The Anonymous Mass *D'Ung aultre amer*: A Late Fifteenth-Century Experiment

ROB C. WEGMAN

AROUND the mid-1450s, the Continental Mass began to free itself from English influences and develop independently. In the following years, Continental composers produced increasing numbers of Masses in which they energetically explored new styles and approaches. Within two decades the landscape of Mass composition in Europe had been completely altered. By 1475, the relatively uniform, English-dominated Mass style of the 1450s had ramified into a variety of individual styles and local traditions, which interacted in a network of international music distribution.[1]

Johannes Tinctoris, writing in the 1470s, looks back on the musical developments of his time with enthusiasm and excitement. On two occasions he speaks of a "veritable tempest," which has turned music into what seems like a "New Art."[2] The principal Franco-Flemish composers of the 1460s and early 1470s are styled

This article is an expanded version of a paper given as a colloquium at King's College, London, on 3 May 1989, and read at the Seventeenth Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, Reading, England, 21–24 July 1989. The writing of the article was made possible through a British Council Fellowship enabling me to do research in Manchester. I am indebted to David Fallows, Chris Maas, Reinhard Strohm, John Milsom, Jaap van Benthem, Christopher Reynolds, Jeffrey Dean, and Paula Higgins for reading earlier drafts and giving valuable comments.

[1] See in particular the discussion of Mass composition during the period 1450–85 in Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 119–90.

[2] For this and what follows, see Albert Seay, ed., *Johannis Tinctoris Opera Theoretica*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 22, vol. 2 (N.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), p. 12, and vol. 2a (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1978), p. 10. Tinctoris's statements are made in the prefaces to his *Proportionale musices* of c. 1472–73 and the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of 1477.

"the Moderns," who, Tinctoris says, "write in the new times the newest style compositions." They leave behind the English, who "always use one and the same style of composing," which in the eyes of Tinctoris is "a sign of the poorest talent."

Although Tinctoris's words are, of course, easily misinterpreted, they unmistakably betray a new emphasis on progress and innovation. Tinctoris is evidently not talking about just another new fashion but about a new attitude in general. His contemporaries are "modern" not by virtue of a peculiar style that happens to be modern, but because their music, as he puts it, is continuously progressing with the times. Music seems to have become a "New Art" not because today's fashion has replaced yesterday's fashion but because "the musical ability of our time has undergone a wonderful increase." We sense in these words (as well as in the surviving repertory) an awareness that the musical language of the time is full of hidden possibilities that can—and should—be explored, and that these explorations will transform that language. Musical progress has become an end in itself.

For Mass composers working in the 1470s, the consequences were profound. Most importantly, there were now so many more compositional options open to them that to write a Mass inevitably meant to define one's position. From the very moment a composer set out to design a new cycle, he was forced to make choices that would betray his preferences and backgrounds. There was no longer a resort to generally accepted styles and procedures, as there had been—to some degree—in the 1450s and before.

It is against the background of this new style consciousness that I wish to discuss an anonymous *Missa D'Ung aultre amer.* This Mass survives in three sources from the 1470s—VatS 51, VatSP B80, and VerBC 755—and is based on the well-known rondeau *D'Ung aultre amer* by Johannes Ockeghem.[3] On the face of it, the piece seems to be a perfectly conventional cantus firmus Mass (Table 1): the Kyrie and Sanctus are each based on one statement of the song tenor, and the melody is stated twice in the Gloria, Credo, and Agnus Dei. Although the latter type of "double cursus" layout is very rare in Continental Masses based on secular tunes, it does occur in, for instance, Guillaume Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur* and the anony-

[3] An edition of this Mass is in preparation by Jeffrey Dean; it will be included as an *opus dubium* in his forthcoming edition of the collected works of Philippe Basiron. For the sources and their dates and interrelationships, see note 19 below.

Table 1. Structure of *Missa D'Ung aultre amer*

Section	*Portion of model quoted in tenor*	*Mensurations and relative lengths*	
Kyrie	A	𝅝	36
Christe	B	𝅗𝅥	52
Kyrie	C	𝅝	48
Et in terra	ABC	𝅝	180
Qui tollis	ABC	𝅗𝅥	164
Patrem	ABC	𝅝	240
Et resurrexit	ABC	𝅗𝅥	184
Sanctus	A	𝅝	120
Pleni	–	𝅝	84
Osanna	B	𝅗𝅥	55
Benedictus	–	𝅗𝅥	19
Qui venit	?	𝅗𝅥	53
Osanna	ut supra		
Agnus I	ABC	𝅝	87
Agnus II	–	𝅝	36
Qui tollis	–	𝅗𝅥	43
Agnus III	ABC	𝅗𝅥	44

mous Mass *Puisque je vis*, which may be by Guillaume Dufay.[4] The mensuration scheme, with its alternation of 𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥, is, of course, one of the standard schemes for Masses of this time.

Yet the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* is, I hope to show, a cycle that stands alone in the contemporary Mass repertory. It betrays a stylistic concept that was radically innovative for the time it was written. Its composer, a man with strikingly new ideas, possessed extraordinary musical talents. Sadly, his identity is unknown, but, as the *"D'Ung aultre amer* Master," he deserves a prominent place in

[4] For Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur*, see R. C. Wegman, "Guillaume Faugues and the Anonymous Masses *Au chant de l'alouete* and *Vinnus vina*," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 40 (1990), forthcoming. The Mass was edited by George C. Schuetze in his *Collected Works of Faugues* (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Musicology, 1960), pp. 5–46. The anonymous *Missa Puisque je vis* appears in VatS 14, fols. 160v–170r; it was tentatively attributed to Dufay by Laurence Feininger in his edition of the Mass; see *Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae*, series 1, vol. 2, no. 10 (Rome, 1953).

the history of the polyphonic Mass in the Renaissance. In this article, I will analyze the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* and study it in its historical context. I will argue that the Mass was an experiment, an attempt to create a new musical language out of conventional stylistic ingredients, and that it was written in France in the 1470s.

Although the late-fifteenth-century Continental Mass was subject to continuous and fundamental stylistic change, one compositional principle was never challenged: that of musical unification. By the 1470s, unification rarely depended on the use of a cantus firmus or of head motives alone. Rather, there was an increasing tendency to give each Mass its own individual "color," a distinctive quality that would pervade the music from the first note to the last. The color of a late-fifteenth-century Mass usually sprang from overall features such as modality, ranges, melodic and rhythmic style, cantus firmus treatment, mensurations, and tempo. Thus, before a composer could write his music measure by measure, he had to have a clear and integrated concept of the sound and structure of his Mass.

No aspect betrayed that concept more visibly and directly than the treatment of the cantus firmus. The way in which a fifteenth-century composer handled the preexistent melody amounted almost to a compositional declaration of faith. Within the surviving Mass repertory we find a wide range of approaches. Some composers determined the cantus firmus layout and treatment mechanically in advance. This was the favorite approach of Busnoys and Obrecht, who were fond of canonic procedures and often structured their Masses according to overarching rational plans. Their options during the writing of the Mass were obviously restricted, but this in fact made the compositional process easier. There was no need to worry about musical symmetry and balance; the predetermined cantus firmus had forestalled such problems. The only worry was how to "dress up" the structural voice with counterpoint, a task Busnoys and Obrecht handled superbly. Other composers provided themselves with varying amounts of space to maneuver, either by free rhythmization of the cantus firmus or the insertion of free notes, depending on the underlying stylistic concept. If one places the Masses of Busnoys and Obrecht (and others) on one end of the spectrum, from there one can observe many gradations in treatment, ranging from "strictest" to "freest."

It is difficult to determine where to situate the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* on this spectrum. Rather than occupying a particular place on the scale, the Mass seems to encompass the whole range. Its cantus firmus undergoes a wide range of treatments, which both interchange and combine in the course of the movements: presentation in long note values, isomelism, omissions of notes, and every conceivable degree of elaboration, ranging from the insertion of a few passing notes to the virtual drowning of the melody in a flood of free notes. To complete this catalogue of fifteenth-century cantus firmus treatment, the entire chanson tenor is presented strictly in the third Agnus Dei.

Because of this diversity, a vertical alignment of the cantus firmus presentations would be both space-consuming and impractical. But, more importantly, it would give an incomplete picture of what is happening in the Mass. Once we turn to the music itself it becomes clear that the extreme irregularity of cantus firmus treatment is a direct consequence of the composer's stylistic concept. Although a cantus firmus Mass, the *D'Ung aultre amer* cycle is essentially conceived as a freely composed work. Its keynote is stylistic variety. Most sections of the Mass are structured as chains of separate, interlocking units, each with a distinctive style, procedure, or texture. The composer's versatility in these units seems inexhaustible: the music goes through a succession of points of imitation, fauxbourdon passages, antiphonally responding duos, homophonic declamations, sequential imitations between two voices, passages with slow-moving tenor and bass, homorhythmic passages, and, connecting all these, a four-voice "integrated" style, in which all voices have more or less the same rhythmic movement.

What is crucial is that this chain structure owes virtually nothing to the structure of Ockeghem's chanson tenor. The preexistent melody figures as an afterthought: rather than governing or generating the music, it is embedded in it. What the composer seems to have conceived first was the musical "discourse." Whenever cantus firmus notes did not fit, he either postponed them by inserting free notes or left them out altogether. The treatment of the cantus firmus thus depended on what was happening in the preconceived chain structure, and the irregularity of treatment is therefore largely a reflection of that structure. In a way the handling of the cantus firmus in *D'Ung aultre amer* can be seen as an

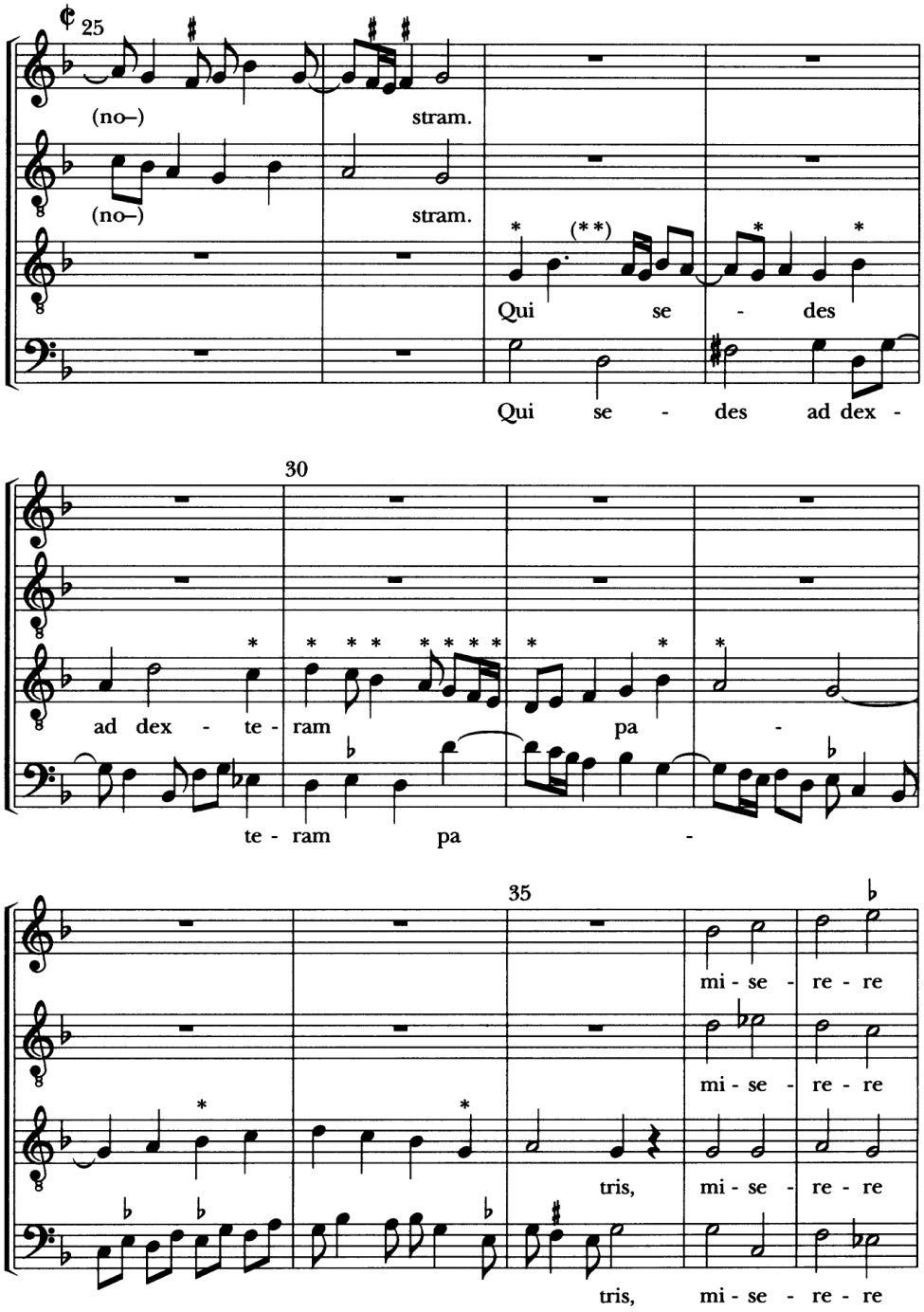
extreme reaction to the kind of Masses that Obrecht and Busnoys wrote. In the latter Masses, the cantus firmus governed the musical discourse; in *D'Ung aultre amer*, the musical discourse governs the cantus firmus. So far as I know, there is no other Mass from this period that adopts such an extreme position as *D'Ung aultre amer*. Even in Masses of the "isomelic" or "paraphrase" type, the cantus firmus was always allowed to control the musical discourse to a greater or lesser extent. What we have here is, to put it very strongly, a freely composed Mass with *obbligato* cantus firmus.

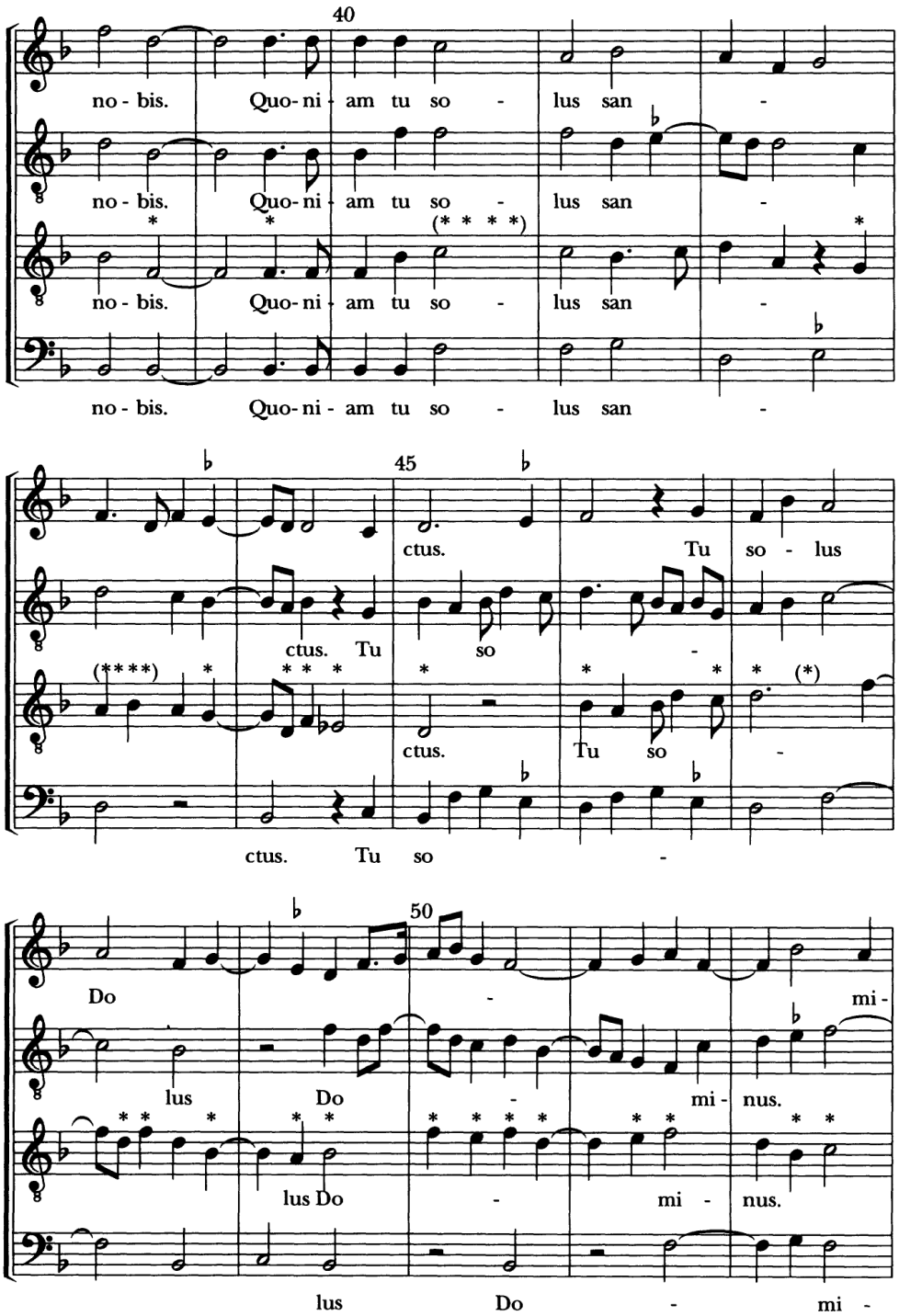
The chain structure of the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* is an innovation of considerable interest. Contemporary cantus firmus Masses usually juxtaposed two types of scoring and tended to emphasize the stylistic distinctions between them: a fully scored, rather slow-moving texture on the one hand, and imitative, virtuoso duos and trios on the other. These juxtapositions articulated the presence and absence of the cantus firmus. In the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer*, as we have observed, the cantus firmus is denied even the slightest influence on, or interference with, the overall musical design.

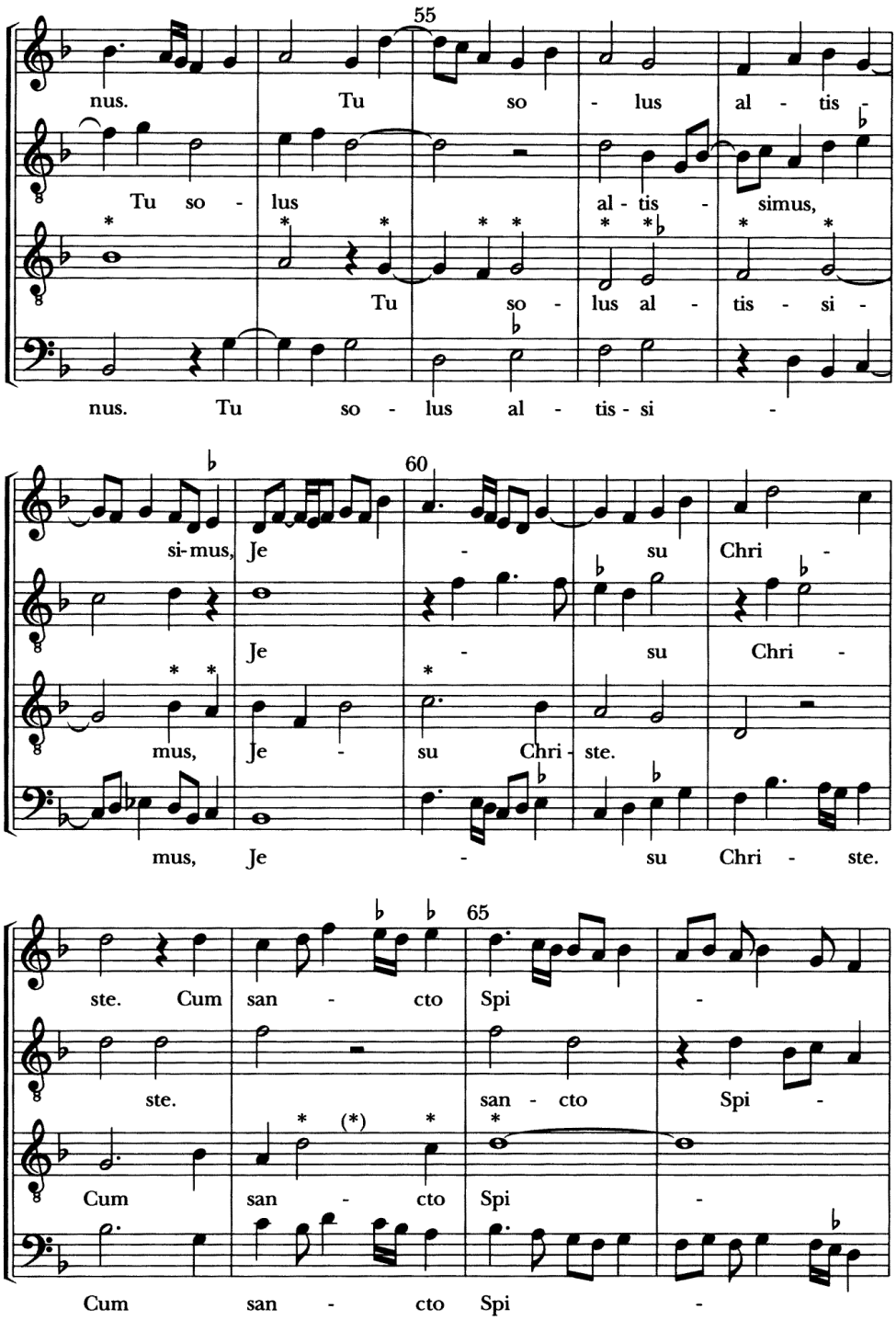
For all its novelty, the chain structure of *D'Ung aultre amer* does not by itself guarantee music of high quality. It is only by looking at the details that we can observe that a master of considerable stature is at work here. His greatest skill lies perhaps in the controlled handling of the musical ebb and flow. The music is neither halting nor relentlessly moving from the first measure to the last: it builds up and winds down in long arches that give logic and a sense of purpose to the succession of the units.

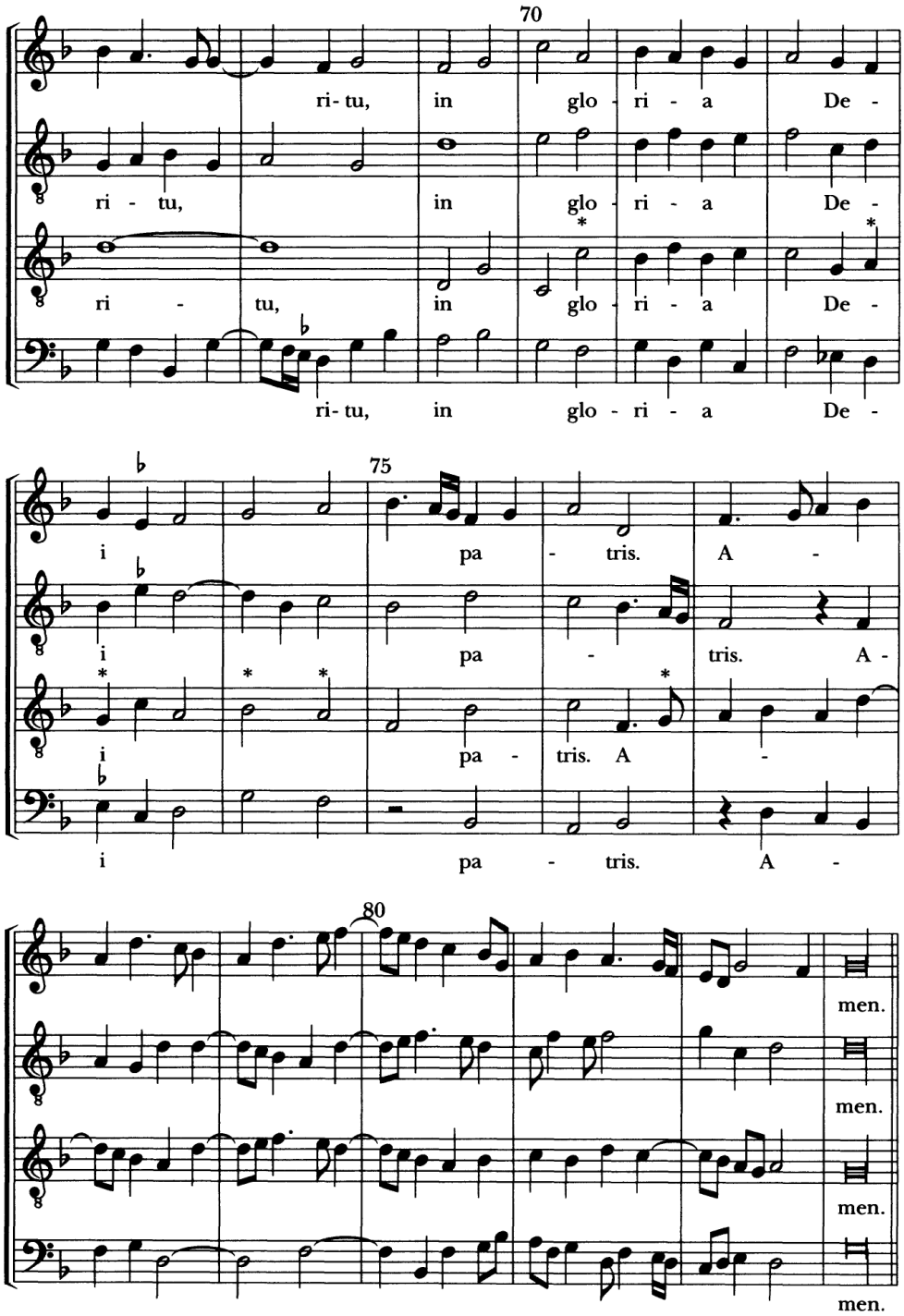
A good example is the Qui tollis (Ex. 1). The section starts with an extended duo for top voice and contratenor (mm. 1–26; only the last two measures are included in the example), concluding in a cadence on the final G. At this point one would normally expect the cantus firmus to enter in a thick tapestry of four-voice polyphony. Instead, there follows, in mm. 27–35, an energetic, counterbalancing duo for tenor and bass that introduces the cantus firmus almost by stealth. The song tenor is heavily ornamented, and the second and third notes, which are crucial to the immediate identification of the melody, are omitted. Even the hint given by the characteristic octave scale in mm. 30–31 is undermined, by a pseudoimitation in the bass. To all appearances this is a freely composed, introductory duo, a buildup for the imminent full texture.

Ex. 1. *Missa D'Ung aultre amer,* Qui tollis mm. 25–83 (reduced by one fourth)




40
no - bis. Quo- ni - am tu so - lus san -
no - bis. Quo- ni - am tu so - lus san -
no - bis. Quo- ni - am tu so - lus san -
no - bis. Quo- ni - am tu so - lus san -
45
ctus. Tu so - lus
ctus. Tu so -
ctus. Tu so -
ctus. Tu so -
50
Do - mi -
lus Do - mi - nus.
lus Do - mi - nus.
lus Do - mi -


55
nus. Tu so - lus al - tis -
Tu so - lus al - tis - simus,
Tu so - lus al - tis - si -
nus. Tu so - lus al - tis - si -
60
si - mus, Je - su Chri -
Je - su Chri -
mus, Je - su Chri - ste.
mus, Je - su Chri - ste.
65
ste. Cum san - cto Spi -
ste. san - cto Spi -
Cum san - cto Spi -
Cum san - cto Spi -


70
ri- tu, in glo - ri - a De -
ri - tu, in glo - ri - a De -
ri - tu, in glo - ri - a De -
ri- tu, in glo - ri - a De -
75
i pa - tris. A -
i pa - tris. A -
i pa - tris. A -
i pa - tris. A -
80
men.
men.
men.
men.

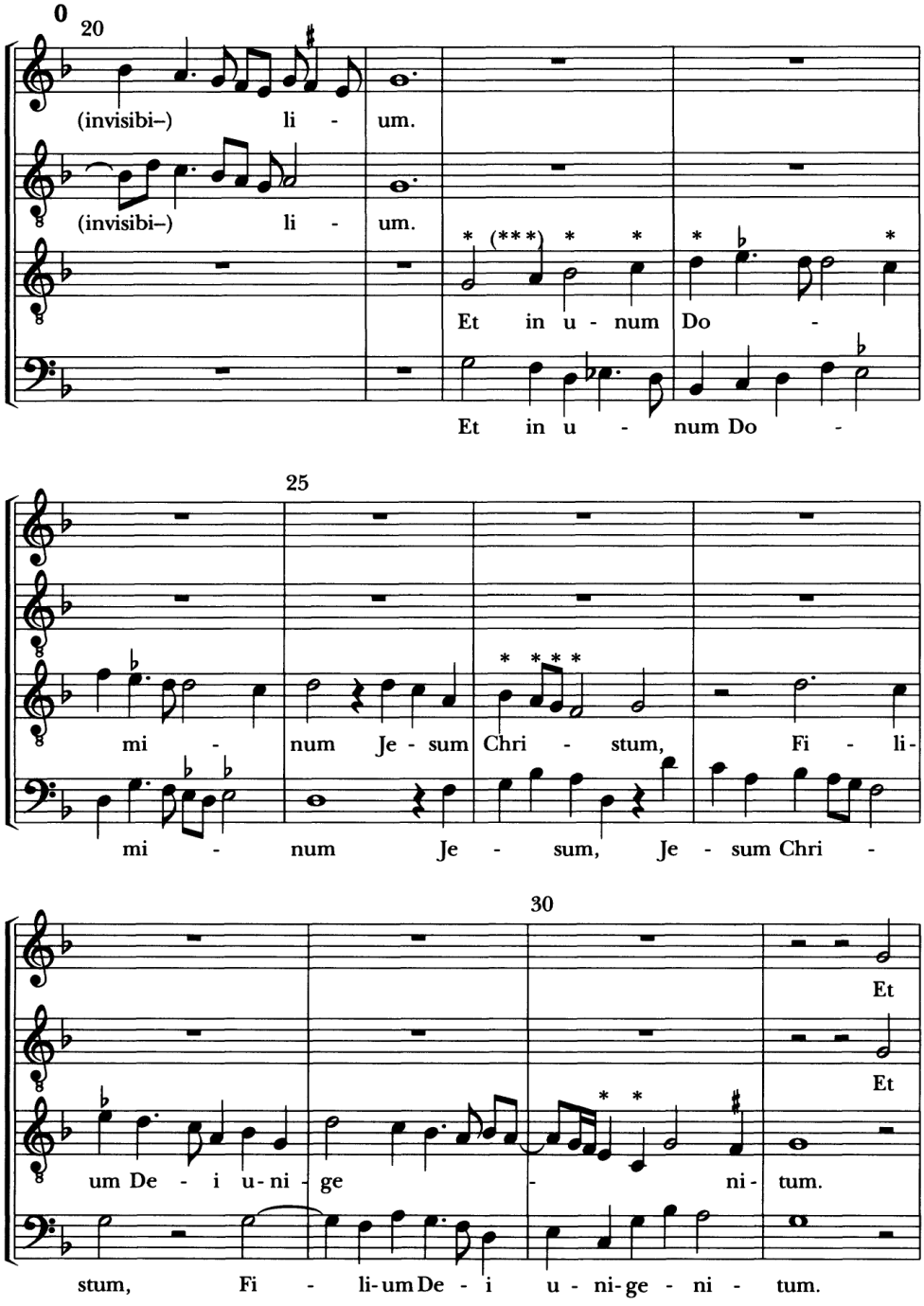
The composer's reasons for postponing the four-voice texture become clear when we look at what follows. In m. 36 all voices set in with a syllabic, chordal declamation of the words "Miserere nobis, quoniam tu solus sanctus." This is a particularly noteworthy passage, for two reasons. First, after the two melismatic duos, the syllabic passage stands out because it faithfully observes the metric stresses of the words. Most noticeably, there is an impressive climax in m. 38 on "no" (of "nobis"), with a chord spanning two octaves plus a fifth. Second, the cantus firmus virtually drops out here. Thus, while the cantus firmus entry itself was played down, the words "miserere nobis" are dramatized—but practically without reference to the cantus firmus. There can be no doubt what the composer's priorities are: the structure is deliberately contrived so as to give the central supplication of the Qui tollis maximum effect. The cantus firmus is an afterthought.

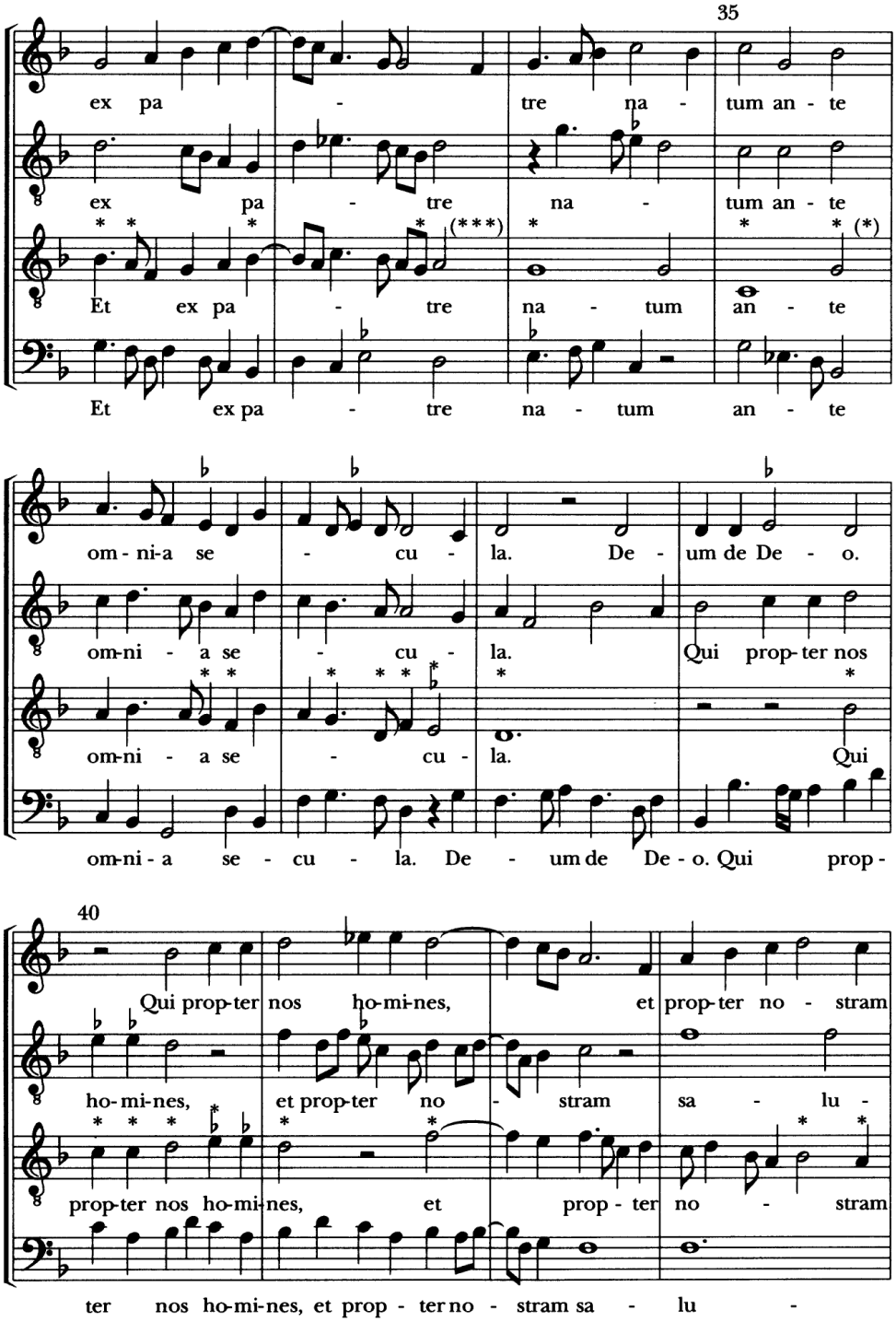
The declamatory passage is followed in m. 41 by an extended unit in "integrated" style in which all voices have more or less the same rhythmic movement. At first, the cantus firmus is treated very freely, but in m. 49 the composer shifts over to isomelism. The freest treatment is reserved for last: in the final twenty-four measures, only one in six tenor notes derives from the model.

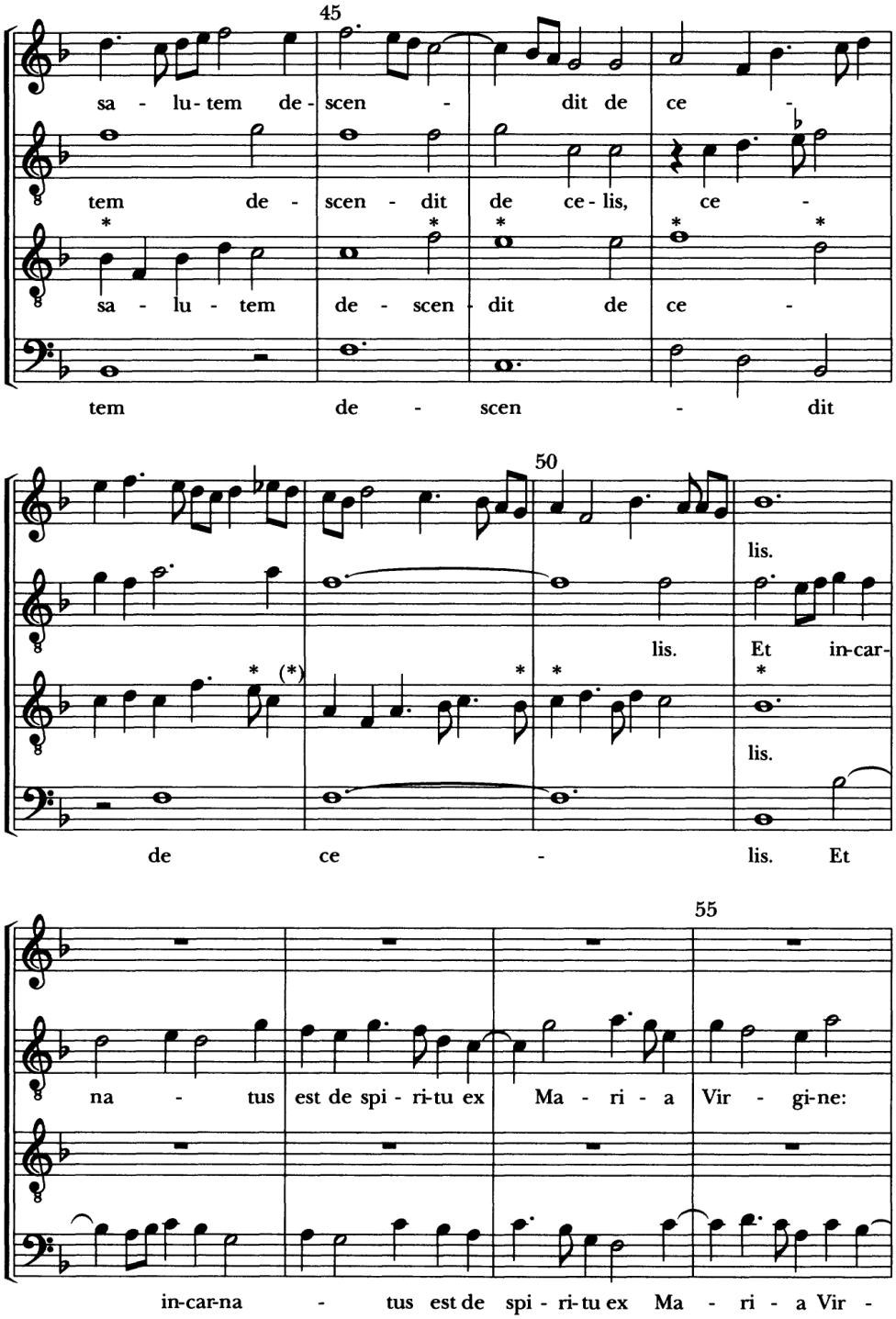
Toward the end of the section, the rhythmic pace is slowed down in a homorhythmic passage in which all voices move in breves and semibreves (mm. 69–76). This is combined with a gradual melodic descent of the voices, leading to a low point in m. 76. Then the music resurges: a point of imitation between tenor, top voice, and contratenor leads to a climax in mm. 79–81, where the three voices approach the top notes of their ranges. The rise in pitch, the increased rhythmic intensity, and the imitative style combine here to produce an energetic upward drive, which is then quickly wound up in the three measures preceding the final cadence. This is a most refined way of ending a Mass movement: first gear down, then once more step on the throttle, and gently brake to arrive at the final chord. The asterisks in Example 1, indicating cantus firmus notes, show how little this ending owes to the chanson tenor: only six notes in mm. 69–83 derive from the model.

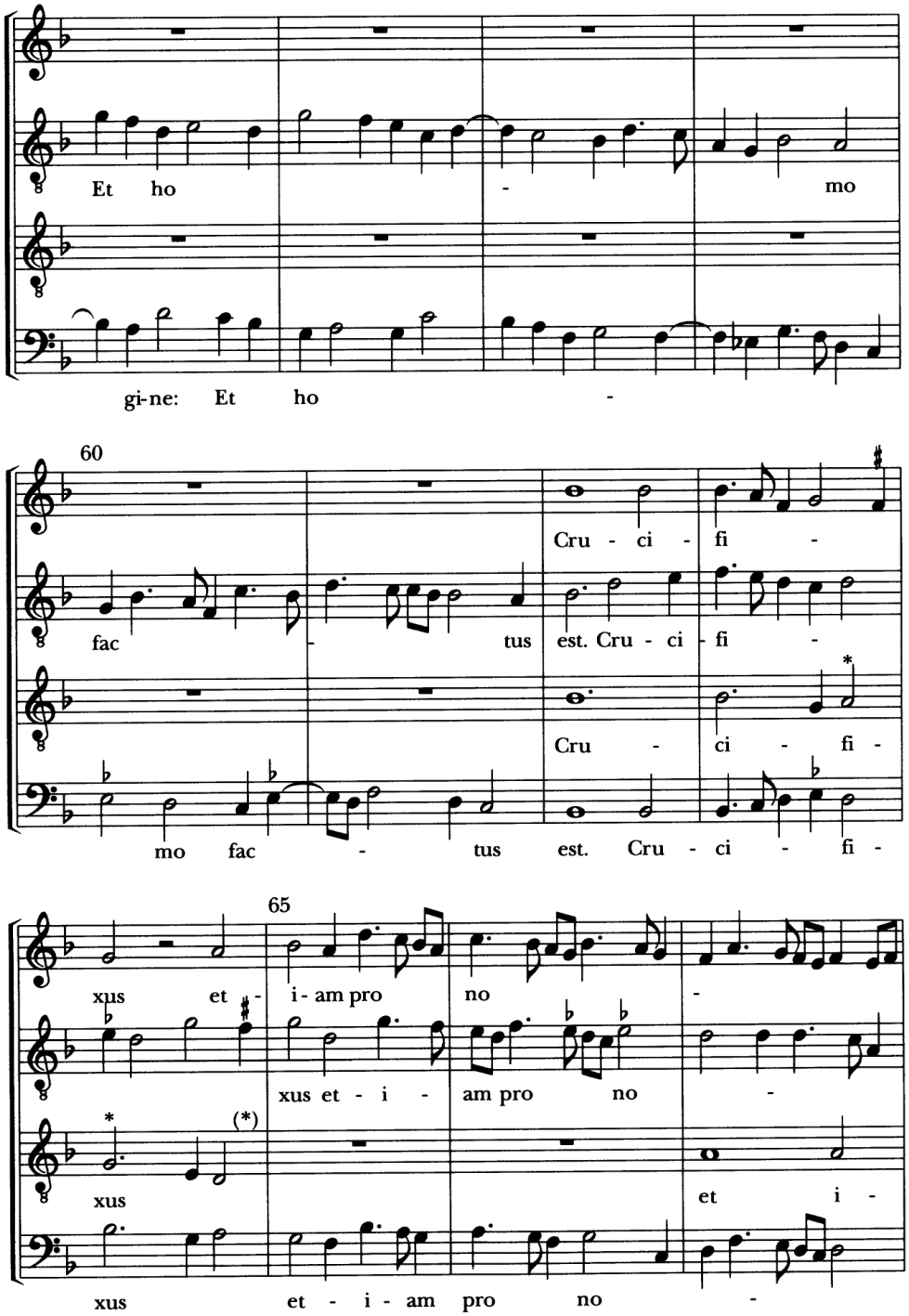
Similar skill is displayed in the Patrem (Ex. 2). Again, the cantus firmus entry is played down, by very much the same means as in the Qui tollis: omission of the second, third, and fourth notes of the song tenor, heavy ornamentation, and imitative writing.

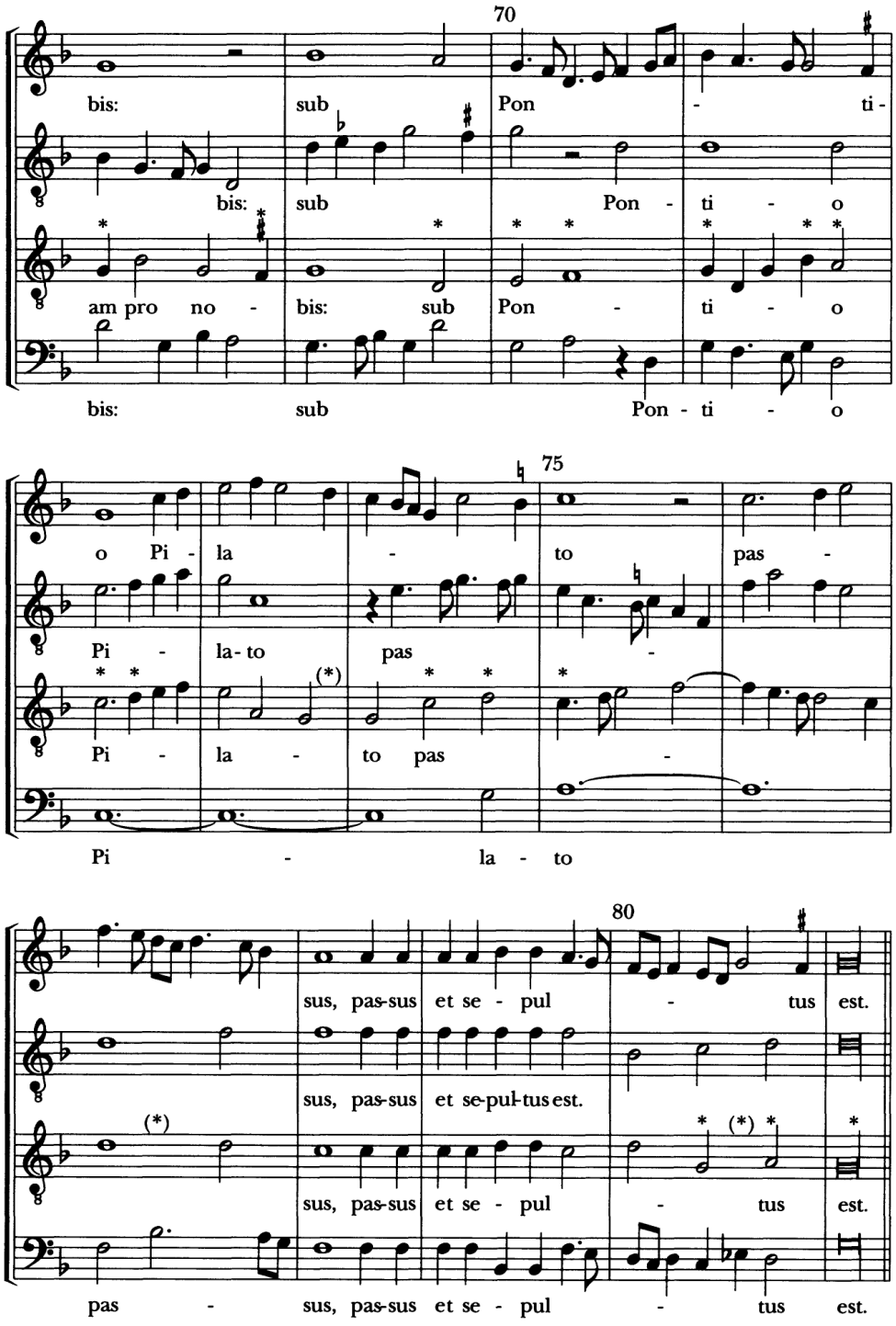
Ex. 2. *Missa D'Ung aultre amer,* Patrem mm. 20–81 (reduced by one half)




35
ex pa - tre na - tum an - te
ex pa - tre na - tum an - te
Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - te
Et ex pa - tre na - tum an - te
om - ni-a se - cu - la. De - um de De - o.
om-ni - a se - cu - la. Qui prop-ter nos
om-ni - a se - cu - la. Qui
om-ni - a se - cu - la. De - um de De - o. Qui prop -
40
Qui prop-ter nos ho-mi-nes, et prop-ter no - stram
ho- mi-nes, et prop-ter no - stram sa - lu -
prop-ter nos ho-mi-nes, et prop - ter no - stram
ter nos ho-mi-nes, et prop - ter no - stram sa - lu -


45
sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de ce -
tem de - scen - dit de ce - lis, ce -
sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de ce -
tem de - scen - dit
50
lis.
lis. Et in-car-
lis.
de ce - lis. Et
55
na - tus est de spi - ri-tu ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi-ne:
in-car-na - tus est de spi - ri-tu ex Ma - ri - a Vir -


Et ho - mo
gi-ne: Et ho -
60
Cru - ci - fi -
fac - tus est. Cru - ci - fi -
Cru - ci - fi -
mo fac - tus est. Cru - ci - fi -
65
xus et - i - am pro no -
xus et - i - am pro no -
xus
et i -
xus et - i - am pro no -

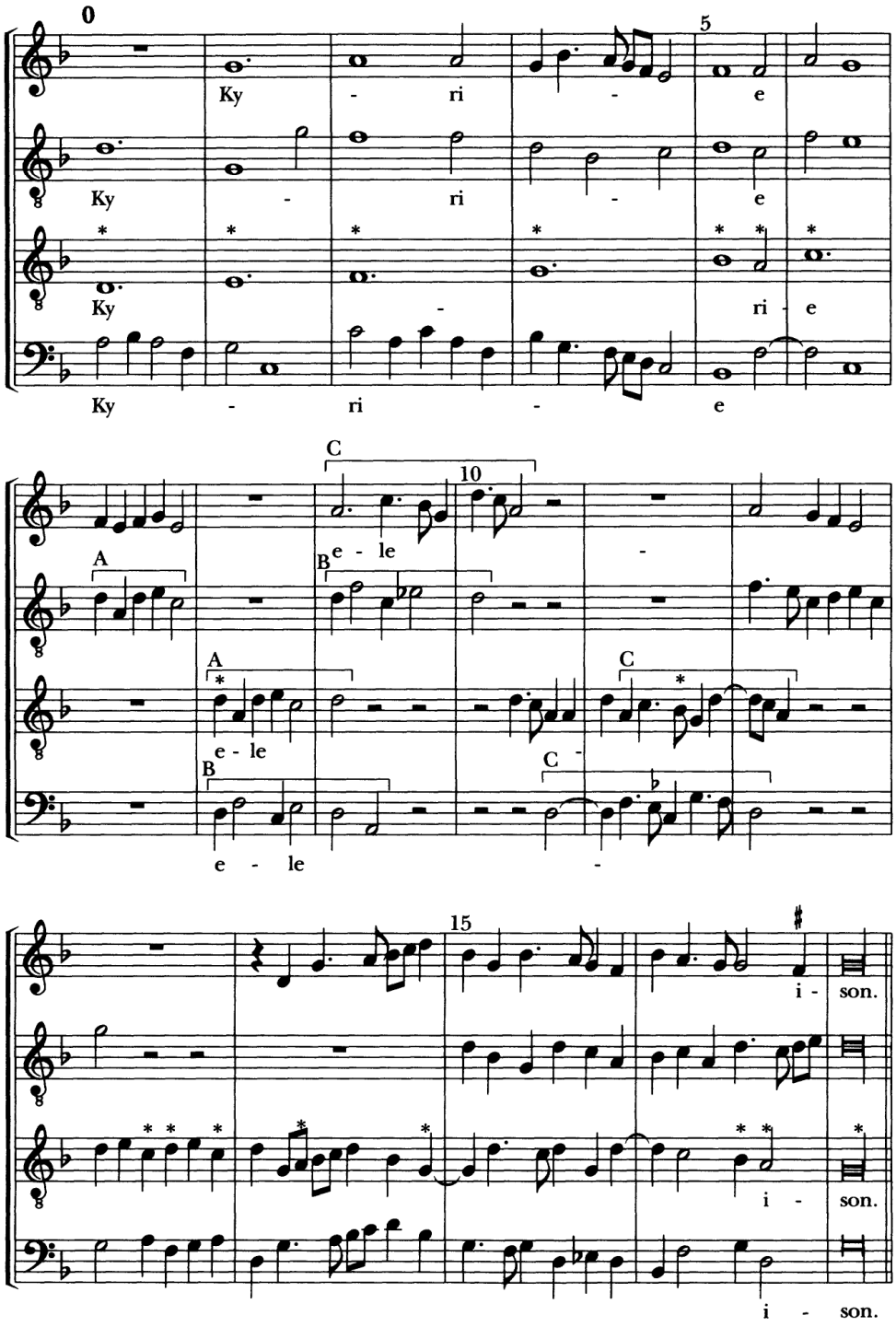

70
bis: sub Pon - ti -
bis: sub Pon - ti - o
am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti - o
bis: sub Pon - ti - o
75
o Pi - la - to pas -
Pi - la - to pas -
Pi - la - to pas -
Pi - la - to
80
sus, pas-sus et se - pul - tus est.
sus, pas-sus et se-pul-tus est.
sus, pas-sus et se - pul - tus est.
pas - sus, pas-sus et se - pul - tus est.

In m. 32 the four-voice writing starts with a brief passage, in dense and crowded "integrated" style, which mainly explores the lower regions of the voice ranges and leads to a low point in m. 38. In the subsequent point of imitation (over a repeated melodic pattern in the bass), all voices quickly ascend and gather momentum, to reach a climax in m. 41. This leads, without interruption, into a unit of marked sonorous writing and tonal propulsion (mm. 41–51). The long note values in the three lower voices lend a sense of breadth and leave the main melodic interest in the top voice, which quickly moves to the top end of its range. The music now comes full swing; it energetically propels forward, supported by the strong tonal organization of the unit. If B-flat is seen here as the relative tonic, the passage goes through a succession of vertical combinations that can be described entirely in terms of tonics and dominants: I–V–I–II–V–II–V–I_6–I–II–V–I. The drawn-out dominant in mm. 48–50, and its release in the relative tonic in m. 51, give a strong boost to the ensuing duo. This duo, a two-voice imitation, sustains the momentum initially but gradually descends, starting with the falling sequence in mm. 55–58, to the cadence of m. 62. After another passage in four-voice "integrated" style, the final buildup comes in m. 72: a unit written over two pedal points, surging toward the chord on F in m. 78. At that point the buildup turns out to have been motivated by the text: the words "passus et sepultus" are now stated in minim chords, just before the final cadence concludes the section. This way of using chordal declamation goes well beyond the conventional fifteenth-century fermata chords. The latter always appear as extraneous elements in the music, suspending its flow; here, the declamation is carefully prepared in the preceding unit.

With remarkable inventiveness and skill, then, various musical ingredients are combined to create musical arches joining several separate units. Again, it should be noted how little the musical discourse owes to the cantus firmus. Only in mm. 38–41 did the composer allow the song tenor to inspire a point of imitation, but in the context of the section as a whole this procedure merely serves to heighten the stylistic variety.

Example 3, finally, shows the second Kyrie. The section begins with a unit written in a rather relaxed style that contrasts strongly with the crowded "integrated" style we have just seen in the Patrem. The cantus firmus is quoted in breves and functions as a

Ex. 3. *Missa D'Ung aultre amer,* Kyrie II (reduced by one half)



scaffold in the traditional manner; no free notes are inserted. This passage is followed by a unit consisting of antiphonal exchanges between tenor and bass on the one hand and top voice and contratenor on the other (mm. 7–13). What is particularly striking about this passage is how the various responses are interlocked by recurring motives. Motive A functions as accompaniment in the first response but dominates the second one, where it is accompanied by motive B. This motive is in turn repeated in the third response, where it accompanies motive C. Motive C is then used for an imitation in the fourth response. The motivic economy of this passage is striking, and most unusual for Masses from this period. It should once again be emphasized that cantus firmus notes play virtually no role in the passage.

The musical examples leave no doubt that the composer of this Mass was very much aware of what he was doing. Throughout the cycle we see him trying out new things, combining styles and procedures in bold and unprecedented ways, as though his sole object were to astonish his listeners. This man struggles with his material, forcing it occasionally into contrapuntal progressions and combinations that, from our perspective, seem decidedly unorthodox. He sometimes carries on repetitions and sequences to almost grotesque lengths. But there is never any doubt that the composer knew what he was doing: if his music sometimes has a bizarre and flamboyant quality, it is because he did not take standard procedures for granted. It should be added that the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master is often able to write the most delicate counterpoint with the simplest material when the musical context seems to call for it. Examples such as the ones that have been discussed convince me that the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* is a masterpiece of genuine beauty and refinement, and shows extraordinary inventiveness.

But the Mass also raises a number of problems and questions. The first question leaps out from practically every page of the score: why did the composer use a cantus firmus at all? Since the cantus firmus was no longer effective as a structural voice, it had lost its raison d'être, and was probably more a hindrance than a help in realizing the composer's stylistic concept. True, those notes in the tenor that corresponded to the model still served as a formal excuse for the title of the Mass. But why was such an excuse needed? Why not rely on head motives alone, drop the cantus firmus, and then write freely, as Johannes Ockeghem did in his

Mass *Au travail suis*? In the latter only the Kyrie presents, in a fairly strict manner, the full tenor of the song *Au travail suis*; the other movements refer to the model only in the first few measures, and are otherwise freely composed.[5] The *D'Ung aultre amer* Master clearly did not want to go that far. Throughout his Mass, he remained faithful to the cantus firmus ideal, though more in principle than in spirit. And, as if to remove any doubt about his position on cantus firmus usage as such, he quoted the entire song tenor in its original form in the third Agnus Dei, a "strict" procedure worthy of Obrecht and Busnoys. While virtually disregarding the structural role of the cantus firmus in the rest of the Mass, he emphatically reaffirms his faith in the end, at the very point where one would expect him to play his trump card.

The second question is related to the first. We have observed that in spite of having a cantus firmus, *D'Ung aultre amer* has many attributes of a freely composed cycle. Freely composed Masses, in the broadest sense, are Ordinary settings not based on preexistent material. In a narrower sense, they constitute a historical genre in its own right, with established formal and stylistic conventions. To say that the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* seems to have been conceived and written with unusual disregard for the cantus firmus is not necessarily to imply that its stylistic and structural features are inspired by contemporary, freely composed Masses. In fact, I know of no freely composed Masses of this time that attempt to do the things that the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master does. The closest approximations are perhaps Ockeghem's Masses *Au travail suis* and *Cuiusvis toni*. Although markedly less varied and sophisticated than *D'Ung aultre amer*, both Masses do show a simple, freely conceived chain structure. However, these two cycles very probably postdate the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer*, and hence would not have inspired its composer. Where then lie the roots of the Mass's extraordinarily varied chain structure? In the surviving repertory of the 1450s and 1460s we find no precedent for the Mass. Even John Bedyngham's *Missa Dueil angoisseux* (ca. 1450), which shows an even more cavalier treatment of the cantus firmus,[6] is unlikely to have provided the inspiration, for the music of this cycle does not even remotely resemble that of *D'Ung aultre amer*. Was the chain structure then a new invention?

[5] See the analysis in Sparks, pp. 148–49.

[6] See Sparks's analysis of the Mass's cantus firmus layout and treatment, pp. 168–70 and 456–58.

If so, the third and final question becomes all the more intriguing: who was the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master, and where and when did he write his Mass?

The general historical background outlined at the beginning of this essay bears repeating here. In the 1460s and 1470s, as we have observed, every Mass composer was to some degree following his own course, and consequently the musical language of the time was explored in many different directions. For this reason, it is not difficult now to distinguish, on stylistic grounds, a Mass by Faugues from one by Busnoys, a Martini from a Dufay, a Regis from an Ockeghem. At the same time it must have been difficult for Mass composers to escape the influences of their colleagues, if only because most Masses of the time were widely circulating on the Continent. But the extent to which they could incorporate such influences was limited, for two reasons. First, most composers of the time were deeply entrenched in a personal style or a local tradition. Only a composer such as Ockeghem had the flexibility to adopt a radically new position with every second or third Mass: if his entire sacred oeuvre had survived anonymously, one could easily believe it to be the work of four or five composers. Second, it would seem likely that composers instinctively recoiled from stylistic eclecticism because of their concern to give each Mass its own color. Unification and eclecticism are difficult to reconcile.

Stylistic variety was strongly recommended by Johannes Tinctoris in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of 1477. His eighth "general rule of counterpoint" holds that "variety must be most carefully sought for," particularly in the Mass, since this genre offers most scope for variety. A composer may achieve variety if he composes "now by one quantity, then by another; now with one perfection, then with another; now with one proportion, then with another; now with one interval, then with another; now with syncopations, then without syncopations; now with imitations, then without imitations; now with pauses, then without pauses; now diminished, then as written."[7] Tinctoris declares that the sort of variety described here can be found in "an infinite number of works," citing as one example Dufay's *Missa L'Homme armé.* Puzzlingly, the latter cycle seems—as do most Masses of the time—to be a fairly homogeneous piece, and what variety there is clearly

[7] Seay, vol. 2, p. 155.

remains within a circumscribed range. Yet Tinctoris's own *L'Homme armé* Mass[8] shows that the theorist intended the principle of variety to be carried further than that. Edgar Sparks described the cantus firmus treatment in this Mass as follows:

> The famous theorist, connoisseur, and admirer of Ockeghem, Busnois, and Regis creates a work in which there is a wilderness of effects. At times he starts by treating the c.f. as a scaffold and immediately shifts over to a high degree of ornamentation in a way which recalls the practices of Ockeghem and Regis. . . ; at times he forces the c.f. to skip from voice to voice, or he repeats phrases of it, or he omits phrases and replaces them with elaborate free sections quite in the Ockeghem manner. . . . At other times he treats the c.f. in canons of greater or less extent and varying degrees of strictness as do Faugues, Busnois, and Regis. . . .[9]

Sparks concludes his discussion of Tinctoris's Mass with the following words:

> Tinctoris, without doubt, is following his own recommendation that a composer make use of all artifices in a large composition such as a Mass, but the effect, on the whole, is rather jumbled. Even at this distance in time it is possible to detect in this Mass the work of an eclectic, of a man who is aware of all the current developments and who is making a conscious attempt to combine them in his writing. The contrasting elements which are brought together in this work are found also in the works of Josquin, but there they are combined much more successfully and on a much higher musical plane.[10]

Whether Sparks's unfavorable verdict is justified or not, Tinctoris's Mass is indeed an elaborate free fantasy on the *L'Homme armé* melody, and it comes close in several respects to *D'Ung aultre amer.* But there are two important differences. First, in spite of its irregularity of cantus firmus treatment, the Mass by Tinctoris still relies heavily for its unification on the *L'Homme armé* tune: one can hear its characteristic motives at almost every turn. In contrast, *D'Ung aultre amer* positively deprives the tenor of its unifying role. Second, in Tinctoris's Mass the variety of cantus firmus treatment is not matched by an equal stylistic variety: the entire piece is written in a style that closely resembles the "integrated" style of *D'Ung aultre amer.*

But it does seem that we have here a historical context for the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer.* One could put the issue very simply as follows. In the 1470s, two aesthetic principles in the Mass, those of

[8] In W. E. Melin, ed., *Johannes Tinctoris Opera Omnia,* Corpus mensurabilis musicae 18 (N.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1976), pp. 74–114.

[9] Sparks, p. 241.

[10] *Ibid.*

variety and unification, became increasingly difficult to reconcile, because the scope for variety had dramatically increased. Was it possible to write a Mass that incorporated all available styles of the time without sacrificing its unity, its individual color? And if so, how? Tinctoris came close to a solution in his *L'Homme armé* cycle, and yet even he was unable to extend the principle of variety any further than cantus firmus treatment. What was needed, it seems, was a radical new solution.

The Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* offered that solution. Of course, we shall never know for certain whether the setting was consciously written in response to the compositional problem formulated here. But stylistically it is, without doubt, the most varied Mass cycle from the period, and the musical examples have shown that the composer was very conscious of styles and how to combine them. Moreover, several pieces fall into place once we assume that *D'Ung aultre amer* was an experiment. To begin with, it then no longer seems surprising that the composer retained the cantus firmus, for the Mass is not a reaction to the cantus firmus as such. The composer intended to present the greatest possible variety of available contemporary styles, and hence it was essential that no aspect be discarded, least of all the cantus firmus. But this attitude of compromise had its costs. In his attempt to encompass, in one cycle, the whole range of contemporary cantus firmus treatment—from strictest to freest—the composer stretched irregularity of treatment to a point where the tenor had ceased to be effective as a structural voice. The incorporation of the cantus firmus had become a formality, an excuse for the title, detectable only on paper. If the experiment was to succeed, a new type of structure had to come in its place.

The composer's solution, the chain structure, was a masterstroke. It not only enabled him to present a wide range of styles in succession, but also offered the possibility of creating a new type of musical coherence, replacing the coherence provided by the cantus firmus. As we have seen in the musical examples, there is a strong sense of continuity in the succession of the units. To achieve this, the composer turned the possibilities inherent in each style to maximum advantage. The imitations, chordal sections, rises in pitch, rhythmic intensifications, reductions in scoring, and so on are not introduced merely to heighten the stylistic variety: they have a function within the broader flow of the music.

The chain structure represents an advance in "listener-orientedness" as well. Tinctoris had already observed that "diversity in music brings vehement delight to the souls of the listeners."[11] But in addition to this, the chain structure of the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* can be perceived and appreciated audibly; hence it has much more direct musical appeal than a pure cantus firmus structure. Moreover, the structure offers new possibilities of articulating and clarifying the text. The *D'Ung aultre amer* Master consciously seized upon these possibilities; the "miserere nobis" passage in the Qui tollis and the "passus et sepultus" passage in the Patrem are eloquent examples. On a purely musical level, the composer's consistent pursuit of striking musical effects points to a new attitude toward the listener. Only in one instance is he tempted to introduce an element that has significance only on paper: this is the unnecessarily complicated *subtripla tertias* proportion in the second Agnus Dei, where triplets appear that, in ¢, could have been achieved simply by either putting in the figure "3" or by coloration.[12] Apart from that, the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* is a triumph of listener-oriented composition over cerebral construction.

It would be pointless to search for antecedents of the chain structure of *D'Ung aultre amer*: it was an ad hoc invention, and one of stunning originality. Who could have invented it? The Mass, being the unique work that it is, has no direct stylistic context in contemporary cycles, and hence it offers exceedingly few clues to the identity of the composer. A good case can be made, however, for central France as the area where he was active.

First, if the Mass was an experiment, the choice of an Ockeghem song as the model surely has more significance than it would have had in any conventional Mass. At the very least, it suggests proximity of the anonymous composer to Ockeghem, if indeed it was not Ockeghem himself.

Second, the "double cursus" layout of the tenor in the Gloria, Credo, and Agnus Dei is also found in two contemporary Masses with strong French links. The first is the Mass *Le serviteur* of

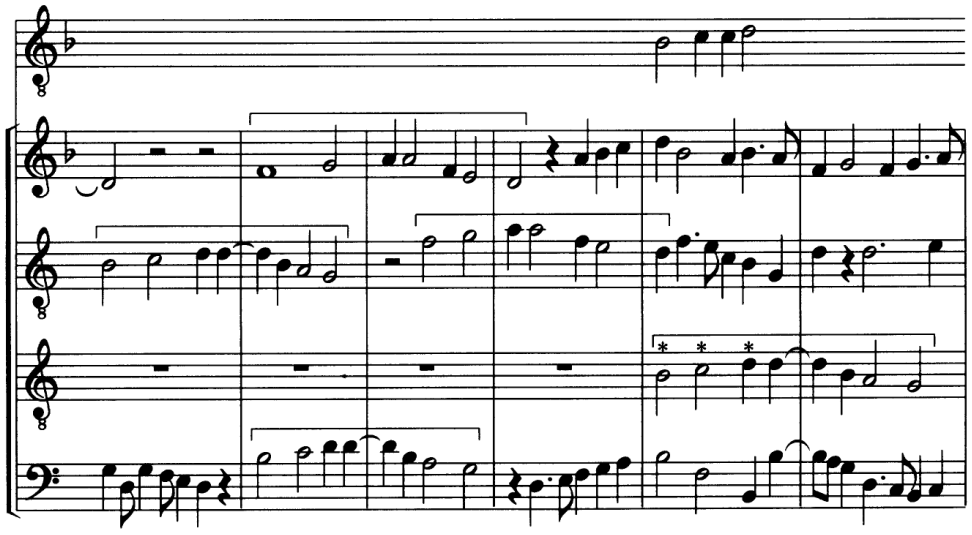
[11] Seay, vol. 2, p. 155.

[12] The proportion in this passage (notated in all three sources as 3/9) is highly anomalous. From the context it is apparent that the intended proportion (in relation to ¢) is 3/1 on the level of the breve, that is, diminution by a factor 3. The notated proportion, however, calls for triple augmentation, and is therefore erroneous. In other contexts, the composer achieves the same rhythm by indicating *sesquialtera* proportion (either by coloration or the cipher "3").

Faugues, who was active in Bourges. The second, *Puisque je vis*, shows close stylistic correspondences with Dufay's Mass *Ecce ancilla Domini*, and Laurence Feininger's ascription to this composer is certainly convincing.[13]

Finally, further connections with Faugues are suggested by the occurrence in *D'Ung aultre amer* of a procedure that was virtually Faugues's stock-in-trade. This is the bringing in and expansion of imitations from the model.[14] Ockeghem's rondeau *D'Ung aultre amer* has an imitation between tenor and top voice at the beginning of the secunda pars. The *D'Ung aultre amer* Master realized that this point of imitation was capable of expansion, and he exploited this inherent capacity several times. In the Patrem (Ex. 2, mm. 38–42), for instance, the point of imitation was extended to include three voices. In the Christe and Et in terra the composer increased the number of voices to four. Faugues employed this same procedure extensively in his Masses *Le serviteur* and *Je suis en la mer*. The *D'Ung aultre amer* Master was very probably aware of Faugues's precedent. He slightly changed the rhythmization of his motive on each appearance, and in the Et in terra he made it identical to a motive used in several points of imitation in Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur* (Ex. 4).

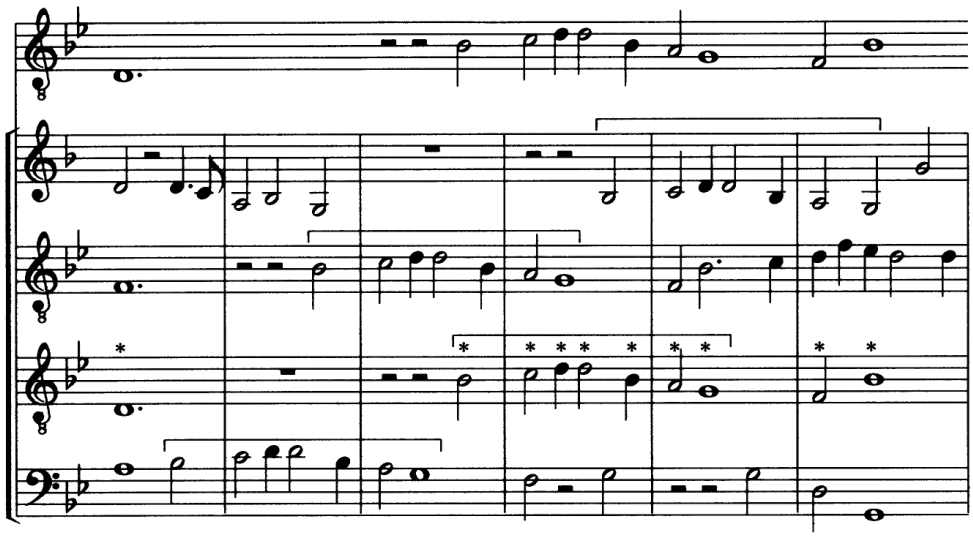
Ex. 4a. *Missa D'Ung aultre amer*, Et in terra mm. 44–49, with corresponding passage in tenor of Ockeghem's rondeau *D'Ung aultre amer*



[13] See note 4 above. In terms of style, the anonymous *Missa Puisque je vis* is a virtual twin of Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini*. It shares with the latter Mass its balanced and extraordinarily transparent design, its lucid part writing, and its refined phrase structure.

[14] Wegman.

Ex. 4b. Guillaume Faugues: *Missa Le serviteur*, Patrem mm. 59–63, with corresponding passage in tenor of Dufay's rondeau *Le serviteur*



Assuming that the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master was active in central France, the first candidate who comes to mind is, of course, Ockeghem. The bold conception underlying the Mass is certainly compatible with Ockeghem's originality and readiness to experiment with new approaches. Yet, fascinating though this possibility may be, the style of *D'Ung aultre amer* is very far removed from Ockeghem as we know him. True, with a man who shifted his position as often as Ockeghem, it is difficult to say what style he was *not* capable of writing. Yet in *D'Ung aultre amer* we find not even the remotest trace of some of Ockeghem's favorite stylistic devices. One looks in vain for his typical dense sonorities, for the frequent parallel thirds between the lowest two voices that characterize so many of his Masses. And Ockeghem's pronounced tendency to have his lines move aimlessly within a restricted melodic range is virtually absent. In fact, one of the most striking aspects of the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* is the often staggering virtuosity of the melodic lines: their angularity, quick turns, rapid rises, steep falls, sudden leaps, and sometimes obsessive repetitiveness. If this were the work of Ockeghem, a drastic revision of what we know about his music would be necessary.

Some correspondences with Faugues's Masses have already been mentioned. To these could be added the character of the melodic lines: the melodic style described above is a trait as much

of Faugues as it is of the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master.[15] In his *Je suis en la mer* cycle, Faugues comes very close indeed to the Master in some aspects of style, and on that basis he seems a more credible candidate than Ockeghem. Yet Faugues's four surviving Masses show that he was firmly entrenched in a personal style, and tended to use the same procedures and conventions again and again. The Mass *D'Ung aultre amer*, by comparison, has shaken off all conventions, and explores areas that seem quite beyond the imagination of Faugues.

It is puzzling, incidentally, that the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* was tentatively attributed by Feininger to Philippe Basiron,[16] particularly because Paula Higgins has recently discovered that Basiron sang as a choirboy under Faugues in 1462.[17] Feininger may not always have been impeccable in his scholarship, but he was well ahead of his time in his intuition in matters of style. Nevertheless, close parallels to the typical procedures of the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master are not apparent in Basiron's surviving Masses.[18] Without knowing Feininger's reasons for attributing the Mass to him, it is difficult to consider Basiron a probable candidate.

There are, in fact, no firm indications pointing to any known composer, and there remains a strong possibility that the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* was written by a composer whose other work does not survive. It may seem improbable, given the extraordinary quality of the work, but under the circumstances this remains the most likely possibility. It might therefore be best simply to call the composer, as I have done here, the *D'Ung aultre amer* Master.

Stylistic indications as to the date of the Mass are more explicit, but they seem to be contradicted by external evidence. The Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* was copied around 1474 in VatS 51, in 1475 in

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] See J. M. Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae Codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo expressi*, Studi e testi 102 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960), p. 20.

[17] P. M. Higgins, *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987), pp. 257–59.

[18] In his forthcoming edition of the works of Basiron, Jeffrey Dean will discuss the possibility of Basiron's authorship in more detail than the scope of the present article allows. For now I remain doubtful, but Dean has discovered stylistic correspondences in Basiron's *Missa de Franza* that he believes may justify a tentative attribution to this composer. In a private communication dated 3 November 1989, Christopher Reynolds informed me that he will propose an attribution to Loyset Compère in a forthcoming article on the *Missa D'Ung aultre amer*.

VatSP B80, and presumably in the late 1470s in VerBC 755.[19] Christopher Reynolds has shown that the layer of VatSP B80 which contains the Mass was copied directly from a lost source dating 1463.[20] That would seem to fix the *terminus ante quem* at 1463. However, this date is questionable in that a huge stylistic gap separates *D'Ung aultre amer* from the cycles that are known to date from the 1460s. In fact, everything in the music suggests that the Mass was a recent composition when its first surviving copy, VatS 51, was written. What then about the lost source of 1463? I consider it very unlikely that a Mass as advanced as *D'Ung aultre amer* could have been contained in this early source. It is far more probable that another Mass appeared in the source, and that twelve years later the scribe of VatSP B80 substituted the presumably more recent Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* in its place. I therefore propose a date in the early 1470s.

One final question remains: did the Mass *D'Ung aultre amer* have any influence on later Masses? This question is difficult to answer, for the period in which we should have been able to detect that influence, the late 1470s and 1480s, is among the more shadowy phases of Renaissance music history. The few surviving Mass sources from this period suggest that a major break occurred around 1480. For instance, the number of Masses from the 1470s that were still being copied in the mid-1480s is surprisingly small—as is immediately apparent from the concordance lists of such manuscripts as TrentC 91, VatSP B80, VatS 14 and 51, and VerBC 755. Apparently, young men such as Obrecht, Isaac, and Josquin quickly conquered the stage; the Masses of the 1460s and 1470s were, it would appear, soon forgotten. So whatever influence *D'Ung aultre amer* may have had, it must have been rather limited—through no fault of the Mass itself, I might add, for even such an outstanding composer as Ockeghem does not appear to have been particularly influential in the 1480s.

[19] For the date of VatS 51, see Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der Päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471–1484). Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Capella Sistina der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (Ph.D. diss., University of Frankfurt-am-Main, 1982), pp. 237–40. Christopher Reynolds has convincingly argued that VatSP B80 was copied by Nicholas Ausquier in 1475; see his "The Origins of San Pietro B80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," *Early Music History* 1 (1981): pp. 257–304. The VatS 51 and VerBC 755 versions of the *Missa D'Ung aultre amer* clearly go back to a common source; VatSP B80 stands alone, and has several corruptions; the version in the latter source seems more closely related to VerBC 755 than to VatS 51.

[20] Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B80," pp. 286–90.

But, regardless of its historical significance, *D'Ung aultre amer* is a remarkable composition in its own right. The Mass is a brilliantly worked-out solution to a compositional problem that became critical in the 1470s. Unfortunately, it has reached the twentieth century as another of the countless numbers of anonymous fifteenth-century compositions. One wonders how this piece would have been received if it had survived with an attribution. With a name like that of Dufay or Ockeghem, *D'Ung aultre amer* might have been studied and discussed in monographs and articles, edited, performed in concerts, recorded, and broadcast. In spite of its anonymity, this Mass more than deserves such recognition. It is music intended to appeal, not to the score reader, but to the performer and the listener. This article is, therefore, an impassioned plea to have this Mass performed in our time, to let it speak for itself where the words of the analyst must fall short. This is a rose that would smell as sweet, not only by any other name, but even under no name at all.