

The restoration of Antoine Busnoys' four-part Flemish song "In mijnen sijn"

An experiment in sound, imitation technique,
and the setting of a popular tune

Important aspects of my discussion of Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn" are most adequately represented by the musical editions appended to this article. They include separate editions of the song's only two complete sources, which date from the first decade of the 16th century. For anybody who wants to perform the song, these sources raise some thorny questions about how to understand the music. The editions include my attempt to answer these questions by means of a restoration of "In mijnen sijn".¹ The process of restoration highlights some issues of importance to our perception of the development of compositional practice in the second part of the fifteenth century. These issues concern the extent and meaning of the roles of key signatures, strict canon techniques and the development of polyphonic settings of popular songs. Furthermore, in my opinion this Flemish song has not received the attention it deserves from musicology.²

Sources and composer attribution

The song's presumably oldest source is Petrucci's third printed collection of secular music, *Canti C*, which was published in Venice in 1504 (hereafter *Canti C*).³ It appears on ff. 55v-56 without any composer attribution and with only the first line of a French poem "Le second jour d'avril" as a text incipit below each voice part. The

- 1 For the impetus to take up this little piece of research, I wish to thank Mr. Arnold den Teuling whose correspondence made me aware of the special problems concerning the edition of Busnoys' song; he has also contributed important information on the edition of Flemish poems.
- 2 The research by Martin Picker has been the natural point of departure for my work. He has charted the family of compositions building on the "In mijnen sijn" tune, found the connection to the Anthonisz painting, and he is the only one who points to the correct solution of the song's structure (cf. notes 19, 22, and 38 below). Regrettably, I have to disregard the very detailed analysis by Clemens GOLDBERG in his *Die Chansons von Antoine Busnois. Die Ästhetik der höfischen Chansons*. (Quellen und Studien zur Musikgeschichte von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart, Bd. 32), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994, pp. 206-221, as it builds on a transcription with no real foundation in the sources (cf. note 29), discusses a poetic text far removed from Busnoys' time, and fails to recognize the structure of the tune on which the song is based, and thus makes most of the discussion slightly irrelevant.
- 3 *Canti C. N° cento cinquanta*. O. Petrucci, Venezia, 1504 (RISM 1504/3).

other, slightly later, source is the chansonnier in Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439, the so-called "Basevi Codex", where it is found on ff. 29v-30 under Busnoys' name and with "In myne zynn" as text incipit in all four parts. At first glance, this information calls for circumspection concerning the composer attribution. None of the sources are among the important ones for the dissemination and preservation of Busnoys' music, and both sources were produced several years after Busnoys' death. He probably spent his last years as choirmaster in Bruges and died in November 1492 after a career which had included the French royal court in the 1450s or earlier, Tours and Poitiers in the 1460s, and the Burgundian court from 1467.⁴ After the turn of the century, his music disappeared from the general repertory except for a handful of four-part songs.

Petrucchi printed a few compositions by Busnoys in his early collections, mostly four-part French chansons. Six of these were attributed to Busnoys, and in all cases musicology has accepted them as his.⁵ Among the anonymous compositions in Petrucci's anthologies, eight are attributed to Busnoys in other sources; of these four are unlikely to be works by Busnoys,⁶ while four others (including "Le second jour d'avril" (In mijnen sijn)) are not contested by contradictory ascriptions.⁷

The following points convince me that the attribution of the song to Busnoys in the Basevi Codex is credible:

- 1) In Basevi Codex the song is placed among contemporary songs, and the MS' attributions are highly reliable.
- 2) The placing of the cipher "3" below passages in coloration is a practice which Tinctoris criticized in the music of Busnoys.
- 3) The song contains features of an experimental nature, which later scribes and editors found difficult to handle, but which match patterns that are apparent in parts of Busnoys' production.

The Basevi Codex is a parchment manuscript, which was produced sometime during the years 1505-1508 in the scriptorium of the Burgundian court chapel by the copyist known as *Main Scribe B* – this is in the workshop which became famous under the direction of Petrus Alamire.⁸ The chansonnier was most probably produced on com-

4 For biographical information see Paula Higgins, "Busnoys, Antoine," *Grove Music Online*. Aug. 2009.

5 In *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton* A. Venezia 1501 (RISM 1501): "J'ay pris amours tout au rebours", "Je ne demande aultre de gré", "Le serviteur"; in *Canti B. numero Cinquanta B*, Venezia 1502 (RISM 1502/2): "L'autrier que passa"; in *Canti C*: "Maintes femmes m'ont dit souvent", "Corps digne / Dieu quel mariage". Petrucci also printed one piece of sacred music under Busnoys' name, the unique "Patrem Vilayge" in *Fragmenta missarum* of 1505 (RISM 1505/1), which is rather uncharacteristic of Busnoys' music. It may be a late work or (more likely) a misattributed work by a younger colleague; cf. Antoine BUSNOYS (Richard Taruskin ed.), *Collected Works*. Vol. 3. New York: The Broude Trust, 1990, pp. 52-54.

6 In *Odhecaton* A: "Amours fait moult / Il est de bonne heure / Tant que nostre argent" (Japart), "Je ne fay plus" (Mureau); and in *Canti C*: "Cent mille escus" (Caron), "Fortuna desperata" (Felice).

7 In *Odhecaton* A: "Acordes moy ce que je pense", "Mon mignault / Gratieuse"; in *Canti C*: "Une filler-esse d'estoupes / Vostre amour / S'il y a compagnon".

8 Herbert KELLMANN (ed.), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535*. Ghent: Ludion, 1999, p. 11; for a different view of the continuity between Scribe B and

mission from a member of a noble Italian family, the Agostini Ciardis of Siena. It is in oblong choir book format (168 x 240 mm), which is a rather unusual format for a Northern manuscript, but it closely matches the size, layout and disposition of the Petrucci chansonniers and like them it in most cases supplies only a few words of the texts – only enough for an identification of the pieces.⁹ It seems to have been commissioned as a companion volume to the collections of Northern secular music by Petrucci with the same mixture of four- and three-part pieces. In the manuscript nearly all the compositions are attributed to a composer with Agricola, La Rue, Ghiselin and Prioris as the predominant names; and it has proved to be a very reliable source for composers' names.¹⁰ However, Busnoys is a rather seldom guest in the Burgundian court manuscripts. In fact they contain only one single additional composition under his name, and it is his famous *Missa L'homme armé* in the earliest manuscript of the complex, the MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi CVIII.234 (the so-called "Chigi Codex"), which contains most of Ockeghem's sacred music.¹¹ In the Basevi Codex Busnoys' "In myne zynn" stands shoulder to shoulder with two four-part chansons by Ockeghem, namely the rondeau "Je n'ay dueil" in a late version which had also been printed in Canti C, and the combination chanson "Petite camusette" (ff. 30v-32); it thus appears in a small enclave with music of an older generation. Moreover, a notational feature in "In myne zynn", the use of coloration in combination with the cipher "3", lends additional authority to the manuscript's attribution of the song to Busnoys.

Minor color is a notational concept identified by modern editors in music of the 15th and 16th centuries. According to convention dotted figures could be written either as a dotted note followed by one or two shorter notes or as blackened notes of the next higher order (e.g. a black *semibrevis* followed by a black *minima* could be replaced by a dotted *minima* and a *semiminima*) at the scribes' discretion. However, the way of interpreting passages in coloration (black notes) endorsed by 15th century music theory is to read them as *sesquialtera*, where they are shortened by a third of their value and form triplet patterns or change the accentuation of the musical line (in triple time). It is possible that modern editors rely too heavily on the *minor color* interpretation and may thereby may obscure rhythmical subtleties,¹² but that the convention existed is a fact documented by the many musical sources containing the same pieces in differing notations.

Alamire see Fabrice FITCH, 'Alamire versus Agricola: The Lie of the Sources' in Bruno BOUCKAERT & Eugen SCHREURS (eds.), *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500-1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire* (Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 5), Leuven: Alamire Foundation, 2003, pp. 299-308.

⁹ Kellmann, *The Treasury ...*, p. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Kellmann, *The Treasury ...*, pp. 125-127; see further Fabrice FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*. Paris: Honnoré Champion, 1997.

¹² Cf. Ronald WOODLEY, 'Minor Coloration Revisited: Ockeghem's Ma bouche rit and Beyond', in Anne-Emmanuelle CEULEMANS & Bonnie J. BLACKBURN (eds.), *Théorie et analyse musicales 1450-1650. Actes du colloque international Louvain-la-Neuve, 23-25 septembre 1999* (Musicologica Neolovaniensia Studia 9). Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme, 2001, pp. 39-63.

Figure 1. Coloration in "In myne zynn" in the Basevi Codex
a) Superius, bars 59-60 b) Contra, bars 57-58



Figure 2 a-b. The same passages in Canti C



matches the two passages in coloration found in "In myne zynn" in the Basevi Codex (see Fig. 1).¹³ Rob C. Wegman speculates that this and other special features in Busnoys' mensural use (all condemned by Tinctoris) stems from ingrained musical habits founded during his youth and education somewhere in Flanders where Continental and English musical traditions intermingled.¹⁴ The cipher "3" below coloration seems to be so characteristic that it has been used to help identify probable works by Busnoys among the anonymously preserved repertory.¹⁵ The appearance of "3" below coloration in such a late source as the Basevi Codex suggests that the scribe had access to an exemplar closely connected to the period and to the musical circles of Busnoys.

While it hardly posed any problems that musical notation slightly more difficult than in common use appeared in an anthology commissioned by a private patron who surely had competent musicians at his disposal, it was a different matter in a printed collection aimed at a wider circle of buyers. For this reason Petrucci's editor¹⁶ has routinely normalized these passages by replacing *sesquialtera* with an alternative reading as dotted figures, which perfectly fit the counterpoint (compare Figs. 1 and 2, and see Edition C, bb. 57 ff). As we will see, it is not the only normalization of the music he carried out. The discarding of the *sesquialtera* reading of coloured figures in favour of dotted figures was quite widespread already in the 15th century, and as Richard Sherr has remarked, the *sesquialtera* reading was not as obvious as Tinctoris

In his book on musical mensuration and proportions (*Proportionale musices*, c. 1473), the theorist and composer Johannes Tinctoris strongly criticized Busnoys, and only Busnoys, for his habit of adding the cipher "3" below passages in coloration. It is superfluous according to Tinctoris, since the colouring alone obviously indicates *sesquialtera*, and he gives a musical example whose rhythmical shape exactly

13 Tinctoris' remarks and example are reproduced and translated on p. 184 in Rob C. WEGMAN, 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys', in Paula HIGGINS (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys. Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999, pp. 175-214, and in Woodley, 'Minor Coloration', pp. 46-47.

14 Wegman, 'Mensural Intertextuality', pp. 185-193.

15 *Ibid.* pp. 199-204, and Sean GALLAGHER, 'Busnoys, Burgundy, and the *Song of Songs*' in M. Jennifer BLOXAM, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*. Tours: Brepols, 2009, pp. 413-429. Moreover, Gallagher pinpoints another fingerprint of Busnoys', the figure "z", which he has found 30 times in his music, but not in "In mijnen sijn" (p. 419). It is, however, identical to the exposed figure in the Tenor, bb. 35-36.2, and a variant is heard at the start of the Contra, bb. 2-3.2, so our song can be added to Gallagher's Table 2 (p. 420).

16 For the early editions probably Petrus Castellanus, cf. Bonnie J. BLACKBURN, 'Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden', *Musica disciplina* 49 (1995), pp. 15-45.



Figure 3. Cornelis Anthonisz, *Banquet of Members of Amsterdam's Crossbow Civic Guard* 1533 (Historisch Museum, Amsterdam; photo in public domain).



Figure 4. Detail from Anthonisz, *Banquet of Members* (after Picker, 'Newly Discovered Sources for *In Minen Sin*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964), picture following p. 134).

thought it was. If Busnoys really wanted this interpretation, it might be better to be sure by putting in the “3”.¹⁷

The repertoires of Canti C and the Basevi Codex were probably intended first and foremost for instrumental ensemble performances in Italy, where the vocal performance of rather old-fashioned songs with French or Dutch texts was no longer in vogue. A great part of the repertory may even be composed with such performances in mind, especially the highly figured reworkings of well-known art songs, for example of international hits like “De tous biens plaine” or “D’ung aultre amer”, although it cannot be ruled out that they originally were show off pieces for virtuoso, highly paid, and francophone singers.¹⁸ But are we compelled to include Busnoys’ composition within an instrumental repertory because both its complete sources point in that direction? Here a much later, but fragmentary source comes our assistance.

The Dutch painter Cornelis Anthonisz (c. 1499-c. 1555) in 1533 portrayed his companions in the fourth company of crossbows in Amsterdam in a picture now known as *Banquet of Members of Amsterdam’s Crossbow Civic Guard* (Oil on panel, 130 x 206,5 cm, Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, see Fig. 3). Anthonisz depicted himself with a pen in his hand in the upper left corner, just below the year 1533, and the company’s number emerges in the letter “D” painted on the front of the tablecloth. A seated man (fourth from the right) is holding a sheet of music clearly marked as “Superius” as if he is about to propose that the banquet should open with the members participating in the performance of a polyphonic song. In 1964, Martin Picker identified the song on the sheet as Busnoys’ “In mijnen sijn”.¹⁹ The superius has text below the notes, and the words “In mijnen sin heb ick vercoren, vercoren, een meijken” are legible, which clearly identifies the music as vocal.

The painter’s sheet of music is much narrower than it would be in real life; therefore he has chosen to reproduce bits of music found on the opening of an exemplar not unlike the Basevi Codex but with text – and with some free fantasy added. He was not able to reproduce of the music exactly. No wonder, as the sheet is curved and upside-down. If we compare it with the version in the Basevi Codex (see Edition B), the sheet has the Superius’ bars 3-7, bars 11-12 with a picturesque c.o.p.-ligature added – probably inspired by the corresponding place in the opposite Contra part –, bars 15-16.1, a tone too low, but underlaid with the correct words, and bars 20-22 (compare Figure 4).²⁰ We

17 Richard SHERR, ‘Thoughts on Some of the Masses in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14 and its Concordant Sources (or, Things Bonnie Won’t Let Me Publish)’ in Bloxam, *Uno gentile*, pp. 319-333 (here p. 328); to Sherr’s list of Busnoys compositions with normalized notation in the early 16th century one can add “Le second jour d’avril” (In mijnen sijn).

18 Cf. Howard Mayer BROWN and Keith POLK, ‘Instrumental music, c. 1300-c.1520’ in Reinhard STROHM & Bonnie J. BLACKBURN (eds.), *Music as Concept and Practise in the Late Middle Ages* (The New Oxford History of Music. New Edition. Vol. III.1), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 130-131, and John BRYAN, ‘“Very sweete and artificial”: Lorenzo Costa and the earliest viols’, *Early Music* 36 (2008), pp. 1-17.

19 Martin PICKER, ‘Newly Discovered Sources for *In Minen Sin*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964), pp. 133-143.

20 David FALLOWS lists the painting’s version of the song as an anonymous setting “similar to that of Busnoys but surely different” on p. 456 of his *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. The comparison with the Basevi Codex convinces me that Picker was right in his identification of the setting as Busnoys’ with text – reproduced with a painter’s eye, not a

must remember that even if the painting is rather big, the sheet of music only takes up a very small part of its surface. If the painted song is to fulfil its symbolic mission, the painter has to make some elements noticeable. The start of the tune must be recognizable, and the text readable, likewise, the viewer must notice the part designation and the complex ligature, which unmistakably identifies the music as professional polyphony. The music sheet thus describes the civic guard as members of a society in Amsterdam which is characterized by its musical culture as Dutch (language), secular (love song), and learned (mensural polyphony). Martin Picker has commented on the relationship between the music and the painting:

Busnois' treatment of the popular melody reveals a tentative grappling with the technique of imitative paraphrase, which he has chosen to employ in place of traditional cantus firmus structure. His experiment in deriving the polyphonic voices from a single source melody can be compared to Antoniszoon's attempt to combine a number of individual portraits as a unified design. Both works are stiff, even primitive, in comparison with later accomplishments of the kind. ... Busnois' use of imitation seems rigid and repetitive when placed against Isaac's masterly handling of paraphrase technique in his two four-part settings, ... The painter reveals archaic taste in his style as well as in his choice of music. Features more characteristic of the 15th than of the 16th century dominate his work, among them the isolation of figures and objects, the ambiguous space, and the high eye level. Music by Busnois appropriately complements the artist's archaic vision.²¹

While it is somewhat counterproductive to compare Busnoys' setting with later techniques and aesthetics in secular music, one must agree with Picker in emphasising the painter's choice of such old-fashioned music. Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn" must have been composed many years before the birth of Anthonisz; it was probably a hit in his grandfather's time, and as such it represents a fresh and daring experiment in placing a popular tune in polyphony.

The tune, the settings, and the text

Busnoys sets a popular Flemish tune, a love song, which in canonic imitation permeates all four voices; it is easy to extract from the polyphonic web. Example 1 presents the tune as sung in Busnoys' distinctive rhythmization in the Tenor (or Bassus) without intervening rests, continuations and free sections. It is cast in a popular ballade form (AAB with a refrain at the end) and its melodic shape is typical of a popular song with a range of an octave and every line segment accentuating a species of fifth and fourth contained within the scale. Its mode is Dorian, and the scale's high sixth degree is very prominent along with the seventh. The opening rise to the octave is

musician's. The transcription of the music sheet published in Jan Willem BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen van de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1996, p. 127 is quite misleading; it is better to rely on the photograph of the detail in Picker's article (Figure 4).

21 Picker, 'Newly Discovered Sources', p. 138.

made memorable by its accentuation of the high sixth degree, and it combines the mode's basic interval of a fifth *d-a* with a higher fifth *d'-g*, which rules the remainder of the repeated A-section. The B-section also opens with a rising figure, now spanning the contrasting fourth *g-c'* and again involving the scale's high sixth degree; the B-section's second line balances this by concentrating on the fourth *a-e*, and both lines get a shortened repeat in the next line ending on the final. The song's last line, the refrain, confirms the transformation of the fourth *e-a* into the basic fifth (see Ex. 1).

Example 1. Tune extracted from Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn"

The musical score is presented in three staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Dutch. Interval labels are placed above the notes to indicate specific scale relationships: 5th *d-a*, 5th *d'-g*, 5th *d'-g*, 4th *g-c'*, 4th *a-e*, 4th *g-c'*, 5th *a-d*, and 5th *a-d*.

Staff 1:
 In mij - nen sijn heb ick ver-co - ren, een meij-sken al soe ionck van da - ghen,
 noyt schoon-der wijf en was ge-bo - ren, ter we relt wijt, na mijn be ha - ghen.

Staff 2:
 Om ha-rent - wil so wil ic wa - ghen beij - de lijf en - de goet, mocht ic noch

Staff 3:
 troost aen haer be - ia - ghen, so waer ick vro, daer ic nu true-ren moet.

The modular shape of the tune, which takes turns in placing the scale's semitone steps in different scale segments, must have inspired Busnoys to try his hand at clothing the tune in four-part polyphony in the most difficult way available at the time. Every line of the song is treated in canonic imitation at the octave in pairs of voices, first in Tenor-Superius then in Bassus-Contra a fourth lower. In the A-section the distance between the canonic entries is two breves, while in the B-section it is varied between one and two and a half breves, and the tune's fifth and sixth lines are treated as a unit. It must have been important to Busnoys to maintain the intervallic structure of the tune in its transpositions with the resultant fluctuations in sound – giving the Dorian sound space a distinctive Mixolydian flavour – or else the whole exercise would not have had much meaning.

Busnoys' polyphonic setting was probably the first one of this tune, and it provoked a whole family of other settings during the following generations. Among them is a three-part setting by Alexander Agricola, who also based his mighty *Missa In myne synn* a 4 on it, and Heinrich Isaac made two four-part paraphrases; Josquin Desprez used a French variant of the song, "Entré suis en grant pensee", in a three-part setting, which he later reworked in four parts, and this version was also set by Prioris in five parts.²²

22 For lists of all the related settings and editions, see Martin PICKER, 'Polyphonic Settings c. 1500 of the Flemish Tune "In minen sin"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12 (1959), pp. 94-95, in combination with Picker, 'Newly Discovered Sources'; see also P. Woetmann CHRISTOFFERSEN, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century. Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons. The manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2° in the Royal Library, Copenhagen I-III*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994, Vol. II, p. 147, and Fallows, *A Catalogue*, pp. 455-456.

None of the sources containing the different settings of the tune gives more than the first three words of the Flemish text beginning "In mijnen sijn". And like Busnoys' setting some of the settings are in the sources connected with several different texts. For example, Agricola's three-part setting appears with words from a different Flemish poem, with Latin text, and with two different French texts. Apparently, Flemish was not universally acceptable to performers and their audiences. The exception is a fragmentary music print from the Dutch town Kampen, published by the printer Jan Peeterzoon around 1540, the so-called "Kamper liedboek",²³ which on folio G1v contains the contratenor of Isaac's second setting with the words:²⁴

In mijnen sijn heb ick vercoren
 een meijcken al soe ionck van jaren.
 Om harentwil so wil ic waghen
 beijde lijf ende goet.
 Och, mocht ic troost verwerven,
 so waer ick vro, daer ic nu trueren moet.²⁵

This stanza is obviously incomplete as the lines for the repeat of the tune's A-section is missing. A more complete version with five stanzas in all is found in the big song collection *Een schoon liedekens Boeck*, Antwerp 1544, "Antwerps liedboek", where it appears on f. 133 as "een oudt liedeken" (an old song):

In mijnen sin hadde ick vercoren
 een maechdeken ionck van daghen;
 schoonder wijf en was noyt geboren
 ter werelt wijt, na mijn behaghen.
 Om haren wille so wil ick waghen
 beyde lijf ende daer toe goet;
 mocht ic noch troost aen haer beiaghen,
 so waer ick vro, daer ic nu trueren moet.²⁶

It is impossible to know which version of the Flemish poem Busnoys knew nearly 80 years before these versions were printed. It is quite conceivable that it did not have much in common with them except for the first words. However, Anthonisz' painting contains traces which should not be overlooked. The visible words agree perfectly with the version in the *Kamper liedboek*, and in addition Busnoys' treatment of the

23 Cf. Bonda, *De meerstemmige*, pp. 77-80, and F. van DUYSE, 'Oude Nederlandsche meerstemmige Liederboeken', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 1890, pp. 125-175. A facsimile page from Peeterzoon's print can be seen in Willem ELDERS, *Composers of the Low Countries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 13.

24 According to Bonda, *De meerstemmige*, p. 79, and R. LENAERTS, *Het Nederlands Polifonies Lied in de zestiende Eeuw*, Mechelen: Het Kompas, 1933, p. 65. The setting is published in Heinrich ISAAC (J. Wolf, ed.), *Weltliche Werke* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 28), Wien: Artaria, 1907, p. 82.

25 Cited after Bonda, *De meerstemmige*, p. 79.

26 Cited after Howard Mayer BROWN, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229. (Monuments of Renaissance Music VII), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 235.

tune demands the short sixth line offered by this version ("beijde lijf ende goet"). Therefore a reconstruction has to build on the *Kamper liedboek*. The missing lines can be brought in from the *Antwerps liedboek* as shown in the text below; the changes in the wording of lines 2 and 3 as proposed by Jan Willem Bonda²⁷ have been accepted in order to achieve a better agreement with the music:

In mijnen sijn heb ick vercoren
 een meijnsken al soe ionck van daghen;
 noyt schoonder wijf en was geboren
 ter werelt wijt, na mijn behaghen.
 Om harentwil so wil ic waghen
 beijde lijf ende goet,
 mocht ic noch troost aen haer beiaghen,
 so waer ick vro, daer ic nu trueren moet.

This accounts for the text incipit in the Basevi Codex. Hereafter, the text underlay is easy to carry out and nearly mechanical, as all parts use the tune in identical shapes and the text lines succeed each other nicely in the paired voices all the way through the setting. If the notes between the stretches of pre-existent tune are left only vocalized, the canons will stand out strikingly in the sound picture. Text repetitions are nonetheless clearly in evidence on the music sheet of Anthonisz' painting (see Fig. 4). In my restoration of the song (see Edition A) the text lines are consequently placed below the citations of the tune in the canonic passages, while repetitions of words and lines (marked in italics) discretely colour the remainder of the musical lines.

The text incipit in Canti C, "Le second jour d'avril", is something of a dead end because the French poem seems to be lost. It was apparently associated with the "In mijnen sijn" tune since Agricola's setting in the French chansonnier in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794 (from the 1480s) also has been supplied with this text, but only with the first four lines, which have nothing in common with "In mijnen sijn":

Le second jour d'avril courtoys
 Je chevauchoye par la montagne.
 Helas! j'ay perdu ma compaignie.
 Je ne scay ou requiera.²⁸

The restoration of the music

While only one poetical text needs to be considered, we have two readings of the music in sources from just after 1500 to be concerned about. As remarked above, the whole point of setting the tune in two canonic duets a fourth apart seems to be the creation of an exciting, fluctuating sound picture. This can be cumbersome to

²⁷ Bonda, *De meerstemmige*, p. 79.

²⁸ Cited after Alexander AGRICOLA (E. Lerner, ed.), *Opera omnia V* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 22), American Institute of Musicology, 1970, p. LV.

transmit in writing through constant recopying of the music, and it is evident that neither the scribe of the Basevi Codex nor the editor of Canti C entirely recognized Busnoys' intentions.

The decisive factor is the key signatures. The editor of Canti C placed a key signature of one flat in every staff in every voice, and an extra flat in the Superius on the *f*ⁿ-line – I shall return to this later on (see the music incipits in Edition C). However, he recognized that just normalizing the key signatures would not produce a correct realization of the piece, but merely an item in his book that looked like any other piece of four-part music around 1500. To give a hint of how to perform the music he rather exceptionally inserted sharps (or rather naturals or *mi*-signs) in the Contra and Bassus parts in passages where they cite the "In mijnen sin" tune (in Contra before b. 10 and in Bassus before bb. 18 and 36). It is not very systematically done, but it may have been sufficient to inform a 16th century player that the tune of the canons should be played with a high sixth degree.

The Basevi Codex presents the piece with exactly the same key signatures as regards the three highest voices but without any key signature in the Bassus part (see incipits in Edition B).²⁹ Were this key disposition to be followed strictly, it would result in some harsh clashes between the Bassus and the other voices. On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that the key signature in the Contra is the result of a misreading of the scribe's exemplar. If the Bassus was without signature, then it is logical that the Contra, which for long stretches performs an octave canon with the Bassus, likewise should be without. Scrutinizing the Contra on f. 30 it is possible to find an explanation (see Fig. 5 and the facsimile in Picker, 'Newly Discovered Sources'). The Contra opens with a two-note ligature *g'-b'* in which the *b'* must be flattened. The flat was placed before the ligature in the exemplar, and the 16th century scribe routinely shifted it to a place before the mensuration sign. A little way into the third staff comes a ligature *b'-c*" (b. 48), which also had to be flattened. This flat was probably placed before the start of the phrase;



Figure 5. Left half of the Contra voice (Basevi Codex, f. 30)

29 A modern edition based on the Basevi Codex is found in Lenaerts, *Het Nederlands Polifonies Lied*, pp. (24)-(26). Rather strangely Lenaerts only indicates the use of b-naturals in the tune in Contra and Bassus in the setting's second section; this principle could just as well have been applied in the first section. Another edition with flats in all parts, allegedly building on the Basevi Codex, but quite inaccurate in details and completely disregarding Basevi's key signatures as well as the *mi*-signs in Canti C, is published in Goldberg, *Die Chansons von Antoine Busnois*, pp. 370-374. The edition in *Ogni Sorte Edizioni: Renaissance Standards*, Vol. 8 (1984). no. 7, has been inaccessible.

that is before the *brevis a'* (b. 44) and conceivably quite near the beginning of the staff. Also this flat ended up just after the clef. Now the scribe looked at his three staves of music and saw that the second staff missed a flat, and he (or a later user) cautiously added a very small flat to the left of the staff, not in the staff. It was probably in this way the part acquired a key signature all the way through. In the Bassus part, this temptation did not occur, and the scribe just copied the only flat really needed before the note in b. 47. I do not believe in a similar genesis for the key signatures in Canti C. Here the editor probably just brought the notation in line with most contemporary pieces.

If this interpretation of the notation in the Basevi Codex is accepted, the restoration of the song simply follows the notation of this source including the implied accidental flats in the Contra (see Edition A) combined with the text underlay described above. In a few places the Canti C version has been preferred: Contra b. 24.1 (*c*" instead of *b'*, cf. the little canon at the fifth between Contra and Bassus, which appears bb. 22.2-26), Superius b. 11.2, Tenor bb. 24 and 43.2-44.1, Superius b. 30, and Bassus b. 40.2-41.1 (all because of the strict canon); and finally Contra b. 55 (to avoid the dissonance, probably an error in the Basevi Codex).

The result of the restoration is a piece of music with a key signature of one flat in two voice parts and no signature in two other parts, which mirrors the structure of the canonic treatment of the *cantus prius factus*. In this respect, the song does not differ in principle from a number of other songs from Busnoys' hand that build on pre-existing tunes and use some sort of canonic imitation. They first appear in a group of chansonniers from Central France, which preserves chansons from the 1460s and earlier, the chansonniers Nivelles (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. Vmc. ms. 57), Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 287 Extravag.), and Dijon (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517). In the following the musical examples are all taken from the Dijon Chansonnier.³⁰

Busnoys' double chanson "On a grant mal / On est bien malade" combines what sounds like a popular tune as *cantus prius factus* in the tenor with a rondeau written with the popular song as model in the superius (Ex. 2). The *c.p.f.* is imitated quite strictly in the high and low contratenors, a fourth higher and at the fifth below, respectively, and later it also puts its stamp on the upper voice carrying the rondeau text when this voice imitates the tune of two verse lines at the octave. As an indication of the strict imitation in fifths the voices have different key signatures: without flats in the G-Mixolydian superius and tenor, and with one flat in the C-Mixolydian contratenors. In this chanson the composer created a rather ingenious formal construction in order to handle the conflict between the repeat scheme of the rondeau and the ABA-form of the popular tune. It can be viewed as an experimental setting exploring the possibilities of this chanson type.³¹

In "Vous marchez du bout du pie" Busnoys sets two different texts, both in a popular vein, and apparently uses the lines "Vous marches ..." as a common refrain (Ex. 3).

30 All three chansons can be found with complete editions of the related sources, translations and commentary on text and music at <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/>.

31 See further <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH161.html>.

Example 2. Busnoys, "On a grant mal / On est bien malade", Dijon Chansonnier, ff. 180v-181 (bb. 1-7)

[Superius]
1. On a grant mal par trop a - -
3. Ma - le Bou - che m'en veult bla - -

[Contratenor altus]
1.3. On est bien ma - la - de pour

[Tenor]
1.3. On est bien ma - la - de pour a - mer

[Contratenor bassus]
1.3. On est bien ma - la - de pour

Example 3. Busnoys, "Vous marchez du bout du pie", Dijon Chansonnier, f. 185v-186 (bb. 1-6)

[Superius]
Vous mar - chez du bout du pie, Ma - ri-o - nec -

[Contratenor altus]
Vous mar - chez du bout du pie, Ma - ri-o -

[Tenor]
Vous, vous mar - chez du bout du

[Contratenor bassus]
Ma - ri-o - nec - te, vous mar - chez du

The tenor and the contratenor altus share a popular tune as *cantus prius factus*. While the refrain lines are set in four-part imitation, which also involves the upper voice, the tenor and contratenor altus alternate in the verse lines by taking two lines each. The first refrain-section, in which the tune is imitated canonically in octaves in superius and tenor *loco* and a fourth lower by the two contratenors, can also boast a sort of *obligato* counterpoint in the tenor and contratenor bassus on the words "vous Marionecte". Here we find flats in the tenor and contratenor altus parts, while the superius and contratenor bassus are without (Nivelle Chansonnier puts in the much needed flat in the superius). According to the structure of the *c.p.f.* the flat in the high contratenor has no effect in the imitative refrain, and it could have been discarded just as it is in the low contratenor. If the chanson had been composed in strict canonic imitation all the way through, it could have had the same disposition as "In mijnen sijn"

with flats in the superius and tenor and no flats in the two contratenors. In this case, however, it was more important that the tenor and contratenor altus alternated in the middle section and accordingly had to share the key signature.

"In mijnen sin" opens with a single *brevis* note in the superius that may connect it to "Vous marchez", where a single *brevis* appears in the tenor. In "Vous marchez", this note partakes in the first presentation of an obligate counterpoint to the canonic imitation, which is sung in the contratenor bassus in bb. 11-13 and 44-47.³² It is divided among the tenor and contratenor bassus with "Vous" in the tenor (Ex. 3, b. 1) and the remainder in the bassus (bb. 2-3), so that the following tenor entry is not masked. This beginning, with the single *brevis* in the tenor, may have been inspired by Ockeghem's well-known "S'elle m'amera / Petite camusette" (Ex. 4),³³ but in that case Busnoys certainly outdid his mentor in his very elegant and inventive double chanson, which comes up with an effective solution to setting common refrain lines around two different texts, and it is funny and a bit tongue-in-cheek.

In "S'elle m'amera / Petite camusette" (Ex. 4), the only explanation of the single *a* in the tenor is that it could support the superius and help to stabilize the intonation. Nothing similar is called for in "In mijnen sijn". Possibly the note should not be sung at all in the start of the song, but only in the repeat of the first section, where it functions as the final note of the cadence of the *prima volta* (see editions bb. 21-22). In Ockeghem's double chanson a popular Dorian tune in the tenor too is imitated at the fifth in the contratenor altus (and the superius) and at the fourth below in the contratenor bassus; both voices "imitating at the fifth" are without flats, and the tenor itself does not need one as the rules for performance automatically provide a *b-flat* in bar 5.

Example 4. Ockeghem, "S'elle m'amera / Petite camusette", *Dijon Chansonier*, ff. 164v-165 (bb. 1-7)

[Superius]

[Contratenor altus]

[Tenor]

[Contratenor bassus]

1.3.4. Pe - ti - te ca - mu - sec - te, a la mort

1.3.4. Pe, pe - ti - te ca - mu - sec - te, a

1.3.4. Pe -

32 See further <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH166.html>.

33 Cf. David FALLOWS, 'Trained and immersed in all musical delights': Towards a New Picture of Busnoys' in Higgins, *Antoine Busnoys*, pp. 21-50 (p. 31).

In this very small selection of songs we can discern a progression in experimentation with the setting in four parts of popular tunes. Ockeghem's "S'elle m'amera / Petite camusette" builds on the classic combination chanson with a rather fickle love song in the form of a rondeau in the superius and a forthright popular song about the love of the ever-young Robin and Marion pair in the lower voices. And the superius joins the imitation of its opening gesture creating a four-part opening imitation. In Busnoys' "On a grant mal / On est bien malade" the rondeau poem was created with the popular song as its model, and in "Vous marchez du bout du pie" two popular texts are combined, and still greater parts of the superius line cite the popular tune as a consequence of the use of more or less canonic imitation. "In mijnen sijn" represents the final step away from the combination chanson, and the means to achieve the dominance of the popular tune is pervading canonic imitation.

The technique of canonic imitation was in the middle of the 15th century and earlier always exact or strict and restricted to the intervals of unison and octave, and fifth and fourth in what Tinctoris classified as *fuga*,³⁴ and often to be derived *alla mente* from a notated part according to a written *canon*. Ockeghem appears to be the first composer to use *diatonic imitation* in which the number of the interval is reproduced precisely while its quality might change (for example minor third changed to major third or *vice versa*), as found in canon-compositions such as "Prenez sur moi vostre exemple amoureux" and *Missa Prolationum*.³⁵ The diatonic way of imitation soon became widespread as it is much easier to incorporate in harmony. It is also found in the imitative lower voices in combination chansons of the 1460s, but Busnoys decided on the traditional and difficult strict imitation at the fourth and fifth in his experimental setting of a popular tune.

The imitation plan of the first repeated section in "In mijnen sijn" looks mechanical: an octave canon at the distance of two bars in Tenor and Superius is twice followed by Bassus and Altus a fourth lower (bb. 1-12 and 13-22), but in the first line Tenor and Superius prolong the canon with a small cadential figure (bb. 8-10 and 10-12), which serves as an *obligato* counterpoint to the entries of Bassus and Contra – a devise known from "Vous marchez du bout du pie". In the second part, the scheme is somewhat softened and the texture lightened: The fifth and sixth lines of the poem are treated as a unit and imitated in Tenor and Superius at the distance of two and a half bars (bb. 23-33), which grows to three and a half bars when only the Superius lets the final note of the fifth text line get its full value (bb. 28.2-29.1). In the meantime Contra and Bassus have performed a snippet of canon at the fifth (bb. 22.2-26), which bridges the surprising, disrupted cadence of the *seconda volta* – a striking idea! Starting in bar 33, Contra and Bassus repeat literally the Tenor-Superius imitation a fourth lower, but in inverted counterpoint as the highest voice, Contra, now starts the

34 *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, before 1475: "Fuga is the identity of the parts of a melody with regard to the value, name, shape, and sometimes even place on the staff, of its notes and rests" (translation cited after p. 74 in Peter URQUHART, 'Calculated to Please the Ear: Ockeghem's Canonic Legacy', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 47 (1997), pp. 72-98).

35 *Ibid.* pp. 74-78.

canonic imitation with the Tenor's entry, while the Bassus brings the longer Superius entry. Tenor and Superius here give support in a quite expressive manner: Tenor with a typical long "Busnoys" phrase (bb. 32-37)³⁶ followed by Superius with a wonderful insertion bb. 39-40.³⁷ In the last two text lines the setting is complicated by stretto effects and dense polyphony around the now well-known pattern of T-S and B-C, where the distance between the entries is first one bar (bb. 44-52), and then one and a half (from bb. 53). A side effect of all this ingenuity is a bit of harshness in some places, but not more than in other early four-part chansons.

Sound and musica recta

The most extraordinary feature of this restoration of Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn" (or of a performance according to Canti C or the Basevi Codex if one follows the hints given by the natural signs or the missing key signature³⁸) is the fact that there is not one single sounding B-flat in the two structural voices Tenor and Superius in the repeated A-section; and it makes no difference if the song is notated with a flat in two, three or four voices. In fact, the only sounding flat in the restored version's A-section comes in the first bar of the Contra voice. B-flats only come to play a role in the second part, at first discretely, and then only with any weight and colouring of the harmony from about bar 40.

This is caused by the nature of the *cantus prius factus* in combination with the paired canonic imitation at the fourth below. The tune's insistence on the Dorian octave's high fifth twists the sound world perceived by the listener in the direction of Mixolydian rather than of Dorian in the first section (g'-c' (transposed) and d'-g (untransposed) put together produce a Mixolydian octave). In the setting's second section the modules of fourths (cf. Ex. 1) slowly move towards the low Dorian fifth, which allows it to end regularly in G Dorian.

The prominence of this high fifth is clearly marked in the two completely preserved sources, both of which in the Superius voice have a key signature with a second flat added before *f*" (see the incipits in Editions B and C). This flat indicates that a high tessitura is used in the upper voice with a fictive (*ficta* or *falsa*) hexachord on *c*", *extra manum*, and that one can expect a sound characterized by high E-naturals (the hexachordal step *mi*).³⁹ This phenomenon occurs quite often in 15th century manuscripts and is still encountered in Petrucci's prints. In this case it also looks like a natural consequence of the transposition of the Dorian tune in the Superius up a fourth from its normal pitch – the flat insists on the scale's high sixth degree.

36 Cf. note 15 above.

37 Of course, it is possible in these two canonic duets to raise also the leading notes in the lower voices and thereby keep the canons absolutely strict (Tenor bb. 28.2-29.1, and Bassus bb. 42.2-43.1), but this can be left to the discretion of the performers. The present performer would prefer not to do it.

38 My edition of the song in the Basevi Codex (Edition B) is very close to Picker's Ex. 1, which gives the first section of the song, cf. Picker, 'Newly Discovered Sources', pp. 136-137.

39 The classical (if rather incomplete) explanation of these flats before *f*" was published by Edward E. LOWINSKY in his article 'The Function of Conflicting Signatures in Early Polyphonic Music', *The Musical Quarterly* 31 (1945), pp. 227-260, see pp. 254-256.

Why, then, did Busnoys not compose his setting with the tune at its normal pitch in the tenor as, for example, Agricola did? It would simply be impossible for him to carry out the ideas laid down in "In mijnen sijn" if he had composed it in D Dorian. The two voices performing the tune a fourth lower would have to be notated in a key signature of one sharp in order to keep the structure intact. Such a notation was not known or used in the second half of the 15th century, and if it had been possible, the piece would belong entirely to the realm of *musica ficta* without any poetic motivation.⁴⁰ By working out the piece on a tenor with a one flat key signature, Busnoys was able to keep its sound world within the limits of what contemporary music theory viewed as *musica recta*.

That is the tonal system consisting of the notes offered by the *Guidonian Hand*, a brilliant teaching tool used for centuries to teach children and beginners to find their way around in the tunes of plainchant. It was ruled by a scale from *Gamma-ut* (= G) to *e*", which included only one variable scale degree, B, which could be natural or flattened in order to facilitate movements to or from melodic figures in which the note F was of importance. This scale was organized by identically constructed hexachords on overlapping positions on C, F and G, called *hexachordum naturale*, *molle* and *durum*. If a flat is added at the beginning of the staves, this *recta* system is transposed down a tone with F as its lowest note. B-flat then acquires a fixed position in the scale, and consequently E becomes the variable degree.

This is – shortly told – how the function of the key signature (in reality a concept belonging to the 17th century) of one flat is often presented in the musicological literature, even if there is some disagreement, as a transposition of the hexachordal system.⁴¹ It is however difficult to find supporting evidence in contemporary literature. The hard and fast rule is that a note in a position ruled by a flat has to be sung as *fa*, that is, as a tone in a scale segment where it has a semitone below and a whole tone above. In compositions with flats prescribed in all voices, this will often automatically result in a scale transposition, for example in pieces ending on F, and after a few generations in common use these key signatures acquired something like their modern meaning to such a degree that copyists and editors had difficulties in completely understanding the notation of slightly older music.

What modern music theoreticians seem to have overlooked, and what Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn" so clearly demonstrates, is that a signature in a piece with differing signa-

40 On using fictive scales for poetic reasons, see the commentary on the unique chanson "La plus bruïant, celle qui toutes passe" in the Copenhagen Chansonnier (Copenhagen, The Royal Library, MS Thott 291 8°), <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH029.html>. Concerning composition with sharps without notating them, see my article 'Prenez sur moi vostre exemple: The 'clefless' notation or the use of fa-clefs in chansons of the fifteenth century by Binchois, Barbingant, Ockeghem and Josquin', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 37 (2009), pp. 13-38, http://www.dym.dk/dym_pdf_files/volume_37/volume_37_013_038.pdf.

41 Cf. Margaret BENT, 'Musica ficta' §3 (ii), *Grove Music Online*. Aug. 2009, and *idem*, 'Musica Recta and Musica Ficta', *Musica Displina* 26 (1972), pp. 73-100; Bent's position is slightly modified in *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta*. (Criticism and Analysis of Early Music), New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 7-12. The opposite view that the scale is transposed into a partial *ficta* domain can be found in Karol BERGER, *Musica ficta. Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 64 ff.

tures in its voices need neither transpose the scale or the system nor have the prescriptive consequences of the modern key signature. Rather, it seems to be just an indication of *default positions within musica recta*, at the same time perhaps signalling compositional procedures such as the transposition of the well-known tune, and a notice of the composition's tonal ending. To the performers it suggests which interpretation of the scale's variable step to consider first, but it does not exclude that the alternative position, a semitone higher, has to be preferred when demanded by the context – without in any way transgressing the boundaries of *musica recta*. The reverse is of course just as true: In a voice with no signature, it may just as often be necessary to sing the lower alternative.

In Busnoys' generation we meet this exploration of *musica recta*'s possibilities in many songs, especially songs in the Dorian mode. Here we can see how the music scribes tried quite different instructions to the performers in the form of key signature in order to obtain the expected flexible sound picture. Busnoys was a master of exploiting the tonal system and the music theory of his time to the limit. Maybe that is why he in particular was censored by the pedantic Tinctoris for his knowledge of the traditionally taught theory's loopholes and irregularities – and why his music is among the most difficult for the modern editor to handle.⁴² However, the recognition of the non-prescriptive nature of partial signatures so clearly indicated by “In mijnen sijn” can be a great help in solving knotty problems in many other works by Busnoys, and by his younger colleagues.

The rigid structure, almost schoolmasterish, might suggest a genesis of “In mijnen sijn” during Busnoys' years of apprenticeship. But sung with text in the restored version the music does not seem to be so squarely cut, sooner quite elegant and not completely predictable with its varying leading voices and slow change of harmonic colour, and the free passages help to hide the scaffolding. Compared to Busnoys' combination chansons from the 1460s, the song reveals close connections with the problems occupying a composer during his best years, namely in the development of new genres of secular music. In the composing of polyphony based on popular texts and tunes one of the challenges was how to extend the characteristic and fresh melodic style of the popular song to the whole polyphonic fabric. “In mijnen sijn” convincingly puts forward a solution involving widespread canonic imitation. The idea of imitation became the dominant technique, but the canonic concept as well enjoyed great success as testified by the canonic multi-voice arrangements of popular chansons by Josquin Desprez.

42 See for example the comments on the bergerette “M'a vostre cuer mis en oubli” and other chansons by Busnoys in the Copenhagen Chansonier, <http://chansonniers.pwch.dk/CH/CH010.html>.

Abstracts

Væsentlige sider af min diskussion af Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn" kommer klarest til udtryk i de nodeudgivelser, som følger med artiklen. De omfatter særskilte udgivelser af sangens to eneste komplette kilder, der stammer fra det første årti i 1500-tallet. Disse kilder rejser for enhver, der ønsker af udføre sangen, nogle besværlige spørgsmål om hvordan musikken skal forstås. Nodeudgivelserne omfatter også mit forsøg på at besvare disse spørgsmål gennem en restaurering af "In mijnen sijn". Selve restaurationsprocessen sætter fokus på nogle emner, der er vigtige for vores forståelse af udviklingen af kompositoriske praksisser i anden halvdel af 1400-tallet, især hvad angår faste fortegnets rækkevidde og betydning og hvad angår streng kanonteknik og udviklingen af flerstemmige udsættelser af populære sange. Desuden finder jeg ikke at denne flamske sang har fået den opmærksomhed fra musikvidenskaben, som den fortjener.

Important aspects of my discussion of Busnoys' "In mijnen sijn" are most adequately represented by the musical editions appended to this article. They include separate editions of the song's only two complete sources, which date from the first decade of the 16th century. For anybody who wants to perform the song, these sources raise some thorny questions about how to understand the music. The editions include my attempt to answer these questions by means of a restoration of "In mijnen sijn". The process of restoration highlights some issues of importance to our perception of the development of compositional practice in the second part of the fifteenth century. These issues concern the extent and meaning of the roles of key signatures, strict canon techniques and the development of polyphonic settings of popular songs. Furthermore, in my opinion this Flemish song has not received the attention it deserves from musicology.

Antoine Busnoys, *In mijnen sijn*

Edition A

Restored by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, based on the version in
 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439 ff. 29V-30: Busnoys

Mensura = ♩

Superius

In, ghen, In noyt mij - nen sijn heb ick ver - co -
 he en was ge - bo -

Contra

In noyt mij - nen sijn, sijn, sijn, sijn,
 noyt schoon - der wijf, wijf, wijf, wijf,

Tenor

In mij - nen sijn heb ick ver - co - ren,
 noyt schoon - der wijf en was ge - bo - ren,

Bassus

In, ghen, In noyt mij - nen
 sijn wijf

ren,
 ren,

ver - co - ren,
 ge - bo - ren,

In noyt mij - nen sijn heb ick was ver - co -
 noyt schoon - der wijf en was ge - bo -

ver - co - ren,
 ge - bo - ren,

sijn wijf heb en ick was ver - co - ren,
 wijf en was ge - bo - ren,

ren,
 ren,

een ter meij-sken al soe ionck van da - ghen,
 ter we - relt wijt, na mijn be - ha - ghen,

ren,
 ren,

ver - co - ren,
 ge - bo - ren,

een ter meij-sken al soe ionck van da - ghen,
 ter we - relt wijt, na mijn be - ha - ghen,

ver - co - ren,
 ge - bo - ren,

Busnoys, *In mijnen sijn* (restored), p. 2

18

een ter mej-sken al soe ionck van da
ter we - relt wijt, na mijn be

1. een ter mej-sken al soe ionck van da - ghen,
ter we - relt

8 een ter mej-sken al soe ionck van da - ghen,
ter we - relt wijt, na mijn be

een ter mej-sken al soe ionck van da - ghen, van da
ter we - relt wijt, na mijn be - ha - ghen. be

21

2. ha - - - - - ghen. Om

wijt, na mijn be - ha - ghen.

8 ha - - - - - ghen. Om ha - rent - wil so wil ic wa -

ha - - - - - ghen.

26

ha-rent-wil so wil ic wa - ghen beij - de lijf en - de

lijf en - de

8 ghen beij - de lijf en - de goet, om

beij - de lijf en - de

Busnoys, *In mijnen sijn* (restored), p. 3

33

goet,

goet, om ha - rent - wil so wil ic wa - ghen beij - -

ha - - rent wil so wil ic wa - ghen

goet, om ha - rent - wil so

38

lijf en - de - goet,

de lijf en - de goet, mocht

bei - de lijf en - de goet,

wil ic wa - ghen beij - de lijf en - de goet,

44

mocht ic noch troost aen haer be - ia - ghen, mocht ic noch

ic noch troost aen haer be ia - ghen,

mocht ic noch troost aen haer be - ia - ghen,

mocht ic noch troost aen haer be - ia - ghen, mocht ic noch

Busnoys, *In mijnen sijn* (restored), p. 4

50

troost aen haer be ia - - ghen, so

mocht ic noch troost aen haer be - ia - - ghen,

so waer ick vro,

troost aen haer be - ia - - ghen,

55

waer ick vro, daer ic nu true - ren moet, 3

so waer ick

daer ic nu true-ren moet, so waer ick

so, so waer ick vro, daer

61

nu true - ren moet.

vro, daer ic nu true-ren moet.

vro, daer ic nu true - ren moet.

ic nu true - ren moet.

Antoine Busnoys, *In myne zynn*

Edition B

Firenze, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439 ff. 29^v-30: Busnoys

[Superius] Mensura = ♩

In myne zynn

Contra

In myne zin

Tenor

In myne zynn

Bassus

In myne zynn

7

12

Busnoys, *In myne zynn*, p. 2

18

First system of the musical score, measures 18-20. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 18 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The Soprano staff has a melodic line with a first ending bracket over measures 19-20. The Alto staff has a similar melodic line. The Tenor staff has a melodic line. The Bass staff has a bass line. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

21

Second system of the musical score, measures 21-23. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat. Measure 21 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The Soprano staff has a melodic line with a second ending bracket over measures 22-23. The Alto staff has a similar melodic line. The Tenor staff has a melodic line. The Bass staff has a bass line. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

26

Third system of the musical score, measures 26-28. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat. Measure 26 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The Soprano staff has a melodic line. The Alto staff has a similar melodic line. The Tenor staff has a melodic line. The Bass staff has a bass line. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Busnoys, *In myne zynn*, p. 3

33

First system of music, measures 33-37. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 33 and a whole note in measure 34. The second staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 33 and a whole note in measure 34. The third staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 33 and a whole note in measure 34. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a whole rest in measure 33 and a whole note in measure 34. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

38

Second system of music, measures 38-43. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 38 and a whole note in measure 39. The second staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 38 and a whole note in measure 39. The third staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 38 and a whole note in measure 39. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a whole rest in measure 38 and a whole note in measure 39. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

44

Third system of music, measures 44-48. It consists of four staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 44 and a whole note in measure 45. The second staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 44 and a whole note in measure 45. The third staff is a treble clef with a whole rest in measure 44 and a whole note in measure 45. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a whole rest in measure 44 and a whole note in measure 45. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

Busnoys, *In myne zynn*, p. 4

50

Four-part setting of a Flemish song. Measures 50-54. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) are shown. The Soprano part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Alto part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Tenor part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Bass part has a sharp sign above the final note.

55

Four-part setting of a Flemish song. Measures 55-60. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) are shown. The Soprano part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Alto part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Tenor part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Bass part has a sharp sign above the final note.

61

Four-part setting of a Flemish song. Measures 61-65. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) are shown. The Soprano part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Alto part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Tenor part has a sharp sign above the final note. The Bass part has a sharp sign above the final note.

1) Contra, bar 64, the final note is a *longa*.

Antoine Busnoys, *Le second jour d'avril* [In mijnen sijn]

Edition C

Canti C, O. Petrucci, Venezia 1504, ff. 55^v-56: Anonymous

[Superius] Mensura = ♩

Le second jour d'avril

Contra

Le second jour d'avril

Tenor

Le second jour

Bassus

Le second jour

7

12

Busnoys, *Le second jour d'avril*, p. 2

18

First system of music, measures 18-20. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 18 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat. The Soprano part has a first ending bracket over measures 18-20. The Alto part has a whole rest in measure 18. The Tenor part has a whole rest in measure 18. The Bass part has a whole rest in measure 18. The system ends with a double bar line.

21

Second system of music, measures 21-23. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 21 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat. The Soprano part has a second ending bracket over measures 21-23. The Alto part has a whole rest in measure 21. The Tenor part has a whole rest in measure 21. The Bass part has a whole rest in measure 21. The system ends with a double bar line.

26

Third system of music, measures 26-28. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 26 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat. The Soprano part has a whole rest in measure 26. The Alto part has a whole rest in measure 26. The Tenor part has a whole rest in measure 26. The Bass part has a whole rest in measure 26. The system ends with a double bar line.

Busnoys, *Le second jour d'avril*, p. 3

33

38

44

1) *Superius*, *mi*-sign before bar 39 is placed a third too low.

Busnoys, *Le second jour d'avril*, p. 4

50

55

61

1) *Contra*, bar 64, the final note is a *longa*.