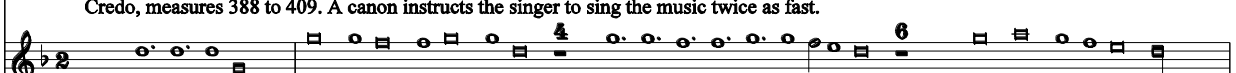
Gloria, measures 179 to 232




Credo, measures 231 to 282




Credo, measures 388 to 409. A canon instructs the singer to sing the music twice as fast.



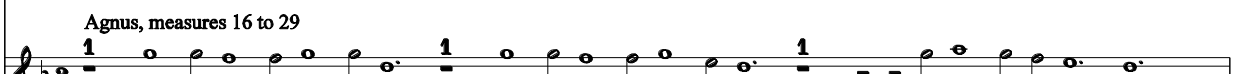
Sanctus, measures 35 to 55



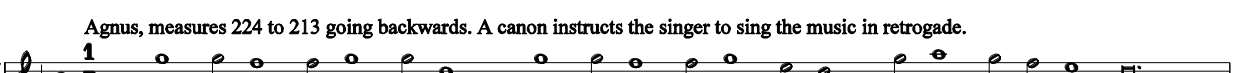
Sanctus, measures 232 to 245



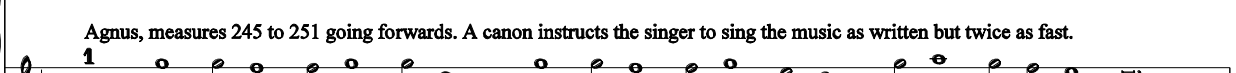
Agnus, measures 16 to 29



Agnus, measures 224 to 213 going backwards. A canon instructs the singer to sing the music in retrograde.



Agnus, measures 245 to 251 going forwards. A canon instructs the singer to sing the music as written but twice as fast.



Example 3 (continued)

The cantus firmus: The last phrase group

L'homme armé

Kyrie, measures 84 to 107

Kyrie, measures 108 to 114. A canon instructs the singer to sing the music twice as fast

Gloria, measures 59 to 88

Credo, measures 73 to 110

Gloria, measures 223 to 275

Credo, measures 283 to 365

Credo, measures 410 to 430. A canon instructs the singer to leave out the long rests and sing everything else twice as fast

Credo, measures 431 to 453. Free coda at the end.

Sanctus, measures 103 to 147

Sanctus, measures 246 to 255

Agnus Dei, measures 30 to 40

Agnus Dei, measures 212-200 moving backwards. A canon instructs the singer to sing the music in retrograde

Agnus Dei, measures 251 to 258 moving forwards. A canon instructs the singer to sing the music as written but twice as fast

The second kind of final acceleration, where the cantus firmus melody itself is part of the texture, usually sung twice as fast as notated through a canonic indication (Kyrie, measures 109-114, Agnus, measures 239-256), has a precedent in the *ut iacet* sections of the Gloria and Credo of the mass on *Se la face ay pale*, where Du Fay makes sure that we hear the tune of the cantus firmus distinctly and where, at the end, all voices participate in the final fanfare figures. In the mass on *L'homme armé* the more startling of the two sections is that in the Agnus Dei. In the Kyrie we just hear the final phrase group of the tune, but in the Agnus Dei we hear the entire tune at twice the notated speed leading directly to the final cadence. Further the tune seems to come out of nowhere, not only because the characteristic rhythm of the first four notes has been changed but because the final Agnus Dei up to that point is tonally the most disorienting section of the mass. The singers have been singing the *L'homme armé* tune backwards, which not only renders it unrecognizable to the ear, but also reverses the direction of every contrapuntal progression that we have heard in the mass thus far. Thus when the tune starts going “in the right direction,” and through sheer speed comes to the foreground, the return to familiar ground in terms of the contrapuntal progression and the recognition of the tune itself make the end to the entire mass a fitting climax to the entire work.

Craig Wright in his recent work, *The Maze and the Warrior*, provides us with an extensive survey of the symbolism of the armed man and its representation in art and music,⁶⁶ and in it he provides an intriguing insight into the connection in Du Fay's music between Christ and the use of retrograde, particularly in the mass on *L'homme armé*.⁶⁷ I believe that he is correct in that perception but that the Christological symbolism in the mass goes well beyond what he sees in the Agnus Dei. Wright, nonetheless, is correct in his view of the Agnus Dei as the climax of the symbolic program of the mass.

The symbolic program is dependent upon our being able to hear the melody of *L'homme armé* as a melody as the mass progresses. In the Kyrie the melody is apparent to any attentive listener, and its integrity is not undermined by the occasional melodic ornamentations. At the end of the movement, with the passage in diminution (phrase A1 only), the presence of the melody comes to the fore, and in this, the Kyrie is both a prologue and a summation is a prologue and a summation of the symbolic program of the mass. Thus the Kyrie gives us, in a simple and uncomplicated manner, the notion of the *praesentia Christi*, which is, I believe the crucial aspect of the Christological program of the mass.⁶⁸ The return of phrases A1 and A2 twice as fast as notated at the very end of the Kyrie emphasize the *praesentia Christi* as the movement concludes and anticipates, in the shape of the single movement, the large-scale symbolic shape of the mass. Apart from this, however, there is very little in the Kyrie of the derivation of motives from melodic gestures of the cantus firmus such as Treitler detects in some of the later movements.⁶⁹

In the Gloria the cantus firmus is presented throughout in such long values that it is, at first, very difficult to hear as a melody. Equally damaging to such a perception is that between the first note of the tune (set as a long) and the second (a breve) a breve rest has been inserted. Du Fay's strategy in a good number of cases in the Gloria is to mask the start of a cantus firmus phrase, either through the insertion of a rest or the use of longer note values. Both of these procedures, for example, are applied to phrases A1 and A2, while in the case of A3 the lengthening of the opening D assimilates it to the end of A2, and we hear a separate gesture beginning with the second D of A3, a hearing immediately confirmed by the tenor 2 imitation (measures 39-41). This gesture, which is an ornamented version of the leap D-G, becomes an important motive later in the mass, but this is the first time it appears in the work and, in a sense, does not sound at first like part of the cantus firmus itself. The melodic ornaments inserted into

⁶⁶ Wright, *The Maze*, 159-205.

⁶⁷ Wright, *op. cit.*, 175-76.

⁶⁸ The notion of the *praesentia Christi* in the mass had a long tradition in medieval writings, but it gained even more prominence with the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264 and the rise of the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament. For a particularly perceptive study of the influence of the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament upon the compositional plan of a mass, with extensive references to the liturgical and hagiographical literature see Michael Long, “Symbol and Ritual in Josquin's Missa Di Dadi,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), 1-22.

⁶⁹ Treitler, “Dufay,” 119-21. The one audible exception is the tenor 1 and 2 imitation in measures 16-17. It is true that the final section of the movement (measures 85-89) opens with elaborations (both interrupted and expanded) of what Treitler calls the “triadic motive” (*op. cit.*, 123), but these cannot be heard at this point as derived from the tenor, only in retrospect, once the elaborated versions in the tenor itself have been presented in the later movements, can this passage be heard in that manner. This supports Fallows's idea that the Kyrie might have been the last movement to be written [Fallows, *Dufay*, 206].

the cantus firmus also work against the recognition of the melody as *L'homme armé*, as does the transformation of the opening leap of phrase 7A into a scale (measures 67-69). Added melodic ornaments aside, the presentation of the cantus firmus is a bit more straightforward in the section in C than in the section in O, so that as the movement progresses our hearing of the cantus firmus becomes a bit clearer. This is the pattern found in the Kyrie and the pattern that will obtain in the mass as a whole as well.

The treatment of the cantus firmus in the Credo is, for most of the length of that movement, exactly the same as what we encounter in the Gloria. As can be seen in Example 3, the length of the introductory duets in each of the two sections is far greater in the Credo than in the Gloria (16 and 42 breves in the Gloria against 30 and 72 breves in the Credo), similarly the break between phrases A7 and A8 in the C section is 2 breves in the Gloria and 36 breves in the Credo. But when tenor 1 is present in both movements the music for it is virtually identical in both movements, not only in terms of the rhythmic organization given to the tune but also in terms of the added ornaments, for phrases 1A up to phrase 6B. Only in phrases 7A and 8A do the Gloria and the Credo differ in the rhythmic setting and melodic ornamentation of the cantus firmus (cf. Example 3). That means that, whatever might happen in the duets and sections when tenor 1 is absent, the contrapuntal syntax (though not the melodic and motivic structure) of the Gloria and the Credo is going to be very similar, at least until both movements reach the settings of phrase 7A of the cantus firmus. The Credo, however, has another crucial difference from the Gloria. At measure 365 it arrives at the place where the Gloria ends in terms of its cantus firmus structure. The cadence is absolutely clear, but the contratenor adds a figure that has already been heard and has become characteristic in major internal cadences, both final and internal;⁷⁰ in a few instances Du Fay uses this figure also to announce the start of a new section after a cadence⁷¹ and that is the function it has here. It introduces a final repetition of the cantus firmus, read from the second statement (in C) of the Credo, shorn of its long pauses and sung twice as fast.⁷² This launches a final section where the speeding up of the cantus firmus and the elimination of the long rests compresses the contrapuntal structure and adds a great deal of excitement.⁷³ Twice in this new section Du Fay writes an Ockeghem-like drive to the cadence, where the tenor 2 drops out and the contrapuntal syntax is driven by the melodic ornament of tenor 1 (measures 381-387, and 425-430). The second of these cadences marks the end of the cantus firmus structure of the Credo. What follows is a complete contrast. Tenor 2 enters and an extended coda in four-part free counterpoint ensues that is probably the stateliest music in the entire mass. As noted above, this is vaguely reminiscent of the end of the Credo in the *Missa Sancti Iacobi*, but nothing remotely like this happens in any other of Du Fay's late masses.

The effect of the last section of the Credo, beginning with the start of the cantus firmus sung twice as fast is to emphasize once more the sheer audibility of the tune as a tune after a relatively long stretch of music where only certain elements of it can be easily perceived,⁷⁴ so that at the end of this entire section of the mass the presence of *L'homme armé* is once again established.

In two of his previous mass cycles, *Sine nomine* and *Se la face ay pale*, Du Fay creates a sense of return between the Sanctus and the Kyrie.⁷⁵ The same thing happens in the mass on *L'homme armé*, even though, like the Mass on *Se la face ay pale*, the Kyrie stands slightly apart from the rest of the mass. In the Sanctus of *L'homme armé* this is achieved by a marked increase in the audibility of the *L'homme armé* as a tune, particularly in the case of the crucial opening phrase, which apart an elongated "first measure" (notated as long-breve instead of breve-semibreve), is presented without break or ornament and surrounded by a very light contrapuntal texture. Another trait that appears for the first time in the Sanctus is that for the first time large segments of the cantus firmus are

⁷⁰ Kyrie, measure 84, Gloria, measures 16, 87, Credo, measure 109, and later Agnus, measures 39 and 131.

⁷¹ Kyrie, measures 55-56, 78, Gloria, measures 16, 116-117, Credo, measure 31, Sanctus, measure 55.

⁷² The repeat of the cantus firmus is indicated by a canon: *scindite pausas longarum, caetera per medium*.

⁷³ The section begins with a master stroke as the cantus, in one of the rare instances where it shares motives from the tenor, cites the tenor phrase that just concluded the previous section.

⁷⁴ Du Fay consistently makes the dropping fifth D-G and phrases 4B and 5B comparatively easier to hear throughout the mass, but masks the opening gesture, precisely the one that carries the words *L'homme armé*.

⁷⁵ In the mass on *Resveilliés vous* the Sanctus cites the opening of the Kyrie almost exactly. In *Se la face ay pale* it is the return of the cantus firmus in a simple double augmentation that produces such a sense of return. The only two other mass cycles that precede the mass on *L'homme armé*, the masses *Sancti Iacobi* and *Sancti Anthonii de Padua*, pose a very different problem in that they are plenary cycles, and *Sancti Iacobi* began as a three movement cycle (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo) that was later expanded into a plenary cycle in one or more stages.

replicated in other voices. Up to now Du Fay has used motives that sometimes are derived from ornamented versions of a cantus firmus phrase, most notably the ornamentation of the leap D-G, in a number of places, and once, as noted above of the end of phrase 2A in the cantus. But now, at measure 35, tenor 2 begins a series of anticipatory imitations that present phrases 4B, 5B, and 6B, two breves and an octave below tenor 1, which as a consequence reinforce the tenor 1 entrances in phrases 4B and 5B with what amounts to a straightforward octave doubling. This is, thus far, the most sustained presentation of the cantus firmus tune in another voice found in the mass. The three voice *pleni sunt caeli* has no references to the cantus firmus, but the first Osanna presents phrase 7A largely unornamented and in very long values before presenting phrase 8A in the most elaborate ornamentation yet heard in the mass. The Benedictus is a duet with no reference to the cantus firmus and a paradoxical structure in that it has a non imitative opening, then a series of fairly strict points of imitation, and finally a non imitative closing, so that the outer sections are the more loosely organized ones. The final Osanna presents the cantus firmus absolutely without ornament and, for the most part in its original rhythmic structure, so that it is not only audible and recognizable, but it is the first time since the opening of the mass that we hear the first phrase group of the cantus firmus *ut iacet*, and the first time in the mass where we hear the entire cantus firmus without ornament and in its original rhythm and within a single section of the mass. Thus, if *L'homme armé* is equated with Christ, the *praesentia Christi* has here achieved fulfillment, precisely in the first four-voice section of the mass that would have been sung in the liturgy immediately after the elevation of the consecrated host, when according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, Christ is now physically present in the church.

The Agnus Dei is the one movement of the mass that where the entire text speaks directly to Christ, and as Wright notes, there is a medieval tradition that associates Christ with retrograde motion, a tradition known and exploited by Du Fay in a number of his works.⁷⁶ In this mass Du Fay uses the retrograde in a symbolic manner that in part escaped Wright's attention because he assumed that Du Fay expected the listener to "hear" the tune when it is being presented in retrograde, which is virtually impossible for us to do.⁷⁷ In fact, the real power of Du Fay's symbolism in the movement is precisely built upon our inability to hear the tune in retrograde and also upon the disorientation that the contrapuntal progressions based upon the retrograde cantus firmus will cause on a listener that has been hearing music where contrapuntal progression have been based upon the cantus firmus moving forwards.

The first Agnus Dei presents the cantus firmus for the second time in the mass entirely unornamented, and entirely within a single section of the work, thus confirming what was heard in the final Osanna of the Sanctus and firmly establishing the *praesentia Christi* in the work. The second Agnus Dei has no tenor 1, but one aspect of the cantus firmus treatment, adumbrated here and there in the mass, but pointed at most clearly in measures 35-51 of the Sanctus, becomes here the main motivic and thematic force of the section. The section opens with a duo between the cantus and the contratenor with an imitative opening that soon dissolves into free counterpoint. Then, at measure 62 the contratenor sneaks in the tune of *L'homme armé*, using rhythmic manipulations of the opening motive that Du Fay has used elsewhere in the mass and giving the start of phrase 2A only in outline. The contratenor uses only phrases 1A and 2A of the tune, leading to a cadence in measure 74. The following measure tenor 2 enters with phrases 1A and 2A of the tune pitched in D, followed by outlines of phrases 4B and 5B pitched in G. The end of 2A in tenor 2 creates a cadence with the contratenor in measure 61, and as tenor 2 begins the outline of 4B and 5B the cantus enters and for the first time we have all three voices sounding. The music for the cantus is free, but it is supported not only by the outline of 4B and 5B in tenor 2, but by the same outline, two breves later and an octave higher in the contratenor, in a clear recapitulation of what happened between tenor 1 and 2 in the Sanctus. While in the Agnus tenor 2 does not go beyond the outline of 5B, the contratenor gives us all of phrase 6B as the trio moves to a cadence on D in measure 99. Finally the cantus begins the tune, pitched on D, at measure 100, answered by the contratenor, pitched on G, in measure 101. Since this happens after we have heard phrase 6B it is clear that what we are hearing are phrase 7A in the cantus and in the contratenor. The cantus does not go beyond phrase 7A, but the contratenor finishes the entire cantus firmus, ending with the final cadence of the section.

Two things need to be noted about this section. First of all this is the only section of the mass where the tune of *L'homme armé*, particularly phrase 1A, which is the phrase on the words *L'homme armé*, is heard in all the voices of the mass other than in tenor 1 in close proximity. But tenor 2 and the cantus present *L'homme armé* only in partial form and pitched in D. The contratenor, however, presents the entire tune pitched in G, which is the pitch the tune has in tenor 1 throughout the mass. In this the second Agnus Dei is the only movement without tenor 1 but,

⁷⁶ Wright, *The Maze*, 175-77.

⁷⁷ Wright, *op. cit.*, 176.

once more, with the entire cantus firmus present, something that prefigures the extraordinary treatment of the cantus firmus that one finds in the second Agnus Dei of Du Fay's last mass on *Ave regina caelorum*.⁷⁸

For the third Agnus Dei tenor 1 returns to the texture with the tune written out once but with the canon: *Cancer eat plenus sed repeat medius* (Let the crab go full but come back in half). The ways of the crab being what they are, the singers are to sing the tune in retrograde giving the notes their full value, and then "return" (i.e. sing the tune forwards) cutting the note values in half (i.e. twice as fast). Two consequences flow from this. First of all the tune is unrecognizable as such, even though a couple of characteristic moments, the fifth leap D-G, and the texture shift from the lower pentachord to the upper tetrachord, can still be perceived by the listener, and second, all the contrapuntal progressions to which the ear has become used to throughout the mass, reinforced by the fact that they have been heard in full twice in the first two sections of the Agnus Dei, are also reversed so one is aware of the four voice texture and the presence of tenor 1, but the tune is unrecognizable and the musical progressions are foreign.⁷⁹ Then, on measure 239 as the cantus firmus reverses its motion, the tune emerges, seemingly out of nowhere, and stays in the foreground until the very end of the mass. The passage has the same climactic feeling that the *ut iacet* sections in the Gloria and the Credo of the mass on *Se la face ay pale* have and functions like the climax of the entire work.⁸⁰ The entire cantus firmus is heard without any ornament and very much in the foreground of the music.

Symbolically the entire Agnus Dei is an epilogue to the Christological program of the mass and a summation of that program as well. From the Kyrie to the second Osanna we have a progression where the presentation of *L'homme armé*, at first simple and unproblematic (though incomplete) in the first Kyrie, becomes clouded and less perceptible as the mass progresses, a symbol in the medieval mind of the state between baptism and the life that ensues. The one moment where the cantus firmus is most audible throughout this entire group of sections is in the Credo, beginning precisely around the words *Confiteor unum baptisma*. The end of the process comes in the second Osanna, after the consecration of the host, pointing to the orthodox belief that in this life the fleeting moments that we are at one with Christ are in those that follow the proper taking of communion. The Agnus Dei takes the Christological program in a different direction. The first Agnus, is a simple statement of the *praesentia Christi*, the second shows the spread of Christ's message to the world, imperfect in all cases, even when completely accepted (contratenor), or even incompletely accepted (cantus and tenor 2). The final Agnus Dei presents us with the central mystery of Christ's life, his death when the cantus firmus is presented in retrograde with the consequent disorientation of the entire contrapuntal fabric of the music and his resurrection in the radiant music that concludes the entire work, a musical equivalent of something like Mathias Grünewald resurrection in the Isenheim Altarpiece.

It is clear that for Du Fay the resurrection, both Christ's own resurrection and our own resurrection at the end of time, was a particularly important idea. In one of his earliest works, a Gloria-Credo pair written probably in Rimini in the early 1420,⁸¹ there is, after the Amen of each movement an extended trope set to the music of very appealing secular songs dealing with the resurrection. His own funeral monument has him kneeling as he witnesses the risen Christ stepping out of his tomb,⁸² and besides his legacies for liturgical works, the only one not directly

⁷⁸ The case of *Ave regina caelorum* is different from *L'homme armé* in that in *Ave regina caelorum* the cantus firmus appears only once in each movement, but the trio in the second Agnus Dei in that mass has the phrases of the plainsong that should be heard in that section given to the contratenor and provided with the plainsong text rather than with the mass text.

⁷⁹ A clear measure of how foreign they are is for the entire section when the tenor is going in retrograde there is not a single instance of a cadential progression involving the tenor. The only cadence in the entire section occurs between cantus and tenor 2 on measure 86.

⁸⁰ This is a trait that, *mutatis mutandis*, Du Fay will repeat in the Agnus Dei of the Mass on *Ave regina caelorum*, and that is echoed by Ockeghem the Agnus Dei of his mass on *L'homme armé*.

⁸¹ Du Fay, *Opera Omnia IV*, no. 4.

⁸² The Belgian art historian Ludovic Nys, who has done an extensive study of funerary monuments and other sculpture in northern France in the late middle ages [cf. "Un relief tournaisien conservé au musée de Beaux-Arts de Lille: la stèle funéraire de Guillaume Dufay (+1474), chanoine de Notre-Dame de Cambrai," *Mémoires de la Société Royale d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Tournai* 6 (1989), 5-24, and *La pierre de Tournai: son exploitation et son usage aux XIIIème, XIVème et XVème siècles* (Tournai: Fabrique de l'Église cathédrale de Tournai and Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993)], points out to me in a private communication that the subject of the resurrection in a funeral monument is extremely rare at this time, apart from Du Fay's monument only one other such sculpture exists in the entire region among the surviving monuments from 1300 to 1600.

concerned with services for himself, such as his obit, the 12 yearly requiem masses, the mass for Ste. Waudru, who had become his patron Saint, of the mass for St. William, after his own name, was a one not mentioned in the will because he instituted it while living, but mentioned in by the executors, was the foundation of four “crowns” for the Easter mass, that is golden round candelabra with numerous candles, that were to be lit at his expense during the celebration of the Easter mass. In a mass written for a crusading order, however, the resurrection also stands for Christ’s triumph. In this Du Fay, as in many others of his late works, manages to tie together his own personal feelings and a public stance in a work of great intensity and rhetorical effect.

To conclude it might be useful to return briefly to some of the most problematic aspects of the transmission of the mass. The first of these is the mensurations used. For most of the work Du Fay used the three main mensurations one finds, almost to the exclusion of all others in his late work: \circ , English \mathbf{C} , and 3 within \mathbf{C} . In a number of instances and without apparent system he uses black coloration instead of 3 within \mathbf{C} . For a brief passage in the Credo (measures 83-92) he uses a number of simultaneous mensurations: black coloration in \circ that goes beyond the simple hemiola, and creates triplet motion organized in imperfect longs, \mathbf{C} in the contratenor, producing a sesquitertial relationship with the prevailing \circ , which remains the mensuration operating in tenor 1, and \mathbf{C} in tenor 2, with minim equivalence to \circ . Both surviving sources of the Credo get this complicated passage right, but elsewhere CS 14, CS 49, and Ed change English \mathbf{C} to \mathbf{C} . As it happens with most of such changes, the scribes are not consistent, and after a shift, usually to 3, they forget to edit the shift back and allow the original English \mathbf{C} to stand. This happens in the Credo in tenor 1 at measure 431⁸³ and in the Sanctus in the cantus and contratenor at measure 206. In both cases CS 49 but not Ed has \mathbf{C} . The discovery of Lu 238, which uses \mathbf{C} consistently in all the parts in duple meter that survive indicates that this was the original mensuration throughout the mass.

Another aspect is the tonality of the mass. This has been discussed above, but here it is worth reiterating that the occasional intermittent key signatures in the cantus in CS 14, CS 49, and Ed, are surely not original but reflect the puzzlement of later singers and scribes with one of the more unusual aspects of Du Fay’s tonal style, with its almost constant use of cross relations between $\mathbf{B}\flat$ and $\mathbf{B}\sharp$ in different voices and its sudden shifts in color. This also made Bessler, who regarded Du Fay as the forerunner of modern major-minor tonality, uncomfortable, and the *musica ficta* in his edition represents a determined effort to erase as many of these shifts as possible.

Finally there is the text underlay of the lower voices, including the contratenor. The scribes of CS 14 and CS 49 made a determined effort to underlay as much of the text as possible, but Lu 238 shows that the text was underlaid in the upper voices more or less complete but barely set in tenors 1 and 2. This might be the manner in which this and other of Du Fay’s late masses were originally set down, and singers of the lower parts either vocalized them or set the text *ad hoc* as well as they could. In this respect the Osanna section of the Sanctus the first and third Agnus Dei pose considerable problems. The text underlay in the edition follows the available sources for the most part, with text not found in any source given in italics, but it should be considered entirely editorial.

Appendix Readings from Lu 238 in the edition

Kyrie: Cantus 14; Cantus 100. For Tenor 2 83 CS 14 has b-d’; CS 49, Lu 238, and Ed have g. I have proposed an emendation g-b, otherwise I suggest that singers follow the CS 14 reading.

Gloria: Cantus 44; Tenor 34-35; Cantus 59 (except for final a which is erroneously a sb in Lu); Cantus 102; Cantus 196-7.

Sanctus: Contratenor 122; Contratenor 215.

Agnus: Contratenor 5; Contratenor 28; Tenor 2 109.

Other emendations are noted in the score itself.

⁸³ Feininger, *Missae super L'homme armé*, I/1, 23 and note 1, misunderstands the nature of this sign, because he assumed that the sign \mathbf{C} at measure 111 was correct.