

## ANOTHER MASS BY BUSNOYS?

BY ROB C. WEGMAN

IN the past ten years or so there has been a remarkable upsurge of publications dealing with the life and music of Antoine Busnoys.<sup>1</sup> Increasingly, musicologists regard the composer as one of the great innovators of the Okeghem generation, a man who in his sacred works introduced and developed many of the traits that were to characterize the style of the next generation.<sup>2</sup>

Busnoys has earned his present reputation on the basis of a small sacred *oeuvre* exceeded in size by those of several lesser fifteenth-century composers: two Masses and a handful of smaller sacred works.<sup>3</sup> Since these few compositions alone show him to have been a bold experimenter, one would expect each work that can be added to his sacred output to reveal new and unsuspected aspects of his musical personality. The present article describes and attributes to Busnoys an anonymous Mass which—if it is by him—fully lives up to this expectation.

The work in question, the *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'*, survives only in Vatican Library, MS Cappella Sistina 51, a source dating almost certainly from the 1470s, perhaps as early as 1474.<sup>4</sup> Joseph Llorens has already tentatively attributed the *L'Ardant desir* Mass to Busnoys in his catalogue of the musical manuscripts of the Sistine Chapel.<sup>5</sup> Like most of the tentative attributions in the catalogue, this ascription stems from Laurence Feininger.<sup>6</sup> So far, Busnoys specialists have not seriously

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Carlton Gamer, 'Busnoys, Brahms and the Syntax of Temporal Proportions', *A Festschrift for Albert Seay*, ed. Michael D. Grace, Colorado Springs, 1982, pp. 201-15; Leeman Perkins, 'The *L'Homme armé* Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: a Comparison', *Journal of Musicology*, iii (1984), 363-96; Paula Higgins, 'In hydraulis Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxix (1986), 36-86; Richard Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxix (1986), 255-93; Paula Higgins, *Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth Century France and Burgundy* (unpublished dissertation), Princeton University, 1987; Mary Natvig, 'The Motets of Busnoys and Josquin: Influence and *Imitatio*' (paper read at the American Musicological Society National Convention, New Orleans, 16 October 1987; this paper was not available to me); Rob C. Wegman, 'Busnoys' "Anthoni usque limina" and the Order of St. Antoine-en-Barbefosse in Hainaut', *Studi musicali*, xvii (1988), 15-31.

<sup>2</sup> A point first made by Edgar Sparks in 'The Motets of Antoine Busnoys', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vi (1953), 216-26, and further elaborated in the same author's *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963, pp. 212-41.

<sup>3</sup> Busnoys's productivity in the field of secular music was greater: the number of surviving songs attributed to him is more than 60. However, it is Busnoys's sacred compositions which have mainly earned him his present reputation (cf. the literature cited in n. 1, above).

<sup>4</sup> Adelbert 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* (unpublished dissertation), University of Frankfurt, 1982, pp. 237-40.

<sup>5</sup> *Capellae Sixtinae Codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo expressi* ('Studi e testi', ccii), Vatican City, 1960, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Llorens mentioned this in a private communication to Edward Stam: see Stam's 'Die richtige Lösung des Rätselkanons "Quod jactatur" von Johannes Ciconia', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse*

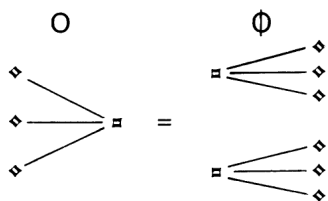
considered Feininger's ascription. This article argues that in view of its mensural usage, musical style, structure, and possibly its transmission, the Mass was indeed most probably written by Antoine Busnoys.

#### MENSURAL USAGE

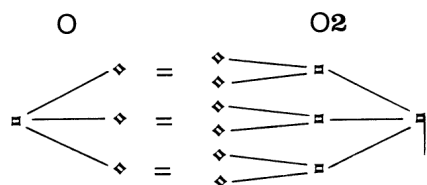
The Mass *L'Ardant desir* employs in five sections a relatively rare mensuration sign which is known to have been a special favourite of Busnoys's:  $\bigcirc 2$ . In no fewer than eight of his thirteen sacred works this sign is applied very prominently; in two of these it is the only mensuration.<sup>7</sup> In the mensural notation system, the sign  $\bigcirc 2$  denoted duple diminution of perfect time. In theory the diminution was to be carried out, just as in  $\emptyset$ , on the level of the breve, leaving the mensural relationships of perfect time intact (see Fig. 1a). However, in practice the diminution was carried out on the level of the semibreve rather than the breve, and as a consequence the mensural relationships were altered: the breve no longer consisted of three semibreves, as in  $\emptyset$  and  $\bigcirc$ , but of two (see Fig. 1b). Thus, paradoxically, the sign  $\bigcirc 2$  became equivalent to  $\text{♩}$ , save that the division of the *longa* was ternary, not binary. This latter phenomenon, ternary division of the *longa*, was known in the

Fig. 1

- (a) Diminution on the level of the breve: one perfect breve in  $\bigcirc$  is equivalent to two perfect breves in  $\Phi$ . The mensural relationships remain intact.



- (b) Diminution on the level of the semibreve: one semibreve in  $\bigcirc$  is equivalent to two semibreves in  $\bigcirc 2$ . The mensural relationships are changed: one perfect breve in  $\bigcirc$  is equivalent to three imperfect breves in  $\bigcirc 2$ . The *longa* in  $\bigcirc 2$  is perfect (*perfect minor modus*).



*Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxi (1970), 163 (I am indebted to Professor Chris Maas for drawing my attention to this article).

<sup>7</sup> Busnoys employed the signature  $\bigcirc 2$  in his Masses *L'Homme armé* and *O crux lignum triumphale*, in his *Magnificat sexti toni*, and in his motets 'Anthoni usque limina', 'Victimae paschali', 'Noel noel noel', and 'Alleluja verbum caro est'. The *Magnificat octavi toni* which is almost certainly by Busnoys (Vatican Library, MS San Pietro B 80, ff. 219<sup>v</sup>-224<sup>r</sup>; Milan, Cappella Musicale del Duomo, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica, MS Librone 1 (*olim* 2269), ff. 17<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Lit. a. 6, f. 109<sup>r-v</sup>) also makes use of  $\bigcirc 2$  (see Charles Hamm, 'The Manuscript San Pietro B 80', *Revue belge de musicologie*, xiv (1960), 45; Chris J. Maas, *Geschiedenis van het meerstemmig Magnificat tot omstreeks 1525*, Groningen, 1967, pp. 82-84).

mensural notation system as perfect *minor modus*.<sup>8</sup> Perfect *minor modus* was not unique to  $\circ 2$ , but could be used in any mensuration. There was no special sign to denote it, but the standard method of notating perfection of the *longa* was to group breve rests in threes rather than twos.

It is crucial to the present discussion that in most of Busnoys's sacred works, including his two Masses, the *longae* are perfect not just in  $\circ 2$ , but in virtually all mensurations. We know this because whenever more than two consecutive breve rests occur in these mensurations, they are consistently grouped in threes rather than twos. The entire Mass *L'Homme armé*,<sup>9</sup> for instance, is almost certainly composed in perfect *minor modus*; and so, probably, is Busnoys's other cycle, the Mass *O crux lignum triumphale*.<sup>10</sup>

The conclusion of this must be that Busnoys had a fondness not just for the sign  $\circ 2$  as such (which was simply an alternative sign for  $\text{♩}$  in perfect *minor modus*) but for perfect *minor modus* in general, regardless of the mensuration sign under which it occurred. This fondness is, so far as I know, quite unique to him, and it would not be an exaggeration to speak of a personal mensural habit. Indeed, an extensive search in sources and editions of late fifteenth-century Masses reveals that only two other cycles, Dufay's *Missa 'Se la face ay pale'* and an anonymous *Sine nomine* Mass in Trent MS 89,<sup>11</sup> make use of perfect *minor modus* to the same extent that Busnoys did in his two Masses. The Mass *L'Ardant desir* employs perfect *minor modus* to a slightly lesser degree, namely in (at least) thirteen of its eighteen sections (five of which are in  $\circ 2$ ; see Fig. 2). Although this in itself tells us little more than that there is an above average probability that Busnoys was the author of the Mass, the occurrence of a further mensural peculiarity adds significantly to this probability.

As explained above, the sign  $\circ 2$  was equivalent to  $\text{♩}$  in perfect *minor modus*. One of the features of  $\text{♩}$  was that it called for a tempo increase; hence composers tended to use larger note-values in this mensuration. In several of Busnoys's sacred works we find a similar shift to larger note-values in  $\circ 2$ , confirming that the sign was indeed equivalent to  $\text{♩}$ . However, from some point in time, I presume shortly before 1470, Busnoys ceased to make such shifts to larger note-values in  $\circ 2$ , using instead the same note-values as in perfect time. The works in which this happens are 'Anthoni usque limina' and the Mass *L'Homme armé*.<sup>12</sup> In these two works Busnoys probably no longer intended the sign  $\circ 2$  to call for a tempo increase at all; in other words, he considered the sign to be equivalent to  $\text{♩}$ , not  $\text{♩}$ . This assumption is confirmed by the fact that some sections of the *L'Homme armé* Mass which occur with  $\circ 2$  in some

<sup>8</sup> See Johannes Tinctoris's discussion of  $\circ 2$  in his *Proportionale: Opera theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay ('Corpus scriptorum de musica', xxii), iia (American Institute of Musicology, [Rome], 1978), 55-56, and Tinctoris, *Proportions in Music*, trans. Seay, Colorado Springs, 1979, pp. 43-44.

<sup>9</sup> *Antonius Busnois, Missa super L'Homme armé*, ed. Feininger ('Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae', I/i/2), Rome, 1948.

<sup>10</sup> *Antoine Busnois: Missa 'O crux lignum'*, ed. Donald W. Shipley ('Das Chorwerk', cxxiii), Wolfenbüttel, 1978. This Mass employs the perfect *minor modus* signatures  $\circ 2$  and  $\circ 3$  ('Qui tollis', 'Et incarnatus' and Agnus Dei II). Ternary groupings of breve rests indicate that several of the movements in  $\circ$  and  $\text{♩}$  are also in perfect *minor modus* (Kyrie I, 'Et in terra', 'Patrem', 'Confiteor', Sanctus, 'Pleni', 'Osanna', Agnus Dei I). Evidence for or against perfect *minor modus* is lacking in the Kyrie II, Benedictus and Agnus Dei III, while in the 'Christe' the grouping of the breve rests is binary rather than ternary. Richard Taruskin argues that these sections are to be interpreted in perfect *minor modus* (see his forthcoming edition, *Antoine Busnoys: The Latin-Texted Works*).

<sup>11</sup> The anonymous Mass is in Trent Codex 89, ff. 273<sup>v</sup>-281<sup>r</sup>, and is written entirely in  $\circ 2$ . The possibility that this, too, is a Mass by Busnoys must be considered seriously.

<sup>12</sup> In my article 'Busnoys' "Anthoni usque limina"' I suggest a date in the 1470s for the motet 'Anthoni usque limina'. On stylistic grounds, I believe the Mass *L'Homme armé* to be of around 1470. Richard Taruskin has suggested that Busnoys wrote the *L'Homme armé* Mass around 1460 ('Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition', p. 265 n. 20).

Fig. 2

Sections	Mensuration signs in all voices except Tenor ■ = perfect <i>minor modus</i> ◆ = imperfect <i>minor modus</i>	Mensuration signs in Tenor* (reconstructed) and cantus firmus phrases
Kyrie I	○ ■	○ A
Christe	○2 ■	— —
Kyrie II	○ ■ ? ◆ ?	○ B
Et in terra	○ ■	○ AB
Domine Deus	○2 ■	○ AB
Cum Sancto	C ◆	C AB
Patrem	○ ■	○ AB
Et incarnatus	♠ ■	— —
Et resurrexit	○2 ■	C AB
Confiteor	C ◆	C AB
Sanctus	○ ■	♠ A
Pleni	○ ■ ? ◆ ?	— —
Osanna	○2 ■	C B
Benedictus	C3 ◆	— —
Osanna	○ ■	○ AB
Agnus I	○ ◆	○ AB
Agnus II	○2 ■	○2 AB
Agnus III	♠ ■	♠ AB

\* The cantus firmus of the Mass *L'Ardant desir* was originally almost certainly provided with verbal canons in most sections (see below); the various tenors were presumably performed in the mensurations given here *after* the canonic procedures had been applied.

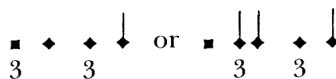
sources, occur with C in perfect *minor modus* in others.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the absence of a tempo increase in ○2 in the *L'Homme armé* Mass is also the interpretation chosen intuitively by musicians. Bruno Turner's well-known recording of the Mass, with *Pro Cantione Antiqua*, keeps the same speed for ○ and ○2: in both mensurations the chosen tempo is 60 to 66 semibreves per minute.<sup>14</sup>

This mensural peculiarity of Busnoys's occurs, so far as I know, in no other composition of around this time except, significantly, the anonymous *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'*.<sup>15</sup> Here, just as in the two works already mentioned, the composer uses the

<sup>13</sup> See Taruskin, op. cit., pp. 268–71. Taruskin, however, argues that ○2 and C in Busnoys's *Missa 'L'Homme armé'* are different in their effect (namely that the tempo ratio ○2:C is 2:1), and that Busnoys originally wrote C, the signature ○2 being added later in less reliable copies of the Mass. I have questioned this view in 'Communications', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlii (1989), 435–41.

<sup>14</sup> Archiv Production, Stereo 253 3404 (1978).

<sup>15</sup> A notable exception may be Josquin's 'Praeter rerum seriem': the first section of this motet employs ○2, but the note-values suggest that the signature is equivalent to C rather than ♠. It is not inconceivable that Josquin was influenced here by Busnoys's motets. In this connection it is worth pointing out that there exists another setting of the 'Praeter rerum' melody, one which I believe is very probably by Busnoys. This is the motet 'Incomprehensibilia firme'/'Praeter rerum ordinem' in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 755, ff. 101<sup>v</sup>–104<sup>r</sup>. This extremely interesting work consists of three sections, whose mensurations are, respectively, ○ (in perfect *minor modus*), ○2 and ○3. The same mensuration scheme was employed by Busnoys in 'Victimae paschali' and the Mass *O crux lignum triumphale* (Gloria). Apart from that, there is a significant notational feature, found almost exclusively in works by Busnoys, which also occurs in the Verona motet: this is the adding of the figure 3 underneath successive *minor color* rhythms, as follows:



same note-values in  $\circ 2$  as in  $\circ$ . Although this does not in itself prove that Busnoys must be the author of the Mass, it seems reasonable to conclude that the anonymous composer is to be sought in the musical circles in which Busnoys worked. First, like Busnoys the composer had a fondness for perfect *minor modus* in different mensurations, a very rare phenomenon in the fifteenth-century Mass. And second, like Busnoys, and probably unlike any other composer of this generation, he employed  $\circ 2$  in a very specific sense, namely as equivalent to C in perfect *minor modus*. In short, he was a man who adopted the very same peculiar mensural habits that characterize Busnoys's later sacred compositions.<sup>16</sup>

#### MUSICAL STRUCTURE

The *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'* is one of the most impressive examples of schematic cantus firmus manipulation in a fifteenth-century Mass cycle, surpassed in its ingenuity only by Jacob Obrecht's Masses. Before dealing with the various manipulations to which the 'L'ardant desir' tenor is subjected in the cycle, I will provide a brief description of schematic cantus firmus manipulation and its importance for Busnoys's Masses.<sup>17</sup>

When there is schematic cantus firmus manipulation in a Mass, the cantus firmus remains unchanged in its notated form throughout the cycle. But, as a sounding voice, it appears in various transformations derived from the notated form with the help of different external clues to its interpretation (usually mensuration signs or verbal canons). These external clues can affect almost every single parameter of the cantus firmus: for example, proportion (by augmentation or diminution), pitch (by transposition), intervallic motion (by inversion), the order of the notes (by retrograde motion), and the mensural relationships between different note-values (by changes of mensuration). The schematic procedures by which the different tenors are derived are essentially non-musical: intervals, notes and note-values are treated as isolated particles with manipulable properties rather than as elements of a musical structure. Composers who employed schematic manipulation regarded a cantus firmus as mere construction material, to be rearranged or transformed in every possible schematic way, rather than as a source of musical inspiration, generating musical ideas in the voices that surround it.

In his two surviving Masses, Busnoys shows that he took a special interest in the systematic application of schematic cantus firmus treatment. In his Mass *O crux*

Tinctoris describes this feature in the *Proportionale*, stating that it occurs only in works by Busnoys (*Opera theoretica*, iia. 52; *Proportions in Music*, p. 40; see also Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, trans. Clement A. Miller ('Musicological Studies and Documents', xx), American Institute of Musicology, [Rome], 1968, p. 178). The curious notational habit described by Tinctoris occurs in Busnoys's lost motet 'Animadvertere', the Mass *L'Homme armé* (Sanctus, bar 30—see Gaffurius, op. cit.—and 'Osanna', bar 27), 'Victimae paschali' (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5557, f. 85<sup>v</sup>) and 'Regina caeli I' (Brussels 5557, f. 86<sup>v</sup>). It also occurs in the 'Esurientes' section of the anonymous *Magnificat octavi toni*, which is almost certainly by Busnoys (see n. 7, above). The only instances I know in works not by Busnoys are mentioned in Charles Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice*, Princeton, 1964, pp. 52-53. The presence of this device in the Verona motet, together with the mensuration scheme  $\circ - \circ 2 - \circ 3$ , must be regarded as very strong evidence for Busnoys's authorship.

<sup>16</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that the composer of the Mass *L'Ardant desir* interprets the sign C3 differently from Busnoys in his Mass *L'Homme armé*. In the 'Tu solus' of the latter work, there is triple division of the semibreve under C3, while in the Benedictus of the Mass *L'Ardant desir* the triple division under C3 occurs on the level of the breve. Busnoys was, however, not unfamiliar with the latter interpretation of C3: it occurs in his motet 'Conditor alme siderum'. The two interpretations of C3 coexisted in the late fifteenth century; Tinctoris condemned them both (*Opera theoretica*, iia. 56; *Proportions in Music*, p. 44).

<sup>17</sup> The most comprehensive treatment of the subject so far is given in R. Larry Todd, 'Retrograde, Inversion, Retrograde-Inversion, and Related Techniques in the Masses of Jacob Obrecht', *The Musical Quarterly*, lxiv (1978), 50-78.

*lignum triumphale*, for instance, he presented one fixed rhythmicization of the sequence melody ‘O crux lignum triumphale’ in different mensurations (see Fig. 3).<sup>18</sup> As a result, the melody appears in two different rhythmic shapes, one in mensurations with major prolation and one in mensurations with minor prolation. Moreover, in each mensuration the notes are distributed differently over the strong and weak beats of the *tempora*: notes which fall on a first (strong) beat in one mensuration fall on a weak beat (or are suspended) in another. It is clear that the cantus firmus is treated in this Mass not as a ‘theme’—that is, as a musical entity with certain inalienable rhythmic and melodic characteristics—but simply as a string of note-values whose relative durations can be altered by changing the sets of mensural laws governing them. What is crucial is that the different shapes which the tenor assumes are all derived from the same notated melody. The same is true, with one minor exception, of the tenors of Busnoys’s *Missa ‘L’Homme armé’*, which are to be derived from the notational archetype by means of retrograde motion, transposition, augmentation and presentation in different mensurations.

Fig. 3  
Busnoys, *Missa ‘O crux lignum triumphale’*: relative durations of the notes of the cantus firmus (indicated in multiples of semiminims)

The figure shows two systems of mensural notation for the cantus firmus 'O crux lignum triumphale'. Each system consists of a staff with notes and a line of relative durations below it. The durations are given in multiples of semiminims, with some values in brackets indicating specific mensural contexts.

System 1 (top):

- Staff 1: Notes with stems pointing up and down.
- Staff 2: Relative durations: 8 4 8 4 2 3 1 4 2 4 [4] 4 4 4 4 2 2 4 4 4 2 4 2 4 [8 8]
- Staff 3: Relative durations: 12 6 12 6 2 3 1 4 2 6 [6] 6 6 6 6 2 4 6 6 4 2 4 2 6 [12 12]

System 2 (bottom):

- Staff 1: Notes with stems pointing up and down.
- Staff 2: Relative durations: 4 4 8 4 2 2 4 4 4 4 2 4 2 4 [8] 8 4 4 2 2 4 2 2 2 4 2 4 [8]
- Staff 3: Relative durations: 6 6 12 6 2 4 6 6 6 6 4 2 4 2 6 [12] 12 6 6 2 4 6 2 2 2 4 2 6 [12]

Elsewhere, I shall describe in detail the historical development of schematic manipulation techniques in the cantus firmus Mass.<sup>19</sup> I shall argue that the techniques were developed and cultivated mainly in works associated with the southern Low Countries or the Burgundian court. The earliest surviving examples are Petrus de Domarto’s *Missa ‘Spiritus almus’* and Guillaume Dufay’s *Missa ‘Se la face ay pale’*, which were both presumably written in the 1450s. The most important representative in the 1460s and 1470s was Antoine Busnoys, who may personally have passed on the tradition to Jacob Obrecht. Obrecht’s Masses, together with those of Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet, represent the last phase of the tradition.

From the 1470s onwards there was an increasing tendency towards greater sophistication, variation and combination of the schematic procedures. Good examples are the Naples *L’Homme armé* Masses,<sup>20</sup> which were presumably written

<sup>18</sup> Figs. 3, 4 and 6 indicate relative durations of cantus firmus notes, i.e. durations in multiples of the smallest note-value within the melody itself (semiminim, minim or semibreve). This enables direct comparisons between different presentations of the same tenor, irrespective of whether diminution or augmentation has been applied. For instance, in C a semibreve is in principle equivalent to three minims, no matter whether the sign calls for augmentation or not; in O a semibreve is in principle equivalent to two minims. Thus, the first (semibreve) note in Fig. 6 has a relative duration of two minims in O, and three minims in C, even though C calls for augmentation and O is in *integer valor*.

<sup>19</sup> In my dissertation *Obrecht in Missa* (University of Amsterdam), scheduled for completion in 1991.

<sup>20</sup> *Six Anonymous L’Homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS VI E 40*, ed. Judith Cohen (‘Corpus mensurabilis musicae’, lxxxv), American Institute of Musicology, [Stuttgart], 1981. The various procedures in

for the Burgundian court, and the Mass *Pour quelque paine* by the Bruges composer Cornelius Heyns.<sup>21</sup> This tendency was eventually to culminate in the Masses of Obrecht. A well-known example, in Obrecht's *Missa 'De tous biens plaine'*, is the presentation of the cantus firmus notes in order according to their value, following the canonic instruction 'digniora sunt priora'.<sup>22</sup> In the same Mass Obrecht repeated this procedure in retrograde. Obviously such sophisticated manipulations necessitated written-out resolutions in practical sources, alongside the notational archetypes and their canons. Often, if Masses were copied in other sources, scribes took over only these resolutions and did not bother to copy the archetypes as well. Obrecht's *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'* is an example of a Mass whose tenor is transmitted only in resolutions; its archetypes were recently reconstructed by Chris Maas and Barton Hudson.<sup>23</sup> Another example, so it now turns out, is the *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'*.

The cantus firmus of the cycle is the anonymous song 'L'ardant desir', which has survived completely only in two intabulations in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*.<sup>24</sup> In the source for the Mass, Vatican Library, MS Cappella Sistina 51, the cantus firmus is written out in several different rhythmic and melodic shapes (see Ex. 1), and at first glance one would be inclined to think that the principal form of treatment is free rhythmicization of the melody. On closer inspection, however, it appears that we are dealing here with resolutions of a single notational archetype. Once this archetype is reconstructed, and once the procedures to which it is subjected are identified, the Mass reveals itself in its true colours: it is one of the most ambitious and imaginative attempts to demonstrate the wide range of possibilities inherent in schematic cantus firmus treatment.

Fig. 4 gives the notational archetype as reconstructed on the basis of the several resolutions given in Cappella Sistina 51. The first method of treatment to be discussed here is one already familiar to us from Busnoys's *Missa 'O crux lignum triumphale'*: this is the presentation of the archetype in different mensurations, leading to different rhythmic shapes. In two sections, the 'Domine Deus' and the 'Et in terra', this mensural transformation was combined with augmentation, presumably indicated by the verbal canon 'crescit in duplum'. Such a combination of mensural and proportional transformation also occurs in Busnoys's Mass *O crux lignum triumphale*.

A more fanciful procedure is to be found in the third Agnus Dei: here the singer is required to sing the opposites of the note-values written in the archetype: each minim is to be replaced by a *maxima*, each semibreve by a *longa*, and so forth.<sup>25</sup>

these Masses are described in Cohen's *The Six Anonymous L'Homme armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40* ('Musicological Studies and Documents', xxi), American Institute of Musicology, [Rome], 1968, pp. 25-30. The Naples *L'Homme armé* Masses were tentatively attributed to Caron by Don Giller in 'The Naples L'Homme armé Masses and Caron: a Study in Musical Relationships', *Current Musicology*, xxxii (1981), 7-28.

<sup>21</sup> *Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works*, ed. Dragan Plamenac, ii ('Studies and Documents', i), American Musicological Society, New York, 1947, pp. 98-115. See also the discussion in Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520*, pp. 171-2.

<sup>22</sup> *New Obrecht Edition*, iv, ed. Barton Hudson, Utrecht, 1986, pp. xxvii and 8-13.

<sup>23</sup> *New Obrecht Edition*, viii, ed. idem, Utrecht, 1988, pp. xxix-xxxi. (I am indebted to Professor Maas, the general editor of the *New Obrecht Edition*, for making the reconstruction of the tenor of Obrecht's Mass *Petrus apostolus* available to me in advance of its publication.)

<sup>24</sup> Ed. Bertha Antonia Wallner, ii ('Das Erbe deutscher Musik', xxxviii), Kassel, 1958, pp. 173-5. For the song, see David Fallows, 'Busnoys and the Early Fifteenth Century: a Note on "L'Ardant desir" and "Faictes de moy"', below, pp. 20-24.

<sup>25</sup> 'Opposite' is used here in the sense that the minim ('the smallest') is literally the opposite of the *maxima* ('the largest'), even though in practice there existed note-values smaller than the minim (which, as Tinctoris noted, is

Ex. 1  
 The tenors of the *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'* as they are written out in the unique source,  
 Cappella Sistina 51

The image displays a musical score for tenors, consisting of eleven staves of music. Each staff is labeled with a section of the Mass: KYRIE I & II, ET IN TERRA, DOMINE DEUS, CUM SANCTO, PATREM, ET RESURREXIT, CONFITEOR, SANCTUS OSANNA I, OSANNA II, AGNUS I, AGNUS II, and AGNUS III. The notation is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The music is characterized by a complex rhythmic structure, with many notes beamed together and some notes appearing as stems without heads. The score is presented in a single system, with each staff containing a single line of music.

Again this involves a radical change in the rhythmic shape of the Mass tenor. An even more fanciful procedure was applied in the 'Patrem': the resolution given in the manuscript appears to have been derived from the notational archetype by the omission of all the stems, not only those of the minims and *longae* but also those of the ligatures. As a result, minims are read as semibreves, and *longae* as breves. But a more radical change occurs with the ligatures: the previous distinction between semantically impossible). A procedure similar to that in the third Agnus Dei of the *Mass L'Ardant desir* occurs in the 'Qui tollis' of the anonymous English *Missa 'O quam suavis'*, which is probably by John Lloyd; see *Missa 'O quam suavis'*, ed. H. B. Collins, The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, Buckinghamshire, 1927, p. xxi.

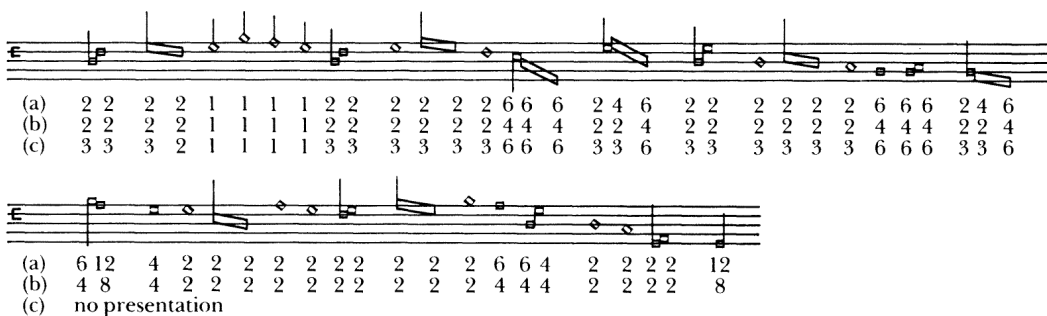


Fig. 4

The cantus firmus archetype of the Mass *L'Ardant desir* in three of its mensural transformations (indicated in multiples of minims)

Mensurations and canons (reconstructed):

- (a)  $\circ$  (Kyrie I and II, 'Osanna II')
  - $\circ$  ('Et in terra', with canonic instruction 'crescit in duplum')
- (b)  $\textcircled{C}$  ('Cum sancto', 'Confiteor', 'Osanna')
  - $\textcircled{C}$  ('Domine Deus', with canonic instruction 'crescit in duplum')
- (c)  $\textcircled{C}$  (calling for augmentation; Sanctus)

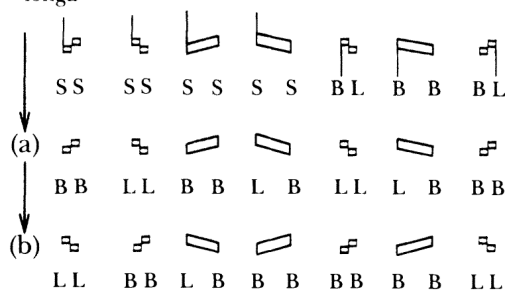


ligatures with an upward stem and those with a downward stem gives way to an altogether different distinction between ligatures starting with downward melodic motion and those starting with upward melodic motion. Fig. 5a gives an idea of the various changes in the rhythmic interpretation of ligatures that result from omission of the stems. As the figure shows, even the shape of the ligatures with an upward stem, previously of no significance, now has a direct effect upon the rhythmic interpretation of the Mass tenor. Clearly, this procedure also involves a radical change in the rhythmic shape of the cantus firmus.

Fig. 5

Cantus firmus transformation by means of (a) omission of stems, and (b) 'mirror' inversion

S = semibrevis  
 B = brevis  
 L = longa



In the 'Patrem', the cantus firmus without the stems is to be performed in perfect time with perfect *minor modus*, which leads to the rhythmic shape given in Fig. 6a. I assume that in the 'Et resurrexit' the tenor was also to be performed without the stems, but now in imperfect time with perfect *minor modus*. However, this interpretation does not entirely account for the rhythmic shape which the tenor of this section has in the resolution given in the manuscript. Fig. 6b shows that eleven notes

Fig. 6  
 Mensural transformations of the cantus firmus archetype of the Mass *L'Ardant desir* without the stems (indicated in multiples of semibreves; the Roman numeral III denotes perfect *minor modus*)

(a)  $\bigcirc$  -III 3 6 6 2 1 1 1 1 3 2 1 6 2 1 6 3 3 3 3 3 2 1 6 2 1 3 3 3 9 3 6

(b)  $\bigcirc$  -III 2 4 4 2 1 1 1 1 2 2 1 4 2 1 4 2 2 2 2 2 1 4 2 1 2 2 2 4 2 2

MS: 2 6 4 4 1 2 2 4 4

(a)  $\bigcirc$  -III 9 6 2 1 6 3 1 2 3 3 6 2 1 3 3 3 1 2 3 3 9

(b)  $\bigcirc$  -III 4 4 2 1 4 2 1 1 2 2 4 2 1 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 4

MS: 2 2

are interpreted differently in the resolution. I have no explanation for these differences. In the same 'Et resurrexit', the notational archetype has been subjected to a further procedure: transposition down a fourth. This reminds us of the Credo of Busnoys's *Missa 'L'Homme armé'*, where the cantus firmus is also to be transposed down a fourth, following the canonic instruction 'Ne sonites cachefaton sume lychanosipaton'.<sup>26</sup>

A further procedure which reminds us of the *L'Homme armé* Mass is inversion. And just as in the latter cycle it occurs in the *Agnus Dei*, albeit only in the middle section of the movement. Typically, it is a kind of inversion which, again, completely alters the rhythmic shape of the cantus firmus. The singer is not simply required to sing rising intervals instead of falling ones and vice versa, but he has to read the notation literally upside down. This in itself has important consequences for the rhythmic interpretation of the cantus firmus, since the values of the first and last notes of ligatures are partly determined by the direction of the melodic motion. But to make things even more complicated, the singer is also required once again to drop the stems, which means that the rhythmic interpretation of the ligatures changes still more, depending not only on whether they begin or end with rising or falling melodic motion, but also on their actual shape. Fig. 5b shows some of the changes which this type of 'mirror' inversion brings about. And in Fig. 7 we see how, with only minor differences, the inversion described here leads to the actual tenor of the third *Agnus Dei*.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to crack the final nut of the *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'*, the tenor of the first *Agnus Dei*. A comparison between the resolution and the notational archetype is given in Fig. 8: it can be seen that in the course of the resolution fourteen notes of the cantus firmus are omitted. It is unclear to me what criterion determined which notes were to be left out of the tenor and which were to be included. Most of what was included seems to have been interpreted in  $\bigcirc$  with doubled note-values. However, some passages are in different rhythms, and I have not been able to establish a relationship between the relative durations in these passages and the corresponding note-values in the archetype.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Professor Chris Maas kindly pointed out to me that Busnoys's canon may originally have run as follows: 'Ne sonites lychanos meson sume in lychanos hypaton'.

<sup>27</sup> The reconstruction of the canonic procedure in the first *Agnus Dei* is made more difficult by the circumstance that the section may have been reworked in the course of transmission. The notation and the rhythm of the music (which is in  $\bigcirc$ ) indicate several shifts of the metrical pattern, which must be accommodated editorially by the insertion of 2/2 bars.

Fig. 7  
 Comparison between (a) the cantus firmus archetype without the stems, turned upside down, and (b) the resolution for the Agnus Dei II in Cappella Sistina 51



Although there are rhythmic differences between the two tenors presented here, the tenor derived from the notational archetype fits the music of Agnus Dei II.

Fig. 8  
 Comparison between (a) the cantus firmus archetype, and (b) the resolution for the Agnus Dei I in Cappella Sistina 51



We may summarize our discussion of the musical structure as follows. The Mass *L'Ardant desir* applies a wide range of schematic cantus firmus transformation techniques. In most of the Mass sections the anonymous composer employs mensural transformation, by presenting the notational archetype in  $\circ$ , C,  $\textcircled{C}$  and  $\circ$ . In some movements this technique is combined with augmentation. Both types of transformation, mensural and proportional, are also the main forms of cantus firmus treatment in Busnoys's *Missa 'O crux lignum triumphale'*. Further techniques include transposition down a fourth and inversion, in the Credo and Agnus Dei respectively. In these respects the Mass *L'Ardant desir* reminds us of Busnoys's *Missa 'L'Homme armé'*, where the very same techniques are used in precisely the same movements. Finally, in the third Agnus Dei each note-value is to be replaced by its opposite note-value, and in three other sections the notes and ligatures are to be read without their stems. An even more sophisticated procedure may have been applied in the first Agnus Dei, but this procedure could not be reconstructed.

Since the Mass *L'Ardant desir* probably dates from the early 1470s, or perhaps even earlier, it must be regarded as a work of considerable historical importance. Although there is precedent for some of the techniques employed here, particularly in the two cycles by Busnoys, there is no other Mass from this early date which displays and combines such a variety of different types of schematic cantus firmus treatment. The *L'Ardant desir* cycle clearly points the way to the Masses Obrecht was to write in the 1480s and 1490s. And at the same time it links up with techniques used in Busnoys's two Masses. In short, it provides a logical connection, a 'missing link', between the cantus firmus techniques of the two masters.

All this points to Antoine Busnoys as the most likely author of the Mass *L'Ardant desir*. Not only is the proposed attribution consistent with the widely held view that Busnoys may have been a major influence on Obrecht, but it is also consonant with his reputation as a bold innovator and experimenter. Even if we allow for the possibility that the Mass was written by an epigone of Busnoys it would be clear that the composer must have worked in close proximity to the Burgundian master. Still, one would not expect an epigone of Busnoys to take over the techniques of the Masses *O crux lignum triumphale* and *L'Homme armé* and at the same time to combine and expand them with such extraordinary inventiveness as is displayed here.

#### MUSICAL STYLE

The *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'* shows several of the new stylistic trends which Busnoys is known to have developed in his motets and Masses. Ex. 2, from the Gloria of the Mass, shows two of these trends: imitation of a brief figure in three voices, followed by lines consisting of repeated rhythmic patterns and sequences. Several similar passages can be found in the course of the Mass. But the composer of the Mass does not stop here: he further develops the trends. Ex. 3, the 'Et incarnatus', shows how

Ex. 2  
*Missa 'L'Ardant desir'*, Gloria, bars 44–52 (note values halved)

\* two minims in source

Ex. 3

Missa 'L'Ardant desir', 'Et incarnatus' (note values quartered)

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves: a treble clef staff, an alto clef staff, and a bass clef staff. The time signature is common time (C). The music is written in a key with one flat (B-flat). The first staff contains a melodic line with quarter notes and eighth notes. The second staff contains a more complex melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The third staff contains a bass line with quarter notes. Measure numbers 1, 2, and 3 are indicated above the first staff.

The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The music continues from the first system. Measure numbers 4, 5, and 6 are indicated above the first staff.

The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The music continues from the second system. Measure numbers 7, 8, and 9 are indicated above the first staff.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of three staves. The music continues from the third system. Measure numbers 10, 11, and 12 are indicated above the first staff.

The fifth system of musical notation consists of three staves. The music continues from the fourth system. Measure numbers 13, 14, and 15 are indicated above the first staff.

\* a in source

Ex. 3 (continued)

an entire Mass section is based on the continuous imitation of one short motif, something which became a regular practice after 1480 but must have been an innovation at the time the Mass was written. In the 'Confiteor' (Ex. 4) the composer even manages to involve the tenor in the imitation, by anticipating the cantus firmus entry in the other three voices. Busnoys did the same in the 'Osanna' of his Mass *O crux lignum triumphale*.

Ex. 4 also shows another trait which is consistent with the personality of Busnoys: in the first fourteen bars there are no fewer than nine different mensuration signs.<sup>28</sup> In several of his compositions Busnoys displayed a similar eagerness to demonstrate his learning. We know that he had a university degree and that he very probably knew Greek as well as Latin.<sup>29</sup> Significant, for the present discussion, is his motet 'Conditor alme siderum', a demonstration piece of mensural theory in which each voice is written in a different mensuration.<sup>30</sup>

Further on in the 'Confiteor' we find a sequence involving three voices, an innovation hinted at but never fully realized in the sacred works of Busnoys (Ex. 5). Here Jacob Obrecht comes into the picture: in several of the latter's Masses we find sequences involving all voices, sometimes moving up or down an entire octave. The 'Pleni' of the anonymous Mass shows another innovation: the composer develops a motif by continuously repeating and expanding an imitative point in two voices

<sup>28</sup> In bars 6-7 (Contratenor), 8-9 (Contratenor) and 10-11 (Bass) of the 'Confiteor', the rhythmic interpretation is somewhat problematic, since in each of these passages the composer places two different signs on top of one another. The passages in question all have durations equivalent to three semibreves in C. I have been able to interpret the composite signatures logically and consistently only by assuming that the top signs apply to the first two notes of the music written under them, and the bottom signs to the remainder. In bars 10-11, however, this leads to parallel fifths and octaves and a 6-4 chord. These can be avoided by carrying out the following editorial emendations in the Bass (as I have done in Ex. 4): bar 10, *f* emended to *e*; bar 11<sub>2-3</sub>, *e-d* emended to *c-B* (*Terzverschreibung?*).

<sup>29</sup> See Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition', p. 281 n. 40.

<sup>30</sup> See Albert Seay, 'The *Conditor alme siderum* by Busnois', *Quadrivium*, xii (1971), 231-3, and Gamer, 'Busnoys, Brahms'.

Ex. 4  
 Missa 'L'Ardant desir', 'Confiteor', bars 1–15 (note values halved)

The musical score consists of four staves. The first system (bars 1-4) shows the beginning of the piece with rests in the upper staves and rhythmic patterns in the lower staves. The second system (bars 5-8) continues the development, featuring a 4-measure slur in the soprano and alto parts. The third system (bars 9-12) includes a 3-measure slur in the soprano and a 4-measure slur in the alto. The fourth system (bars 13-15) concludes the excerpt, with a 3-measure triplet in the bass line. Bar numbers 5, 10, and 15 are clearly marked above the staves.

\* *d*' in source    \*\* *f* in source    \*\*\* *e-d* in source

Ex. 5  
*Missa 'L'Ardant desir', 'Confiteor', bars 27–35 (note values halved)*

(Ex. 6). Again, Busnoys, more than any of his contemporaries, is the composer whom one would expect to do this sort of thing.<sup>31</sup>

I would also like to draw attention to the Benedictus, which is a strict canon for three voices. The canon turns out to be relatively simple (see the beginning in Ex. 7), in spite of the rather forbidding canonic instruction which is given with the

Ex. 6  
*Missa 'L'Ardant desir', 'Pleni', bars 28–43 (note values halved)*

<sup>31</sup> A very similar (but non-imitative) expansion of a motif occurs in the Benedictus of the anonymous *Sanctus Iste puer magnus* (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS 3154, ff. 140<sup>v</sup>-141<sup>r</sup>). According to Thomas Noblitt, this *Sanctus* was copied in 1476 ('Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. ms. 3154 der Staatsbibliothek München', *Die Musikforschung*, xxvii (1974), 36-56). I have suggested Bruges connections for this *Sanctus* in 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys' *Missa L'Homme armé*—and Some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxiv (1989), 189-202.



Ex. 7  
*Missa 'L'Ardant desir', Benedictus, bars 1–8 (note values quartered)*

single notated voice: 'Baton in tribolon: lycanosipatonizasco secundo occentantem cum secundo, sed in mese condo'.<sup>32</sup> In his motet 'In hydraulis'<sup>33</sup> and in the previously-mentioned canonic instruction in the Credo of his *Missa 'L'Homme armé'*, Busnoys also showed a fondness for writing this kind of learned Latin phrase infused with Greek musical terms. Moreover, some of the rather fanciful Latin-Greek voice designations in the Mass remind us of unusual voice designations in the music of Busnoys: 'ramalogia', 'pentonans', 'antiptongus', 'bariboans', 'epitroporosus', and 'stipibolizacus'.<sup>34</sup> Whoever wrote the *L'Ardant desir* Mass must have aspired to learning.

These few examples indicate that the Mass *L'Ardant desir* was composed by a bold and innovative mind. Not only did the composer take over the new stylistic trends which had been introduced in the sacred works of Busnoys, but he also further developed them in ways which foreshadowed the stylistic trends of the 1480s. In addition to this, the composer was eager to show his learning (in the mensural complexities of the 'Confiteor') and his linguistic skills (in the verbal canon of the Benedictus and the voice designations elsewhere in the Mass). Given this attitude, one might speculate that the composer also took the opportunity to show his linguistic skills in the verbal canons which must have accompanied the archetype of the cantus firmus.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately these canons have not survived.

<sup>32</sup> The canonic instruction is found with the single notated melody in the top voice. Clues to the canonic procedure are also provided by means of biblical quotations in the other voice-parts. The Contratenor has: 'Accedet homo ad cor altum et exaltabitur deus' (Psalm 63: 7-8; a pun on 'altus'), and the Bass has: 'Similis ero altissimo. ysaye 14° ('I will be like the most High', Isaiah 14: 14). In the 'Pleni' the composer also presents an instruction in the form of a biblical quotation: the Bassus has 'Sileamus ibi quia dominus noster silere nos fecit. Jheremie 8°' ('Let us be silent there: for the Lord our God hath put us to silence', Jeremiah 8: 14; all English translations in this note have been taken from the King James translation). According to Edward Stam, the canon in the Benedictus 'ist das Erzeugnis höchster Intelligenz und Phantasie': 'Die richtige Lösung', p. 163.

<sup>33</sup> See the transcription and translation in Perkins, 'The *L'Homme armé* Masses', p. 364.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. 'barripsaltes' in 'Anthoni usque limina', 'theumatenor' in 'Regina caeli I', 'altertenor' in 'Regina caeli II', 'barritonans' in the *Magnificat octavi toni*, and 'basitenor' in 'Ad cenam agni providi', 'Noel noel noel' and 'Victimae paschali'. Such designations were not unique to Busnoys (Okeghem's Mass *Au travail suis*, for instance, has designations such as 'barriphanus' and 'textistenor' in Vatican Library, MS Chigi C.VIII.234), but he seems to have employed them more than any of his contemporaries.

<sup>35</sup> In view of the composer's apparent fondness for biblical quotations (see n. 32, above), the canon which specified the omission of the Tenor stems in the 'Patrem' might have been a quotation from the seventh book of

If, as I have suggested, the composer was a man of learning, the probability that he is identical with Busnoys becomes a virtual certainty. In his *Proportionale* of 1473, Tinctoris made a clear distinction between, on the one hand, composers such as Regis, Caron, Faugues and Domarto, 'who are but slightly read', and on the other, Okeghem and Busnoys, 'who it is known are pre-eminent in Latinity'.<sup>36</sup> The only other composers of the 1470s who are known to have had a university degree are Tinctoris himself and Guillaume Dufay. Of the four learned composers mentioned here, Busnoys is far and away the most likely author of the Mass.

#### TRANSMISSION

In this attempt to attribute the Mass *L'Ardant desir* to Busnoys it must not go unmentioned that the cycle is immediately followed by Busnoys's *Missa 'O crux lignum triumphale'* in the unique source, Cappella Sistina 51. However, I hasten to add that this is an argument that cannot be used without considerable qualification. In his admirable palaeographic study of Cappella Sistina MSS 14 and 51, Adelbert Roth concluded that the *O crux lignum triumphale* and *L'Ardant desir* cycles were copied by the same scribe, presumably immediately after one another.<sup>37</sup> This may indicate that the two works were associated. On the other hand, Roth also showed that the repertory of Cappella Sistina 51, unlike that of its sister manuscript, Cappella Sistina 14, seems not to have been organized according to a logical plan.<sup>38</sup> To assume, therefore, that the two Masses might be by the same composer because they were copied and bound together, is to postulate a logic in the organization of the manuscript which is not otherwise evinced. Not that a partial organization of the manuscript should necessarily be considered impossible: the scribe who copied the Masses *O crux lignum triumphale* and *L'Ardant desir* did organize the repertory of Cappella Sistina 14 according to a rational plan.<sup>39</sup> But clearly the argument remains inconclusive.

As a final point of interest I note here that Cappella Sistina MSS 14 and 51 are both presumed to have been copied in Naples. In his *Proportionale*, Tinctoris mentioned six of the Masses contained in MS 14, and possibly one of the Masses of MS 51.<sup>40</sup> There can be little doubt that he knew the other Masses of these manuscripts as well, including the *Missa 'L'Ardant desir'*. It is tempting to speculate that Busnoys may have earned his reputation with Tinctoris as one of the two 'most excellent composers I have ever heard' partly on the basis of this Mass.

#### CONCLUSION

On the basis of the above discussion we can draw up a reasonably accurate profile of the anonymous author of the Mass *L'Ardant desir*. First, the composer was a man who had an intimate knowledge of the sacred works of Antoine Busnoys. He

Exodus: 'proieceruntque singuli virgas suas' (Exodus 7: 12), which in the King James translation runs: 'For they cast down every man his rod'. See *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatae versionem*, Stuttgart, 1969, p. 84.

<sup>36</sup> *Opera theoretica*, iia. 49; *Proportions in Music*, p. 37.

<sup>37</sup> *Studien zum frühen Repertoire*, pp. 148-50.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>39</sup> There could be precedents in Cappella Sistina 51 for the grouping of pairs of Masses that were written by the same composer: Martini's Masses *Orsus orsus* and *Cela sans plus* are copied together on ff. 145<sup>v</sup>-165<sup>r</sup>, and, if the anonymous *Missa 'Vinnus vina'* on ff. 68<sup>v</sup>-81<sup>r</sup> is by Faugues (see n. 40, below), two Masses by this composer would be found next to one another on ff. 55<sup>v</sup>-81<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, i. 25. Faugues's *Missa 'Vinnus'*, mentioned by Tinctoris in his *Proportionale* and *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, is very probably identical with the anonymous *Missa 'Vinnus vina'* in Cappella Sistina 51, ff. 68<sup>v</sup>-81<sup>r</sup>. See Wegman, 'Guillaume Faugues and the Anonymous Masses *Au chant de lalouete* and *Vinnus vina*', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xl (1990).

adopted a mensural usage which in the 1470s was otherwise employed uniquely in Busnoys's *Missa 'L'Homme armé'* and 'Anthoni usque limina'. He took over the types of cantus firmus treatment that are used in the Masses *O crux lignum triumphale* and *L'Homme armé*. He followed the new stylistic trends that had been introduced in the motets and Masses of Busnoys. In the second place, he was a musician who was eager to show his literacy and learning, and it may therefore be assumed that he was not among the composers described by Tinctoris as 'but slightly read'. Finally, he introduced several striking musical innovations—both in cantus firmus treatment and in his handling of the 'new trends'—which foreshadowed later developments, particularly in the Masses of Obrecht.

Given this profile it may be useful to explore for a moment the possibility that the Mass is not by Busnoys. The anonymous composer was evidently not an epigone of Busnoys, for although he adopted several features which characterize the latter's sacred works, his Mass is anything but a slavish copy. The extraordinary inventiveness and sophistication which are displayed in the composition point rather to a man of equal stature, probably having a university degree, who took the compositions of the Burgundian master as his model. Even if we could believe in the existence of such a composer, there is no evidence that any man fitting this description was within the musical sphere of influence of the Burgundian court in the 1470s. Indeed, if we assumed that the Mass *L'Ardant desir* was not by Busnoys, we would have to postulate the unlikely existence of a *doppelgänger*, a man with the very same musical talent, personality, style and originality as Busnoys who, in spite of these qualities, has survived only through this Mass, and of whom every other trace is lost. Clearly, the internal evidence of the Mass leaves little room for the possibility that anyone else but Busnoys was the composer.

Yet, however convinced we may be of Busnoys's authorship, the fact remains that there is no firm attribution in the Sistine Chapel manuscript: hence the ascription proposed here can only be tentative. Although this must be the inevitable conclusion of the present article, it is just worth raising some doubts about the relative importance of ascriptions—or the lack of them—in relation to internal evidence.

Could an ascription of the *L'Ardant desir* Mass, if it existed, give us any more confidence of its authorship than we can have on the basis of the style and structure of the work? Suppose we knew of the existence of a newly discovered manuscript fragment, to be disclosed next week, containing the Mass with an ascription. Considering the extraordinary style and structure of the Mass, would we expect the composer to be somebody we had never heard of before? A man not mentioned by Tinctoris in his lists of the great composers of his time? I think not. But could we name any known late fifteenth-century composer—other than Busnoys—whose authorship we would find convincing if the Mass were ascribed to him? Would not somebody, some day, still write an article suggesting that the Mass was misattributed, and was more probably written by Busnoys? And if the Mass *were* attributed to Busnoys, would we not believe the attribution to be trustworthy just because of the internal evidence we already possess? This is not to assert absolute certainty about the work's authorship. But I hope that it does show that the internal evidence points so strongly to Busnoys that it becomes worth asking whether an attribution in the manuscript could by itself have constituted equally strong evidence, either for or against his authorship.