

Crusading to Pluralism: *L'homme armé* and *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* (1999)

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Alejandro Planchart's article of 2003, 'The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*,'¹ summarises and adds to the debate over a song which became the basis of a thriving religious tradition that began in the middle of the fifteenth century and spanned nearly two centuries. Approximately fifty extant musical settings of the Roman Catholic Mass have *L'homme armé* as their *cantus firmus*. The tradition and the song lay dormant for three centuries, yet have reappeared in the twentieth century.² Initially, the newer works simply drew upon the song's melody;³ however, in the final year of the century, a new Mass,

¹ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*,' *Journal of Musicology* 20.3 (2003): 306.

² Planchart, 'Origins and Early History' 306, notes that fifty Masses and several other works that employ the *L'homme armé* song are extant today. The last known work to use the melody before the twentieth century is a sixteen-voice arrangement of a twelve-voice Mass attributed by the arranger, Nicolò Stamegna (c. 1615–1685), to Giacomo Carissimi (c. 1605–1674). See David Fallows, 'L'homme armé,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, accessed 1 May 2008, <www.grovemusic.com>. There is some doubt as to whether Carissimi did write the Mass that inspired Stamegna's arrangement: see Andrew V. Jones, 'Carissimi, Giacomo: 3. Masses,' *Grove Music Online*, accessed 17 Mar. 2008.

³ Instrumental works that draw upon the *L'homme armé* theme include Poul Ruders's set of variations in *Bravour-Studien* for cello (1976) and Frederic Rzewski's *Piano Sonata* (1991). The *L'homme armé* melody is referred to in Peter Maxwell Davies's *Missa Super L'homme armé* of 1968 (revised 1971). Despite its title, this is not a musical Mass; rather it is a deconstructionist work that takes as its point of musical departure an incomplete Agnus Dei from an anonymous Renaissance Mass that utilises the *L'homme armé* melody. Davies does not set any part of the Christian liturgy; he sets sections of Luke 22 that speak of the betrayal of Christ. See Steve Sweeney-Turner, 'Resurrecting the Antichrist: Maxwell Davies and Parody—Dialectics or Deconstruction?' *Tempo* 191 (Dec. 1994): 19.

The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace, was created by the British composer Karl Jenkins (b. 1944).⁴ The first movement is a setting of the *L'homme armé* song.⁵

In utilising and adding to that portion of the existing *L'homme armé* scholarship that argues that the song may have been composed to motivate late-medieval Knights to crusade,⁶ this article illuminates the difference between contemporary Western attitudes to Islam—as demonstrated by the inclusion of a recital of the Islamic ‘Call to Prayer’ as the second movement of the Jenkins Mass—and those of the mid-fifteenth century. In highlighting this difference, I hope to inspire reflection upon whether the modern pluralistic tendencies in Western Society, if nurtured, could represent a path that ultimately leads to universal peace.

As shown in Table 1, **the thirteen-movement work draws upon the traditional *L'homme armé* song as its starting point, then sets a further sixteen texts originating from secular, Hindu, Islamic and Christian sources, with the Christian inclusions further divided between literary, Biblical and liturgical texts. These texts were selected by Guy Wilson, the Master of the British Royal Armouries, who, acting on behalf of the Armouries, commissioned Jenkins to compose the Mass. Intended to be performed in concert rather than during a Christian service, the work contains a high proportion of secular texts, yet remains inherently religious. As Wilson states:**

I always felt the work to be deeply spiritual (though universal and non-sectarian) as it deals with such fundamental and important issues. Because of the millennium it was framed as a Christian piece but, I hope, has enough of other faiths and cultures in it to take on a broader character.⁷

The Mass was completed in 1999, premiered at Royal Albert Hall in 2000 and has been performed more than 535 times in twenty-one countries since, with a further 26 performances of the Choral Suite adaptation, and 56 known performances of selected movements.⁸ The full work has already been distributed by the publisher, Boosey & Hawkes, in three different formats: the original score for SATB choir, soloists and full orchestra; an arrangement which replaces the orchestra with a smaller ensemble; and a SATB vocal score with piano accompaniment. More than 53,000 copies of the vocal score had been sold by March 2008.⁹ In addition, a Choral Suite containing five movements for SATB choir and organ, which can be used liturgically, has been published.¹⁰ The chart in Figure 1 **displays the number of identified live performances of the**

⁴ Karl Jenkins, *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* [Full Score] (Boosey & Hawkes, 2000).

⁵ *L'homme armé*, translated into English is ‘the armed man.’ The final movement of Jenkins’s Mass also includes a reprise of the melody.

⁶ In this aspect, Planchart follows the views of Richard Taruskin in ‘Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39.2 (1986): 272. Taruskin draws upon William F. Prizer, ‘Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece,’ *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 113–53.

⁷ Guy Wilson, personal correspondence, 4 May 2008.

⁸ This data was collated from Boosey & Hawkes performance lists and from various websites. A full listing will be included in my forthcoming dissertation, which considers *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* in terms of secularisation, spirituality and twenty-first-century perceptions of the sacred.

⁹ Darrent Henley, ‘It’s Life-affirming Music,’ *The Times* 7 Mar. 2008, accessed 29 Oct. 2008, <entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/music/article3497596.ece>.

¹⁰ The Choral Suite includes settings of the Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus and the Agnus Dei, with the Benedictus placed, unusually, after the Agnus Dei. A setting of Rudyard Kipling’s Christian ‘Hymn Before Action’ is also included.

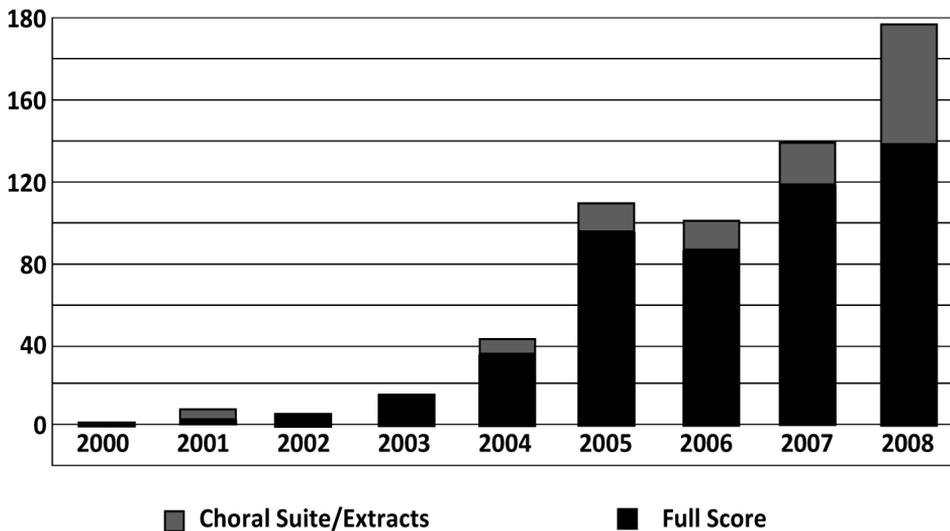
Table 1. Sources of texts employed in *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace*

No.	Movement Name: Source of Text	Duration *	Text type
1	The Armed Man: Anonymous, mid-15th century <i>L'homme armé</i>	6:25	secular
2	Call to Prayer: Islamic traditional	2:04	Muslim
3	Kyrie: Ordinary of Mass, 1st–8th centuries	8:12	Christian liturgical
4	Save me from Bloody Men: Bible: Psalm 56:1–2 & Psalm 59: 1–2, 1000–600 BC	1:42	Biblical
5	Sanctus: Ordinary of Mass, 1st–4th century	7:00	Christian liturgical
6	Hymn before Action: Rudyard Kipling Poem, first verse, late 19th century	2:38	Christian literary
7	Charge! (a) John Dryden, excerpt from 'Song for St Cecilia's Day' (b) Jonathan Swift, excerpt from letter to Earl of Oxford, 17th–18th century	7:26	Christian literary
8	Angry Flames: Tōge Sankichi, excerpt from 'Flames,' c. 1945	4:44	secular
9	Torches: The Mahābhārata, excerpt from 'The Burning of the Khāndava Forest,' 400 BC–400 AD	2:58	Hindu
10	Agnus Dei: Ordinary of Mass, 1st–8th century	3:39	Christian liturgical
11	Now the Guns have Stopped: Guy Wilson, c. 1996	3:25	secular
12	Benedictus: Ordinary of Mass, 1st–6th century	7:36	Christian liturgical
13	Better is Peace: Sir Thomas Malory: (a) <i>La Morte d'Arthur</i> , 15th century (b) <i>L'homme armé</i> reprise	~3:30	secular
	(c) Tennyson, excerpt from poem cvi of <i>In Memoriam A.H.H.</i> , 1850	~4:00	Christian literary
	(d) Bible: Revelation 21:4, 1st century	~2:00	Biblical
	(e) Universal: 'Praise the Lord'	~0:30	

* Durations are taken from the CD *Karl Jenkins: The Armed Man—A Mass for Peace*, CDVE 956, Virgin Records, 2001.

Mass by year, separated into two categories: performances of the full work, and performances of the Choral Suite or excerpts. Of the full performances to 31 December 2008, sixty percent employed an orchestra and forty percent a smaller ensemble.¹¹

Figure 1. Performances of *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace*, 25 Apr. 2000 to 31 Dec. 2008



A recording of the composition released in 2001 went immediately to number one in the classical charts. By 2003, 100,000 copies of the album had been sold worldwide achieving UK 'gold' status, and the CD had an unbroken run of two hundred weeks in the charts by the close of 2005.¹² By March 2008, 152,000 copies of the CD had been sold in the UK alone.¹³ A DVD recording of a live performance conducted by Jenkins on his sixtieth birthday was released in 2005 and includes images of war that were screened on a backdrop throughout the performance.¹⁴ In a 2006 UK Classic FM poll of twenty thousand people, *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* was ranked the fourth most popular piece of classical music by a British composer, ahead of Holst's *The Planets* and Handel's *Messiah*; in 2008 it remained above these two works, but lost one place in the overall ranking.¹⁵ *The Armed Man* is an extraordinarily popular classical work that continues to attract audiences worldwide: a further forty-four performances are scheduled before the close of 2008.¹⁶

¹¹ Towards the end of this period, performances by smaller ensembles became as prevalent as those employing the full orchestra.

¹² See 'New Museum and New Doctor Who,' *BBC News: Wales*, 27 Dec. 2005, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/4562250.stm>.

¹³ Henley, 'It's Life-affirming Music.'

¹⁴ See *Karl Jenkins – The Armed Man (A Mass for Peace)*, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.amazon.co.uk/Karl-Jenkins-Armed-Mass-Peace/dp/B000AN33O2>.

¹⁵ 'Lark Ascends to Top Classics Poll,' *BBC News*, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4961996.stm>. In 2005, *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* was ranked number 9, and in 2008 came in at number 5.

¹⁶ Boosey & Hawkes collates data on forthcoming performances. Updated regularly, it can be seen at 'Performances,' accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.boosey.com/pages/cr/calendar/perf_search.asp>.

The idea for the Mass grew out of Wilson's desire for the Armouries to commemorate the second millennium since Christ's birth with something distinctive and of 'lasting value' that would reflect England's Christian tradition.¹⁷ Born in Essex in 1950, Wilson worked for the Royal Armouries from 1972 until 2002 and is now a consultant in weaponry. The Armouries museums, of which there are now four, house a collection of arms, armour and artillery of the United Kingdom.¹⁸ During his time as Master of the Armouries, Wilson oversaw the establishment of a controversial new museum in Leeds that now contains much of the collection previously held in the Tower of London. Just after the museum was opened in 1996, the editor of the *Burlington Magazine* posed the following:

Removed from the overwhelmingly tourist-orientated Tower, the Armouries have the chance to create a new public, and the commitment to education is serious. But how can this be reconciled with the commercial imperatives deriving from the new [funding] structure?¹⁹

This comment was to prove prophetic, and *The Armed Man* was conceived in a polarised climate of both criticism of the project's funding model and praise for the operational and display innovations achieved in the Leeds museum.²⁰ But unlike the Leeds museum, which did not receive the expected revenues in its early years, *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* has clearly been a phenomenal commercial success.

While there may be an apparent irony in linking a museum that displays weaponry with a Mass for peace, this is reconciled in part by Wilson himself. In the liner notes to the CD he devolves the genesis of the Mass to Bob Smith, Head of Collection Care at the Armouries. An early music enthusiast, Smith suggested the Armouries organise a series of concerts of fifteenth and sixteenth-century *L'homme armé* Masses to commemorate the millennium. Wilson goes on to state that:

[t]he theme that 'the armed man must be feared' ... seemed to me painfully relevant to the twentieth century ... What better way, within the framework of a Christian musical and liturgical form, both to look back and reflect as we leave behind the most war-torn and destructive century in human history, and to look ahead with hope and commit ourselves to a new and more peaceful millennium. And so the idea developed to combine with the basic mass form a variety of poetry and prose and a wide range of

¹⁷ Guy Wilson, 'The History of the Commission,' *Karl Jenkins: The Armed Man—A Mass for Peace*, liner notes, CDVE 956, Virgin Records, 2001.

¹⁸ The four museums are the Tower of London, established c. 1545; Fort Nelson, opened in 1985; Leeds, opened in 1996; and Louisville, Kentucky (USA), opened in 2004. See *Royal Armouries*, accessed 26 May 2008, <www.armouries.org.uk/home>.

¹⁹ 'Editorial,' *Burlington Magazine* 138 (June 1996): 363.

²⁰ The museum was one of the first projects to be funded in accordance with the Private Enterprise Initiative (PFI) scheme established by the British Government in the mid-1990s. Under PFI, commercial interests are merged with public interests. Estimates about public attendance rates at the Leeds museum proved optimistic—400,000 visitors attended the museum in its first year of operation but the investment plan had been based upon an estimate of one million—the resulting deficit in income resulted in a public enquiry. See Public Accounts Committee, 'The Department for Culture, Media and Sport: The Re-negotiation of the PFI-Type Deal for the Royal Armouries Museum in Leeds (HC 103),' *Minutes Of Evidence Taken Before The Public Accounts Committee Wednesday 31 January 2001* (House of Commons, United Kingdom Parliament: 2001), accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.parliament.the-stationery-office.com/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmpubacc/217/1013101.htm>.

musical styles reflecting the multi-cultural global society in which we live in an attempt to create a work that dealt in an inclusive way with a theme of universal interest and relevance. The challenge then was to create a coherent work that tells a story, makes people think, and tugs at the heart strings.²¹

This approach falls within the museum's mandate to educate, but more than that, Wilson—whether intuitively or consciously—seems to have understood that the dramatic narrative underlying the Ordinary of the Roman Mass was eminently suited to his aim.²² Rebecca Marchand explained the concept of 'Mass as story' in her recent dissertation, which considers three twentieth-century American Concert Masses:

the affectual structure of the Ordinary consists of: pleading for mercy, rejoicing, conviction, reverence, and finally redemption and peace. All of these components can be experienced outside the realm of a religious construct and therefore have universal appeal to the most secular of audiences.²³

After extensive research and with a raft of possible texts, Wilson sought advice from Michael Bukht, co-founder of the very popular UK commercial radio station devoted to classical music, Classic FM.²⁴ Bukht, together with two others—a representative of the Classic FM Trust, and a recently retired member of the BBC Music Department—selected and persuaded Karl Jenkins to 'take up the challenge' to compose the Mass.²⁵ Jenkins worked with Wilson, sifting through the texts Wilson had chosen, ultimately settling upon those which fitted best into a dramatic narrative that concluded 'Peace not War.'

The final version of *The Armed Man* intersperses a variety of texts amongst three of the sections of the Ordinary of the Mass.²⁶ While Masses have often included movements setting non-liturgical texts, it is very uncommon for the non-liturgical sections to dominate even in concert Masses.²⁷ Notable precedents include David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus: A Mass of Love and Peace* (1974), which amalgamates the Latin text of the Ordinary with the taped

²¹ Wilson, 'The History of the Commission,' n.p.

²² The five sections of the Ordinary of the Roman Liturgy are the most commonly included texts in Mass settings. The Ordinary comprises those texts that must be recited in every Roman Catholic Mass service, regardless of day or season: they are titled Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The exception to this is during the weeks leading up to Easter and Christmas, Lent and Advent, when the Gloria is omitted.

²³ Rebecca Marchand, 'The Impact of the Second Vatican Council on the American Concert Mass,' PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2008, 5. Although *The Armed Man* does not include the Credo or the Gloria, the principle remains the same.

²⁴ In November 2008, Classic FM claimed that 'Classic FM is the media choice of nearly one fifth of the UK population.' See 'Our Value and Purpose,' *Classic FM*, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.classicfm.co.uk/Article.asp?id=215535&spid=9880>.

²⁵ Guy Wilson, personal correspondence, 4 May 2008.

²⁶ *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* adopts a common practice of dividing the Sanctus into two sections; the second section is titled Benedictus. As mentioned earlier, in the Jenkins Mass the Benedictus is presented unconventionally after the Agnus Dei.

²⁷ Concert Masses are defined here as musical Masses composed with no expectation that they will be performed in a church during a Mass service. They are a subset of 'concertised Masses.' Concertised Masses include all Masses—liturgically or concert oriented—performed outside of a liturgical service. These more precise definitions of the genre are discussed and developed further in my forthcoming dissertation.

sounds and music of Africa, and Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* (1962), which interpolates the poetry of Wilfred Owen into the standard Latin text of the Requiem.²⁸

As was shown in Table 1, each of the texts set in *The Armed Man* fits within one of six categories: secular, Islamic, Christian-liturgical, Biblical, Christian-literary or Hindu. The remainder of this article looks at the origins of the texts of the first two movements—the apparently secular *L'homme armé*²⁹ and the Islamic 'Call to Prayer'—to provide evidence of the shift in Western society from religious exclusivism in the fifteenth century to one of burgeoning cultural pluralism in the twenty-first century.

Figure 2. Text of the anonymous song *L'homme armé* c. 1430–1461 (unattributed translation provided in liner notes to Karl Jenkins: *The Armed Man*, CDVE 956, Virgin Records, 2001)

<i>L'homme armé doit on doubter;</i>	The armed man must be feared;
<i>On a fait partout crier</i>	Everywhere it has been decreed
<i>Que chascun se viegne armer</i>	That every man should arm himself
<i>D'un haubregon de fer.</i>	With an iron coat of mail.

The search for the origins of the *L'homme armé* song has attracted a large body of highly discursive scholarship. While broad agreement has been reached that it was almost certainly composed in the mid-fifteenth century in France or the French-speaking realms of the Burgundian Netherlands, little consensus on other issues surrounding the melody has been achieved. In 1973, Lewis Lockwood provided a comprehensive survey of the divergent views to that point.³⁰ This was updated by Alejandro Planchart in 2003,³¹ notably including the ideas of Richard Taruskin, who in turn credits the historian William F. Prizer with one of the seeds of his article's inspiration.³² For my purposes, the most useful aspects of the studies discussed by Lockwood and Planchart are not the authors' arguments regarding the song's attribution to any particular person or class of persons—upon which the studies almost invariably focus—but rather the hypotheses relating to the song's *raison d'être*. Until Taruskin entered the debate, it was generally thought that secular reasons had given rise to the text: specifically, the sometimes brutal consequences of the French king's garrison and militia recruitment policies that were instigated to establish law and order subsequent to the expulsion of the English in 1453 after 116 years of almost constant war.³³ Taruskin, however, put forward an energetic and plausible case for the song having a more sacred origin. He drew upon Prizer's archival research of

²⁸ Benjamin Britten, *War Requiem* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1962). Three years later, Britten composed a smaller work, *Voices for Today*, for the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations on 24 October 1965. This work also promotes peace and includes very short portions of nineteen texts originating from different times, and from all parts of the world. Benjamin Britten, *Voices for Today: Anthem for Chorus (Men, Women & Children) and Organ (Ad Lib.) Op. 75* (London: Faber Music, 1965).

²⁹ As will be explained below, the text may have a Christian origin.

³⁰ Lewis Lockwood, 'Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition,' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973–74): 97–122.

³¹ Planchart, 'Origins and Early History.'

³² Taruskin attended a paper, 'The Order of the Golden Fleece and Music,' delivered by Prizer at the American Musicological Society National Conference in Vancouver 1985. Prizer permitted him to view the paper subsequently. See Richard Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition' 272. See also Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries' 113–53.

³³ This war, together with civil war and plague, had resulted in a culture of lawlessness and banditry which pervaded throughout the kingdom, particularly due to the presence of now-unemployed mercenaries.

the *Ordre de la Toison D'Or*—The Order of the Golden Fleece—a chivalrous, quasi-religious organisation established in 1430 by the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (1419–1467). Prizer had shown that the confraternity had been a significant consumer of sacred music and, briefly referring to the *L'homme armé* tune itself, he stated:

this *cantus firmus* would have been peculiarly suitable for the religious ceremonies of an order consisting entirely of 'armed men' (chevaliers or knights) and one that had as an original goal the maintaining of the faith of the Church against the infidels.³⁴

Prizer presented his findings to the American Musicological Society in 1985, piquing Taruskin's interest and generating an entirely new line of musicological thought regarding the origins of the *L'homme armé* tune: perhaps the melody was composed for a Mass commissioned by the Order?³⁵ Taruskin argues that the length of the melody—thirty-one tempora (or perfect semibreves in C3)—could be a symbolic representation of the thirty knights, plus their sovereign, that constituted the Order from 1433.³⁶

The hypothesis that the song was written for the Order was further fleshed out eighteen years later by Planchart, who notes that the song could well have been composed as a motivational *prosopopoeia*, which 'speaks of ... the fear and alarm ... the crusading host expects to inspire.'³⁷ The very choice of the Order's name, derived from the epic Greek tale of the mythical golden fleece that Jason and the Argonauts searched for and found, supports this thesis.³⁸ Although many versions of the Jason myth have been propagated, Philip the Good would probably have been most familiar with the Christianised version, told by John Malalas in the sixth century AD. In this version the character who bolsters the Argonauts' courage by prophesying a victory to the Argonauts in a forthcoming tussle is revealed subsequently to the first Christian Roman Emperor, Constantine (227–332 AD), to have been St Michael the Archangel, the protector of heaven's gates.³⁹ The inclusion of the leader of God's army in a tale of adventure in far-flung places would have been irresistible to those who, like Philip

³⁴ Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries' 128.

³⁵ It should be noted that Barbara Hagggh advised in 1995 that the archives of the Order do not include mention of any polyphonic commissions. However, this was eventually countered by Prizer in 2001, who argued that the Burgundian court would have covered the costs of compositions for the Order. See Barbara Hagggh, 'The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120.1 (1995): 1–43; and William F. Prizer, 'Brussels and the Ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece,' *Revue belge de Musicologie/ Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 55 (2001): 69–90.

³⁶ Prizer, 'Brussels and the Ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece' 70. The Order was initially founded with twenty-four knights plus the sovereign.

³⁷ Planchart, 'Origins and Early History' 314. Planchart draws extensively upon Taruskin's evidence in his argument, but ultimately disagrees with Taruskin's conclusion that Antoine Busnoys (c. 1430–1492) wrote the tune and the first *Missa L'homme armé*, arguing that Du Fay or Ockeghem are the more likely contenders (see particularly 327–33).

³⁸ See Michael Wood, 'Jason and the Golden Fleece,' *In Search of Myths & Heroes: Exploring Four Epic Legends of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 78–139. The golden fleece, in Greek mythological terms, is the fleece of the winged ram Chrysomallos who bore the two children of the cloud goddess, Nephele, away to Colchis on her request because she feared Ino, the mistress of Nephele's husband, King Athamus of Orchomenus, was plotting to kill them. Helle fell off on the way but her brother, Phrixus, was transported to Colchis safely. On arrival Phrixus sacrificed the ram and hung its golden fleece in a tree in a guarded sacred grove. Much later, Jason set out to find the fleece. Jason's father had been murdered by Jason's uncle in order to usurp his position as King. Finding the fleece was one of three conditions set by his uncle that would result in Jason's instatement as rightful King.

³⁹ Wood, 'Jason and the Golden Fleece' 104.

the Good, preferred to cling to the late-medieval chivalrous culture they were familiar with rather than adopt the ideologies and practices of the burgeoning Renaissance. As Guy Stair Sainy shows in the section of *World Orders of Knighthood and Merit* devoted to the Order of the Golden Fleece, when the Duke announced the Order's creation in 1430 he proclaimed that the Order was established:

for the reverence of God and the maintenance of our Christian Faith, and to honour and exalt the noble order of knighthood, and also ... to do honour to old knights ... so that those who are at present still capable and strong of body and do each day the deeds pertaining to chivalry shall have cause to continue from good to better; and ... so that those knights and gentlemen who shall see worn the order ... should honour those who wear it, and be encouraged to employ themselves in noble deeds.⁴⁰

It was probably the influence of the Order's first Chancellor, Bishop of Nevers, Jean Germain (1400–1461) that resulted in a shift of emphasis away from knightly-status to religion when the actual statutes of the Order were drafted. According to the statutes, the Order of the Golden Fleece was established:

[f]or the perfect love that we have for the noble estate and order of chivalry ... in praise of our Almighty Creator and Redeemer, in reverence of his glorious Virgin Mother, and to the honour of St Andrew, glorious Apostle and Martyr, and to the exaltation of the faith and the Holy Church, and the practice of virtues and good habits.⁴¹

This statement provides early background evidence of the religious impetus soon to be demonstrated by the Order's reliance upon 'the particularised use of liturgical forms to create an expanded ceremonial.'⁴² The elaborate Renaissance Mass, which could incorporate chant, choral polyphony and oratory, was a religious ceremony that could ostentatiously—as was appropriate for such an illustrious group as the knight-members—celebrate the order's existence, and hence chivalry. As chivalry was synonymous with highly-skilled swordsmanship, one method of particularising the Mass in an ostentatious way would be, as Prizer noted, to commission a new *cantus firmus* that celebrated knightly prowess in the art of combat. So the Knights would listen to the song and enjoy it immensely knowing it presented the perspective of those they would be crusading against some time in the future: 'Watch out! The fearsome Christian Knights are crusading against us. We must protect ourselves.'

Early modern historian David Wrisley reports that the well-stocked Burgundian ducal library appears to have been 'an important site in which the discourses of crusade and Orient

⁴⁰ As quoted in Guy Stair Sainy, 'The Most Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece,' *World Orders of Knighthood and Merit*, ed. Guy Stair Sainy, vol. 1 (Wilmington: Burkes Peerage & Gentry, 2006) 278. Also available at Guy Stair Sainy, *Great Orders of Chivalry: The Most Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece*, accessed 31 Oct. 2008, <www.chivalricorders.org/orders/other/goldflee.htm>.

⁴¹ 'Pour la tres grande et parfaite amour que avons du noble estat et ordre de chevalerie [...] nous, a la gloire et loenge du tout puissant notre Creatur et Redempteur, en reverence de sa glorieuse Vierge Mere eta l'onneur de monsieur Saint-Andrieu glorieux apostre et martir, a l'exaltacion de la foy et Sainte Eglise et excitacion de vertus et de bonnes mews.' NL-DHK, MS 76. E. 12, f. [4r], quoted and translated by Prizer, 'Brussels and the Ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece' 70.

⁴² Paul Merkley, 'The Role of Liturgical Elements in Fifteenth Century Ceremonial,' *Chant and its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terence Bailey*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, *Musicological Studies* 72 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ottawa, 1998) 340.

were articulated.⁴³ Thus Germain was not merely well placed, but also well resourced, to provide Philip the Good with papal-driven political arguments for the need to crusade against the heretics and infidels that were encroaching upon Christendom, and his compendium of Christian hagiography shows a strong inclination to do so. In particular, Wrisley notes that Germain's first work, the *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449), 'does not simply efface Muslims or other non-Christians, but rather uses them strategically, even rhetorically ... to depict a utopian world of a united Christendom.'⁴⁴ More directly, Germain's complex magnum opus, the *Tresor des simples* (1450), explicitly refutes the Islamic faith and the Qur'an.⁴⁵

The Order of the Golden Fleece never did mount a crusade. Nevertheless, if, as Planchart suggests, the *L'homme armé* song was composed for the Order as a *prosopopoeia* at a time when there was still some expectation that the Order might crusade, it could have been written as early as 1433, when the number thirty-one would have first held the significance Planchart, following Taruskin and Prizer, attaches to it.⁴⁶ Planchart, who suggests that Guillaume Du Fay (c. 1397–1474) may have composed the song, dates Du Fay's first *L'homme armé* Mass persuasively at 1461. However, elsewhere he notes that Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé* 'shows surprising returns to the rhythmic intricacy found in some of the works of the 1440s.'⁴⁷ Perhaps the composer simply completed a work in 1461 that he had already drafted in the 1440s based on a song he had heard—or composed—in 1439–1440, when he spent a very busy six months in Burgundy composing settings for 'six of the seven daily masses the Duke had founded as suffrages for the Order of the Golden Fleece at the Sainte Chapelle in Dijon.'⁴⁸

Whether future scholarly endeavours endorse or refute this line of thought, the historic implications of the song, when considered within its contemporary context in *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace*, provide resonances in both the secular and the sacred realms. In setting an untranslated French song in a British work that proselytises for peace, Jenkins and Wilson have signalled the modern accord that exists between France and England. From a religious perspective, in starting the work with a song originating from a time when Muslims were the enemy of Christians, they have introduced an element that, once illuminated, evinces a temporal comparison of religious tolerance levels which is immediately emphasised when the strains of the French melody make way for the pure Arabic sound of the 'Cry of the Muezzin.'

In the second movement of the Mass, the Islamic 'Call to Prayer,' or *Adhan*, is sung by a *muezzin*, an official of the Islamic faith whose duty it is to make the 'Call' every day at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall, to remind the community to pray to Allah. The *Adhan* also issues from mosques worldwide on Fridays to draw the Islamic faithful to public worship. It is the musical iconic equivalent of the mosque and originates from the earliest days of the Islamic religion when the emancipated slave, Bilal Ibn Rabah ('Bilal the Ethiopian,' c.

⁴³ David J. Wrisley, 'Situating Islamdom in Jean Germain's *Mappemonde Spirituelle* (1449),' *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007): 330.

⁴⁴ Wrisley, 'Situating Islamdom' 329.

⁴⁵ Wrisley, 'Situating Islamdom' 328.

⁴⁶ As previously mentioned, this was the year the Duke increased the membership of the *Toison d'Or* to 31.

⁴⁷ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Du Fay, Guillaume: 7. Music for the Mass,' *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, accessed 18 May 2008 <www.grovemusic.com>.

⁴⁸ Planchart, 'Origins and Early History' 321.

Figure 3. Text of the 'Call to Prayer' (*Adhan*) c. 622–623 AD. Arabic as per Karl Jenkins, *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* 17; translation from Hammudah Abdalati, "'The Prayer Call' (Adhan)," *Islam in Focus*, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1975) 62–3.

<i>Allahu Akbar</i> (x 4)	God is the greatest.
<i>Ashadu An La Illa-L-Lah.</i> (x 2)	I bear witness that there is no god but the One God.
<i>Ashadu Anna Muhammadan</i> <i>Rasulu-L-Lah.</i> (x 2)	I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God
<i>Hayya Ala-s-salah.</i> (x 2)	Come fast to prayer.
<i>Hayya Ala-l-Falah.</i> (x 2)	Come fast to success.
<i>Allahu Akbar.</i> (x 2)	God is Greatest of all.
<i>La Illaha il la-lah.</i>	There is no god but the One and True God.

580–c. 640), a trusted and loyal companion of Prophet Muhammad, was selected by the Prophet to be the first *muezzin* because of his beautiful voice.⁴⁹

This was not the first time the *Adhan* had been included in a concert Mass. Wilson and Jenkins would almost certainly have been aware of David Fanshawe's very popular *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* (1974 and revisions), which includes a tape of the 'Call to Prayer' recorded in Cairo.⁵⁰ In Fanshawe's Mass the 'Call' is sounded with (as opposed to against) a choir singing a Kyrie composed by Fanshawe. However, Wilson and Jenkins chose to include the Islamic 'Call' and the Christian Kyrie as separate movements in their Mass. This reveals a philosophical difference: Fanshawe hears all sounds as God's sounds, stating 'my stand is to listen to the world, to listen to the sounds of the world, of all peoples and homogenise those sounds into order ... That was my instruction from God.'⁵¹ However, Jenkins and Walsh have highlighted difference by giving each religious tradition its own sonic space.⁵² This is, perhaps, indicative of a change in perception at the turn of the twenty-first century away from the notion of equality-driven, blue-jeans sameness that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. *African Sanctus* was composed during the early stages of accelerated globalisation when the commercial impetus to spread sameness was rarely questioned. *The Armed Man*, however, has been written at a time when people are beginning to voice concern over the homogenising effects of globalisation. There is a growing band in Western society—epitomised, perhaps, by the Slow Food Movement—who want to retain and express localised cultural diversity rather than see it all blend into commonality.⁵³ The religious manifestation of this is demonstrated in *The Armed Man*. Wilson had intended to ask Jenkins to re-set the *Adhan* to a new melody; however, his Classic FM advisor, Michael Bukht, a practising Muslim and the present Chair of the Canterbury and District Ethnic Minority Independent Council, advised him that this

⁴⁹ Benjamin Walker, *Foundations of Islam: The Making of a World Faith* (London; Chester Springs: Peter Owen, 1998) 103.

⁵⁰ David Fanshawe, *African Sanctus: A Story of Travel and Music* (London: Collins and Harvill Press, 1975) 66–7.

⁵¹ David Fanshawe, personal communication, Mar. 2007.

⁵² It is beyond the scope of this article to elaborate upon this beyond the obvious fact that the 'Call to Prayer' is presented without any form of modification, and so provides a complete musical contrast to the classical Western style of the first movement.

⁵³ See George Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing 2* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2007) particularly 202–16; and *Slow Food*, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.slowfood.com>.

would be considered sacrilegious by those of the Islamic faith.⁵⁴ And so the 'Call' was left in its usual form. In fact, the inclusion of the unadulterated *Adhan* is the most powerful multi-faith symbol of pluralism in the Mass. As Milwaukee journalist Erin Richards, who attended a rehearsal of a performance scheduled for 10 September 2006 in the city's Cathedral of St John the Evangelist, stated:

Perhaps the most appropriate soloist is Amjad Khleifat, who was approached by Milwaukee Archdiocesan Choir Director Jeff Honore ... to perform the second movement's 'Adhaan' or 'Call to Prayers,' which Jenkins indicated should be recited in its native Arabic. From the marbled ambo in the center of the cathedral ... Khleifat covered his ears and rehearsed, calling out to Allah in a sweeping, sitar-like voice.

'To do an Islamic call to prayer in this space is unusual; it shows that our first response should not be fear or terror, but peace,' Honore said later from the back of the church.⁵⁵

The juxtaposition of the 'Call to Prayer' beside the *L'homme armé* song is not only symbolic of an emerging orientation towards cultural pluralism displayed by the work's creators, but also—in its wide-spread acceptance by the public—brings to prominence a change in the Western world's perception of Muslims over 550 years, despite the terrorist attacks against America by Islamic extremists in 2001. The very scheduling of a performance of *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* the day before the now notorious date of September 11 is evidence of an ability to distinguish between the practices of the majority of Islamic adherents and those of fundamentalists who form a small—albeit high profile—minority. It also confirms that multi-faith tolerance is a feature of twenty-first century Western life. The framing of the Islamic 'Call' within a Christian structure would have been inconceivable to late-Medieval Christians who—even without ever having met a Muslim—practiced unthinkingly a faith which excluded all other religious possibilities, and insisted on all adhering to the same set of religious rules.⁵⁶ If *L'homme armé* actually was written for the Order of the Golden Fleece as a *prosopopoeia*, then a performance of Jenkins's Mass in Dijon Chapel during the fifteenth century would be extraordinarily inflammatory to the Order's knights who would surely have felt compelled to attack the strange orchestra, choristers and soloists, leaving none standing.

But twenty-first century audiences—who, it must be noted, are unlikely to know of the possible Christian connection to the song, and hear it simply as a secular warning to 'fear the armed man'—are delighted with the Mass: its premiere drew 'prolonged shouts of approval

⁵⁴ Bukht's adherence to the Islamic faith was confirmed by Guy Wilson, personal communication, 4 May 2008 and 10 May 2008; see also 'Canterbury & District Ethnic Minority Independent Council (EMIC),' *Canterbury District Community Portal*, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.e-canterbury.co.uk/organisations.php?id=52&area=> and 'New Team to Help Minorities who are Victims of Crime: Team Brings Detectives and Community Liaison Officers Closer Together,' *Kent Police*, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.kent.police.uk/Your%20Area/East%20Kent/East_Kent_news/Minority_victims.html>.

⁵⁵ Erin Richards, 'Storm of War, Prayer for Peace: Orchestra, Chorus to Present Concert Mass at Cathedral,' *Milwaukee Sentinel Journal* (10 Sep. 2006), accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.jsonline.com/story/index.aspx?id=494437>.

⁵⁶ See for example Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2007) 42–3.

from the audience.⁵⁷ It has been performed to audiences in such far-flung places as Cape Town, Tokyo, Geelong and Israel; and in such illustrious performance spaces as the Royal Albert Hall, Carnegie Hall, San Giovanni Ragusa Cathedral, Canterbury Cathedral and the Cathedral of Hope in Dallas, Texas. The fact that peoples of different faiths (or no faith) can, and do, accept each other's right to believe whatever they choose is both an indicator of the present desire for religious tolerance, and grounds for hope that Western society can indeed achieve harmony, despite, or possibly because of, increasing globalisation and cosmopolitanism. However, Diana L. Eck cautions against simplistic approaches that equate tolerance with pluralism, stating:

pluralism is not just tolerance but the active seeking of understanding across lines of difference. Tolerance is a necessary public virtue, but it does not require Christians and Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and ardent secularists to know anything about one another. Tolerance is too thin a foundation for a world of religious difference and proximity. It does nothing to remove our ignorance of one another, and leaves in place the stereotype, the half-truth, the fears that underlie old patterns of division and violence ... pluralism is *based on dialogue* ... Dialogue does not mean everyone at the 'table' will agree with one another. Pluralism is about being at the table—with one's commitments.⁵⁸

By including the Islamic 'Call to Prayer' within a Christian structure and beside *L'homme armé*—a song that may have Christian origins, but will be received by audiences as secular—Walsh and Jenkins are presenting some of the signs and symbols of the different belief systems to a wide public in a forum that endorses peaceful acceptance and may lead to fruitful dialogue after the final notes of the Mass have sounded. Peace will come.

⁵⁷ Rob Cowan, 'Arms around the World; Mass for Peace: Royal Albert Hall, London,' *Independent* 27 April 2000, accessed 2 Nov. 2008, <www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/reviews/arms-around-the-world-721017.html>.

⁵⁸ Eck's emphasis. Diana E. Eck, 'What Is Pluralism?,' *The Pluralism Project at Harvard University*, accessed 14 May 2008, <www.pluralism.org/pluralism/what_is_pluralism.php>.