

Concerning the Liturgical Usage of Dufay's Fragmentary Masses*

By Lia Laor

The early liturgical work of Guillaume Dufay includes, among other compositions, twenty-eight fragmentary settings—single movements, pairs, and two *missae breves*—of the ordinary of the Mass.¹ Most of these settings have been dated by Charles Hamm as far back as the 1430s; some, however, were composed later.² It is well known that during this period Dufay also completed cycles of hymns and sequences for all the major feasts of the liturgical year. This paper is a preliminary attempt at identifying the liturgical usage of certain of those fragmentary mass settings by Dufay.

The liturgical usage of Dufay's fragmentary masses has been discussed by Heinrich Besseler, but there are certain limitations to his study. In his critical notes to the modern edition, Besseler identifies most of the chants intercalated into these pieces and he outlines their liturgical usage.³ Besseler, however, could not identify the usage of all the fragments, and his conclusions about the liturgical place of those identified may need revisions, for he relied upon a relatively modern chant source, the *Graduale Romanum*.⁴ According to the evidence of older chant sources, several chants may well have served different liturgical purposes than those assigned to them in modern collections.

In attempting to clarify the liturgical usage of Dufay's fragmentary masses according to the chants paraphrased in them, various studies of *ordinarium* chants have been examined by the author.⁵ In addition, the liturgical usages of the paraphrased chants as they appear in the *Graduale Romanum* (hereafter abbreviated *GR*) and in a Venetian gradual from the fifteenth century, the *Graduale Secundum morem Sancte Romane ecclesie* (hereafter abbreviated *GV*)⁶ have been compared. The author has also examined the content of the tropes paraphrased in the fragmentary masses, the rubrics of the various fragments as they appear in several manuscripts, and the liturgical context assigned to some of the movements in the Trent Codex, No. 92–I (hereafter abbreviated Tr. 92–I).

The chants paraphrased in sixteen of the movements and their probable liturgical usage, according to both the *GR* and *GV*, are presented in table 1. The numeration (using Arabic numerals in parentheses) of the movements to be used hereafter in both table and text is Besseler's from the *Dufay Opera Omnia*. Certain discrepancies between the two chant sources should be noted; for example, the chant melodies of Kyrie XIV and Gloria XIV, as they are numbered according to the *GR*, are numbered differently—as Kyrie 4 and Gloria 7—and given a different liturgical function in the *GV*. As mentioned already, Besseler identified these according to the *GR*.

Besseler also drew a tenuous relationship between Dufay's Sanctus (7),

TABLE I

Movement	Chant (<i>GR</i>)	Rubric	Chant (<i>GV</i>)	Rubric
Agnus Custos et Pastor	(7) IX	In festis B. Mariae Virginis I	—	—
Sanctus	(8) VIII	In festis duplicibus V.	4	In festis minoribus semiduplicibus
Agnus	(8) VIII	In festis duplicibus V.	—	—
Kyrie Pater Cuncta	(9) XII	In festis semiduplicibus I.	7	In festis maioribus simplicibus
Kyrie Cunclipotens Genitor	(10) IV	In festis duplicibus I.	2	In festis minoribus duplicibus
Kyrie Orbis Factor	(11) XI	In dominicis infra annum	5	In dominicis diebus
Kyrie Orbis Factor	(12) XI	In dominicis infra annum	5	In dominicis diebus
Kyrie Jesu Redemptor	(13) XIV	Infra octavas quae non sunt de B. Mariae Virgine	4	In festis minoribus semiduplicibus
Kyrie Cum Jubilu	(14) IX	In festis B. Mariae Virginis I	—	—
Kyrie Lux et Origo	(15) I	Tempore paschali	—	—
Kyrie fons Bonitatis	(16) II	In festis solemnibus I	1	In festis maioribus duplicibus
Kyrie fons Bonitatis	(17) II	In festis solemnibus I	1	In festis maioribus duplicibus

Gloria Spiritus et Alme	(24) IX	In festis B. Mariae Virginis I	—	—
Gloria In Dominicis	(25) XI	In dominicis infra annum	5	In dominicis diebus
Gloria In Galli Cantu	(26) XIV	Infra octavas quae non sunt de B. Mariae Virgine	7	In festis maioribus simplicibus
Gloria	(27) XV	In festis simplicibus	8	In festis minoribus simplicibus

NOTES

Arabic numerals in parentheses are Besseler's from the Dufay *Opera Omnia*.

GR = *Graduale Romanum*

GV = *Graduale Secundum morem Sancte Romane ecclesie* (Venice, 1499)

identified as “Papale” in Tr. 92–I, and Sanctus VIII of the *GR*.⁷ The association, implied by evidence from the *GR*, is again contradicted by the *GV*. Neither the musical relationship that Bessler suggests nor the liturgical context of the movement is clear. The text of the trope, “Ave verum corpus,” which is intercalated in Sanctus (7), suggests a place for this movement in the liturgical year: it was probably designated for Corpus Christi, a major rank feast. One must also consider the rubric “Papale” attached to this movement which implies that it was to be sung when the Pope himself participated and celebrated the mass in the most important feasts. Sanctus VIII, however, is designated for feasts of various ranks on the liturgical hierarchy, namely “festis duplicibus” (according to the *GR*) or “festis minoribus semiduplicibus” (according to the *GV*). Attributions suggested by tropes and rubrics will be discussed at greater length below.

One more paraphrased plainsong identified among the fragmentary masses might be added to the chants identified by Bessler. Cantus I of Gloria (5) resembles an Italian Gloria, No. 34 in Detlev Bosse’s collection (see example 1).⁸

I. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO

The image shows a musical score for a four-part setting of the Gloria. The parts are Cantus I, Cantus II, Contratenor, and Tenor. The lyrics are: "Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-". Above the Cantus I part, there are rhythmic markings: a plus sign (+) above the first measure, and groups of plus signs above subsequent measures: "+ + + + +", "+ + + + +", and "+ +". A measure rest symbol (5) is placed above the final measure of the Cantus I part. Below the main score, there is a single-line melodic line with the lyrics "Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus" written underneath it.

Example 1. Guillaume Dufay, “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” from a Gloria-Credo pair, Mass fragment no. 5, mm.1–6 (*Opera Omnia*, ed. H. Bessler, CMM 1, IV, 31); Gloria, no. 34, after Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien* (Regensburg, 1955), p. 95.

Table 2 lists the fragmentary masses that incorporated tropes. The trope texts suggest appropriate liturgical functions. The usage of the tropes intercalated in Sanctus (2), Credo (4), Sanctus (7), and Gloria (24) has already been identified in Chevalier’s *Repertorium hymnologicum*,⁹ the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*,^{10 11} and by Gustave Reese.¹² The liturgical context of Agnus (7) could not be identified according to its trope text.

The subject of the Gloria (4) trope is resurrection, and thus the fragment

might have been designated for Easter; an exact source for the trope has not been identified, however. Bessler assumes that the trope text “resurrexit dominus” is Dufay’s. He claims: “It seems that the trope is unknown elsewhere in exactly the form it takes up here, and so it may be that the text was written by Dufay himself or at least someone among his immediate circle.”¹³ Bessler’s attribution must be treated with care, for the trope to Gloria (4), “Resurrexit dominus et apparuit Petro,” appears in the communion for the Monday of Easter in the *Liber Usualis*, as “Surrexit dominus et apparuit Petro, Alleluia.”¹⁴ This contemporary source would apparently support the hypothesis that Gloria (4) is designated for Easter.

Table 3 lists rubrics of the fragmentary masses taken from various manuscripts; table 4 presents the liturgical contexts assigned to the various movements in Tr. 92–I. This data can be used to help determine their place in the liturgy. Each gathering of Tr. 92–I, suggests Tom Ward,¹⁵ seems to have been similar to the fascicle manuscript,¹⁶ so that the various compositions included in each gathering are related. Hence, the liturgical function of Dufay’s mass movements might be derived from the context of the gathering in which they appear. For example, the liturgical usage of Sanctus (6) (folio 6’–7’ in Tr. 92–I) might be considered related to the third mass of Christmas, as the introitus “Puer natus est nobis” suggests (see table 4).

The use of Kyrie (15) (folio 24) during Easter is suggested by its Paschal

TABLE 2

Movement	Trope	Feast
Sanctus (2)	“qui januas mortis”	Easter
Gloria (4)	“resurrexit dominus”	Easter
Credo (4)	“dic Maria”	Easter
Sanctus (7)	“Ave verum corpus”	Corpus Christi
Agnus (7)	“Custos et pastor”	—
Gloria (24)	“Spiritus et alme”	Marian feasts

rubric (see table 3) and confirmed by the liturgical context within which it appears in Tr. 92–I (see table 4): it was copied into the manuscript together with another Easter piece by Dufay, the sequence “Victime Paschali.” Kyrie (10) (folio 27) might be viewed as a Pentecost Kyrie, because the introitus “Spiritus domini” and the two settings of the hymn “Veni creator spiritus” are present in the same gathering. Kyrie (11) (folio 38’), as its rubric “in diebus dominicis” implies, might have been designated for Sundays throughout the year, or it might have been especially designated for Trinity Sunday, as the introitus, “Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas” implies.

Kyrie (14) and Gloria (24) are designated for the Marian feasts in the *GR* (see table 1). The fact that these movements are placed within the gathering

TABLE 3

Movement	Manuscript	Rubric
Sanctus (7)	Tr. 92, 213'–215	Papale
Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor (10)	Tr. 93	Solempne
Kyrie Orbis Factor (11)	Tr. 87, 94; Tr. 90, 81'–82; Tr. 93, 112'113; Em. 33'–34; Tr. 92, 38'	de Martiribus in diebus dominicis
Kyrie Orbis Factor (12)	BL, 126	in dominicis diebus
Kyrie Jesu Redemptor (13)	Tr. 87, 93; Tr. 87, 101'–102	de apostolis
Kyrie lux et origo (15)	Tr. 90, 75–75'; Tr. 93; 106–106', Em. 34'–35	Paschale
Kyrie Fons Bonitatis (16)	BL, 127; Tr. 90, 64'–65; Tr. 93; 93'–94; Em. 127'–128	fons bonitatis
Kyrie (18)	BL 128	in Semiduplicibus maioribus
Gloria In Quadragesima (23)	BL 190	de quaremiaux
Gloria in Galli Cantu (26)	Tr. 92, 149'–150	in galli cantu
Gloria (27)	Tr. 92, 150'–151	dominicale minus

TABLE 4

Movement	Context in Tr. 92–I	Feast
Sanctus (6)	“Puer natus et nobis”–introitus	Third Mass of Christmas
Kyrie (15)	“Victime Paschali”–sequence	Easter
Kyrie (10)	“Spiritus domini”–introitus; “Veni creator”–hymns	Pentecost
Kyrie (11)	“Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas”–introitus	Trinity Sunday
Kyrie (14)	Liebert Marian Masses	Marian Feasts
Gloria (24)	Liebert Marian Masses	Marian Feasts
Gloria (25)	“Asperges me”	Sunday
Gloria (5)	“In medio ecclesiae”–introitus	Common of Doctors

in Tr. 92–I that follows Liebert's Marian Mass supports this notion. The liturgical usage of Gloria (25) is suggested by the paraphrasing of Gloria XI "In dominicis" of the *GR* (see table 1). This function is confirmed by the "Asperges Me" (celebrated on Sundays only) which follows the Gloria (folio 91'–92) in the Trent codex. The introitus of the mass cycle in which Gloria (5) is placed in Tr. 92–I (folio 13'–15) is entitled "In medio ecclesiae," the designation for the Common of Doctors. The precise liturgical rank of this feast could not be determined since the identity of the specific saint for whom the mass was assembled is unknown.

The four tables discussed above are summarized in one table, table 5, which presents the liturgical usages of various movements according to the criteria used in the present study. The specific liturgical usage of seven of the mass fragments still awaits clarification, as they might be ascribed different liturgical functions according to various criteria (see table 5, the seven mass fragments marked by #, *, †, +, /, ‡, x).

Of these seven movements, Kyrie "Cunctipotens Genitor" (10), if judged by its liturgical context in Tr. 92–I, should serve as a Pentecost Kyrie. Its rubric (see table 3) supports this assumption. The paraphrased plainsong, however, indicates that this Kyrie is designated for a Duplex feast or a feast of lower rank (see table 1). These two assumptions would seem mutually exclusive, but the *Analecta hymnica* states that the trope "Cunctipotens Genitor" had various liturgical usages.¹⁷ Indeed, it might be used in feasts of various ranks, for example, in "festa duplicia et capitalia," "magnae sollempnitates," "duplicibus minoribus," "semiduplicibus."

According to Guido Adler, the rubric of Gloria (26), "In Galli Cantu," indicates that the piece was composed for the first mass of Christmas.¹⁸ Its paraphrased cantus, however, might indicate its usage to be in lower-rank feasts (see table 1). The possible attributions of the Kyrie "Orbis Factor" (11) have been discussed above. Kyrie "Jesu Redemptor" (13) is designated, according to its rubric, for the feasts of Apostles. The paraphrased chant, however, might indicate its usage to be in a lower-rank feast, i.e., "minoribus semi duplicibus" (see table 1).

Sanctus (7) is designated, according to its rubric (see table 3), for feasts in which the Pope participates. The liturgical context, however, might indicate its usage to be in Corpus Christi (see table 5). The intercalated "Qui Januas" trope in Sanctus (2) is an Easter prosula. Whether "Sanctus Vineux," which is also paraphrased in this movement, indicates a different liturgical usage is presently unknown.¹⁹

At this stage, it seems plausible to assume that Dufay's fragmentary masses are designated to cover many of the feasts of the liturgical year. Most of the movements can be matched to specific feasts. Furthermore, it is possible to note groups of movements designated for the same feast and composed in the same period. For example, it is clear from table 5 that Kyrie (14) and Gloria (24) were designated for performance at a Marian feast, and one can assume that both were written in the same period.

It must be noted that the rubrics and the place of the movements in Tr. 92-I should not be used as ultimate confirmation of the liturgical function.²⁰ The scribes responsible for the organization of the manuscript probably added the rubrics.²¹ Hence, these criteria should be used only to support other findings. The results of the present study may be viewed only as preliminary assumptions to be tested by a broader study into the specific liturgical sources and traditions used by Dufay.

TABLE 5
THE LITURGICAL USAGE OF DUFAY'S
FRAGMENTARY MASSES

Feast	Movement	Criteria	Dating
Christmas—3rd Mass.	Sanctus (6)	Tr. 92	1433–1445
Christmas—1st Mass.	#Gloria in Galli Cantu (26)	Rubric	1433–1435
Lent	Gloria in Quad- ragesima (23)	Rubric	1433–1445
Easter	Kyrie Lux et Origo (15)	c.f.; Rubric	1433–1435
	†Sanctus (2)	trope	1415–1423
	Gloria—Credo (4)	trope	1415–1425
Pentecost	*Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor (10)	Tr. 92	1433–1435
Trinity Sunday	*Kyrie Orbis Factor (11)	Tr. 92	1433–1435
Corpus Christi	∕Sanctus (7)	trope	1433–1445
In Festis Solemnibus	Kyrie Fons Bonitatis (16; 17)	c.f.; Rubric	1433–1435
In Festis Duplicibus	*Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor (10)	c.f.	1433–1435
	+Sanctus (8)	c.f. (GR)	1433–1445
	Agnus (8)	c.f.	1433–1445
In Festis Semidupli- cibus Maioribus	Kyrie (18)	Rubric	1433–1455
In Festis Semidupli- cibus Minoribus	+Sanctus (8)	c.f. (GV)	1433–1445
	‡Kyrie Jesu Redemptor (13)	c.f.	1433–1435
In Dominicis Diebus (from Trinity Sunday up to Advent)	*Kyrie Orbis Factor (11)	c.f., Rubric	1433–1435
	Kyrie Orbis Factor (12)	c.f., Rubric	1433–1455
	Gloria in Dominicis (25)	c.f.	1433–1435

In festis simplicibus	Kyrie Pater Cuncta (9)	c.f.	1433–1435
	#Gloria in Galli	c.f.	1433–1435
	Cantu (26)		
	Gloria (27)	c.f.; Rubric	1433–1445
Marian Feasts	Kyrie Cum Jubilo (14)	c.f.; Tr. 92; Trope	1433–1435
	Gloria (24)	c.f.; Tr. 92; Trope	1433–1435
	Agnus (7)	c.f.	1433–1445
de apostolis	‡Kyrie Jesu	Rubric	1433–1435
	Redemptor (13)		
de martiribus	*Kyrie Orbis Factor (11)	Rubric	1433–1435
Masses in Presence of the Pope	/Sanctus (7)	Rubric	1433–1445

Note: The liturgical usage of the seven Mass fragments marked by #, *, †, x, +, /, ‡, still awaits clarification.

NOTES

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¹ Guillaume Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Heinrich Bessler, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vol. 4, *Fragmenta Missarum* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962).

² For the dating of Dufay's fragmentary masses see Charles Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 166–68. David Fallows, in his recent study *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982, pp. 174–78), disagrees with Hamm on the dating of some of the movements. From our perspective, which concerns the liturgical usage rather than the exact dating of the works, this specific disagreement might be deemed a minor one.

³ Dufay, *Fragmenta Missarum*, I–XXXII.

⁴ *Graduale Romanum*, Desclee No. 696 (Paris, Tournai, and Rome, 1924).

⁵ Margareta Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (München: Dissertation der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich Alexander Universität, 1954); Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum "Gloria in Excelsis Deo"* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1955); Peter Joseph Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (München: Walter Rieke, 1962,); John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

⁶ *Graduale secundum morem Sancte Romane ecclesie*, published by Antonious de Giunta (Venice, 1499).

⁷ Dufay, *Fragmenta Missarum*, XX.

⁸ Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1955), 95. Since the source (Molfetta Bibl. Cap. s.n.) was not available to me, I could not examine the liturgical usage of this Gloria.

⁹ For Sanctus trope, "qui januas mortis": Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum* (Louvain: Imprimerie Levever, 1879), vol. 2, No. 16434; cited also in Craig Wright, "A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-Century Music in Dijon," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27(1974): 307.

¹⁰ For Credo 4 trope, "dic Maria": G. M. Dreves, C. Blume, and H. M. Bannister, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (Liepzig: O. R. Reisland, 1905), 54: 366.

¹¹ For Sanctus 7 trope, "Ave verum corpus": *ibid.*, 257.

¹² For Gloria trope, "Spiritus et alme": Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), 60; idem, "The Polyphonic 'Missa de Beata Virgine' as a Genre: The Background of Josquin's Lady Mass," in *Josquin des Pres*, ed. E. E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

¹³ Dufay, *Fragmenta Missarum*, III.

¹⁴ *Liber Usualis*, ed. by the Benedictines of Solemnes (Tournai, 1963), 788.

¹⁵ Tom Ward, "The Structure of the Manuscript Trent 92-I," *Musica Disciplina* 29 (1975): 128.

¹⁶ Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962): 166.

¹⁷ Dreves, Blume, and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica*, 47: 52.

¹⁸ Guido Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1930), 302.

¹⁹ On Sanctus "Vineux", see Wright, "A Fragmentary Manuscript"; and David Fallows, "Dufay and Nourion de vineux: Some Detail and Thought," *Acta Musicologica* 48 (1976): 44.

²⁰ For the content of Tr. 92-I, see Ward, "The Structure of the Manuscript Trent 92-I," 129-33.

²¹ Edward Kovarik, "The Performance of Dufay's Paraphrase Kyries," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975): 235.