Miserere supplicanti Dufay: The Creation and Transmission of Guillaume Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum*

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In late July 1475 a messenger left Cambrai with a satchel containing seven books of polyphony. His destination was the court of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who was then on his way to a meeting with Edward IV of England at Calais. The messenger caught up with the Burgundian train at Doullens, a town in Artois eighty kilometers west of Cambrai. He delivered his parcel, received his *pour-boire,* and returned home.[1]

What the duke received from the Cambrai messenger was almost the entire private collection of polyphony of the late Guillaume Dufay, canon of Cambrai cathedral, who had died eight months previously.[2] The only items not included were a songbook too old to be of any value, and two choirbooks which Dufay had left to a chapel in Cambrai cathedral since they contained the music that was to be sung annually in his memory. The remainder of the composer's library had largely been sold, and the choirbooks would no doubt have shared this fate had not the composer decided in his lifetime that Charles the Bold could have them after his death. His gift may well have been

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[1] For the messenger and his charge, see C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVIII (1975), 218; D. Fallows, *Dufay* (London 1982), 74 and 82. Charles the Bold passed through Doullens on 27–9 July 1475; see H. vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Charles, duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne* (Brussels 1936), 68. The executors of Dufay's testament could have saved themselves the trouble of sending a messenger to the duke, for the latter was to be in Cambrai exactly two weeks later, on 12–13 August (ibid., 69).

[2] For this and what follows, see Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 215–18.

solicited by the duke, who was a passionate lover of music. It is also possible, even plausible, that Dufay himself had wished his musical legacy to end up in the most resplendent musical establishment of northwestern Europe, the Burgundian court.

We do not know what compositions were contained in the choirbooks, but for one piece. This is the *Missa Ave regina celorum,* one of three late Dufay works that express a concern with his approaching death and the safety of his soul.[3] A Requiem Mass, described as "newly-composed" in 1470–1, was written specially for his commemoration; we learn from a much later document that "he did not let it out during his lifetime."[4] Sadly this work has not survived, but another piece of a similar personal nature has: this is the motet *Ave regina celorum* which Dufay wished to be sung at his deathbed. It contains several text tropes beseeching the Virgin to have mercy on "thy dying Dufay."[5] From this motet, which may have existed as early as 1463–4,[6] the composer transferred a musical passage on the words "miserere supplicanti Dufay" to his Mass *Ave regina celorum* (second Agnus Dei). Although retexted there with the more general "miserere nobis" of the Mass Ordinary, the composer thus personalized that prayer musically.

From July 1475 onwards, then, the autograph of the *Missa Ave regina celorum,* Dufay's master copy, the elusive "α" of our stemmas, was in the possession of the Burgundian court. And so it seems more than a little intriguing that this same court has in fact left us a copy of the Mass, now surviving in the eleventh gathering of the Brussels manuscript Bibliothèque Royale 5557.[7] The possibility that this gathering might have been copied straight from the autograph is one that

[3] All references will be to the edition by Heinrich Besseler, *Guglielmi Dufay Opera Omnia,* Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1, vol. 3 (Rome 1951), 91–121.

[4] W. F. Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History* V (1985), 133–34. A copying payment from the fabric accounts of Cambrai Cathedral, dated 1470–71, describes the Requiem as "de novo compilata"; see J. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai* (Lille 1880), 198.

[5] Edited in H. Besseler, *Dufay Opera Omnia,* vol. 5 (Rome 1966), 124–50; for the text tropes, see ibid., xlii. Dufay's will, which was drafted on 8 July 1474, some four months before the composer's death, stipulated performance of the motet at his deathbed; see Houdoy, *Histoire artistique,* 410, and Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 218–20.

[6] Houdoy, *Histoire artistique,* 195.

[7] Hereafter referred to as BrusBR 5557, following C. Hamm and H. Kellman, eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550,* Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1979–88). Other sources mentioned in this article are: **ModE M.1.13:** Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS. α.M.1.13 (Lat. 456); **PozU 7022:** Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Adama Michiewicza, MS. 7022; **TrentC 91:** Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS. 91; **VatSP B80:** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. San Pietro B80.

can be tested objectively, for three other copies of the Mass survive today, in VatSP B80, ModE M.1.13 and PozU 7022, written at Rome, Ferrara and Lvov, respectively. Detailed comparison with these sources should enable us to tell whether the Brussels version is indeed likely to be a transcript of Dufay's original.

To preempt the results of that comparison, which will be presented below, the answer is almost certainly no. Several textual and musical variants suggest that the Brussels copy cannot be fully identical with the autograph. And although it nevertheless appears to be of very high authority, the Modena choirbook must be equally close, in some respects even closer, to the original. This may be disappointing, but it probably means no more than that the Brussels gathering was copied before the acquisition of Dufay's autograph in 1475, and that apparently no reason was perceived to discard it. This conclusion is borne out by paper evidence: several features indicate that the paper is unlikely to have been used outside the period 1469–76, and most probably dates from the years around 1470.[8]

Yet what is a disappointment from one point of view may turn out to be good fortune from another. The aim of this article is to show that we are in fact unusually fortunate on three counts. First, the source situation for Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum* is such that we can get extremely close to the original. That is to say, it is possible to identify and emend most of the scribal corruptions. The direct gains here are in terms of performance practice (in particular with respect to musica ficta and text underlay) and the study of Dufay's notational habits. Indeed it is possible to formulate some general statements on these habits which may enable us to recognize authoritative versions of his Masses even when the particular source situation does not allow us to do so. For instance, by all the criteria established below the Brussels version of Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* appears to be of such high authority that it could well be a transcript from the autograph.

Yet scribal variants and corruptions are not just obstacles separating us from the original. They are also important witnesses to the Mass's early reception history, and as such merit careful evaluation. In the present case, and this is the second point, there turns out to be a significant disproportion between the frequencies of different kinds of variants which suggests that some features of the Mass were revised much sooner and more extensively than others. This allows us to

[8] R. C. Wegman, "New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* XXXVI (1986), 13–14.

conclude more than the merely obvious, namely that Dufay did not write his Mass for international consumption and distribution, and that revision was consequently inevitable. For insofar as the same features were revised independently in different centers, they must have been specific to the Mass's original performance context in Cambrai. Here the evidence strengthens a hypothesis on the occasion and context for *Missa Ave regina celorum* which was advanced by Reinhard Strohm in 1984, and elaborated by Barbara Haggh in 1987.

The main reason why Strohm's hypothesis is to be preferred over the accepted one—which is that Dufay composed the Mass for the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral in 1472—is not that it can be proved at present, or even that it has no loose ends, but that it provides a simpler explanation for more evidence. In particular, and this is the third point, there is evidence of contamination, or cross-copying: the Brussels version was almost certainly "corrected" after another exemplar—which may well have been the autograph acquired in July 1475. The correction, intriguingly, was applied in the most personal moment of the Mass, the "miserere supplicanti Dufay" passage quoted (without that text) in the second Agnus Dei. Ultra-violet light inspection of the Brussels manuscript reveals that this section originally ended with the cadence concluding "miserere supplicanti," and that the subsequent bars associated with "Dufay" were added only later. Here we shall be concerned not so much with the question *who* had tampered with the music at what point, but *why*. Why was it necessary to curtail a passage that must have seemed perfectly neutral outside Dufay's circle (since it does not give the text of the supplication) and was not, so far as we know, similarly curtailed elsewhere? Why were the missing bars reinstated? Here the three central questions of this article come together: what did the original look like, in which respects was it specific to its original performance context, and for which occasion did Dufay write the Mass?

Textual Criticism and Mensural Polyphony

Before addressing these questions it will be necessary to clarify the theoretical basis of our enquiry, in particular to eliminate some confusion inherent in the close association between textual criticism and music editing. The aim of textual criticism, as is well known, is to produce a text as close as possible to the original, cleaned from all scribal corruption. As far as mensural polyphony is concerned, scholarly editions cannot meet this aim by definition, because transcription into modern notation is itself a corruption, of a

very systematic kind. Transcriptions retain what the twentieth century considers to be the musical "substance" of a piece, and discard or adapt almost everything that is deemed musically inessential (mostly features of the notation). There are good practical reasons for doing this, mainly that we need to be able to read and perform the music conveniently, but such pragmatic concerns are foreign to the aims of textual criticism, and are not easily reconciled with them. In editions we do *not* in fact aim to produce texts as close as possible to the original: that would be to reconstruct the original notation. What we aim to produce is texts adapted to our needs, which we wish to be original only insofar as we ourselves have not corrupted them—paying great attention to variants that make a recognizable difference to the transcription, but much less to those that do not.[9] In this respect our position is not fundamentally different from that of any enterprising fifteenth–century scribe. We just happen to have different views on what is and is not worth retaining in our copies.

The problems resulting from this practical orientation have no direct parallel in the textual criticism of literature,[10] but it is possible

[9] This is particularly the case in so-called best-source editions: it will be rare for the best source to be emended when it is contradicted by all other sources on an orthographic or otherwise "musically inessential" detail. Best-source editions are often preferred over conflations of many sources on the grounds that a conflated version is at best a hypothesis, whereas even the worst source represents tangible historical evidence: "[A conflation] does not correspond to any historical reality, because it is a version that never existed in time, or at least, we have no evidence that it ever existed in time. This, then, is a falsification of history insofar as it combines a number of historically different versions of the same composition." (Nino Pirrotta, in round table "Problems in Editing the Music of Josquin des Prez: A Critique of the First Edition and Proposals for the Second Edition," E. E. Lowinsky with B. J. Blackburn, eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference* (Oxford 1976), 737.) This is to overlook that the aim of textual criticism is to formulate hypotheses as to how the surviving copies of a work might have descended from a single exemplar. A conflated edition represents such a hypothesis; like any hypothesis it aspires not to the status of empirical fact but to being consistent with the facts. To say that it is therefore a "falsification of history" is implicitly to deny the legitimacy of historical interpretation. The only credible argument in favor of best-source editions is probably a practical one: it saves a considerable amount of time and labor to declare one source innocent until proven guilty. Such practical concerns may be overriding in the case of long-term and expensive edition projects (for instance, of the works of Obrecht or Josquin), but again, they are foreign to the aims of textual criticism, and they will be excluded from consideration here.

[10] The closest parallel is probably that of the edition in modernized spelling, which has a distinctly nonspecialist status in literary studies. The nonspecialist editor usually is highly conscious of contemporary demands, and adapts the texts accordingly, whereas the critical editor accords such demands no relevance to his work. See J. J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Charlottesville and London, 1983), 95–109. In Renaissance musicology this distinction cannot be made, however: not even the most uncompromisingly "critical" or "diplomatic" editions are free from conscious modernizations: notation in score, barlines, breaking up of ligatures, omission of dots of division, and so on. To argue that such changes do not affect the "substance of the

to imagine such a parallel, and the problems it would entail. Suppose that a future age would edit twentieth-century English literature by transcribing it into phonetic notation. The editor would assume "speech" to be the essence of the English language, and "writing" merely the highly ineffective record of speech, to be removed from the edition to bring out the essence more clearly. By its own purely practical standards the phonetic notation would be much more efficient than ours, since it presupposes no knowledge or understanding of the English language: it simply tells the user which sounds to produce, which is all a practical edition aims to do. By the same standards, twentieth-century writing can only appear inadequate and burdened with irrelevant theoretical notions: the phonetic relationship between text and speech is rarely unambiguous (correct pronunciation being largely a matter of custom, context and even meaning), yet there is an obsessive insistence on correct spelling, mainly in order to maintain theoretical consistency. Our response would probably be that the English language, to us, is more than speech: it has an abstract logic which, although concretized only on paper, is always presupposed even when we speak. For it is only by virtue of this logic that speech can be English in the first place—even if the logic is only mentally invoked and cannot actually be heard. From our point of view anyone can recite an English text from a phonetic transcription, yet he might as well recite any other succession of phonemes since the phonetic notation does not require him to understand the difference. Analogously, from a fifteenth-century point of view anyone can sing mensural music from a modern transcription, yet he might as well sing any other succession of sounds since our notation does not require him to understand the difference. Transcriptions which retain mensural polyphony or an English text only insofar as they are "organized sound" dismiss as inessential the "theoretical burden" (mensural theory, grammar) which the original users regarded as intrinsic to music and to language. They enable users to produce the right sounds, but make it virtually impossible to arrive at a *full* understanding of the original texts—which is exactly what textual criticism aims to promote.

Practical and text-critical concerns, then, cannot be successfully reconciled. The original text is what Dufay wrote and the scholarly edition is what we need today—and never the twain shall meet. Nor

music" is in itself to project modern assumptions about music onto the transmitted text, and thus to compromise the aspirations to objectivity and authenticity. The problem here is not the compromise itself—modernized editions are, after all, convenient—but the failure to recognize that a significant compromise has been made. See for this the important article by Margaret Bent, "Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation," *Early Music* XXII (1994), 373–92.

do they need to: it is, as Margaret Bent has observed,[11] pedantic to make, on the one hand, the eminently sensible step of transcribing a mensural text—even if it means corrupting it beyond retrieval—and feebly to try, on the other, to undo the damage by retaining such relics as "original" note-shapes or clefs.[12] Yet, and this is the point, textual criticism is caught in the middle: so long as it serves the practical aims of the modern editor (which reveal more about twentieth-century needs than about the original text), it is inevitably limited in its scope. Much that can be achieved with textual criticism is frequently not pursued at all or relegated to the study of notational practice, because it does not make a recognizable difference to the modern transcription. From the viewpoint of method such a position is unsound. Often we simply cannot tell *a priori* what will or will not make a difference to the transcription, what is musically essential and what "merely" notational.

For instance, I will argue below that Dufay almost certainly wrote no "minor color" on the semibreve-minim level, notating instead only dotted minim-semiminim patterns. Now of course it does not make any difference to our transcriptions whether Dufay wrote the one or the other, and even within the study of his notational habits this would seem a trivial point to belabor. Yet from this point it is possible to argue that Heinrich Besseler incorrectly transcribed colored breve-semibreve (B-S) and breve-minim-minim (B-M-M) patterns in his edition of the *Missa Ave regina celorum,* and it may explain why Antoine Busnoys, for instance, took seemingly redundant measures to prevent such misrendering in his own works. I have cited this example not to show that the observation is justified after all (in textual criticism every such observation would be), but to argue that it is questionable to use the modern transcription as the basis for justification. The original text is, quite literally, the original text. Reconstructing it by means of textual criticism is one thing, making it available to twentieth-century users quite another.

[11] 'Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony', in I. Fenlon, ed., *Music in Medieval & Early Modern Europe. Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge 1981), 314–15.

[12] It goes without saying that there could hardly be anything "original" about a semibreve which has the graphic shape but not the mensural behavior of a semibreve. Arguments about barlines, whether they should be dotted, drawn only through the staves themselves, or only between the staves, seem pointless for the same reason: barlines may not have been used in the original, but then the modern edition is not the original. It is as if we used no punctuation in the translation of an ancient Greek text because punctuation did not exist at the time of writing: there may not have been punctuation in the original, but then a translation is not the original.

To summarize, this article is concerned with what Dufay wrote—not with what is left of his Mass after it has passed through the sieve of modern notation. No *a priori* distinction will be made between "musical" and "notational" variants. Both are musical from the viewpoint of the original—which is the only viewpoint that matters. Nor will we be concerned with the question whether what Dufay wrote makes practical sense to us, for that is not properly a question of textual criticism.[13] Matters of musica ficta and text underlay will not be considered problematic so long as there is no evidence that the composer perceived any problem (that is, left the problems that *we* perceive unresolved).[14]

"Accidental" Change

Although the four sources for Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum* were copied as far apart as Poznań, Rome, Ferrara and the Burgundian court, it is likely that they all date from within about ten years of the Mass's composition.[15] This situation is typical of the transmission of late fifteenth-century Mass music: wide geographical distribution within a relatively brief timespan. For our present purposes this means that the cruder sorting methods of textual criticism will not have to be applied. If we had, say, twenty-five sources copied

[13] Unless it bears on the *plausibility* of a reading (to be established in the final stage of the enquiry, *examinatio*, that is, the examination of the original for correctness and plausibility).

[14] To pursue the analogy cited above, a phonetic transcription of a twentieth-century text would have to offer editorial solutions to many practical problems that are peculiar to phonetic notation, not to twentieth-century writing, e.g., the pronunciation of "-ough" in different contexts (plough, dough, rough, through, borough, lough). We perceive no problem here, and consequently we see no need to "resolve" anything in our writing. It may be that sources from certain geographical areas do resolve some ambiguities (e.g., "boro" for "borough"), and this may be of help in arriving at a correct phonetic transcription. But from the viewpoint of textual criticism such resolutions would still be scribal variants, and should be emended to make full understanding of the original text possible. To dismiss such vagaries of spelling as inessential variants of the notation would be to miss an important opportunity for learning more about the author and his background.

[15] VatSP B80 is believed to have been copied in 1475; see C. Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," *Early Music History* I (1981), 257–304. The layer of PozU 7022 which contains Dufay's Mass has been dated in the third quarter of the fifteenth century; see M. Perz, "The Lvov Fragments: A Source for Works by Dufay, Josquin, Petrus de Domarto, and Petrus de Grudencz in 15th-Century Poland," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muzikgeschiedenis* XXXVI (1986), 26–51. A date of 1481 has been suggested for ModE M.1.13; see L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505* (Oxford 1984), 222–24. For BrusBR 5557, see note 8 above.

over a period of fifty years (as is not uncommon in the sixteenth century), it would be necessary to reduce the tradition to a situation resembling the one we have now, mainly by eliminating sources that are fully dependent on others. Dependence of this kind cannot be demonstrated in the present case: each source, as will emerge below, contains original information that is not preserved in the others. Nor is it possible to demonstrate separate branches in the transmission. There are no significant variants, that is, variants that are unique to a particular group of sources and which could not have been introduced independently.

That the four sources for Dufay's Mass are fully independent is, of course, no more than to be expected. It is true that the full tradition must have ramified into several distinct branches almost as soon as transmission started (even if no variants were introduced that might allow us to reconstruct that ramification). Yet those branches are likely to have remained regional, at least within the first decade or so. Consequently, with four very early sources copied in four distinct regions in Europe, it would be an extraordinary coincidence if two or three derived from a common exemplar that was demonstrably far removed from Dufay's original.

How, in such circumstances, do we establish the original text? If the sources disagree, do we simply count hands and accept the majority reading? Obviously not, because some sources may be more authoritative than others, and in many cases the minority reading may have to be preferred as the *lectio difficilior*. But how do we establish the relative authority of four independent sources if the only objective criterion, Dufay's original, is in fact what we are aiming to reconstruct?

We will do this by focusing on those features of the musical text that there was no obvious particular reason for a scribe either to copy literally or to renotate, for instance, note and ligature shapes, arrangements of breve and longa rests, "minor color," and so on. Scribes being indifferent, such "orthographic" features would normally be passed on intact; only this can explain why the four sources agree on by far the majority of them. (This "common ground" must be assumed to be identical with Dufay's original; possible exceptions will be discussed shortly.) Variants would be introduced only "by accident," that is, randomly and in small numbers. Although in the long run such variants are likely to have accumulated in every line of transmission, the chances are that they would rarely have become the majority reading in four early and fully independent sources. Not that this gives us a safe "democratic" rule by which to decide on each individual variant. But the sources that most often share the majority

reading are of course most likely to be close to the original, their lines of transmission having accumulated least apparent variants.[16]

Although the fragmentary nature of PozU 7022 forces us to restrict the comparison to less than about twenty-five percent of the notational symbols, the outcome of the test is not exactly unambiguous. To start with VatSP B80, one cannot even begin to enumerate the countless readings that are unanimously contradicted by the other three sources: notes and ligatures appear to have been split up or combined, ligatures renotated, breve and longa rests rearranged, cadential formulas simplified or elaborated, and besides there are numerous unique rhythmic and melodic readings as well as outright errors and omissions. After San Pietro, PozU 7022 has the largest number: it has thirty-five unique "orthographic" readings, as well as twelve "musical" variants and errors.[17] In BrusBR 5557 and ModE M.1.13 the number is twenty and fifteen, respectively, and in both copies there is one unique "musical" reading.[18] It seems reasonable to conclude, on the evidence here presented, that Brussels and Modena seem closest to Dufay's original, that Poznań is somewhat further removed, and that San Pietro is seriously affected by corruption.

(Fortunately, this is not the only method by which to decide on the relative authority of the sources. Another method, involving a different kind of variant, is to assess how often a source presents the *lectio difficilior,* even if it is the minority reading. This method is less objective, since the picture may be distorted by individual scribal editing habits. Yet the outcome, as will emerge below, is broadly the same:

[16] My method parallels that followed in the 1975 Athlone Press edition of the B-text of Langland's *Piers Plowman,* edited by George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson; see L. Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, Wisc., 1987), chapter 3, 77–113 ("The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius: The Kane-Donaldson *Piers Plowman* in Historical Perspective"). Crucial is the decision to collate sources not merely according to "significant" error but *all* error, accepting that scribes may habitually have made the same mistakes independently, and trying to make explicit this logic of error (ibid., pp. 83–85). I will do this below with respect to "minor color," musica ficta, text underlay, and other features.

[17] In order of frequency: fermatas (9), splitting and combining of notes and ligatures (8), different arrangements of breve and longa rests (5), minor rhythmic changes (4), signs of congruence (4), "minor color" (3), and dots of division and barlines (each 2). The variants and errors of pitch and rhythm are found in Kyrie S 42_1, 44_3–45_1, 46_2–47_2, C 90_5, Gloria C 118_1, B 146_{1-2}, Credo T 40_2, S 51_{5-6}, B 40_1, C 142_3, Sanctus S 65_6–66_1 and 67_2.

[18] The unique readings in the Brussels choirbook involve, in order of frequency, splitting or combining of notes and ligatures (6), "minor color" (6), minor rhythmic changes (2), dots (2), flats (2) and cadential formulas (2). The unique readings in the Modena source involve splitting and combining of notes and ligatures (11), minor rhythmic changes (2) and "minor color" (2). The unique "musical" variant of BrusBR 5557 is found in Kyrie C 17_{2-4}, of ModE M.I.13 in Credo C 45_{1-3}.

Brussels gives the largest number of *lectiones difficiliores,* followed closely by Modena, then Poznań, and finally San Pietro.)

There are no certain rules by which to decide on all the variants of the kind described here, but a few principles can nevertheless be formulated. Brussels and Modena appear to be the most authoritative sources. When they agree, their reading is to be preferred, except possibly in the few cases where Poznań and San Pietro agree on a different reading.[19] When they disagree, the reading supported by one or both of the other sources is to be preferred, except when both readings receive support from one other source, in which case Poznań generally carries more weight than San Pietro.[20]

There is one important exception to these principles, namely if we can be reasonably sure that even if scribes were generally indifferent, Dufay himself was not. That is to say, if evidence emerges that the composer was consistent in his notational habits. In that case we may have to adopt the readings which are in line with those habits, even if they appear only in a minority of sources (and perhaps even if they appear in no source at all, in which case the "common ground" may require emendation).[21] This is true, so far as the present evi-

dence suggests, of two features: "minor color" and the texting of the top two parts.

To begin with the first, we can be reasonably sure that Dufay applied no "minor color" on the level of semibreve-minim (S-M), notating instead only dotted minim-semiminim (M-Sm) patterns. This conclusion is based on the following observations:

(1) There is no passage in which S-M "minor color" is supported by all four sources. Against this there are thirty-eight places where the four sources unanimously write a dotted M-Sm pattern.
(2) There is only one place where S-M "minor color" is supported by three sources against one (Poznań being the only one not to use

[19] This happens in ten cases,which involve ligature shapes (2), "minor color" (2), split or merged ligatures (2), cadential formulas (1), fermatas (1), dots of division (1), and groupings of breve and longa rests (1).

[20] This happens in thirteen cases. Modena-Poznań against Brussels-San Pietro: flats (2) and cadential formulas (1). Modena-San Pietro against Brussels-Poznań: split or combined notes and ligatures (4), flats (3), ligature shapes (1), cadential formulas (1), and fermatas (1).

[21] Here my method again parallels that in the Kane-Donaldson *Piers Plowman* edition: "if a certain kind of reading is demonstrably scribal where it is weakly attested then it must be just as scribal where it is strongly and even unanimously attested . . . to preserve a reading that is prima facie scribal simply because in one context it is unanimously attested is a violation of the entire editorial project" (Patterson, *Negotiating the Past,* p. 85).

it). Against this there are eight passages in which it appears in only one source against three.

(3) When Modena and Brussels disagree on "minor color," Poznań *always* supports the one that uses a dotted M-Sm pattern. Poznań itself employs "minor color" only once, and in this case it is unanimously contradicted by the other three sources.

(4) When any of the sources—Modena, Brussels or San Pietro—disagrees on "minor color" with any other, the remaining source supports the one that uses a dotted M-Sm pattern in seventy-three–seventy-seven percent of the cases.

The apparent avoidance of "minor color" in the original can only mean that Dufay strictly maintained the correct theoretical position on coloration, namely that it denotes either imperfection or sesquialtera proportion (3/2), and that it cannot therefore be used to indicate dotted rhythms. This is perhaps not surprising, for the composer was a distinguished theorist himself, and was repeatedly praised for his correct mensural usage by Johannes Tinctoris (who, incidentally, did not acknowledge "minor color" either).[22] This bears on the transcription of coloured B-S or B-M-M patterns in *Missa Ave regina celorum,* of which there are four instances, all four presumably going back to the original.[23] These are almost certainly not to be interpreted as "minor color," as in the Besseler edition, but as triplet rhythms.[24] Of greater

[22] For Dufay's lost theoretical writings, see Fallows, *Dufay,* 240; C. A. Miller, "Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions," *The Musical Quarterly* LVI (1970), 372–73, and A. E. Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History* VIII (1988), 168. For another instance of mensural rectitude in *Missa Ave regina celorum,* see Credo bars 162–70, where the composer juxtaposed perfect and imperfect tempus. Poznań and San Pietro consistently place a stroke through C, which confirms what is suggested by the larger note-values in this mensuration, namely that the speed is to be taken faster than in perfect tempus. It is almost certain, however, that the composer himself used no stroke: not only is its absence attested by the most authoritative sources, Brussels and Modena, but it is the *lectio difficilior.* Like Tinctoris, Dufay probably regarded the stroke not as a fundamental element of mensural theory, but as a mere practical reminder (see R. C. Wegman, "What is *Acceleratio mensurae?,*" *Music & Letters* LXXIII (1992), 515–24). This forced him to juxtapose C and O as if they moved at the same semibreve speed: his notation is correct on paper, but does not reflect actual practice. VatSP B80 is closer to actual practice, but is not correct on paper: the scribe put a stroke through C but forgot to do this in O as well, so that the different parts do not relate as they should. (The passage does not survive in PozU 7022.)

[23] Brussels and Modena agree on "minor color" on the B-S or B-M-M level in all four cases. San Pietro provides additional support in two of these cases (Kyrie B 65_{1-3} and Credo S 113_{1-3}), gives a dotted pattern in one (Gloria S 89_{1-3}), and does not transmit the fourth passage (Agnus Dei S 90_{3-5}). None of the four passages has survived in Poznań.

[24] The fact that the latter interpretation seems to have been much more widespread in the fifteenth century may explain why Busnoys so often added a figure "3"

relevance to transmission, of course, is the extent to which different scribes must have tended to introduce S-M "minor color" in different places. If the relative frequency of such patterns is to be taken as a crude measure of scribal involvement, then it is surely worth noting that the Brussels copy of Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* contains a significantly smaller number than the copy of *Missa Ave regina celorum* (7 against 44).[25]

The second feature, the texting of the upper parts, has not been discussed earlier because it is not susceptible to statistical evaluation. Yet here, too, scribes may be assumed to have been generally indifferent: they were just as concerned as Dufay to indicate at least some of the Mass Ordinary text, and had no particular reason either to retain or to change its precise placement. This is borne out by a vertical alignment of the four underlays, which immediately reveals a distinct pattern. First, agreement between the sources is greatest at the beginnings of syntactical units. Thereafter the placement of individual words may vary considerably, but all sources usually come together again at the end of the unit and the beginning of the next. Second, the points of greatest agreement occur nearly always immediately after or immediately before a rest. Taken together these two observations would seem to indicate that Dufay carefully identified distinct musical phrases with distinct textual units (an identification which he maintained in imitations), but generally left the precise underlay open to the performer. Assuming these principles to have been applied consistently in the autograph, they may have to be adopted in the reconstruction even in passages where they are not attested by the majority of the sources. On the same assumption it is possible once again to recognize the Brussels copy of *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* as much more authoritative than that of *Ave regina celorum*. As Gareth Curtis has observed, "the copyist of the *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* in Brussels 5557 was unusually painstaking in his precise placing of syllables under what he considered were the appropriate notes."[26] More particularly,

under colored B-S or B-M-M patterns to prevent that interpretation. Tinctoris, who did not acknowledge "minor color," and who would consequently have sung such passages in triple rhythm anyway, saw this as a notational redundancy, and berated Busnoys for his habit. See R. C. Wegman, "Another Mass by Busnoys?," *Music & Letters* LXXI (1990), 4–5.

[25] The measure is indeed crude, for the tendency to renotate dotted patterns in "minor color" may have been stronger in some scribes than in others. In Poznań, for instance, we hardly find any "minor color" at all, even though this source must be further removed from the original than Brussels and Modena, which do introduce "minor color" generously (though clearly independently).

[26] G. R. K. Curtis, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 5557, and the Texting of Dufay's 'Ecce ancilla Domini' and 'Ave regina celorum' Masses," *Acta musicologica* LI (1979), 75.

the scribe followed the very principles that have emerged as "original" from a critical comparison of the texts for *Missa Ave regina celorum.*

"Editorial" Change

We will now turn to a different kind of feature susceptible to corruption, one in which scribes cannot be assumed to have been indifferent, but in which corruption is to be expected. For features of this kind we do not need to formulate principles by which to weigh the sources: scribal bias or inclination favoured the *lectio facilior,* which consequently is likely to have become the majority reading.[27] Yet this reading is always to be overruled by the *lectio difficilior*—even if the latter is transmitted in only one source (and perhaps even if it appears in no source at all).

There are two such features in the present case: musica ficta and the underlay of the two lower parts. As for the first, the issue can briefly be summarized as follows. Dufay's Mass is centered on the final C, and proceeds within the Guidonian hand. Yet there are nine distinct passages in which at least one source departs into musica ficta (E♭, A♭, and F♯, that is E fa, A fa, and F mi)—not counting the recurring eight-bar motto where this is also the case (to be discussed separately). Table 1 lists the nine passages. It can be seen that Brussels is involved in eight of the musica ficta departures. In seven it receives at least partial support from Modena, which is also the only source to introduce musica ficta where Brussels does not (Agnus Dei, bar 51). Poznań transmits only four of the relevant passages; in all but one it agrees at least partly with Modena and Brussels. The only source which is never involved is San Pietro B80 (except in the "miserere supplicanti Dufay" passage in the motet; see Example 1c).

In all but two of the nine passages, then, something is going on in at least two sources. Brussels is usually most explicit in indicating the extent of the musica ficta departure, Modena and Poznań somewhat less so, and San Pietro does not indicate anything at all. It is clear from this that most if not all of the flats must go back to Dufay himself: they could hardly have been introduced independently in exactly these passages, since nothing in the music calls for them, and they must therefore be taken as the *lectiones difficiliores.* This being so, the relative frequency of such readings can be taken as a crude measure of the relative authority of the sources: as said above, the more *lectiones difficiliores* a source transmits, the more likely it is to be close to the

[27] *Lectio difficilior,* in classical textual criticism, is a rule used to decide the question "utrum in alterum abiturum erat?" for variant readings which are in themselves plausible; see M. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart 1973), 51.

TABLE 1

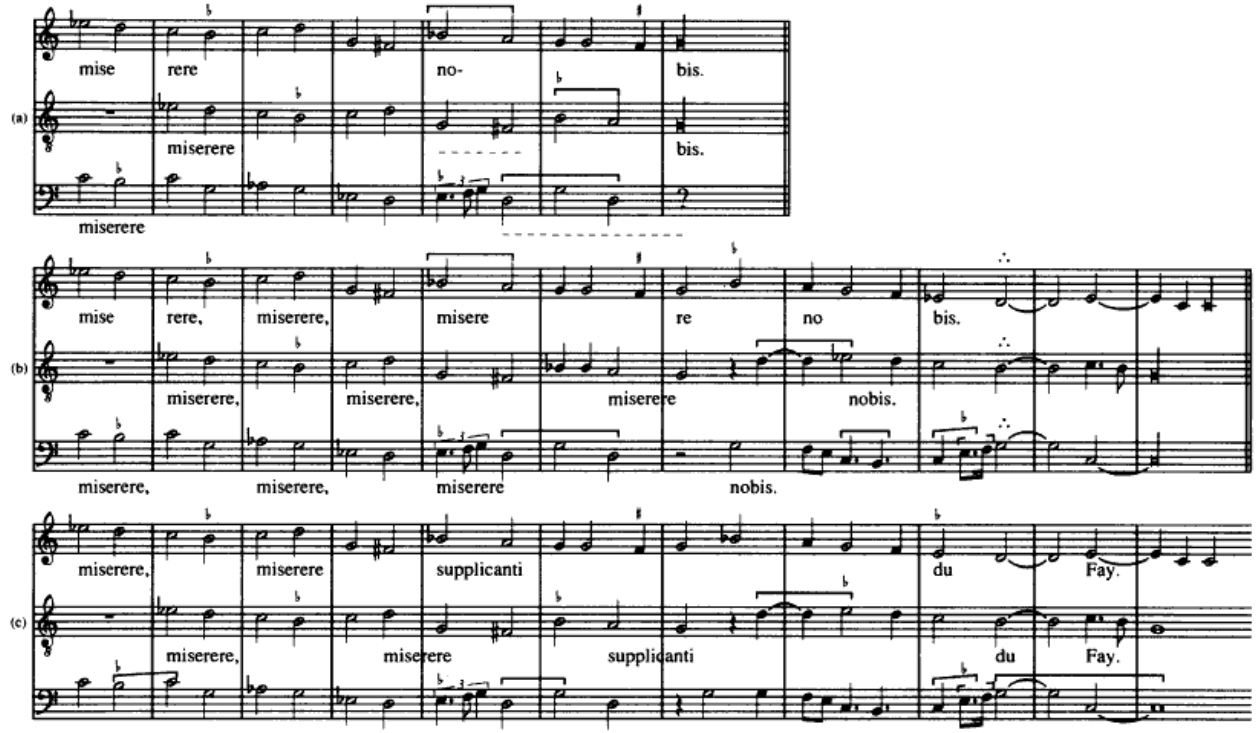
Ficta Departures in Guillaume Dufay, *Missa Ave regina celorum* (excluding head motive), as transmitted in the surviving sources, **B** (BrusBR 5557), **M** (ModE M.1.13), **P** (PozU 7022), **V** (VatSP B80), and as paralleled, in passage 9, in Dufay's four-part motet *Ave regina celorum* (**V**).

	Movement	Voice	Note	B	M	P	V	motet
1	Gloria	bass	18_3 (A)	♭	—	[ ]	—	
2	Gloria	tenor	81_2 (E)	♭	♭	[ ]	—	
		bass	81_4 (E)	♭	—	♭	—	
3	Gloria	contratenor	86_2 (E)	♭	♭	[ ]	—	
		bass	89_2 (E)	♭	—	[ ]	—	
4	Gloria	bass	122_1 (A)	♭	—	♭	[ ]	
		bass	123_2 (E)	♭	♭	♭	[ ]	
5	Credo	contratenor	145_2 (E)	♭	♭	♭	—	
		bass	145_4 (E)	♭	—	—	—	
6	Credo	bass	151_4 (A)	♭	♭	—	—	
		tenor	153_3 (E)	♭	♭	[ ]	—	
7	Credo	bass	160_1 (E)	♭	♭	[ ]	—	
8	Agnus Dei	contratenor	51_3 (E)	—	♭	[ ]	[ ]	
9	Agnus Dei	top voice	72_1 (E)	♭	—	[ ]	[ ]	♭
		contratenor	73_1 (E)	♭	♭	[ ]	[ ]	♭
		bass	74_1 (A)	♭	—	[ ]	[ ]	♭
		bass	75_1 (E)	♭	♭	[ ]	[ ]	♭
		top voice	75_2 (F)	♯	—	[ ]	[ ]	—
		contratenor	76_2 (F)	♯	—	[ ]	[ ]	♯
		contratenor	79_2 (E)	♭	—	[ ]	[ ]	—
		top voice	80_1 (E)	♭	—	[ ]	[ ]	—

autograph. In the present case the outcome confirms our earlier conclusion: Brussels and Modena almost neck-and-neck, followed by Poznań and then San Pietro.

This conclusion is based on the nine musica ficta departures. For the headmotive the picture is different: Brussels introduces an E fa in the bass at the beginning of every movement (second bar). The only support it receives for this comes not from Modena or Poznań but, unexpectedly, from San Pietro. The latter source introduces an E fa in the Kyrie headmotive, and although the other movements share

EXAMPLE 1. (a) Guillaume Dufay, *Missa Ave regina celorum*, quotation from motet *Ave regina celorum* in Agnus Dei II, as transmitted in BrusBR 5557 *ante correctionem;* (b) the same quotation, as transmitted in BrusBR 5557 *post correctionem;* (c) the music for "miserere miserere supplicanti Dufay" in Guillaume Dufay, *Ave regina celorum* (after unique source, VatSP B80, fols. 26v–27r).



the majority reading E mi (E♮), this single slipped-through *lectio difficilior* in a version generally so corrupt provides the best possible confirmation that Brussels transmits Dufay's original reading here as well.[28]

The texting of the two lower parts has already been the subject of an article by Gareth Curtis.[29] His perspective on the matter, however, was different from ours, and it is important to clarify the difference. Curtis focused on one source, BrusBR 5557, and basically addressed the question: how can we establish Dufay's intentions with respect to underlay, even if the surviving sources do not clearly indicate these? This is an important question, but it is not one that concerns us here. For it involves considerations of practical feasibility that have no bearing on the nature of Dufay's original—at least not so long as the evidence suggests that the original took no account of such considerations.[30] Here we shall be concerned only with the question what was the actual underlay provided by Dufay, regardless of whether it represents his intentions in the way we would have liked or expected.

Strikingly, the four sources of the *Missa Ave regina celorum* disagree on the texting of the lower parts almost as much as they agree on that of the top parts. As for the tenor, there is disagreement already as to whether it should carry the Mass Ordinary text or that of the antiphon *Ave regina celorum*, the melody of which is cited in this voice (see Table 2). Brussels provides antiphon text throughout (adding Mass text only in the Osannas), but rarely more than brief incipits. San Pietro frequently gives more words of the chant than Brussels, but supplements these with Mass text in every movement. Modena has retained one brief chant incipit at the beginning of the Sanctus ("Ave regina celorum"), but otherwise gives Mass text throughout, as does Poznań. Similar confusion exists in the bass: Brussels and Modena occasionally provide brief incipits of the chant text, alternating it with the text of the Mass Ordinary (Table 3); the other two sources provide only the latter.

[28] David Fallows's transcription of the head motive (*Dufay*, 210) is thus to be preferred over that in the Besseler edition.

[29] Curtis, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 5557."

[30] I would therefore question Curtis's implicit assumption that Dufay's original would have offered a resolution to the underlay problems that we perceive, and that the absence of such a resolution is consequently a sign of scribal corruption. This leads him, for instance, to question the authority of the Brussels copy of *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* on the grounds that it "may well not represent the composer's intentions with regard to the underlay of the second tenor" (p. 85). To this statement it is necessary to add: at least not as these intentions would have had to be communicated to twentieth-century musicians. Practical feasibility (from our point of view) cannot in principle be a criterion of the authenticity of a source. It is only after reconstruction that the original text can be examined for correctness and plausibility.

TABLE 2

Underlay of the tenor of Guillaume Dufay, *Missa Ave regina celorum,* according to BrusBR 5557 and VatSP B80 (+ = chant word provided; − = chant word not provided and not substituted; m = Mass text provided or implied; * = chant music not quoted in tenor; [ ] = passage not transmitted in source).

	BrusBR 5557					VatSP B80				
	K	G	C	S	A	K	G	C	S	A
Ave	+	+	+	+	+	m	+	+	+	[ ]
regina	+	+	+	+	+	m	+	+	+	[ ]
celorum	−	−	−	−	−	m	+	+	+	[ ]
Ave	+	−	−	−	−	m	+	+	m	[ ]
domina	[ ]	−	−	−	−	m	+	+	m	[ ]
angelorum	[ ]	−	−	−	−	m	+	+	m	[ ]
Salve	[ ]	+	−	+	*	m	+	+	m	[ ]
radix	[ ]	+	−	−	*	m	+	+	m	[ ]
sancta	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	+	+	m	[ ]
ex	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	−	+	m	[ ]
qua	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	−	+	m	[ ]
mundo	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	−	+	m	[ ]
lux	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	−	+	m	[ ]
est	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	−	+	m	[ ]
orta	[ ]	−	−	−	*	m	−	+	m	[ ]
Gaude	+	+	+	+	+	m	m	+	m	[ ]
gloriosa	+	+	+	+	+	m	m	+	m	[ ]
super	−	−	+	m	−	m	m	+	m	[ ]
omnes	−	−	+	m	−	m	m	+	m	[ ]
speciosa	−	−	+	m	−	m	m	+	m	[ ]
Vale	+	+	+	+	−	+	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
valde	+	−	−	+	−	+	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
decora	−	−	−	m	−	+	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
et	−	−	−	m	−	−	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
pro	−	−	−	m	−	−	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
nobis	−	−	−	m	−	−	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
Christum	−	−	−	m	−	−	m	m	[ ]	[ ]
exora	−	−	−	m	−	−	m	m	[ ]	[ ]

TABLE 3

Chant text incipits in the bass of Guillaume Dufay, *Missa Ave regina celorum,* as transmitted in the surviving sources, **B** (BrusBR 5557), **M** (ModE M.1.13), **P** (PozU 7022), and **V** (VatSP B80). (+ = chant text; − = Mass text or no text.)

Passage	Words of Chant	B	M	P	V
Kyrie I, opening	Ave regina	−	−	−	+
Et in terra, opening	Ave regina	+	−	[ ]	−
Qui tollis, opening	Gaude gloriosa	+	−	−	−
Qui tollis, 144–8	exora	+	−	−	−
Patrem, opening	Ave	+	−	−	−

Two questions must be addressed here: what are the patterns of agreement between the sources, and what is the *lectio difficilior?* The answer to the first question must be that there is much greater agreement over Mass text than over chant text, in both tenor and bass. Yet, and this is important, agreement over the Mass text exists *only* at the beginnings of movements or sections, never in the course of them, not even immediately after rests. This would suggest that if Dufay provided Mass text at all, the principles he followed were different from those applied in the upper parts. The source situation gives support to only one principle: that of providing no more than the relevant incipit at the beginning of a section or movement. As for the chant text, agreement between at least two sources exists only in the tenor (Table 2); every chant incipit in the bass is unique to the source in which it occurs (Table 3). On the whole, then, Mass text seems much better attested than chant text.

Yet the answer to the second question must be that the text of the antiphon is the *lectio difficilior,* and should always overrule the Mass text. Since the normal practice was for all parts to sing the Mass text, it is easier to assume that the words of the chant were replaced by those of the Mass Ordinary than the other way round. Moreover the text phrases of the antiphon are often cited beyond their opening words, and they tend to be carefully placed under the corresponding phrases of the melody. With this in mind it is not difficult to suggest a reconstruction of the original underlay for at least the tenor. Brussels provides chant incipits throughout, and generally gives the longest phrases, though rarely the full text. The next source, surprisingly, is not Modena, but the otherwise corrupt San Pietro B80 manuscript:

in several cases it complements the incomplete readings of Brussels, and in one passage it even corrects erroneous underlay in that source.[31] Since complementary or concordant readings for chant text are far less likely to have come about independently than for Mass Ordinary text, it seems reasonable to conclude that Dufay originally underlaid the tenor with the full text of the antiphon *Ave regina celorum*.[32]

This conclusion is based on the particular source situation for this Mass alone. As soon as we allow parallel cases to bear on the matter, the conclusion receives overwhelming support. Alejandro Planchart has argued persuasively that chant text underlay in the tenor was a typically northwest European practice, which scribes elsewhere hardly ever cared to preserve faithfully in their copies.[33]

The original underlay for the bass is much more difficult to reconstruct, yet here, too, we must proceed from the patterns of support and agreement between the sources. Chant text is still the *lectio difficilior*—in fact in the bass it would seem quite a bit *difficilior* than in the tenor. On the other hand, there is no agreement over the use of chant text even between two sources: as already said, each incipit is unique to the source in which it occurs. Against this, confusingly, there is frequent agreement *among all four sources* over the placement of Mass text: there are no chant text incipits to overrule these readings, as there are in the tenor. The points of full agreement, as observed above, are always at the beginnings of movements and sections. Such evidence is difficult to dismiss. If the surviving sources have any claim to faithfulness to the original, which they certainly do on other grounds, we must conclude that Dufay provided at least incipits of the Mass text in the bass. However, a practical objection to this was raised by Gareth Curtis:[34]

> Certainly there is no question of fitting the Mass text rationally in [the bass of] either the *Gloria* or the *Credo* without systematic breaking of ligatures and extensive disalignment and omission of text because of long notes . . . much of the Mass text given [in BrusBR 5557] is so manifestly unsatisfactory: a substantial proportion of the

[31] At the beginning of the Et incarnatus Brussels reads "Gaude gloriosa"; San Pietro provides the correct words "Salve radix sancta."

[32] It is exactly this situation which we find in the Brussels version of Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini:* once again this copy emerges as much more authoritative than that of *Missa Ave regina celorum* in the same source.

[33] A. E. Planchart, "Parts With Words and Without Words: the Evidence for Multiple Texts in Fifteenth-Century Masses," in S. Boorman, ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music* (Cambridge 1983), 227–51.

[34] Curtis, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 5557," 77.

> incipits and portions of underlay are significantly misplaced, the margin of error being anything from 1½ to 14 bars of the Besseler edition.

This is a serious problem indeed, yet for our present purposes we will adopt what may seem an evasive position: we will not consider it a problem so long as the source situation suggests it was not a problem for Dufay. To put it differently, the evidence indicates that the composer provided Mass text in the bass, but offered no explicit clues to its underlay beyond brief incipits. Insofar as scribes introduced such clues they ended up disagreeing with each other (as is the case with misplaced incipits observed by Curtis), and we would inevitably disagree with them if we similarly tried to provide more underlay than attested by the tradition. To do this would be a legitimate aim of editorial practice, but not of textual criticism.

Yet the problem of Mass versus antiphon text in the bass is not altogether beyond resolution. There is one circumstance which changes the whole picture. It is that *no* antiphon text is provided in the bass *in any source* unless the corresponding music of the antiphon is cited as well: all the incipits listed in Table 3 are placed at the beginnings of chant quotations. This would suggest that there was a clear principle behind the alternation of chant and Mass text incipits in the bass, namely that it paralleled exactly the alternation between chant-based and freely-composed music. How strong is the evidence for that principle? Table 4 gives all the musical chant quotations in the bass, top voice and contratenor of Dufay's Mass, with the corresponding chant texts and their transmission. At first sight the evidence would seem slender indeed: chant text is provided in only six of the nineteen passages. Yet in fact the table can be quickly reduced to five different types of situation, of which only two are really problematic.

(1) Headmotive. The preemptive cantus firmus statement in the bass is texted "Ave regina" in three movements (Kyrie, Gloria and Credo; see Tables 3 and 4), and was undoubtedly the original reading in the other two as well.

(2) Opening points of imitation in Kyrie sections C (bars 28–34: "Salve"), and E (bars 72–6: "Gaude"). Since the tenor is the last to state the imititative phrase, and does so *with* the corresponding texts (Table 2), the preemptive statements in the other voices might have been underlaid with these texts as well—by analogy, perhaps, to the headmotive. Yet there is no source evidence for chant text underlay outside the tenor (Table 4).

(3) Endings of Gloria and Credo (bars 138–51 and 195–208, respectively). These passages are musically identical. The bass states the

TABLE 4

Musical quotations of chant in (a) the bass, (b) top voice, and (c) the contratenor of Guillaume Dufay, *Missa Ave regina celorum*, and the transmission of the corresponding texts in the surviving sources, **B** (BrusBR 5557), **M** (ModE M.1.13), **P** (PozU 7022), and **V** (VatSP B80).

	Passage	Text of quoted chant portion	Text provided (+) or not provided (−)			
			B	M	P	V
(a)	Kyrie, 1–6	Ave regina	−	−	−	+
	Kyrie, 28–30	Salve	−	−	[ ]	−
	Gloria, 1–6	Ave regina	+	−	[ ]	−
	Gloria, 78–81	Gaude gloriosa	+	−	−	−
	Gloria, 144–8	exora	+	−	−	−
	Credo, 1–6	Ave regina	+	−	−	−
	Credo, 201–5	exora	−	−	−	−
	Sanctus, 1–6	Ave regina	−	−	[ ]	−
	Sanctus, 90–3	speciosa	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
	Sanctus, 146–9	exora	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
	Agnus Dei, 1–6	Ave regina	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
	Agnus Dei, 47–53*	Salve radix sancta	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
(b)	Sanctus, 86–9	speciosa	−	−	[ ]	−
	Sanctus, 140–4	exora	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
(c)	Kyrie, 30–2	Salve	−	−	[ ]	−
	Kyrie, 72–4	Gaude	−	−	−	−
	Sanctus, 90–3	speciosa	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
	Sanctus, 145–9	exora	−	−	[ ]	[ ]
	Agnus Dei, 47–63*	Salve radix sancta ex qua mundo lux est orta	−	+	[ ]	[ ]

*Note that bar 44 was inadvertently labelled '45' in the edition by Heinrich Besseler (*Guglielmi Dufay Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, p. 119).

chant melody for "exora." This word is provided in the Gloria and was no doubt the original reading in the Credo as well.

(4) Chant-based imitative duos, in Gloria, bars 77–83, and Agnus Dei, bars 47–53. The former is a tenor-bass duo, in which both voices carry the relevant words from the chant ("Gaude gloriosa," see Tables 2 and 4). The latter is a contratenor-bass duo, in

which the contratenor assumes the role of the tenor, and is underlaid with chant text (the incipit "Salve radix" is given by Modena; see Table 4). That the bass also carried chant text in this duo (at least in bars 47–53) is suggested by the close parallelism between the two passages.[35]

(5) The "speciosa" and "exora" points of imitation in the two Osannas (bars 86–94 and 140–9). The music survives in only two sources (Modena and Brussels). Both give Mass text, but agree on its precise placement only in the top voice of the first Osanna.

In items (1), (3) and (4) there are strong grounds for believing that Dufay originally supplied chant text, and it seems reasonable, therefore, to depart from the paradosis, that is, "the data furnished by the transmission, reduced to essentials."[36] Items (2) and (5) cannot be resolved, but parallel cases elsewhere (see below) suggest that chant text underlay is plausible. To conclude, then, the evidence suggests that Dufay identified most if not all of the chant quotations in the bass (or indeed in any voice) with the relevant texts. This is a statement on his original, not on how the bass was actually performed. It does not resolve the practical problems to which Curtis has drawn attention, but merely suggests that no such problems were perceived in the autograph. For the source situation, the paradosis, allows us to conclude only this: Dufay provided Mass text incipits at the beginnings of movements or sections, and chant text incipits only if there was also a musical quotation from the antiphon.[37]

Once again our conclusion is based on the particular source situation for this Mass alone. And once again the conclusion receives strong support as soon as we look for similar cases elsewhere. Some of the clearest parallels can be found in the works of Jacob Obrecht: in the Masses *O lumen ecclesie* and *Sicut spina rosam* and the motet *Mille quingentis* there is firm source evidence that quotations of the cantus firmus outside the tenor (especially in antiphonally responding duos, and chant-based points of imitation) were sung to the actual words of

[35] The same conclusion was reached by Curtis, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 5557," 78–80.

[36] West, *Textual Criticism*, 53.

[37] For this reason it seems unlikely that Dufay originally underlaid the bass of *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* with chant text throughout, as Curtis suggests ("Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 5557," 84–85). Not only is this hypothesis not supported by any of the surviving sources, but there are no musical chant quotations in the bass. The underlay of the *Ecce ancilla* bass in Brussels is exactly as we might have expected in a reliable copy of a Dufay Mass: Mass text incipits are given at the beginnings of all movements and sections.

the chant.[38] These works admittedly postdate Dufay's Mass by at least ten years, yet there are other parallels nearer his own time. The anonymous *Missa Regina celi* in TrentC 91, for instance, is a virtual twin of Dufay's late Masses in terms of structure and cantus firmus treatment.[39] The tenor is consistently underlaid with the chant text, and chant incipits are found also in the other voices when they are involved in points of imitation based on the antiphon (Agnus Dei II). The close similarities between these points of imitation and those discussed under (2) and (5) above might suggest that the latter, too, involved chant text underlay outside the tenor.

Having established what was probably Dufay's original underlay, we can now also identify the two main causes for the disagreement between the surviving sources. First, there was very little Mass text underlay in the bass that could simply be copied from the autograph, since the composer provided mainly incipits. Second, no scribe was particularly concerned to copy the chant text in tenor and bass faithfully. Insofar as scribes added detailed Mass underlay in either case, they inevitably ended up disagreeing with each other. Brussels emerges once again as the most authoritative source, transmitting the largest number of *lectiones difficiliores*. Yet even here the chant text is rarely given in full, as was almost certainly the case in Dufay's original. Brussels is followed this time not by Modena but San Pietro; Modena and Poznań end up as the least authoritative sources.

Problem Areas in the Original

Different modern editions of the same mensural composition generally show greatest disagreement in the areas that we today perceive as problematic: musica ficta, text underlay, and the extent to which transcriptions should be made to appear "original" (note-shapes, barlines, clefs). Anyone not familiar with the sources would be able to tell from these disagreements alone that we have problems, what they are, and what the sources must look like for our problems to have arisen. In the same way it should be possible to tell from disagreements between the sources themselves whether contemporary scribes perceived any problems in the original. Such areas of disagreement merit special interest, for they may reveal underlying

[38] Cf. B. Hudson, "On the Texting of Obrecht's Masses," *Musica disciplina* XLII (1988), 101–27, and C. J. Maas, gen.ed., *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 8 (Utrecht 1988), xii and 32–35, and vol. 11 (Utrecht 1990), xxxix–xl, 97–98, 108–09, 111, and 121–23.

[39] The Mass survives uniquely in TrentC 91, fols. 25r–33r; no published transcriptions are to my knowledge available.

assumptions in the autograph that were not generally shared outside Dufay's circle.

The general tendency for fifteenth-century scribes was to turn Masses into neutral "all-purpose" settings that could be used any day. From this axiom it is possible to derive two working assumptions. First, the more revision this required, the more likely it is that a work was written for a specific context or purpose. Second, the more a particular feature was affected by revision, the more it must have made the work specific to that context or purpose. The original readings, in such cases, should not just be taken for granted: to acknowledge their "problematic" nature is to recognize clues that may ultimately lead us into the composer's direct environment.

In the present case there are two areas of far-reaching disagreement: the format of the Kyrie, and the use of chant text in the tenor and bass. Neither may strike *us* as particularly problematic: in both cases we would probably respect the original in our editions (whatever reading it gave), just as we do *not* respect the original in areas where we do perceive problems. Yet this merely underlines what has been said earlier, namely that as editors we are different from fifteenth-century scribes only in that our preoccupations are different. As textual critics it is our duty to rid the original from all preoccupations that are not the composer's, and to uncover and understand the underlying assumptions that became problems in transmission.

Although the four sources give us by and large the same music for the Kyrie, they do not fully agree on a single formal feature of the movement. Brussels transmits seven sections (labeled A–G in the Besseler edition). Modena omits one (F), while San Pietro joins them together to form three larger sections, in what was evidently an attempt to "normalize" the Kyrie (AB / CD / EFG). Poznań gives the sections in a different order from the other manuscripts, thus distorting the original cursus of the cantus firmus (A B E / D C / F G).[40] Brussels indicates two internal repeats which cause similar distortion, since both of the repeated sections are based on chant (A B A / C D C / E F G). But for this unique repeat scheme, the Brussels reading appears to be the best attested: the division into sections is supported by Poznań and Modena, the order of those sections by Modena and San Pietro, and the inclusion of section F by San Pietro and Poznań. Internal evidence confirms that each of these features is likely to go

[40] There is no evidence in this source that section D was repeated, nor that the second Kyrie consisted of three sections, as Perz assumes ("The Lvov Fragments," 31). It is true that section C is identified as "Christe secundum," and section G as "Kyrie ultimum," but in neither case can we conclude that there was a repeat scheme to ensure polyphonic performance of all three invocations.

back to the original. Table 5 shows that the Kyrie as transmitted in Brussels (but without the repeats) has a layout which closely parallels that of the Gloria. (The Credo layout similarly parallels that of the Sanctus, while the Agnus Dei is anomalous.)

The repeat scheme might be regarded as a *lectio difficilior*, but it fails to meet the criterion of plausibility: the table shows that it would distort not just the integrity of the cantus firmus, but also the parallelism between Kyrie and Gloria. The more plausible assumption seems that the scheme represented an attempt to make practical sense of a highly unusual Kyrie, just as the revisions in Poznań, Modena and San Pietro must represent such attempts. The movement may well have consisted of seven sections (A B / C D / E F G), a possibility which has the merit of internal musical consistency as well as reasonably firm attestation. In that case we would have to assume partial alternatim performance (A × B / C × D / E F G; the omission of section F in Modena could then be explained as an attempt to make full alternatim performance possible).

It seems significant that four early sources which are in unusual agreement over orthographic details should disagree so much over the format of the Kyrie. Although Dufay's original, for that very reason, can be reconstructed only by conjecture, we can tell from this discrepancy alone that his reading created problems almost immediately in transmission. No scribe could make complete sense of the movement in terms of his own, everyday musical practice. Yet the Kyrie *must* have made sense, at some point, in a certain context, which the original evidently presupposed. That sense is now lost, but we can say at least one thing about it. The earlier the surviving sources are, and the closer they appear to be to the original in other respects, the more this "lost sense" must have been specific to Dufay's direct environment and, indeed, the narrower the context for which he must have composed the setting. No doubt the unique format of the Kyrie was dictated by a specific occasion or purpose.

The second area of far-reaching disagreement concerns the use of chant text in the tenor and bass. Here, as said earlier, the picture ranges from extensive omission (Brussels) and partial substitution by Mass text (San Pietro) to full substitution (Poznań and, with minor exceptions, Modena).[41] No source gives all the words of the antiphon in all the relevant places, and consequently there is only one brief passage in the whole Mass where chant text is the majority reading

[41] In this order the various parts of the picture may well represent successive stages of revision: partial omission being followed first by partial substitution, and then by full substitution. For "stemmas" of individual variants, see West, *Textual Criticism*, 52–53.

TABLE 5

Structural parallels between the Kyrie and Gloria of Guillaume Dufay, *Missa Ave regina celorum,* as transmitted in BrusBR 5557.

Chant section		Kyrie			Gloria	
Ave regina	O	A	FULL	Kyrie	FULL	Et in terra
Ave Domina		B	duo	Kyrie	duo	Gratias agimus
Salve radix	C	C	FULL	Christe	FULL	Domine Deus rex
–		D	duo	Christe	duo	Domine Deus agnus
Gaude gloriosa	O	E	FULL	Kyrie	FULL	Qui tollis
–		F	duo	Kyrie	– –	
Vale valde		G	FULL	Kyrie	FULL	Qui sedes

(opening of the Sanctus). Given that the sources are at the same time in close agreement over the Mass text (particularly in the top voices), the virtual lack of consensus over chant text is surely significant. Like modern editors, fifteenth-century scribes must have had clear views on what was and was not worth retaining in their copies: Mass text was, but chant text was not (although the occasional word or two was allowed to slip through even in Modena). With respect to these views, paradoxically, the four sources *do* agree—against Dufay himself.

Of course there are several dozen fifteenth-century masses in which chant text underlay similarly became an area of disagreement in transmission, particularly when Italian sources were involved. Against this background it might seem attractive to attribute the whole problem simply to local differences in performance practice. Yet this would not explain why even the Brussels version—which is very early, most authoritative, and no doubt of pure Northern French lineage—shows significantly less zeal in copying the chant text than the Mass text. If the differentiation was made even there, and quite possibly in its exemplar, can we be at all sure that the underlying assumptions in the autograph were fully shared anywhere outside Cambrai? It depends, of course, on what those assumptions were. Here, textual criticism is powerless to help us any further. It has yielded evidence on the original and its early reception, but explanations for that evidence will now have to come from elsewhere.

Miserere supplicanti . . .

The most probable assumption underlying the use of chant text is also the obvious one: that the setting was closely

associated with a Marian celebration. The texts which established that association may well have been maintained for some time in transmission (polyphonic Masses for the Virgin being sung throughout Europe), yet any decision anywhere to use the work in a different context must have made it necessary to add Mass underlay as an alternative (if only the odd incipit here and there). Indeed the mere awareness that such underlay might become necessary at some point could already have affected the copying of chant text. The Brussels scribe, for instance, cut down the text to incipits in all movements except the Et ascendit. Large stretches of the tenor and bass thus remained untexted. Had Mass text been filled in here (as in the two Osannas), subsequent copies would probably have looked somewhat like San Pietro.[42] At a still later stage, of course, the few stray incipits that remained would be removed altogether (as in Modena and Poznań).

In this interpretation, paradoxically, the omission and substitution of chant text would have been inspired by the same respect for liturgical propriety that motivated Dufay to include it in the first place: if you sing the words, then do so in the appropriate liturgical context; if you wish to perform the Mass in a different context, then don't sing them. No difference in attitude or performance practice would thus have to be postulated between Dufay and the scribes of the surviving manuscripts. (This should necessarily go both ways. That is, Dufay himself should have approved of chant text omission in, say, English Masses if he could not sing the words with a clear liturgical conscience either.)

This interpretation is incompatible with Alejandro Planchart's suggestion that Dufay composed *Missa Ave regina celorum* for the dedication of the Cathedral of Our Lady at Cambrai, on 5 July 1472.[43] Since this event did not take place on a Marian feast, and since the Dedicatio Ecclesiae liturgy has no Marian connotations, the liturgical association made explicit by the antiphon text would have been so loose to begin with that it could hardly have been a reason for omission or substitution at all. This point could perhaps be answered with the assumption that in many places it may not have been customary to sing chant texts in the Mass, no matter how liturgically non-restrictive the composer had intended them to be. In that case, however, a phenomenon such as *partial* omission, as in the Brussels manuscript,

[42] Since the Brussels scribe was meticulous with regard to the underlay of the top voices, I believe we must assume some such policy as this to account for the surprisingly sketchy underlay of the tenor.

[43] A. E. Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions," *The Musical Quarterly* LVIII (1972), 21–22.

would remain inexplicable, except as sheer carelessness or indifference (which, in the case of the Brussels scribe, is immediately contradicted by his meticulous texting of the top parts).

There is a further problem with the dedication hypothesis, namely that Dufay provided several different performance options for the Kyrie. (The sources largely agree on this.) Section B can be sung in three ways: as a tenor–top–voice duo, as a trio with an added "concordans primus," or as a quartet with a further "concordans secundus." Section D similarly can be sung in three ways: as a duo between top voice and "concordans sine fuga," as a duo between top voice and its canonic *comes*, or as a canonic duo with added "concordans cum fuga." The duo section F, finally, can be performed either as it stands, or with an optional "concordans si placet." In theory, then, there are eighteen different ways of singing the Kyrie ($3 \times 3 \times 2$). It would appear from this that Dufay envisaged or intended performance on more than one occasion.[44] This conflicts with the dedication hypothesis, as pointed out by David Fallows,[45] but fits well with the assumption of a strictly Marian context: Lady Masses, whether with or without polyphony, could be sung on a daily, weekly or annual basis. An example of such a context in Cambrai Cathedral has been discovered by Craig Wright: an endowment made by Abbot Jean d'Anchin called for a polyphonic Marian Mass to be sung after Matins in the chapel of Notre Dame des Fiertes. The Mass was to be first performed on Saturday 14 May 1457, and was to be sung thereafter on all Saturdays and on the principal Marian feasts in perpetuity.[46] In the same chapel, incidentally, the *petits vicaires* (singer-clerks) alone had to sing "une messe solemnelle" on Mondays after Marian Matins.[47] This was not explicitly a Marian (or even a polyphonic) Mass, yet it is intriguing to note Barbara Haggh's observation that the antiphon *Ave regina celorum* was assigned to Mondays at Cambrai Cathedral (and, it seems, there alone).[48]

[44] Not that this explains *why* he provided so many options, and why only in the Kyrie, for surely most Masses of the time were written for regular performance. In almost every way Dufay's Kyrie departs from the standard Continental format; something in the nature of the Mass's purpose or occasion might well account for this.

[45] *Dufay*, 213.

[46] The Mass was to be sung in discant by the master, the choirboys, and two contratenors; see C. Wright, "Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai 1475–1500," *The Musical Quarterly* LXIV (1978), 301.

[47] Ibid.

[48] B. Haggh, "Evidence for the Ownership and Use of Liturgical Books at Cambrai Cathedral," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society (AMS), Oakland, November 1990. I am grateful to Barbara Haggh for allowing me to consult this and other unpublished papers on the liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral.

These are contexts in which it might well have been considered appropriate to sing Dufay's Mass, yet it is far from obvious that the work was also written for these contexts. A further circumstance makes this, in fact, unlikely. It is the close connection with the composer's motet *Ave regina celorum,* which can be heard in numerous musical echoes throughout the Mass,[49] and is made explicit in the "miserere supplicanti Dufay" quotation in the second Agnus Dei. Whatever Dufay's reasons for incorporating these personal elements, they obviously made the work unsuitable for any occasion that was not explicitly concerned with himself as a historical figure, and would have had to be suppressed if their personal nature was too well known. It is here, incidentally, that the dedication hypothesis also breaks down. On no public occasion, certainly not such a festive one as the consecration of a church, could it have been remotely appropriate for the composer to insert a personal musical prayer inspired by illness and the expectation of death. Although we cannot rule out that the Mass was *used* for the consecration (after all, the wide transmission suggests that it was used in hundreds of other contexts), it seems unlikely that it was also *intended* for the event.

This leaves us with only one hypothesis, advanced by Reinhard Strohm in 1984: that Dufay wrote *Missa Ave regina celorum* as a memorial Mass, endowed by himself.[50] In 1471–2 the fabric accounts of Cambrai Cathedral record for the first time a payment in connection with an annual Marian Mass endowed by Dufay.[51] This endowment is described in the church's obituary as follows:[52]

> On the 5th of August, when the solemn feast of Saint Mary of the Snow is celebrated, will be sung a solemn Mass of the same Blessed Virgin Mary for Magister Guillermus Du Fay, canon and priest, throughout his lifetime, and after his death an obit, with 12 *livres* of Tours to be distributed in the manner as described in the Mass of the chapter Dean.

[49] Noted by Fallows, *Dufay,* 210–11.

[50] Strohm first announced his hypothesis in the discussion following Flynn Warmington's paper " 'A Very Fine Troop of Bastards'? Provenance, Date, and Busnois's Role in Brussels 5557" at the annual meeting of the AMS in Philadelphia, 1984. Barbara Haggh elaborated the hypothesis in the context of the history of the late-Medieval obituary, and its bearing on music ("The Medieval Obituary and the Rise of Sacred Polyphony in the Low Countries," paper read at the annual meeting of the AMS at New Orleans, 1987). The full case is stated by Strohm in his recently published book, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500,* Chapter III, 1. I am most indebted to Professors Strohm and Haggh for generously sharing their unpublished material with me.

[51] Haggh, "Evidence for the Ownership and Use of Liturgical Books."

[52] The endowment text was discovered independently by Bonnie Blackburn in 1969 and Reinhard Strohm in 1982. Planchart (acknowledging Strohm) published the text in "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices," 122. Reinhard Strohm kindly allowed me to cite his translation of the document (*The Rise of European Music,* Chapter III, 1).

What Dufay endowed was an annual Marian Mass *for himself* on 5 August. After his death this Mass was to be replaced by an obit, that is, a Requiem Mass and Office for his commemoration. If we assume that *Missa Ave regina celorum* was composed for the endowment, as Strohm has proposed, then this could explain its outspoken Marian and personal nature, as well as the explicit concern with the safety of Dufay's soul. It would also explain why *Missa Ave regina celorum* was among the music sent to Charles the Bold after the composer's death (whereas two other choirbooks were left to the chapel of St. Stephen, for perpetual use in his memory):[53] after Dufay had died, the Marian Mass was to be replaced by a Requiem Mass (which is surely why "he did not let it out during his lifetime"), and consequently there was no reason to keep the master copy any longer at Cambrai. (The Cathedral did, however, possess its own copy of the mass, written in 1473–4, which could still be used in other contexts; see below.) The endowment does not specify whether the Marian Mass was to be sung in plainchant or polyphony: here the hypothesis must simply assume that the latter was the case. We must also assume that the liturgy of the occasion could in some way account for the highly unusual format of the Kyrie. These are loose ends, but effectively they have the nature of predictions, suggesting lines of research that could eventually lead to confirmation or refutation (e.g., the size of the endowment, or the liturgy for Our Lady of Snows).

There is a further detail for which the hypothesis provides a satisfactory explanation: it concerns the transmission of the "miserere supplicanti Dufay" passage in the second Agnus Dei. Unfortunately this section survives only in two sources, Brussels and Modena. (In Poznań and San Pietro the relevant folios are lost.) In Modena the music was copied down straightforwardly, but ultra-violet inspection of the Brussels copy reveals puzzling signs of alteration. Example 1 shows that originally the quotation ran no further than the G cadence at which, in the motet, the top voice and contratenor have finished singing the words "miserere miserere supplicanti." This cadence ended with longas in all three voices, followed by a double bar. What was lacking were the subsequent five bars connected to the word "Dufay."[54] Only later were the longas and double bars wiped out and

[53] See note 2 above.

[54] It is true that "du Fay" is not transmitted until two bars after the cadence (see Example 1c), but the cadence is the only possible cut-off point between "supplicanti" and the composer's name. The meaning of the curious triple-dot symbols (⁖) in the antepenultimate bar of the Brussels version is unclear. It is unlikely that they denote fermatas, for the Brussels scribe employs conventional fermata signs elsewhere in the Mass. Bonnie Blackburn pointed out to me that similar triple-dot symbols are found in the Brussels copy of *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini*, Agnus Dei I, bar 30 (fols. 59v–60r).

the five bars added (for which it was even necessary to use up space left open for the bass initial).

The curious omission of the composer's "name" in the Brussels manuscript (or rather, its exemplar) would seem inexplicable except as a conscious suppression similar to that of chant text. Just as in the latter case, the underlying assumption of the autograph would have been understood but not shared, that is, the omission of the passage would have been inspired by the same concern for liturgical propriety which had motivated its inclusion. But understanding the underlying assumption in this case, is more than the mere knowledge that Dufay is quoting from one of his motets. (Particularly since the interpolated texts in *Ave regina celorum* are likely to have been removed in many places, thus making such understanding impossible.) Surely it is the knowledge why and for what purpose Dufay had made the quotations.

These considerations lead us directly into Dufay's immediate circle, more particularly that of the Cambrai *petits vicaires*. They must have been the first to sing the motet *Ave regina celorum* in the early 1460s, and they, too, would have had to sing the Mass of that title annually if it had been written for the composer's endowment. The *petits vicaires,* then, would have felt most keenly that a distinction needed to be made between performance "pro magistro Guillermo Du Fay" on one day, and performance in a different liturgical context on another. Consequently, if they decided to use the setting, for instance, as the Saturday or Monday Mass in the chapel of Notre Dame des Fiertes, or even for the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral, it would have been necessary to omit the most explicit personal element ("Dufay"), even though the chant texts could remain.

It is exactly this situation which is reflected in the Brussels version, at least *ante correctionem*. The assumption that this version descended ultimately from a revised copy of the autograph, written at Cambrai, is compatible with its otherwise authoritative nature. Outside Cambrai, of course, the quotation must have seemed comparatively harmless, even in centers where the original motet was available, with or

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Here they clearly indicate the possibility of singing this section, first, as an Agnus Dei I up to the half-cadence in bar 30, and finally as an Agnus Dei III through to the full cadence in bar 33: in the top voice the underlay for Agnus Dei I ends in bar 30 under the note marked ∴ ("nobis") while the parallel underlay for Agnus Dei III continues beyond that note ("pacem"). (In the contratenor both texts continue until bar 33.) Since the triple-dot signs in *Ave regina celorum* are also placed over a half-cadence, the possibility of alternative performance options may be suspected here as well, yet the underlay provides no clues as to what those options might have been. To make matters more complicated, the Mass's final Agnus Dei was initially underlaid "miserere nobis" in BrusBR 5557 (top voice, fol. 120v), to which was added later "dona nobis pacem."

without the interpolated prayers. From this point of view the presence of the "Dufay" passage in the Modena manuscript (which seems to indicate that this source ultimately derives from a different exemplar than Brussels) would seem to demand no explanation, nor its reinstatement in the Burgundian choirbook. We do not even need to look far for a possible source for the Brussels correction: it was most probably Dufay's autograph, brought to Charles the Bold in July 1475.

With this we have come full circle. The autograph that Duke Charles received at Doullens has not survived, and the Brussels fascicle was almost certainly not copied from it. All we have now are the reflections of four contemporary mirrors, each with its own peculiar distortions. The combined image has to be cleaned up and enhanced, and in the process of doing so we can learn what the autograph alone could never have told us: that several elements in the musical text were seen by contemporaries to obstruct performance in a "neutral" context, to carry obstructive *meaning*. These elements were personal and Marian, and both were suppressed at different times and in different places. For that very reason we have concluded that the occasion for the Mass must have been specifically personal and Marian. Only one occasion fits the description: it is the Marian Mass endowed by Dufay himself, probably in 1471–72.

Afterword

In trying to dissociate textual criticism from music editing, I have placed a strong emphasis on "the composer's original" as the ultimate aim and touchstone of this enquiry. There are good reasons why such emphasis is necessary. Modern editors often claim to present texts as close as possible to the original, yet in fact there exists *no* critical edition of fifteenth-century polyphony which even in layout resembles what the composer could plausibly have written down. When modern editorial conventions are so little recognized for the substantial corruptions they are, it seems necessary to insist on a more literal understanding of "the composer's original." Throughout this article, therefore, I have aimed to recover the musical text exactly as it might have looked on Dufay's desk.

Yet there are problems with this approach, too, and it is only fair to point out what they are, and how they affect this enquiry. I have postulated the existence of a single autograph copy in which Dufay recorded his definitive conception of *Missa Ave regina celorum*, and which served as the exemplar for all subsequent copies. Yet of course it is quite possible that the composer changed his mind about the final

shape of his work, and this perhaps more than once. It cannot be ruled out, for instance, that his original went through various stages of revision, or even that he wrote several different autograph versions—each stage or version having an equal claim to being "original" and to having served as an exemplar for subsequent copies. Textual criticism operates on the assumption that all variation between surviving copies is due to scribal involvement. Yet if we allow that some of the variation might go back to the composer himself, the line between authorial "second thoughts" and scribal "corruptions" may become hard to draw. And if we allow that perhaps the composer produced several autograph copies instead of one definitive master, the distinction between "authorial" and "scribal" may become problematic even in his own activities.

Such doubts may seem academic in the present case, since the difference basically comes down to which of two working hypotheses we adopt: that of a single "α," or that of a series "$\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3 \ldots \alpha_n$." For the purposes of our enquiry it has seemed sensible to operate on one hypothesis, the single "α," until evidence for the other emerges. The problem, however, is not heuristic but conceptual. In postulating the existence of a single "α" and making it the object of our enquiry, we may tend to ascribe qualities to this copy which it need not realistically have possessed. Ideally, from the viewpoint of textual criticism, composer's originals are definitive, final and authoritative. In seeking to reconstruct versions which might have possessed those qualities, and can be so advertised, textual criticism passes over the question whether the need to locate "finality" and "authority" in a single version is perhaps not more typical of the modern period than Dufay's time.

This becomes painfully obvious in those cases where the elusive "α" has in fact survived, and turns out to have none of the expected qualities—whether it reaches us in the form of multiple sketches, autograph copies, authorized prints, or revised second editions.[55] The diversity of authorial versions is often bewildering, and may in itself require stemmatic analysis. Such cases demonstrate that the connection between textual criticism and music editing is much more fundamentally problematic than suggested above. For the editorial project still demands that one version be selected in preference to others, that it be presented as in some way more authoritative and final, and textual criticism, as an editorial tool, is expected to identify that version. In response to the demand, many textual critics have postulated the notion of "final authorial intentions," and the question

[55] For what follows, see McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*.

how and where these should be located has engendered considerable debate. Yet whether the terms of such debate are always likely be appropriate to the musical culture in question is another matter.

By itself textual criticism may be a fairly neutral way of analyzing textual traditions. Yet in the editorial project its methods can be made to serve some deeply problematic assumptions about the way musical cultures operate. For instance, the conventional distinction between "edition" and "critical apparatus" (and particularly the difference in emphasis between them) betrays heavily author- and work-centered views, which may be quite inappropriate for musical cultures innocent of such views.[56] They cannot do justice, for instance, to historical periods in which not the fixity of texts but their interpretive potential was central, where interpretative authority resided in performance traditions not the composer, and where the distinctions between authorial and scribal revisions or recompositions were consequently irrelevant. To edit a "definitive original," in such cases, is to project an interpretation onto those periods which may well prejudice subsequent historical research based on the edition.[57]

Moreover, in the emphasis on "the composer's original" one can detect a profoundly unhistorical mode of thinking. It shows that the editor's aim is in fact to undo the course of history—at least for those works that survive in enough copies to tell us how that course evolved. What he hopes to establish in the edition is, above all, aesthetic permanence: historical change is to be reversed if scribal, arrested if authorial, and forestalled if editorial. The "original version" is thus recovered from the maelstrom of history and given another chance to speak for itself—this time to an age more inclined to regard it as authoritative and autonomous.[58] Far from avoiding anachronism, then, the critical editor gives fifteenth-century composers the reception they never received in history—and may not, in fact, have solicited.

[56] It hardly needs pointing out that "work" and "author" have become deeply problematic concepts in contemporary literary criticism, and that the postmodern age is seen to move away from the centrality of these notions, placing new emphasis on the role of the reader in the production of meaning. See the seminal essays by Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," and Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," both printed in David Lodge, ed., *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London and New York, 1988), 166–72 and 196–210.

[57] Herein lies a potent counter-argument to the oft-repeated claim that editing and textual-criticism are quintessentially positivistic activities, concerned only with establishing objective facts, and avoiding the responsibility of critical interpretation. Modern editions are in fact so deeply involved in interpretation that it is fair to call them ideological products. However, this will not be obvious if one accepts their particular ideology as self-evident truth (for instance, by insisting on their objectivity).

[58] The tension between the aesthetic and historical dimensions of musical works is, of course, fundamental to the study of music history. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History* (Cambridge, 1983), 19–33.

These circumstances may account for several paradoxes that have emerged from this study. I have set out to reconstruct Dufay's "lost original" from the four surviving copies of *Missa Ave regina celorum,* and so this exercise might have seemed superfluous if that original had in fact survived. And yet, in the process of reconstructing it we have learned several things about the meaning and significance of Dufay's work which the autograph alone could never have told us. It seems as if we *need* to see his work in the mirrors of contemporary reception in order to know what was special about it, what Dufay's intentions and habits might have been, what his contemporaries' intentions and habits were, and what they perceived as valuable or dispensable about his work. Far from merely recovering an original, textual criticism offers the tools to analyze a textual tradition, and thereby to obtain an image of a musical culture at work. Far from necessarily locating all relevant meaning in the autograph copy, textual criticism allows us to study the cultural proliferation of meanings, and thereby to qualify the historical status of that copy—which the editorial project simply takes for granted.

A similar paradox has arisen with respect to the Brussels version of Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini.* I have suggested that this could well be a transcript from the composer's autograph, yet I did so not on the basis of its own textual tradition (there is only one copy in VatS 14), but that of *Ave regina celorum.* It is from the reflections of the four contemporary mirrors that criteria for "authenticity" in Dufay's late period could be distilled, and then applied to a different textual situation. At first sight it might seem exciting to have a copy which is so close to the author; indeed it might seem even more exciting if that copy was in fact his autograph (as Jaap van Benthem and Barbara Haggh have recently speculated). Yet from the historical point of view, the textual tradition of *Ave regina celorum*—although more corrupt and diverse—is by far the more interesting and informative.

The third paradox offers perhaps the most powerful challenge to the assumptions underlying the critical edition. It is that Dufay himself was probably much less concerned about the authoritative status of his autograph (and consequently about the terms on which his music was to be received) than the editorial project presupposes. First, within the specific context of the Marian Mass endowment, any "original" intentions he might have had with respect to the performance of *Missa Ave regina celorum* would cease to be binding after his death, since the Mass was then to be replaced by a Requiem. Second, he destined his autograph for the Burgundian court, and so must have endorsed continued performance outside its original votive context, knowing that this might involve substantial alterations. Third, he may

have done so already during his lifetime. For if, as I have argued, the *petits-vicaires* of Cambrai deleted his "name" from their copy of the Mass, then surely Dufay, as resident canon of the cathedral and author of the work, would have had the authority to prohibit the deletion—whereas in fact it ended up being copied in a Burgundian court manuscript. Paradoxically, then, of all authorial intentions that Dufay might have regarded as final, the insistence on "final intentions" as the ultimate criterion of textual authority could hardly have been the most important.

It might seem from these and previous observations that no scholarly activity could be more profoundly suspect than editing a fifteenth-century composition. Yet insofar as this article has been a critique of modern editions, it has sought to identify the assumptions that make them modern—for instance: that transcription and other editorial conventions do not affect the "substance" of the music, what the substance is, that the first performance or version of a work has preference over later ones, and so on. There need not be a problem in making those assumptions, so long as we recognize them for what they are: editions are modern cultural products, and (if they are to be useful) must answer modern needs.[59] Throughout this article I have emphasized that modern editions are *convenient*—which is the best reason why they should be exactly as they are. They are not, however, "objective" or "authentic," and attempts to make them so (for instance, in diplomatic transcriptions) usually make them less convenient. Most important, if, as I have argued, Dufay's Mass reveals some of its meanings precisely in the "corruptions" of his contemporaries, then perhaps we should revalue our own historical role in the continued reception of his work. Our editorial corruptions, rather than violating the perceived aesthetic integrity of the setting, may be the chief contributions of our time to its realizing that integrity in the course of history.

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[59] This, indeed, has been the general drift of most recent critiques of modern editorial practice, in music as well as literature. See McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 111–23, and Bent, "Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation."