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6

For Whom the Bell Tolls

Reading and Hearing Busnoys's *Anthoni usque limina*

Postmodernism is said to celebrate the multiplicity of meanings in musical works. What is meant by this, principally, is this: since every composition admits a variety of possible interpretations (depending on who is performing or listening), no preferred interpretation can be claimed to be objectively true, that is, immanent in the music itself. If others hear or perform the same work as we do, it cannot be the *work* that compels us to prefer our interpretation over theirs. The reasons for our preference must lie rather in what makes us different from others: the particular beliefs, values, interests, and paradigms that are constitutive of our musical interpretation. Rather than expecting music to be aloof from this human diversity, we should celebrate its capacity to embrace it.

However, it has often been objected that the positive valuation of multiplicity may lead to extreme relativism, to a point where there might be as many valid interpretations as there are human beings. How can scholarship be expected to maintain agreement under such a philosophy? The answer comes from the reinstatement of a concept that was central to medieval society: *community*, or, more specifically: interpretive community. Paradoxically, in our "age of the individual," reading and listening begin to be understood again as activities having an essential communal dimension: the times of direct aesthetic communion with the composer are past.[1]

Community means principally *shared* beliefs, values, interests, and paradigms. This has always been true of the scholarly community, of course: interpretations or readings are advanced there as hypotheses, and shared methodological standards guarantee that the multiplicity of hypotheses is always limited to those that can compete on the same, agreed terms. Yet those very standards and terms may separate us from other interpretive communities: performers and listeners, for instance, but also the communities whose music we study (see below). Here, the concept of multiplicity expresses the historical

truth that different interpretive communities may perceive music as meaningful in different ways, and (as the history of scholarship shows) that accepted interpretations can change quickly even within a single community. There may not be a uniquely "true" meaning hovering above this historical and cultural diversity, and even if there is, it may not be our privilege to know it.

Yet how can our scholarly standards separate us even from the communities whose music we study (as observed above), when those very standards dictate that our interpretations be historically accurate? I will answer this question by turning from the concept of "multiplicity" to that of "meaning." The idea that music has *meaning*, that it *signifies*, is a typical postmodern belief, which has become influential largely because of the ascendancy of literary criticism (and has been fueled, in addition, by the reaction against the modernist credo of musical autonomy). Music, today, is perceived principally as text, and texts must signify.

For medievals this was quite different. Although they would have agreed that texts can be scrutinized for meanings (as their traditions of biblical exegesis confirm), they would not immediately have thought of music as signifying in this way. This is mainly because music was perceived in essence not as an object, but as physical *motion* in air, produced by action upon objects.[2] Since motion always has a cause and an effect, the question was not what music means (as if it were a sign), but rather what it *does*, what its effects are. This explains, for instance, why a theorist like Johannes Tinctoris remained completely silent on the meaning of music, yet devoted a whole treatise to its effects.[3] It is true that music could become a physical object by virtue of being written down (*res facta*). Yet insofar as notational symbols could be seen as signifiers (and theorists did indeed describe them as *signa* which can *significare*), they signified the measured sounds that constitute music, and which do not exist except as motion caused by human action.[4]

We no longer share this aesthetic today: if we were still concerned about the beneficial effects once attributed to late medieval music, we would perform it more often, and write less about it (since this is to produce texts, not musical effects). Even so, we have every reason to perceive late medieval compositions, anachronistically, as texts. It allows us to see them as full of "signifiers" that demand interpretation and criticism: cantus firmi, structural ground plans, formal layouts, borrowings, allusions, stylistic devices, and so on. Interpretation of those elements may help us to arrive at historical understanding, yet for this it is necessary, in addition, to expand the range of perceived signifiers to contextual evidence outside the work itself. (For instance, the knowledge that medievals valued music principally for its effects may be vital to the historical interpretation of individual works, but the latter do not actually provide that knowledge.) This extension of the range of signifiers beyond the work turns *history* into text: a fabric of signifiers in which the musical work is fully interwoven. (Whence the New Historicist concern with "the historicity of the text and the textuality of history.")

The perception of music as text distinguishes our scholarly community from the medieval interpretive communities whose music we study. We wish

to "read" their music in its historical context: *they* wished to have it performed for a variety of social and religious purposes. Consequently, we cannot justify the musical meaning perceived by us as in any way "authentic": the meaning we perceive is relevant to our interpretive community, which posits the notion of musical meaning to begin with. Medievals themselves did not look for musical meaning in this way, yet our approach is not invalidated by this, for the very fact that they did not can itself be taken as a signifier, adding to the meaning of their music.

Antoine Busnoy's *Anthoni usque limina* provides a beautiful illustration of this. As I will argue in the present chapter, the motet was meant to produce concrete effects, in Heaven as well as on earth. Among the musical effects itemized by Tinctoris, the following in particular are relevant: music increases the delight of saints (third effect), prepares for the receiving of God's blessing (fifth), chases away the Devil (ninth), cures those who are ill (fourteenth), and blesses the souls of believers (nineteenth).[5] Since we belong to a different interpretive community, however, we would not expect the motet to have any of these effects today. Yet the knowledge that Busnoys and his contemporaries did expect this is part of what *we* might perceive to be its meaning. And that knowledge is only one of many contextual signifiers pertinent to Busnoy's setting. One of the truly remarkable features of *Anthoni usque limina* is that the fabric of signifiers in which it is interwoven extends far beyond musical beliefs alone: ultimately, as I hope to show, it covers all the essentials of the medieval outlook on life and the world. Few works, therefore, seem better suited to illustrate "the historicity of text and the textuality of history" than *Anthoni usque limina*.

The essay is structured in three sections. In the first, I will address the question of the liturgical function of *Anthoni usque limina*, for which it will be necessary to trace the sources for several of its textual elements. Although a tentative answer to the question can be formulated, the isolation of textual elements leaves the impression of a random patchwork of imagery. In the second part, therefore, I will attempt to pull together the various strands of meaning, in order to arrive at a coherent and historically plausible reading. In the third part, finally, that reading will be considered in the context of Busnoys's life.

Before proceeding, it may be worthwhile to summarize what is known about *Anthoni usque limina*.[6] The motet is dedicated to St. Anthony Abbot, the composer's name saint. It survives uniquely in the Burgundian choirbook Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5557, where it was almost certainly copied by Busnoys himself.[7] Three vocal parts are written out; a verbal canon gives instructions for a fourth (in tenor position): a bell is to be struck at regular intervals in both sections.[8] The verbal canon is incorporated in a drawing which shows a T-shaped cross (tau) with pendant bell: both are attributes of St. Anthony.[9] Busnoys "camouflaged" his first and last names at the beginning and end of the Latin text: the syllables corresponding to his name are written in red ink in the manuscript (italics in the transcription below), and a second verbal canon also alerts the reader to the wordplay.[10] The text of the motet, to which reference will be made throughout this essay, is as follows:

1	*Anthoni, us*que limina	Anthony, who, as far as the edges
	Orbis terrarumque maris,	of the earth and the sea,
	Et ultra, qui vocitaris	and even beyond, art invoked
	Providencia divina,	through divine providence,
5	Quia demonum agmina	because thou hast manfully overcome
	Superasti viriliter:	the hosts of demons:
	Audi cetum nunc omina	hear the gathering now
	Psalentem tua dulciter.	sweetly singing thy miracles.
	Et ne post hoc exilium	And, lest after this exile
10	Nos igneus urat Pluto,	fiery Pluto burn us,
	Hunc ab orci chorum luto	bear assistance, delivering this choir
	Eruens, fer auxilium:	from the mire of the underworld:
	Porrigat refrigerium	let the water of grace
	Artubus gracie moys,	offer refreshment to the limbs,
15	Ut per verbi misterium	so that the Spirit, through the mystery
	Fiat in omni*bus noys*.	of the Word, may be in all.

I

The first question to be addressed is that of the liturgical status of *Anthoni usque limina:* Was it meant to fit into the liturgy of St. Anthony, and if so, where? Formally, the motet is a prayer: it is addressed to the saint directly, and contains several verbal resonances with known prayers from his liturgy. In particular, the phrase "let the water of grace offer refreshment to the limbs" (13–14) was a standard clause in collects from the liturgy of St. Anthony.[11] It refers to the extremely painful disease of gangrenous ergotism, known in the Middle Ages as the holy fire *(ignis sacer)* or St. Anthony's fire. The powerful Antonian Order (based in Saint-Athoine-de-Vienne) was dedicated to its cure, and held the monopoly on the blessing and administration of the healing holy water of St. Anthony. Although the disease occurred only sporadically after the twelfth century, the order continued to collect offerings of the faithful in return for indulgences, to support its vast network of over 350 monasteries, *commanderies*, and hospitals in western Europe.[12]

By the late Middle Ages, St. Anthony's fire was reinterpreted in many liturgical texts as a metaphor for the flames of hell and purgatory, and even for the "fires" of sin. Although the saint continued to be invoked for aid in epidemic diseases, particularly the plague,[13] he came to be regarded more broadly as a powerful helper against temptation and against the pains of purgatory. The latter idea was developed most fully in collects—among the more flexible items in the liturgy—although incidental allusions can also be found in chants (see below). Busnoys's supplication for deliverance "from the mire of the underworld" (11) parallels this trend, and confirms the debt to collects from the liturgy of St. Anthony, as the following examples illustrate:[14]

> God, who grantest, on account of the perseverance of St. Anthony, that the morbid fire be extinguished and *that refreshment be offered to the infected limbs, deliver us benevolently, on account of his merits and prayers, from the*

> *flames of hell*, that we be presented joyfully, and whole of spirit and body, before Thee in Glory. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.
>
> O almighty and eternal God, who on account of the prayer and the merits of the holy father and abbot Saint Anthony alleviates the diseases of the fire and *offers refreshment to the infected limbs*, we pray that we, on account of his prayer and his merits, be delivered from the fires of pride, avarice, impurity, rage, hate, and envy, and from all sins. And that we be *protected from the pains of hell and released from the pains of purgatory*, so that we may blissfully attain to the glory of Thy Resurrection . . .

It is not possible, however, to consider *Anthoni usque limina* as a possible polyphonic replacement for a collect: formal liturgical prayers are by definition addressed to God, and refer to saints only in the third person. As the above examples illustrate, they are typically cast in the form "*Deus, qui* . . . [invocation of the saint's miracles and intercession], *concede* . . . [one or more specific supplications]. *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* . . . [doxology]. *Amen*." Busnoys, on the other hand, addresses his supplications to St. Anthony directly. Such direct prayers to saints tend to be found not in collects, but rather in chants, whose texts are not subject to rigid textual constraints. Although *Anthoni usque limina* is written as prayer, and plainly borrows some of its imagery from prayers in the Antonian liturgy, it was almost certainly not written to replace one.

Is it then possible to regard Busnoys's motet as a musical replacement for a chant for St. Anthony? The vital piece of evidence for this hypothesis is missing: *Anthoni usque limina* does not use a chant as its cantus firmus (whose liturgical position it might then have assumed, despite the resultant polytextuality), but is based rather on the sound of a bell, struck at regular intervals in the course of both sections. Still, there is at least the suggestion that the motet was embedded in a context in which liturgical chants were sung. Its first section ends with the supplication "hear the gathering now sweetly singing thy miracles" (7–8). Although chant texts frequently include praises and prayers to saints, they tend to be mostly devoted to narratives of their glorious deeds, often quoted verbatim from their *vitae*. St. Anthony was no exception:[15] the miracle most often referred to in his liturgy (and depicted in very many altarpieces) was the temptation by the demons, and it seems at least plausible that lines 7–8 of *Anthoni usque limina* were meant to draw attention to this surrounding liturgical context. I quote the famous episode from St. Anthony's life here in full, as recounted by Jacobus de Voragine in the Golden Legend (italics mine):[16]

> Another time, when he was living hidden away in a tomb, a *crowd of demons* tore at him so savagely that his servant thought he was dead and carried him out on his shoulders. Then all who had come together mourned him as dead, but he suddenly regained consciousness and had his servant carry him back to the aforementioned tomb. There, lying prostrated by the pain of his wounds, in the strength of his spirit he challenged the demons to renew the combat. They appeared in the forms of various wild beasts and tore at his flesh cruelly with their teeth, horns, and claws. Then of a sudden a wonderful light shone

> in the place and drove all the demons away, and Anthony's hurts were cured. Realizing that Christ was there, he said: "Where were you, O good Jesus, where were you? Why did you not come sooner to help me and heal my wounds?" The Lord answered: "Anthony, I was here, but I waited to see how you would fight. *Now, because you fought manfully, I shall make your name known all over the earth.*"

The verbal resonances in Busnoys's motet are obvious: "because thou hast manfully overcome the hosts of demons" (5–6), and "as far as the edges of the earth and the sea, and even beyond" (1–3) are clearly based on narratives of the saint's life. The same episode is alluded to in several chants for St. Anthony, including *Alleluia Vox de celo*, the offertory *Inclito Anthonio*, and the antiphon *Vox de celo*.[17] It seems plausible that Busnoys's supplication "hear the gathering now sweetly singing thy miracles" (7–8) referred to such and other chants as much as to lines 1–6 of the motet itself.[18]

If the first part of the motet recalls the typical content of chants for St. Anthony, and may allude directly to their performance in a liturgical framework, the second part seems incompatible with their nature. It is not just that lines 13–14 are inspired by collects, but the explicit reference to hell and purgatory in lines 9–12 is highly untypical of chants,[19] and goes far beyond even the imagery employed in prayers. In chants for St. Anthony allusions of this kind tend to remain sporadic and oblique. Closest to the content of collects is the Magnificat antiphon *O lampas ardens in virtute*—like Busnoys's motet a prayer to St. Anthony rather than to God: it ends with the supplication "that through thy merits we may be worthy to escape all dangers, and the conflagrations of the fire of Hell."[20] The alleluia *Felix corpus* is likewise cast as a prayer to St. Antony, yet the allusion to hell is less direct: "the conqueror of the demon presently chokes the flames of the fire and the conflagrations of the underworld *(orcus)*."[21]

In the latter passage we may find a possible source for Busnoys's use of the word "orcus," for underworld (11), yet his motet develops the imagery of the hereafter much further than either chants or prayers. "Lutum," for mire (11), must be derived from the Psalms, where it is associated with the Hebrew image of the underworld as a pit (Ps. 40:2). There is, in fact, a direct verbal resonance between lines 11–12 of Busnoys's motet ("hunc ab orci chorum luto eruens") and Psalm 69:14:

> *Erue me de luto* ut non infigar: libera me ab his qui oderunt me et de profundis aquis.
>
> (Deliver me out of the mire, and let me not sink: let me be delivered from them that hate me, and out of the deep waters.)

It seems consistent with our earlier observations that Busnoys attributes the power to release tormented souls in the underworld to St. Anthony rather than to God. Strictly speaking only the saint's intercession could be effective: the supreme judge was Christ himself. Noteworthy is the felicitous rhyme between the Old Testament image of mire and the classical image of Pluto, the lord of the underworld ("Pluto/luto," ll. 10–11). Clearly, in developing the associa-

tion between the punishments of the afterlife and the intercession of St. Anthony, Busnoys achieved a conflation of poetic imagery that went far beyond any models he could have found in the liturgy of the saint. We must return to a closer reading of these crucial passages below.

Surveying lines 1–14 as a whole, one is struck by the sheer range of ideas and images associated with St. Anthony: universal veneration (1–4), the temptation by the demons (5–6), the veneration of the saint (7–8), the burning of souls by Pluto (9–10), the mire of the underworld (11–12), and refreshment to the limbs (13–14). We have traced the textual sources for several of these ideas and images in order to establish the liturgical status of the motet, yet the evidence remained ambiguous. Some elements are closer to chants, others more to collects, but in the end *Anthoni usque limina* cannot be classified as either: unlike chants, the motet develops unusually elaborate infernal imagery, and unlike collects, it is addressed to St. Anthony rather than to God.

The final two lines (15–16) remove us even further from the typical content of chants and prayers, and indeed from all imagery associated with St. Anthony. Whereas collects from the saint's liturgy typically link the deliverance from purgatory with the hope eventually to behold the glory of God at the Second Coming (see above), Busnoys's poem ends on a very different note: "so that the Spirit, through the mystery of the Word, may be in all" (15–16). Significantly, his ending expresses a pentecostal concern for inspiration by the Holy Spirit, in the here and now, rather than an eschatological concern for eternal life, at the end of time. Unlike in the liturgy of Pentecost, however, the Holy Spirit is not addressed directly. Rather, its inspiration is to be effected through "the mystery of the Word," that is, the mystery of Christ's incarnation. Busnoys refers, of course, to the opening of St. John's Gospel (1:1 and 14): "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God . . . And the Word was made flesh." Such imagery seems strangely incongruous in a prayer to a saint: how can Anthony's "assistance" (12) be expected to enable that mystery to have its beneficial effect, and how can the final lines of the motet anticipate this happening in the here and now?

The solution probably lies in a eucharistic interpretation of these lines: the incongruity evaporates if we assume that *Anthoni usque limina* was written for a votive Mass for St. Anthony.[22] Although the celebration of Mass is principally a reenactment of Christ's sacrifice, as an event in history, the mystery of transubstantiation brought his flesh and blood in direct physical presence of the faithful, in the here and now: this turned the ceremony simultaneously into a celebration of his victory over death. The mysteries of incarnation and transubstantiation were seen as intimately connected. Then, as now, the opening of St. John's Gospel, to which Busnoys alludes, was read at the end of every Mass, and special spiritual benefits were attributed to hearing it at that point.[23] But the primary benefits in attending Mass, of course, came from gazing on the Host: to behold it at the Elevation was to receive grace, to be blessed. (The host was not normally received in communion except at Easter.)

The actual moment of Elevation was frequently made to coincide with the Benedictus.[24] According to one of the most influential sources for the eucharis-

tic theory of the late fifteenth century, Gabriel Biel's *Canonis Misse Expositio* (1487–88), the Sanctus had a bipartite structure: Sanctus–Pleni represented the angelic choirs ("vox angelica"), whereas Osanna–Benedictus–Osanna represented the voice of the faithful ("vox humana"). The latter part in turn was divisible into prayer (Osanna, preceding the Elevation), and the giving of thanks (Benedictus). The Benedictus, marking the actual moment of transubstantiation, was not only an expression of the gratitude of the faithful, however, but also an acknowledgment of the mystery of incarnation ("confessio mysterii incarnationis Christi"). Precisely at the most sacred point of the Mass, then, the two mysteries were consciously thought of as connected. It was nothing less than the Word that became flesh in the host.[25]

Anthoni usque limina, as a prayer on behalf of the faithful ("gathering," 1. 7), and anticipating the Christian mystery (15–16), seems to parallel the preparatory function that Biel associates with the Osanna—irrespective of whether it was meant to replace that particular item or not. As such the motet would have coincided with a liturgical action that was in fact structurally incorporated in the music. Just before the Elevation in every Mass a bell was rung to warn worshippers absorbed in their own prayers to look up, because the moment of consecration was near: the peal of the bell announced the arrival of the Saviour.[26] Small sacring-bells were kept with every altar in every church: particularly in larger churches with many side chapels, several Mass celebrations could be going on at the same time, and nothing but the pealing of bells could alert the faithful to yet another opportunity to behold the living Christ in the consecrated host.

It seems attractive to consider *Anthoni usque limina* as a pre-Elevation prayer in a Mass for St. Anthony, surrounded by—but not replacing—Mass proper chants ("sweetly singing thy miracles"), and imploring the saint to make possible full spiritual or actual communion with the Saviour. It is true, as already said, that the bell is also an attribute of St. Anthony:[27] Busnoys's verbal canon in the Brussels manuscript is incorporated in a drawing in which the saint's bell is combined with another of his attributes, the T-shaped or tau cross. Yet perhaps we might regard the double significance of the bell in *Anthoni usque limina* as yet another conflation of meaning, this time not textual but musical.[28] Certainly if the motet was to be sung before an altar devoted to the saint, any available Anthony's bell that was not merely an artistic ornament but could be expected to compete with a dozen or so singers would have been the sacring-bell, since its sound could normally carry across the entire interior of a church.[29] That the verbal canon specifies its pitch as *nete synemmenon* (corresponding to the note *d* la sol re, or *d'*) is no objection either: since there was no absolute pitch standard, any bell that approximated a pitch in mid-range could be used to anchor the notation, defining *d* la sol re for the particular performance.

A eucharistic reading of *Anthoni usque limina* may also enable us to interpret the phrase "let the water of grace offer refreshment to the limbs" (13–14) as more than an apparently random borrowing from prayers associated with St. Anthony. Masses celebrated with special solemnity began with an elaborate

ceremony in which salt and water were exorcised, blessed, and mixed: not only the altar but also the congregation was sprinkled with holy water, which was thought to banish demons, to ensure blessing, and to effect real spiritual and physical healing.[30] By linking, in one sentence (13–16), the "refreshment" of the "water of grace" with the imminently desired inspiration of the Holy Spirit, Busnoys evidently prayed for a spiritual cleansing that would make the benefits of communion available "to all."

Yet this interpretation answers only some of the many questions raised by Busnoys's motet. In collects, as we have seen, the fear of hell and purgatory is logically connected with the hope for the beatific vision in heaven. Yet this eschatological element is played down in *Anthoni usque limina*, even though the infernal imagery, curiously, is intensified. It is true, of course, that the celebration of Masses was the principal means by which the living could hasten the release of souls from purgatory—provided they included special prayers for the dead.[31] Yet Busnoys's prayer is clearly not concerned with the dead, but rather with "the gathering" (7), more specifically "this choir" (11), and perhaps even more specifically "Anthonius Busnoys" himself (1 and 16).

It is also true that the Mass itself represents Christ's promise of salvation and eternal life. Yet Busnoys stresses not this aspect, but rather—if my interpretation is correct—the immediately expected benefits of grace through the sacrament of the eucharist. For this it would have been far more natural to pray to Christ directly (as in Elevation prayers),[32] since he, after all, was to become physically present in the consecrated host. When it came to the punishment of hell and purgatory, on the other hand, Christ was to be an impartial judge, and here it would have been more natural to secure St. Anthony's help as advocate, pleading for a lenient sentence against the prosecutor, "fiery Pluto"—yet Busnoys avoids calling on the saint for this.[33] Several apparent incongruities thus seem to remain, and this only adds to the sense that the text, for all its sophisticated concentration of imagery, lacks coherence. Can the seemingly disparate strands of meaning be tied together to yield a more coherent message?

II

If *Anthoni usque limina* develops any theme consistently, it is that of the Christian believer beleaguered by hostile troops of demons seeking the destruction of body and soul; St. Anthony is his example, guide, and friend. The text elaborates this theme on three different levels: this life, the hour of death, and the afterlife. However, there is no essential distinction between these levels, and Busnoys's text admits simultaneous readings on more than one: all three are stages in the pilgrimage of human life, a pilgrimage whose destination is not reached until the Last Day.

In late medieval thought the Devil and his fallen angels were held to be the source of all evils that afflicted humanity: natural disasters, wars, enmity, disease, and sin. Any believer who had patiently endured these ordeals during his life, and had dutifully discharged the debts of penance incurred by his sins, could still expect a severe onslaught of demons at the hour of death: this was

the Devil's last chance to tempt him into eternal damnation, and hence the most steadfast belief was required spiritually to survive that final battle.[34] Once the soul had parted from the body, nothing could be done to change the balance between evil and good, and the Devil waited as anxiously for the verdict as the soul. A provisional judgment was made immediately in the court of St. Michael: heaven (in practice only saints), purgatory (most Christian believers), or hell (infidels and unrepentant sinners). Only in case of the latter verdict was the soul definitively in the Devil's possession: whoever was sentenced to purgatory was in principle saved, although he still needed to have sins purged away in order to complete his penance, and to be worthy of salvation at the second, final judgment, at the end of time. Souls in purgatory thus awaited with certainty the glory to come, but were meanwhile subjected to purgation at the hands of demons.

Whatever the stage in this pilgrimage, the believer was expected to undergo the temptations and tribulations of the demons patiently, not losing faith and hope: impatience was itself a temptation of the Devil.[35] St. Anthony, in this respect, provided a realistic and human model to follow. Unlike St. Michael, whose army had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Devil and his angels by casting them out of Heaven (Rev. 12:7–9; a feat no human being could hope to emulate), Anthony had physically endured their tortures and temptations alone. Indeed he was a virtual specialist in resisting the temptations of the Devil: "he bore countless trials inflicted by the demons," Jacobus de Voragine commented in the Golden Legend, proceeding to recount several such incidents.[36] Busnoys seems to underscore the suffering humanity of the saint in *Anthoni usque limina*. All liturgical texts quote the phrase "dimicasti viriliter" literally from the *vita* of St. Anthony, implying active battle ("thou hast fought manfully"). In the motet, however, this has been changed into "superasti viriliter," implying patient endurance ("thou hast overcome").

The miracle alluded to by Busnoys emphasizes the physical pain inflicted on St. Anthony—other miracles show him resisting such temptations as lust, greed, and loss of faith. The aspect of disease recurs elsewhere in the motet. On a literal reading, "refreshment to the limbs" (13–14) means relief from the pains of Anthony's fire and, by the fifteenth century, of other epidemic diseases as well. It seems only appropriate, therefore, that *Anthoni usque limina* should contain a verbal allusion to Ps. 69, which can be read in places as indicating sickness and proximity to death (vv. 2–3, 14–17, 20, 29).

Just as in that psalm, however, such a reading should not be pursued to the exclusion of others: the powerful metaphors in the psalm are general enough to cover any great physical or spiritual distress, and the same is true of *Antoni usque limina*. By the late Middle Ages, St. Anthony's association with the "holy fire" had become metaphorically extended to a range of other afflictions. As we have seen, one fifteenth-century prayer for the liturgy of the saint speaks of the "fires" of sin, and proceeds to enumerate such deadly sins as pride, avarice, impurity, rage, hate, and envy. This ties in with an observation made earlier, that in solemnly celebrated Masses the "water of grace" (14) was administered to chase away all demons who sought to tempt the flesh ("limbs") with

such fires, allowing (as Busnoys's motet anticipates) divine grace to nurture the truly penitent (15–16).

Yet not even this metaphorical extension exhausts all the possible readings of lines 13–14. With allusions to hell and purgatory close by (9–12), it is difficult not to sense the additional awareness that it is the limbs, in particular, that will be subject to the punitive and purgative flames of hell and purgatory (the soul was thought to retain a corporeal quality that made it sensitive to pain). This, however, is not so much an alternative reading as an amplified reading, for there was no essential difference between sickness and tribulation patiently borne in this life and the physical torments of purgatory: both went towards discharging the same debt of penance, and both were thought to be administered by demons.[37] The only real difference was one of quantity: penance in purgatory was universally known to be far more severe than in this life.

In this amplified reading, "refreshment" (13) may additionally refer to mitigation of infernal punishment, to be received either because of the suffrages of the living (alms, fasting, Masses, and prayers), or, in this case, because of the intercession of St. Anthony, whose "assistance" (12) is called for in the motet.[38] This reading is strengthened by the fact that the word "refrigerium" had a long-standing association with the afterlife, going back to the earliest centuries of Christianity (when it in fact denoted the repose of the dead).[39] From a very early date onward, however, as the notion of infernal punishment became more developed, "refrigerium" was increasingly regarded as relief from, or mitigation of, the torments of purgatory.[40] Thus the late ninth-century Vision of Charles the Fat described how, thanks to the intercession of St. Peter and St. Rémi, a tormented soul is placed every other day in a basin of cool water.[41] It seems possible that lines 13–14 of Busnoys's motet call on St. Anthony to intercede for similar relief from purgatorial pains.

The text of *Anthoni usque limina* is thus unified by four closely interrelated themes:

1. Sin and punishment, both seen as "fires" inflicted by demons. As far as punishment is concerned, this can take the form of either physical illness in this life (14), or purgation in the hereafter (9–10).
2. St. Anthony's example, providing the Christian believer with a realistic model to follow (5–6), and, thanks to his merits, his powers of intercession, which can be called upon universally (1–4), are specifically entreated here (7–8, 12), and may effect mitigation of punishment, whether in this life or after (13–14).
3. The Devil and his demons, who visited St. Anthony (5–7), seek to tempt the suppliants into sin (14), drag them down into disease and death (11–14), and hope ultimately to burn them in hell (9–10).
4. The mediation of the church, providing the faithful with powerful weapons against the demons, principally the sacrament of the eucharist (15–16), but also objects and actions with known apotropaic powers, such as holy water (14), the bell, the cross (the tau in the drawing), and indeed the mere invocation of the Word (16).

Busnoys's motet thus embodies a remarkably unified vision of the precarious life of the Christian believer, torn between the tribulations of demons, on the one hand, and the promise of redemption, on the other, and pinning his hopes on St. Anthony as friend and intercessor, to guide and help him in all stages of his pilgrimage, now and in the hereafter. This was the general vision of human life in the late Middle Ages, of course, yet it seems unlikely that it would have received such elaborate emphasis in a votive motet unless there were specific circumstances in which St. Anthony's "assistance" was urgently needed. Somehow "the gathering," "this choir," or "Anthonius Busnoys" himself must have reached a particularly anxious point in the pilgrimage of human life, a moment of great physical or spiritual distress: "hear *now* . . . bear assistance."

As far as the interpretation of *Anthoni usque limina* is concerned, perhaps it is enough to have arrived at just that conclusion. It would not actually increase our understanding of the motet if we proceeded now to speculate about possible dates and places of composition. On the contrary: this might cause us to limit the range of possible readings allowed by the motet to those that seemed pertinent only to the putative historical occasion. The crucial point is surely this: whatever the particular circumstances in which Busnoys and "the gathering" had found themselves—disease, danger, or proximity of death—in *Anthoni usque limina* they were situated and interpreted in a far wider cosmological framework. The least we can say is that the motet must have been written in the years around 1470: in the Brussels manuscript it was a later addition, entered on adjacent blank pages belonging to two layers dated ca. 1464–65 and 1468,[42] and there is a remarkable similarity of style with *Missa O crux lignum* (ca. 1467–75), with which the motet moreover shares a direct musical resemblance.[43]

III

Still, it is not difficult to sense something of the significance that this motet must have had for Busnoys personally, a significance to which his cleverly incorporated "signature" in the text may bear witness. I am referring to an incident of which documentation was only recently discovered in the Vatican by Pamela Starr: sometime in 1460 or early 1461 the composer had beaten up an unnamed priest in the cloisters of Tours cathedral (where he was a cleric), and arranged to have him beaten up five times by others, crimes for which he incurred the sentence of excommunication.[44]

Excommunication was an extremely severe verdict: it meant expulsion from the sacraments of the church (and in addition total ostracism by the rest of the community), and Busnoys in fact aggravated his crime by continuing, unwittingly, to attend Mass and other services. Spiritually, the composer was in grave peril: since he was barred from the sacraments of absolution, penance, and extreme unction, death without repentance and confession would cast him certainly and immediately into eternal damnation. And even if he were to repent and confess *in extremis*, his outstanding debt of penance, at best, would still have

to be repaid in purgatory—with no hope of mitigation, since a last-minute rehabilitation would have left him no time to secure the help of a powerful intercessor (such as St. Anthony) or to make provisions for suffrages that might reduce his debt in this world (Masses, prayers, alms-giving, and fasting).

Whether to escape this fate—which admittedly might not have seemed immediately threatening to a young man—or to end his expulsion from the established social order (which effectively terminated his career as a professional musician), urgent action was needed. After the priest had fully recovered, and after Busnoys must have duly repented and confessed, the composer submitted a formal supplication to the Cardinal Penitentiary at Rome. In it, he requested absolution from the crime of bloodshed, and dispensation of the irregularity of attending and celebrating Mass while excommunicated.[45] His petition was approved by the cardinal on 28 February 1461.

While the sacrament of absolution thus effaced the guilt of Busnoy's crime, its necessary punishment still required satisfaction through the sacrament of penance—lest far more severe punishments would be administered to him in purgatory.[46] Busnoys, being a clerk at the bottom rung of minor orders, probably a vicar-singer, would hardly have had the means to pay for lavish acts of charity and worship. We may take it that he spent much of the early 1460s accumulating indulgences by personal acts of piety: prayer, fasting, and (most lucrative) pilgrimage to famous shrines.[47] In particular, it would have been important for him to develop a personal bond with a specific saint through particular devotions, and St. Anthony would have been an obvious choice—if only because he was the composer's name saint.[48] Moreover, the hermit's shrine in Vienne was the nearest major pilgrimage center: from Tours, Busnoys would have needed to travel about 400 kilometers, mainly upstream along the Loire. While it would be speculative to suggest that he would have undertaken a pilgrimage to Saint-Antoine-de-Vienne (it was not necessarily a more likely destination than, say, Rome, Compostela, or Jerusalem) the possibility is hardly farfetched. In 1479, as is well known, the Milanese singer Joschino de Picardia received a travel pass for a 3-month votive pilgrimage to Vienne.[49]

Yet even without such speculations it is possible to read *Anthoni usque limina* as a document that must have had a deeply personal significance for Busnoys. To begin with, the composer had committed the deadly sin of anger ("ira"), and his very calculation in arranging five beatings shows that, unlike St. Anthony (5–6), he had offered not the slightest resistance to temptations attributable to the Devil and his demons. The sentence of excommunication had made the prospect of hell a certainty for Busnoys (9–10), and barred him from the saving grace of the holy sacrament (15–16). Yet the composer had received absolution, and this made him worthy once again to partake in the sacrament of penance: at least he could now work actively toward reducing his debt of penance in this life, a debt he would otherwise have to repay more dearly in the hereafter. St. Anthony was Busnoys's name saint, and he had experienced the kinds of temptations to which the composer had succumbed (5–6). Yet prayer and worship (7–8) could persuade him to bear assistance (12), enabling Busnoys once again to receive the full spiritual benefits from

the sacrament of the eucharist (15–16). On this personal level, then, as the incorporation of the composer's name confirms, *Anthoni usque limina* is itself a votive offering, strengthening a personal bond between sinner and saint which may have been established originally by means of pilgrimage and other devotions. While such pious acts would have given Busnoys the necessary indulgences to discharge his debt of penance, *Anthoni usque limina* shows that the composer was interested in more than mere "accountancy" of sin.[50] The saint's help continued to be needed in order to avoid the temptation of sin in the future and to bear the tribulations of this life patiently (13–14), to be protected from death (11–12), and to negotiate between sinner and Saviour (15–16). In a very real sense, Busnoys seems to have sought St. Anthony's friendship.[51]

How is all this to be reconciled with the fact that *Anthoni usque limina* is also a prayer on behalf of "the gathering" and "this choir"? The contradiction is only apparent: here, as elsewhere, there is a conflation of meaning that does not spring from any particular ingenuity on Busnoys's part, but rather from the remarkably integrated worldview of the late Middle Ages. It is quite possible that by the early 1470s, when the composer was permanently in Burgundian service,[52] he did possess the financial wealth to establish a votive service for St. Anthony—of which the motet might then have been a part.[53] Yet no matter how personal the reasons or circumstances for such a private benefaction, every liturgical celebration was principally a communal event, with spiritual benefits accruing to whomever celebrated and attended.[54] (A direct parallel is provided by Josquin's *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*, whose text is a prayer to the Virgin on behalf of the *la-mi-la canentes*, yet also incorporates the composer's name as an acrostic.)

How are we to envision that community? Who were "the gathering" and "this choir"? Several years ago I proposed that *Anthoni usque limina* was written for the Order of Saint-Antoine-en-Barbefosse, a wealthy devotional confraternity with aristocratic and bourgeois membership, founded originally as an order of chivalry by the counts of Hainaut.[55] The main evidence for this hypothesis came from the tau with pendant bell depicted in the Brussels manuscript, which, in this particular combination, constituted the emblem of the order.[56] My speculation that the motet might have been written for Busnoys's induction into the confraternity now appears to me implausible, if only because the inaugural ceremony did not involve the celebration of Mass (although one might well have followed).[57] Moreover, there are grounds for caution about necessarily connecting the motet with Barbefosse in particular, since the tau and bell seem to have been incorporated in the emblems of other confraternities as well, both within and outside the Antonian Order.[58]

Still, it would be difficult to explain the drawing in BrusBR 5557 as anything other than the emblem of a confraternity (whether in Barbefosse or elsewhere). While the bell is plainly needed to specify the "me" in the verbal canon who is to be "countersounding" *(anthipsilens)* in tenor position (see n. 8), the tau is musically superfluous, and the combination of the two attributes—having been used by several confraternities—could hardly have been

coincidental. Moreover, one of the main purposes of confraternities was the service for the dead: members were assured of funeral services after their deaths (for which they were required to leave a fee in their wills), prayers and Masses in their memory (if they made financial provisions for them), and, in many cases, burial.[59] It is not at all implausible that Busnoys, whose peripatetic existence as Burgundian court singer has been amply documented by Paula Higgins,[60] would have been concerned to establish a "home base," a place he could return to whenever he felt his death approaching, and where he could be assured of a local community that cared for him in his final moments and beyond. *Anthoni usque limina*, in this regard, could be seen as expressing a communal sensibility about disease, death, and dying, as much as an individual sensibility about sin, judgment, and penance: the personal and the communal are fully conflated. Being sung, perhaps, in the chapel of a confraternity, and incorporating its sacring-bell, the motet could have been a fitting prayer and votive offering to the saint at any time of danger and distress—and might conceivably even have guaranteed perpetual remembrance of "Anthonius Busnoys" in endowed Masses after his death.

WITH THIS WE HAVE returned once again to the concept of community: *shared* beliefs, values, interests, paradigms. *Anthoni usque limina* presupposes an interpretive community, yet it also shapes it, gives it a voice, to express shared anxieties, aspirations, hopes, and beliefs. Beyond that, the motet could itself be taken as a metaphor of the medieval community—each voice having its assigned place in a hierarchical structure, unfolding freely, yet firmly guided by the straight melodic path set out, with perfect metric regularity, by the saint's attribute, the bell. This seems like an image of the way medievals sought to give saints a place in their midst—beacons of stability around whose worship their every movement, private and communal, was organized: *sine me non*. But at the end comes the final cadence, terminating the life of this brief motet, its last reverberations quickly dying out. What remains is the hope, of Busnoys as well as his "gathering," that the saints might one day give them a place in their midst, in the community of heaven.

NOTES

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1. For the concept of interpretive community, see Stanley Fish, "Interpreting the *Variorum*," in *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*, ed. David Lodge (London: Longman Group, 1988), 310–29. The current turning away from the ideal of direct aesthetic communion with the composer is linked with the postmodern reluctance to locate interpretive authority exclusively in the author (rather than in the "reader-response" of a community of which the author might have been a part); see Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," and Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" ibid., 166–72 and 196–210.

2. The distinction is Aristotelian. Cf. Boethius's definition of sound in terms of motion (a definition that was universally known in the Middle Ages): "sound is not produced without some pulsation and percussion [cause]; and pulsation and percussion cannot exist by any means unless motion precedes them [prior cause]. . . . For this reason, sound is defined as a percussion [action] of air [passive object, or patient] remaining undissolved all the way to the hearing [from where it may go on to produce an effect]." See Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 11.

3. *Complexus effectuum musices*; see Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 22 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), 2:159–77.

4. It is true that music-as-written possessed intelligible qualities in which symbolic meaning could be perceived, for instance numbers of notes or units of length. However, such forms of musical symbolism represent only a small part of the multiplicity of meanings that is nowadays postulated for music—a multiplicity that really reflects the diversity and historical dynamism of the interpretive communities through which music passes. In fact, these forms of symbolism tend to appeal mainly to communities that place great emphasis on authorial intention and intellectual apprehension (e.g., modern scholarship), and hardly at all to communities concerned primarily with music as entertainment or pleasurable activity.

5. Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, 2:159–77.

6. For literature, see Wolfgang Stephan, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937), 22; C. L. Walther Boer, *Het Anthonius-motet van Anthonius Busnoys* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1940); Charles Van den Borren, *Etudes sur le XV^e siècle musical* (Antwerp: N. V. de Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1941), 238–44; Edgar H. Sparks, "The Motets of Antoine Busnoys," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6 (1953): 225–26; Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 217 and 227–29; Flynn Warmington, "A Busnois–Fétis Collaboration: The Motet " 'Anthoni usque limina'," paper read at the meeting of the American Musicological Society, 6–9 November 1986; Rob C. Wegman, "Busnoys' 'Anthoni usque limina' and the Order of Saint-Antoine-en-Barbefosse in Hainaut," *Studi musicali* 17 (1988): 15–31; Antoine Busnoys, *Collected Works, Part 2: The Latin-Texted Works*, ed. Richard Taruskin, Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance 5/2–3 (New York: Broude Trust, 1990), 3:64–69.

7. Hereafter BrusBR 5557 (fols. 48^v–50^r).

8. *Monostempus silens/Modi sine me non/Sit tot anthipsilens/Nethesinemenon* (BrusBR 5557, fol. 48^v); see n. 29.

9. See the illustrations in Walther Boer, *Het Anthonius-motet*, following p. 16, and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie, (London: Macmillan, 1980), 3:506.

10. *Alpha et o cephasque deutheri/cum pos decet penulti[mum] queri/actoris qui nomen vult habere* (BrusBR 5557, fol. 49^v).

11. See Wegman, "Busnoys's 'Anthoni usque limina'," 25–27, and below. "Water" is written by Busnoys as "moys" (14; a Latin transliteration of the Coptic word for water), to make it rhyme with the Greek-derived "noys" (16), for "spirit." See Noel Swerdlow, "Musica Dicitur a Moys, Quod Est Aqua," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 3–9.

12. P. Noordeloos, "Antoniana," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* 1 (1959): 27–107, particularly 72–74.

13. For example in Ghent, 1489, see Paul Trio, *Volksreligie als spiegel van een*

stedelijke samenleving: De broederschappen te Gent in de late middeleeuwen (Louvain: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1993), 278 and n. 13 (foundation of a confraternity in honor of St. Anthony and St. Roch, described as "marshals and averters of unforeseen death and the plague and disease of pestilence").

14. Wegman, "Busnoys's 'Anthoni usque limina'," 26–27.

15. See the office of St. Anthony, edited after several fifteenth-century Dutch sources by Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius and Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, in *Het officie van Antonius Eremita*, Scripta Musicologica Ultrajectina 5 (Utrecht: Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap der Rijksuniversiteit, 1975): the office borrows extensively from the famous *vita* of St. Anthony written by St. Athanasius. (I am grateful to Marcel Zijlstra for procuring me a copy of this edition.)

16. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1:93–94.

17. Cf. Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1376 (*olim* 89), fols. 64^{v}–65^{r} and 68^{v}–69^{r}, and Wagenaar-Nolthenius and Smits van Waesberghe, *Het officie van Antonius Eremita*, 16.

18. Since the actual verb used is "psallere" (8), it may be significant that Busnoys labels the bass of his motet "barripsaltes" and describes the bell as "anthipsilens." "Chorus" (11) need not necessarily mean a polyphonic choir: see, for instance, the phrase "quem chorus exultat" in the Nunc Dimittis antiphon *Da patris Anthonii meritis* (Wagenaar-Nolthenius and Smits van Waesberghe, *Het officie van Antonius Eremita*, 6).

19. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1984), 122–24 and 233.

20. "ut per tua merita valeamus cuncta evadere pericula et gehenne ignis incendia"; see Wagenaar-Nolthenius and Smits van Waesberghe, *Het officie van Antonius Eremita*, 22.

21. "Flammas igni et orci incendia mox suffocat victor demonii"; cf. Trent MS 1375 (*olim* 88), fols. 179^{v}–180^{r}.

22. See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 373, for the resolution of the distinction "between the essential sacrifice which constituted the Mass, on one hand, and which was efficacious for all the quick and the dead who share the divine life of charity, and the particular prayers which formed the proper of each Mass, on the other, which, like any other prayers, could be directed to specific purposes or persons."

23. Ibid., 124 and 214–15; *Liber usualis* (Tournai: Desclée & Socii, 1962), 7. The opening of St. John's Gospel was believed to have special protective power; see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Penguin, 1973), 34 and 39.

24. For what follows, see Michael Long, "Symbol and Ritual in Josquin's *Missa Di Dadi*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 1–22, at 4–7.

25. Cf. John Quidort's (d. 1306) discussion of the eucharist, in which the nature of the consecrated bread is assumed to be coextensive with the Word, rather than annihilated by full transubstantiation; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 31.

26. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 58–60 and 152; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 97–98.

27. Cf. Busnoys, *Collected Works*, 3:66.

28. In addition, the pealing of bells was thought to chase away demons, for instance when they caused storms or natural disasters. For an example in Ghent, 1473,

see Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 51.

29. On reflection, Flynn Warmington's resolution of the bell canon ("A Busnoys–Fétis Collaboration"; adopted with modifications by Richard Taruskin in Busnoys, *Collected Works*, 2:138–48) no longer appears entirely plausible to me. Since the bass enters after nine *tempora* under O in the first section, and after the (notationally equivalent) period of 18 tempora under O2 in the second, Warmington reasonably assumes that a single resolution of the verbal canon (Busnoys writes "canon ubi supra" at the beginning of the second section) made sure that the first peal of the bell would have coincided with the entry of the bass in both sections. For this it is necessary to assume that "monostempus silens" must refer to a breve rest in 9:1 augmentation. However, no such proportion is specified in the canon, and in the absence of any directions it is natural to assume that "monostempus" refers to whatever the tempus happens to be in O or O2. Moreover, in Warmington's resolution the augmentation would lead to hypothetical durations of the bell sound which, as she points out, far exceed its normal decay (cf. *Collected Works*, 3:69). More importantly, it is difficult to assume an initial period of silence which, to judge from recent recordings of the motet, would have lasted about 25–35 seconds in performance. The unaccompanied introductory trios/duos could very easily have resulted in changes of pitch level, leading to an extremely awkward sound when the bell entered (cf. David Fallows, *Dufay* [London, 1982], 118–19). An example in one of the recordings, after an equal period of silence, can be heard in measure 28 (1′23″) of the performance by the New London Chamber Choir ("The Brightest Heaven of Invention," Amon Ra Records, CD-SAR 56, 1992). Plainly, regular pealing would have been necessary from the very beginnings of the two sections to avoid such moments, and Busnoys's canon clearly calls for this: "Being silent for one tempus [whether in O or O2], let so many modi [as remain] not be without me, countersounding *nete synemmenon*."

30. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 124 and 281–82. For the protective powers attributed to holy water, see also Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 32–33, 211, and 236.

31. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 81–82, 146–47, 175, 275–76, 308; Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 154–61.

32. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 155–63.

33. It was considered vital to secure the help of saints during his life, since souls might otherwise find themselves without any advocate to plead against the accuser, Satan, in St. Michael's court, at which provisional judgments were made in anticipation of Christ's final judgment. This predicament was described in the widely known treatise *Le pèlerinage de l'âme*, by Guillaume de Deguileville (of which Guillaume Dufay, incidentally, possessed a copy): after Satan had delivered his damning accusation before the court, "I heard [my guardian angel] speak of an advocate, [and] I began to think whether I had ever served any saint who might take up my cause in this distress. . . . But I realized that I would have nothing to give my adviser or advocate, nor had I served, during my life, any particular saint to whom, after the advice of Job, I might turn myself in prayer to take up my quarrel [with the devil]." After Rosemarie Potz McGerr, ed., *The Pilgrimage of the Soul: A Critical Edition of the Middle English Dream Vision* (New York: Garland, 1990), 15–16. The poor soul was sentenced to purgatory (ibid., 53–54).

34. For the "dramatization" of the hour of death, see Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 107–10; Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 230 and 292–93; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 313–27.

35. In the *ars moriendi* impatience was itemized as one of the five temptations in the hour of death; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 315–16. See also Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 2:282: "It is, however, believable that the good angels frequently visit and console their brothers and fellow citizens in purgatory and exhort them to suffer patiently."

36. *The Golden Legend*, 1:93.

37. Although there had been considerable debate as to whether purgatory (as an intermediate place between heaven and hell) was operated by devils or angels, the late Middle Ages veered toward an infernal rather than pre-paradisical image of this place of penance; see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 343–46; Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 252 and 322.

38. On the other hand, it seems inconsistent that such "refreshment" would then be expected to come from water, since Busnoys also evokes the fear of sinking into "the mire of the underworld" (1.11). In Ps. 69, from which the latter image was borrowed, the Hebrew underworld *(sheol)* is represented as a bottomless pit of water (vv. 1–2): "Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overthrow me." Jacques Le Goff intriguingly notes (*The Birth of Purgatory*, 26–27): "There is a close connection . . . between *sheol* and the symbolism of chaos, sometimes embodied in the desert, sometimes in the ocean. Closer attention should perhaps be paid to the possible links between the medieval Purgatory and certain saints or anchorites who [like St. Anthony] wander the oceans or live in solitude in the forest or desert."

39. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 25–26; Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 46–48. Busnoys and his contemporaries could still have been aware of this through the Wisdom of Solomon 4:7: "Justus, si morte preoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit" (The righteous man, if he was mindful of death, will be in paradise).

40. The third-century Apocalypse of Paul (which was to become a highly influential document for medieval beliefs about purgatory) describes in a vision how, "when the souls of the damned see one saved soul pass by, wafted by the archangel Michael to Paradise, they beg him to intercede on their behalf with the Lord. The archangel invites the damned, along with Paul and the angels who accompany him, to beg God in tears for a modicum of 'refreshment' (*refrigerium*). This sets off a tremendous concert of tears, which causes the Son of God to descend from heaven to remind the sinners of his passion and their sins. Swayed by the prayers of Michael and Paul, Christ grants respite *(requies)* from Saturday night to Monday morning" (Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 37).

41. Ibid., 197–98. See also the phrase "Consolator optime, dulcis hospes anime, dulce refrigerium" in the Pentecost sequence *Veni creator Spiritus* (*Liber usualis*, 880–81). (I am grateful to Bonnie Blackburn for pointing out this reference to me.)

42. Rob C. Wegman, "New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 36 (1986), 5–25.

43. Rob C. Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 235–303, at 262–64; id., *Born for the Muses*, 97, n. 7.

44. For this and what follows, see Pamela F. Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe: Papal Grace and Music Patronage," *Early Music History* 11 (1992), 223–62, at 249–56 and 260.

45. Irregularity was an impediment to receiving orders, for which dispensation was required; it could be either *ex defectu* (e.g., bodily defect or illegitimacy) or *ex delicto*

(e.g., unlawful exercise of orders, as in Busnoys's case). See W. Nolet and P. C. Boeren, *Kerkelijke instellingen in de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1951), 90–91, and Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe," 247. Busnoys petitioned for dispensation of the irregularity in order to qualify for tonsure again.

46. For the distinction, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 288, and Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 213–20.

47. It may be no coincidence that the next document to mention Busnoys, more than four years after he had received absolution and dispensation (7 and 13 April 1465), sees him skipping several lower orders to the rank of acolyte and, a week later, to the holy order of subdeacon: evidently there had been considerable delay in his ecclesiastical career. See Paula Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986): 36–86, at 70–71.

48. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 160–62. See also n. 33 for the importance of particular devotions to saints who might eventually act as advocate at the court of St. Michael.

49. Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962–65), 1:16 (Vienne was approximately 340 kilometers from Milan).

50. For the concepts of accountancy and bookkeeping, see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 229 and 292.

51. On the perception of saints as friends, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 160–63.

52. Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited," 43.

53. For the possibility for private benefactors to exercise control over prayers in votive Masses, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 114.

54. See ibid., 121–26 and 139–41 for "the extent to which late medieval Christians identified individual spiritual welfare with that of the community as a whole, an identification in which personal initiative and corporate action in pursuit of salvation could converge without any sign of incongruity or tension" (141).

55. Wegman, "Busnoys' 'Anthoni usque limina'."

56. Ibid., 19 and 23.

57. Noordeloos, "Antoniana," 101–3.

58. See ibid., 61, for a description of the emblem of the (non-Antonian) brotherhood of St. Anthony at Antwerp: a tau, crowned by a bundle of flames, and surrounded by a corona of flames (note the prominence of fire symbolism), as well as a bell, all enclosed within two laurel branches. Closer to the emblem of Barbefosse is the insignia of the (Antonian) Order of St. Anthony at the convent of Issenheim, south of Colmar, now in the Unterlinden Museum; see Christian Heck, *Grünewald and the Issenheim Altar* (Colmar: Delta, 1987), 59 (I am indebted to Andrew Kirkman for drawing this publication to my attention). See also P. Noordeloos, "Enige gegevens over broederschappen van S. Antonius," *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg* 85 (1949): 477–99, at 490 (Maastricht and Bailleul).

59. For the link between confraternities and death and burial, see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 327–28, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 143–44, and Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 183–88, especially 185: "Of all the works of mercy, the service for the dead became the main purpose of the confraternities. Their patron saints were often chosen from among the saints known as protectors against the plague and epidemics: Saint Sebastian, Saint Roch, and Saint Gond." For the fifteenth-century association of St. Anthony with plague and other epidemic diseases in the Ghent confraternity of St. Anthony and St. Roch, see n. 13.

60. "*In hydraulis* Revisited."