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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: Anne Boleyn, A Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London

Lisa A. Urkevich, Doctor of Philosophy, 1997

**Dissertation directed by: Richard Wexler, Associate Professor
School of Music, University of Maryland**

Music book MS 1070 is a manuscript of some repute, for it bears the name of the famous queen of England Anne Boleyn. It is an unusual and enigmatic source, one of a handful of books of Franco-Flemish music now in England. The bulk of its works, which include thirty-nine motets and three chansons, are by the finest continental composers of the day. Eight pieces are unique to the volume.

Many questions surrounding MS 1070 with regard to its origin, use, and owner(s) had remained unanswered. This study explores the music book's past and purpose, first presenting its recent history and then its detailed description. Histories of the composers are reviewed, as are those of possible owners, i.e., royal women with whom Boleyn lived. MS 1070 is compared with several Renaissance sources in order to determine its physical provenance. Its miniatures and Latin and French texts are examined for symbolism that might point towards a specific owner or situation.

The findings indicate that MS 1070 is a French book of ca 1505 to ca 1517, commissioned for a wedding that may have involved Marguerite d'Angoulême/Alençon/Navarre or her mother, Louise of Savoy. Evidently, it was given to Boleyn while a girl in France, most probably by Marguerite, and may have

survived the destruction that befell other manuscripts during the Revolution, because it had been transported to England by Boleyn in 1521.

Boleyn and her companions probably performed from MS 1070. That it is a woman's song book is evident not only from its history, but from its texts, which frequently invoke women, and the notably close tessiture of many voice parts; in some instances, even the bassus could have been sung by a female.

This dissertation disproves the oft-cited publication of Edward Lowinsky that posits MS 1070 was prepared for Queen Anne. Moreover, it links Boleyn with Marguerite d'Alençon—a relationship long debated. Appendix A presents a new position regarding the past of the chansonnier MS Royal 20 A. xvi, asserting that it is associated with Anne de Beaujeu and perhaps Louise of Savoy rather than Louis XII, as was previously believed. Appendix B provides transcriptions of *unica* and anonymous works of MS 1070.

**ANNE BOLEYN, A MUSIC BOOK, AND THE NORTHERN
RENAISSANCE COURTS: MUSIC MANUSCRIPT 1070
OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC, LONDON**

by

Lisa A. Urkevich

**Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland at College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
1997**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Abbreviations	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
PART ONE: THE MANUSCRIPT	
CHAPTER 1: HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT	5
CHAPTER 2: DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT	11
Secondary Material	11
Primary Material	13
Paper	13
Format and Staves	19
Hands, Gatherings, and Decorations	21
Part One	23
Section One	23
Decorations	24
Section Two	34
Section Three, Four, Five	35
Anne Boleyn's Name	37
Part Two	38
CHAPTER 3: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE COMPOSERS AND THEIR REPRESENTED WORKS	61
Josquin des Prez	62
Jean Mouton	66
Antoine Brumel	70
Loyset Compère	71

Loyset Compère	71
Antoine de Févin	72
Pierrequin de Thérache	74
Jacob Obrecht	75
Claudin de Sermisy	76
<i>Unica</i> and Anonymous Works	77
Contents and Hands	80
 PART TWO: HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF POSSIBLE OWNERS	
CHAPTER 4: ANNE BOLEYN'S YEARS AT THE COURT OF ENGLAND	87
Boleyn and Henry VIII	88
Characterizations and Musical Ability of Boleyn	98
CHAPTER 5: ANNE BOLEYN'S YOUTH ON THE CONTINENT	104
Terminus Post Quem of "Mistress Boleyn"	104
Anne's Youth	105
CHAPTER 6: POSSIBLE OWNERS OF MS 1070	120
Royal Women of England	126
Katherine of Aragon	127
Mary Tudor	130
Royal Women of the Continent	135
Margaret of Austria	135
Anne of Brittany	138
Louise of Savoy	141
Marguerite d'Orléans/Angoulême/Alençon/Navarre	148
ADDENDUM:	
The Hand of the Boleyn Appellative	158
 PART THREE: THE COURTS AND MANUSCRIPT COMPARISONS	
CHAPTER 7: ARTISTIC CULTURE AND MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ROYAL COURTS	164
The English Court	164
The Netherlands Court	176

The French Court	186
 PART FOUR: CONCLUSION	
CHAPTER 8: THE LITERARY TEXTS OF MS 1070 AND PROVENANCE HYPOTHESES	211
CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	252
 APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: London, British Library, MS Royal 20 A. xvi	261
APPENDIX B: Transcriptions of <i>unica</i> and anonymous works with a Commentary	273
Laudate dominum	285
O salve genitrix virgo	291
Fer pietatis	295
Maria magdalene	298
Bona dies	304
O virgo virginum	315
Gabrielem archangelum	321
Regina celi	334
Venes regres	344
Popule meus	347
Gentilz galans	361
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 363

List of Tables

Table 1	Images in MS 1070	33
Table 2	Approximate gathering structure of MS 1070	44
Table 3	Composers of MS 1070 and the number of pieces in each hand	62
Table 4	Composers and Works with Gatherings and Hands	82
Table 5	Events and Boleyn's Possible Age	118
Table 6	Approximate ages of royal women in relationship to the dating of MS 1070	156
Table 7	Manuscript Comparisons	204

List of Figures

Figure 1	Watermarks Briquet #8418, #8417, and the first of MS 1070.....	14
Figure 2	Watermark #9731 and the open-ended “M” of MS 1070	15
Figure 3	Watermark #8416 (upside-down) and the “modified M” mark.....	16
Figure 4	Hand/star watermark of MS 1070.....	17
Figure 5	Watermarks #11159 and #10793	18
Figure 6	Flower of p. 3/2r and representative coloring.....	25
Figure 7	Bearded king, p. 33/17r.....	27
Figure 8	Turbaned figures, pp.12/6v and 29/15r.....	29
Figure 9	Woman with loose hair, p. 28/14v	29
Figure 10	Half-humans, half-beasts, pp. 9/5r and 13/7r.....	31
Figure 11	Boleyn’s name and father’s motto, p. 157/79r.....	38
Figure 12	Hands and Gatherings of Part 1 of MS 1070	47
Figure 13	Hands and Gatherings of Part 2 of MS 1070	48
Figure 14	Hand 1, p. 12/6v, from Josquin’s “Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo” with miniatures of a turbaned woman and a beast.....	49

Figure 15	Hand 1, p. 13/7r, from Josquin's "Memor esto verbi tui servo tui" with minitatures of an onocentaur and a flower.....	50
Figure 16	Hand 1, p. 2/1v, <i>unicum</i> , from "Forte si dulci stigium boantern".....	51
Figure 17	Hand 1, p. 8/4v, <i>unicum</i> , from "Forte si dulci stigium boantern".....	52
Figure 18	Hand 1, p. 23/12r with miniatures of a man and a violet.....	53
Figure 19	Hand 2, p. 44/22v, <i>unicum</i> , "O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve"	54
Figure 20	Hand 2, p. 235/118r, from anon. "Popule meus quid feci tibi"	55
Figure 21	Hand 2, p. 156/78v, from Compère's "Paranymphus salutatur virginem"	56
Figure 22	Hand 3, p. 157/79r with Boleyn's name from "Paranymphus"	57
Figure 23	Hand 4, pp. 185-86/92v-93r, from Brumel's "Sicut lilium inter spinas".....	58
Figure 24	P. 185/93r, bass-part detail of "Sicut lilium inter spinas".....	59
Figure 25	Hand 5, p. 226/113v, from Sermisy's "Jouyssance vous donneray"	60
Figure 26	Anne Boleyn, anonymous painter, National Portrait Gallery, London.....	99
Figure 27	The earliest extant letter from Anne Boleyn, written to her father in 1514, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 119	110
Figure 28	Boleyn's Residences and Significant People of the Courts	119
Figure 29	The Relationship of Women of the Renaissance Courts	126

Figure 30	MS 1070 name entry and Anne's childhood signature (detail of Fig. 27), and Rochford signature of 1532	158
Figure 31	Letter from Boleyn to Wolsey shortly before she became queen.....	159
Figure 32	The hand of Katherine of Aragon	159
Figure 33	The hand of Mary Tudor.....	160
Figure 34	The hand of Louise of Savoy	160
Figure 35	An autograph page from Marguerite d'Alençon's <i>Heptaméron</i>	161
Figure 36	Miniature of Louise of Savoy by Robinet Testard.....	206
Figure 37	Louise of Savoy in the <i>Épistres d'Ovide</i> , trans. Octavien de St.-Gelais, and copied by Jean Michel, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 875	207
Figure 38	Three women performing "Jouyssance vous donneray" in a French painting from the Harrach Gallery, Vienna.	208
Figure 39	A lute player performing "Jouyssance vous donneray".....	209
Figure 40	Louis of Savoy as various characters in a miniature from <i>Les Échecs amoureux</i> , Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 143, f. 198v.....	251
Figure 41	Folio 1v of MS Royal 20 A. xvi	269
Figure 42	Folio 3v of MS Royal 20 A. xvi featuring connected "A"s.....	270
Figure 43	Page from MS fr. 873 (Ovid's <i>Épistres</i> , trans. St.-Gelais) depicting Louise of Savoy and her devices	271
Figure 44	Detail of Folio 3v of MS Royal 20 A. xvi (see Fig. 41) and of a page from the Hours of Charles of France, 1465	272

Abbreviations

trans.	translated
fn.(s)	footnote(s)
f., ff.	folio(s)
p., pp.	page(s)
MS, MSS	manuscript(s)
ca	circa
vc.	voice
vol.(s)	volume(s)
gath.	gathering
Fig.(s)	figure(s)
cms.	centimeters
h	hand
no.	number
blnk	blank
scrib	scribe
v	verso
r	recto
txt	text
mod	modified
wtrmk	watermark

INTRODUCTION

The performance of secular and sacred music was an established part of daily life at most European courts in the end of the fifteenth century. Music was heard at private gatherings, ceremonies, banquets, weddings, and dances and was performed regularly in royal chapels. Some of this music was improvised, but some was set down in manuscripts, either for future use within the palace walls or to share with those beyond the court. The music that occupied the leading position in most European palaces was Franco-Flemish, that is, music by composers from what is now the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and part of northern France. Franco-Flemish music had spread throughout Europe with such vigor in the preceding decades that, by the turn of the sixteenth century, it had acquired the status of an international style

Franco-Flemish compositions were often collected in manuscript anthologies. Sometimes these books served as performing materials, gathered for personal use, or, in the case of sacred music, gathered as repositories of pieces for royal chapel performance. But frequently they were of a more culturally interesting variety, that is, presentation or commissioned volumes, books prepared as worthy gifts for a sovereign or a patrician. In these often adorned anthologies, miniatures, decorated initials, order, and selection of compositions might be based on some preconceived plan.

MS 1070,¹ one of a handful of sources of Franco-Flemish music now in England, is apparently such a commissioned manuscript. It opens with several

¹ A music book housed at the Royal College of Music, London.

pages bearing decorated initials and miniatures, and comprises thirty-nine motets and three French chansons, eight of which are unique to the source and perhaps unique to a specific owner, while the bulk of the pieces are by the finest continental composers of the day.² But the past and purpose of this volume are not readily revealed, as even the most obvious clues are nebulous, and elusive. Still, MS 1070 has become a music manuscript of some repute, for it contains a most intriguing piece of evidence: it bears the name of the famous queen of England Anne Boleyn.

The first and only publication pertaining solely to MS 1070 is a 1971 article by musicologist Edward Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn."³ Although this study contains some significant oversights and presents, at times, eccentric interpretations, it introduced MS 1070 to the community of Anne Boleyn scholars and other Renaissance historians, some of whom subsequently cited Lowinsky's work. The two most recent books on Anne Boleyn, Eric W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*⁴ and Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*,⁵ refer to MS 1070 and Lowinsky's article—although each author dissents to some degree from the findings of the musicologist.

Prior to Lowinsky, James Roland Braithwaite examined the music book in his dissertation, "The Introduction of Franco-Netherlandish Manuscripts to Early Tudor England: The Motet Repertory," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1967. But Braithwaite took on the considerable task of reviewing at least six Renaissance manuscripts, and he thus discussed none of them in great detail.

²Composers have been identified via concordances, since only two works bear attributions in MS 1070.

³In *Florilegium historiale*, ed. J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale (University of Toronto Press, 1971): 161-235.

⁴Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

⁵Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Therefore many questions, indeed the most rudimentary, have remained unanswered. No thorough examination of the source has been undertaken, and no definitive conclusions have been reached with regards to its origin, use, or owner(s). Such clarification is undoubtedly warranted for a seemingly commissioned Renaissance music book, and particularly one associated with the controversial English queen.

The purpose of this dissertation is to resolve the questions surrounding MS 1070. The study is divided into four parts, commencing with a section that presents the more recent history of the manuscript, followed by a description of the source and biographical information on the composers. The second part provides historical accounts of possible owners—first introducing Anne Boleyn, during her more famous years and then her childhood, and then the women with whom she lived and served. A comparison of MS 1070 with Renaissance manuscripts is provided in the third part, along with a review of the artistic life of three major northern courts. The final part incorporates interpretations of some of the literary texts in MS 1070 with previous findings in order to reveal a final provenance and then present a conclusion. Works of MS 1070 that appear in no other source or are anonymous are transcribed and presented in Appendix B.

Throughout these stages, this study attempts to answer the questions, or at least, clearly present the facts, surrounding this enigmatic, 500-year-old music book. In doing so, it endeavors to provide some insight into the people, the culture, the courts, and the musical life of the great northern European Renaissance.

PART ONE: THE MANUSCRIPT

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Housed at the Royal College of Music in London is a Renaissance manuscript containing forty-two works, predominantly with Latin texts, composed by, among others, several of the most sophisticated continental musicians of the epoch. The Royal College of Music, which catalogues the manuscript as MS 1070, acquired the anthology from the Sacred Harmonic Society, an amateur choral organization founded in 1832. The Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society contained the largest collection of musical material ever owned by an English performing organization. When the society was dissolved in 1883, the newly founded Royal College of Music purchased its extensive library of almost 5000 volumes, which became the nucleus of the College's collection.¹

The 1872 edition of the printed *Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society* lists the music book as 1721, and acknowledges its donor as R. W. Haynes. The book's entry reads:²

¹William H. Husk, "Sacred Harmonic Society" in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Sir George Grove, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1898), III: 209-11.

²Sacred Harmonic Society Library, *Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: The Sacred Harmonic Society, 1872), 200. The music of MS 1070 was undoubtedly never used for performance by the society, which devoted most concerts to the sacred works of Handel, Mendelssohn, Haydn, and Mozart. If the book was examined at all, it was probably by amateur scholars for their own private edification.

1721. HYMNS, &c. A Collection of Latin Hymns, Psalms, &c, for three, four, five, and six voices (each part being written separately, but on the same folio). The only composers' names given are those of Jacob Obrecht and Josquin des Pres, each of which is placed to one piece. The name "M^{rs} A. Bolleyne" is written on one leaf. Towards the end of the volume two or three French Songs are inserted. Some of the initial letters are coloured. Written about the 16th century. small folio.

Presented to the Society by Mr. R. W. Haynes.

"Haynes, Mr. Robert William" is listed under "Donors to the Library"; a review of various entries reveals that he contributed several items.³ An 1867 *List of Members of the Sacred Harmonic Society, at Michaelmas* gives 1853 as Haynes's date of admission, and an asterisk by his name indicates that he served as an auditor for the group. He is among 114 members recorded that year, of which a total of ten were admitted in 1853.⁴ Haynes was likely a serious dilettante, since members of the association, who were select and relatively few, were given musical-qualification examinations prior to admission and were expected to partake in performances.⁵

MS 1070 may have been presented in 1854, a year after Haynes became a member. Sometime before this, the manuscript was evidently in the possession of a bookdealer. A Royal College of Music information sheet (attached to the first flyleaf of the manuscript) indicates that a small printed clipping glued to the inside front cover of MS 1070 "is from an unknown sale catalogue prior to 1854." The clipping reads:⁶

³*Ibid.*, xviii.

⁴Sacred Harmonic Society, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: W. Mitchell, 1868), 58.

⁵Hundreds performed in the society's concerts; however, the majority were not members but non-dues-paying "assistants." Husk, 211.

⁶It is not known how the college obtained the data for its information sheet. The sheet lists only Edward Lowinsky's research as literature on the manuscript; therefore, it is possible that the date of acquisition and the bookdealer connection came from Lowinsky, who cites no sources for his information. Lowinsky reports, "Robert William Haynes—perhaps the same man who published, together with H. G. Stevens, *A Catalogue of Modern Law Books* (1865)—probably acquired the

Antiphonarium, [underlined by hand in red ink] Manuscript with coloured ornamental initial letters, and music noted, XVIth century [space] folio

It seems that MS 1070 has been in England since at least the second half of the eighteenth century. An unidentified hand provided a notation in ink and in English on the last page of the manuscript: "This MSS. [sic] is about 250 years old." An inner page of MS 1070 bears the contemporary Renaissance inscription "Mrs A. Bolleyne," and therefore, the author of the note need not have been familiar with Renaissance music and its dating to have identified MS 1070 as a late fifteenth- early sixteenth-century source—any student of English history would have known that the famous queen lived in the decades before 1536. The last-page note was probably inserted sometime around 1750-80.

Another eighteenth-century connection was made by Joan Littlejohn, assistant research librarian at the Royal College of Music until 1983. Two sets of numbers run throughout the manuscript: page numbers, usually in the top center of pages, and folio numbers, in outer recto-page corners. Littlejohn identified the hand that wrote the page numbers as belonging to John Stafford Smith (1750-1836).⁷

manuscript [MS 1070] from an English bookdealer (who was perhaps the source of the clipping mentioned earlier.)" See Lowinsky, 493 and 483, fn. 1 (note below for full citation).

The RCM information sheet refers the reader to Lowinsky's, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn" first published in *Florilegium Historiale: Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, eds. J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 161-235; and its condensed version, "Ms 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 96 (1969-70): 20-28. All references and page numbers found in this dissertation concerning Lowinsky's MS 1070 article are based on neither of the above, but on the third and most recent printing (with the same contents of the *Florilegium* article), i.e., Edward E. Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn" in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 483-528. Thus, in this study, a citation with merely Lowinsky's name and page numbers is referring to this latter source.

⁷Joan Littlejohn's comments are found in a private Royal College of Music copy of Lowinsky's "Music Book" article from *Florilegium*, shelved in the school's library alongside the music histories, bound in an orange cover with gold print on the front that reads: "ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC LONDON/ NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY." Littlejohn's annotations were inserted in this copy around "1975 etc.," as is indicated on the flyleaf.

Smith was an English composer, organist, editor, and one-time pupil of William Boyce who was also a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1784), organist (1802) and master of the children (1805), and a lay-vicar at Westminster Abbey (1785). But he is probably best recognized, at least by Americans, as the supposed composer of “Anacreon in Heaven,” the tune of which was used to set Francis Scott Key’s “Star-Spangled Banner.” Smith was no stranger to old manuscripts. He worked with Sir John Hawkins on his famous history of music, transcribing various pieces from original sources.⁸ In addition, he collected and edited early English music for publications, such as his *A Collection of English Songs* (1779) and *Musica antiqua* (1812), which contained compositions from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries. It would not have been unusual for Smith, in his search for old English music, to have acquired a music book containing Anne Boleyn’s name. Thus the Smith connection and the note on the last page indicate that MS 1070 was in England since at least the eighteenth century.

Littlejohn identified another non-contemporary hand in the manuscript, that of William Barclay Squire.⁹ While Smith penned the page numbers, Barclay Squire provided the much lighter folio numbers (in the outer edges) as well as a second note on the last page of the book. This second note clarifies the first: the initial comment, in ink, reads: “This MSS. is about 250 years old,” the second, in pencil, explains, “that is the year 1540.” Barclay Squire (1855-1927) was a librarian, editor, and cataloger, who was on the staff of the British Museum and became superintendent of printed music, retiring in 1920. He prepared the *Catalogue of the*

⁸John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* 5 vols. (London: Payne and Son, 1776; new edition with the author’s posthumous notes, London: Novello, 1853; reprint, New York: Dover Pub., 1963).

⁹Littlejohn indicates that one can find a sample of Squire’s hand in RCM MS 1176.

Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Music and probably added the folio numbers and date comment while working on this project.¹⁰

While preparing his catalogue, Barclay Squire got in touch with Albert Smijers, the well-known editor of Renaissance polyphony, for assistance with identifying the composers of unattributed pieces.¹¹ A postcard from Smijers to Barclay Squire (in London), dated June 1, 1922, is attached to the inside front cover of MS 1070 (beneath the bookdealer clipping). It reads:

Dear Sir,/In Ms. 1070, London, R. Coll. of Music,/ I found the following compositions of Josquin:/fol. 5v: Memor esto. fol. 23v. Stabat mater. fol. 27v. Mit-/tit ad Virginem. fol. 31v. Ave Maria. fol. 55v: In illo/tempore, Maria Magdalena (probably). fol. 63v. Praeter/rerum seriem. fol. 68v. Virgo salutiferi. fol. 96v. Liber ge-/nerationis. fol. 102v. Factum est. fol. 127v. Huc me sydereo./ fol. 125v. Homo quidam./I was very sorry, that I could not visit/you. Believe me/Yrs. faithfully/D. A. Smijers

Since Smijers comments that, "In Ms. 1070...I found the following," and then lists pieces giving specific folio numbers, he may have reviewed the manuscript at firsthand, although it is more likely that he was referring to a table of incipits.

¹⁰William Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Music, with Additions by Rupert Erlebach*, typewritten and unpublished (1931). Squire also prepared a *Catalogue of Printed Music Between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum* (1912), a *Catalogue of the King's Music Library*, vols. 1 and 3 (1927-29), a catalogue of music in Westminster Abbey (1903), edited works by Byrd, Purcell, and Palestrina, and was joint editor of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*.

¹¹Smijers was an expert in the realm of Franco-Flemish composers and compositions. At the time of Squire's contact, Smijers was working on his edition of Josquin's works. He would later edit the music of Obrecht. Josquin des Prés, *Werken van Josquin des Prés*, ed. Albert Smijers (Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1921-69); Jacob Obrecht, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Albert Smijers (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1953).

CONCLUSION:

Evidence concerning the history of MS 1070 indicates that the volume has been in England since at least the second half of the eighteenth century. It may have passed from John Stafford Smith to a bookdealer and then on to Robert William Haynes, who donated the book to the Sacred Harmonic Society (1854). From there, it went to the Royal College of Music (1883), where it was examined by Barclay Squire, possibly Smijers (ca 1922), and no doubt many others in the twentieth century. From the time of Anne Boleyn, however, until the latter part of the 1700s, the possessor(s), status, and location of MS 1070 are unknown.¹²

¹²It too should be noted that the book was not one of those in the Royal Library in Westminster in the 1540s. See J. P. Carley, "John Leland and the Foundations of the Royal Library: the Westminster Inventory of 1542" *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 6 (1989).

CHAPTER 2

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

SECONDARY MATERIAL:

MS 1070 contains thirty-nine motets, all but two with texts,¹ and three French chansons copied on 134 paper folios. Bound in a cover of worn brown leather over cardboard, the mid-sized book measures approximately 28.5 by 19 cms.² Both the front and back cover are framed with a fine gold perimeter line running about half a centimeter from the edge of the volume. The spine, of a deeper brown leather and seemingly more modern than the cover, is tooled with gold text reading: "MOTETS./16 T.H. CENT". There is a small, white, round sticker on the outside front cover's upper left-hand corner displaying the catalogue number, in red ink, of the Royal College of Music: "1070".

Within the cover, the original music is nested between flyleaves of thicker paper, a pair at each end. What appear to be glue stains are visible on the inner margins of these flyleaves. The first two folios and the last two folios of the original music have a vertical strip of newer paper pasted to the inner margins. This was probably added by the binder, either because the original paper was worn or became detached, or perhaps merely to fortify these outer pages that would experience the sharpest crease.

Attached to the inside front cover is a modest, rectangular clipping, perhaps from a bookdealer, that describes the manuscript. Beneath this is a small envelope

¹Textless works are identified as motets via concordances.

²MS 1070 is certainly smaller than many of the choirbooks of the time; however, it is considerably larger than many of the chansonniers.

on which is written in red ink, "Part of/R.C.M. 1070". It contains a postcard concerning the identity of some of the compositions of the book. The card is from "D. A. Smijers./St. Michiegestel." and addressed to "Mr. W. Barclay Squire/Esq./14 Albert Place./Kensington/London. W./England".³

Pasted to the first flyleaf, recto, is a sheet of stationery with the Royal College of Music letterhead. The sheet lists general information about the book and rightfully informs the reader that the page sizes of MS 1070 vary minutely—they "are unevenly cut resulting in a variation of 28.4 and 28.6 x 18.8 and 19.0 cms. The measurements given in Smijers' *Werken van Josquin des Prés Motetten B III* are not accurate."⁴

On the first flyleaf's verso and the second's recto page, modern markings are written, each in pencil and none sharing the same hand. On the verso page, "157" is placed in the center, and "760 A" is in the bottom left-hand corner. Lowinsky has identified these as old catalogue and shelf numbers of the Royal College of Music.⁵ On the recto page, "Antiphonarium"/[flourish] is centered and the Royal College of Music catalogue number, "1070.", is placed in the top right-hand corner.

Two numberings, both in pencil, run throughout the manuscript. Rather large page numbers, beginning on page two (from "2" to "268"), are placed in the center of the top margin and later, to the sides depending on the space available. These page numbers are attributed to John Stafford Smith. In a smaller and lighter script, Barclay Squire inserted folio numbers in the top right-hand corner of each

³See Chapter 1 for the contents of the clipping and letter.

⁴For the contents of the sheet, see Chapter 1.

⁵Lowinsky, 483, fn. 1.

leaf (recto). The first folio clarifies, "Fol: 1.", while the subsequent ones simply number "2" to "134".⁶

The book was apparently used for performance at one time. The folio edges are slightly worn. Those in the opening section, which contains decorations, are more well thumbed. Sharp and flat signs were added, mostly in the first half of the volume (pp. 1-204/1r-102v). These may be contemporaneous.

Marks that are clearly modern include sloppily written "S"s (pp. 46-47/23v-24r) representing the initial letters of the text placed in the space before parts. There are also "V"s (pp. 72/36v and 137/69r), an "M" (p. 80/40v) and "E"s (pp. 236-41/118v-121r). There are markings surrounding an illustration of a turbaned woman on p. 12/6v (Figs. 8, 14). Two non-contemporary hands have written notes on the last page concerning the dating of the manuscript.⁷

The penultimate page of the volume (p. 267/134 r) bears a large water-damage stain that runs along the top and outer edge. The liquid apparently seeped through all the way to p. 125/63r; the top outside corner of most of the pages between exhibit such damage.

PRIMARY MATERIAL:

PAPER:

The music of MS 1070 is copied on paper rather than on more expensive, higher quality parchment.⁸ Of medium thickness, the paper bears watermarks or

⁶See Chapter 1 on Smith and Squire. Note, p. 3 of MS 1070 is f. 2, p. 5 is f. 3, and so forth.

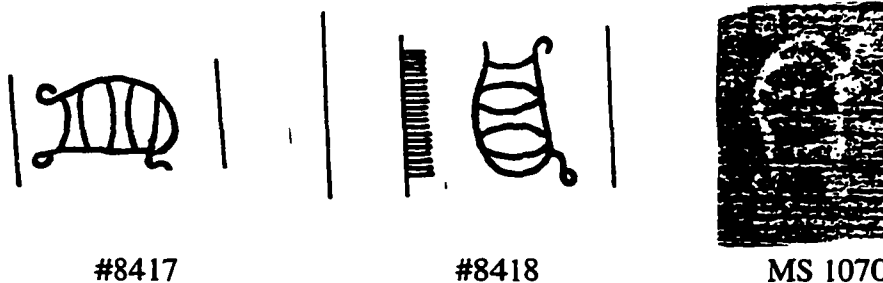
⁷See Chapter 1.

⁸Granted, paper was also an expensive commodity at the time, but not as much so as parchment.

rather *filigranes*⁹ and chain lines that sometimes can be helpful in determining the provenance or date of the material. (Chain lines, caused by wires used in paper molds, are parallel lines of indentation that appear on the finished paper.

Watermarks are emblems formed from twisted wire that were fastened on top of the chain-wire coverings and likewise leave an impression on the paper).¹⁰

The lines and watermarks found in MS 1070 indicate that the papers of the book are probably from at least three different mills. Most folios bear a watermark that resembles a letter “M.” This mark appears on its side with chain-lines running vertically on the page about 2.3 cms. apart, roughly eight lines per page. Similar watermarks have been identified by the *filigraneur* C. M. Briquet. He numbers these #8417 and #8418.¹¹



#8417

#8418

MS 1070

Figure 1: Watermarks #8418, #8417, and the first of MS 1070

The entry of mark #8417 in Briquet indicates that the size of the paper (on which this mark has been found), already having been trimmed, is 29 x 42 cms. (N.B., a full folio of MS 1070 in its present state, which entails the size of two pages, measures around 28.5 x 38 cms.). According to Briquet, the place of origin

⁹As Dard Hunter explains, the marks “are not caused by the use of water to any greater extent than the sheet itself”; thus, the French term is more suitable. Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover pub., 1978), 262-64.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 258-73.

¹¹Listed by entry numbers in C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968), IV.

of this paper may be Mézières¹² and the date, perhaps 1487. Mark #8418 is assigned to Paris, 1483 (trimmed paper, 30 x 42 cms.). Similar varieties of #8418 can be found in Paris, 1505-10; Arras (N. France), 1505-21; Troyes (S.E. of Paris), 1509-16; Lisieux, 1515, and Pays-Bas (the Low Countries), 1495.¹³ It is on such paper that the name of “M^{rs} A. Bolleyne” is inserted.

Occasionally in MS 1070, there appears another “M” watermark that is like #8417 and #8418 but with an opening in its structure. This is similar to Briquet’s #9731, assigned to Paris, 1504, with trimmed paper also sized at 30 x 42 cms.¹⁴



Figure 2: Watermark #9731 and the open-ended “M” of MS 1070

However, it is most likely that this “M” watermark and the one discussed above are the same or perhaps twins. Pairs of moulds were used in the production of paper from at least the early seventeenth century (and with little doubt, before).¹⁵ Since watermark emblems were made of wirework whose shapes could be altered from use, it seems probable that the open-ended “M” is just a misshapen closed “M”

¹²In northern France, on the river Meuse.

¹³Briquet, II: 453.

¹⁴This mark can be seen on ff. 10, 39, and 77, among a few others.

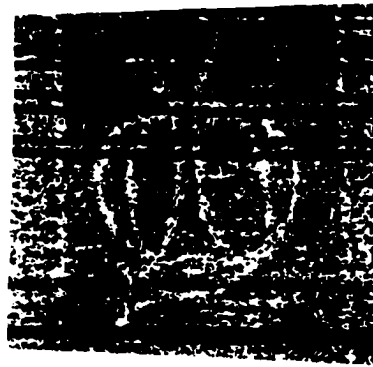
¹⁵See Allan H. Stevenson, “Watermarks are Twins” in *Studies in Biography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the Univ. of VA, 1951), IV: 57-91.

watermark. Moreover, the two are relatively the same size and have the same number of chain lines per page.

A somewhat different watermark appears on ff. 74 and 75 (pp. 147-50). This mark has something of an oval shape, although it is apparently also meant to be an “M” (in this study, it will be referred to as the “modified M”). It is not positioned in the center of the page, as are the others, but to the upper left-hand side. There are about eleven chain lines per folio, approximately 1.75 cms. apart. Similarities can be seen between this mark and Briquet’s #8416. Watermark #8416 is assigned to Lessay, 1482.¹⁶



#8416



MS 1070

Figure 3: Watermark #8416 (upside-down) and the “modified M” mark of MS 1070

Except for the last two folios of the entire volume, all the pages of MS 1070 are copied on paper related to these three “M” watermarks. As Briquet specifically recognized, “The group 8416 to 8418 apparently is from the north of France.”¹⁷

The most unusual watermark, that is, the one least like the “M”s, is found on the penultimate leaf: f. 133, pp. 165-66. This mark, larger than the others, is shaped

¹⁶Briquet, II: 453.

¹⁷Ibid., II: 449.

like a hand with closed fingers with a lowercase Greek alpha in the hand's palm, α , a cuffed wrist, and a five-pointed star or flower above. From the lowest part of the cuff to the top of the star the mark measures approximately 8.8 cms. Its page displays five chain lines, about 3.6–4 cms. apart.

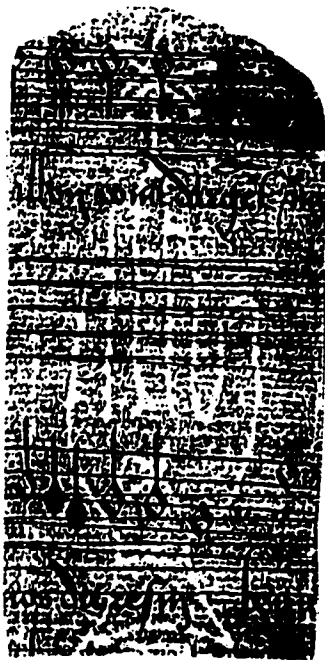


Figure 4: Hand/star watermark of MS 1070

The watermarks in Briquet closest to this are #11159 and #10793.¹⁸ The entry for #11159 has closed fingers, yet is larger than the mark of MS 1070 and bears a six-point rather than five-point flower. It is assigned to Genoa, 1483, with paper sized 29 x 42 cms, trimmed. A similar variety is assigned to Mount Athos (N.E. Greece), 1486. Watermark #10793 (29 x 40 trimmed) is assigned to Toulouse

¹⁸Lowinsky believes that #10794 is closest; a mark like #10793 with fingers open, but shorter and broader. Lowinsky, 488.

with a much later date, 1531. This watermark, unlike that of MS 1070, has fingers open. Neither #11159 or #10793 has a symbol in the hand's palm.

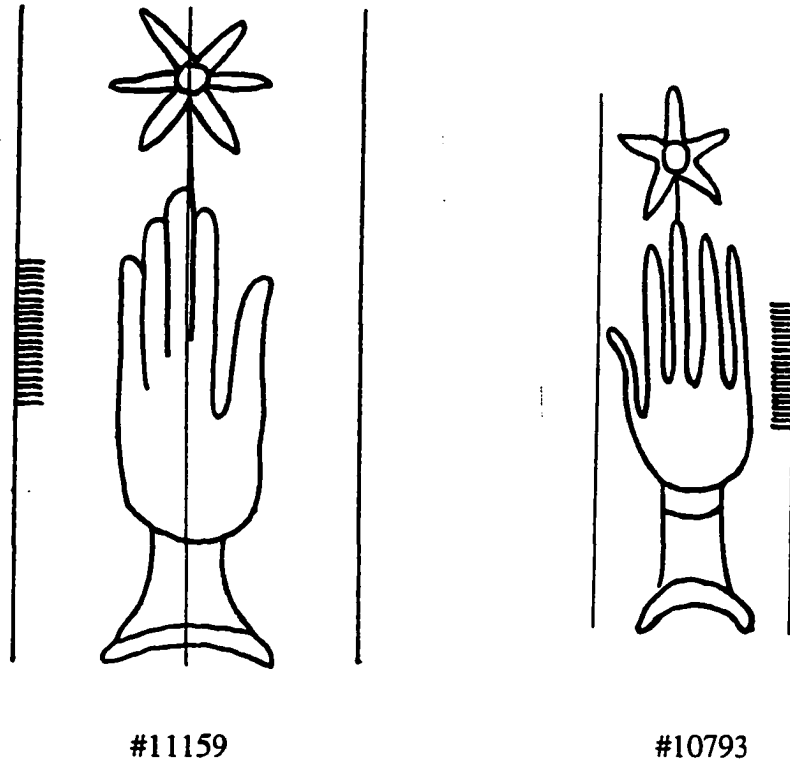


Figure 5: Watermarks #11159 and #10793

This basic hand image was quite popular, as is attested to by the numerous such entries in Briquet. Dard Hunter has acknowledged that “hands were used extensively by old paper makers in Germany and the Netherlands.”¹⁹ It is possible that the MS 1070 watermark has a Low Countries connection, since some such marks were apparently associated with Philip, duke of Burgundy, the five fingers symbolizing the five territories he obtained through his marriage and alliances.²⁰

¹⁹Hunter, 262.

²⁰James Roland Braithwaite, “The Introduction of Franco-Netherlandish Manuscripts to Early Tudor England: The Motet Repertory” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1967), 41, with

But then again, a similar watermark with a five-pointed star, albeit representing more a glove than a hand, can be noticed in an English source—indeed, in a letter signed by Boleyn as “Anne the Quene [sic].”²¹ And such watermarks exist in Spanish sources, as in a music book from the court of Isabella, Queen of Castile, which bears a marking similar to one in Briquet assigned to Palermo, Sicily, 1482.²² Therefore, not much can be deduced from the presence of this last watermark by itself.

FORMAT AND STAVES:

MS 1070 is in a choirbook format. In all thirty-four four-voiced pieces, the superius and tenor singers read from the verso of a leaf, and the altus and bassus, from the recto. The first two of the three three-voiced compositions are formatted with one voice on the verso, two on the recto (pp. 206-225/130v-113r), as was standard. The last piece in the manuscript, a three-part chanson (pp. 266-67/133v-134r), is arranged more unusually, having two parts on the verso, one on the recto. The first of the three five-voiced works is formatted with three on the verso, two on the recto (pp. 46-53/23v-27r). The other two five-voiced pieces each contain canonic voices—thus, there are only four written parts laid out two to a page.²³ The first six-voiced work (pp. 126-35/63v-68r) has three voices per page. The second such piece (pp. 242-49/121v-125r), missing the first altus, is arranged with three

reference to S. L. Sotheby, *Principia Typographica*, vol. III, *Paper Marks* (London: Walter M. Dowell, 1858), 8, 54.

²¹London, British Library, Add. 19398, entry 22a.

²²The manuscript is Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral. MS s.s. The watermark resembles Briquet # 11154. See Norma Klein Baker, “An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1978).

²³In the *prima pars* of Josquin’s “Virgo salutiferi,” the canonic part is missing.

voices verso, two recto. In any event, all voices of each composition in MS 1070 are visible when the book rests open.

With respect to hands, content, and physical characteristics, MS 1070 is divided into two main parts: pp. 1-204/1r-102v (part one); and pp. 205-68/103r-134v (part two). One distinguishing characteristic of each part concerns the number of staves per page. Staves are ruled on all of the pages of the original manuscript, whether or not music was added. However, from 1 to 204/1r-102v, there are eleven staves per page while from 206/103v to the end (p. 268/134v), there are only nine.

In part one, each of the eleven staves is approximately 1.1 cms. in height with a space of 1.1 to 1.3 cms between staves, depending on the degree to which the scribe curved the staff lines with the rastrum. The staves are lined with brown ink and placed between two red-ink vertical (margin) guidelines, which are often quite visible running behind the miniatures and decorated initials in the first section of the book.²⁴ There are also red-ink guidelines beneath each staff to help in positioning the text. An indentation of the first and the seventh staff of each page provides space for a miniature or initial, therefore indicating that the staves were written with four-voiced pieces in mind, allowing six staves for the superius and altus and five for the tenor and bassus. In the five- and six-voiced pieces, where these indentations are not appropriate, the music scribe has extended the staff lines into the space. When space before the respective staves is present, it ranges from 2 to 3.5 cms. in width. In this first part of the volume, decorations are inserted only on pp. 2-41/1v-21r and 184-85/92v-93r. The same artist was not responsible for both groups.

²⁴For instance, see Figs. 6, 7.

In part two, where there are only nine staves per page, there are no text guidelines, and the vertical margin lines have more of a gray than a red color. Staves of brown ink are 1.4 cms. in height as are the spaces between them. None of the staves on the last folios (pp. 265-68/133r-134v) have indentations, but spaces approximately 2 cms. wide were left for decorations on the rest of the pages before the first staff of each page, that is, before the superius and altus parts. Page 226/113v is the only one actually to contain an illustration in this second part. The artist is not the same as either in part one.

HANDS, GATHERINGS, AND DECORATIONS:

MS 1070 contains five different scribal hands, and, with one exception, it seems that each music scribe provided the corresponding text.²⁵ The style of notation of all of the hands is Franco-Flemish, that with standard rhombus-shaped noteheads. Scribe 1 prepared the core of part one (pp. 1-204/1r-102v). This scribe's text is in a *bâtard* (*lettre bourguignonne*) script. The product is sometimes neat and thoughtful but at other times more careless (Figs. 14-18).

Scribe 2, whose script is a variant of *bastard secretary*, employs larger, thicker, more casual strokes (Figs. 19-21).²⁶ Scribe 2's work is a second layer to the first part; he/she added the music on pp. 44/22v, 156/78v, and 188/94v and the text of 173/87r. Of the sixty-four pages in part two (pp. 205-68/103v-113r), scribe 2 is responsible for the most material, supplying pp. 206-25/103v-113r and 234-

²⁵The exception is on p. 173/87r where hand 1 copied the music and hand 2 provided the text.

²⁶On scripts, see Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

64/117v-132v. This scribe frequently inserts catch letters in the space at the beginning of a piece (see Fig. 19, N.B., “O”).

Scribe 3, with a clean, skilled hand of fine strokes and style—which also at times shows some similarity to hand 1 (although it manifests more of a *secretary* script)—copied pp. 157-72/79r-86v and 189-204/95r-102v.²⁷ These later pages were well prepared and are some of the most attractive in the book. Like the copy of scribe 1, scribe 3’s work occurs only in part one. It is directly associated and likely coincided with that of scribe 2, since its role seems to have been to complete scribe 2’s unfinished work. Scribe 3 supplied the music on the page where Anne Boleyn’s name was entered (p. 157/79r, see Fig. 22).

Scribe 4, with an attractive, slightly flowery hand, prepared the last piece of the entire manuscript, which is on the hand/star-watermarked paper (pp. 266-67/133v-134r). Scribe 4 also copied a work in part one, pp. 184-85/92v-93r (see Figs. 23-24), and added a maxim²⁸ to the blank-staved p. 232/116v. Scribe 5, whose text is lucid, was responsible for two chansons, those of part two, pp. 226-29/113v-115r (see Figs. 25).²⁹ The work of both scribes 4 and 5 is in a form of *bastard secretary* script.³⁰

²⁷See Chapter 7 for more on all of the hands and their relationship to various courts and manuscripts.

²⁸See below and Chapter 8.

²⁹Braithwaite’s and Lowinsky’s hand designations differ from these. Lowinsky and I are in closer agreement than Braithwaite and I; however, Braithwaite did not have the opportunity to examine the manuscript at firsthand. Lowinsky believes that hands 1 and 3, as designated here, are the same. Although they are certainly similar, hand 3 is consistent in employing a finer stroke. Indeed, the scribe seems to have “colored in” thicker parts of noteheads using several strokes because of a fine pen or penwork. Hand 3 also ornaments longas (see p. 157/79r, Fig. 22 below, pp. 170/85v, 172/86v, 199/100r) has a treble clef different from that of hand 1 (see p. 166/83v and p. 40/20v) and is more fanciful and careful with ornamenting initial letters of the texts. For more on hand 3, see Chapter 7, The Brabant Court.

³⁰The paleographer and curator of the British Library Michelle P. Brown identified hands 2-5 as variants of *bastard secretary* and noted that “hand 1 could be termed *bâtarde*.” Personal correspondence, September 9, 1996.

Except for staff lines, the following pages are blank: 1/1r, 42-43/21v-22r, 45/23r, 76-79/38v-40r, 92-93/46v-47r, 124-25/62v-63r, 146-55/73v-78r, 182-83/91v-92r, 186-87/93v-94r, 205/103r, 230-33/115v-117r (232/116v has writing), and 265/133r.

In part one, there are thirteen gatherings, oftentimes quaternions, i.e., with four bifolia per gathering. Exceptions are gatherings 1, 2, 8, 10, 13. Gathering 1 has only three bifolia. Gathering 2 and 8 have seven folios; gathering 2 is missing a folio between pp. 12/6v and 13/7r (Figs. 14-15); thus the Josquin composition "Memor esto verbi" is incomplete in MS 1070. Gatherings 10 and 13 have nine folios, seemingly intentionally. Gathering 3, too, was meant to have nine folios, but as is indicated by the incompleteness of Mouton's "Laudate deum in sanctis," the folio following p. 34/17v is missing. Part two consists of gatherings 14-17, with seven, eight, nine, and eight folios per gathering, respectively. (See Table 2 for a approximate diagram of the gatherings).

PART ONE, SECTION ONE, PP. 1-42/1R-21V:

The gatherings of part one can be grouped into five different sections, of which hand 1, representing the earliest layer of the book, dominates the first (pp. 1-42/1r-21v), second (pp. 43-154/22r-77v), and fourth (pp. 171-86/86r-93v) sections. The first section, with six compositions entailing gatherings 1-3, is framed by two blank pages, 1/1r and 42/21v, and contains the core of decorations of the manuscript, all by the same artist or from the same workshop. Although the copying in this section exhibits a relatively neat and conscientious attempt, in several instances, material is crammed together on the last staff of a part³¹ or lines are left abruptly incomplete. Occasionally, emendations are provided by scribe 2

³¹MS 1070 pp. 12/6v, 20/10v, 26/13v.

and perhaps scribe 3. In one instance, what seems to be the fine-penned hand of scribe 3 supplies the missing notes and text.³² In another, scribe 2 finishes a line.³³ There are some corrections that were probably made by scribe 1 or an immediate contemporary (that is, rather than scribes 2 and 3); these entail added coloration and altered or scratched out notes.³⁴ All corrections show some concern for appearance; such is not the case in the rest of the manuscript.³⁵

DECORATIONS:

The decorations of section one are relatively simple, without gold illumination or elaborate coloration. On the opening pages of each piece, initials incorporate flowers, plants, fruit, beasts, monsters, fish, and some humans. Subsequently, these fancies (along with the addition of birds) occur mostly as separate miniatures with no association to a letter.

Within various-sized rectangles, the simple, provincial figures were drawn and shaded with either a gray or brown ink or perhaps heavy watercolor. They manifest a penwork appearance, that is, one concerned with particulars. Thus, texture is most evident, whether it be that of the fur on a beast or the detailed scales

³²MS 1070 p. 6/3v, tenor part. See also Lowinsky, 526, bar 54 of the edition of "Forte si dulci." Scribe 3, perhaps, added a small section of music, a simple reiteration of earlier material, with an asterisk beneath the bassus part on p. 25/13r of MS 1070. This is lightly crossed out, maybe by hand 2.

³³MS 1070 p. 17/9r, superius. Corrections or additions do not necessarily imply poor quality. Books intended for kings and queens are known to have such. For instance, see the added bars on ff. 3-4 of London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G. vii, a music book for Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon.

³⁴MS 1070 pp. 9/5r, 15/8r, 24/12v, 41/21r.

³⁵As is noted later, hands 2 and 3 were probably copying more for practical performance than for visual attractiveness. If they did show some discretion in this early part, it was likely because the decorations on these initial pages were of more interest and drew more viewers. As was mentioned, these pages are the most thumbled of the entire manuscript.

of a fish. A next step was to add the common colors of blue and red (or vermillion) to the background and then to outline various parts of the figure, or rectangle, or both with black ink. Somewhere around p. 14/7v, the amount of gray shading decreases and brown becomes more prevalent, and a bit further on, the black outlining lessens and the images lose some distinction. Such changes might indicate an interruption in the work of the artist or a change in available materials.

Today, the watercolor background of red looks more like a rust but the blue maintains the hue of a refreshing type of sky-blue. The artist, apparently limited to these two colors, made the most of it, often using both in one illustration. For instance, a flower on p. 3/2r, incorporated in the letter "F," has background colors arranged as follows:

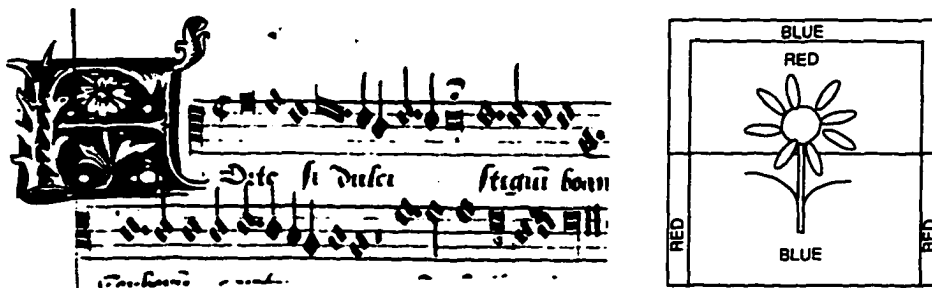


Figure 6: Flower of p. 3/2r and representative coloring

Moreover, the artist tried to take the entire format into account so that there is a balance or symmetry between parts and pages. For example, if the book is laid opened to pp. 6-7/3v-4r, the decorative "P"s of "Palas" (incorporating beasts and flowers) are painted so that the area outside of the "P" is a different color from that within, and this alternates with each part:

superius: inside blue/outside red	altus: inside red/outside blue
tenor: inside red/outside blue	bassus: inside blue/outside red

Flowers and plants are the most prevalent images in the book. They are frequently products of the artist's imagination, but sometimes a species can be distinguished. For instance, there are three roses, a few orchids, perhaps a sunflower, two marguerites, two artichokes, at least one pomegranate, and a handful of strawberries.³⁶ Other than the fact that some of the plants are upside-down, the images are not unusual and can be found in countless manuscripts of the Renaissance and before.

As for humanoid forms in MS 1070, they can be found in both miniatures and initials, mostly wearing some type of headdress. The letter "M" in one instance comprises two opposing faces, one with eyes closed, the other with eyes open, and both with jester-type caps. Two other male heads appear as part of the initial "I"—one with a taller, striped cap, the other with tongue extended. There is a miniature of a long-haired man, baring tongue and teeth, wearing a cup-like cap and a sleeveless, round-collared sheath;³⁷ yet two others with hats (one, with both hood and hat) in separate entries have the appearance of Medieval soldiers.³⁸

The image of a crowned man with a mournful expression, a cut on his right cheek, long hair, a beard, and a round-collared dress, is of some interest. The figure most likely does not represent a contemporary person. The crown resembles nothing in use at the time of MS 1070's preparation, and although men wore their hair long in the late fifteenth century, beards were not in vogue until Francis I

³⁶The manner in which the marguerites (of the daisy family) are depicted in MS 1070, that is, as if viewing from a side angle, was a common way of portraying the flower. See for instance, *Pierre Sala Presenting his Heart to a Marguerite*, ff. 5v-6r in London, British Library, Stowe 955; reproduced in Janet Backhouse, "Pierre Sala, Emblemes et devises d'amour" in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, ed. Thomas Kren (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1983), 170.

³⁷Fig. 18.

³⁸MS 1070 pp. 11/6r, 25/13r, 23/12r, 27/14r, and 36/18v, respectively.

(reigned 1515–47) re-established the fashion.³⁹ The crown likely symbolizes royalty, as it does in French heraldry. Thus, the crowned figure probably represents nobility, a Renaissance king, and the beard may be intended to evoke the bible or a biblical personage, as such figures were commonly seen with facial hair in the Books of Hours of the day.



Figure 7: Bearded king, p. 33/17r

There are also two notable figures with jeweled turbans. One, obviously a woman, appears to be of African descent. With the turban and the darkened skin, she might seem to represent a moor; but it is of note that her garb has a square collar, the type of collar found on women's clothing of northern Europe. Black men in Renaissance manuscripts are not unheard of, but they are oftentimes depicted, as in heraldry, in profile, sometimes with exaggerated west-African features, and usually wearing a wreath or a band around their foreheads.⁴⁰ Black women in such books are odd. Yet the coloration here is intentional as the ink on the figure's forehead, cheeks, and neck is not smudged nor does it run outside of the lines. Moreover, it is fashioned on the brow and face in such a way as to give the

³⁹James Laver, *A Concise History of Costume* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), 83-84.

⁴⁰Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York: Dodge Pub., 1909; reprint, New York: Bonanza Books, 1978), 129. Such Africans with headbands can be seen in Louise of Savoy's Book of Hours, London, British Library, Kings 7, f. 26 and on folios of the Milanese print *Sforziada*, reproduced in Mark Evans, "Giovanni Simonetta, *Sforziada*" in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, ed. Thomas Kren (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1983), 108, 110.

appearance of light shining directly upon her. This same ink, the color of that used for the music and text, is also placed on the collar of the woman's dress, on her arm, and her upper chest.

Nevertheless, the darkness of the ink makes the illustration seem out of place among the others in the book. This heavier color is normally used for outlining images while lighter hues are employed for texture and shading (see above). Therefore, it seems that the figure was originally drawn with no intent of representing an African woman, but later, the coloration was added.

The other turbaned figure could be of either sex. That women throughout Europe wore jeweled turbans is certain, but this was not exclusive. A detail from Raphael's fresco *Mass of Bolsena* depicts one of the famous Swiss Guards wearing a headdress very similar to that of the one in MS 1070.⁴¹ Still, it is more likely than not that this figure is female. Turbans and other eastern fashions came into vogue in women's dress particularly after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (See Figs. 8, 14).⁴²

⁴¹Rome, Vatican, Stanza dell'Elidoro, 1511-14; reproduced in Laver, 77. See also the miniature of Francis I and his mother in *Les Gestes de Blanche de Castille* (ca 1524-25), Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 5715, f. A v; reproduced in Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1959).

⁴²Georgine de Courtais, *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles in England from 600 to the Present Day* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986), 32.

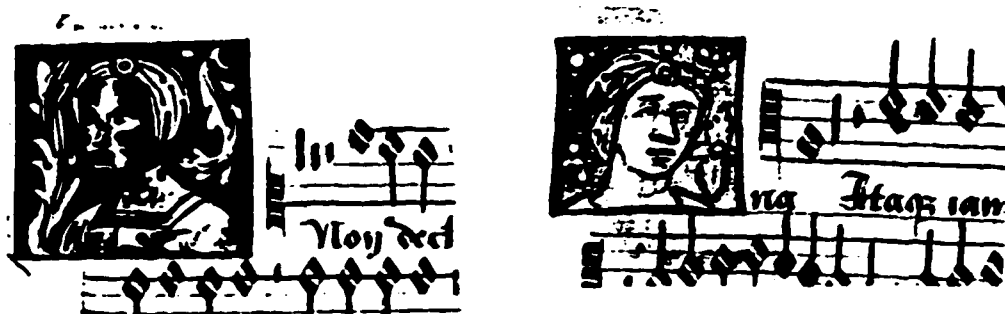


Figure 8: Turbaned figures, pp.12/6v and 29/15r

A miniature of a woman, profiled with her hair down, may have been intended to portray someone Italian. Northern women were known to wear their hair completely hidden (girls were exceptions) while Italian women proudly displayed theirs, quite frequently, in this fashion (see Fig. 9).⁴³



Figure 9: Woman with loose hair, p. 28/14v

⁴³In fact, the famous Italian Lucrezia Borgia was so proud of her golden hair that she washed it every week—unusual at the time. Hilda Amphlett, *Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear* (Mill Lane, England: Richard Sadler, 1974), 44. The portrait of Isabella d'Este by Leonardo da Vinci (1499) bears a resemblance to this image; Paris, Musée du Louvre; reproduced in William F. Prizer, "North Italian Courts, 1460-1540" in *The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 144. The hairstyle again can be seen in a portrait attributed to Raphael of Elisabetta Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino and Isabella's sister-in-law, in Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. This is reproduced in Roberta Iotti and Leandro Ventura, *Isabella D'Este* (Modena: Il Bulino, 1993), 19.

Two hominoid creatures, one male the other female, possess half-beast, half-human bodies. The female, whose arms and hands are raised perhaps as if swimming, is depicted nude with a line running lengthwise from her chest to her naval. She has long hair parted in the middle and a lower body of large rings. The creature has a dual nature, and as such, can be categorized as a siren.

Such creatures are discussed in the medieval bestiary, a favorite book of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries both because of its pictures and its Christian moral lessons. These books are collections of stories concerning animals, some real, some imaginary, that provide physical and allegorical descriptions and an interpretation of the moral significance of each creature. As described in the bestiaries, the traditional siren has a shape of a woman from the head to the naval and that of a bird or fish below. Although the lower body of the MS 1070 creature is indeterminate, the representation of a dual nature still exists. According to the French bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais, "sirens are the women who attract men and kill them by their charms and deceiving words. They reduce them to poverty and they make them die." Sirens also are known for their singing ability.⁴⁴

The male creature that is half human, half fish—perhaps with a double fin—resembles an onocentaur, which was classically represented as a combination of a man and a horse. In bestiaries, this creature is regularly linked with the siren. As Anne Payne has noted: "Each drew distrust and condemnation because of its unreliable nature, half human, half beast, and its aura of sexuality. In the bestiary the onocentaur represents hypocrisy, the evil at its back hiding behind a guise of human goodness."⁴⁵ (See Fig. 10).

⁴⁴Guy R. Mermier, trans. *A Medieval Book of Beasts: Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 69-71; Anne Payne, *Medieval Beasts* (London: The British Library, 1990), 75.

⁴⁵Payne, 75.



Figure 10: Half-humans, half-beasts, pp. 9/5r and 13/7r

The dual-male creature is also unusual because it is shown striking a plant from which hangs a fruit. The miniature has the appearance of the harvest scene found in Books of Hours. These popular prayer books for personal devotions invariably opened with a liturgical calendar that was sometimes decorated with the labors of the month. July is associated with reaping and August with threshing.⁴⁶

Of the four miniatures of birds in MS 1070, two represent the phoenix, a mythical bird with a crest on its head.⁴⁷ This bird of Arabia, which is noted for singing beautifully, was said to live for five hundred years, each century representing one of the five senses. At the end of its life, it cremates itself, but then is born again from the ashes. The phoenix is therefore the symbol of Jesus, as it has the power to die and rise again.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Life and Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1988), 45-54.

⁴⁷MS 1070 pp. 4/2v, 22/11v. The crest on the head of the phoenix of p. 22/11v was accidentally painted over with red background paint, but it is clearly apparent beneath the watercolor.

⁴⁸Willene B. Clark, *The Medieval Book of Birds: Hugh of Fouilloy's Avarium* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 233. Mermier, 53, 51.

A bird with a smooth head represents a falcon, known for its determination, discipline, and extreme courage. Another bird may be a crane, associated with military order.⁴⁹

The beasts of MS 1070 are quite imaginative and more difficult to recognize. They include: two separate entries of monsters with second faces attached to their forebodies—one monster is male, the other, with pendulous breasts, is obviously female; a clawed, pointy-beaked beast being hatched from a striped egg; and a furry creature with spiked hair displaying tongue and teeth.⁵⁰ One beast might be identified as a winged dragon or perhaps a sea horse since it has no legs; the dragon represents the devil.⁵¹ Another winged beast, with a “body curling away into the tail,” may be a wyvern or perhaps a basilisk, in as much as it manifests a concentrated stare.⁵² The basilisk, king of the serpents, was known for its deadly look. It also could kill with its smell, its bite, or its hissing. Not surprisingly, basilisks symbolized the devil and his evil deeds.⁵³

Near the end of the decorated section is a growling dog’s head. Dogs are devoted, they guard houses, and heal by licking wounds.⁵⁴

⁴⁹MS 1070 pp. 29/15r, 14/7v, respectively. Payne, 76-77, 64.

⁵⁰MS 1070 pp. 12/6v, 32/16v, 18/9v, 19/10r, respectively.

⁵¹Payne, p. 82.

⁵²Fox-Davies, 170. Sometimes wyverns are called dragons. MS 1070 pp. 5/3r and 8/4v; respectively.

⁵³Payne, 84.

⁵⁴MS 1070 p. 38/19v. Mermier, 215.

The more prominent images of MS 1070 are listed with page and folio numbers:⁵⁵

rose with thorns (4/2v)	long-haired man displaying tongue (23/12r)
phoenix pecking at a fruit (4/2v)	violet (23/12r)
dragon or perhaps sea horse (5/3r)	fish, monster, and strawberry (24/12v)
marguerite (6/3v)	"I" with two heads (25/13r)
marigold and fish with teeth (6/3v)	long-nosed man with headdress (27/14r)
wyvern or basilisk (8/4v)	pomegranate (28/14v)
siren, swimming (9/5r)	woman with long hair (28/14v)
fish with teeth (10/5v)	person with jeweled turban (29/15r)
faces of two court jesters (11/6r)	falcon (smooth head) (29/15r)
black, turbaned woman (12/6v)	rose with thorns (30/15v)
monster, 2nd face on its chest (12/6v)	artichoke (31/16r)
onocentaur harvesting (13/7r)	monster, 2nd face on chest, female (32/16v)
crane, perhaps (14/7v)	crowned man, cut on right cheek (33/17r)
two-legged monster (16/8v)	strawberry (33/17r)
artichoke (17/9r)	fish (34/17v)
monster hatching from an egg (18/9v)	man with hood and hat (36/18v)
furry beast with teeth and tongue (19/10r)	growling dog's head (38/19v)
sunflower, perhaps (21/11r)	goblet and cover (40/20v)
phoenix (22/11v)	rose with thorns (40/20v)
marguerite (22/11v)	more flowers (41/21r)

Table 1: Images in MS 1070

When preparing his article, Lowinsky got in touch with Janet Backhouse, the well-known author and assistant keeper of manuscripts at the British Library, London, concerning the decorations of MS 1070. She remarked that they have "provincial and derivative aspects" and "portray a French rather than Flemish character."⁵⁶ More recently, the curator Michelle P. Brown, also of the British

⁵⁵Those not listed are mostly unidentifiable plants and flowers. An accessible copy of the decorations from MS 1070 pp. 2-3/1v-2r, 8-9/4v-5r, 18-19/9v-10r, 28-29/14v-15r, 4-5/2v-3r can be found in Lowinsky, 486, 490, 491, 492, 494.

⁵⁶Lowinsky, 492, fn. 29.

Library, reasserted that the decorations have more of a French than Flemish flavor. She, with the agreement of her colleagues Janet Backhouse (consulted again, i.e., 25 years after Lowinsky consulted her) and Scot Mckendrick, further reports that “there is no specific region or school suggested.”⁵⁷

PART ONE, SECTION TWO, PP. 43-154/22R-77V:

Following the section with decorations is another, dominated by the copying of scribe 1, that still represents the initial layer of the manuscript (pp. 43-137/22r-69r). A single page entered by scribe 2 (p. 44/22v) is followed by a large section of scribe 1's work that contains extensive pockets of music surrounded by a few blank pages here and there—not unusual in Renaissance music manuscripts considered complete. What is of note is the scribe's extreme carelessness. Some errors seem to have been emended as inconspicuously as possible, perhaps by scribe 1 himself. In such instances, bass clefs entered on the wrong line were repositioned and series of notes that were misplaced were erased and rewritten.⁵⁸ Other times, scratched out notes are glaringly apparent.⁵⁹ Making scribe 1's errors all the more obvious are the conspicuous corrections by hand 2. When voices do not break off together, hand 2 either adds passages to the bottom of a part and slashes out the now extraneous notes at the beginning of the next entry, or does the opposite and crosses out notes at the end of a section, adding them to the beginning of the next.⁶⁰

⁵⁷Personal correspondence, September 9, 1996.

⁵⁸MS 1070 pp. 47/24r, 49/25r and 64/32v, 65/33r, 69/35r.

⁵⁹In MS 1070, blacked-out and scratched-out notes are on pp. 82/41v, 88/44r, 97/49r, 100/50v, 101/51r, 106/53v, 109/55r, 122/61v.

⁶⁰For the first instance, see MS 1070, Josquin's “Mittit ad virginem,” altus and bassus, pp. 55/28r and 57/29r. For the second, see Thérache's “Verbum bonum et suave,” all parts readjusted, 72-75/36v-38r, and Mouton's “In illo tempore maria magdalene,” superius, 106/53v and 108/54v.

Notes are slashed through (pp. 126/63v, 129/65r), measures added in the middle of a part (p. 130/65v) or at the end (p. 132/66v).

In addition, scribe 1's work is incomplete. Josquin's "Virgo salutiferi" (pp. 136-43/68v-72r) is missing the canonic voice for which space is left on the upper verso pp. 136/68v and 138/69v. And except for p. 137/69r and one word on p. 139/70r (both rectos), the piece has no text.⁶¹ The next composition is also incomplete. It consist of only half of the *prima pars* of Mouton's "Gaude Barbara beata"; moreover, it has no literary text or even stems.⁶² This unfinished work is followed by the four blank folios, the first two of which are on the different "modified M" watermarked paper (pp. 147-50/74r-75v). It might be wondered if these final folios are original or whether the piece was completed on folios now missing (see Table 2, gath. 10). Folios have likely become lost from the ends of other MS 1070 gatherings: the music following p. 204/102v, for instance, probably became detached.

PART ONE, SECTIONS THREE, FOUR, FIVE, PP. 155-204/78R-102V:

The last three gatherings of part one were written by scribes 2 and 3. Scribe 2, who made corrections to scribe 1's work in the previous gatherings, copied new music into the last three gatherings of part one. However, in these instances, scribe 2's entries entail only initial verso pages (that is, the opening superius and tenor parts of a piece) that were apparently intended to be completed by a partner, scribe 3. Scribe 2 enters the first page of Compère's "Paranympus salutat virginem" (p. 156/78v) and scribe 3 completes it by copying the altus and bassus (p. 157/79r) and all the subsequent pages of the piece. Scribe 2 begins Brumel's "Que est ista que processit" (p. 188/94v) and once again, scribe 3 finishes. Granted, scribe 2 copied

⁶¹It seems that material may have been copied onto right pages before left.

⁶²Such might attest to a style of copying in which the scribe worked in layers: first copying the noteheads of several measure, then going through and adding the stems, which would consequently be added later if one were using a straight edge or a different pen to draw them; and finally the scribe may have inserted the literary text.

the initial page of the *unicum* "O Salve genitrix," (p. 44/22v) and the work was never completed by scribe 3, or anyone, but still the pattern is evident (see Fig. 12).

An interesting composition that bears the hands of all three scribes is the *unicum* "O virgo virginum quomodo." Scribe 1 provided only the *secunda pars* with no text on p. 173/87r. Scribe 2 adds the text and scribe 3 copies the two preceding pages, that is, the *prima pars*. Since no other copy of this work exists, it cannot be determined if the later hands originated the text and the *prima pars* or if they were familiar with hand 1's source and were simply completing it. Should the latter be the case, which seems more probable, then scribes 1, 2, and 3 were undoubtedly from the same scriptorium, although they had different personal styles (for instance, hand 1 manifest a Burgundian nature with its *bâtard* script, while hand 2 uses a French character *secretary*-like script.)

The clear and pretty hand of scribe 4 copied a motet by Brumel, "Sicut lilium inter spinas," into the fourth section of part one, pp. 184-85/92v-93r. Both pages of the motet were trimmed down slightly to size after they were copied, as the superius and altus initials are a bit cut off at the top. Before each voice, there is a penwork initial, an "S."⁶³ The first, with the superius part, incorporates a profiled face (similar to that found in hand 5's work, p. 226/113v). There is also a face in the tenor's thicker, serpentine "S." The penwork initial in the bassus part includes small letters within it: "IHS " beneath which is "MA." (Figs. 23, 24). IHS, also written IHC, is the abbreviation of the Greek word ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, Jesus.⁶⁴ The Jesus

⁶³For a basic introduction to various types of initials or the elements of early manuscripts, see Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: The J. Paul Getty Museum and British Library Board, 1994). Brown, 98, defines a penwork initial as, "An ornamental initial produced entirely with a pen, generally using the same ink as the text." Also see, Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *Glossary of the Book: Terms Used in Papermaking, Printing, Bookbinding and Publishing*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.)

⁶⁴F. R. Webber, *Church Symbolism* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1971), 92.

monogram often appears in manuscripts along with initials of contemporary people, and such is likely the case in MS 1070.⁶⁵

There is a possibility that the three latter gatherings of part one may not be arranged in their original order. It seems questionable that scribe 1 would have copied two extensive sections of music, not finish, and then leave a large gap blank—which happened to be a complete, separate gathering (the entire third section, pp. 155-70/78r-85v)—only to resume in the fourth, not completing work in this section either. It is possible that the gatherings were reassembled and that section four originally followed section two. The end of section two and all of four are missing text, both from pieces by Mouton, which might suggest some continuity between them (see Fig. 12). It is also possible that section four, like three and five, was not a part of the original layer at all but a gathering with music of interest to scribes 2 and 3 and was thus inserted among their contributions.

ANNE BOLEYN'S NAME:

It is within the co-copied piece by Compère, “Paranympheus salutatur virginem,” that Anne Boleyn’s name appears. A hand apparently foreign to the manuscript placed the entry beneath and to the right of the altus part on p. 157/79r (with music and text solely by scribe 3). The entry reads:

Mr^{is} A. Bolleyne [flourish; name and flourish are framed by two “S”
shaped figures with a semibreve at the ends of each figure]
//Nowe thus//
[three minims, plus a longa surmounted by a signum congruentiae]

⁶⁵For examples of IHS alongside the symbol of a noted person, see Henry VIII’s *The Ecclesiaste*, Percy MS 465, reproduced in E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Marguerite d’Alençon’s initial with IHS is in Bibliothèque nationale, N.A. Lat. 83, f. 18, reproduced in Myra D. Orth, “Manuscrit pour Marguerite” in *Marguerite de Navarre, 1492-1992*, ed. Nicole Cazauran and James Dauphiné (Mont-de-Marsan: Editions Interuniversitaires), 1995. There is a miniature of Louise of Savoy holding a heart in one hand on which is engraved I.H.S. This source is housed in the Hôtel Cluny in Paris; see Robert L. Lembright, “Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d’Angoulême: Renaissance Patronage and Religious Reform” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1974), 43-44.

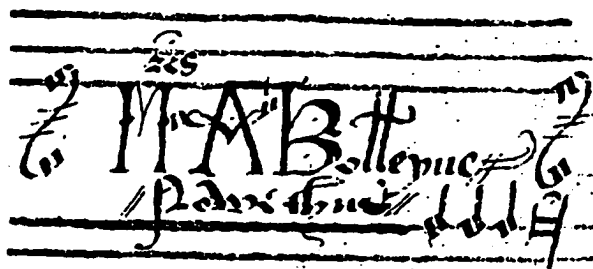


Figure 11: Boleyn's name and father's motto, p. 157/79r

(See Fig. 22 for a copy of the entire page.) "Nowe thus" is the motto of Boleyn's father, Thomas.⁶⁶ The "i" of "Mrs" is dotted with a signum and the name is framed with flourishes consisting of two semibreves each; the upper ones rest on the bottom of a staff line and the lower ones, on a faint guideline. One might view the three slashes between the upper and lower flourish-notes as additional staff lines; thus, when considered along with those on which the notes rest, a quasi-staff might be recognized. Following the motto, three short notes and one long are placed on an empty staff. The signum above the longa, oftentimes a stock ending sign, likely suggests no more than that these notes are a complete entity or symbol. The inscription is obviously a musical signature, not written by a professional scribe, but certainly by someone with a steady hand (the entry is not very large) and a knowledge of music.⁶⁷

PART TWO:

The soiled appearance of p. 204/102v, represents the end of part one of MS 1070.⁶⁸ Part two, beginning on p. 205/103r, is different from part one in that it is

⁶⁶James E. Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1886), III: 159, 681. The motto's association with Sir Thomas first came to my attention via the Lowinsky article, but it is mentioned in several histories of Boleyn.

⁶⁷See Chapter 8 for an interpretation of the musical symbol.

⁶⁸Half of p. 204/102v, running lengthwise, is soiled especially alongside the outer edge. This suggests that part one of the manuscript was carried while folded in two, vertically.

much smaller, only sixty-four pages, and introduces three-voiced works, French texts, attributions, and a new hand (hand 5). Moreover, this second part is defined by a change in staves from eleven per page to nine, and a predominance of hand 2 rather than 1. Also, the pages seem to have been slightly cropped down in size after they were copied. Cropping is more apparent on the pages with hands 4 and 5 (184-85/92v-93r, 226-29/113v-115r, 232/116v, 266-67/133v-134r), where material is cut off from outer as well as top margins.

The second scribe's entries in part two are more informal than they were in part one. The music is freely spaced out, and noteheads and stems have a more curved appearance. Still, the work is accurate and shows few corrections. Hand 2, responsible for all of this second half except for nine pages in the middle and a few at the end, supplied the only attributions in MS 1070: "Jac Obreth" on p. 214/107v and "Josquin" on p. 242/121v.

Hand 5, which first appears in the middle section on pp. 226-29/113-115r, entered two chansons that date later than hand 2's contributions.⁶⁹ The first page by hand 5 (p. 226/113v) shares a folio with hand 2 (p. 225/113r, see Fig. 13). The penwork "J" accompanying the superius incorporates a profiled face connected with a fish from which branches an acorn (see Fig. 25; this is similar to the penwork by hand 4 found on p. 184-85/92v-93r). The part beneath, which has no indentation space, is labeled "Tenor" in the left margin. The left-hand side of this word and the top of the superius's initial have been slightly trimmed off. The recto p. 227/114r has the identifier "Contra/tenor" in the space before the first staff. Above the bass part, between staves, is "Bassus." On the subsequent piece, "Venes regres venes

⁶⁹See Chapter 3 on dating.

tous,” the same part designations are provided in the same locations, however, there is no calligraphic initial preceding this *superius*.⁷⁰

An empty folio follows, after which hand 4 has written a maxim, rather largely, in the upper center of the blank-staved p. 232/116v:

Tuo te pede metire/
Nosces teipsum ut noris quam/
sit tibi curta suppellex

Measure yourself by your own rule. Know yourself
so that you be aware of how poorly you are furnished⁷¹

An unidentified hand entered two lines of indecipherable writing in the left-hand margin beneath the fourth scribe’s note. This secondary writing is in ink of gray or light black while the original note is dark brown like that of the music and text. The illegible note was partially cut off when the folio was trimmed.

Beginning on p. 234/117v (the next folio), the hand of scribe 2 reappears and continues through folio 132r (p. 263). This latter folio was obviously at one time an ending folio, attested to by its verso’s appearance (p. 264/132v)—a blank, soiled, worn page of darker color than those that precede or follow with a small burn hole. Moreover, the two subsequent folios are of different paper, the one with the hand/star watermark.

The last four pp./ 2 ff. represent a unique layer. The first of the pages, p. 265/133r, is a bit soiled and could have acted as a cover. All were prepared by hand 4, they have no indentation spaces, no guidelines, and the staves are not equidistant from one another: the space between them ranges from 1.4 to 2 cms. The paper here again was trimmed slightly after the material was copied, since staff lines run

⁷⁰The word “Tenor” has been trimmed in this piece as well.

⁷¹Translated by Lowinsky, 509. The source and possible meaning of the text in MS 1070 are discussed in Chapter 8.

off of the page and custodes and a note are cut off in one instance (p. 267/134r). Both of hand 4's musical entries, that here and that of pp. 184-85/92v-93r, occur at the ends of gatherings and share no folios with other hands. They seem not to be part of original gatherings.

CONCLUSION:

The evidence suggests a history of the production of MS 1070. Scribe 1 was commissioned to prepare a music book with a patron or dedicatee in mind. The copyist gathered together paper, that is, paper probably from northern France, and adequately finished section one—a section that nicely forms an individual unit of three gatherings surrounded by two blank pages. This section was given to an atelier for the provision of decorations. An artist inserted images in a provincial style and enhanced them as best as he or she could with limited colors of standard blue and red.

In the meanwhile, scribe 1 continued on with the next section but did not finish, which could be for a variety of reasons, such as a death, that of the scribe or patron, or perhaps an alteration in status of the dedicatee or commissioning patron. (Someone whose position was recently elevated may no longer want such a book, while someone demoted may no longer merit it.) In any event, the original intent shifted sometime around this stage since there is no longer an interest in completing the volume in a stylish manner.⁷² By the time the book came into the hands of scribes 2 and 3, it may have been viewed as a music book for performance rather than presentation.

⁷²Perhaps there was a desire to do so at first, but the errors of scribe 1 in the second section were too extensive to both correct and maintain visual attractiveness.

At this point, scribe 2 made corrections, added text, and inserted initial pages of pieces for scribe 3 to complete. Scribes 2 and 3 worked together on three gatherings, and although they may or may not have been rearranged, the gatherings were certainly associated with hand 1's work, since the product of all three scribes shares the same paper and lining. It was sometime after this stage, perhaps even after the entire book was compiled, that Anne Boleyn's name was entered by an unidentified hand.⁷³

At some time, a second packet of music was conjoined with the first—likely by scribe 2 who is associated with both parts. This second part, too, was from the same scriptorium as the other sections, since it has the “M” watermarked paper and hand 2 in common with the first part.

The parts were already joined by the time hand 4's copies were inserted, which is apparent from hand 4's inclusion in both parts. Scribe 4 worked on the hand/star folios, the last to be attached to the book, all of which suggest that this scribe handled the complete volume.

Hand 5, which does not appear in part one, copied onto a folio shared by hand 2 and thus followed hand 2. Hand 5's work, like that of hand 4, was probably inserted after the parts of the book were united. This scribe's contributions have the same penwork style as that of scribe 4 and his/her copy consists of chansons from a later time. All the works of MS 1070 are Latin motets, both secular and sacred,⁷⁴

⁷³The presence of Boleyn's name led Lowinsky to argue that MS 1070 was prepared for her while she was queen and that the text and miniatures of the book directly relate to her and this period in her life. An important conclusion of Lowinsky's, necessary in order to support his argument, is that the music on the page where Boleyn's name is found is by the same scribe as that of the opening decorated pages. Thus, the link could be made between Boleyn and the first section and its images, which he believed were symbolic of the English court. I cannot concur with Lowinsky's conclusions concerning scribes. It seems relatively evident that the opening scribe (scribe 1) and that of the page with Boleyn's name (scribe 3) are not the same. Moreover, even if they were, his interpretations of the decorated images seem doubtful.

⁷⁴As was mentioned, a few have no text or are missing text, but, through concordances, it can be determined that they are Latin motets.

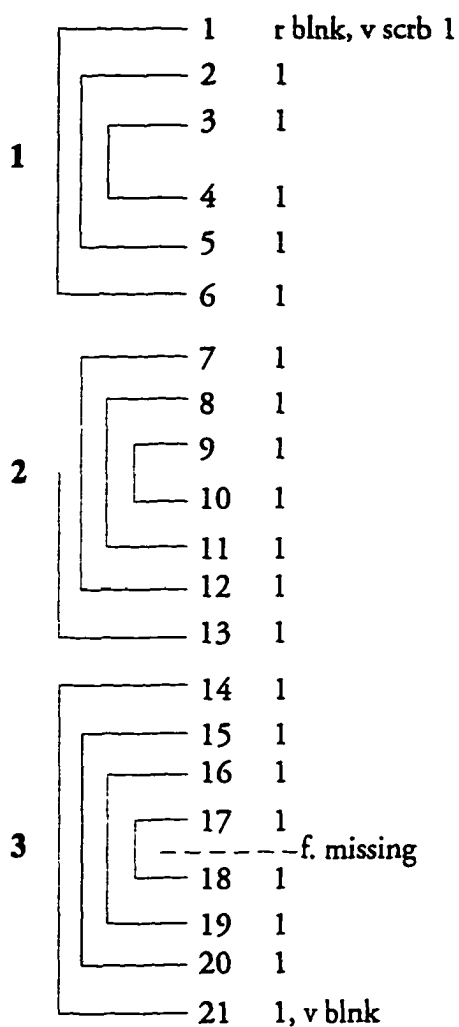
except for the three French pieces that are in the hands of scribes 4 and 5. These scribes were obviously the last to add music.⁷⁵

⁷⁵See Chapter 3 for a list of contents and possible dates.

GATHERING DIAGRAM OF MS 1070

Section 1 (1-3)

Gathering folio # scribe comment

Section 2 (4-10)

Gathering folio # scribe comment

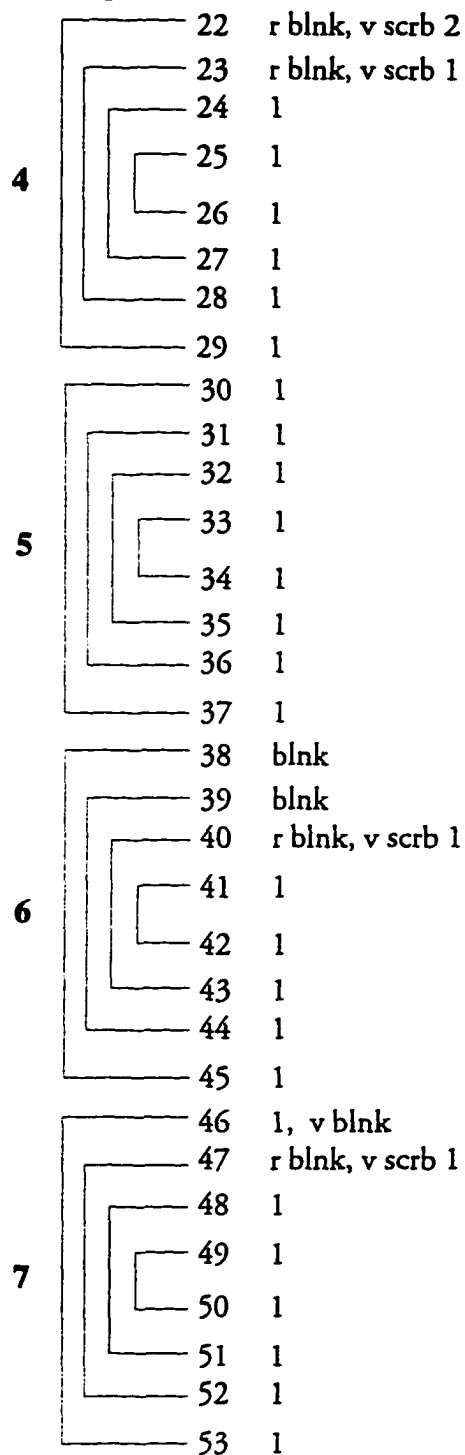
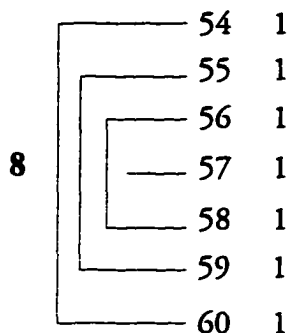


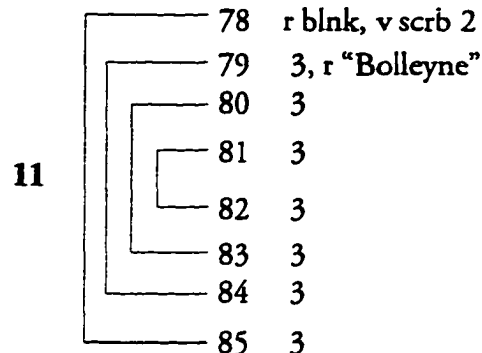
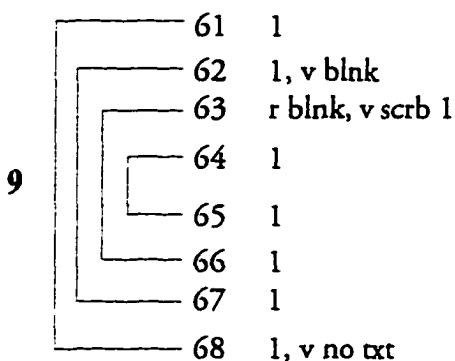
Table 2: Approximate Gathering Structure of MS 1070

Section 2 (cont.)

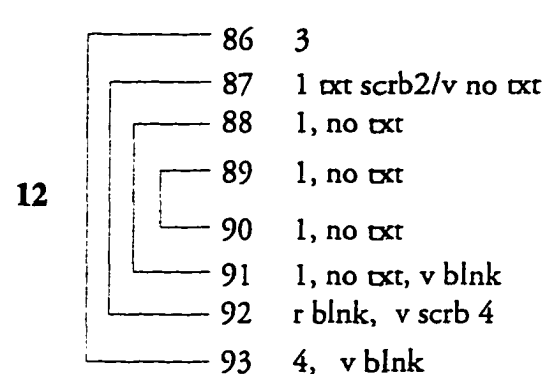
Gathering	folio #	scribe	comment
8	54	1	
	55	1	
	56	1	
	57	1	
	58	1	
	59	1	
	60	1	

Section 3 (11)

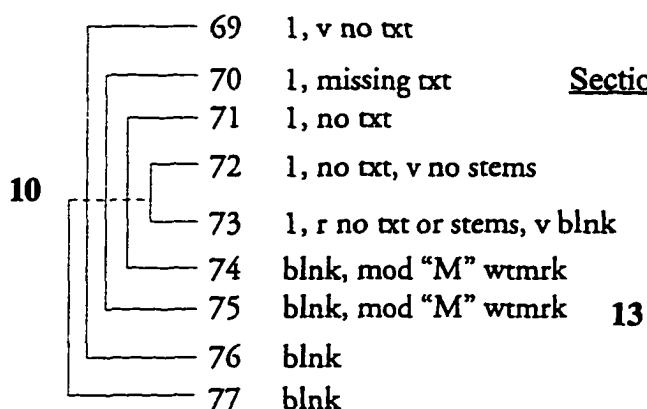
Gathering	folio #	scribe	comment
11	78	r	blnk, v scrb 2
	79	3,	r "Bolleyne"
	80	3	
	81	3	
	82	3	
	83	3	
	84	3	

Section 4 (12)

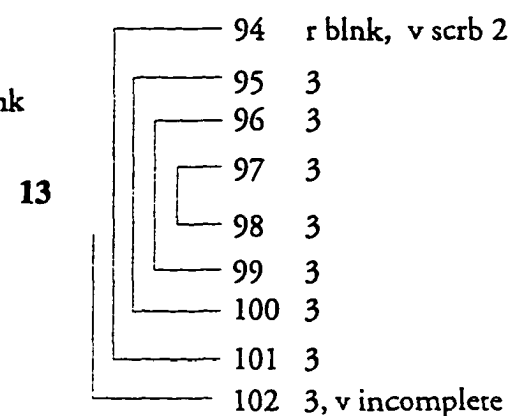
9



12



10

Section 5 (13)

13

Table 2 (cont. b)

Section 6 (Part Two)

Gathering	folio #	scribe	comment	Gathering	folio #	scribe	comment
14	103	r	blnk, v scrb 2	16	118	2	
	104	2			119	2	
	105	2			120	2	
	106	2			121	2	
	107	2			122	2	
	108	2			123	2	
	109	2			124	2	
15	110	2		17*	125	2	
	111	2			126	2	
	112	2			127	2	
	113	r	scrb 2, v scrb 5		128	2	
	114	5			129	2	
	115	5,	v blnk		130	2	
	116	r	blnk, v maxim scrb 4		131	2	
	117	r	blnk, v scrb 2		132	2	
					133	r	blnk, v scrb 4, hnd/star wtrmrk
					134	4,	v blnk, hnd/str wtrmrk

Table 2 (cont. c)

*Folios 127-28 and 133-34 are separate bifolios attached to the ends of gathering 17, ff. 129-32.

PART ONE: 11 STAVES PER PAGE														
HANDS 1, 2, 3, 4														
Section:	1-42 / 1r-21v			43-154 / 22r-77v								155-70	171-86	187-204
Gathering:	1-12	13-26	27-42	43-58	59-74	75-90	91-106	107-20	121-36	137-54	78r-85v	86r-93v	94r-102v	
	1r-6v	7r-13v	14r-21v	22r-29v	30r-37v	38r-45v	46r-53v	54r-60v	61r-68v	69r-77v				
Hand 1:	2-41 1v-21r			46-75 23v-38r		80-91 40v-46r		94-123 47v-62r		126-45 63v-73r		173-81 87r-91r		
Hand 2:										147-50 74-75v missing mod text and M stems water- mark		no text		
Hand 3:				44 22v						156 78v		173 text 87r		
Hand 4:										157-72 79r-86v		188 94v		
										Boleyn's name		189-204 95r-102v		
												184-85 92v-93r		

Figure 12: Hands and Gatherings of Part I of MS 1070

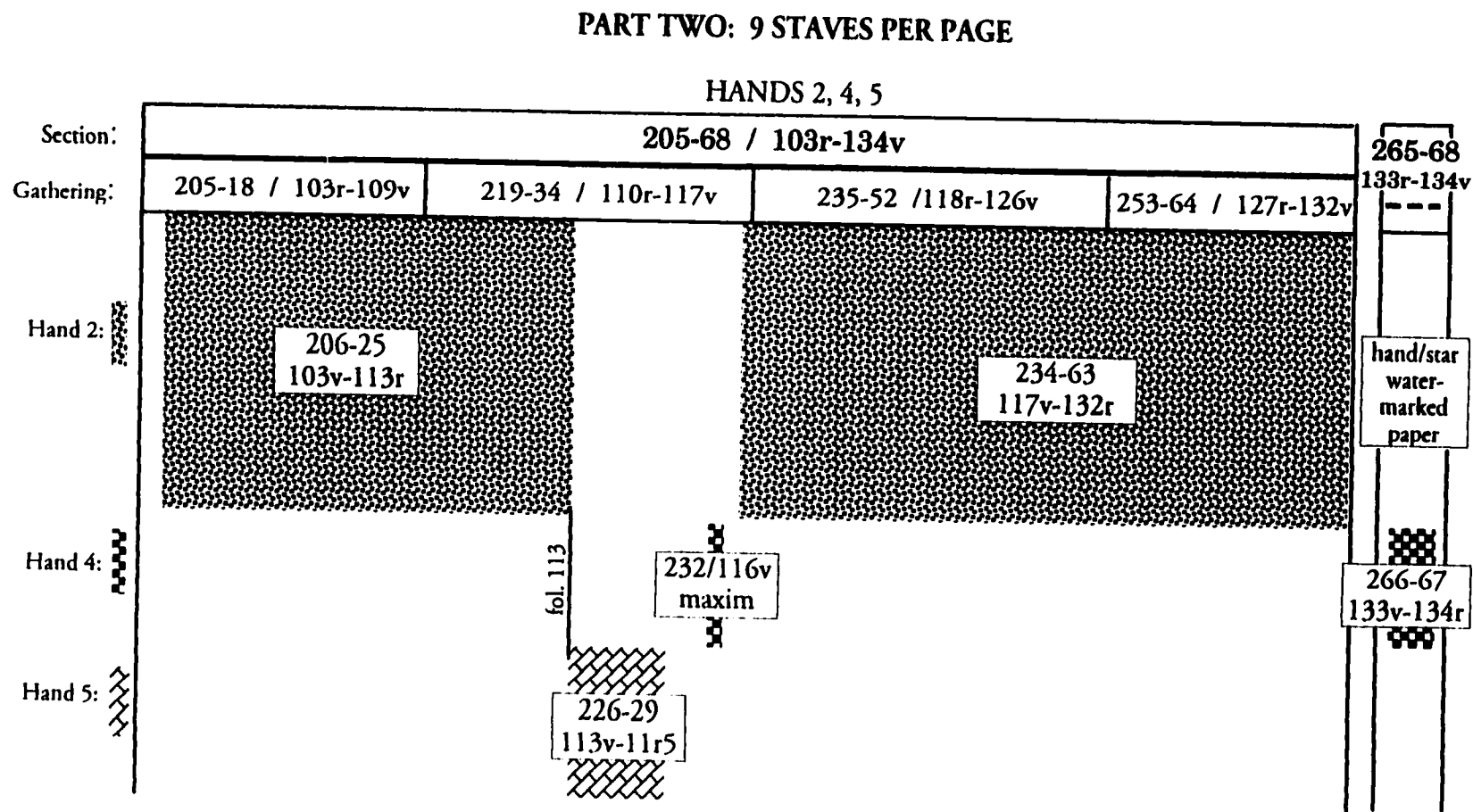


Figure 13: Hands and Gatherings of Part 2 of MS 1070

The image displays two staves of musical notation from a manuscript. The top staff features a miniature of a woman in a turban, looking down. The text below the staff reads: "Non declinaui non declinaui", "et consolatus sum de", "relinquentibus legem tuam Cantabiles", "michi erant iustitiae". The bottom staff features a miniature of a beast, possibly a lion or a dog, looking up. The text below the staff reads: "Non declinaui", "Non declinaui", "Memor fui iustitiarum tuarum a facie".

Figure 14: Hand 1, p. 12/6v, from Josquin's "Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo" with miniatures of a turbaned woman and a beast

Handwritten musical score for Josquin's "Memor esto verbi tui servo tui". The score is written on five staves. The first staff begins with a decorated initial 'M' featuring an onocentaur. The lyrics are: "Mente tuae in loco regenerationis". The second staff begins with a decorated initial 'D' featuring a flower. The lyrics are: "Domine et custodie legem tuam hoc". The third staff begins with a decorated initial 'I' featuring a flower. The lyrics are: "Iusta est michi anima Justificationis tu". The fourth staff begins with a decorated initial 'A' featuring a flower. The lyrics are: "A quo exequitur". The fifth staff begins with a decorated initial 'A' featuring a flower. The lyrics are: "A quo exequitur".

Figure 15: Hand 1, p. 13/7r, from Josquin's "Memor esto verbi tui servo tui" with minitatures of an onocentaur and a flower



Figure 16: Hand 1, p. 2/v, *unicum*, from "Forte si dulci stigium boantem."
the first page of music in the book with decorated initials

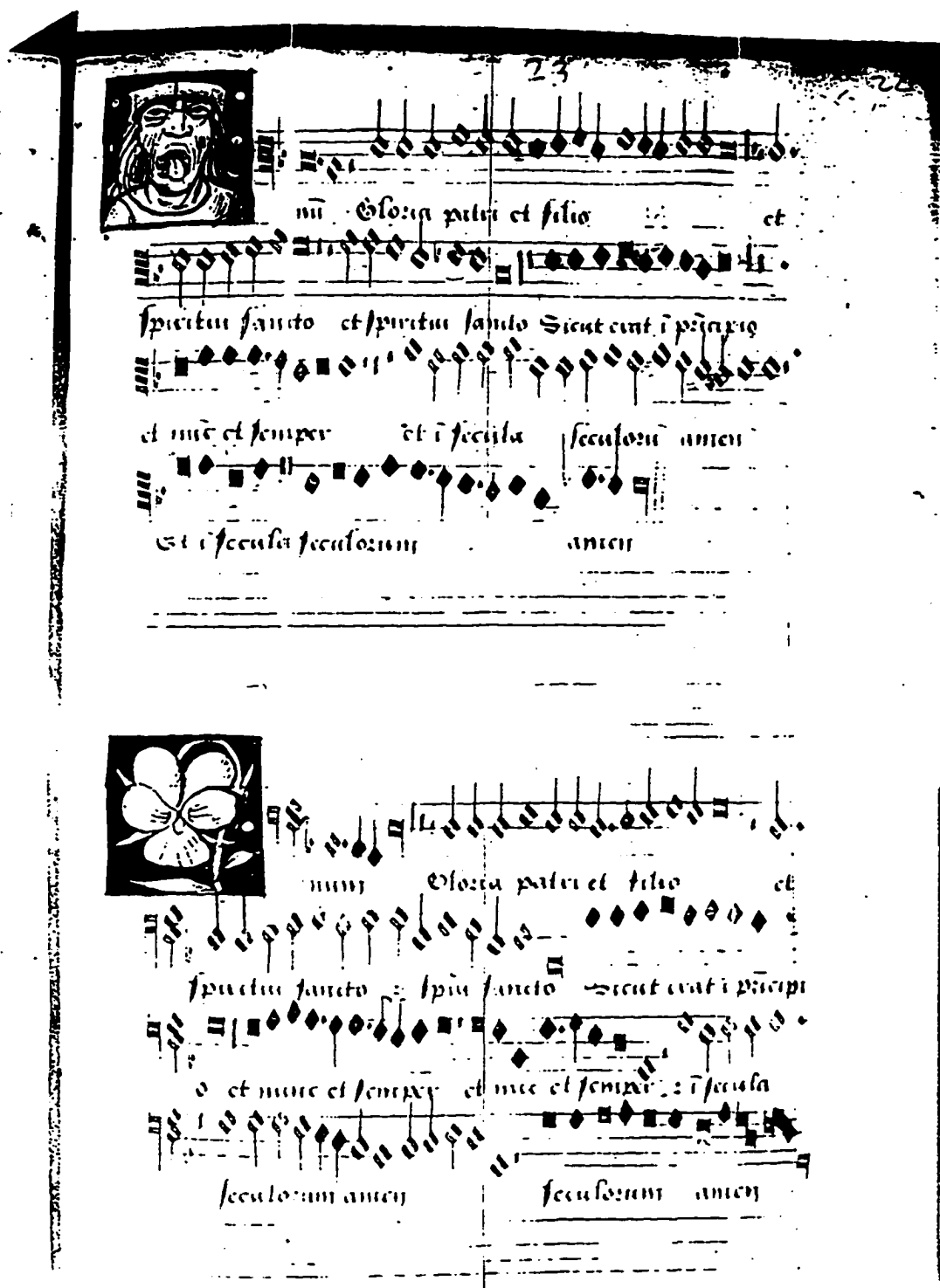


Saravus sūma potituv qz sede in
 paradiso In paradiso Nos vbi cristum
 laude vel carum dociles am
 cum reddat de nobis facilem magistrū oī
 potentem Amen

Saravus sūma potituv qz se
 de paradiso Nos vbi cristum
 vicia peccatorum laude vel carum dociles a
 mi cum reddat de nobis facie
 lem magistrum omnipotentem Amen

Figure 17: Hand 1, p. 8/4v, *unicum*, from "Forte si dolci stigium boantem"
with a wyvern/basilisk

23



mi Gloria patri et filio et
 spiritui sancto et spiritui sancto Sicut erat i p̄cipio
 et nūc et semper et i secula seculorum amen
 Et i secula seculorum amen

num Gloria patri et filio et
 spiritui sancto et spiritui sancto Sicut erat i p̄cipio
 et nūc et semper et nūc et semper i secula
 seculorum amen seculorum amen

Figure 18: Hand 1, p. 23/12r with miniatures of a man and a violet, *unicum*, the lesser doxology from "Laudate dominum omnes gentes"

44

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation is in a medieval style, featuring square neumes on four-line red staves. The lyrics are written in a Gothic script below the staves. The text is a Latin hymn to the Virgin Mary. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and decorative flourishes. The page is numbered '44' at the top.

Salve genitrix virgo dulcissima Sal
 ve Salve Imperiū septem maria felix
 ria felix Omnis et ipsa Rosa
 Omnis et omne jubat ad te clama
 mus fideles miserabilis erit quos
 pia pulsoe dultis acerbiorat dultis acerbiorat
 Salve genitrix virgo dignissima
 Salve Salve Imperiū septem maria felix
 Omnis et ipsa
 Rosa Omnis et omne jubat ad te clamamus fideles
 miserabilis erit quos pia pulsoe dultis acerbiorat dultis acerbiorat

Figure 19: Hand 2, p. 44/22v, *unicum*, "O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve"

Handwritten musical score for the Latin text "Popule meus quid feci tibi". The score is written on ten staves, with the lyrics in Latin below the notes. The text is: "Popule meus quid feci tibi antiquo contristanti te responde michi Ego duce te de egipto. In manu forti In signis magnis et prodigiis exelsis Et parasti crucem saluatori tuo. Popule meus quid feci tibi antiquo contristanti te responde michi Ego duce te de egipto. In manu forti In signis magnis et prodigiis exelsis Et parasti crucem saluatori tuo." The notation is a form of early printed music, likely from a 16th-century manuscript.

Figure 20: Hand 2, p. 235/118r, from anon. "Popule meus quid feci tibi"

156

Paranympheus salutatur virginem
 Intemeratam dñs
 fecit inter mulieres
 ta Ave Inquit grā plena humilis
 marcia

Paranympheus salutatur virginem
 Intemeratam dñs
 cu inter mulieres
 gratia plena marci!

orte.

Figure 21: Hand 2, p. 156/78v, from Compère's "Paranympheus salutatur virginem"

Paranymphus salutatur vir-
gine[m] Intemera[m] tam Deus te
cu[m] Inter mulieres benedic- ta. Ave.
Inquit gratia ple- na humilis
mari a

Paranymphus
salutat virginem intemera[m] deus
tecum Inter mulieres benedicta. Ave. In-
quit gratia ple- na humilis mari
a

Figure 22: Hand 3, p. 157/79r with Boleyn's name from
Compère's "Paranymphus salutatur virginem"

Handwritten musical score for "Sicut lilium inter spinas" by Brumel, folios 184v and 93r. The score is written on four staves per page. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom three are lute tablature. The text "Sicut lilium inter spinas" is written below the vocal line. The score is divided into two systems, each with a large decorated initial "S" at the beginning. The first system is folio 184v and the second is folio 93r. The music is in a simple, early modern style with a mix of notes and rests.

Figure 23: Hand 4, pp. 184-85/92v-93r, from Brumel's "Sicut lilium inter spinas"

Inter spinas Sicut lilium inter spinas

Inter spinas Sicut lilium inter spinas

Inter spinas Sicut lilium inter spinas

Figure 24: p. 185/93r, bass-part detail of "Sicut lilium inter spinas"

226

Jouissance vous donneray mon amy et vous, me
 neray. Le suppleant vostre esperance. D'un
 ne doub leffray. Encore quant morte seray leffray en aura son
 uenir. Leffray en aura son uenir.

Jouissance vous donneray mon amy ne doub ment. Le supple
 tant vostre esperance. D'un ne doub
 leffray. Encore quant morte seray leffray en
 aura son uenir. Leffray en aura son uenir.

Figure 25: Hand 5, p. 226/113v, from Sermisy's "Jouissance vous donneray"

CHAPTER 3

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE COMPOSERS AND THEIR REPRESENTED WORKS

The eight composers represented in MS 1070, some of the most eminent of the Renaissance, are often designated as Franco-Flemish,¹ since they all come from an area belonging to what is now Belgium, the Netherlands, and part of northern France—three regions whose cultural differences were minimal in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Several of the composers were known and admired throughout Europe by both nobles and colleagues alike. They were thus leading figures in developing the Franco-Flemish method of composing and in establishing it as an international style, one that became prominent beyond France and the Netherlands, and in the cities of Germany, Italy, Spain, and elsewhere.²

¹See Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), 176.

²For all intents and purposes, throughout this study, the terms Netherlandish, Burgundian, and Flemish (usually regarding music) are interchangeable and indicate the northern court complex associated with Margaret of Austria, Philip of Burgundy, and Charles V.

Composer	Dates	#h1	#h2	#h3	#h4/5	total
Josquin des Prez	ca late 1450s-1521	6	2	2		10
Jean Mouton	ca 1459-1522	8	1			9
Antoine Brumel	ca 1460-ca 1515	1		1	1 (h4)	3
Loyset Compère	ca 1445-1518		(1 p)	3 ³		3
Antoine de Févin	ca 1470-ca 1512	1	1			2
Pierrequin de Thérache	ca 1465-after 1526	1				1
Jacob Obrecht	1457/8-1505		1			1
Claudin de Sermisy	ca 1490-1562				1(h5)	1
<i>Unica</i>		4, 1/3	2, 1/3	1/3 ⁴	1(h4)	8
Anonymous		1	1		2(h4/5)	4

Table 3: Composers of MS 1070 and the number of pieces in each hand

Josquin des Prez (ca late 1450s-1521):

Josquin des Prez, the most distinguished composer of his generation, was an international figure who traveled extensively and cannot be associated with a single court or locality. He was probably born in the late 1450s in the county of

³Compère's "Paranympus" is in two hands. See below.

⁴See "O virgo virginum quomodo" below.

Vermandois, a part of Picardy.⁵ He may have been a choirboy at the collegiate church of Saint Quentin, the capital of Vermandois.

Josquin may have been active as a composer at the court of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan in the 1470s.⁶ However, he is not mentioned in documents until 1477, when he is listed as being at the court of René of Anjou as a cleric and chapel singer. He was in Condé-sur-l'Escaut in 1483.

Sometime after this, Josquin went to France. He was associated with the French court of Louis XII and may have been one of the king's foremost singers. A few of Josquin's compositions are directly linked with Louis such as "Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo" (#2 in MS 1070); the piece was reportedly composed as a reminder that the king provide his musicians a promised stipend.⁷ However, Josquin was likely not an officially retained court musician, since he went to Flanders to recruit singers for the Duke Ercole I of Ferrara not long before December, 1501, when he was known to have been at the French palace at Blois.⁸ Josquin probably remained close to the French court until at least 1503; he is reported having been at Lyons in April of that year.

Josquin next went to Ferrara to serve in the chapel of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. It was here that he likely composed his motet "Virgo Salutiferi" (#22 of MS 1070). He was not in Ferrara long: the plague was ravaging the duchy, and the

⁵Picardy is a historic region in northern France that became a French province in 1477.

⁶See Patrick Macey, "Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin," *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 147-212. David Fallows has asserted that the name of "Jusquinus" or "Judochus" was not rare and appears in Milanese documents from 1459. He further proposes that this person(s) may have not been des Prez. David Fallows, "Josquin and Milan" *The Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 5/1 (1996): 69-80.

⁷Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1962-65), I: 41.

⁸At this chateau, Josquin apparently impressed Philip the Handsome of Burgundy, who was meeting with Louis XII. Josquin reportedly turned down an invitation to accompany Philip on his subsequent journey to Spain.

composer left the court by 1504, a wise move, since Jacob Obrecht, who replaced Josquin, died of the plague in 1505.

Josquin went north again, this time to Condé-sur-l'Escaut, where he took the position of provost of the Notre Dame church. He seems to have stayed here for the remaining seventeen years of his life. It has been suggested that Josquin had some association with Netherlands's rulers: perhaps with Margaret of Austria around 1508-11 and with Charles V, Margaret's nephew, around 1520. The later association is based on a notation that one named Josquin was paid for songs presented to the young emperor. But the composer apparently did not have a steady relationship with the northern court complex, although his works were admired there. Josquin died in Condé on August 27, 1521.⁹

MS 1070 contains ten works by Josquin des Prez, six in the hand of scribe one, two each by hands 2 and 3. They are as follows:

INCIPIT	Possible Date	pp./ff. #	Hand
#2 1. Memor esto verbi tui servo ¹⁰ 2. Porcio mea	1501-03	10-19/ 5v-10r	hand 1
#8 1. Stabat mater dolorosa ¹¹ 2. Eya mater	1501-03 ¹²	46-53/ 23v-27r	hand 1

⁹On Josquin, see Fallows; Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*; Friedrich Blume, "Josquin des Prez: The Man and the Music" in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21-25 June 1971*, ed. E. Lowinsky with B. J. Blackburn (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 18-27; Gustave Reese and Jeremy Noble, "Josquin Desprez" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 9: 713- 38; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959). 228-87.

¹⁰See also Reese, *Renaissance*, 246-47, 259. An edition can be found in Josquin des Prez, *Werken van Josquin des Prés*, ed. Albert Smijers (Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1921-69), 6: 3.

¹¹The cantus firmus is from a widely copied chanson of Binchois's, "Comme femme desconfortée." Other than Josquin, composers who used the melody included Isaac, Ghiselin, and Agricola. Edition in Smijers, 8: 51.

¹²Located in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 9126. See Chapter 7.

#9 1. Mittit ad virginem ¹³ 2. Accede nuncia	Pre 1504 ¹⁴	54-61/ 27v-31r	hand 1
#10 Ave maria gratia plena... virgo serena ¹⁵	1476 ¹⁶	62-65/ 31v-33r	hand 1
#21 1. Preter rerum seriem ¹⁷ 2. Virtus sancti spiritus	Pre 1519 ¹⁸	126-35/ 63v-68r	hand 1
#22 1. Virgo salutiferi ¹⁹ 2. Tu potis es prime 3. Nunc celi regina	Pre 1503-12 ²⁰	136-43/ 68v-72r	hand 1
#31 1. Liber generationis ²¹ 2. Salomon autem 3. Et post transmigrationem	Pre 1504 ²²	192-203/ 96v-102r	hand 3

¹³Smijers, 1: 14

¹⁴"Pre" and a date indicates that the piece can be found in a publication or manuscript with that approximate date. The manuscript dates are based on those in Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1979-84). The publication dates and abbreviations are those of RISM, i.e., *Répertoire international des sources musicales, I. Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e siècles*, ed. François Lesure, *Liste chronologique* (Munich-Duisberg: G. Henle, 1960). "Mittit ad virginem" is located in Petrucci, *Motetti C*, 1504¹ (RISM abbreviation). The RISM entry for each publication lists the names of all the composers found in the source. Blackburn's catalogue, with its list of concordant sources for each piece in MS 1070, was a helpful tool in this search for the earliest dated sources; Lowinsky, 511-19.

¹⁵Smijers, 1:1.

¹⁶One of Josquin's most famous motets. It also exists in arrangements for six and eight voices. Perhaps one of the composer's earliest works, as it is found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154 from ca 1476. Fallows, 73.

¹⁷Smijers, 7: 21.

¹⁸Petrucci, *Motetti de la corona libro tertio*, 1519².

¹⁹Edition in Edward Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 4: no. 42; and Smijers 7: 42.

²⁰Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 42.

²¹Smijers, 3: 59.

²²Petrucci, *Motetti C*, 1504¹.

# 32 Factum est autem cum baptizaretur ²³	Pre 1504 ²⁴	204/ 102v	hand 3
# 38 1. Huc me sydere ²⁵ 2. Felle sitim	1501-03 ²⁶	242-49/ 121v-25r	hand 2
# 39 1. Homo quidam fecit cenam ²⁷ 2. Venite comedite	1503-12 ²⁸	250-55/ 125v-28r	hand 2

Jean Mouton (ca 1459-1522)

Jean Mouton, a French court composer, was from a village called Holluigue (Haut-Wignes) near Boulogne in northern France on the English Channel. In 1477, when he was about eighteen years old, Mouton gained a position as a singer and teacher of religious subjects in the Notre Dame church of Nesle (north of Paris near St. Quentin). In 1483, now as a young priest, he was promoted to chapel master. Several years later, in 1500, Mouton took a position as *maître des enfants* in the largest church in the region, the Cathedral of Amiens. The following year, September, 1501, he assumed another leading appointment as a teacher of choirboys, this time in southeastern France in the collegiate church of St. André in Grenoble.²⁹

²³Smijers, 3: 70.

²⁴Petrucchi, *Mottetti C*, 1504¹.

²⁵Smijers, 6:11.

²⁶Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 9126.

²⁷Smijers, 5: 147.

²⁸Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 42.

²⁹Mouton, who spent much of his life as a teacher, was the mentor of Adrian Willaert, a leading composer of the next generation.

By the middle of 1502, Mouton left the church, apparently without permission. He was possibly enticed away by Anne of Brittany who was in Grenoble in the end of June 1502. Mouton was in the service of Queen Anne in the first decade of the sixteenth century, but, since records are lost, the exact year she retained him is unknown. However, if Mouton were in the queen's chapel in the early 1500s, which is likely, then he would have known Josquin, who was at the French court, at least in 1501 and 1503.

Mouton became one of the Anne of Brittany's favorites; in 1509 she personally helped him acquire a position as canon at St. André in Grenoble. After Anne's death in 1514, Mouton was engaged by her husband, Louis XII, and then the succeeding king, Francis I. As an official court composer a great deal of the time, he was commissioned to write music for important events. He may have composed the motet "Christe redemptor, O rex omnipotens," with its prayer for a queen's fertility, for Louis and Anne early in their marriage. "Non nobis Domine" was written for the birth of Renée, the second daughter of the queen and king; "Quis dabit oculi" was for Anne's death; and "Exalta Regina gallie, Jubila mater Ambasie" is addressed to Francis I's mother, Louise of Savoy. Mouton probably attended the famous 1520 "summit meeting" between Francis I and Henry VIII known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.³⁰ The chapel prospered during the reign of Francis I with Mouton as a leading composer.

Mouton's fame went beyond the French court. He was highly admired by Pope Leo X (a Medici, elected in 1513) and possibly accompanied Francis I to a conference with Leo in Bologna in 1515. Other Italians, too, held Mouton in great

³⁰The Field of Cloth of Gold was a summit meeting held near Calais between the courts of France and England. The event was more one of ceremony and display than politics. The kings Henry VIII and Francis I brought lavish possessions and many musicians from the royal households to the site.

esteem, including Alfonso d'Este and his wife, Lucrezia Borgia. Along with other Estensi, they were in close contact with the composer.³¹

When Compère died in 1518, Mouton assumed his benefice at the church of Saint Quentin. Mouton died on October 30, 1522, and was buried at Saint Quentin.³²

Next to Josquin, Mouton is represented by the most pieces in MS 1070, that is, by nine compositions, eight copied by hand 1, one by hand 2, as follows:

#4 1. In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum 2. Propter hoc dimittet ³³	Pre 1518 ³⁴	24-29/ 12v-15r	hand 1
#5 1. Laudate deum in sanctis eius 2. Quia cum clamarem ³⁵	Pre 1514 ³⁶	30-35/ 15v-18r	hand 1
#6 1. Queramus cum pastoribus 2. Ubi pascas ubi cubes ³⁷	Pre 1521 ³⁸	36-41/ 18v-21r	hand 1

³¹William F. Prizer, "North Italian Courts, 1460-1540" in *The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 149.

³²On Mouton, see Josephine Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953); Steven Bonime's dissertation on Anne and her chapel, "Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music, an Archival Study" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975); Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 191-246; and Howard Mayer Brown, "Jean Mouton" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 12: 656-660.

³³Edition (unpublished) in Shine, I: 383-90.

³⁴Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19.

³⁵Antico, *Mottetti libro primo*, 1521³.

³⁶Petrucchi, *Motetti de la Corona libro primo*, 1514¹.

³⁷Edition in Martin Picker, ed., *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 97-105.

³⁸Antico, *Motetti libro primo*, 1521³; Bologna, Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, MS A. 38, 1512-27; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina MS 46, ca 1508-27. *Census-Catalogue*, I: 85, IV: 50.

#12 Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te ³⁹	Pre 1521 ⁴⁰	68-69/ 34v-35r	hand 1
#17 1. Sancti dei omnes orate pro nobis ⁴¹ 2. Criste audi nos	Pre ca 1500-04 ⁴²	94-101/ 47v-51r	hand 1
#19 1. In illo tempore maria magdalene 2. Dic nobis maria ⁴³	ca 1515-18 or before ⁴⁴	110-15/ 55v-58r	hand 1
#23 [Gaude Barbara beata, summe pollens] ⁴⁵	Pre 1514 ⁴⁶	144-45 72v-73r	hand 1
#28 1. [Maria virgo semper laetare] ⁴⁷ 2. [Te laudant angeli]	Pre 1519 ⁴⁸	174-81 87v-91r	hand 1
#40 Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini ⁴⁹	1508-10 ⁵⁰	256-59/ 128v-30r	hand 2

³⁹Edition in Shine, II: 832-33.

⁴⁰Antico, *Motetti e canzoni libro primo*, [1521]⁶.

⁴¹Editions in Smijers, 20: 27. Paul Kast, ed., *Jean Mouton: Fünf Motetten, zu 4 und 6 Stimmen* in *Das Chorwerk*, vol. 76 (Wolfenbüttel: Moseler, 1959), 15-24. Shine, II: 785-97.

⁴²Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica de Duomo, MS 2267, ca 1500; Petrucci, *Motetti C*, 1504¹. *Census-Catalogue*, II: 153.

⁴³Edition in Picker, *Andrea Antico*, 365-73.

⁴⁴Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q. 19, ca 1518. Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationbibliothek, MS 18825, 1515-34. *Census-Catalogue*, I: 73; IV: 110.

⁴⁵Edition in Shine, I: 303-13.

⁴⁶Petrucci, *Motetti de la Corona libro primo*, 1514¹.

⁴⁷Edition in Pierre Arraignment, *Treize Livres de Motets Parus chez Pierre Attaignant*, ed. Albert Smijers (Les Ramparts, Monaco: Edition de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1973), I: 82. Shine, II: 480-89.

⁴⁸Petrucci, *Motetti de la Corona libro secondo*, 1519¹.

⁴⁹Edition in Shine, I: 157-61, *secunda pars* of "Caeleste beneficium."

⁵⁰This work appears as the *secunda pars* of Mouton's "Caeleste beneficium" in a 1514 publication, Petrucci, *Motetti de la Corona libro primo*. However, it is independent in MS 1070, in MS Pepys 1760, and MS Royal 8 G. vii, and it is widely separated from the *prima pars* in Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Palatini MSS, 1976-1979. Shine 152-61; Braithwaite, 45. The text concerns expectant mothers (invoking St. René), and as it was most certainly written for Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, it seems to date near the time of the birth of their daughter Renée in 1510. Shine 15, 71, 163. Braithwaite, 47.

Antoine Brumel (ca 1460-ca 1515)

Antoine Brumel was an eminent and highly praised French composer, primarily of sacred music. He is first listed as a singer at Chartres in 1483 and later as chapel master of St. Peter's in Geneva, a position he held from 1486 to 1492. While on leave from St. Peter's, 1489-90, Brumel visited the court of the Duke of Savoy at Chambéry. His whereabouts for the five years after 1492 are unknown, but by 1497 Brumel reappears as a canon at the Cathedral of Laon.

In the following year, the grand Notre Dame Cathedral of Paris retained Brumel as *maître des enfants* and canon, posts he kept from 1498 to 1500. In June, 1501, Brumel returned to the court of Savoy at Chambéry and remained there for over a year as a singer. His last known position was at the Este court in Ferrara of Duke Alfonso I, where he was hired to replace Obrecht, who had died of the plague the previous year. Brumel began his duties in Ferrara in 1506 as *maestro di cappella* and remained until the chapel was disbanded in 1510. It is usually assumed that Brumel died a few years later.⁵¹

Brumel is represented by three pieces in MS 1070 in hands 1, 4, and 3:

#13 Sub tuum presidium confugimus	1503-09 ⁵²	70-71/ 35v-36r	hand 1
#29 Sicut lilium inter spinas ⁵³	Pre ca 1515 ⁵⁴	184-85/ 92v-93r	hand 4

⁵¹On Brumel, see Craig Wright, "Antoine Brumel and Patronage at Paris," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981) 37-60; and Barton Hudson "Antoine Brumel" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 3: 377-81.

⁵²A copy of this work is found in the manuscript Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1760, apparently a French source that dates from 1503-09, and in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX, 58, a book copied in Florence ca 1515. *Census-Catalogue*, I: 128-29, 216.

⁵³Edition in Lowinsky, *Medici Codex*, 4: no. 7.

#30 1. Que est ista que processit 2. Et sicut dies verni	ca 1515 ⁵⁵	188-91/ 94v-96r	hand 3
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Loyset Compère (ca 1445-1518)

Loyset Compère, born probably in Hainault, was a member of the court chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan. In 1486 he is listed as a *chantré ordinaire* at the French court and in 1494 King Charles VIII granted him French nationality. Compère accompanied the king on the Italian campaign of 1495 to Casale Monferrato, where an Estensi tried to acquire his works for the Ferrara court, and then to Rome. The composer later appears as a musician in Cambrai and Douai, where he held distinguished positions while still maintaining contacts with the French court. He spent the last years of his life in St. Quentin, where he had held a canonical benefice since at least 1491.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Published in Antico, *Motetti*, 1520¹, but Brumel's death ca 1515 provides the *terminus post quem*.

⁵⁵Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX, 58, ca 1515. *Census-Catalogue*, I: 216.

⁵⁶On Compère, see Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère, c. 1450-1518: Life and Works*, Musicological studies and documents, 12 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964); and Joshua Rifkin and Barton Hudson, "Loyset Compère" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 4: 595-98.

Three works in MS 1070 are by Compère, in hands 2 and 3:

#24 1. Paranympus salutat virginem 2. Ecce virgo decor ⁵⁷	1500-05?, before 1512 ⁵⁸	156-59/ 78v-80r	hands ⁵⁹ 2, 3
#25 1. Profitentes unitatem veneremur trinitatem 2. Digne loqui de personis ⁶⁰	Pre 1504 ⁶¹	160-65/ 80v-83r	hand 3
#26 1. O genitrix gloriosa mater dei spetiosa 2. Maria mater gratie ⁶²	1474-75, Pre 1502 ⁶³	166-69/ 83v-85r	hand 3

Antoine de Févin (ca 1470-ca late 1511, early 1512)

Févin was a French composer, probably born in northern France in Arras (south-southwest of Lille). He may have left his hometown around 1490. At some time, he was ordained a priest. Févin was associated with the court of Louis XII from at least 1507, when the king, who was in Italy, requested that a Févin chanson be sent to him in order to impress the court women. The composer may have written his most famous piece, “Sancta Trinitas unus deus” (#41 of MS 1070),

⁵⁷Edition in Loyset Compère, *Opera omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 4: 39-40.

⁵⁸See Finscher, *Life and Works*, 201. Finscher reports that “Paranympus” was composed not long before 1512, but in the chronology on p. 255, he places the work in Compère’s Sixth Period, 1500-05. Since the Sixth Period dates are the same as the Fifth Period dates, it seems possible that the Sixth Period dates are a typographical error and should be later.

⁵⁹Hand 2 prepared the first page of the work, and hand 3 provided the remaining three pages.

⁶⁰Edition in Compère, *Opera omnia*, 4: 41-44.

⁶¹Petrucchi, *Mottetti C*, 1504¹. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 42, ca 1503-12. *Census-Catalogue*, IV: 47. Finscher places this work in the composer’s Fifth Period, 1500-05, 255.

⁶²Edition in Compère, *Opera omnia*, 4: 29.

⁶³Finscher, 254, suggests this is from Compère’s Second Period. Petrucci, *Mottetti A*, 1502¹. See Finscher, *Life and Works*, 202.

while in the service of King Louis.⁶⁴ Févin is believed to have held positions as a singer in the royal chateaux of Orléans and Blois. He died at the latter location.

His brother Robert, too, was a musician of Louis XII.⁶⁵

Févin was highly regarded by his contemporaries, including his colleague Jean Mouton, who wrote a chanson in honor of the composer upon his death.⁶⁶

Févin may have known Josquin personally, since both were apparently active at the French court. Moreover, Févin composed a parody mass on Josquin's "Ave maria...virgo serena" (above #10).⁶⁷

Févin is represented by two works, copied respectively by hands 1 and 2, in MS 1070:

#16			
1. Tempus meum est ut revertar ad eum	1500-06 ⁶⁸	84-91/ 42v-46r	hand 1
2. Viri galilei aspicientes			

⁶⁴There was a wide distribution of this work during the Renaissance. It survives in twenty-seven sources that can be found in England and throughout Europe, including Spain, Poland, and Denmark, and it was transcribed for both lute and keyboard. Edward H. Clinkscale, "The Complete Works of Antoine de Févin" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1965), 148-49.

⁶⁵Antoine de Févin's brother, Robert, was perhaps a chapel member at Savoy around 1500, and he may have had some contact with Margaret of Austria, who resided in Savoy from 1501 to 1507.

⁶⁶"Qui ne regrettroit" published in Antico, *Motetti novi e chanzoni franciose*, 1520³. Clinkscale, 17.

⁶⁷On Févin, see Bernhard Kahman, "Antione de Févin, a Bio-bibliographical Contribution," *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 153-62; 5 (1951): 143-55; Clinkscale, "The Complete Works"; John F. Spratt, "The Masses of Antoine de Févin" (Ph. D. diss., Florida State University, 1960); Howard Mayer Brown, "Antoine de Févin" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 6: 515-17; and Edward Clinkscale, ed. *Les Oeuvres Complètes d'Antoine de Févin* (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1980).

⁶⁸A *terminus post quem* of 1512 can be derived from Févin's date of death. Clinkscale, "The Complete Works," 199-200, places both pieces in the composer's middle to late period (without providing specific dates). Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 44, ca 1503-12. *Census-Catalogue*, IV: 48.

#41 Sancta trinitas unus deus	1498-1506 ⁶⁹	260-63 130v-32r	hand 2
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Pierrequin de Thérache (ca 1465-after 1526)

Pierrequin de Thérache was a French composer, less traveled, more provincial than the other composers represented in MS 1070: he held one position for thirty-five years, from 1492 to 1527, *maître des enfants* at the chapel of the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy in northeast France. Nevertheless, Thérache's works were known in Paris. His motet "Verbum bonum et suave" (#14 in MS 1070) survives in several sources associated with the French court, and the royal composer Mouton based a parody mass on it. Thérache's music was also known at the court of Portugal.⁷⁰

The only piece by Thérache in MS 1070 is the aforementioned "Verbum bonum et suave." It is copied by the early hand 1:

#14 Verbum bonum et suave ⁷¹	1503-09 ⁷²	72-75/ 36v-38r	hand 1
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⁶⁹Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, MS 454, ca 1500. MS Pepys, 1503-09. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiana C. VIII. 234, ca 1498-1503. *Census-Catalogue*, I: 18; I: 128; IV: 12.

⁷⁰There has been some speculation that Thérache was a singer in Louis XII's chapel, but this has not been substantiated. Stanley Boorman, "Pierrequin de Thérache" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 18: 762.

⁷¹Edition in Lowinsky, *Medici Codex*, 4: no. 12.

⁷²A copy can be found in MS Pepys 1760.

Jacob Obrecht (1457/8-1505)⁷³

Obrecht was a Netherlands composer, one of the most prominent of his day. He was probably born in Ghent in what is now northern Belgium. His father, Willem, was a burgess of the city and a member of a trumpeters' guild of St. Andrew. In the late 1470s, Obrecht may have worked in the private chapel of Bishop David of Burgundy and may have taught music to Erasmus as a boy. From ca 1479 to 1484, he was chorister at the Capitular Church of St. Gertrude in Bergen op Zoom. In July of 1484, Obrecht became master of the choristers at Cambrai Cathedral, but a year later he left, possibly on the urging of church administrators; they were displeased with his care of the choirboys and his questionable handling of church finances. Beginning in 1485, Obrecht worked for several years in Bruges at St. Donatian's Church, but he left for six months in 1487 to visit Duke Ercole d'Este in Ferrara. He was dismissed in 1491 and is next employed in 1492 at the Guild of Our Lady at Antwerp. In the years 1496-97, he is back at St. Gertrude's, in 1498, he returned to St. Donatian's in Bruges, and by 1501 he had moved back to Antwerp. In 1504, Obrecht went to visit Ferrara for a second time and died there within a year.⁷⁴

Obrecht is represented by one piece in MS 1070, written by hand 2:

⁷³Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 21.

⁷⁴On Obrecht, see Wegman. Also see Martin Picker, *Johannes Ockeghem and Jacob Obrecht: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Pub., 1988); Edgar H. Sparks, "Jacob Obrecht," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 13: 477-85.

#34 1. Alma redemptoris mater ⁷⁵ 2. Et stella maris 3. Tu que genuisti 4. Virgo prius 5. Sumens illud ave	Pre 1505 ⁷⁶	214-25/ 107v-13r	hand 2
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Claudin de Sermisy (ca 1490-1562)

Sermisy, an esteemed French composer of both chansons and religious pieces, was from the generation following that of the other known composers represented in MS 1070. He is first documented as a cleric at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in 1508. At some point he became a singer in Louis XII's personal chapel; he is listed as such in an account of the king's funeral in 1515. Sermisy was also in the service of Francis I and later Henry II. Like Mouton, he may have accompanied Francis I to a meeting with Pope Leo X in Bologna in 1515, where singers of both chapels celebrated Mass. He was probably at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520.⁷⁷

Sometime before 1524, Sermisy left Paris to become a canon at Notre-Dame-de-la-Rotonde in Rouen. Then, in 1524, he left this position and entered into service at the church of Cambron in the diocese of Amiens. Sermisy is listed in Paris again in 1532 as the *sous-maître* of the royal chapel. He remained in the service of French monarchs at least until 1554, and likely until his death.

Paris was apparently Sermisy's primary home; he is associated with the court, which was frequently in the city, and in 1533 he acquired a prized canonry at

⁷⁵Edition in Jacob Obrecht, *Werken van Jacob Obrecht*, ed. Johannes Wolf (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1968), 4: 157.

⁷⁶A *terminus post quem* of 1505 can be deduced, since this is the year of Obrecht's death.

⁷⁷Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 291.

the Sainte-Chapelle. Upon his death in 1562, Sermisy was buried in the lower chapel of the brilliant edifice.⁷⁸

Sermisy is represented by one work in the hand of scribe five:

#35 Jouyssance vous donneray ⁷⁹ text by Clément Marot (ca 1496-1544)	ca 1517 or after ⁸⁰	226-27/ 113v-14r	hand 5
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Unica and Anonymous Works

The following pieces are either *unica* or anonymous pieces. “Unicum” designates a unique, unattributed composition that survives in no source other than MS 1070. “Anonymous” designates a work that is unattributed in MS 1070 and can be found in at least one other source, also unattributed. There are eight *unica* and four anonymous works in MS 1070.⁸¹

⁷⁸On Sermisy, see Gaston Georges Allaire, “The Masses of Claudin de Sermisy” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1960); John T. Brobeck, “The Motet at the Court of Francis I” (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1991), a study that deals more with Sermisy than any other composer at the French court; and Robert Stevenson, “Claudin de Sermisy,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 17: 171-77.

⁷⁹Edition in Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 292. This piece is in Attaignant’s *Chansons nouvelles*, and the tenor is used as a basse danse in Thoinot Arbeau’s *Orchésographie*, 1589. Howard Mayer Brown, “The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530,” in *Chanson and Madrigal 1480-1530*, ed. James Haar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 49.

⁸⁰The poet who provided the text, Clément Marot, was not born until around 1496. Pauline M. Smith, *Clément Marot: Poet of the French Renaissance* (London: The Athlone Press, 1970), 2.

⁸¹Except for the first piece in MS 1070, “Forte si dulci stigium boantem,” which is published in Lowinsky, 521-28, editions of the *unica* and anonymous works are provided in Appendix B of this study.

UNICA:

#1 1. Forte si dulci stigium boantem ⁸² 2. Palas actea		2-9/ 1v-5r	hand 1
#3 Laudate dominum omnes gentes		20-23/ 10v-12r	hand 1
#7 O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve		44/ 22v	hand 2
#11 Fer pietatis opem miseris mater pietatis ⁸³		66-67/ 33v-34r	hand 1
#15 1. Maria magdalene et altera maria 2. Jesum quem quaeritis		80-83/ 40v-42r	hand 1
#18 1. Bona Dies per orbem lucessit 2. Pax vobis ego sum		102-09/ 51v-55r	hand 1
#27 1. O virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud 2. Filie Jerusalem		170-73/ 85v-87r	hands ⁸⁴ 3, 1, 2
#33 1. Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus 2. Gloria patri		206-13/ 103v-07r	hand 2

⁸²Edition in Lowinsky, 521-28.

⁸³The initial is missing in all the voice parts in MS 1070; but "Fer pietatis opem miseris" is the incipit of antiphons for the feasts of *Conceptio Mariae* and *Nativitas Mariae* as found in MS Paris, Bibiliothèque nationale, lat. 15181 and 15182.

⁸⁴Hand 3 copied the *prima pars*, hand 1 copied the *secunda pars* but without text on p.173/87r, and hand 2 provided the text on this page.

ANONYMOUS:

#20 1. Regina celi letare 2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	Pre 1520-30 ⁸⁵	116-23/ 58v-62r	hand 1
#36 Venes regres venes tous	Pre 1528 ⁸⁶	228-29/ 114v-15r	hand 5
#37 1. Popule meus quid feci tibi 2. Ego eduxi te mare rubrum 3. Ego eduxi te per desertum 4. Quid ultra debui	Pre 1540 ⁸⁷	234-41/ 117v-21r	hand 2
#42 Gentilz galans compaignons ⁸⁸	pre 1520 ⁸⁹	266-67/ 133-34r	hand 4

⁸⁵There is only one concordance with this, that of Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 760. Copied around 1520-30, this MS is also on paper with a similar staff height (1.5 cm) as part one of MS 1070. See *Census-Catalogue*, IV: 80.

⁸⁶Attaignant, *Trente et deux chansons musicales*, [c. 1528]⁵.

⁸⁷Nuremberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, MS 83795, ca 1539-48. *Census-Catalogue*, II: 254.

⁸⁸An edition is printed in Howard Mayer Brown, ed. *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 1963), 74-75.

⁸⁹Antico and Giunta, *Chansons a troys*, 1520.

CONTENTS AND HANDS:

A review and comparison of the composition dates of the pieces of MS 1070 to the scribal hands reveals the following. The music copied by hand 1 could have been composed anytime between the 1470s to 1515/20. Of the Josquin works in this hand, most were likely written in the decades before the turn of the century; one is among the oldest in the book. The Brumel, Thérache, and Févin pieces date roughly from around 1500-09 or earlier. The dating of the Mouton compositions is ambiguous, inasmuch as it relies largely on publications that were issued several years after the music was composed. However, as a whole, it would seem that scribe 1, a Renaissance scribe, prepared his/her copy in MS 1070 before 1510, possibly around 1500-05.

Hands 2 and 3 represent another layer of MS 1070, but one contemporary with hand 1's contributions. The Josquin pieces in these hands were composed around the same time as those in hand 1. The Mouton and Févin works in hands 2 and 3 were probably composed within the first decade of the sixteenth century, and, if "Adiutorium nostrum" was for an expectant Anne of Brittany (carrying the Princess Renée), then this provides a *terminus post quem* of 1510 (Renée's birthdate) and a *terminus ante quem* of 1499 (the year Anne wed Louis). Most of hand 3's contributions also exists in prints that are relatively early (1502, 1504, and the exception, 1521), and, according to Finscher, "O genitrix gloriosa" may date from even decades before, 1474-75. But Finscher too has determined that "Paranympheus," which bears the hands of both 2 and 3, is a late work of Compère's, perhaps composed no more than a few years before 1512.⁹⁰ In general,

⁹⁰Finscher, *Life and Works*, 201, 254-55.

the music copied by hands 2 and 3 is in the same style ⁹¹ and from the same time period as that of hand 1, and it seemingly was entered not more than a few years after scribe 1's work, at most.

Brumel's death ca 1515 provides a *terminus post quem* for one of the pieces copied by hand 4; the other by this scribe is found in a 1520 publication. Hand 5's contributions were composed the latest, probably from around 1517 or after. Three of the four pieces copied by hands 4 and 5 are French chansons—a somewhat unusual occurrence in the book, comprised mostly of motets. Both physical evidence and general dating support the probability that these are later layers, copied around 1517-20.

For a diagram of the hands of MS 1070 and relative contents, see Table 4.

⁹¹Almost all the works in MS 1070 are motets. For other motet sources, see E. Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet" in *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1979).

MS 1070 COMPOSITION LIST

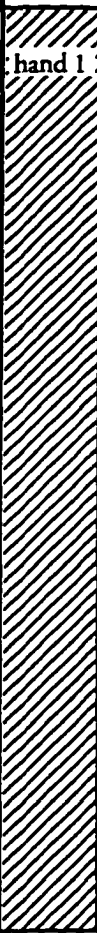
Section	Gathering	Hand	#	pp./ff.	Composer	Incipit	vcs
1-42 ff.1-21	1-12 ff.1-6			1/1r	BLANK		
			#1	2-9 1v-5r	unicum	1. Forte si dulci stigium boantem 2. Palas actea	4 vcs
	13-26 ff.17-13		#2	10-19 5v-10r	[Josquin]	1. Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo 2. Porcio mea	4 vcs
			#3	20-31 10v-16r	unicum	Laudate dominum omnes gentes	4 vcs
	27-42 ff.14-21		#4	24-29 12v-15r	[Mouton]	1. In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum 2. Propter hoc dimittet	4 vcs
			#5	30-35 15v-18r	[Mouton]	1. Laudate deum in sanctis eius, et audiat vox 2. Quia cum clamarem	4 vcs
			#6	36-41 18v-21r	[Mouton]	1. Queramus cum pastoribus 2. Ubi pascas ubi cubes	4 vcs
				42/21v	BLANK		

Table 4: Composers and Works with Gatherings and Hands

Section	Gathering	Hand	#	pps./ff.	Composer	Incipit	vcs
43-154 ff. 22-29	43-58 ff. 22-29	43/22r--- BLANK					
		hand 2	#7	44 22v	unicum	O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve	4 vcs S,T in 1070
		45/23r--- BLANK					
		hand 1	#8	46-53 23v-27r	[Josquin]	1. Stabat mater dolorosa 2. Eya mater	5 vcs
	#9		54-61 27v-31r	[Josquin]	1. Mittit ad virginem 2. Accede nuncia	4 vcs	
	59-74 ff. 30-37		#10	62-65 31v-33r	[Josquin]	Ave maria gratia plena ...virgo serena	4 vcs
			#11	66-67 33v-34r	unicum	Fer pietatis opem miseris mater pietatis	4 vcs
			#12	68-69 34v-35r	[Mouton]	Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te	4 vcs
			#13	70-71 35v-36r	[Brumel]	Sub tuum presidium confugimus	4 vcs
			#14	72-75 36v-38r	[Thérache]	Verbum bonum et suave	4 vcs
	75-90 ff. 38-45	76-79--- BLANK 38v-40r					
			#15	80-83 40v-42r	unicum	1. Maria magdalene et altera maria 2. Jesum quem quaeritis	4 vcs
			#16	84-91 42v-46r	[Févin]	1. Tempus meum est ut revertar ad eum 2. Viri galilei aspicientes	4 vcs
	91-106 ff. 46-53	92-93 --- BLANK 46v-47r					
			#17	94-101 47v-51r	[Mouron]	1. Sancti dei omnes orate pro nobis 2. Criste audi nos	4 vcs
			#18	102-09 51v-55r	unicum	1. Bona dies per orbem lucessit 2. Pax vobis ego sum	4 vcs
		107-120 ff. 54-60		#19	110-15 55v-58r	[Mouton]	1. In illo temporare maria magdalene 2. Dic nobis maria
	#20			116-23 58v-62r	anonymous	1. Regina celi letare 2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	4 vcs
	124-25--- BLANK 62v-63r						
	121-36 ff. 61-68			#21	126-35 63v-68r	[Josquin]	1. Preter rerum seriem 2. Virtus sancti spiritus
		#22		136-43 68v-72r	[Josquin]	1. Virgo salutiferi 2. Tu potis es prime 3. Nunc celi regina	5 vcs miss vcs/ text
	137-54 ff. 69-77		#23	144-45 72v-73r	[Mouton]	[Gaude Barbara beata summe pollens]	4vcs no stems /text
			146-54--- BLANK 73v-77v				
							147-50, ff. 74-75 mod. M watermark

Table 4 (cont. b)





Section	Gathering	Hand	#	pp./ff.	Composer	Incipit	vcs
155-70	155-70 ff. 78-85		155/78r— BLANK				
			#24	156-59 78v-80r	[Compère]	1. Paranympheus salutat virginem 2. Ecce virgo decora	4 vcs
			#25	160-65 80v-83r	[Compère]	1. Profitentes unitatem veneremur trinitatem 2. Digne loqui de personis	4 vcs
			#26	166-69 83v-85r	[Compère]	1. O genitrix gloriosa, mater dei spetiosa 2. Maria mater gratie	4 vcs
171-96	171-86 ff. 86-93		#27	170-73 85v-87r	unicum	1. O virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud 2. Filie Jersuaem	4 vcs
			#28	174-81 87v-91r	[Mouton]	1. [Maria virgo semper lactare] 2. [Te laudant angeli]	4 vcs msg text
			182-83 91v-92r BLANK				
			#29	184-85 92v-93r	[Brumel]	Sicut lilium inter spinas	4 vcs
187-204	187-204 ff. 94-102		186-87 93v-94r BLANK				
			#30	188-91 94v-96r	[Brumel]	1. Que est ista que processit 2. Et sicut dies verni	4 vcs
			#31	192-203 96v-102r	[Josquin]	1. Liber generationis 2. Salomon autem 3. Et post transmirationem	4 vcs
			#32	204 102v	[Josquin]	Factum est autem cum baptizaretur	4 vcs S, T incm -plete

Table 4 (cont. c)




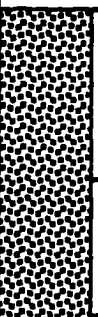
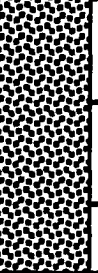

Section	Gathering	Hand	#	pp./ff.	Composer	Incipit	vcs	
205-64 ff. 103-32	205-18 ff. 103-09		#33	206-13 103v-07r	unicum	1. Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus 2. Gloria patri	3 vcs	
			#34	214-25 107v-13r	Obrecht	1. Alma redemptoris mater 2. Et stella maris 3. Tu que genuisti 4. Virgo prius 5. Sumens illud ave	3 vcs	
		219-34 ff. 110-17		#35	226-27 113v-14r	[Sermisy]	Jouyssance vous donneray	4 vcs
				#36	228-29 114v-15r	anonymous	Venes regres venes tous	4 vcs
				230-33--- 115v-17r	BLANK	232/116v, m a x i m		
	235-52 ff. 118-26		#37	234-41 117v-21r	anonymous	1. Popule meus quid feci tibi 2. Ego eduxi te mare rubrum 3. Ego eduxi te per desertum 4. Quid ultra debui	4 vcs	
			#38	242-49 121v-25r	Josquin	1. Huc me sydereo 2. Felle sitim	6 vcs no 1st alto	
		253-64 ff. 127-32		#39	250-55 125v-28r	[Josquin]	1. Homo quidam fecit cenam 2. Venite comedite	5 vcs
	#40			256-59 128v-30r	[Mouton]	Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini	4 vcs	
	#41			260-63 130v-32r	[Févin]	Sancta trinitas unus deus	4 vcs	
	265-68 ff. 133-34			264-65--- 132v-33r	BLANK			
#42			266-67 133v-34r	anonymous	Gentilz galans compaignons [hand/star watermarked paper]	3 vcs		

Table 4 (cont. d), Part Two of MS 1070

**PART TWO: HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF POSSIBLE OWNERS**

CHAPTER 4

ANNE BOLEYN'S YEARS AT THE COURT OF ENGLAND

The presence of Anne Boleyn's name is the most intriguing piece of evidence in MS 1070. It suggests that she may have had some connection with the music book.

Anne Boleyn, the consort of Henry VIII, the mother of the great queen regnant Elizabeth I, and an important and influential figure in the events of the momentous revolution that led to the English Reformation, was one of the most powerful yet controversial women in the history of western Europe. The daughter of a mere Kentish knight, she gained positions at an early age in magnificent continental courts, was reared among royalty, and exposed to the finest of Franco-Flemish culture. Then, as a sophisticated young woman, Boleyn caught the eye of King Henry VIII, who after six lengthy years of courtship accompanied by religious and political vicissitudes, crowned her queen of England. Following three years of marriage, Henry tired of his new consort. Although the queen's guilt was unlikely, she was tried and convicted of having committed adultery with five men, including her own brother. For her supposed crimes, Anne Boleyn was beheaded on the Tower Green in London, May 19, 1536. She thus gained the dubious distinction of being the first English queen to be executed.¹

¹Eric W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). These two studies, the most recent, thorough, and thoughtful histories of Anne Boleyn, provide the basis for this chapter. Of course, there are hundreds of accounts of Boleyn and her life, many dating from the sixteenth century, but she was such a controversial figure, the facts as presented in these works are often conflicting. Even Ives and Warnicke differ in many instances, in which event, I have chosen largely

BOLEYN AND HENRY VIII:

In late 1521, with Henry VIII having decided to ally himself with the Hapsburg dynasty, relations between England and France rapidly deteriorated compelling Sir Thomas Boleyn, an ambassador and English courtier, to request the return of his daughter Anne from the French court. The timing was opportune, for the girl's formal education was complete and her presence was required for a possible betrothal that would resolve a family dispute. Conflicting claims over the Irish earldom of Ormonde could be consolidated if Anne Boleyn, the daughter of the co-heir to the earldom, were to wed James Butler, the son of the other co-heir. Although discussion concerning the marriage continued until the Spring of 1523, no settlement was ever reached, and Sir Thomas's continentally trained daughter remained free to partake in courtly revels and palace intrigues.

It is possible that Henry VIII noticed young Anne in June 1520 at the Field of Cloth of Gold,² but it is more likely that she came to his attention in England in March of 1522 at a Burgundian pageant held to honor the ambassadors of the new Imperial ally. Anne and her sister Mary were two of eight Ladies participating in the entertainment held at York Place, the home of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Henry's chancellor and confidant.³ Henry was having an affair with Mary Boleyn, the wife of William Carey, a gentleman of his royal privy chamber, and he may

to follow Ives. Nevertheless, the following attempts to avoid detailed points of contention and present the generally accepted account of Boleyn.

²See Chapter 3, fn. 30.

³It is interesting to note that those dressed as Indian women in the pageant were given names such as *Disdain* and *Unkindness*. Anne and her sister Mary had virtuous roles: Anne played *Perseverance*, and Mary, *Kindness*. Since all of the other female performers were living at court, it is probable that Boleyn was as well. Perhaps she was just visiting her mother, Lady Elizabeth, or, as Warnicke suggests, it is more likely that she was one of the attendants of Mary, Henry VIII's sister and the former French queen, who played *Beauty* in the pageant. Anne apparently was in Katherine's service in 1527. Warnicke, 37-38, 40, 57. Doyle, III: 19.

have taken note of his mistress's sister, Anne.⁴ Young Boleyn, who had been back in England only a few months, now had the opportunity to display before the English court all of the talents she had cultivated for years on the continent. Besides the king, she probably caught the eye of two others: Wolsey's page and the young heir to the earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, and the great Tudor poet Thomas Wyatt.⁵

The earliest evidence attesting to a relationship between Boleyn and Henry VIII dates from five years later. A continental manuscript notes that on May 5, 1527, during a gathering held for French ambassadors, the king led a group into Princess Mary's chambers where a French viscount danced with Mary while the king danced with "Mistress Boulan who was brought up in France with the late queen [Claude]."⁶ In September, just a few months later, Henry, who was still married to Katherine of Aragon, applied for a dispensation from the pope that would permit him to marry Anne. The king, who yearned for a male heir, had been thinking about divorce since at least 1525 when he made his sole illegitimate child

⁴There is various evidence and speculation concerning the Mary/Henry liaison. One testament comes from Henry himself. In the late 1520s, when a member of Parliament accused the king of having affairs with Anne's sister and mother, Henry's telling reply was, "Never with the mother." John Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, comps. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London: Longman, 1862–1932), X: 450.

⁵Although the nature of Anne's relationship with the married Wyatt is unclear, she was seriously involved with and planned to marry Henry Percy sometime between the pageant and early 1524, when he eventually wed Lady Mary Talbot.

The traditional tale, as established in the 1550s by George Cavendish (Wolsey's gentleman usher and biographer) suggests that the king himself had become so smitten with Anne by the time of her Percy betrothal that he ordered the Cardinal to dissolve the union—an act ostensibly responsible for Boleyn's future distaste for Wolsey. But Ives notes that the Tudor sovereign likely objected to the Boleyn-Percy union because Anne's marriage settlement with Butler was still in negotiation, and, as it was linked with English-Irish relations, the union concerned Henry. Ives, 82.

⁶From a journal of May 5 in MS de Brienne, f. 80, "Fusmes chez la Royne ou l'on dansa, et M. de Touraine par le commandement ducict Seigneur Roy, dansa avec Madame la Princesse, et le Roy avec Mistress Boulan, qui a este nourrie en France avecque la feue Royne." See John Lingard, *A History of England*, 13 vols. (London: C. Dolman, 1844), VI: 118.

and son, Henry Fitzroy,⁷ duke of Richmond with precedence over every nobleman in the country.⁸ Henry's decision to dissolve his marriage was not without problems: Queen Katherine had been a devoted wife for some eighteen years, and she was a woman whose ancestry was steeped in royalty. But Henry's passion for Boleyn was overwhelming and became the final catalyst for an official break with his queen.

Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536) met Henry Tudor (1491-1547) in 1501 when Henry was but a ten-year-old English prince. Katherine, a Spanish princess, had come to the isle to wed Prince Arthur, Henry's older brother,⁹ but Arthur died in 1502, leaving the crown to Henry and leaving Katherine, his wife of only a few months, a seventeen-year-old widow. The ruling monarch, Henry VII, could not bear to see Katherine return to Spain and spoil a family union, for she was a great prize for the Tudors. A marriage to Katherine could strongly validate the Tudor claim to the throne, since Henry VII's position as heir to the house of Lancaster was suspect. It came through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, a descendant of John of Gaunt from his third marriage to his mistress. The lineage of the Spanish princess could be traced to both the first and second "royal" marriage of Gaunt, and thus, she was considered a legitimate descendant. In addition, Katherine was the youngest daughter of the powerful Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon and obviously an attractive consort for a future king interested in political alliances. It was decided, therefore, that Henry should take his brother's place as heir-apparent

⁷Henry Fitzroy was born in 1519 to Elizabeth Blount, the sister of Erasmus's friend Lord Mountjoy. The name "Fitzroy," Norman French for "son of the king," was the traditional surname of royal bastards.

⁸Ives, 100. Among others, Sir Thomas Boleyn was ennobled, as viscount Rochford, on the same day as Fitzroy. *Letters and Papers*, Add. I: 458.

⁹Arthur was nearly five years older than Henry.

and as Katherine's husband. Since marriage between a man and his former sister-in-law was considered incestuous in western Europe, Henry and Katherine sought and received a dispensation from the pope. Yet, because of their shrewd and suspicious ruling fathers, the union did not take place until after Henry VII died and young Henry (VIII) succeeded to the throne in 1509.¹⁰

Between 1510 and 1518, Katherine gave birth to several children, but all except Mary (b. 1511) were either stillborn or died in early infancy. By 1525, the king was publicly recognizing Mary as his heir, thus acknowledging that he and Katherine would have no further children.¹¹ Still, Henry was concerned about leaving a female sovereign, not because of Mary's lack of qualifications, but because subsequent matrimonial and dynastic uncertainties could plunge England into some form of anarchy.¹²

By 1527, Henry's commitment to Anne and discontent with a lack of sons culminated in his request to the pope for an annulment. Popes were often sensitive to the politics of marriage among royalty, and Henry knew that a plausible rationalization concerning why his marriage was invalid might easily persuade the Church to nullify the union. Henry's position was based on a passage in the bible, Leviticus 20, verse 21, that forebode: "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless."¹³ Granted, Henry had sought a dispensation from the pope in order to marry

¹⁰For more on Katherine of Aragon, see Chapter 6.

¹¹Warnicke, 53.

¹²No woman had succeeded to the English throne since the Empress Matilda in the twelfth century. Her failed attempt to claim the crown led to many years of civil war—a prospect that Henry feared if Mary were to succeed.

¹³Lack of male issue was not without precedence as a reason for divorce. The contemporary King Louis XII of France, who went on to marry Anne of Brittany, divorced his first wife on grounds of childlessness.

Katherine because of a similar objection, but his reasoning now was that his conscience was troubled, and the sudden deaths of his male issue could be explained only as Divine Judgment.¹⁴

Obstacles stood in Henry's way. Katherine adamantly opposed an annulment, both because of her devout Catholic faith and of her concern that such an act would call into question the legitimacy of Princess Mary.¹⁵ Moreover, the queen was popular with the English people, she was backed by a prominent court faction, and, above all, she was the aunt of the powerful Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who wanted Katherine to remain the king's consort and his cousin, Mary, one day to assume the throne.

Charles V was certainly in a position to influence Henry's plans. The son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Burgundy and King of Castile, and Juana the Mad (Katherine's sister), he wielded an overwhelming amount of power. The crowns of Spain (with the New World), Burgundy (with the Netherlands), and Austria were united under him, reducing all the monarchies of Europe, with the possible exception of France, to a relatively inferior position. Moreover, the Papacy was now effectively Charles's prisoner, since armies loyal to him had invaded Rome in the late Spring of 1527 forcing the Pope (Clement VII) to take refuge. Therefore, when Henry requested that his marriage with the Emperor's aunt be annulled, the pope, who could not afford to offend either of the sovereigns, astutely avoided coming to a decision.

¹⁴Of course, as contemporaries noted, by marrying Anne, the sister of a woman with whom he had had an affair, Henry was virtually creating the same situation for himself as the one he argued against Katherine. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, eds. G. A. Bergenroth, P. de Gayangos, G. Mattingly, M. A. S. Hume, and R. Taylor, 13 vols., 2 suppl. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1862-1954), Feb. 7, 1533, 1044, 587-88.

¹⁵The queen seemingly had always been less dissatisfied about having produced only a daughter. She herself was the daughter of a successful queen regnant.

Henry pursued his divorce with much money, time, and influence, but to no avail. Then, the ultimate plan emerged: establish an English church with the king at its head; have this church readily grant Henry a divorce; and appropriate for the monarchy the lands and vast wealth accumulated by the Catholic church in England. The king embraced the idea but could not wait for it to come to fruition. Boleyn had become pregnant, and Henry wished to assure the child's legitimacy.

In January 1533, well before the Act and Restraint of Appeals permitting the divorce became law, Henry and his expectant mistress secretly wed. By June the first marriage had been annulled, Anne was crowned, and in September Princess Elizabeth was born. The pope responded by excommunicating Henry—an act that troubled few. In 1534, the Church of England separated from the Holy Roman Catholic church, and Henry had himself declared the supreme head of the new institution, essentially God's deputy on earth.

Between the initial divorce appeal to the pope in 1527 and the marriage in 1533, Boleyn hardly remained passive. As the king's mistress, she had been living at court (along with Katherine until 1531) and was seldom far from Henry's side. Anne applied significant pressure on Henry to pursue the divorce both with her words and actions. She had learned from others, especially her sister, that no great benefit was to be reaped from being the king's lover.¹⁶ Anne thus maintained, at least for some time, that the relationship remain unconsummated until the two had wed.¹⁷

¹⁶Lingard, VI: 110.

¹⁷As Camden reports, "King Henry in the thirty eighth yeere of his age, did for her modesty, tempered with French pleasantnesse, fall deeply in love with [Anne]; and when he could not overcome her chastity, hee sought to make her his wife, in hope of issue male." William Camden (1551–1623), *The Historie of the Life and Reigne of the Most Renowmed [sic.] and Victorious Princess Elizabeth [Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha ad annum salutis M.D. LXXXIX, 1615]*, trans. Robert Norton (London: Benjamin Fisher, 1630), 1.

Well before becoming queen, Boleyn exercised her power over court affairs and politics, not hesitating to use her position to effect appointments and dismissals.¹⁸ In 1529, when Boleyn believed that Wolsey was trying to foil the divorce, she supposedly worked towards his downfall.¹⁹ And just seven weeks after the chancellor's removal, several in the anti-Wolsey faction were promoted, including Anne's ambitious father, the viscount Rochford, who was elevated to the earldoms of Ormonde and Wiltshire. At this point, Mistress Anne Boleyn, the daughter of a viscount, became Lady Anne Rochford, the daughter of an earl. Her brother George thus assumed the title Viscount Rochford and shortly thereafter became a nobleman of the privy chamber.²⁰

As for Anne's personal gains prior to becoming queen, the king lavished her with diamonds, rubies, clothing, and money, and gave her a farm at Greenwich and the manors of Coldkenynton and Hanworth in Middlesex. In September of 1532, she was ennobled in an elaborate ceremony as the marchioness of Pembroke, becoming the first female ever to be raised to the peerage, and granted additional lands in Wales.²¹ A month later, Boleyn accompanied Henry to Calais for a meeting with Francis I, where she was presented like a queen. In January, she

¹⁸Ives, 122-28.

¹⁹Warnicke, 86-87 disputes the traditional account concerning Anne's part in ousting Wolsey. Ives, 151, supports it.

²⁰Anne's brother George gained other prestigious appointments and served as one of the king's busiest diplomats, going to France on several assignments between 1533 and 1535. Doyle, III: 160-61.

²¹This appointment was to descend to her male heirs. The unprecedented act of bestowing such a title on a woman, making Boleyn a peer, was possibly done as insurance in case Anne became pregnant (by now she was apparently living with Henry); she could provide her child with a title should she not acquire that of queen. Also, such a title was thought helpful in raising her status so that she could accompany Henry to a meeting with the king of France. After she became queen, Anne gained enormous quantities of personal property, her own court with a wide range of servants and attendants, and control over substantial income and offices. Ives, 208-09. Nancy Brysson Morrison, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1964), 111-13.

finally found herself the king's consort—and expectant mother of the heir to the throne. It was a spectacular rise to power for one born of mere courtiers.

But the tables were soon to turn. Anne's long awaited child was not a son but a daughter, and, as such, hardly strengthened the new queen's position. Henry now had two living wives and two daughters, leaving confusion about which daughter had the better claim to the throne. Yet Anne's female issue, the baby Elizabeth, was not cause for extreme unease, since the queen was young and could have other children. Real concerns began to manifest themselves as Henry started to tire of Anne.

External hostilities intensified friction in the marriage. Domestic opposition towards Boleyn emerged from an English nation that had loved and respected Katherine. Boleyn was regarded as an adulteress, a "goggle-eyed whore," an instigator behind taxation, church intervention, and the executions of the beloved Thomas More and John Fisher. Naturally, Princess Mary refused to recognize "Queen" Anne and her bastard child, and she and her partisans applied significant pressure on the Boleyn faction. Abroad, King Francis I, who originally looked favorably on a French-reared queen who had displaced a Spanish enemy (i.e., Katherine), now sent word requesting that Mary fulfill an earlier treaty and marry the dauphin. France was obviously rejecting the legitimacy of Anne and her offspring: Mary was the heir, not Elizabeth.

Distaste for Anne reached a pinnacle at the outset of 1536. That January, the queen had new hopes of strengthening both her marriage and her international position: she was pregnant again and Katherine had recently died; now Anne was the only queen. But on the day of Katherine's burial, Boleyn miscarried—a son. That this was at least her second unsuccessful pregnancy since the birth of Elizabeth was disheartening, but this time the fetus reportedly was deformed.

Rumors developed that Boleyn was a witch. This was manifested in her forceful manner, her reluctance to obey her husband, a rudimentary sixth finger (supposedly present on bodies of witches) and, of course, her tragic miscarriages, especially that of a defective fetus.²² Henry declared that God was denying him a son because he had been seduced into marriage by witchcraft. These events, combined with the king's growing disenchantment with Anne and his ever burgeoning relationship with the virtuous, obedient Jane Seymour (a member of Anne's household), compelled the king to discard his second wife, along with several of those in her faction.²³

In the Spring of 1536, Cromwell set into motion a plan to create a coup against Boleyn. A secret commission inquired into unspecified treasonable practices of the queen, and at the same time the privy council met daily to review evidence concerning sexual indiscretions involving Boleyn and alleged paramours.²⁴ The first nominal lover to be arrested, on April 30, was a musician, a gifted keyboardist, dancer, and member of the privy chamber, Mark Smeton. The son of a carpenter, Smeton, who was about twenty-years old, was not a gentlemen but a commoner who had become something of a court pet. He was taken to Cromwell's home where he soon confessed to adultery with the queen, the only accused man to do so.²⁵

²²Incest was also closely associated with witchcraft, and the forthcoming accusation that Anne had had sex with her brother was clearly another sign. See Warnicke, 191-233, for a discussion of witchcraft and Boleyn.

²³Since Katherine was now dead, the removal of Anne would provoke no discussion about Henry returning to his initial wife or about the legitimacy of a following marriage.

²⁴Most of the evidence used against Anne came from members of her privy chamber. The queen was charged with having committed adultery with five men, presenting them with gifts and thus creating jealousy and unease in the royal household, afflicting the king with bodily harm (apparently impotence), and conspiring to induce his death. Warnicke, 204.

²⁵Martin Andrew Sharp Hume, trans. *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England...Written in Spanish by an Unknown Hand*, Madrid, 1659 (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1889), 55, 60-61. Ives, 367.

Henry Norris, the groom of stool and one who had been a close friend of the king,²⁶ was next questioned and then placed in the London Tower where Smeton had already been transferred. On May 2nd, Boleyn's brother George, the Viscount Rochford, was taken to the Tower, and later in the day the queen herself was interrogated and sent there. Subsequently, four others were imprisoned: gentlemen of the privy chamber, namely Sir Francis Weston, William Brereton, Sir Richard Page, and the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt. Except for Wyatt and Page who were soon released, the remaining men were accused of having sexual relations with the queen sometime between 1533 and 1535. Both grand juries and trial juries returned unanimous guilty verdicts. The five men were executed on May 17, 1536, the same day Anne's marriage with Henry was declared invalid by a court of ecclesiastical lawyers. Two days later, Henry obtained a special license to marry for a third time. On this day, May 19, Anne Boleyn was beheaded.

Hume's account of the confession tells of Cromwell and six men questioning Smeton about his ostentatious display of money: "'We know that four months ago you had nothing, for your father has hardly bread to eat, and now you are buying horses and arms, and have made showy devices and liveries such as no lords of rank can excel.' Then Cromwell called in two stout young fellows, and asked for a rope and a cudgel, and ordered them to put the rope, which was full of knots, round Mark's head, and twisted it with the cudgel until Mark cried out, 'Sir Secretary, no more, I will tell the truth,' and then he said, 'The Queen gave me the money'...then Cromwell ordered him a few more twists of the cord, and poor Mark overcome by the torment cried out, 'No more, Sir, I will tell you everything that has happened.'" The supposed Smeton/Boleyn affair is detailed in Hume, 55-59.

²⁶A prestigious and respected post, one in which the groom, by necessity became close to the king. His task "was to provide sanitary facilities for the king and attend the monarch when he relieved himself." Ives, 8.

CHARACTERIZATIONS AND MUSICAL ABILITY OF BOLEYN:

Anne Boleyn's physical appearance has been described in a variety of ways. No doubt, these accounts frequently reflect the subjective opinions that those of the past may have had concerning such a controversial figure. Thus she was a monster with a disfiguring goitre on her neck, a woman with "a sallow complexion," "a projecting tooth under the upper lip, and on her right hand, six fingers."²⁷ While others found her "very beautiful," with "beauty not so whitely as clear and fresh, above all we may esteem," and commented on her exquisite eyes and hair.²⁸ Perhaps the most accurate assessments are the more moderate ones: Boleyn was "not one of the handsomest women in the world"; she was "of middling stature, swarthy complexion, long neck, wide mouth, a bosom not much raised."²⁹ Unfortunately, no contemporaneous portraits of Boleyn survive, but many agree that a painting in the London National Portrait Gallery from the later sixteenth century is the most faithful representation (see Fig. 26).

²⁷Nicolas Sander (b. 1527), *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, ed. David Lewis (London: Burns & Oates, 1877), 25.

²⁸*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy (1527-33)*, eds. Rawdon Brown, G. Cavendish-Bentick, H. F. Brown, and A. B. Hinds, 38 vols. (London, 1864-1940), IV: 824. George Wyatt, "The Life of Queen Anne Boleigne," in *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish*, ed. S. W. Singer (London, 1827), 424.

²⁹*Ibid.*

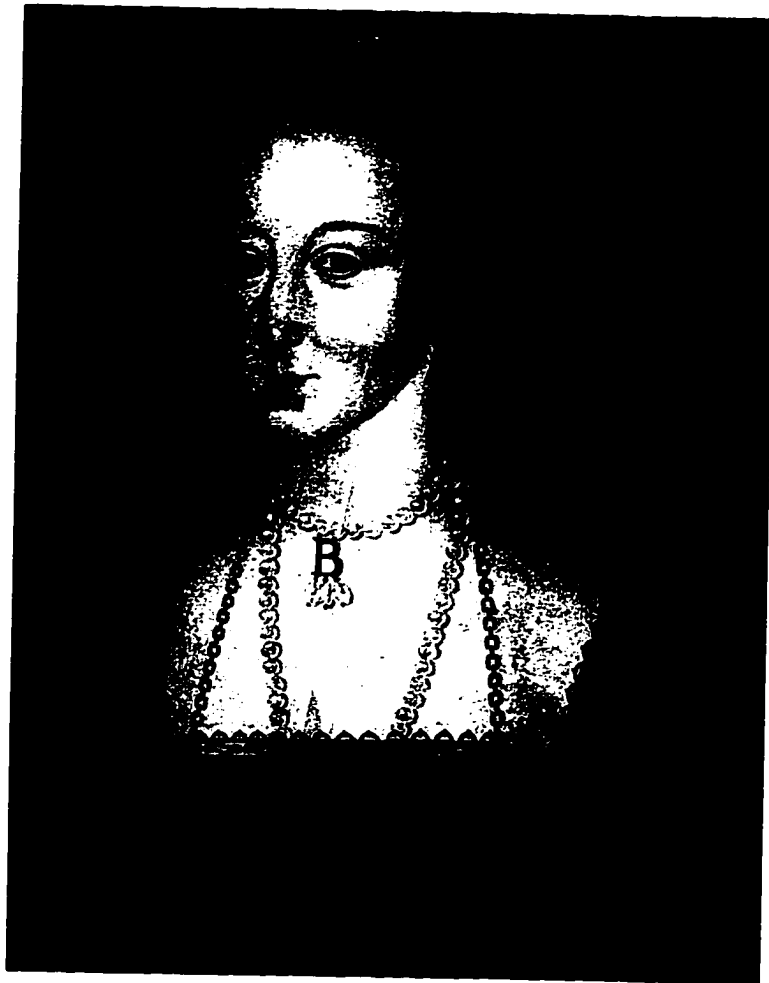


Figure 26: Anne Boleyn,
anonymous painter, National Portrait Gallery, London

It seems that Boleyn's ability to excite admiration rested not in her physical appearance, but with her manner. Most found her to be cultivated and intelligent. She is described as "very eloquent and gracious with reasonably good looks," or, as was noted by George Wyatt, the grandson of Thomas Wyatt (Boleyn's friend and possible lover):

This gentlewoman in proportion of body might compare with the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen of the court, albeit in beauty she was to many inferior, but for behavior, manners, attire and tongue she excelled them all . . . But howsoever she outwardly appeared, she was indeed a very willful woman which perhaps might seem no fault because seldom women do lack it, but yet that and other things cost her after dear.³⁰

Anne was undoubtedly gifted in the important accomplishments of courtiers—languages, conversation, dancing, theatrics—but she was perhaps best known for her prowess in music. Accounts reveal that she "knew perfectly how to sing and dance...to play the lute and other instruments."³¹ She was as "wise a woman endued with as many outward good qualities in playing on instruments, singing and such other courtly graces as few women of her time, with such a certain outward profession of gravity as was to be marveled at,"³² and Boleyn was recognized for her "plausible qualities, for such as one to delight in, for she could

³⁰George Wyatt (1554-1624), *The Papers of George Wyatt*, ed. D. M. Loades, 4th series: 5 (London: Camden Society, 1968), 141, 143.

³¹Lancelot de Carles, a contemporary Frenchman who went on to become the bishop of Riez, wrote an account in French metrical verse of Boleyn's trial and execution which includes information on her youth. The poem was printed as *Epistre contenant le proces criminel fait a l'encontre de la royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre* (Lyons, 1545). Lines 55-8. A copy can be found in London, British Library, Add. MS 40662. Lowinsky provides a section of it with some translation; Lowinsky, 503. See also Edward Herbert, Lord Cherbury, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (London: Thomas Whitaker, 1649), 161, 218.

Even Sander, 25, perhaps Boleyn's harshest critic, concurs that she could play "on the lute and was a good dancer."

³²William Thomas, *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. James Anthony Froude (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861), 70.

play upon instruments, dance &c.”³³ One of the courtiers of Francis I described her as such:

[Anne] possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sung, like a second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive. She likewise danced the English dances, leaping and jumping with infinite grace and agility. Moreover, she invented many new figures and steps, which are yet known by her name, or by those of the gallant partners with whom she danced them. She was well skilled in all games fashionable at courts. Besides singing like a syren, accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than king David, and handled cleverly both flute and rebec.³⁴

And Lord Herbert Cherbury (1583-1648), a careful historian, noted:

from her childhood, of that singular beauty and towardness, that her parents took all care possible for her good education. Therefore, besides the ordinary parts of virtuous instructions, wherewith she was liberally brought, they gave her teachers in playing on musical instruments, singing, and dancing; insomuch, that when she composed her hands to play, and voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance, that three harmonies concurred; likewise, when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belonged either to rest or motion.³⁵

Certainly, Anne’s musical ability contributed to the king’s attraction to her, since Henry himself was an ardent musician. Henry and his daughter Elizabeth I are often noted for their musical abilities, considered the most musical of all English royalty. But one might wonder if perhaps Boleyn was the most gifted in the Tudor family.

Her passion for music was rivaled only by her love for all that was French, for Boleyn was clearly a woman of style, continental style. A contemporary Englishman and supporter of Katherine’s during the divorce controversy penned some verses in 1558 regarding the young Anne Boleyn:

³³London, British Library, Sloane MS 2495, f. 2v.

³⁴From the memoirs of the count de Chateaubriant, in Agnes Strickland (1796-1874), *Lives of the Queens of England*, 8 vols. (London: George Bell, 1885), II: 571-72.

³⁵Herbert, 257.

At time of canvassing this matter so,
 In the Court (new entered) there did frequent
 A fresh young damsel, that could trip and go,
 To sing and to dance passing excellent,
 No tatches she lacked of loves allurements;
 She could speak French ornately and plain,
 famed in the court (by name) Anne Bullayne...³⁶

Boleyn read the bible in French, and Henry wrote most of his love letters to her in that language.³⁷ Several surviving images of Anne (like that of Fig. 26) portray her wearing a French hood. Indeed, at her coronation, the coronation of an English queen, she dressed in the French fashion and was accompanied by a procession headed by twelve servants of the new French ambassador.³⁸

To the end, Anne adhered to French customs. Female traitors were usually burned alive at the stake, but as an act of mercy she was granted a beheading, unique in that it was to be performed by a Frenchman. As a last consideration from the king, an executioner was imported from Calais who cut off Anne's head using the French method—that is, with a long sword while she was kneeling upright—rather than the more cumbersome English manner in which an ax is brandished while the prisoner's neck rests on the block.³⁹

Therefore, although there has been much dissent concerning the appearance and character of this queen of England, two points can be agreed upon: Anne Boleyn loved music, and she had a passion for French culture. There is little doubt

³⁶William Forrest, *The History of Grisild the Second: A Narrative in Verse of the Divorce of Queen Katherine of Aragon*, ed. William Dunn Macray (London: Whittingham and Wilkins, 1875), 52-53.

³⁷See also Chapter 7, The English Court.

³⁸Hall, II: 232-38.

³⁹*Letters and Papers*, X: 902, XI, 381, a docket of sums indicates that the executioner was from Calais and was paid for his reward and apparel 100crs. 23l. 6s. 8d.; see Ives, 401.

that such a person, reared on the continent, could have owned a Franco-Flemish music book and have performed Franco-Flemish music.

CHAPTER 5

ANNE BOLEYN'S YOUTH ON THE CONTINENT

TERMINUS POST QUEM OF "MISTRESS BOLEYN":

Anne Boleyn is associated with MS 1070 because of a notation on p. 157/79r: "M^{ris} A. Bolleyne" and her father's motto, "Nowe thus" followed by a musical symbol of three minims and a longa. The contents of this inscription suggests that it was not entered while Boleyn was queen of England. "Anne Boleyn" was the name attached to the girl at birth and she certainly used it throughout her life. Her neat signature, "anne boleyn," all lower-case letters, can be found in her correspondence to Wolsey (Fig. 31)¹ and others, but only until her marriage in 1533. Once Anne became a royal, she distinguishes herself with a big, sloppy, "Anne the Quene [sic]," scrawled across documents in margins, sideways, and so forth—the type of aloof mark warranted to those with extreme power.² Perhaps more so than many, Boleyn wanted to be known, addressed, and respected as royalty. As queen of England her name would not have been presented in a music book as Mistress Boleyn, particularly not with her father's motto. Anne had several of her own mottos while queen;³ that of her father represents an earlier stage in her life.

¹London, British Library, Cotton MS Vesp. F. xiii, f. 73. Published in George Warner, ed. *Universal Classic Manuscripts* (Washington: M. Walter Dunne, 1901), entry 9. The correspondence dates from shortly before her marriage.

²For instance, see the letters, London, British Library, Add. 19398, f. 22a (with hand/star watermark), and the holograph, 22b.

³See Ives, 90, 284-85, 290.

More importantly, after 1529, Anne does not use the lowly title “Mistress.” Her father, Sir Thomas, was raised to the English peerage on June 18, 1525, as Viscount Rochford, and then was elevated to two earldoms, Wiltshire and Ormond, on December 8, 1529.⁴ Because of this latter advancement, his children took the surname Rochford, and thus, Anne styled herself Lady Anne Rochford.⁵ Subsequently, when she herself was raised to the peerage in 1532, Anne was fancied the Marchioness of Pembroke. The simple title “Mistress” with the surname Boleyn would not have been employed after 1529 and certainly not after Anne became queen in 1533.⁶

Anne was “Mistress Boleyn” during three stages of her life: from her birth until 1513 when she went to Europe; from 1513-21, her continental years; and from 1521-29, her subsequent years back in England.

ANNE’S YOUTH:

Anne Boleyn was born a lady of the Tudor upper class, the child of Elizabeth Howard, the daughter of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and a leading English nobleman, and of Thomas Boleyn, the eldest son of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling.⁷ Anne’s father, ambitious and self-seeking, was a courtier, a position for which he was well suited. As Ives has noted, Sir Thomas (knighted in 1509) was a sophisticated man “...of some education, far and away the best speaker of French in the Tudor court, with Latin as well, and cultured enough to commission several

⁴Doyle, III: 159.

⁵See for instance, London, British Library, Cotton MS Vesp. F. xiii, ff. 109, 132.; Mary Anne Everett Wood (Green), *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), II: 74-75. *Letters and Papers*, V: 12.

⁶Although it was apparent that the title Mistress predated Boleyn’s years as queen, I am indebted to Warnicke, 249, for first bringing to my attention the specific terminus 1529.

⁷The traditional report is that Boleyn was from a family of London merchants. In actuality, largely because of the Howard connection, the Boleyns were nobles. See Ives, 1-21.

items from Erasmus.”⁸ Anne’s mother, too, was at court (in the service of Katherine of Aragon), as were Mary and George Boleyn, Anne’s siblings.⁹ The birthdates of the three surviving Boleyn children, Mary, Anne, and George, are in question, as is the sequence of their births: some believe that Anne was the elder sister, while others adhere to the customary account that Mary was senior. In any event, it is generally accepted that Anne was born either around 1500-01 or 1507 (see Table 5).¹⁰

An illuminating 1981 study by the art historian Hugh Paget established that it was not Mary, but Anne who left England in 1513, and that Anne’s initial continental experience was not in France as has been speculated, but in the duchy of Brabant of the Low Countries.¹¹ Paget’s findings are based on his detailed translation of a French letter written by Boleyn as a child (Fig. 27). An important aspect of the letter concerns its closing, which was believed to read (in translation), “Written at Hever (or alternatively Briare).” Consequently, it had been asserted that Boleyn wrote the letter while she was in England (Hever) or perhaps France

⁸Ibid, 11.

⁹George began his courtly life as a royal page.

¹⁰The 1507 date comes from the antiquarian William Camden who provided the marginal note “Anna Bolena nata M.D.VII.” in his 1615 *Annales*. The date 1501 is inferred from other sources, such as Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s 1649 publication, which states that Anne went to France in 1514 and returned to England when she was about twenty in 1521 or 1522. In 1585, Nicolas Sander reported that she went to France in 1514 when she was fifteen-years old. The dispute over the sequence of birth of the Boleyn children is directly connected with the discussions concerning Anne’s age and some of the events of her youth. Camden, 2; Herbert, 52, 122, 257; Sander, 6-17.

See also Retha M. Warnicke, “Anne Boleyn’s Childhood and Adolescence” in *Historical Journal* 28 (1985): 939-52. Warnicke believes that Boleyn was born in 1507, yet is the elder sister. Ives, 17-19, believes that she is the younger sister and was born in 1501; however, he acknowledges that most favor the later date.

¹¹Apparently Mary Boleyn also went to France, and sometime in her life she had an affair with King Francis I, but the events are not clear. *Letters and Papers*, X: 450, “[Anne’s sister, Mary] whom the French King knew here in France “per una grandissima ribalda et infame sopra tutte.”

(Briare). Paget showed that the correct reading should be, "Written at Veure," and that it was penned during a holiday with Margaret of Austria. In the Spring of 1514, Margaret was planning a summer vacation at La Vure (Veure, or in Flemish, Terveuren), a 700-acre park near Brussels with royal accommodations where she sometimes took her wards.¹²

Margaret was archduchess of Austria, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, and regent of the Netherlands. She knew Sir Thomas Boleyn well, because he was one of three envoys sent by Henry VIII in May 1512 to meet with her in order to discuss an alliance concerning French territorial expansion.¹³ After he had been at her court almost a year,¹⁴ Sir Thomas and the archduchess developed a friendly relationship, enabling the enterprising Englishman to gain a place for his daughter in the regent's household. Anne reached Margaret's home in Brabant at least by the spring of 1513.¹⁵ Here, she may have served as one of eighteen maids of honor, or, if Boleyn were a younger child (having been born in 1507), she may have been simply a resident. As Warnicke has explained, it was common practice for the offspring of courtiers to be raised in the household of patrons, sometimes continuing on in the service of the court. Sir Thomas, known for his charm, could have persuaded Margaret to accept the girl in either event.¹⁶

¹²See below. Hugh Paget, "The Youth of Anne Boleyn" in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 54 (1981): 163-66. It is now generally accepted that Anne Boleyn was at the court of Margaret of Austria from 1513 to 1514.

¹³"The Holy League" was the treaty under discussion.

¹⁴He remained at Margaret's court from June 26, 1512 till April 5, 1513; Paget, 164.

¹⁵Paget, 164-65; Ives, 23.

¹⁶See Chapter 6 below. Warnicke and others who hold to the 1507 birthdate of Boleyn suggest that she was a child resident. Warnicke, *Childhood*, 944.

That a position at the regent's palace was highly sought after is certain, for it essentially meant that Anne would be raised and educated alongside Margaret's four wards, the children of her deceased brother, Archduke Philip the Handsome of Burgundy, and Juana of Spain (Katherine of Aragon's sister), who ostensibly was suffering from mental illness. Thus, Anne's playmates were none other than future monarchs: Eleanor (b. 1499), later queen of Portugal and France; Ysabeau (b. 1502), later queen of Denmark; Mary (b. 1505), later queen of Hungary; and the future Holy Roman Emperor himself, Charles [V] (b. 1500).¹⁷ It may have been that Anne stayed in the residence of Margaret's nieces and nephew at the old imperial palace, which was across the street from the regent's Malines (Mechelen) household.¹⁸

It was Sir Thomas's objective that his daughter acquire continental manners, but he specifically wanted her to obtain a thorough knowledge of French, a language that was a noted accomplishment and mark of sophistication for a European courtier. In an undated letter, Margaret, who had taught Katherine of Aragon French,¹⁹ addressed Sir Thomas's concerns and revealed her delight with his daughter:

I have received your letter by Esquire Bouton who has presented your daughter to me, who is very welcome, and I am confident of being able to deal with her in a way which will give you satisfaction, so that on your return the two of us will need no intermediary other than she. I find her so bright and pleasant for her young age that I am more beholden to you for sending her to me than you are to me.²⁰

¹⁷In 1513 when Anne arrived at the court, she would have been either approximately six or twelve years old. Eleanor was about fourteen, Ysabeau, eleven, Mary eight, and Charles thirteen.

¹⁸Malines is north-northeast of Brussels.

¹⁹Eleanore E. Tremayne, *The First Governess of the Netherlands: Margaret of Austria* (London: Methuen, 1908), 30. Antonia Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992), 19.

²⁰Paget, 164-65; translated by Ives, 23.

Anne studied with the court tutor, Symonnet, and although her spoken French was progressing, early success in the written language was not apparent. After perhaps a year with the regent, Anne wrote to her father from Margaret's summer palace at La Vure (today Terveuren, outside of Brussels), but in a corrupted, childlike manner (see Fig. 27).²¹ The letter reads, in translation:

Sir, I find by your letter that you wish me to appear at court in a manner becoming a respectable female, and likewise that the Queen will condescend to enter into conversation with me. At this I rejoice, as I do to think that conversing with so sensible and elegant a princess will make me ever more desirous of continuing to speak and to write good French; the more so as it is by your earnest advice, which, I acquaint you by this present writing, I shall follow to the best of my ability. Sir, I entreat you to excuse me if this letter is badly written: I can assure you the spelling proceeds entirely from my own head, while the other letters were the work of my hands alone; and Semmonet tells me he has left the letter to be composed by myself that nobody else may know what I am writing to you. I therefore pray you not to suffer your superior knowledge to conquer the inclination which you say you have to be of service to me; for it seems to me you are certain...where, if you please, you may fulfill your promise. As to myself, rest assured that I shall not, ungratefully, look upon this office of a father as one that might be dispensed with; nor will it tend to diminish the affection you are in quest of (?), resolved as I am to lead as holy a life as you may please to desire of me: indeed my love for you is founded on so firm a base that it can never be impaired. I put an end to this my lucubration after having humbly craved your good-will and affection.

Written at Hever [sic; actually Veure] by
Your very humble and obedient daughter

Anna de Boullan ²²

²¹This letter, which was possibly written in the summer of 1514, is an important part of the debate concerning Anne's age. Was it written by a girl of seven or of thirteen? See Warnicke, *Childhood*, 939-52. The letter is located in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 119.

²²See above. Prior to Paget's findings, it was believed that the queen mentioned in this undated letter was Mary, Queen of France, Henry VIII's sister, but Paget asserts that it would have been Katherine of Aragon; Paget, 166-67. This translation is from Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History* (London, 1827), 2nd ed. (New York: AMS Press, 1970), II: 11-12.

[illegible]

Figure 27: The earliest extant letter from Anne Boleyn, written to her father in 1514, Cambridge. Corpus Christi College, MS 119

The experiences available to Anne at Margaret's court, the cultural heart of northern Europe, went far beyond the mere learning of French. The Malines palace was an international center for books, painting, and music and a frequent stop for some of the greatest artists, writers, and humanists of the age. Music was perhaps the most significant art in Margaret's household,²³ and it is probable that Anne, like the royal charges, studied with the well-known musician and organist Henry Bredemers. She also likely learned to play the clavichord and lute at Malines, along with the other children. Without doubt, this is where Boleyn began to acquire the highly developed musical skills that she later displayed at the court of England.

By August 1514, the betrothal of Mary Tudor (Henry VIII's sister) to Margaret's nephew, the Archduke Charles, had been canceled, and the teen-aged English princess, recognized as one of the great beauties of the day, was now to wed the decrepit fifty-two-year-old French king, Louis XII.²⁴ An embarrassed Sir Thomas Boleyn had no choice but to recall his daughter from Margaret's court, for Anne was now needed as a French-speaking attendant/companion to the next queen of France.

Louis XII was the widower of Anne of Brittany (d. Feb. 1514) and the father of two girls, Renée (b. 1510) and the disfigured Claude (b. 1499), the recent bride of her cousin Francis. After only a few months of marriage to Mary, Louis XII died, and Francis succeeded to the throne.²⁵ Mary returned to England in the Spring of 1515, but Boleyn, who was apparently liked by the royal sisters, "was

²³On the importance of music at Margaret's court, see Chapter 7.

²⁴On Mary Tudor, see Chapter 6.

²⁵Since French Salic law prohibited the succession of the crown to a female, Claude could not assume the throne.

detained by Claude, who later became queen.”²⁶ Anne would have been close to at least one of the girls in age, since she was either fourteen or eight years old, while Claude was approximately sixteen, and Renée five. Renée would go on to remember Boleyn. Over forty years later, in 1561, when she was the duchess of Ferrara and a woman in her fifties, Renée pulled aside the English ambassador to France and disclosed that she was quite fond of his queen, Elizabeth I, whose mother had been her acquaintance as a girl.²⁷

Living at the French court may have been similar to living at the Malines palace, although the former was not as splendid, and Claude’s activities were much less public than Margaret’s. Still, Anne kept up with her musical exercises and became a fine dancer and singer, as well as an accomplished performer on the lute and other instruments. She proved to be gifted in needlepoint and fluent in French. Anne was a quick study, “who at an early age had come to court, listened carefully to honourable ladies, setting herself to bend all her endeavor to imitate them to perfection, and made such good use of her wits that in no time at all she had command of the language.”²⁸ Boleyn must have traveled with Queen Claude’s entourage to various palaces: the St. Germain-en-Laye palace near Paris, Plessis-sur-Vert in Brittany, the chateau of Amboise, and Claude’s favorite home at Blois. Boleyn certainly encountered the learned of the day, including court musicians and

²⁶De Carles. See also Herbert, 161, 218.

²⁷*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth; Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, eds. Joseph Stevenson, A. J. Crosby, A. J. Butler, S. C. Lomas, and R. B. Wernham, 23 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863-1950), III: 870, Jan. 10, 1561; the English gentleman recounts, “There was another cause which worked in her [Renée] a good will towards the Queen [Elizabeth I]; there was an old acquaintance between the Queen’s mother [Anne Boleyn] and her, when the former was one of the maids-of-honour of the duchess’s sister, Queen Claude.”

²⁸De Carles, trans. Ives, 31.

artists. It is quite possible that she met Leonardo da Vinci, who, around 1516, was a pensioner of the king residing at a manor near Amboise.

One of the grandest events while Anne was on the continent was the Field of Cloth of Gold, held in June, 1520. Boleyn certainly was at this summit meeting in Calais between the courts of France and England, since both of her parents, Lady Elizabeth and Sir Thomas, attended, as probably did her siblings.²⁹ The English wished at least to equal the French in splendor at the event, and thus Henry VIII brought his finest musicians, twenty gentlemen of the Royal Chapel, which included the famed William Cornysh and Robert Fayrfax. Boleyn would have been familiar with the French musicians at the event, such as Pierre Mouton, who played the organ during an elaborate mass, and Claudin Sermisy.³⁰ It is possible that the royal organist in Henry VIII's service was Benedict de Opitiis, previously of Antwerp.³¹ Several trombone, sackbutt, fife, and cornett players were also present.³²

Anne's guardian, Queen Claude, who was accompanied by many French women, may have required her services. Apparently, the queens of France and England were seated near each other but had some difficulty conversing and needed interpreters, and Boleyn would have been well suited for such a role.³³ Also,

²⁹Joycelyne G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 195, 202. Anne would have seen her father prior to this, since he served as ambassador to France until 1519 and visited the court frequently.

³⁰Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 291. Both of these musicians are represented by works in MS 1070

³¹Opitiis was a contributor to a manuscript with a Franco-Flemish appearance believed to have been in England since the Renaissance, that is, London, British Library, MS Royal 11 E. xi. See Chapter 7.

³²Russell, 195, 202, 172-74.

³³Russell, 124-26, 195, 202. Granted, Katherine of Aragon spoke French. It was taught to her in Spain years before by her then sister-in-law, Margaret of Austria, and she was known to have used the language at the time of her divorce when speaking to a legate. However, Katherine was a Spanish woman who had been in England for decades, and her French was possibly rusty.

because of her advanced pregnancy, Claude possibly relied on her English attendant for other duties as well.³⁴ On several occasions, Claude left the more lively duties to King Francis's mother, Louise of Savoy, and sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême/Alençon, who no doubt Anne also assisted. Both of these brilliant women frequently overshadowed the mousy Claude and were more involved in entertaining and affairs at court (including those of governing) than the queen, in any event.

An important relationship that is sometimes overlooked by historians (along with Anne's relationship to Margaret of Austria) and other times ardently debated, is Anne's friendship with Marguerite d'Angoulême (1492-1549), the duchess of Alençon and later queen of Navarre (after 1527). The historian Marian Andrews, who based her study on contemporary chronicles, asserts that at the Field of Cloth of Gold, Anne Boleyn was in Marguerite's service: "with the King of France was his wife, Queen Claude, and his sister, Marguerite of Alençon; and amongst the ladies in attendance upon her [Marguerite] was Anne Boleyn."³⁵ Of course, having been in the service of Queen Claude, Boleyn would have known both Marguerite and Louise of Savoy relatively well. Claude's mother- and sister-in-law were never far from court, and both were quite close to the queen. Boleyn may even have lived with Marguerite sometime while she was in France,³⁶ which would not have been inconceivable, since Anne could have easily gone from the service of one's chamber to another's.

³⁴Claude was continually pregnant. In 1524, just a few years after Boleyn returned to England, the French queen died at the age of 25 after having given birth to seven children in seven years.

³⁵Marian Andrews, [pseud. Christopher Hare], *Charles de Bourbon* (London: John Lane and Bodley Head, 1911), xi, 93.

³⁶Warnicke, 23, agrees. Ives disagrees that Anne resided with Marguerite, although he does acknowledge that the two had a friendship; Ives, 40-41.

The belief that Boleyn was under Marguerite's patronage comes from several sources, one of the most significant being a history of Queen Elizabeth written by William Camden. He states:

This Thomas [Boleyn], amongst other children, begat Ann Bollen; who in her tender years was sent to France, and there waited first on Mary of England, wife to Lewis the Twelfth, and then on Claudia of Bretagne, wife to Francis the first, and after her death on Margaret of Alençon, who was a prime favourer of the Protestant Religion then springing up in France. Being returned into England, and admitted one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, and being now twenty-two years of age, King Henry, in the thirty-eighth year of his age [1529], did for her modesty, mixed with a French grace and pleasantness, fall deeply in love with her; and when he could not overcome her chastity, he sought to make her his wife, in hopes of issue male by her.³⁷

There are some flaws in Camden's account. He does not mention Anne's time in Brabant (although this is overlooked by most), and there is a major error concerning the death of Claude. She was alive when Boleyn left France in 1521; Claude did not die until three years later, in 1524. However, Camden must have had reason to believe that Boleyn was in the service of Marguerite. From his account alone, it can be deduced that there was at least a connection between the two.

In addition, the mindful seventeenth-century scholar Herbert of Cherbury reported that "after the death of Louis the Twelfth, she [Anne] did not yet return with the dowager, but was received into a place of much honor with the other queen, and then with the duchesse of Alençon, sister to Francis, where she stayed."³⁸

And Anne herself verifies a close relationship. In 1535, when she was queen, Boleyn sent a message to Marguerite, part of which expressed that her

³⁷Camden, 1-2.

³⁸Herbert, 257.

“greatest wish, next to having a son, was to see you [Marguerite] again.”³⁹ For a woman whose entire future and that of her friends and family relied upon the birth of a son, such a comment is indeed testament to a stalwart friendship. And earlier in 1532, when Boleyn was but a mistress preparing to accompany Henry to a Calais meeting with Francis I, she apparently had Henry send word to Francis asking that Marguerite, queen of Navarre (Francis’s sister), accompany the French king to Calais rather than his second wife, Eleanor. Eleanor had been one of Anne’s former playmates at Margaret of Austria’s court, but her presence was out of the question here, since she was the niece of Katherine of Aragon. As a letter of July 21, 1532, notes, regarding John de Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne: “The greatest pleasure that the King [Francis I] can do to this King [Henry VIII] and Madame Anne is to write to Du Bellay to ask the King [Henry] to bring Madame Anne with him to Calais, so that they may not be there without ladies, but then the King [Francis] must bring the queen of Navarre [formerly Marguerite d’Alençon/Angoulême] with him to Boulogne. Will not say where he heard this, as he has sworn not to. [It has been speculated that the request came originally from Anne.] The King [Henry] does not wish the Queen [Eleanore] to come, for he hates the Spanish dress, “tant qu’il luy semble veoir un diable.” [He would as soon see the devil.] He [Henry] would be very glad if the King [Francis] would bring the Princes [sic, Marguerite] to Boulogne, where they and the ladies would stay.”⁴⁰ Marguerite, however, declined to play hostess for her brother.⁴¹

³⁹*Letters and Papers*, IX: 378; from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr., MS 3014.

⁴⁰*Letters and Papers*, V: 1187. Also see Warnicke, 115.

⁴¹Although she may have maintained an outward appearance of support, Marguerite apparently frowned upon Henry VIII’s latest marriage plans. “. . . M^{me} D’Alanson (Alençon) highly disapproves of the King’s conduct in this affair, and of his attempting to marry this Anne, nay that she has made the king of France come round to her opinion on the subject, and also that at the late

It may also be telling that Anne and Henry received a book from the French court comprised of a lengthy poem presumably by Clément Marot, a poet who was in the service of Marguerite from 1519, at about the same time Anne would have been close to the duchess, or perhaps also in her service.⁴² This book was made specifically for the English royalty, or at least for Anne (it includes her name and Henry's, Anne's device, her coat of arms) and is either unique or a variation of another Marot poem. It mentions both King Francis I, "François nostre roy," and his sister, "La precieuse et bonne Marguerite." The Marot, Marguerite, and Anne connection in this book may be another piece of evidence supporting a lengthy relationship between the two women. (Later, Queen Elizabeth I, Anne Boleyn's daughter, would prove to be a great admirer of Marguerite's works and translate her *Mirror of a Sinful Soul* from French to English. Elizabeth possibly knew of her mother's association with the duchesse d'Alençon.)

Boleyn also had a bilingual book in her possession, London, British Library, Harley MS 6561, produced before she assumed the throne (1533) but after she was created marchioness of Pembroke on Sept. 1, 1532. The text derives from the work of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, and others in his coterie, writers who were closely associated with Marguerite d'Angoulême/Alençon.⁴³

Marguerite was the author of mystical and neo-platonic literature and a supporter of religious reform, and she and those in her circle (such as Marot) may

conferences of Calais king Francis reproached Henry for his conduct." It is likely that Marguerite was not supportive of the union because of political rather than personal reasons. Letter of Feb. 7, 1533, in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, IV: 1044.

⁴²London, British Library, MS Royal 16 E XIII.

⁴³See J. P. Carley, "'Her moost lovyng and fryndely brother sendeth gretyng': Anne Boleyn's Manuscripts and Their Sources," to be published in *The Illustrated Book in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Michelle Brown and Scot McKendrick (London: British Library, 1997).

have introduced the young Boleyn to some new ideas concerning religion.⁴⁴ Moreover, the duchess was quite active in plays and musical productions and likely exerted a musical influence on Boleyn as a girl.

In 1521, Anne was recalled to the English court for the proposed Butler-Boleyn betrothal. She had spent approximately seven years in France and one in the Low Countries—almost eight on the continent, possibly over half of her lifetime. During her sojourn, she observed the great rulers of Europe, lived among them in wealth and grandeur, and consequently acquired a taste for northern European style and music. (See Fig. 28.)

EVENTS IN BOLEYN'S LIFE	Boleyn's age if:	
	b. 1507	b. 1501
1513: in Malines with Margaret of Austria	6	12
1514: at the French court	7	13
1521: return to England	14	20
1522: involvement with Henry Percy	15-16	21-22
1527: discussion of marriage with Henry VIII	20	26
1533: marriage to the king and coronation	26	32
1533: birth of Elizabeth	26-27	32-33
1536: beheaded ⁴⁵	29-30	34-35

Table 5: Events and Boleyn's Possible Age

⁴⁴Maria Dowling reports that "the first to credit Margaret [Marguerite] with implanting and nurturing Anne's reformist tendencies" was "Sir Roger Twysden, writing in the seventeenth century." Maria Dowling, "Anne Boleyn and Reform," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35/1 (June, 1984): 30-46.

⁴⁵In 1527 Henry was thirty-six years old. He married Jane Seymour in 1536 when she was twenty-seven and he was forty-five.

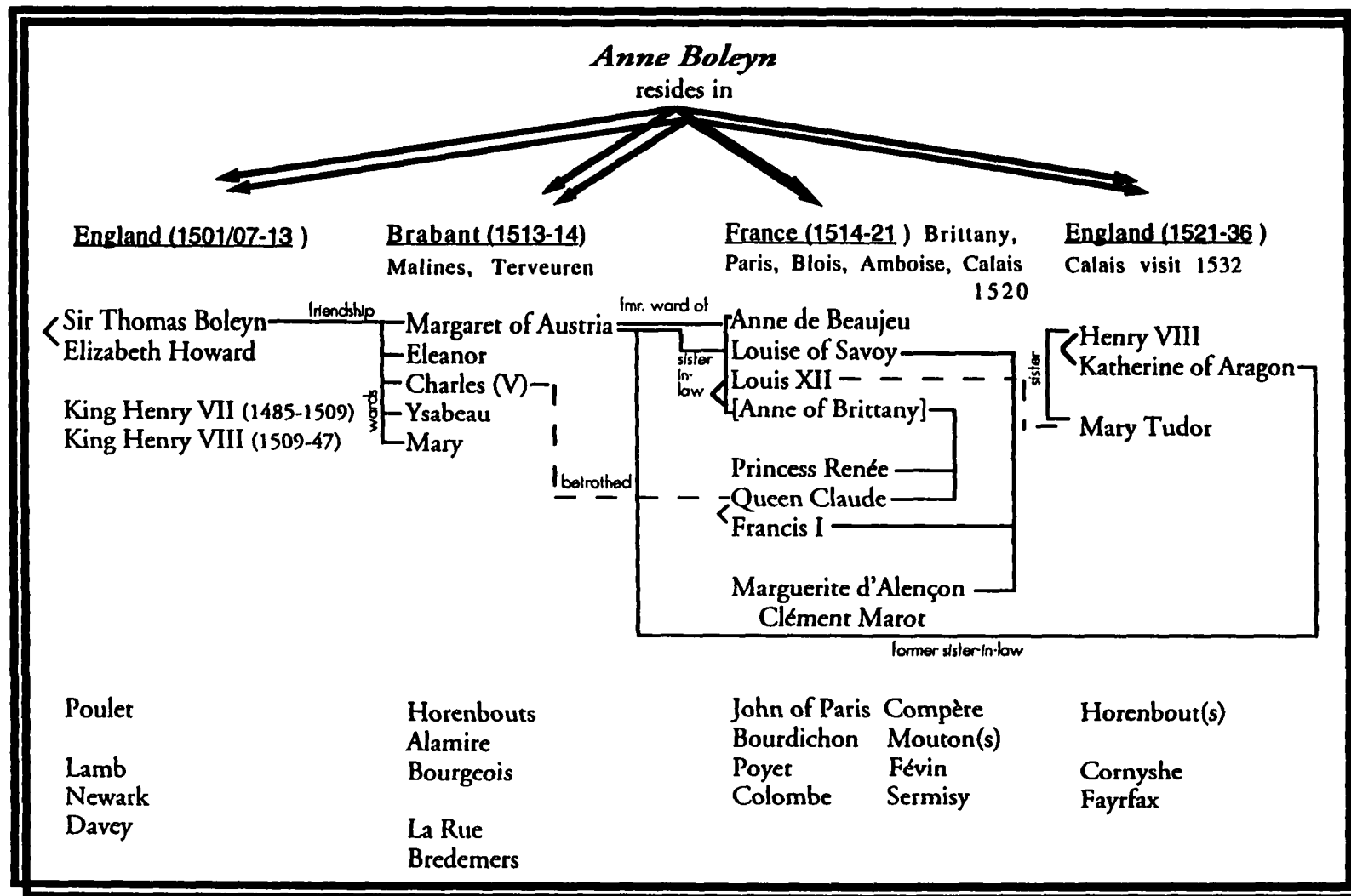


Figure 28: Boleyn's Residences and Significant People of the Courts

CHAPTER 6

POSSIBLE OWNERS OF MS 1070

One might argue that the Boleyn designation in MS 1070 is a casual comment added by some later performer who felt that the *Compère* piece (with which it appears) evoked a notorious queen. But, as has been discussed, the note does not refer to Anne while she was royalty, it refers to a non-famous Boleyn and is accompanied by a musical message¹ and her father's personal motto, one not commonly known throughout the decades. The entry is unique to a person of lowly rank, a girl not famous in the least, and it is this uniqueness that indicates that the mark is contemporary. Whoever had Anne's name inserted, if it were not Boleyn herself, must have known her well—and before 1529.

It seems highly unlikely that MS 1070 was made specifically for Anne. It was certainly not prepared for her while she was queen. Knowing of Boleyn's struggle for, and almost obsession with rank, it would have been most offensive, indeed, unheard of, for someone to have given her a music book with the mere name "Mistress A. Boleyn." And it would have been ludicrous for Queen Anne to have commissioned the book for herself with the lowly designation. Yet, before 1529, when the title would have been appropriate, Boleyn was not in a position to have had ordered a manuscript, both because of its expense and her status. Prior to her involvement with the king around 1526, she was either a common child

¹See Chapters 8 and 9 for an interpretation of the message.

companion or a Ladies' attendant, and not of a standing to have such a book dedicated to her.²

The appearance of the name designation, too, reveals that MS 1070 was not prepared for Anne. It is placed not in the front of the volume, but on an inner page that does not introduce a gathering or a section. Although such positioning is not unheard of in dedicated manuscripts—for instance, a coat of arms and motto (of Bouton) are on inner pages of the Chigi Codex³—the appearance of the “Bolleyne” note beneath an altus part is odd. In addition, the name entry is not representative of those found in commissioned manuscripts. It is rather small, modestly penned, bears no coloration or illumination, and is in a hand otherwise foreign to the music book.

But Boleyn does have an important connection to MS 1070, for her name was not haphazardly scribbled in, but is placed with some intention. It is not like the casual, illegible writing on p. 232/116v. It is more carefully entered than the maxim on this page,⁴ as well as the later-added notes by Smith and Squire.⁵ Thus, the entry is not that of a dedicatee, yet neither is it an offhanded jotting. It falls somewhere in between. MS 1070 was apparently prepared for someone other than Boleyn, but the intentional nature of the note suggest that she owned the book. It would seem that it was given to her later as a gift.

²Ives, 108, gives 1526 as the date of Henry's courtly pursuit of Anne. Of course, from 1526 to 1529 when she was involved with Henry, she could have received a book made specifically for her. But as is discussed in the following chapter, the content and appearance of MS 1070 offer little evidence that it was produced in England in the late 1520s.

³Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234. See Chapter 7.

⁴See Chapter 2.

⁵See Chapter 1.

As has been mentioned, the title “Mistress Boleyn” would have applied to Anne as a young girl in England (1501/07-13), as a child in the house of Margaret of Austria (1513-14), as a servant of the French court (1514-21), or during her initial years back in England (1521-29); see Fig. 28. Assuming that Anne owned MS 1070, it is improbable that she acquired it in the earliest stage, 1501/07-13. She lacked position, had no direct ties to courts and patrons, and was very young, no doubt without the education or the ability to appreciate and perform such music. The entry was most likely penned either sometime during Anne’s eight years in Europe, 1513-21, or during the following eight years in England, 1521-29.

But, even during these years, who would have cared enough about this relatively inconsequential person to have added her name and presented her with a book of such sophisticated music? It could have come from her father, Sir Thomas. Although there is no substantial evidence to suggest that he owned or commissioned such music manuscripts, as an ambassador to France and the Netherlands, Thomas Boleyn had the opportunity to acquire MS 1070 and then have the girl’s name entered.⁶ He was well liked at the courts in which he served: those of Henry VIII, Margaret of Austria, and Francis I. Thomas had been close to Henry since the king was but a young English prince. He was on exceptionally friendly terms with Margaret of Austria; indeed, he was “the only one of the English ambassadors with whom she chose to engage in humorous banter.”⁷ The French court was quite pleased with his services, and he is referred to in several letters from this court. As Louise of Savoy, the powerful Queen Mother, wrote to Henry VIII in 1520, “Sir

⁶On Thomas Boleyn, see William H. Dean, “Sir Thomas Boleyn: The Courtier Diplomat: 1477-1539” (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 1987).

⁷*Ibid.*, 41.

Thos. Boullain has executed his charge very virtuously.”⁸ But Anne’s father was certainly not the original owner of MS 1070.

Another possible presenter could have been Henry VIII. “Mistress Boleyn” was involved with the king as early as 1526, so it is plausible that within the first few years of their courtship (until 1529), he relinquished one of his several musical possessions to woo his reticent lover. (Such a likelihood is discussed in the subsequent chapter dealing with Henry’s court and a comparison of MS 1070 with his other manuscripts.)

It may be that Anne received the music book from either of the French kings Louis XII or Francis I at whose courts she lived. However, Anne was in France only a few months before Louis died, and she was such a meaningless person among those in his palace that he would have had little reason or occasion to have known her well. As for Francis, Anne spent several years in his kingdom in the service of the women of his family, so he obviously became aware of her. In a letter of 1522 in which Francis is complaining about the English, he writes: “Englishmen frequently rob my subjects . . . I think it very strange that this treaty of Bruges was concealed from me . . . that the English scholars at Paris have returned home, and also the daughter of Mr. Boullan.”⁹ When he was dauphin, Francis may have had an affair with Mary Boleyn, Anne’s sister,¹⁰ but there is no substantial evidence supporting any more than a courtly relationship between him and Anne. (More on the French kings and their courts can be found below and in the subsequent chapter.) This is not to say that these Frenchmen had no association

⁸*Letters and Papers*, III: 664. See also entry 663.

⁹*Ibid.*, 1994.

¹⁰This is according to a later report claiming to have come from Francis. It is still in question whether Mary was ever at the French court. See Chapter 5, fn 11 above. Ives, 34.

with MS 1070 prior to its coming to Anne, for they are connected with people with whom she lived and served, that is, the ranking Ladies of the court.

Young Boleyn lived in a culture that was largely divided according to gender. It was standard practice during the Renaissance for royal women to rear and supervise girls and young women at their palaces. In England, Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, governed the daughters of Edward IV and later her grandchildren (including Mary Tudor) and their playmates. At the court of Anne de Beaujeu, duchesse de Bourbon, all of her Ladies and most of the daughters of nobility received her lessons, including a young Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria. Anne of Brittany's French court was known as one of "poetry and ladies," a beautiful school where she "trained them well and wisely and all were patterned after their queen," and where she took a great interest in promoting their marriages. Boleyn, of course, spent several years under Queen Claude's supervision. Citing Brantôme, Strickland reports:

Claude was always surrounded by a number of young ladies, who walked in procession with her to mass, and formed part of her state whenever she appeared in public. In private she directed their labours at the loom or embroidery-frame, and endeavoured, by every means in her power, to give a virtuous and devotional bias to their thoughts and conversation. The society of gentlemen was prohibited to these maidens.¹¹

Thus a young Anne Boleyn worked and resided among women and other children. That the higher nobles would become close to those in their care,

¹¹ Mary Agnes Cannon, *The Education of Women During the Renaissance* (Westport CT: Hyperion Press, 1916), 138-39. Mayer, 7. The well-born ladies of the court went so far as to affect Anne of Brittany's deformity, a limp. Walter C. Richardson, *Mary Tudor: The White Queen* (London: Peter Owen, 1970), 23-27, 137. Seigneur de Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, *Illustrious Dames of the Court of the Valois Kings*, trans. Katharine Prescott Wormeley (New York: Lamb, 1912), 30. Anne of Brittany had a traveling altar that had been presented to her by the pope and at which she was licensed to perform marriages on little notice. Millicent Garret Fawcett, *Five Famous French Women* (London: Cassell, 1905), 65. Strickland, 571. Brantôme can be associated with the French court of Francis I. His mother was a lady-in-waiting to Marguerite d'Angoulême/Alençon. A woodcut depicting the French court of Francis at Mass clearly shows sex segregation, the women being gathered together independently from the majority, the men; see Freedman, 179.

especially their maids, was inevitable, since they were together so often. The royal women cared about the daughters of the courtiers, and their own high-ranking daughters, who frolicked alongside those of lesser stature, often becoming their dear friends. Therefore, when inquiring as to who could have both possessed a book such as MS 1070 and could have been close to Boleyn before 1529, one must turn to the significant patrons of the courts with whom she lived.

Boleyn's maiden years were somewhat unusual in that she was in the service of several famous and powerful royal women from both England and Europe.¹² The following includes a biographical sketch of those whom she served: Margaret of Austria, Mary Tudor, Claude of France, Katherine of Aragon, and possibly Marguerite d'Alençon.¹³ It also includes information on Louise of Savoy and Anne of Brittany. Louise was one of the most influential people in France during Anne's years in that realm; moreover, she was the mother of Marguerite and guardian of Claude, and she lived and traveled with them both extensively—and therefore with Boleyn. Anne of Brittany was deceased by the time Boleyn came to court, but, through an examination of her life, one is introduced to the people and situations of French royal life prior to the time of her daughter, Claude, and King Francis. Such may be of significance, since a large portion of MS 1070 seems to date from the generation before that of Boleyn (ca 1500-05, with a later additions from ca 1517, see Table 6) and may have come from the French court. Moreover, if Anne did receive MS 1070 from one of these illustrious figures, then the manuscript could

¹²One might contrast Anne's career with that of her mother, Elizabeth, who spent a great deal of her life in the service of one woman, Katherine of Aragon.

¹³Claude lived a rather uneventful life. Owing to her quiet demeanor, numerous pregnancies, and premature death, she was unable to play much of a role at court. Therefore, a separate section on Claude is not provided, rather, she is discussed in the preceding chapters on Boleyn and the subsequent sections that deal with her family members.

have passed through the hands of any one of them, since their lives were so tightly entwined (see Fig. 29).

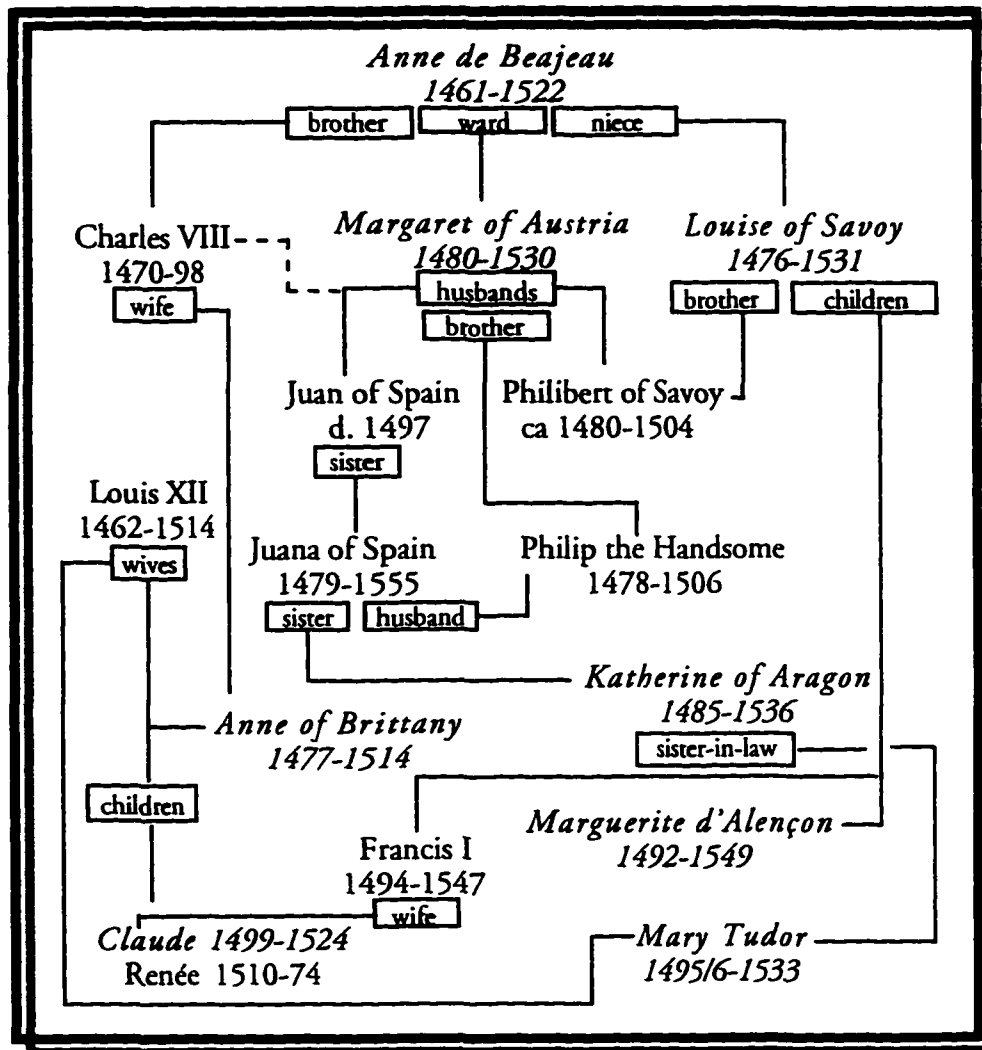


Figure 29: The Relationship of Women of the Renaissance Courts

ROYAL WOMEN OF ENGLAND

If Anne acquired MS 1070 in England between 1521 and 29, presenters other than Henry VIII or her father could have been Katherine of Aragon—Anne

was one of her ladies-in-waiting around 1527; or Mary Tudor—whom Anne served in 1514 and perhaps again in 1522 and 1523.

KATHERINE OF ARAGON:

Katherine was a Spanish princess of unusual heritage, having had two reigning monarchs as parents.¹⁴ Born in 1485, the last of five children, she was reared under the tutelage of her mother, Isabella of Castile. The Castilian sovereign, who herself had received little formal education, assured that her daughter studied the classics and law along with music, dancing, and drawing.¹⁵

Years of negotiation led to Katherine's betrothal to Prince Arthur of England, son of Henry VII and heir to the throne. Katherine finally arrived in England in 1501 at the age of sixteen to solemnize the union, but less than five months after the marriage, Arthur died. It was soon decided that Katherine should wed her husband's younger brother, Henry (VIII). Still, a second wedding was not imminent. Controversy concerning Katherine's dowry and international politics kept Henry VII vacillating with regard to whether his surviving son should wed the Spaniard or take a different wife, such as Eleanor of Austria or Marguerite d'Angoulême.

In the meantime, Katherine remained a virtual prisoner in England, subjected to Henry VII's petty persecutions. She wrote pitiful letters to her father telling of how she had to ask the king for money and food.¹⁶ Following her

¹⁴On Katherine of Aragon, see Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (New York: Vintage Books, 1941), and Fraser.

¹⁵Mattingly, 8-9.

¹⁶In one instance, Katherine remarked that, in the six years since she had left Spain, she was able to buy a mere two dresses and only because she sold her bracelets to pay for them. Fraser, 42, 44. Mattingly, 61, 65.

mother's death in 1504, Katherine hoped that, if not her father, then perhaps her sister Juana, the archduchess of Burgundy, might in some way assist her. However, an unscheduled visit to England in January 1506 by Juana and her husband, Philip the Handsome, kindled no sisterly rapport, and Katherine's anxiety increased.¹⁷ One consolation was a deep friendship that developed between the Iberian princess and her future sister-in-law, the young Mary Tudor. Despite the ten-year difference in their ages, the two were drawn together by mutual interest and position. It is believed that Katherine of Aragon even gave Mary lessons on the lute.¹⁸

In June 1509, Henry VII died. Six weeks later Katherine wed young Henry (VIII)—after having spent seven years in her wretched state.¹⁹ A golden period followed in which Queen Katherine was treated as an honored and respected consort. She proved to be a devoted wife, one interested in all aspects of Henry's welfare, including the cleaning of his linen and the embroidery of his shirts. Katherine conceived at least four times before she turned thirty, with no success; then on February 18, 1516, Princess Mary was born.²⁰ Although the child was not male, the king was pleased upon news of the birth, saying that sons would follow.

But as time passed, Katherine's marriage became strained. Her several pregnancies had taken their toll on her figure: she was visibly not as glamorous as her husband, an athletic man six years her junior. In November, 1518, another child was born lifeless and not long thereafter, in June of 1519, the king's mistress,

¹⁷Mattingly, 79-80.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹For a report on some of Katherine's hardships, see Mattingly, 85-86.

²⁰Mary would eventually become the Catholic queen of England known as "Bloody Mary" because she burnt so many at the stake, largely on account of their religious beliefs.

Elizabeth “Bessie” Blount, bore him a baby boy, Henry Fitzroy. Optimism concerning a legitimate prince gradually waned. Henry took a new lover, Mary Boleyn. By Katherine’s fortieth birthday in 1525, her health had deteriorated. Around this time, six-year-old Fitzroy was publicly exalted and created duke of Richmond, duke of Somerset, and earl of Nottingham, an act that angered Katherine because it suggested that she would bear no more children. It also called into question Princess Mary’s future as heir.²¹

The following year, Henry embarked on a relationship with young Anne Boleyn (Mary Boleyn’s sibling), who may have been a lady-in-waiting to the king’s sister, Mary Tudor, from around 1522.²² Katherine would have known Mistress Anne, perhaps well, since Mary Tudor often visited the court with her Ladies and resided with the royal household. Moreover, Boleyn’s mother, Elizabeth, had served the queen for many years. Elizabeth Boleyn helped make preparations for the coronation of Katherine in 1509.²³ And it is known that she acted as Katherine’s sponsor at the christening of one of Mary Tudor’s children in 1517. Elizabeth also is listed as a member of Katherine’s entourage at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. Queen Katherine certainly knew of Henry’s affair with Mary Boleyn and likely was suspicious of Anne.²⁴

By 1527, Katherine of Aragon had accepted Boleyn in a prized position as one of her six personal attendants, no doubt with some discomfort.²⁵ By 1528,

²¹Fraser, 82-83, 92-93.

²²See the information on Mary Tudor below.

²³Dean, 32.

²⁴*Letters and Papers*, II: 3489; III: 491, 528. Russell, 195, 202. By 1523, one of the king’s ships had been named the *Mary Boleyn*. Ives 20.

²⁵Doyle, III: 19. Katherine’s household was usually comprised of some two-hundred-and-thirty maids of honor. Some historians believe that Anne was in the position of a lesser maid rather

serious talk of divorce proceeded, and Boleyn was moved to apartments of her own, but throughout the subsequent years, Katherine and Anne were often lodged under the same roof, understandably taking pains to avoid each other.²⁶

Katherine and her daughter, Princess Mary, did all they could to pressure the king to abandon his divorce plans, while the queen maintained an empty role, although still presiding over court on official occasions. Then in 1531, she was banished from the palace, never to return. King Henry wed his mistress in 1533, announcing that his marriage to Katherine had been invalid. Although Katherine's poor health further deteriorated, she survived in ignominy to witness almost the entire royal era of Anne Boleyn. Katherine of Aragon died on January 7, 1536. Boleyn was beheaded in May of that year.

MARY TUDOR:

The other Englishwoman of the Tudor court whom Boleyn served was Mary Tudor, the king's sister. Mary, Henry VII's fifth child, was probably born March 18, 1495.²⁷ As was the case with royal daughters of the epoch, her importance rested in the diplomatic union that might be forged through marriage, particularly with one of the three dynasties that dominated Europe: France, the Holy Roman Empire, and Spain. Thus, in 1508, she was betrothed to Prince Charles of Castile (Juana's son and Katherine's nephew, later Charles V, who was the most attractive matrimonial prospect of the day), after many years of negotiating with his father,

than in that of a close personal attendant of Katherine's. *Calendar of State Papers, Italy*, 682. See also, Mattingly, 247-48.

²⁶Ives, 118.

²⁷Richardson, 3.

Philip of Burgundy and King of Castile, and following Philip's death in 1506, with the boy's grandfather, Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor.

In 1509, Henry VIII assumed the throne. Now, while awaiting her marriage, Mary, a favorite of her brother, could revel in court amusements with her dear friend Queen Katherine, while happily being spoiled by the king.

Mary's future plans to wed Charles were altered by politics. In 1511, England joined with Venice, the Swiss Confederation, the Holy Roman Empire, and Spain in Pope Julius II's Holy League against the kingdom of France, which had been invading Italy.²⁸ An English fleet went to Calais in 1513, and Henry and Maximilian together entered the captured French town of Th rouanne. Tournai was taken next. Here, Maximilian and his daughter, Margaret of Austria, met up with Henry to celebrate the conquest and further solidify the marriage contract between Mary Tudor and their respective grandson and nephew, Charles.

A further invasion of France had been planned by England and its allies. But Ferdinand of Spain, who had been against the Mary/Charles union, made a truce with France, and, not long after, Maximilian was persuaded by the Spanish king and Louis XII to abandon the war. As a concession, Charles, Maximilian's grandson, was offered Louis's daughter Ren e as a bride. Henry VIII, who had made extensive preparations for continuing the war and who had wanted to hasten the marriage of his sister to Charles, was furious at what he considered a betrayal. Margaret of Austria had a distaste for the French dating back to her childhood. She supported and empathized with Henry, since she too had once been a victim of an ugly breach of faith by the French. But Margaret was powerless against her father,

²⁸It was concerning this league that Thomas Boleyn spoke with Margaret of Austria. France was defeated at Novara and Guinegate in 1513. Louis lost all his Italian conquests.

Maximilian. Her own council in Brussels, too, was pressuring her, because it looked unfavorably upon a Charles/Mary wedding.

By now, the situation had changed in France. Anne of Brittany, the wife of Louis XII died in January of 1514, and the ailing king, who had no sons, was in search of a new consort. Henry VIII secretly began negotiations with his former enemy, the king of France, regarding a marriage with his sister, Mary Tudor. Henry VIII therefore beat Maximilian at his own game. In July, he had his sister repudiate Charles so that she could marry Louis XII—before Charles could repudiate Mary so that he could marry Louis's daughter. Mary Tudor thus became the queen of France.

Upon reaching the continent in October, the young Mary met Louis XII's heir, Francis (I), who was her principal escort at her coronation and her entrance into Paris. It was apparently Francis's idea that, in Mary's honor, a grand tournament be held between French and English nobles in November. Francis was responsible for the French team, while Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk and a close friend of Henry VIII, co-led the English team. Both young men proved to be champions of the event, although the duc d'Alençon (Marguerite d'Alençon's husband) also displayed much skill. Mary Tudor and the French king presided over the festivities. The sickly Louis XII, drooling as he did, with gout and a skin condition, reclined on a couch beside nineteen-year-old Mary, who probably had a special interest in the fête and the chivalrous participants.²⁹ She had been involved with Brandon before leaving England, and the rascal Francis was reportedly already in pursuit of the young beauty.

²⁹Fraser, 67-68.

But Mary proved to be an attentive and consequently well-loved wife to old Louis. She was continually with the king, hovering over him with a caring manner. He adored her and treated her with kindness and generosity, boyishly having her pay for her jewels with kisses. She was accepted by the French court and liked by most everyone. Her one disagreement with Louis happened early on. The king was displeased with the huge entourage Mary brought from England, and he dismissed several in her service. The Ladies of her bedchamber were reduced to six in number, one of whom was Anne Boleyn, the daughter of the French ambassador who had recently come from the Netherlands. Among Mary's new companions were Marguerite d'Alençon, a woman who would become a friend to Boleyn.³⁰

After a mere three months of marriage, Louis XII died, on New Year's day, 1515. Some, such as Louise of Savoy (Francis's mother), said the king's "amoureuses nocces" with his young bride proved fatal.³¹ Mary's glory as the queen of France was now over and she was sent to a mourning chamber where she awaited signs of a possible pregnancy. The twenty-one-year-old Francis, who had been crowned on January 28, was still pursuing the now young widow, to his mother's chagrin, but his real concern was her use in a political marriage.³²

It was considered that Mary become the consort of Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor, but by the end of February, there was serious talk of a betrothal to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the handsome champion who had represented England at Mary's wedding tournament. Brandon had recently returned to France

³⁰Richardson, 111-112.

³¹Louise de Savoie, "Journal de Louise de Savoye," vol. 5 of *La Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires Relatifs à L'Histoire de France*, 10 vols., eds. F. J. Michaud and J. Poujoulat (Paris: Librairie de Féchoz et Letouzey, 1881), 89. Henri Hauser, *Le Journal de Louise de Savoie* (Paris: Imprimerie Daupley-Gouverneur), 1904.

³²Francis was apparently ambivalent about Mary, for later, on a portrait of "La Royne Marie," the French king wrote "plus sale que royne" (more dirty than queenly). Richardson, 141.

to negotiate relations with the new king, Francis. Perhaps through Francis's machinations, Brandon soon found himself clandestinely wed to his sovereign's sister in a Paris ceremony held in late February or early March. After much groveling to Henry VIII, the favored sister and best friend, Brandon, returned to England in April 1515. Historically, Mary's short career was over.

Mary's maid or companion,³³ Anne Boleyn, remained behind apparently in the service of the new French queen, Claude. The English girl may have been an unwelcome sight to Brandon, who probably recognized her from the court of Margaret of Austria where they both had been in 1513. Brandon, who had been married twice before, was something of a cad. He had frequented Margaret's palace and recently professed his love to the regent, giving her reason to consider him as a possible fourth husband.³⁴

Mary probably did not see Anne Boleyn again until the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. As a former French queen, Mary had persuaded Henry VIII that her presence was indispensable for success. Even though Mary was now Brandon's wife, at the festivities, she proudly displayed a cloth of gold litter bearing porcupines (the emblem of her late husband, Louis XII) and the united initials, L and M.³⁵ Of course, since being queen of France had been the high point of her life, when she attended Henry's court functions in England, which she did on a regular basis, Mary insisted on the treatment due a queen dowager. Anne Boleyn was possibly in Mary's service for a second time in 1522 and 1523, soon after she returned to England in late 1521.³⁶

³³Anne's role depends on her age, which is disputed.

³⁴Margaret was Mary's senior by eighteen years.

³⁵Russell, 124.

³⁶Warnicke, 40.

Unfortunately, Mary was plagued with poor health for the rest of her years. Her brother's rejection of her beloved friend Katherine of Aragon surely aggravated her condition. And, in disgust, she had to watch the girl who had been her servant become her queen. Understandably, near the end of her thirty-eight-year life, Mary Tudor hated Anne Boleyn.³⁷

ROYAL WOMEN OF THE CONTINENT:

Margaret of Austria, Anne of Brittany, Louise of Savoy, and Marguerite d'Alençon were notable figures in the shaping of Renaissance Europe, and, but for Anne of Brittany who died in 1514, they were all familiar to Anne Boleyn. It is possible that MS 1070 came into Anne's possession through one of these European patrons. The style, paper, and content of the manuscript manifest a continental nature (see Chapters 2 and 3) and the pieces date from Anne's earlier period, before 1521, rather than from her subsequent years in England. Moreover, among other clues, within a decoration of MS 1070 are the initials of a possible former owner, "MA."³⁸

MARGARET OF AUSTRIA:

A particularly active woman of the time and perhaps the grandest patron of the arts was Boleyn's guardian during her first year on the continent, Margaret of Austria (1480-1530). Margaret was the daughter of the abundantly wealthy heir, Mary of Burgundy of the Low Countries (whose father Charles the Bold had died without sons), and of Maximilian, the Archduke of Austria and future Holy Roman

³⁷Mary Tudor remained with Brandon until her death in 1533. Six weeks later, he wed his fourth wife, Mary's fourteen-year-old ward. Tremayne, 119-140.

³⁸See Chapter 2 figs. 23-24 for these initials.

Emperor. In 1482, when Margaret and her brother Philip (1478-1506) were but infants, their young mother died following a riding accident. Philip, known as Philip the Handsome (1478-1506), became duke of Burgundy and the three-year-old Margaret was betrothed to Charles the dauphin of France (1470-98, later Charles VIII) and transported to her new homeland. There, she was raised under the guidance of Charles's sister, Anne de Beaujeu, duchesse de Bourbon, who had become regent for her young brother upon the recent death of their father, Louis XI, in 1483.

From infancy, Margaret was bestowed with the position and honors due a French queen, immersed in the language and culture of her future sovereignty, and surrounded with noble companions, including the king's cousin, Louis, duc d'Orléans (the future Louis XII), and Anne de Beaujeu's niece, Louise of Savoy (Margaret's future sister-in-law and mother of Francis I). But in 1491 the young dauphine was repudiated by the boy king, or rather by the Madame de Beaujeu, because a more attractive consort, Anne of Brittany, had come to the attention of the French court.

Margaret eventually returned to the Netherlands. By this time, in 1494, her father, Maximilian, now the Holy Roman Emperor, had allied with Ferdinand of Aragon against Charles VIII, who had invaded the kingdom of Naples. In order to seal their political union, the Hapsburg and Spaniard agreed on a double marriage between their progeny: Philip, duke of Burgundy, would marry Juana, the daughter of the Spanish monarch, and his sister Margaret would marry Juan, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella and heir to Aragon and Castile. Margaret, who was to have been queen of France, was now to become the queen of Spain. However, just a few months after this marriage, Margaret's bridegroom, a sickly youth, died (1497). The young widow remained at the Spanish court with her bereaved parents-in-law

for nearly two years. It was here that she met her husband's younger sister, Katherine of Aragon.³⁹

After a few years back in her native land, Margaret took part in a third diplomatic marriage, to Philibert II "The Handsome," duke of Savoy. Although his wealth was not as extensive as that of her many suitors, the young, carefree duke proved to be an exemplary mate. Margaret had known him from her childhood, since he and his sister, Louise of Savoy, were raised at the French court by Madame de Beaujeu, duchesse de Bourbon. Philibert was well loved by his bride, and, moreover, having little interest in government, he happily relinquished administrative duties to Margaret. Alas, three years after this marriage, in 1504, the twenty-four-year-old duke died.

Margaret returned to the Netherlands a young woman and, in the eyes of her father and brother, still useful for a political merger. This time it was suggested that she wed the aging king of England, Henry VII. The bereaved duchess refused. In 1506 came the death of Philip, Margaret's beloved brother, the duke of Burgundy and recent king of Castile.⁴⁰ His inconsolable wife, Juana of Spain, was further plummeted into her ostensible madness.⁴¹ Maximilian briefly assumed the regency for the new duke, his six-year-old grandson Charles (later King of the Romans, Charles V); however, his concerns with the lands of Austria and the Holy Roman

³⁹Mattingly, 20.

⁴⁰Upon her mother Isabella's death in 1504, Juana of Spain inherited Castile while her father acted as regent because of her alleged mental incapacity. On June 27, 1506, Ferdinand agreed to withdraw, and Juana's husband, Philip, assumed control but died suddenly thereafter.

⁴¹Juana seems to have been obsessed with her husband, even after death, at which time she traveled aimlessly from palace to palace with his dead body in her company. But such behavior may not have been too unusual. The pragmatic Margaret of Austria apparently went mad with grief upon the death of her husband, Philibert. She cut off her hair and had to be restrained from throwing herself from a window. Margaret kept her husband's embalmed heart with her for the rest of her life. Fraser, 43. Lisa Hopkins, *Women Who Would be Kings* (London: Vision Press, 1991), 148.

Empire left him little time to devote to the duchy. Therefore, Margaret acquired the regency. She was the finest possible choice, being the daughter of the Burgundian duchess Mary, the sister of the last duke, a woman who knew the Low Countries well, who was loved and respected by the people, and who had a talent for the business of governing. The new regent also became guardian of four of her brother's children: Eleanor, Charles (V), Ysabeau, and Mary.⁴² From 1507 until her death in 1530, Margaret of Austria remained a leading force as the regent of the Netherlands.⁴³ It was in 1513 that Anne Boleyn came to live with her and her wards.

ANNE OF BRITTANY:

Meanwhile, in 1491, Margaret's initial betrothed, King Charles VIII of France, set his sights on Anne of Brittany. Anne had become the most eligible female in all of Europe upon the death of her father Duke Francis II in 1488 and her inheritance of Brittany, the richest province in Europe and the last of the great fiefs. Naturally, there were many claimants for her hand, including Juan of Spain and Louis d'Orléans, but Anne first accepted the proposal of Margaret's twenty-nine-year old father, Maximilian (1459-1519), who appeared to be the best friend of Brittany. The two were wed by proxy in 1490.⁴⁴

⁴²Catalina, born several months after Philip's death, stayed with her nominally afflicted mother in the tower of Tordesillas, and Ferdinand, the second boy, was raised by Ferdinand of Aragon.

⁴³Margaret was officially regent in two different periods: from 1507-15 and, after Maximilian's death, from 1519-30.

⁴⁴On Anne of Brittany, see Helen J. Sanborn, *Anne of Brittany* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1917. On Anne de Beaujeu, see Jean-Charles Varennes, *Anne de Bourbon: Roi de France* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin), 1978.

Of course, Anne de Beaujeu could not tolerate this union between Brittany, a formidable neighbor that had been a thorn in the side of France for years, and her country's enemy, Maximilian. The shrewd French regent sent troops into the duchy forcing Anne of Brittany, a beleaguered teenager, to dissolve her union with Maximilian and agree to marry King Charles VIII.⁴⁵

Beaujeu was successful, although she gained the later wrath of Anne of Brittany. In 1491, Charles VIII wed Anne, and France took hold of the duchy. At the same time, the French Valois struck an irreverent blow against the Austrian Hapsburgs, for Maximilian lost a prize bride and a duchy, and his daughter a husband and a kingdom. Margaret of Austria, a humiliated eleven-year-old, was detained in France for two years. Although she held Anne of Brittany in high regard throughout her life, the young Hapsburg could never relinquish her deep-rooted grievance against France.

Anne now was married to a foe who had devastated Brittany for three years. But she eventually warmed to Charles, and her superior education and training soon gained the queen-duchess the respect and devotion of the king and the French people. The pair maintained a happy marriage but suffered disappointment, since none of Anne's children survived infancy. Their seven-year union came to an end in 1498, when Charles died following a freak accident in which he bumped his head on a low door beam. The duc d'Orléans, Charles's cousin, now Louis XII, assumed the throne while the bereaved Anne returned to Brittany and aggressively worked towards reestablishing her government. The new French monarch, concerned about

⁴⁵Anne de Beaujeu, married to Pierre de Bourbon, seigneur de Beaujeu (d. 1503), was a highly regarded and competent ruler. Her father, Louis XI, bestowed on her the dubious compliment: "the least foolish woman I know." Beaujeu was well known for her exceptional intellect, as she keenly studied the works of poets, philosophers and moralists, but she too was well respected for her devotion to hunting and skill with weapons—she pursued her game "coldly and methodically, with her own eyes examining the trail." John Bridge, *History of France from the Death of Louis XI to 1515*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1921-36), I: 29. Tremayne, 4.

the powers of neighboring Brittany, annulled his marriage to the deformed and childless Jeanne, sister of Anne de Beaujeu and Charles VIII, and set his sights on his old charming friend Anne of Brittany. He recalled the duchess on the basis of a stipulation in her original marriage contract, which stated that, if Anne and Charles VIII were childless and Charles died, the widow would have to marry the next king of France so that her duchy would not pass beyond the realm. Therefore, as the wife of Louis XII, Anne of Brittany became the queen of France for a second time.⁴⁶

Anne and King Louis XII (1462-1515) produced no sons in their pleasant 1499 to 1514 marriage, but two daughters: Claude (1499-1524, whom Boleyn served) and Renée (1510-1574). Claude was heir to Brittany, and Anne, who had devoted her life to safeguarding the autonomy of her duchy—particularly keeping it independent from France—made every effort to unite her infant daughter with the house of Austria. In 1501 on their way to Spain, the Archduke Philip and his wife Juana personally visited Blois to solidify a marriage treaty between the Princess Claude and their son Charles (V).⁴⁷ However, Louis eventually had no choice but to go against Anne's wishes and invalidate the proposed union, since Claude's large inheritance, which included Brittany, Burgundy, and the French claims to Milan, Asti, Genoa, and Naples, was too significant to alienate from the kingdom of France. Louis supported a marriage between Claude and his young cousin Francis, comte d'Angoulême, a libertine youth known for his excesses, who would succeed to the throne in any event should Louis have no sons.

⁴⁶As she did when married to Charles, Anne maintained control over her duchy.

⁴⁷During this visit, singers of Philip's chapel and of Louis's sang mass in alternation. Apparently, this is where Philip met Josquin. Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 24.

Upon the death of the thirty-seven-year-old queen-duchess in January of 1514, the aging Louis proceeded to take a third wife, Mary Tudor, with the hopes of producing male issue. (It was at this point that Anne Boleyn left the Netherlands and came to France to serve Mary.) Meanwhile, King Louis maintained that Claude wed Francis; in the event that the old king was unsuccessful in his quest for a son, his daughter would become queen and at the same time guarantee that Brittany would remain a part of France. Such was the case when Louis died a few months after his marriage. Mary Tudor returned to England, and Francis assumed the throne.

LOUISE OF SAVOY:

Francis (reigning 1515-47) was the son of Charles de Valois-Orléans, comte d'Angoulême, and Louise of Savoy (1476-1531), Philibert of Savoy's sister. Charles d'Angoulême died in 1496 when Francis and his sister Marguerite (later queen of Navarre) were not much more than infants. They were raised by their young mother, Louise, who was deeply devoted to both of them. She and her children were referred to as "The Trinity," and she herself styled Francis "My Caesar."⁴⁸ The adoration was reciprocated, for Louise was highly respected and valued by her son, and when he became king, she played a paramount role in his government, acting twice as the official regent of France.

Louise of Savoy was born into a noble but impoverished family in September, 1476, in the remote castle of Pont d'Ain in Bresse. She was the daughter of Philippe de Bresse of the house of Savoy and Marguerite de Bourbon,

⁴⁸Cardinal Bibiena wrote to Rome after Francis's accession, referring to the three as the Trinity of France, adding, "che scrivere a Luisa di Savoia, era come scrivere alla stessa Trinità." [Molini. Document inéd.] Martha Walker Freer, *The Life of Marguerite D'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, Duchesse D'Alençon and De Berry*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1856), I: 25. The Caesar reference is found throughout Louise's *Journal*.

sister of Pierre de Beaujeu, the duc de Bourbon and husband of Anne de Beaujeu. Louise's mother died in 1483, and her father Philippe, who showed little interest in raising his children, sent Louise and her brother Philibert (two years her junior) to live at the court of France under the tutelage of their aunt, Madame de Beaujeu. Here, the Savoy children resided alongside their cousin, Charles VIII, and his young betrothed, Margaret of Austria, who, as an adult, would marry Philibert. Louise shared a governess with the little Queen Margaret, but not much else, for there was a huge difference in their positions. Although she learned Latin, Italian, embroidery, and how to play the lute, Louise was treated like the poor relation she was, living in modest quarters in unassuming garments, presumably unloved and lonely.⁴⁹

The regent Beaujeu had to contend with her rebellious relatives, Louis d'Orléans (the future Louis XII) and his cousin Charles d'Angoulême, both of whom would have liked to take possession of the crown.⁵⁰ Louis d'Orléans, the heir apparent, had been married to Beaujeu's deformed sister, Jeanne, by her father, Louis XI, so that the young duke could not strengthen his position through foreign matrimonial alliances. Charles d'Angoulême was grudgingly betrothed to the penniless infant Louise of Savoy for similar reasons. The twenty-eight-year-old count was already living with his devoted mistress, Antoinette de Polignac, and their daughter. Still, on February 16, 1488, he and the twelve-year-old Louise were wed.⁵¹

⁴⁹Francis Hackett, *Francis the First* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 46.

⁵⁰The Angoulême were a minor branch of the house of Orléans.

⁵¹Some scholars assert that the name of Charles's primary mistress was Jeanne de Polignac. R. J. Knecht identifies two mistresses, Antoinette de Polignac and Jeanne Comte. Regardless of her Christian name, the mistress de Polignac was the more significant of the two at the court of Angoulême and in the life of Louise. Although it may have been his preference, Charles could not marry his mistress because of her lowly rank. R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

Louise found her new life as the countess at the court of Angoulême and later, around 1494, at the castle of Cognac, more pleasant than life at the royal palace. She took to the insouciant household overseen by her husband's mistress, which was so unlike Anne de Beaujeu's pious and rigorous palace of obedience. Although Charles d'Angoulême was of limited means, he managed to find funds for his passions: art, music, and books.

On February 8, 1492, Anne of Brittany was first crowned queen of France. Louise did not attend because of her advanced pregnancy. She gave birth to a daughter, Marguerite, on April 11, and two years later, a son, Francis. His birth was cause for great celebration, for he was in line to the throne and the key to bringing Louise and her family all that she had longed for as a child: power, wealth, and above all, royalty. She wrote in her journal: "Francis, by the Grace of God, King of France, my pacific Caesar, took his first sight of the light of day at Cognac, about ten hours after midday 1494, the 12th day of September."⁵² In the meantime, Polignac bore Charles his third daughter, and a second mistress delivered him a fourth girl, all of whom were joined to the motley household.⁵³

Regardless of Louise's persistent and devoted care, on January 1st, 1496, her husband died in Châteauneuf following a sudden illness. The teen-aged countess inherited Charles's estate and guardianship of his children, while Polignac continued to live at Cognac, overseeing the household—to the disdain and disapproval of the pious Annes: i.e., Anne of Brittany and Anne de Beaujeu. The Cognac court under Louise was not as magnificent as some, but she cultivated

According to Hackett, 48, Louise probably did not live with Charles as his wife until she was fourteen or fifteen and he thirty-two.

⁵²Louise de Savoie, *Journal*, 87. Mayer, 20.

⁵³Mayer, 21.

music, and art, and purchased and commissioned books in keeping with the Orléans tradition.

On April 8, 1498, Charles VIII died, and excitement erupted at Cognac. Anne of Brittany was childless and widowed, and the crown passed to an old favorite, Louis, duc d'Orléans. Finally, Louise's son, Francis d'Angoulême, became the dauphin. The new king, Louis XII, under the counsel of his close advisor, Marshal de Gié, thought it best to keep an eye on his heir and had Louise and her family installed at the grand castle of Chinon where the king himself had moved. Her entourage shocked the palace, which was accustomed to the prudish ways of Anne of Brittany, for it included her late husband's mistress, his bastard children, and her suspected lover, Jean de Saint-Gelais. Nevertheless Louis XII received the clan with warm affection. As Saint-Gelais recorded:

My Lord the King received them all benignly and graciously, with such honor as was befitting his nearest relatives on the paternal side. He gave my Lady lodgings in his castle of Chinon, over his own chamber, and he went to visit her frequently in most familiar fashion. As for the children, he could not show them enough favors; for had he been their father, he could not have made more of them. And assuredly, there were few children to match them in any walk of life. They were so accomplished for their years that it was a pleasure and a delight merely to look at them.⁵⁴

The king had known Louise from her childhood when she was a mere ward of her aunt, Anne de Beaujeu, and he, a sporting duke, adored by all the children at court including Margaret of Austria and Philibert of Savoy.

In January of 1499, Louis XII, having divorced his first wife, married Anne of Brittany, Charles VIII's widow. Anne joined Louise and her children in July at the countess's Romorantin palace where the family had gone to avoid the plague. For many months, the two twenty-two-year-old women lived under the same roof,

⁵⁴Samuel Putnam, *Marguerite of Navarre* (London: Jarrolds, 1936), 46.

which at times may have been most uncomfortable. Anne of Brittany and Louise of Savoy were arch nemeses, implacable rivals, each determined to continue her line through French royalty. They differed in character, attitude, and demeanor: Anne was celebrated for her virtuous, right-principled and magnanimous nature; Louise was infamous for colorful discourse, a pell-mell, if not unscrupulous lifestyle, and ruthless ambition.⁵⁵

In October at Romorantin, the queen-duchess gave birth to a daughter, Claude. Of course, Louise was relieved that the child was not male. Devoted to her son's succession, the countess would revel in such things, including Anne's unsuccessful pregnancies. After one of them, Louise wrote in her diary, "Anne, queen of France...had a son, but he could not retard the exaltation of my Caesar because he did not live."⁵⁶

By 1502, with the encouragement of Anne of Brittany, Claude was betrothed to Charles, the son of Philip of Burgundy. The practical king Louis XII knew that his daughter should have no husband other than his heir, Francis, although Anne found the thought repugnant, both because of her dislike of Louise and on account of the youth's rakish ways.⁵⁷ Louis had no choice but to have the previous treaty with the Netherlands duke annulled and Claude betrothed to Francis.

In 1508, Francis left his mother and went to live at the royal court. As she bitterly noted in her *Journal*, "my son went away from Amboise to be a courtier, and left me alone."⁵⁸ The following year, his sister, Marguerite, was married to the duc

⁵⁵See Brantôme, 26.

⁵⁶Louise de Savoie, *Journal*, 87. Mayer, 42. Brantôme, 26.

⁵⁷Brantôme, 39.

⁵⁸Mayer, 52.

d'Alençon and installed at her own court in Argentan. In 1511, Anne of Brittany gave birth to a second daughter, Renée. Just a few years later the queen-duchess died.

Ironically, in her final will, Anne of Brittany left her daughters to the guardianship of Louise of Savoy and appointed the countess trustee of her personal effects.⁵⁹ Sounding a bit defensive about her treatment of her ward Claude, Louise records in her journal:

Anne, Queen of France, died January 9th, 1514, [and] left me the administration of her goods, of her fortune and of her daughters, even of Madame Claude, Queen of France and wife of my son, whom I have honorably and amiably guided. Each knows it, truth recognizes it, experience demonstrates it, it is also publicly renown.⁶⁰

Although Anne of Brittany and Louise of Savoy spent most of their lives as adversaries, they had a hidden respect for each other as two of the most educated and accomplished women of their epoch.⁶¹ Anne, recognizing that the marriage between Francis and Claude was inevitable, was certain that Louise would take care of her new daughter-in-law. Although at times appalled by her unscrupulous nature, Anne witnessed Louise's fierce devotion to her own children and the attention she gave to those in her care, including her husband's bastards for whom she procured good marriages.

Anne of Brittany's death brought great relief and even joy to Louise. Her Caesar was propelled closer to the throne, and Claude became an even more attractive bride, since she was now the duchess of Brittany. Of course, Anne's

⁵⁹Freer, 37; Mayer, 67.

⁶⁰Louise de Savoie, *Journal*, 88. Lembright, 28.

⁶¹Both were on the council of regency in 1505 when Louis XII fell ill. Along with Gié and Cardinal d'Amboise, they were to rule together until Francis came of age. Knecht, 12.

death facilitated the marriage of Francis and Claude, a union that was solemnized in May of 1514. On August 7, Louis XII signed a treaty with Henry VIII, which betrothed the old man to Mary Tudor, but the king of France died a few months after the wedding.

Louise was thirty-nine years old when her son assumed the throne in 1515. Her celebration was great, for the proud and haughty countess finally had retribution for her past sufferings: the disregard she felt as a poor, child relation, and later, the unbearable slights and dismissive attitude of Anne of Brittany. Louise recorded in her journal:

The day of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1515, my son was anointed and crowned in the cathedral of Rheims. For this event, I am deeply indebted to Divine mercy, since by it I have been compensated for all the adversities and reverses that happened to me in my early years and in the flower of my youth. Humility was then my constant companion, nevertheless patience never forsook me.⁶²

As “Madame” of the French court and mother of a devoted son, Louise wielded extraordinary power and influence in the realm, and did not hesitate to effect posts and policies. As the earl of Suffolk wrote to Henry VIII:

Sir, it is she who runs all, and so may she well; for I never saw a woman like to her, both for wit, honor and dignity. She hath a great stroke in all matters with the King her son.⁶³

And in 1521, Wolsey received word from the French court:

Sir, if there be any point your grace stick at, my poor opinion is your grace write some letter to my Lady [Louise], for I have seen in divers things, sithence I came hither, that when the French king would stick at some points, and speak very great words, yet my Lady would qualify the matter; and sometimes when the King is contented he will say nay, and then my

⁶²Louise de Savoie, *Journal*, 89. Putnam, 84.

⁶³Mayer, 80.

Lady must require him, and at her request he will be contented; for he is so obeissant to her that he will refuse nothing that she requireth him to do.⁶⁴

The historian Martha Freer recounted that even when Francis was a seasoned king at the height of his wealth and glory, he “seldom presumed to address his mother covered; but, like the rest of the courtiers, he stood cap in hand while in her presence.”⁶⁵

When Francis undertook his first expedition to Italy in 1515-16 (during the second year of Boleyn’s French sojourn), Louise became the regent of the realm, a post to which she was reappointed in 1525-26 following the 1524 battle of Pavia and the capture of Francis by the Spanish Hapsburgs. Moreover, the queen mother was responsible for raising money for her son’s ransom and seeking help from her old friend and sister-in-law, Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Francis’s captor, Charles V. Later, when the French princes, Louise’s grandchildren, were held hostage in their father Francis’s stead, Louise, with her daughter Marguerite (of Navarre), met Margaret of Austria in Cambrai to seal the “Ladies Peace,” a treaty guaranteeing the safe return of the boys.

After a lengthy and illustrious career, much of it spent as the unofficial leader of France, Louise of Savoy died on September 22, 1531, with her daughter by her side.

MARGUERITE D’ORLÉANS/ANGOULÊME/ALENÇON/NAVARRÉ:

Excepting Francis’s mother, the most influential woman in the kingdom was his sister, Marguerite. But Marguerite d’Angoulême established herself as an

⁶⁴*Letters and Papers*, III: 1651.

⁶⁵Freer, I: 4-5.

outstanding figure of the French Renaissance in her own right. A profoundly spiritual and mystical thinker, she was devoted to religious reform and was noted as a substantial dispenser of patronage to humanists and reformers, making her palace a refuge for those persecuted for their convictions. Her circle included some of the most eminent thinkers of the day, including Clément Marot, François Rabelais, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, John Calvin, and Briçonnet, the Bishop of Meaux. She is known as a progressive poet and writer of famous works, including a series of tales similar to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, entitled the *Heptaméron* (published posthumously in 1558-59).⁶⁶ These *nouvelles*, recounted by travelers delayed by a flood, illustrate the triumphs of virtue and the licentiousness of monks and clerics. They are of historical interest, since the stories are believed to be faithful accounts of characters and events in Marguerite's life and at her brother's court. Marguerite also authored a well-known collection of poems, *Les Marguerites de la marguerite des princesses*, and the religious ballad *Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, later a favorite literary work of Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth I.

Throughout her life, Marguerite was perhaps her brother's best ally. She had a great passion for the king, considering him as one "whom God has left her in this world; father, brother, and husband." He too thought the utmost of her, referring to Marguerite as his *mignonne*, his darling, his pet.⁶⁷ She was raised alongside Francis and his companions at the Angoulême court. The two shared a

⁶⁶Marguerite had anticipated writing a hundred tales, thus producing a French "decameron," however, only seventy two were completed—a "heptameron."

Louise of Savoy apparently tried her hand at writing tales, but after reading Marguerite's work, found her own efforts so inferior that she became disgusted and abandoned such projects. Brantôme, 242.

⁶⁷Because of her strong fraternal devotion as manifested in letters, F. Génin has claimed that Marguerite's relationship with her brother was incestuous. Most agree that this is an egregious misinterpretation. *Nouvelles Lettres de la reine de Navarre, adressés au roi François Ier, son frère*, ed. F. Génin (Paris, 1842; New York: Johnson, 1965), 1-24. Brantôme, 236.

love for art and literature. They read, composed poetry together, learned languages (Italian, Spanish, and Latin), and no doubt, studied music.⁶⁸ Marguerite's exceptional intellect was recognized early on, and, because of her devotion to and interest in scholarship, the learned men of the court called her their Maecenas.⁶⁹

On October 9, 1509, at the age of seventeen, Marguerite was married to the young, insignificant duc d'Alençon, a soldier with few cultural interests. He was hardly a compatible mate for Marguerite. He was inferior to his wife in intellect and one for whom she had little personal affection. Still, Alençon was considered a good match, both because Marguerite was almost dowerless and the union would promote royal interest. A grand wedding was held in which the king himself escorted the bride. Queen Anne, who, like Louis, was profoundly fond of the young woman, provided a state banquet and tournament where the two sat side by side, distributing prizes to the festivities' victors.⁷⁰

Marguerite retired to her own court of Argentan, one of the principal towns of the duchy of Alençon in Normandy. For five years, she lived here in a state of malaise, separated from her family and the brilliance of the royal court. She turned to writing, a skill for which she demonstrated a considerable aptitude. Some of her compositions from this period may have become part of her great work that was published as the *Heptaméron*.⁷¹ Later, when Marguerite traveled about the realm, often with Francis and his court, she avidly continued her writing. As Brantôme

⁶⁸See Richard Wexler, "Music and Poetry in Renaissance Cognac" in *Musique naturelle et musique artificielle in Memoriam Gustav [sic] Reese, Le moyen français 5* (Montreal: Ceres, 1980), 102-14. Freer, 25. See also Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 18, 31, 39.

⁶⁹Freer, 25; Brantôme, 235.

⁷⁰Freer, 30.

⁷¹Ibid, 34.

relates, "I have heard this from my grandmother, who always went with her in her litter as lady of honour, holding the inkstand while she wrote, which she did most deftly and quickly, more quickly than if she had dictated."⁷²

After her marriage to Alençon, Marguerite evidently did not appear at the royal palace again until the death of Anne of Brittany.⁷³ She attended the January funeral of the queen-duchess, the May wedding of her brother, and the Autumn celebrations surrounding Louis XII's marriage to Mary Tudor. Apparently, Marguerite stayed on at the palace as a companion to Mary Tudor, and the two may have become relatively close.⁷⁴ The famous poet Guillaume Crétin, chaplain of the Sainte-Chapelle, dedicated a work to Marguerite entitled "au nom de la royne Marie, à Madame la Duchesse." It represents a mournful letter that Queen Mary Tudor supposedly wrote to Marguerite upon the death of Louis XII. Part of it translates:

...
 I tired grieving, anguished, sleepless,
 To whom can I now write the complaints
 Of my regret as of lament and cries?
 To whom shall my tears, sobs, and cries
 Be shown by sad letters?

...
 It is with you where such a wealth of goods are piled up
 That, without lying, the least would be enough
 To comprise treasures of ample richness;
 It is for you, Oh, illustrious Duchess
 It is for you that this letter is drawn.⁷⁵

Such a poem can be viewed as a testament to a close Mary/Marguerite friendship.

⁷²Brantôme, 243.

⁷³Freer, 34.

⁷⁴Fraser, 111-112.

⁷⁵Lembright, 47.

Once Francis assumed the throne, Marguerite seldom returned to her own chateau. Indeed, except for a handful of sojourns at the Argentan court—on the insistence of her husband or from her own wifely guilt—she was at her brother's side from the moment he assumed the crown in 1515.⁷⁶ Marguerite's power became almost unlimited. As she reigned over the spirited Renaissance palace, courtiers vied for her glance as if she were queen. She spent nearly all of her time with her brother or in his service. While Louise was involved with governing, Marguerite often chose a more cultural and social role, taking great pleasure in working with Francis to refashion the court, discarding the puritanical severity of the preceding reign and introducing the Italian styles and manners that would stimulate the French Renaissance. As Robert Clements reports, Marguerite is "generally recognized as the leading *italianisant* of her century."⁷⁷

Claude, Francis's wife, had little direct influence over the court, at least not in comparison to her brilliant in-laws. Marguerite presided over feasts and festivities and received ambassadors and courtiers like a queen of France. Poor Claude, the true daughter of a powerful king and grand duchess, had to wait two years after her husband's coronation for her own crowning (in 1517).⁷⁸ Yet Claude was not completely neglected. Marguerite was a good friend and could act as a buffer between the kind and gentle queen and her imperious mother-in-law. Nevertheless, Claude and Louise too were on good terms, as Louise had a guarded affection for the young queen-duchess. Claude adopted a device of Louise, which was also used by Francis, and her first child, a girl, was named Louise after her mother-

⁷⁶Alice M. Cocoran, "Marguerite de Navarre, the Woman," M.A. thesis (University of Rochester, 1937), 15.

⁷⁷Robert J. Clements, "Marguerite de Navarre and Dante," in *The Pergrine Muse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 98-112.

⁷⁸Even Mary Tudor, an Englishwoman, was coronated immediately after her marriage.

in-law.⁷⁹ The trio of French royalty, Louise, Claude, and Marguerite, traveled throughout the kingdom, attending events, festivities, and ceremonies together. Indeed, from the date of Francis's wedding until the death of Claude in 1524, these three women certainly spent a great deal of time under the same roof.⁸⁰

In 1524 Francis left for Italy, Louise became regent, and Marguerite assisted in managing the kingdom. Francis was taken prisoner the following year and Marguerite's husband, Charles d'Alençon, returned from battle with an illness that led to his death on April 11, 1525. In August, Marguerite went to Spain to negotiate her imprisoned brother's release and to console, encourage, and nurse him through his poor health.⁸¹ She was credited by the king and many others with saving his life during this bleak time. Francis returned in 1526. The following year Marguerite happily wed Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre, a husband whom she loved, although he proved to be a flagrant womanizer. In 1528, Marguerite, now queen of Navarre, gave birth to her first child, Jeanne, her only issue to survive infancy.

Dealings with Charles V in pursuit of gaining Navarre territories that were in the Emperor's control caused Marguerite and her husband to fall somewhat out of Francis's favor. Marguerite was further distanced from her brother because of her religious activities. A woman with strong spiritual and mystical beliefs, she became involved with religious reform beginning around 1521, becoming entrenched in her cause by the 1530s. Marguerite was denounced by the Sorbonne, and at times, the royal court, which fluctuated on such matters according to foreign policy. At one

⁷⁹Charles Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France* (New York: H. P. Kraus, 1975), 11. Claude's fourth and last daughter was named Marguerite. None of her children took her mother's name, Anne.

⁸⁰See for instance, Freer, 38; Mayer 59, 69; Lembright, 51.

⁸¹Brantôme, 247.

point, Marguerite was forced to leave her brother's palace, taking many reformers with her whom she kept under her personal protection. Such situations, combined with a disagreement concerning the marriage of Marguerite's daughter, Jeanne, caused significant tension between the queen of Navarre and the king of France.

Of course, Marguerite soon regained kingly favor and returned to Francis's political service. In 1544, she took the reins of government during a period when the king was incapacitated by illness and exhaustion. Then in 1547, she heard the distressing news of Francis's death. Marguerite no longer had a role at court. As she knew, her nephew, the new sovereign Henry II, was not fond of her. Being in poor health since losing Francis, Marguerite died on the 21 of December, 1549.

These influential figures of the continental courts knew one another well through familial and political relationships. From an early age, Louise of Savoy spent of a good deal of time with Anne of Brittany, involved with policies, as well as with court events and festivities. As of 1514, Louise became the guardian of both of Anne of Brittany's daughters, Claude and Renée. Louise was close to Claude, who was both the queen and wife of Francis. These two, along with Marguerite d'Alençon, were in frequent company until the young queen's death.

Anne Boleyn came to France to serve Mary Tudor as early as the Autumn of 1514. At first, she may have become acquainted with Marguerite, young Mary's companion. Then, after Mary left France, Boleyn "was detained by Claude, who later became queen."⁸² It is possible that Marguerite encouraged this decision, and even more likely that Louise of Savoy, who was supervising the sixteen-year-old Claude, had final approval in the matter. Louise must have known that Boleyn had

⁸²De Carles. Herbert, 161, 218.

recently come from the court of Margaret of Austria, Louise's former sister-in-law and childhood companion. Perhaps Louise had had positive reports concerning the girl from the Netherlands's regent, who apparently had been pleased with Boleyn while the girl was under her care.⁸³

Regardless of early relationships and impressions, during her seven years in France, and with the influence of her well-liked father, Boleyn would have become closely acquainted with Claude and her ever-present in-laws, Marguerite and Louise.⁸⁴ If MS 1070 is from the French court, it certainly could have come to Anne through any one of these three women. And prior to them, it could have been in the possession of Anne of Brittany. Although Boleyn never met Anne, the queen-duchess could have given MS 1070 to one of her daughters, or to Marguerite, of whom she was quite fond, or perhaps even to Louise, either directly or through the countess's role as executor. And what of Mary Tudor? She was in France and met Francis's family trio. Of course, Mary Tudor went back to England where she frequented the court of her dear friend and sister-in-law, Katherine of Aragon. Moreover, both of these Tudor women were served by Boleyn in Britain after 1522.

⁸³See Chapter 5.

⁸⁴Of course, by her own adult account, Anne knew Marguerite well.

The core of MS 1070 dates from ca 1500-05, that is, from the generation before Boleyn, with later material likely entered around 1517 or not long after. Therefore, there is a strong possibility that Boleyn received MS 1070 from an elder friend, perhaps one of these illustrious figures .

NAME	DATE	Apprx. age in:	
		1500	1517
Anne de Beaujeu	1461-1522	39	56
Louise of Savoy	1476-1531	24	41
Anne of Brittany	1477-1514	23	deceased
Margaret of Austria	1480-1530	20	37
Katherine of Aragon	1485-1536	15	32
Marguerite d'Alençon	1492-1549	8	25
Mary Tudor	1495-1533	5	22
Queen Claude	1499-1524	1	18
Anne Boleyn	1507/01-36	—/7	10/16
Princess Renée	1510-1574	—	7

Table 6: Approximate Ages of Royal Women in Relationship to the Dating of MS 1070

A d d e n d u m

ADDENDUM:

THE HAND OF THE BOLEYN APPELLATIVE:

The name and motto in MS 1070 may or may not be in the hand of Anne Boleyn herself, either as a girl or a woman. One might find some similarity in the way Boleyn pens the letter “h” (N.B., “Rocheford” below) and the style of the “h” as presented in the designation (“thus”). But this type of lettering was hardly unusual. Therefore, though her writing was neater than some, it cannot be determined that she wrote the inscription (see Figs. 30-31).⁸⁵ The entry does not seem to have been inscribed by any of her several acquaintances, including Katherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor, Louise of Savoy, nor Marguerite d’Alençon, the last being a professional writer with a skilled hand (see Figs. 32-35).

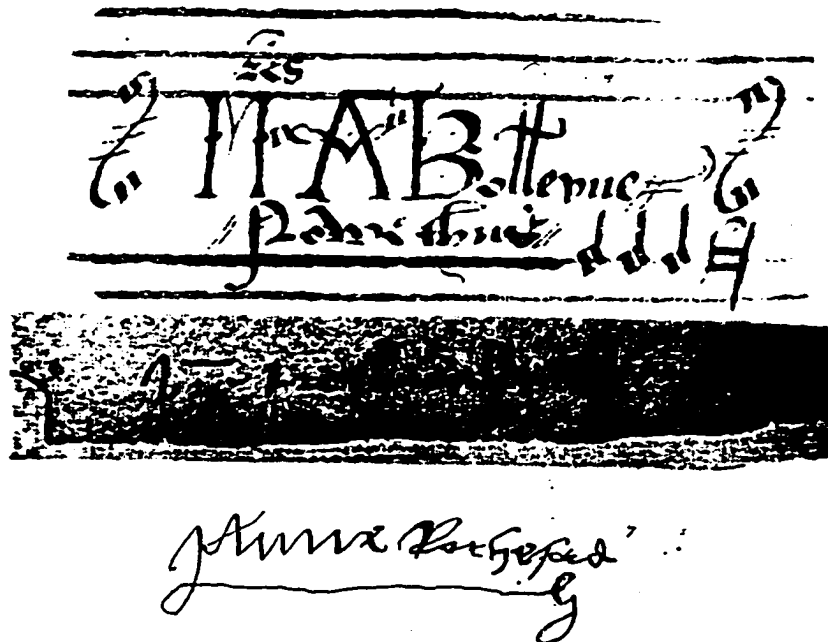


Figure 30: MS 1070 name entry and Anne’s childhood signature (detail of Fig. 27), and Rochford signature of 1532

⁸⁵Unlike the designation, the other examples have a cursive nature; however, a general character and style of hand can be determined. The Boleyn childhood signature is from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 119. The Rochford signature is reproduced in Wood.

I request you that after this matter is brought to pass you shall find me
 as I am bound in the mean time to see you my selfe and then looke
 what thing in this world I can in wayen to do you pleasure in you
 shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it

To the noble and excellent Count
 Anne Boleyn

For the last I write to me too /
 I send you grace bein able to make in a fortnights time of
 such thing as the people have brought to the four bring of foot
 to make leave against you

your humble servant Anne Boleyn
 Katherine

Figure 31: Letter from Boleyn to Wolsey shortly before she became queen⁸⁶

Figure 32: The hand of Katherine of Aragon⁸⁷

⁸⁶See Chapter 5, fn. 1.

⁸⁷A letter written by Katherine to Henry VIII, London, British Library, Cotton, MS. Vesp. F. iii, reproduced in Warner, entry 8.

the p^r of your grace
 y^e to me the grete
 comfort to me that
 may be possible

by your lowynge sute
 maye the f^rend^r qu^ere

Figure 33: The hand of Mary Tudor⁸⁸

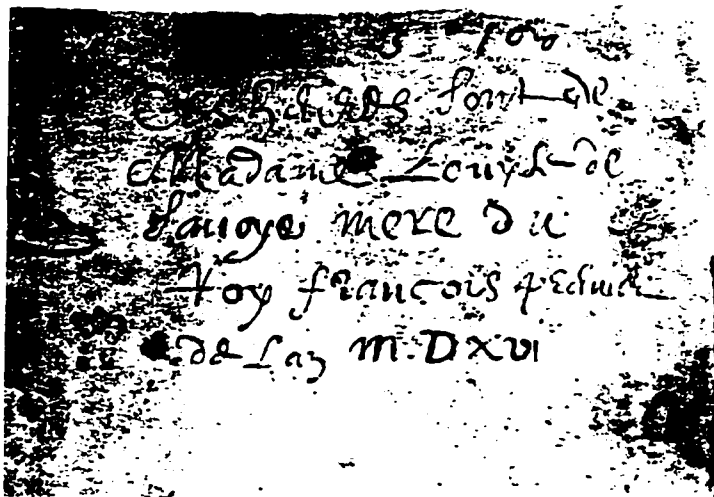


Figure 34: The hand of Louise of Savoy⁸⁹

⁸⁸An excerpt of a letter written by Mary Tudor, while Queen of France, to her brother Henry VIII. London, British Library, Harley MS 6986, reproduced in Warner, entry 7.

⁸⁹An inscription by Louise in her Book of Hours, London, British Library, Kings 7. A more extensive exemplar of Louise's hand can be found in the Musée de Conde, reproduced in Mayer, 210.

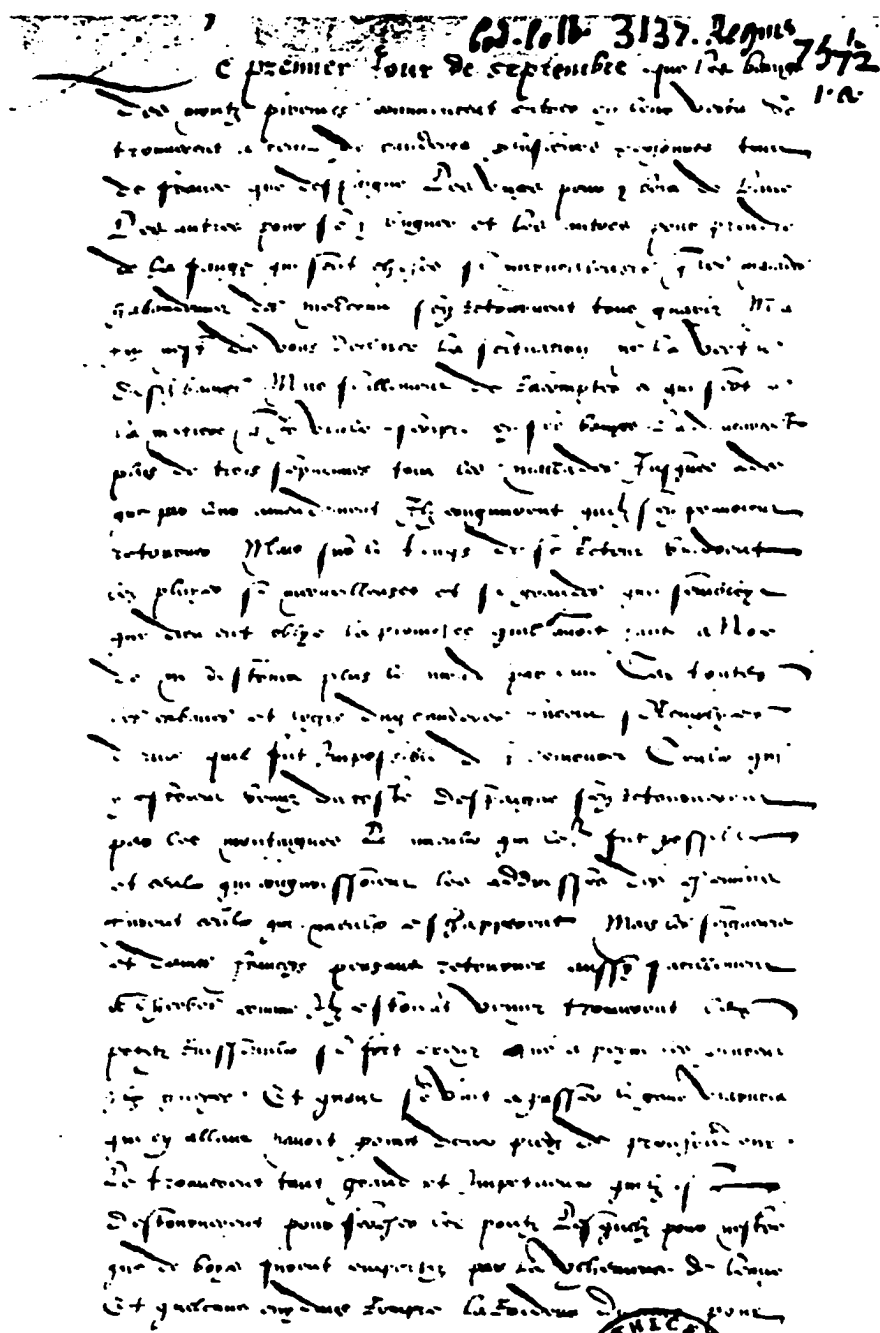


Figure 35: An autograph page from Marguerite d'Alençon's *Heptaméron*⁹⁰

⁹⁰A holograph of a section of the *Heptaméron* now in Paris, Bibliothèque National. It is reproduced in Putnam, 280.

The quality of the entry is not that of a scribe from a professional atelier or scriptorium, but neither was the note written by a complete novice. It seems to have been penned by someone who was familiar and comfortable with music notation. As is mentioned above,⁹¹ a signum is used to dot an “i,” notes are incorporated in the flourish, and a quasi-staff is alluded to as ornamentation. The entry was probably provided by a court musician. They frequently performed alongside nobles and royalty, and logically, would act as music scribes, especially for more casual tasks.⁹² A musician could have written the note while sitting next to a young Boleyn or the original owner at an informal performance. The scribe would need only have possessed some general information about Boleyn, such as her father’s motto.

⁹¹See Chapter 2.

⁹²Richard Freedman, “Paris and the French Court under François I,” in *The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989), 187: “[French manuscripts that have survived reveal] that while the production of music books by hand was often a laborious process, it was nevertheless undertaken by, and for, musicians of all callings.”

**PART THREE: THE COURTS
AND MANUSCRIPT COMPARISONS**

CHAPTER 7

ARTISTIC CULTURE AND MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ROYAL COURTS

A Renaissance court was comprised of the “vastly extended house and household...[of the sovereign powers] and their dependents with all the people belonging to them.”¹ As such, its function included organizing daily life, providing access and safety for the monarch, governing and administrating, and handling social and political integration.² The court, a complex with its own culture, was also to impress rivals and subjects through the display of wealth via the splendor of weddings, tournaments, banquets, libraries, or artistic collections. Accordingly, music, an integral part of socialization and presentation, played a paramount role in both the secular and religious heart of a Renaissance court.

THE ENGLISH COURT

Anne Boleyn spent most of her life in England during the reigns of Henry VII (reigned 1485-1509) and Henry VIII (reigned 1509-47). Henry VII, the first Tudor king, had little time to cultivate high art and music at his court, since his concerns were in putting his crown and its finances on a firm footing. However, he did foster Latin scholarship³ and the building of edifices, including a friary at

¹Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, 5th ed. (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1981), 68; cited in Ronald G. Asch, “Introduction: Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries” in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, eds. Ronald Asch and Adolf Birke (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), 8.

²Werner Paravicini, “The Courts of the Dukes of Burgundy” in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, eds. Ronald Asch and Adolf Birke (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), 71-85.

³Pietro Carmeliani was employed as the king’s Latin secretary, and the Augustinian Bernard André was poet laureate under Henry VII. See S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (Berkeley: University of

Richmond, the Savoy hospital, and his famous memorial chapel at Westminster Abbey.⁴

Also, as an admirer of the Burgundian duchy, Henry VII establish a royal library at Richmond Palace and recruited artists from Burgundy who had been trained as “Limners.”⁵ In 1492, the king appointed a Flemish bibliophile, Quentin Poulet, to the newly created post of Royal Librarian, and Poulet brought to court several more gifted illuminators from the Ghent-Bruges school of the Master of Mary of Burgundy. This Flemish organization of painters and artisans became a virtual dynasty that endured in Southwark into the seventeenth century.⁶

A sophisticated English Renaissance court did not come into existence until the era of the next king, Henry VIII. Young Henry, one of the most learned rulers of his time, embraced the new continental thinking, proudly portraying himself as the very exemplar of a humanist prince. Consequently, he attracted to his court some of the most significant figures in the intellectual life of Europe: the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (ca 1466-1536), Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), and of course gifted poets, such as Anne Boleyn’s friend Thomas Wyatt. Erasmus would go on to praise the court of Henry VIII as “a model of Christian society, so rich in men of the highest attainments that any university might envy it.”⁷

California Press, 1972), 307; and Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1977), 11.

Henry VII’s interest in scholarship was likely inherited from his mother, Margaret Beaufort, the greatest royal patron of humanism of the early Tudor period. She founded Christ College, Oxford, and left provisions in her will for the founding of St. John’s College, Cambridge—the haven of John Fisher and Erasmus. See A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII* (New York: Harper Touchbooks, 1966), 16.

⁴Designed by his master masons, Robert and William Vertue, Robert Janyns, and John Lebons.

⁵That is, manuscript illuminators.

⁶Kipling, 41-71.

⁷See Fraser, 76.

Eager for glorification of the Tudor line, young Henry spent a prodigious amount of money emulating the European princes. He employed the finest continental artists and artisans, such as the Flemish goldsmiths Cornelius Hayes and Thomas Trapper.⁸ The German artist Hans Holbein the Younger (ca 1497-1543), one of the greatest portrait painters of the northern Renaissance, came into English service from 1526 to 1528 and again from 1532 till his death in 1543.⁹ Holbein, who produced many portraits of Henry VIII, also enjoyed Anne Boleyn's patronage shortly before she became queen in 1533.¹⁰

The Horenbouts¹¹ from the Low Countries—the father Gerard and his adult children Lucas and Susanna—were the leading miniaturists at the palace during the 1530s.¹² It is possible that they knew the Boleyns from years before when Thomas Boleyn was ambassador at the palace of Margaret of Austria. Lucas Horenbout, who was appointed an official English royal painter in 1534, had created a few miniatures of Katherine of Aragon and apparently had some connection to the new queen Anne. Although Lucas came to England sometime prior to 1525, long before Boleyn was crowned (yet apparently near the time she returned from France in 1521), one of his first portraits was of William Carey, Mary Boleyn's husband,

⁸Ives, 286.

⁹Provided with letters of introduction by Erasmus, Holbein received a commission for a group portrait of Sir Thomas More and his family (now missing). He also provided illustrations for Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly*. Arthur B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger* (London: George Allen, 1913).

¹⁰Holbein also painted a portrait of Mary Boleyn, William Carey, and Anne's uncle, Thomas Howard, among other family members.

¹¹Also commonly spelled "Hornebolte." Paget remarks that the name appears spelled some thirty different ways in various sources; see Hugh Paget, "Gerard and Lucas Hornbolt in England," *The Burlington Magazine* ci (1959), 396-402.

¹²See Fig. 28 for a listing of artists and musicians of England, Brabant, and France with their respective courts.

Anne's brother-in-law. There is a possibility that the artist's former sovereign, Margaret of Austria, or perhaps her friend Thomas Boleyn, introduced Lucas to his subject and, likewise, to the English court circle.¹³

It is understandable that both Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn would employ the Horenbouts, since both had a passion for continental culture. At Henry's court there was a group of "Francophiles" who were "all French in eating, drinking, and apparel, yea, and in French vices and brags."¹⁴ And Anne, having acquired her tastes in France and Flanders, embraced all that was continental even more so than Henry.

A notebook prepared by Rose Throckman, the daughter of a mercer of Henry VIII, attests to Anne's love for continental books. Throckman reports:

... Also I have heard my father say that Quene Elizabeth's mother the Lady Anne Boloin did cause him when he was a young merchant used to goe into forren countries to get her the new testament & psallms written french in parchment for such Bookes were not to bee had in England in those dayes.¹⁵

Anne owned a French-produced Psalter that dates from between 1529 and 1532 and that was "specially ordered for her from one of the studios in Paris or Rouen which supplied the court and elite society of France." She and Henry, too, had a French Book of Hours, now at Hever Castle, and a book from one of the top studios in France. This latter source is comprised of the adapted text of Clément Marot's poem *Le Pastor Evangélique* (London, British Library, Royal MS 16 E xiii) and contains Anne's arms and badge. Also from France came a French bible (*La Sainte Bible*

¹³Ives, 288; Kipling, 48-49. For more on the Horenbouts, see below, The Brabant Court.

¹⁴See Fraser, 77.

¹⁵This extremely small notebook (13 x 8 cms.) is a "MS narrative by Mrs. Rose Throckmorton formerly wife of Anthony Hickman of her own and the latters's sufferings as Protestants during Queen Mary's reign, written by her in her own hand in her 85th year, circa 1610." British Library, MS 43, 827B, f. 1, 6-7.

en Francoys, Antwerp, 1534, London, British Library, MS C18 C9), a translation by the reformer Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, who at one time was under the patronage of Anne's friend, Marguerite d'Alençon.¹⁶

The famous Tudor Book of Hours (London, British Library, Kings MS 9) in which Henry and Anne inserted love notes to each other is Flemish in style and similar to the books Anne must have seen at the court of Margaret of Austria.¹⁷ Its Sarum aspects suggest that the book could have been produced at the Tudor court.¹⁸ Indeed, Eric Ives has speculated that there may have been a studio of Flemish-trained artisans working under Boleyn's patronage. After reviewing two illuminated manuscripts with French texts in Anne's possession—*The Ecclesiaste* (Percy MS 465),¹⁹ made for Anne when she was queen, and *The Pistellis and Gospelles for the LII Sondayes in the Yere* (London, British Library, Harley MS 6561), produced before she assumed the throne (but after she was created marchioness of Pembroke on Sept. 1, 1532)—Ives asserted that the similarities in hand and style point to a single English workshop producing Flemish-like products.²⁰

¹⁶Ives, 293-294, 319.

¹⁷The Book of Hours, developed in the late Middle Ages, is a prayer book for personal devotions. The books contain the Hours of the Virgin (thus, the name) and usually a liturgical calendar, penitential psalms, passages from the Gospel, the Office of the Dead, and the Litany of the Saints, but the contents can vary depending on the location and tastes of the patron.

¹⁸Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: The British Library, 1985), 79. However, Roger Wieck, 149, notes that Sarum text does not necessarily mean English production. He reports that "there were numerous Books of Hours made for export, such as those made for Sarum (English) use, but actually produced in French or Flemish centers."

¹⁹In the collection of the duke of Northumberland at Alnwick.

²⁰Ives, 292. Carley asserts that George Boleyn, Anne's brother, was behind the translation and preparation of Harley 6561 and the Percy MS. For more information on these sources, see Carley, "Her moost lovyng and fryndely brother," forthcoming, 1997.

Music manuscripts were common in Renaissance England, since all Tudor monarchs were interested, if not proficient, in music. Although the musical household of Henry VII was not as large as those of some continental courts, it surpassed that of the preceding king, Edward IV (reigned 1461-83). Edward employed only five resident musicians, while Henry VII kept a dozen trumpeters, "four sackbuts," a "Welsh Harper," "shawms of the privi chamber," "the princess's string minstrels," and children and eighteen men of the Chapel Royal.²¹ Gifted professional musicians were hired, such as Walter Lambe, William Newark, and Richard Davey, who was chaplain to Anne Boleyn's grandfather, Sir William Boleyn, from 1501 to 1515.²² Still unlike the situation in contemporary Italy, there was no serious level of private music making, music reading or composing ability among the courtiers of Henry VII's court. Therefore, the most important English music manuscripts dating from this era (e.g., Eton College, MS 178; Lambeth Palace 1; and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 667) are neither secular nor intended for performance by lay people.

The first signs of significant support for courtly music came with the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47). Henry was a devoted patron of music, an amateur performer and composer. To his credit, he was somewhat accomplished. An Italian ambassador reported in 1513 that he had seen Henry "dance magnificently in the French style and play the virginals and the recorders in company most creditably, affording pleasure to all present." Also it was said that he "sang and played upon the gitteron-pipe and the lute-pipe and on the cornet"²³ and could sing "from a book

²¹Christopher Morris, *The Tudors* (London: Batsford, 1955), 61.

²²Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), 273.

²³John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen, 1961; reprint with corrections, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 275-76.

at sight.”²⁴ Edward Hall, a first-hand witness to the king’s court, reported that Henry “did set ii. goodly masses, every one of them in five parts, which were sung oftentimes in his chapel, and afterwards in divers other places.”²⁵ Anne Boleyn, too, was a gifted musician.²⁶

Henry was most generous when it came to his favorite art and spent prodigious amounts on an instrument collection that numbered in the hundreds. He owned viols, sackbuts, hunting horns, cornettos, flutes, lutes, virginals, harps, bagpipes, rebecs, approximately seventy-five recorders, and he kept some seventy-nine court musicians in his service, the finest being William Cornyshe (ca 1468-1523) and Robert Fayrfax (d. 1521).²⁷ Both accompanied the king to the Field of Cloth of Gold, and both are represented by works in the so-called Henry VIII Manuscript (London, British Library, Add. 31922), along with compositions by the monarch himself. Suited for palace entertainment, this heterogeneous source is comprised of English court songs, instrumental works, and several pieces, including chansons, by French and Flemish composers.²⁸

Of course, there must have been many music manuscripts at the court of such a dilettante. A few of the extant sources were imported, including: a magnificent presentation manuscript for Henry and Katherine of Aragon (London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G. vii); a French book adapted for presentation to a

²⁴Fraser, 55.

²⁵Lang, 278.

²⁶See Chapter 4.

²⁷Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (London: Methuen & Co., 1914; reprint London: Shenvall Press, 1965), 106. Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1921), 111. For an account of Henry’s musicians, see Henry Cart de Lafontaine, ed., *The King’s Musick* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 1-6.

²⁸John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, vol 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 258-59.

young English prince, perhaps Henry (VIII) (Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 1760); and a manuscript of a mere seven motets that appears to be Burgundian and either came from the continent or was produced in England by a Franco-Flemish workshop (London, British Library, MS Royal 11 E. xi).²⁹

* * *

MS 1070 contains no works by English composers, and a comparison of it with inherently English sources, such as MS Add. 31922 (the Henry VIII manuscript), reveals no substantial similarities.³⁰ The volume is clearly not “English” in style. Indeed, it manifests a Franco-Flemish character.³¹

Of course, there were many continental artists and artisans active at the Tudor court. As Ives speculated, a Flemish workshop could have been established under Anne Boleyn herself, one that may have produced *The Ecclesiaste* (Percy MS 465) and *The Pistellis* (Harley MS 6561). A comparison of MS 1070 and *The Pistellis* reveals that they are not from the same workshop. (Neither was MS 1070 prepared by the French ateliers that produced the Marot poem *Le Pastor Evangélique*, Royal MS 16 E. xiii, or the Book of Hours, Kings 9).

There are three significant music books belonging to the English court that have a continental style. One, MS Royal 11 E. xi, which dates from 1516, could have been produced on the isle.³² Prepared for Henry VIII and Katherine of

²⁹See below.

³⁰MS Add. 31922, which dates from ca 1510-20 (contemporary with the later layers of MS 1070), is comprised of a hodgepodge of hands, styles, and compositions by composers from a variety of regions. Although it contains gold illumination, the decorations are sloppily prepared, almost childishly. It seems that the book as a whole is of poorer quality than MS 1070. It is listed in *Census-Catalogue*, II: 65.

³¹See *The Netherlands Court* and *The French Court* below.

³²In the catalogue of the *Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, George Warner and Julius Gilson assert that MS Royal 11 E. xi was illuminated by an English hand. *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum* 4 vols. (London: [The Trustees], 1921), I: 360. *Census-Catalogue*, II: 104-05.

Aragon, this volume contains seven motets, two of which are by Richard Sampson (Bishop of Chichester, Coventry and Lichfield) and one by Benedictus Opitiis, a musician from Antwerp in the service of Henry VIII. It contains the flags of England and Spain, Tudor roses, and a composition in honor of the king. MS 1070 shares no works with MS Royal 11 E. xi.

Another, MS Royal 8 G. vii, was presented to Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon sometime after 1509, perhaps 1516-22. It contains a repertory of almost completely Franco-Flemish motets by composers such as Josquin, Mouton, Févin, and La Rue. The beautifully ornamented initial pages of this parchment book bear the heraldic emblems of Henry and Katherine, including coats of arms; the Tudor rose; and Katherine's badge, the Spanish pomegranate. A work by Mouton in Royal 8 G. vii, "Adiutorium nostrum,"³³ has had the names "Anna" and "Ludovicus" (in the original composition, representing Anne of Brittany and Louis XII) erased and replaced with "Katherina" and "Henricus Rex."³⁴ This piece is one of two shared

³³"Adiutorium nostrum" is sometimes attributed to Antoine de Févin.

³⁴It is generally agreed that MS Royal 8 G. vii was made on the continent, but its exact provenance is still in question. Frank Tirro asserts that the manuscript may have been prepared in France for Anne of Brittany and was used in her chapel or that of Louis XII. Later, it may have passed through the Netherlands and then on to England, being adapted for the Tudors either at a Ghent-Bruges atelier or after arriving on the isle. Herbert Kellman concludes that the book is from the Netherlands court of Margaret of Austria or that of her nephew Charles V and that the French royal names were accidentally inserted by a scribe who was copying from a source with the original French names. Therefore, the apparent erasures were caused by the correcting of a copying error. Kellman proposes that the book contains pieces directly associated with Margaret and Charles. That it also has pieces by composers associated with the French court is not unusual since such works were not uncommon in Malines manuscripts. *London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G. vii* in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 9, intro. Herbert Kellman (New York: Garland, 1987). Frank Tirro, "Royal 8. G. vii: Strawberry Leaves, Single Arch, and Wrong-Way Lions" *The Musical Quarterly* 67/1 (January, 1981): 1-28. *Census-Catalogue*, II: 103-04.

After having examined various manuscripts from England, Burgundy/Netherlands, and France, I concur with Kellman: I believe MS Royal 8 G. vii is characteristically Burgundian. As C. F. R. de Hamel has recognized, "The illumination of Ghent-Bruges manuscripts after 1500 is so distinctive that one can recognize it at twenty paces: scatter borders of flowers and strawberries and insects realistically painted as if they were fallen on the liquid gold grounds." C. F. R. de Hamel, "Reflexions on the Trade in Books of Hours at Ghent Bruges" in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at Warburg Institute on 12-13 March 1982*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1983), 30.

by MS 1070 and MS Royal 8 G. vii; however, in the MS 1070 version, the names Anna and Ludovicus are maintained, the literary text is abbreviated, and the underlay differs from that of MS Royal 8 G. vii. “Verbum bonum suave” by Thérache is the other work shared by the two books. According to Lowinsky’s variant readings, there is not enough evidence to suggest that the comparable pieces in each book came from the same copy source or related descendent.³⁵

MS Royal 11 E. xi and MS Royal 8 G. vii are both large books in dimension, 49 x 35.5 and 37 x 35.8 cms respectively, and they both appear to have been written in Flemish hands. This copy style bears some similarity to that of hand 3 of MS 1070 (see below, The Netherlands Court). But the shapes of the music noteheads in the English-court sources are quite calculated and symmetrical, almost as if they were machine produced. This is possibly because the large size of these manuscripts allows for a more exact hand. The music copy of MS 1070 in comparison seems crowded and cramped, with much more material fitting onto each line.³⁶

The decorations of MS Royal 11 E. xi and MS Royal 8 G. vii are rich and luxuriant with fine gold illumination; they are far more splendid than those of MS 1070. Both these sources and MS 1070 contain penwork initials incorporating sketched-in faces,³⁷ but such were common in various manuscripts of the day.

³⁵See Lowinsky, *Medici Codex*, 145-47.

³⁶Facsimiles pages of manuscripts such as MS Royal 8 G. vii are often quite deceptive, since, by necessity, they have been greatly reduced in size. When comparing the pages of any facsimile edition with those of MS 1070, one should keep such size alterations, among other considerations, in mind.

³⁷These caligraphic initials with faces occur only in the work of scribes 4 and 5 of MS 1070.

Another book written in the continental manner that is found in England is Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1760. This source contains the Cross of St. George and the royal arms of England, indicating that the book was a gift for an English prince, perhaps the young Henry (VIII). Howard Mayer Brown has determined that the style, decorations, and repertory point towards French compilation and an association with the French court. The English arms were painted over some other image that could have represented the French royal family. Herbert Kellman has speculated that signs of continuation represent ermine tails, the emblem of Brittany (thus, Anne of Brittany).³⁸ The book was probably compiled in France around 1509, that is, from the same general time as the core of MS 1070. The two volumes share four concordances: "Sub tuum presidium" by Brumel, "Verbum bonum et suave" by Thérache, "Sancta trinitas unus deus" by Févin, and "Adiutorium nostrum" by Mouton.³⁹ In this last instance, in MS Pepys 1760 as in MS 1070, the names of Anna and Ludovicus remain in the text of the piece.⁴⁰




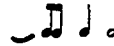

It seems that the Thérache piece, "Verbum bonum et suave," in MS 1070 and MS Pepys 1760 was prepared from the same copy source. Through variant readings, Lowinsky has discovered that the pieces in these two books:

are confined to slight embellishments of soprano *clausulae* (mm. 5, 20, 28-30, where the triad melody is filled in stepwise and the simple cadence is

³⁸See *Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1760* in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol 2, intro. Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland, 1988); and Montague Rhodes James, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys. Part III: Mediaeval Manuscripts* (London: Sedgwick and Jackson, 1923), 36-38.

³⁹Attributed to Févin in MS Pepys 1760.

⁴⁰Not too much should be read into the retention or replacement of these names. MS Pepys 1760 was for an English prince but has the French names. Likewise, "Adiutorium nostrum" in the *Medici Codex* (Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni 666), a book perhaps intended for Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, has the names of French royalty. It is of note if the names are *not* those of Louis and Anne, but of little significance if they are.

changed to an under-third *clausula* with its typical rhythmic pattern , to different groupings of repeated notes (the alto, which has the unusual rhythmic pattern  in mm. 36-37, appear in London R.C. 1070 with the more common grouping , and similar small variants of little significance. Cambridge and London R.C. 1070 introduce a parallel fifth into a two-part passage by changing the alto pattern (m. 16) from  to ; they lack a whole measure in the bass (m. 87).⁴¹

Some of these concordant readings are substantial, such as the missing measure in the bass part. There are similar relationships between the readings of the other three pieces shared by MS 1070 and MS Pepys 1760, and, although these are not exceptional, it is still possible that they too are derived from the same copy source or descendent. There are no significant similarities with regard to line breaks or formatting between any of the four shared works, and a comparison of musical notes, clefs, and decorations reveals that MS 1070 is not from the same workshop as MS Pepys 1760. But it is of some note that “Verbum bonum et suave” in MS 1070 was probably copied from the same source or descendent source as that of MS Pepys 1760, a book that was prepared in France.

Unlike MSS Royal 11 E. xi, Royal 8 G. vii, and Pepys 1760, MS 1070 has no arms, devices, insignias, or obvious telltale signs indicating that it is from or for the Tudor court. MS 1070 probably has some relationship to the French source, MS Pepys 1760, but not through an English association. The only link between MS 1070 and the English court is Anne Boleyn’s name and, as has been discussed, this designation is representative of Boleyn before 1529, that is, before she had a

⁴¹Lowinsky, *Medici Codex*, 146-47.

meaningful position at court. At best, her name is a weak link connecting MS 1070 with the court of England.⁴²

THE NETHERLANDS COURT

Anne Boleyn began her formal childhood studies at the grandest court in Europe, the Netherlands court of Margaret of Austria. Margaret's principal residence was a palace in Malines (Mechelin), the former home of her beloved godmother and step-grandmother Margaret of York. The household retained the cultural tastes of the York duchess, but it was assuredly enhanced by the young regent. As her inventory records, her palace rooms were veritable museums filled with:

statuettes, gold and silver caskets and mirrors, crystal, chalcedony and jasper goblets and vases, carved ivories, amber, corals, and curiously wrought chessmen, beautiful fans, medallions, clocks of rare workmanship which struck the hours and half hours, magnificent plates, sometimes inlaid with precious stones, glass and pottery, suits of armor, ivory hunting horns, and various relics of the chase.⁴³

The walls were replete with lavish fabrics, priceless tapestries, and hundreds of magnificent paintings, including those by Jan van Eyck and Hieronymous Bosch. Leading architects, sculptors, poets, artists and humanists, the likes of Albrecht Dürer and Desiderius Erasmus, gravitated towards Margaret of Austria's grand and lively court. Indeed, the regent, who had lived in the palaces of France, Spain, and Savoy, was expert at presenting elaborate festivities, hunts, and tournaments. Many sought to witness her events, which quickly set the fashion for the rest of northern Europe. Margaret of Austria was the leader of northern Renaissance culture, and

⁴²Again, I find no substantial evidence to support Lowinsky's proposal that MS 1070 was produced at the English court for Anne Boleyn while she was queen.

⁴³Tremayne, 273, 305-34.

her household was the international stopping place for those seeking the latest in Renaissance style.

Kept readily in the service of the court were the many musicians requisite for both secular and religious functions; namely, for High Mass, daily Hours, dramatic productions, dances, banquets, processions, ceremonies, entertainments and musical performance before and after meals—a standard occurrence at many palaces. The musicians of the major musical institution, the court chapel, acted not only as chaplains and clerics but also as composers, instrumentalists, singers, teachers, and scribes. Margaret's small private chapel was dependent upon the music and musicians of the principal Burgundian chapel of her nephew Charles, which of course was under her supervision. By 1509, Charles's organization was mainly comprised of the personnel of the chapel of his deceased father, Philip of Burgundy.⁴⁴

As part of his musical household, Margaret's brother, Philip, had employed singers, trumpeters, sackbut, musette, lute, viol, tabor players, and the composers Gaspar van Weerbecke and Pierre de la Rue.⁴⁵ The Archduke Philip's principal organist, Govard Nepotis (Margaret's former music instructor), was replaced in 1500 by the famous musician Henry Bredemers. Bredemers was a skilled keyboardist and teacher who went on to acquire a substantial position under the regent's patronage. He had the important task of providing musical instruction to the royal wards and he perhaps even taught the young Anne Boleyn.⁴⁶ Following Alexander Agricola's service in Italy and France, Bredemers entered the

⁴⁴Picker, *Chanson*, 22-24.

⁴⁵La Rue went on to spend his lifetime in Hapsburg service.

⁴⁶His finest student was the eldest girl, Eleanor, who although apparently a gifted keyboard player (in 1512 she was provided with her own *clavicenon*), was noted for her skill on the lute and her beautiful voice in ensemble singing. See Picker, *Chanson*, 28.

Netherlands chapel in 1500. In 1505, Antoine Divitis and Marbrianus de Orto likewise joined. De Orto, La Rue, and Bredemers went on to work for Charles and Margaret.⁴⁷

By 1523, Margaret's library, which contained hundreds of volumes (including some of the finest illuminated manuscripts of the epoch),⁴⁸ included a music manuscript collection. Margaret owned a chanson album (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 11239) that she had brought to the Netherlands from the ducal library of Savoy (where Dufay had been chapel master in the preceding century) and at least a few other music anthologies, including two "Livres de chants," a volume of *basse-danses* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 9085) and another chanson album (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 228) prepared for her in the Netherlands probably between 1516 and 1523.⁴⁹ There are several other music manuscripts with a Burgundian style located throughout Europe, and many of these were probably produced at Margaret's court or at those of Philip or Charles.⁵⁰

Usually, music manuscripts were copied at court by scribes who were also musicians of the chapel; but, it is believed that there were at least three

⁴⁷In 1506, Divitis, Agricola, and La Rue all accompanied Philip to Spain where the duke shortly thereafter died. See Reese, *Renaissance*, 276; and Martin Picker, "The Hapsburg Courts in the Netherlands and Austria, 1477-1530" in *The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989), 220-21.

⁴⁸Such as the priceless *Très riches heures de duc de Berry* and *The Sforza Hours*. See *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Mai-juillet, 1940).

⁴⁹MS 11239 may be in the hand of a scribe and singer named Sebastian Pinchon; Picker, *Chanson*, 26, 18.

⁵⁰A list of such sources can be found in Herbert Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France; The Evidence of the Sources" in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juillard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21-25 June 1971*, ed. E. Lowinsky with B. J. Blackburn, 181-216 (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 209.

distinguished copyists under the Hapsburgs. Herbert Kellman has assigned a letter designation to each copyist: Scribe A, who was the famous Alamire, i.e., Pierre van den Hove; Scribe B, who was possibly Martin Bourgeois; and an unidentified scribe, designated as Scribe C.⁵¹

Martin Bourgeois was the primary court scribe engaged by Maximilian, Philip, Margaret, and Charles V at various times between 1498 and 1514. He was first retained as a chaplain and priest in Margaret's private household, then in 1502 he was passed on to Philip the Handsome and in 1506 to Charles. Alamire is the most famous of the Burgundian music scribes. A singer and composer, as well as a prolific copyist, Alamire was employed in the chapel of Philip and then at the courts of Margaret and Charles (from 1509). He became the main court scribe in 1514 following Bourgeois's tenure.⁵² Alamire supplied copies not only to Burgundy but also to patrons in Germany, Spain, Austria, France,⁵³ and England. Between 1515 and 1518, while residing at the Malines court, he supplied music manuscripts and instruments to the court of Henry VIII, while apparently acting as a spy for the English king. In 1515 Cardinal Wolsey received correspondence from a fellow diplomat noting that "Alamire has an order . . . to make a book of Our Lady Matins as a pretext for more perfect communication."⁵⁴

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Alamire, however, maintained a residence in Antwerp until about 1515-16, after which he moved to Malines.

⁵³Alamire visited France in 1516 and 1518. Isabelle Cazeaux, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Praeger Pub., 1975), 252.

⁵⁴See *Census-Catalogue* index for a list of manuscripts believed to have been copied by Alamire. Picker, *Chanson*, 34; Picker, "The Hapsburg Courts," 229-30; Herbert Kellman, "Pierre Alamire" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), I: 192-93.

After the music was prepared, the Hapsburg sources were frequently sent to the brilliant workshops of Bruges and Ghent where Flemish painters, considered the greatest in northern Europe, produced the most beautiful manuscript illuminations of the epoch.⁵⁵ It is no wonder that the books were created as impressive gifts for foreign princes and courtiers, as well as for palaces within the Empire. The output of these studios was so splendid that many of the manuscripts were considered precious jewels for display rather than for practical use.

Residing in Ghent, where he had been a master painter since 1487, was Margaret's official illuminator and miniaturist Gerard Horenbout.⁵⁶ The regent's court painter in 1515, Horenbout, produced several works for her, including a Book of Hours in 1517, but his only extant documented creations are the illustrations and miniatures he added to *The Sforza Hours* (British Library, Add. MS 34294).⁵⁷ Still, the artist, or his workshop, may have been responsible for the decorations in the chanson album MS 228.⁵⁸

Horenbout's daughter, Susanna, was a gifted illuminator whose skill had greatly impressed Albrecht Dürer during his 1521 visit to Antwerp, and she too may have provided illuminations for Margaret of Austria—as did perhaps her brother Lucas, who was a distinguished artist in the Ghent painters guild. The Horenbout family moved to England in the early 1520s. Lucas, as of 1525, became a leading

⁵⁵Book binding also flourished in Ghent-Bruges. Hamel, 32.

⁵⁶Prior to being identified by art historians, Horenbout was referred to as "The Master of the Hortulus animae."

⁵⁷*The Sforza Hours* was originally owned by Bona of Savoy, the wife of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan. In 1503 while a guest in Savoy of her nephew, Duke Philibert II, she died and Philibert inherited the book. Upon his death the following year, Margaret took possession of it. See Mark Evans, *The Sforza Hours* (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1992).

Some believe that Gerard Horenbout provided illuminations for the *Grimani Breviary* as well. See Kipling, 48.

⁵⁸Picker, *Chansons*, 19.

English court painter and an important innovator of the Tudor portrait miniature. Gerard also was engaged by Henry VIII, at least from 1528 to 1531. Susanna married a yeoman of the king and subsequently went into the service of both Anne of Cleves and Katherine Parr.⁵⁹

* * *

Upon comparing MS 1070 with Hapsburg court sources, both differences and similarities are evident. It seems that the decorations of MS 1070 were not prepared in a Burgundian workshop. They show little likeness to those of the Horenbouts, such as the decorations of *The Sforza Hours*, MS 228 (possibly), or Horenbout paintings.⁶⁰ Nor do the images have any striking resemblance to those in other Ghent-Bruges music sources, including Vatican, Chigi MS C. VIII. 234, and Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2439. MS 1070's initials and miniatures are not as opulent or as detailed as the Burgundian productions; they have no gold illumination, are colored with simple red and blue watercolors, and manifest a raw, provincial nature.⁶¹

Of the five hands represented in MS 1070, none seems to have been from the scriptorium of Alamire or Kellman's Scribe C.⁶² However, the work of scribe 3 of

⁵⁹Other painters at the court of Margaret of Austria included Bernart van Orley, Jan Mostaert, Jan Gossaert, and Jan Vermeyen, as well as the Italian Jacopo de' Barbari. Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, 24-28.

⁶⁰A painting of William Carey (Boleyn's brother-in-law) attributed to Lucas Horenbout is reproduced in Paget, "Gerard and Lucas Hornbolt."

⁶¹A color facsimile page of MS 228 can be seen on the frontispiece of Picker, *Chansons*. Facsimile editions of the Basevi Codex and the Chigi Codex are as follows: Honey Meconi, intro., *Basevi Codex: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS 2439* (Peer, Belgium: Alamire, 1990); and Vatican City, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234* in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol 22, intro. Herbert Kellman (New York: Garland, 1987).

⁶²For an exemplar of the Alamire's calligraphic style, see *Royal 8 G. vii*, Garland. For Scribe C's style, see Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 3, ff. 1 and 15 reproduced in Kellman, *Josquin Proceedings*, plates 32-33.

MS 1070 does have a Burgundian character. Indeed, scribe 3's copying bears a striking resemblance to that attributed to Martin Bourgeois (or rather, Scribe B). This hand's music copy, accompanied by texts in the *bastard secretary* style, employs a neat, fine script, in which solid noteheads are "colored in" with repeated detailed strokes.⁶³

Bourgeois, or someone in his workshop, is believed to have prepared the following:⁶⁴

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 9126
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 831
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 756
Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2439
Vaticana, Chigi MS C. VIII. 234

Like the core of MS 1070, these manuscripts date from ca 1500 to 1510 and contain works by Franco-Flemish composers. MS 9126, comprised of Masses, Magnificats, and motets, is closely associated with the Netherlands court.⁶⁵ As Kellman has asserted, MS 9126 is the only extant source produced specifically for Philip of Burgundy and Juana of Spain, and it may be a result, musically, of the meeting between Philip's court and that of Louis XII in 1501 and 1503.⁶⁶ MS 9126 shares two concordances with MS 1070, both relatively well-known pieces: Josquin's "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" (hand 1, #8) and his "Huc me sydere" (hand 2, #38). Neither was copied in MS 1070 in the Bourgeois-like hand (hand 3).

⁶³See Chapter 2 for a description of the hands of MS 1070.

⁶⁴Kellman, *Josquin Proceedings*, 209.

⁶⁵Facsimile pages from MS 9126 can be found in Herbert Kellman, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex: The Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, C. VIII. 234," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11 (1958). See also *Census-Catalogue*, I: 94

⁶⁶Kellman, *Josquin Proceedings*, 196, 201.

Oxford MS Ashmole 831 is a volume comprised of several separate manuscripts originally not compiled as a unit. Only the last two folios contain musical compositions, these being three incomplete secular pieces that do not concord with any works of MS 1070. Verona MS 756 is essentially a volume of Masses by Burgundian composers and is decorated in the Ghent-Bruges style. It, too, does not share pieces with MS 1070.⁶⁷

Vatican, Chigi MS C. VIII. 234, better known as the Chigi Codex, is a beautifully illuminated book of Masses and motets also ornamented in the style of the Ghent-Bruges school. According to Kellman, it was originally prepared for a Burgundian courtier, Philippe Bouton (1418-1515), who was primarily in the service of Archduke Philip but who frequently served at the French court from the reign of Louis XI to Francis I. MS 1070 and the Chigi Codex have famous pieces in common: Josquin's "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" (#8, hand 1) and Févin's "Sancta trinitas unus deus" (#41, hand 2), which are found in many music manuscripts of era.⁶⁸

A closer examination of the Chigi Codex reveals that the form and the slant of the notes are similar to those of MS 1070's scribe 3; however, there are clear differences in size (the Chigi is a much larger volume in dimensions), custodes (except in a few instances), treble clefs, and above all, decorations, those of the Chigi Codex being much more complex and sophisticated.

Hand 3 of MS 1070 seems to be most similar to that of Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS Basevi 2439, known as the Basevi Codex. This volume too may be associated with the courtier Bouton, inasmuch as it contains a work whose

⁶⁷*Census-Catalogue*, II: 272, IV: 76.

⁶⁸*Chigi Codex*, Garland. *Census-Catalogue*, IV: 12.

text, “Dedens bouton,” probably refers to his family.⁶⁹ Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that a member of this Bouton clan, a Flemish nobleman, Claude Bouton, Siegneur de Courbaron, was Anne Boleyn’s escort from England to the court of Margaret of Austria in 1513.⁷⁰

The Basevi Codex, an oblong volume, contains Latin-texted works and a number of French secular pieces, many of which were composed by Alexander Agricola and Pierre de la Rue. Apparently the manuscript was commissioned by a member of the Agostini Ciardi family of Siena, Italy, and prepared in the Brussels/Mechlin scriptorium.⁷¹ There are no pieces concordant with MS 1070, and, once again, the decorations are dissimilar. (Although the art work of the Basevi Codex is not as splendid as that of the Chigi Codex, it is still less plain than that of MS 1070.) Notable likenesses between the work of scribe 3 of MS 1070 and that of the core scribe of the Basevi Codex include the shapes and slants of notes, custodes, clefs, and text. Still, it should be mentioned that there is not one instance in the Basevi Codex of the uniquely ornamented longas found in hand 3’s work of MS 1070.⁷²

Handwriting in the Burgundian style may be present in MS 1070, but the composers represented in the book are, for the most part, not associated with the northern court. In fact, of thirty works that can attributed to specific composers, only one can be identified with a Burgundian musician, that being Obrecht, who was probably from Ghent. The piece attributed to him, “Alma redemptoris mater,”

⁶⁹Meconi, 6.

⁷⁰See Chapter 5.

⁷¹Meconi; *Census Catalogue*, I: 233.

⁷²See MS 1070, p. 157/79r (Fig. 22 above) and pp. 170/85v, 172/86v, 199/100r.

copied by hand 2, is unique: it survives only in MS 1070 and is one of only two in the entire volume with an attribution. (Twenty-eight other pieces are assigned to composers by means of concordances.) Being attributed to a Flemish composer and having an attribution in the first place makes “Alma redemptoris mater” an anomaly in MS 1070.⁷³

Because of the large number of French works (as discussed below) and the sparsity of Burgundian pieces, MS 1070 is not representative of extant Hapsburg manuscripts. Seen in terms of sources of the northern court complex, such as those mentioned above, MS 1070 appears aberrant. Granted, the Chigi Codex contains many French pieces, and, as Kellman has observed, it “represents precisely those works that someone moving back and forth between France and the Netherlands, and spending time at their courts, would have encountered in the course of the second half of the century.”⁷⁴ But in the case of MS 1070, there are so few works with Burgundian associations, that one is hard pressed to suggest that the book even has this type of dual character.

Then what of the Burgundian-like script of hand 3 in MS 1070? It is obvious from the lives of the Horenbouts, of Alamire, and others, that copyists and artists from the Hapsburg court lived and worked in foreign realms.⁷⁵ A logical conclusion might be that scribe 3 of MS 1070 was trained in the Burgundian style, perhaps by a Burgundian copyist who was living in a foreign land. Or perhaps he/she learned the trade in a Mechlin/Brussels scriptorium. But the scribe was likely not working in the Netherlands, especially since scribe 3 appears to have

⁷³This could lead one to speculate whether the attribution is accurate.

⁷⁴*Chigi Codex*, Garland, vi.

⁷⁵See above, The English Court, and below, The French Court.

prepared material in conjunction with scribes 1 and 2, whose hands are not found, at least to date, in Burgundian sources.⁷⁶

Hand 3 is notably similar to that of the Basevi Codex, but it cannot be unequivocally declared that they are one in the same, that is, the hand of Bourgeois or Scribe B. At best, it can merely be said that hand 3 of MS 1070 has a Malines/Brussels character, and, since hand 3 is most similar to that of the Basevi Codex, this scribe and the Basevi volume's scribe may have apprenticed with the same master or in the same workshop.

THE FRENCH COURT

When Anne Boleyn left Netherlands in 1514, she headed for the northern court second only to Margaret's in brilliance—the court of France. The intellectual and artistic life of the French establishment had increased immensely since the time of Louis XI, in many ways still a medieval king. With the era of Anne of Brittany and her husbands, Charles VIII (wed in 1491) and Louis XII (wed in 1499), and their numerous Italian campaigns, southern influences began to seep into the realm. The Italian style emerged as Venetian and Neapolitan sculptors, artisans, and painters were employed to enlarge and embellish the French palaces, such as the favorite châteaux of Amboise and Blois.

A French school of art also was cultivated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. John of Paris (1455-1529), a favorite painter of the queen-duchess (he decorated the manuscript of her funeral services), was employed by the court from the time of Charles VIII to Francis I. The greatest French sculptor of the era, Michel Colombe, was in the service of the royals, as was one of the most skilled and versatile artists of the time, Jean Bourdichon. Bourdichon was a *valet de*

⁷⁶See below, The French Court, and Chapter 2.

chambre of Charles and official painter for Louis XI, Louis XII, and Francis I. Along with miniatures and portraits, Bourdichon produced banners, historical pictures, and coinage imprints, among other sundry works. He and Jehan Poyet, illuminator, historian, and prolific writer, both worked in the Flemish style, and each provided a Book of Hours for Louis and Anne.⁷⁷ Bourdichon's *Grandes Heures* of Anne of Brittany (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 9474) is one of the most famous illuminated manuscripts in the world.

The extensive library of Louis and Anne contained many luxurious manuscripts. From his grandfather and father, Louis had inherited a collection of some 200 volumes, to which he apparently contributed a few music books before becoming king. Anne donated part of her father's collection to the royal library. Throughout their reign, the pair added some 1000 works from Pavia, hundreds of Greek and Latin manuscripts, and at least 150 Flemish illuminated manuscripts. By the beginning of the reign of Francis I, the library's inventory listed 1,626 books and manuscripts, largely contributions of Louis and Anne.⁷⁸

The French royalty also cultivated an interest in poetry. Contemporary poets flourished at Louis's court, particularly a group known as the *Grand Rhétoriciens*, who sought to imitate the Ancients by approaching poetry as oratory. This group included Jean Bouchet, André de La Vigne, Jean d'Auton (the official chronicler of the king), Octavien de Saint-Gelais (a poet and translator of Greek and Latin authors), Jean Lemaire de Belges, and Jean Marot, (*valet de chambre* of the queen and father of Clément). Except for Bouchet, all served Anne and dedicated works to the queen.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Frederic Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 165.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 155-56.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 159.

Of all the arts, Louis and Anne probably had the greatest passion for music. Both previous kings, Louis XI and Charles VIII, supported fine musical establishments. Ockeghem directed Louis XI's chapel, and while Charles retained the master composer, he added such remarkable musicians as Loyset Compère and Alexander Agricola.⁸⁰ But it was during Louis XII's reign that the path emerged for the golden age of the French musical Renaissance. Clearly, the monarch had been influenced early on by his musical parents. His mother, Mary of Cleves, reportedly had a musical ensemble performing at the foot of her bed while she gave birth to Louis, and his father, Charles d'Orléans, was an accomplished musician and one of the greatest poets of his time who had many of his writings set to music.⁸¹ Anne's parents, Francis II and Marguerite of Foix, also loved music and no doubt assured that their daughters studied the art well.⁸²

Thus, when Anne became queen—the first queen to hold a court of her own⁸³—she retained a personal music chapel compiled from her ducal court in Brittany. It included singers such as Prégent de Jagu, Yvon le Brun, Maistre Pierre Touppe, and Pietrequin Bonnel,⁸⁴ as well as a keyboardist, a lutenist, rebec and

⁸⁰The king's second wife, Anne de Beaujeu's mother, Charlotte of Savoy, also maintained her own chapel with singers. See Cazeaux, 13-15; Reese, *Renaissance*, 223. For a detailed listing of the chapel and court musicians of Anne of Brittany, Charles VIII, and Louis XII, see Bonime.

⁸¹Binchois, for example, set Charles d'Orléans's *Mon cuer chante*. Baumgartner, 167; Cazeaux, 15, 42.

⁸²Lionel de La Laurencie, "La Musique à la cour des ducs de Bretagne aux XIVe et XVe siècles" *Revue de Musicologie* 17 (1933): 1-15.

⁸³Anne's court was instituted shortly after her first coronation. She possessed all that the king had, excepting an army, although she did have her own Breton guard. At her court, Anne held royal functions and gave audience to foreign ambassadors and various nobility. Sanborn, 180-99.

⁸⁴Jagu, a significant royal musician and servant, apparently left Anne's chapel and became *valet de chambre* to Louis (XII) while the latter was still duc d'Orléans. Bonnel was from Picardy but had worked as a singer in Savoy and Florence (at the Santa Maria del Fiore cathedral). Of the musicians from Anne's first reign, he is the only one known to be a composer. Bonime, 8-12. See

tabourin players, and trumpeters and cornettists.⁸⁵ In Anne's second court, Pierre Mouton was engaged as the queen's organist,⁸⁶ and Jean Mouton, who was probably in her service from 1502,⁸⁷ was composer, singer, and later director of her court chapel. Jean wrote several motets whose texts directly refer to the queen, including "Caeleste beneficium,"⁸⁸ "Non nobis Domine," and "Quis dabit oculis."

Louis XII's chapel, under the direction of Johannes Prioris, employed Antoine de Longueval (*maître de chapelle* of Francis I), Jean Braconnier,⁸⁹ Antoine de Févin, and, as of the death of Anne in 1514, Pierre and Jean Mouton.⁹⁰ At some point, Claudin de Sermisy became a singer in Louis XII's personal chapel, as did other members of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris.⁹¹ Josquin des Prez was associated with Louis's court and is reported to have been there at least in 1501 and 1503.

That professional activities in music were highly regarded at the French court is certain, but, likewise, so was performance in the private realm. The

also Joshua Rifkin, "Pietrequin Bonnel and Ms. 2794 of the Biblioteca riccardiana" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29/2 (1976): 284-96.

⁸⁵Freedman, 178; Bonime, 12.

⁸⁶Pierre and Jean Mouton were in Anne's chapel in 1509 and are not listed in Louis's chapel until 1514. The Moutons, along with several of Anne's other musicians, probably entered into Louis's service following the death of the queen in 1514. After Louis's death, the Moutons went into the service of Francis I. Bonime, 38-39.

⁸⁷Louise Litterick, "The Manuscript Royal 20. A. xvi of the British Library" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976), 60; Bonime, 36.

⁸⁸"Adiutorium nostrum," which is composition #40 in MS 1070, appears as the second part of "Caeleste beneficium" in two printed sources: Petrucci, *Motetti de la Corona libro primo*, 1514 and Giunta, *Motetti de la Corona libro primo*, 1526.

⁸⁹Braconnier was referred to as "Lourdault" (Blockhead).

⁹⁰Cazeaux, 16.

⁹¹Sermisy held a minor position as a cleric at the Sainte-Chapelle parish church in 1508, long before his appointment at the royal chapel. Freedman, 180. On Févin, Mouton, Sermisy, and Josquin, see Chapter 3 above.

Anne, Louis, and Charles III of Bourbon were involved in the musical "pillage" of the chapel in 1508, dividing up the singers among themselves. Bonime, 71.

famously prudish Anne, who was quite strict with her attendants—censuring those who were immodestly dressed or who spoke to men unchaperoned—still insured that they partook in abundant music making.⁹² Her maids spent hours participating in festivities, playing spinets, lutes, guitars, and other musical instruments, in addition to frequently singing with the queen.⁹³ The king apparently was not of fair voice, but still enjoyed the activities of performance. According to Glarean, Louis requested his *maître de chapelle* to compose a polyphonic piece in which the king could participate with his limited abilities. Louis's part in "Lutuichi regis Franciae jocosa cantio," as Glarean called it, consisted of one long note—the monarch was thus able to sing along without losing his pitch or his place in the music.⁹⁴

Like the Hapsburgs, the French royalty delighted in music books. Louis XII owned at least a few music manuscripts from his days as duc d'Orléans. One such book, which bears the Orléans coat of arms, is a collection of chansons (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds fr. 2245) dating from the 1490s. The manuscript, which contains works by Agricola, Compère, Prioris, and Hayne van Ghizeghem, was perhaps prepared by the musician-copyist Jean de Crespières, who may have produced at least two other music manuscripts for Louis some time before 1498, that is, before he became king.⁹⁵ As sovereigns, Louis and Anne perhaps also

⁹²Sanborn, 186-89.

⁹³Ibid, 189.

⁹⁴Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, trans. Clement Miller, 2 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1965), I: 3; II: 284. The king, who would perform the tenor part labeled *regis vox*, was further assisted by the bass singer, whose part comprised an ostinato pattern that alternately sounded two pitches a fifth a part—the note of the *regis vox* being one of these bass pitches at the lower octave.

⁹⁵See Baumgartner, 155; Litterick, 40-41; Kellman, *Josquin Proceedings*, 205-06. For a list of the contents of MS fr. 2245 see Henri Omont, et al., *Bibliothèque Nationale Département de Manuscrits Catalogue* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1868), I: 390. See also Louise Litterick, "Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century," *Early Music* (October, 1980): 474-85.

commissioned a music book (Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1760) that was possibly produced in Bourdichon's workshop and eventually sent to the court of England.⁹⁶

Like her parents, Claude, the daughter of the Anne of Brittany and Louis XII and later queen of France, was a notable patron of manuscripts. She possessed a finely ornamented primer from her childhood (ca 1505-10, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 159),⁹⁷ a charming Book of Prayers (H. P. Kraus Collection, New York), and two beautiful Books of Hours (one from the H. P. Kraus Collection, the other, London, British Museum, Add. MS 35214).⁹⁸

Claude's husband, the succeeding Valois king, Francis I (reigned 1515-47), was a leading figure in the shaping of the French Renaissance. A northerner who, as the Monseigneur d'Angoulême, was lauded even by the Italian Castiglione for his "loftiness" and "gracious humanity," Francis played a paramount role in moving the court from its medieval chivalrous temperament to a modern one of *savoir-faire* and "culture."⁹⁹ The sovereign cultivated a variety of artistic endeavors, from establishing official royal music printing to patronizing great progressive poets and artists, including Clément Marot and Leonardo da Vinci.

The court music of this Renaissance prince was splendid. In his household were performers of lute, cornette, fife, drum, violin, oboe, sackbut, flute, and

⁹⁶Pepys MS 1760, Garland. See above, The English Court.

⁹⁷A few pages of this primer have been reproduced in Harthan, 134-37.

⁹⁸Sterling. See Appendix A below.

⁹⁹Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1903), 56-57. Ellery Schalk, "The Court as 'Civilizer' of the Nobility" in *Princes, Patronage, and Nobility*, eds. Ronald Asch and Adolf Birke (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), 248-49.

organ.¹⁰⁰ During the early part of his reign Francis retained several composers from the court of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, namely Antoine de Longueval, Antoine de Févin, Antonius Divitis, and Jean Mouton—Mouton becoming a leading composer in Francis's service.¹⁰¹ But the monarch also invigorated his musical household by advancing fine Italian lutenists (and with them the art of solo performance) and the great chanson composers Clément Janequin and Claudin de Sermisy.¹⁰² Francis himself was a poet, and Sermisy provided music for at least one of his efforts.¹⁰³

Francis owned an extensive collection of books, however, extant illuminated music manuscripts from his court are rare. There does survive a lovely chansonnier (London, British Museum, MS Harley 5242) that belonged to the king's official mistress from ca 1515, Françoise de Foix, countess of Châteaubriand, wife of Jean de Laval-Montmorency and cousin of Anne of Brittany. It was probably commissioned by Francis, although all or part of it may have been a gift from the countess's apparent paramour, Charles de Bourbon. MS Harley 5242 contains several anonymous French chansons alongside works by Agricola, Brumel, Févin, and La Rue.¹⁰⁴

It is understandable that Francis was an avid supporter of the arts, since he had come from a family of well-known patrons. His parents, Charles d'Angoulême (Orléans) and Louise of Savoy, were of limited means but always managed to

¹⁰⁰Cazeaux, 20-21; Freedman, 177-80.

¹⁰¹Indeed, Josephine Shine ascertained that 16th century documents mention Mouton in relation to Francis I more so than in relation to Louis XII. Shine, 20.

¹⁰²As noted above, Sermisy also had been in the service of Louis XII.

¹⁰³That is, *Dictes sans peur*; Cazeaux, 154.

¹⁰⁴Litterick, 44; Cazeaux, 54. MS Harley 5242 is decorated with delicate blue and white initials on a gold background. It also bears entwined "FF," the initials of Foix.

support their great passions: literature, art, and music. The count and countess were devoted bibliophiles, collecting numerous books and manuscripts. Charles inherited a library of at least 150 manuscripts from his father (Jean d'Angoulême) and mother (Marguerite de Rohan) to which he and Louise added over 200 volumes. After Charles's death in 1496, Louise continued to enlarge the already extensive collection. This library eventually was transported to Blois and formed the core of the royal library of Francis I.¹⁰⁵

The count and countess acquired their books from various sources. Several volumes came from an Angoulême book dealer named Antoine Quarre and from an unidentified merchant residing at Tours.¹⁰⁶ But many came from the most famous bookdealer of the age, Antoine Vérard, a publisher, editor, and sometimes author who dominated Parisian book production from 1485 to 1512. Besides Louise and Charles, he supplied volumes to Charles VIII, Louis XII, Anne of Brittany, and Henry VII of England.¹⁰⁷ To illuminate his books, Vérard employed Jacques de Besançon and Maître François, who ran the leading atelier of the Paris book trade.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵Edmond SÉNÉMAUD, "La bibliothèque de Charles d'Orléans, Comte d'Angoulême," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* (1859): I, 131, cited in Lembright, 4, 6.

¹⁰⁶Lembright, 6.

¹⁰⁷Mary Beth Winn, "Antoine Vérard's Presentation Manuscripts and Printed Books," in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at Warburg Institute on 12-13 March 1982*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1983), 66.

¹⁰⁸Eleanor P. Spencer, "Antoine Vérard's Illuminated Vellum Incunables" in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at Warburg Institute on 12-13 March 1982*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1983), 64. See also Mary Beth Winn, "Books for a Princess and her Son: Louise de Savoie, François d'Angoulême, and the Parisian Libraire Antoine Vérard," *Bibliothèque de Humanisme et Renaissance* 66/3 (1984): 603-17; Lembright, 6.

Louise and Charles did not always order books from beyond their court, since they kept in their household both a talented illuminator, Robinet Testard,¹⁰⁹ and a scribe, Jean Michel. Testard produced several works specifically for Louise, such as *Les Échecs amoureux* (see Fig. 36); a volume of Boccaccio's work; and the *Épistres d'Ovide* (see Fig. 37), the latter of which was translated by Octavian de Saint-Gelais and copied by Jean Michel (Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 143,¹¹⁰ fr. 599, and fr. 875 [completed in 1496], respectively). Testard went on to work for Francis, who granted the artist a pension in 1523.¹¹¹ As records indicate, Michel was also paid by the countess for the vellum used in the *Épistres*.¹¹² This Jean Michel may have been the French-born singer and music scribe who later went into the service of the Ferrarese court from 1503 through the 1550s. He was obviously familiar with musicians of the French court and acquired music from Mouton himself while both were in Italy.¹¹³

Also in the service of the countess was François Charbonnier, listed as Louise's secretary and poet in 1512,¹¹⁴ and many of the Saint-Gelais family, including the historian Jean de Saint-Gelais (perhaps Louise's lover), and his brother, the *rhétoriquer* poet Octavien, who translated not only Ovid's *Épistres* for

¹⁰⁹Sometimes spelled "Testart."

¹¹⁰For a facsimile page, see plate LXXXIX in Porcher.

¹¹¹John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 46-47.

¹¹²Lembright, 6, 12; Senemaud, 59-60.

¹¹³Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 192. See also Richard Wexler, "Music and Poetry in Renaissance Cognac" in *Musique naturelle et musique artificielle: In Memoriam Gustav [sic] Reese*, ed. Mary Beth Winn, *Le moyen français* 5 (Montreal: Ceres, 1980), 105; and Putnam, 23.

¹¹⁴Lembright, 25.

Louise, but also Vergil's *Aeneid*. Octavien had been at the royal court from the time of Anne de Bourbon/Beaujeu (Louise's aunt), but left in 1494 to assume the post of bishop of Angoulême. Thus, he resided in Cognac alongside several of his brothers, all of whom were devoted to the count and countess and dependent upon their largesse.

Later, as royals, the family had in its service the Flemish painter Jean Clouet¹¹⁵ and the manuscript illuminator Godefroy le Batave. Batave belonged to no workshop but had been trained in Antwerp. He was active in France from 1516 to 1526 and produced many works for Francis, for his mother, and for his sister, Marguerite. In several instances, Batave prepared the writings of the Franciscan humanists: the king's ex-tutor, François du Moulin, and his colleague, Jean Thenaud.¹¹⁶ Thenaud had been in Louise's circle at Amboise and Cognac and was a well trusted servant. The family also employed an illuminator, Barthelmy Guety or Guyot, who later went into the service of Francis I (but of course continued to be used by the Queen Mother). The famous French-court painter, Jean Bourdichon, was in Louise's service and later that of Francis.¹¹⁷ Perhaps he produced the beautiful Book of Hours from the Angoulême circle (British Library, Kings 7, ca 1500) which, as Backhouse has recognized, is in the style of Bourdichon, although it also bears the Italian manner of Botticelli.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵Clouet (ca 1485-ca 1540) had been appointed chief court painter by 1522. His son François was also a painter in the service of the king.

¹¹⁶Myra D. Orth, "Godefroy le Batave, Illuminator to the French Royal Family, 1516-1526" in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at Warburg Institute on 12-13 March 1982*, ed. J. B. Trapp (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1983), 50-51. See also Kren, 181-86.

¹¹⁷Lembright, 24-26.

¹¹⁸Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, 20, 24.

Louise and her family also had a love for music.¹¹⁹ Her devotion to the art is depicted in a miniature by Testard in *Les Échecs amoureux*. Here, she is portrayed playing a hammered dulcimer among a group of instrumentalists and singers. (See Fig. 36.) The chapter on music in this volume further attests to the Angoulême regard for the art. It comprises a lecture by the goddess Pallas on the education of children. She instructs:¹²⁰

Pour les choses que je t'explique
Dient le saige que li musique
Fait a recommander forment
Pour ce qu'elle a naturellment
En son especil pouvoir
Plus que chose qu'on puist veoir
De recréer nature humaine

Apparently, there was a troupe of musicians who served the Cognac court, the principal one being an organist, Imbert Chandelier.¹²¹

Francis's sister, Marguerite, the duchess of Alençon and later queen of Navarre, was as interested in arts and humanities as the others in her family. But she distinguished herself as a progressive, cultivating and sheltering famous humanists and reformers such as Clément Marot, the leading French poet of the Renaissance. Clément was the son of Jean Marot, a noted poet, secretary and *valet de chambre* to Anne of Brittany and later Francis I. The younger Marot worked for Francis before coming into Marguerite's service in 1519 as a court poet and secretary to whom she dictated letters and other writings. Marguerite and Clément Marot established a lengthy and close relationship. He was with her at the Field of

¹¹⁹It was noted that Louise "adores strawberries and has a passion for music." Jehanne d'Orliac, *Francis I: Prince of the Renaissance*, trans. Elizabeth Abbott (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1932), 30; cited in Wexler, 104.

¹²⁰Mayer, 14-15.

¹²¹Mayer 12; Paule Henry-Bordeaux, *Louise de Savoie: Régente et "Roi" de France* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1954), 19.

Cloth of Gold in 1520, and in 1521, he accompanied her husband, the duc d'Alençon, on a military campaign in Flanders.¹²²

Marguerite was a great patron, author, and poet, but she is also famed for her plays—moralities, comedies, and farces—and had many of her texts set to music for these productions. She is highly unusual in this regard, since no other noble or person of her stature is known to have been such a playwright.¹²³ Of course, it is natural that Marguerite should have combined literature with her other great passion, music.

Marguerite was a composer of spiritual songs, or at least their text.¹²⁴

Robert Cottrell has noted:

Several of Marguerite's major poems end by stressing music. If we see all the poems of the *Marguerites de la marguerite de princesses* as a single poetic corpus, which they are, we cannot fail to note that in its published form Marguerite's poetry concluded with a group of songs, the *Chansons spirituelles*. These poems were meant to be sung.¹²⁵

Marguerite's interest in music is further manifest in a miniature where she is depicted alongside musicians.¹²⁶ And she had at least one music book in her possession (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds fr. 1596), a volume of a few French chansons that she apparently received as a young child.¹²⁷ Moreover,

¹²²Guizot alludes to the rumor that Marguerite and Marot may have been lovers. François M. Guizot, *A History of France* (New York: J. B. Alden, 1884), IV. P. M. Smith, 6; George Joseph, *Cément Marot* (Boston: Twayne, 1985), 3.

¹²³H. M. Brown, *French Secular Theater*, 39, 138-39. See also V. L. Saulnier, ed. *Marguerite de Navarre: Théâtre Profane* (Geneva: Droz, 1946).

¹²⁴Brantôme, 235.

¹²⁵Robert D. Cottrell, *The Grammar of Silence: A Reading of Marguerite de Navarre's Poetry* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986), 167.

¹²⁶See "La Coche ou le Debat de l'Amour" (ca 1540), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 91, f. 3.

¹²⁷See Wexler; also Omont, I: 270.

Marguerite was familiar with music beyond the French realm. She translated the famous frottola by Michele Vicentino, “Che fara la, che dira la,” into French and then used it in the nineteenth *nouvelle* of her *Heptaméron*.¹²⁸

* * *

Except for Obrecht, a famous international composer, all the composers represented in MS 1070 have a connection to the French court, and several, including Mouton, Sermisy, Févin and Thérache, have especially strong ties:

- Mouton was a major court musician of Anne of Brittany, Louis XII, and Francis I. Of the thirty pieces in MS 1070 that can be attributed to specific composers, Mouton composed nine—that is, 30 percent of these works. One of his contributions, “Adiutorium nostrum,” was written specifically for Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, whose names it contains.¹²⁹
- Sermisy was a singer for Louis XII who later went into the service of Francis I and Henry II. He is represented by only one work in MS 1070, “Jouyssance vous donneray,” a popular piece in France that is pictured in several sixteenth-century paintings (see Figs. 38, 39).
- Févin was connected with the court of Louis XII from at least 1507, and he probably composed his most famous piece, “Sancta Trinitas unus deus” (#41 of MS 1070), while in Louis’s service. (Févin is believed to have died in 1512.)
- Thérache apparently did not work for the French royals, but his one composition in MS 1070, “Verbum bonum et suave” (#14), survives in

¹²⁸Reese, *Renaissance*, 292. According to Myra Orth, as queen of Navarre, Marguerite owned a diverse collection of books and is known to have instructed miniaturists. “Marguerite of Navarre as a Book Collector,” *Women in the Renaissance, Newsletter of the New York Society for the Study of Women in the Renaissance* 5 (Winter 1996): 16-17.

¹²⁹See Shine, 163.

several sources associated with the French court, including MS Pepys 1760.¹³⁰

This high proportion of compositions by French composers is a compelling piece of evidence suggesting that MS 1070 is a French-produced book.

But how does it compare with other French sources? MS 1070 does not seem to have been prepared by any of the workshops that were responsible for the French music manuscripts MS fr. 2245, MS Harley 5242, or MS Royal 20 A. xvi. Granted, like MS 1070, they contain text in a *bâtard* hand and are in an upright, quarto format.¹³¹ But these books are relatively small in dimensions and are comprised, for the most part, of a few dozen secular French pieces each, none of which is to be found in MS 1070. (The music copy of MS Royal 20 A. xvi and MS fr. 2245 has a generally narrow and crowded appearance, perhaps because of the modest size of the books, while that of MS Harley 5242 is more spaced out.)¹³²

However, one should bear in mind that many French manuscripts were undoubtedly destroyed during the Revolution; indeed, scholars believe that few French Renaissance music books have survived into the twentieth century. Of these, most are chansonniers. MS Pepys 1760, a French book containing motets, is apparently only extant because it was in England. It is likely not mere coincidence that MS 1070 is more closely associated with MS Pepys 1760 than with any other manuscript. They contain the same four compositions by French composers, and it certainly seems that one work, Thérache's "Verbum," was copied into each book

¹³⁰It also appears in the Franco Flemish MS Royal 8 G. vii. For a list of concordances, see Lowinsky, *Medici Codex*, 145-47.

¹³¹Litterick notes these characteristics are in some eight extant French court manuscripts, including those mentioned here. Litterick, 66-68

¹³²Sample pages from MS fr. 2245 and MS Royal 20 A. xvi can be seen in Litterick, "Performing."

from the same source. Since MS Pepys 1760 was apparently prepared in France, it again might be reasonable to assume the same of MS 1070.

In addition, as Backhouse and Brown have noted, the decorations of MS 1070 have a French character.¹³³ And a collection of animal fables owned by Louise of Savoy contains illustrations that share some similarities with those of MS 1070. This volume, London, British Library, MS Add. 59677, portrays animals with detailed-textured fur, gray shading, and black-ink outlining like that seen in MS 1070.¹³⁴

In terms of the handwritings present, MS 1070 would also appear to be French. The work of hand 1 bears a resemblance to that of the core of MS fr. 1596, which was given to or prepared for Marguerite d'Angoulême ca 1495. The inscription at the beginning of MS fr. 1596 that refers to "Marguerite d'Orleans" is in the same flowery style of hand 4's work of MS 1070, and the hand of the literary text in MS fr. 1596 (e.g., 8r) is in a script similar to that of our hand 5. The style of the text written by scribes 4 and 5 of MS 1070 is that of a *bastard secretary* script, one that might suggest a northern French origin.¹³⁵ There are no concordances between MS fr. 1596 and MS 1070 (MS fr. 1596 comprises six French chansons that date slightly earlier than the works of MS 1070), and MS fr. 1596 has only ten leaves in comparison to the 134 of MS 1070; however, MS fr. 1596 is closer in dimension to MS 1070 than most of the other extant French manuscripts and, although it may be of limited significance, it contains penwork initials with profiled

¹³³See Chapter 2.

¹³⁴However, in Louise's fable book, the creatures are more elaborate than those of MS 1070. A few pages from this book are reproduced (although greatly reduced in size and without color) in Kren, 173.

¹³⁵See M. P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, 108.

faces, somewhat like those that appear with hand 4's work in MS 1070. But perhaps what is most noteworthy is that MS fr. 1596 is more similar in general quality to MS 1070 than any manuscript discussed in this chapter (see Table 7). That is to say, it is somewhat unrefined, more ordinary, and has a scribal character similar to that of MS 1070. Like MS 1070, when placed alongside the previously mentioned chanonsonniers, MS fr. 1596 would not reveal many visual likenesses, yet it is certainly French. It therefore provides evidence that the style and nature of MS 1070 is that of a French-produced book.

One work in MS 1070, "O virgo virginum quomodo," bears the hands of scribes 1, 2, and 3, and since it is a *unicum*, a unique piece found in no other source, the coexistence of all three hands suggests that the three copyists were from the same scriptorium. Therefore, although hand 3 looks Burgundian, as was discussed under The Netherlands Court, the scribe has some connection with hand 1, which was possibly French—thus further negating a non-French connection.

(A comparison of MS 1070 with MS Add. 19583, a source prepared by Jean Michel, possibly the same Jean Michel who was the court scribe of Louise of Savoy, reveals no similarities. For the hand of the Michel employed by Louise, see Fig. 37.)¹³⁶

But some of the most revealing evidence concerning the past of MS 1070 may be found in the content of the four works prepared by hands 4 and 5 (the last layers of MS 1070), since they strongly attest to a connection with the court and family of Francis I. "Jouyssance vous donneray" (#35 of MS 1070), copied by hand 5, is a chanson composed by Sermisy. It is a setting of a poem by Clément Marot, a

¹³⁶Michel has a clear, clean, fine writing style in MS 19583. No color is used to decorate the volume.

writer whose works Sermisy often set.¹³⁷ Marot, of course, was the famous poet and friend of Marguerite d'Alençon, and Sermisy was a prized composer at the court of Francis I, where Marguerite had the virtual role of queen.

Therefore, a most significant finding is that "Jouyssance vous donneray" was a favorite song of Marguerite. One of her *chansons spirituelles* was to be sung to the tune,¹³⁸ and as queen of Navarre, she used this musical setting of it in her comedy, *Trespas du Roy*. Moreover, *Mont de Marsan*, another of her plays, employs a few lines from "Jouyssance" (with the Marot text) sung by a shepherdess.¹³⁹ In addition, the song may have been a favorite of female performers, such as Marguerite, since it is presented in several contemporary paintings, always being performed by women (see Fig. 38, 39).¹⁴⁰

Of the two works in the distinctive French-like *bastard secretary* hand 4, the last piece in MS 1070, the anonymous "Gentilz galans compaignons," is similar to "Jouyssance vous donneray" in that it is a theatrical chanson.¹⁴¹ The other piece by hand 4 is Brumel's song motet "Sicut lilium inter spinas." The initial letter of its bassus voice contains small letters: an abbreviation of the Greek word for Jesus, "IHS," followed by "MA." (See Figs. 23, 24.) IHS appears in many Renaissance manuscripts along with names or initials of specific people. Indeed, the Jesus

¹³⁷Howard Mayer Brown, "The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-30" in *Chanson and Madrigal: 1480-1530*, ed. James Haar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 28.

¹³⁸See Chanson 2 in Georges Dottin, ed. *Marguerite de Navarre: Chansons Spirituelles* (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 8-10.

¹³⁹Saulnier, 218, 308; H. M. Brown, *French Secular Theater*, 139, 243, 244-45. Reese describes the piece as a later, more fashionable homophonic chanson; Reese, *Renaissance*, 292.

¹⁴⁰The piece is depicted in at least four paintings. See John Parkinson, "A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy," *Music & Letters* 39 (1958): 118-22.

¹⁴¹H. M. Brown, *French Secular Theater*, 221.

monogram can be found throughout at least one manuscript written for Marguerite.¹⁴² It would seem therefore that the “MA” in MS 1070 too represents Marguerite d’Angoulême/Alençon. Another possible “MA” might be Margaret of Austria, but since MS 1070, and specifically the later hands in it, has such a French character, and “Jouissance vous donneray” was a favorite of the king’s sister, the French Marguerite seems most certainly the one alluded to in the music book.

CONCLUSION:

MS 1070 is not an English book. There is little evidence to indicate that it was produced in England in a Franco-Flemish scriptorium or presented as a gift from the continent to the English court. MS 1070 has most concordances with MS Pepys 1760, a source located in England but most certainly prepared in France. One piece found in both volumes, “Verbum bonum,” was likely copied from the same exemplar or from related descendants.

MS 1070 contains a Burgundian-like music script, that of scribe 3. A hand similar to this is found in the Chigi Codex and the Basevi Codex (among others), and MS 1070 and the two famous codices may all have some connection to the Bouton family of Netherlands courtiers. However, in the case of MS 1070, there is not enough evidence to indicate that the scribe was physically working in the Netherlands.

Excepting Obrecht, all the composers represented in MS 1070 are connected to the French court or France. The later layers of MS 1070, the work of scribes 4 and 5, seem unquestionably French in style and content. One of their contributions

¹⁴²See Chapter 2, fn. 64. Bibliothèque nationale, N.A. Lat. 83 contains miniatures that have the Jesus initials at the top of the page and an “M” (Mary or Marguerite?) at the bottom (ff. 18, 29). See also f. 2; Knecht, 160; Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire: Symbolique et Politique à l’aube de la Renaissance Française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), 417.

was a favorite piece of Marguerite d'Alençon's and another bears her initials, "MA." Hand 1 may have been French, since a hand like it can be found in a music book that belonged to Marguerite (MS fr. 1596). The decorations of MS 1070 seem more French than Flemish. And, although it is not discussed in the present chapter, the paper of MS 1070 is found in sources from northern France.¹⁴³ Therefore, I believe there can be little doubt that MS 1070 is among the rare extant music books produced in Renaissance France.¹⁴⁴

Source	Medium	Folios	Size, Cms	Staff hgt.	concordances
RCM 1070	paper	134	28.5 x 19	1.1/1.4	
Add. 31922	parchment	127	30.9 x 21.1		none
Royal 11 E xi	parchment	17	49 x 35.5		none
Royal 8 G vii	parchment	64	37 x 25.8	1.5	Mouton: <i>Adiutorium nostrum</i>
Pepys 1760	parchment	88	22.2 x 14.7	1 ¹⁴⁵	Brumel: <i>Sub tuum presidium</i> Thérache: <i>Verbum bonum et suave</i> Févin: <i>Sancta trinitas unus deus</i> Mouton: <i>Adiutorium nostrum</i>
Brussels 9126	parchment	182	38.2 x 27		Josquin: <i>Stabat Mater</i> <i>Huc me sydereo</i>

¹⁴³See Chapter 2.

¹⁴⁴MS 1070 remains an anomaly. No other French-court source contains mostly longer, multipartite Latin motets.

¹⁴⁵Based on measurements from the Garland facsimile with proportional consideration because of the facsimile's enlargement.

Ashmole 831	parchment	2	34.6 x 21.1	1.4	none
Verona 756	parchment	163	31.5 x 22	1.4	none
Basevi 2439	parchment	101	16.8 x 24	1 ¹⁴⁶	none
Chigi C.VIII	parchment	285	36.3 x 27.8	1.7	Josquin: <i>Stabat Mater Dolorosa</i> Févin: <i>Sancta trinitas unus deus</i>
Paris fr. 2245	parchment	33	17.8 x 12.2	1-1.1	none
Harley 5242	parchment	48	20.5 x 14.1	1.15	none
Royal 20 A.. xvi	parchment	46	23.2 x 16.5	ca .9 ¹⁴⁷	none
Add. 19583	parchment	48	14 x 21.6		none
Paris fr. 1596	parchment	10	24.9 x 18.7	1.4	none

Table 7: Manuscript Comparisons¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶Based on measurements from the Meconi facsimile.

¹⁴⁷Litterick, 1-2.

¹⁴⁸Concordances and information on MS 1070 came from firsthand review of sources and review of facsimiles. Except for the few instances noted, the table information came from the various entries in the *Census-Catalogue*.



Figure 36: Miniature of Louise of Savoy by Robinet Testard
in *Les Échecs amoureux*, Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 143.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹Reproduced in Mayer, 19.



Figure 37: Louise of Savoy in the *Épistres d'Ovide*, translated by Octavien de St.-Gelais and copied by Jean Michel, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 875



Figure 38: Three women performing "Jouyssance vous donneray" in a French painting from the Harrach Gallery, Vienna¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰See Curt Sachs, *Our Musical Heritage* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1955), plate 13.



Figure 39: A lute player performing “Jouyssance vous donneray”¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Reproduced in André Pirro, *Histoire de la Musique XV^e et XVI^e Siècles* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1940), plate 21. Pirro notes that the painting is by “maitre des demi-figures.”

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 8

THE LITERARY TEXTS OF MS 1070 AND PROVENANCE HYPOTHESES

The evidence presented thus far reveals two important findings: at some time, MS 1070 was in the hands of Anne Boleyn, and it also was probably in the possession of Marguerite d'Alençon. But the question still remains, who was the original owner? The answer might lie in the texts, particularly those of the opening, decorated pages, since both the words and images of commissioned manuscripts can contain clues regarding the purpose or dedicatee of a volume. In MS 1070, the decorations appear in connection with the first six pieces, which form an individual unit of three gatherings.

In high-quality manuscripts of the epoch, ornaments and miniatures illustrate the text. Often, the artist was provided with a list of what images might be appropriate.¹ Or the miniator could have read the words—or have had them read to him/her if they were in Latin or a foreign language—and then interpreted the ideas to be illustrated. Although the imaginative plants and flowers of MS 1070 attest to some artistic freedom, it is possible that such a list was provided to the artist.

MS 1070 opens with “Forte si dulci,” a piece with words and music not found in any other source. The text is that of a humanistic poem comparing Orpheus to Jesus. Orpheus was the singer and lyre player, who according to the Ancients, had “power to enchant human beings, animals, and plants and to create a state of paradisaal calm in which all creatures listened only to him.”² The famous

¹M. P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscript*, 73. Spencer, 63.

²Elizabeth Burr, trans., *The Chiron Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology* (Wilmette, IL: Chiron Pub., 1994), 210.

tale of Orpheus concerns his journey to the underworld to recover his dead wife, Eurydice. Charmed by Orpheus's music, Hades agrees to let Eurydice go as long as Orpheus does not look back at her as they ascend. He cannot resist and loses his beloved forever. In "Forte si dulci," reference is made to the raising of Lazarus from the dead by Jesus, John 11: 1-44. Lazarus had two sisters, Mary and Martha, who wept and prayed and implored Jesus's help.

#1 Forte si dulci Stigium boantem	With sweet-voiced song,
Cerberum cantu modulatus	Well timed, did Orpheus
Orpheus	Mute roaring Cerberus,
Strinxit et caecos fidibus seorsum	With lutes drew on
Tendere manes	The blinded spirits.
Ergo maiori reputetur arte	With greater art
Mortuum Christus veniens Olimpo	Came Christ, consider, from Olympus.
Lazarum qui una tenebris reverti	By one word, dead Lazarus
Voce coegit	He forced to part
	From ghostly shades.
Quippe sanato precibus sororum	Since Lazarus
Lazaro plures supero tonanti	By sisters' prayers grew whole,
Perfidi credunt animis ovantes	Sure, many heal their disbelief,
Esse beatis	In Heaven's Thund'rer trust,
	To join the blessed souls.

Pars II:

**Pallas Actaea memoratur arce
Leta Junoni Samos est tributa
Equoris divus Tenedo beatur
Hercule Gades**

**Edua totus requiescit urbe
Viribus sacris modulis vocatus
Lazarus summa potiturque sede
In paradiso**

**Nos ubi Christum varia precemur
Laude vel carum dociles amicum
Reddat ut nobis facilem magistrum**

**Ominpotentem
Amen.**

Part II:

**By th' Actaeon mount
Is Pallas recalled. To Juno was
Glad Samos giv'n. Holy Gades of
smooth waves
Hercules from Tyneros's ground
Did joyful make.**

**Each man called
By sacred songs his powers restores
In Haedui-town, and more, lays hold
On him in seat exal'd,
On Laz'rus in Paradise.**

**With diverse praise
Let us who hope to learn implore
Him there: Christ for us as loving
friend procure
An easy master**

**The Omnipotent.
Amen.³**

"Forte si dulci" commences with Orpheus calming Cerberus, the watchdog to the entrance of the underworld, in order to proceed. But then the tale of Jesus and Lazarus is evoked; the wonders of Orpheus are indeed meager compared to those of Christ, who has the ability to raise the dead. The *secunda pars* mentions the gods Pallas and Juno, and the demigod Hercules. "Pallas," frequently used interchangeably with "Athena" and "Minerva," represents Reason. Juno, who

³Performance translation provided in Lowinsky, 496.

corresponds to the masculine Genius, is the goddess of women “and the whole life cycle of women, especially of childbirth.”⁴ After a mention of these gods, the piece ends with a further reference to Christ, “an easy master.” The text of “Forte si dulci,” obviously an artful praise of Jesus, is in the true Renaissance humanistic spirit, integrating Antiquity with Christianity.

The following images are on the pages of “Forte si dulci”:⁵ decorated initials incorporating various flowers (see Fig. 6), a rose with thorns, a phoenix pecking at a fruit, a dragon or perhaps a sea horse, a marguerite (daisy), a marigold and fish with teeth, a wyvern or basilisk, and a siren swimming (Fig. 10). The beasts are representative of evil and could be references to the creatures of the underworld. The phoenix is symbolic of Jesus, and should the fruit at which the mythical bird pecks be a fig, the sacred fruit of Juno, then this image might represent the authority of Christ over the gods of the Ancients. Or the phoenix, which rose from the ashes, could represent Lazarus rising from the dead; although here the creature is not depicted in a triumphant fashion, but rather with head bowed, consuming a fruit. The siren, symbolic of the supposed dual nature of women, was known to charm men, reduce them to poverty, and kill them. But here it could be representative of the dual symbols of Pallas and Juno, and of Mary and Martha. There is a link between these female gods and the sisters of Lazarus: Pallas and Mary typify the Contemplative Life, while Juno and Martha symbolize the Active Life.⁶ Dualism is also evident in the concept of humanism and its

⁴Burr, 158.

⁵More on all the images of MS 1070 can be found in Chapter 2.

⁶Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (New York: Harper, 1961), 107. From the time of Augustine, Mary was associated with the Contemplative (wisdom) Life and Martha with the Active (knowledge); see Edward Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism: The Teaching of SS Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), 200-21.

merging of Christianity and Antiquity in relation to the Christian women and the pagan-women gods mentioned in the poem.

The second piece in MS 1070 is Josquin's "Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo":

#2 Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo, in quo mihi spem dedisti.	Be thou mindful of thy word to thy servant, in which thou hast given me hope
Haec me consolata est in humilitate mea, quia eloquium tuum vivificavit me	This hath comforted me in my humiliation: because thy word hath enlivened me
Superbi inique agebant usquequaque, a lege autem tua non declinavi	The proud did iniquitously altogether: but I declined not from thy law .
Memor fui iudiciorum tuorum a saeculo Domine, et consolatus sum	I remembered, O Lord, thy judgments of old: and I was comforted
Defectio tenuit me, pro peccatoribus derelinquentibus legem tuam.	A fainting hath taken hold upon me because of the wicked that forsake thy law
Cantabiles mihi erant justificationes tuae, in loco peregrinationis meae.	Thy justifications were the subject of my song, in the place of my pilgrimage

Memor fui nocte nominis tui	In the night I have remembered thy
Domine, et custodivi legem tuam	name, O Lord: and have kept thy law

Haec facta est mihi: quia	This happened to me because I sought
justificationes tuas exquisivi	after thy justifications

Pars II:	Part II:
Porcio mea Domine, dixi, custodire	O Lord my portion, I have said, I
legem tuam.	would keep thy law.

Deprecatus sum faciem tuam in	I entreated thy face with all my heart:
toto corde meo, miserere mei	have mercy on me according to thy
secundum eloquium tuum.	word.

Cogitavi vias meas, et converti	I have thought on my ways, and turned
pedes meos in testimonia tua.	my feet unto thy testimonies.

Paratus sum, et non sum turbatus,	I am ready and am not troubled that I
ut custodiam mandata tua	may keep thy commandments.

Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt	The cords of the wicked have
me, et legem tuam non sum oblitus	encompassed me but I have not
	forgotten thy law

Media nocte surgebam ad	I rose at midnight to give praise to
confitendum tibi, super judicia	thee, for the judgements of thy
justificationis tuae	justification,

Particeps ego sum omnium	I am a partaker with all them that fear
timentium te, et custodientium	thee, and that keep thy
mandata tua.	commandments.

Misericordia tua Domine plena est terra, justificationes tuas doce me	The earth, O Lord, is full of thy mercy: teach me thy justifications.
--	--

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto	Glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.
---	---

Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo, in quo mihi spem dedisti.	Be thou mindful of thy word to thy servant, in which thou hast given me hope
--	--

Psalm 118: 49-64⁷/Gloria Patri

According to Glarean, “Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo” (probably composed 1501-03) was meant to be a reminder to Louis XII by its composer, Josquin, that the king had yet to pay his musicians.⁸ Thus, the passage of the psalm, “be thou mindful of thy word to thy servant, in which thou hast given me hope” and the reference to keeping the law and the commandments, is a metaphor for Louis’s promise of recompense.

But this hardly means that whenever a contemporary heard or performed “Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo,” Louis XII or his financial obligations came to mind. This text, Psalm 118:⁹ 49-64, was well known. As all psalms were, it was part of the Divine Office, the daily cycle of prayers consisting of the services, called Hours, of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. The recitation of the psalms formed the core of each Hour. Psalm 118 is the longest of

⁷*The Holy Bible*, Douay and Confraternity version, first published by the English College of Douay, 1609; New Testament revised and edited by Catholic Scholars under the patronage of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1961).

⁸Osthoff, I: 41.

⁹Latin Vulgate numbering. The Hebrew numbering is Ps. 119.

the psalms, consisting of 22 sections. It is segmented in the secular Office and distributed among Prime, Terce, Sext, and None (four Hours known as the Lesser Hours),¹⁰ so that the entire psalm is heard every day, but with different lines being sung at different times. As for the specific lines of “Memor esto verbi tui,” in monastic churches the first part was heard on Sundays at Terce (ca 9 A.M.); while the text used for the *secunda pars* of the Josquin motet, beginning “Portio mea domine,” was heard on Sundays at Sext (ca noon).¹¹ But in secular churches, both parts were heard daily at Terce, and both were sung together as a unit.¹² The text of “Memor esto verbi tui,” therefore, would have been quite familiar to most anyone of the time. Rather than representing Louis XII’s payment obligations, the text might bring to mind the general concept of keeping a promise.

The images that appear with “Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo” are: a fish with teeth; an anthropomorphic initial with the faces of two court jesters; a black turbaned woman, who probably was originally meant to be Caucasian (see Chapter 2); a monster with a second face on its chest; an onocentaur harvesting (similar scenes with human figures in Books of Hours represent the months of July or August); a bird, perhaps a crane (which represents military order); a two-legged monster; an artichoke; a monster hatching from an egg; and a furry beast with bared teeth and tongue (see Figs. 14-15). One might view the onocentaur as the image most closely tied to the text, since it is a beast that represents hypocrisy, evil, or distrust hiding behind goodness—thus perhaps symbolizing one making a promise

¹⁰Lesser Hours are Hours without a Canticle.

¹¹Approximate times come from Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 93.

¹²John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 100, 242, 248-49, 258-59.

but not following through.¹³ It may also be of note that the creature is about to strike a plant and consequently free the fruit and give forth the harvest, the payment(?).

While “Memor esto verbi tui” incorporates lines from the longest psalm, Psalm 118, the next piece in MS 1070, “Laudate Dominum omnes gentes,” contains the text of the shortest psalm, Psalm 116.¹⁴ Psalm 116 was heard on Mondays at Vespers (ca early evening) in both monastic and secular services.¹⁵ It appears in MS 1070 as follows:

#3 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, laudate eum omnes populi	Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.
Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius, et veritas Domini manet in aeternum	For his mercy is confirmed upon us and the truth of the Lord remaineth forever.
Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto	Glory to the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit
Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum, Amen.	As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Psalm 116/Gloria Patri

“Laudate Dominum omnes gentes” is an *unicum* that remains unattributed to a specific composer. It is accompanied by images of: a sunflower; a phoenix with

¹³Payne, 75.

¹⁴Harper, 68.

¹⁵Ibid., 248. Hoppin, 93.

head bowed; a marguerite; a long-haired man sticking out his tongue; and a violet. The text symbolically could apply to royalty, a king, as it invokes the Lord of the nations.

The fourth work in the manuscript, Mouton's "In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum," clearly refers to a wedding; its text comprises the well-known verses of Matthew 19: 3-6 used in the nuptial Mass.¹⁶

#4 In illo tempore

Accesserunt ad Jesum Pharisei,
tentantes eum, et dicentes,
Si licet homini dimittere uxorem
suam, quacumque ex causa?
Qui respondens, ait eis,
"Non legistus, quia fecit hominen
ab initio, masculum et feminam
fecit eos? et dixit.

Pars II:

Propter hoc dimittet homo patrem
et matrem et adhaerebit uxori suae,
et erunt duo in carne una
Itaque iam non sunt duo, sed una
caro

Quod ergo Deus coniunxit
homo non separet."

At that time

there came to Jesus some Pharisees,
testing him, and saying, "Is it lawful
for a man to put away his wife for any
cause?"
To which He answered, and said to
them, "Have you not read that the
Creator from the beginning made them
male and female? and said:

Part II:

"For this cause a man shall leave his
father and mother, and cling to his
wife, and the two become one flesh.
Therefore now they are no longer two
but one flesh.

What therefore God has joined
together, let no man put asunder."

Matthew 19: 3-6

¹⁶*Liber Usualis: With Introduction and Rubrics in English*, ed. the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclee, 1954), 1291. Still used today in the Roman Catholic wedding ceremony; see Joseph M. Champlin, *Together for Life: A Preparation for Marriage and for the Ceremony* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1988), 58.

The images accompanying “In illo tempore” include: a decorated initial comprised of a fish, monster, and strawberry; an anthropomorphic “I” with two human heads; a long-nosed man with headdress; a pomegranate; a woman with her hair down (perhaps the bride, Fig. 9); a figure wearing a jeweled turban (Fig. 8); and a falcon with wings displayed (traditionally representing courage or discipline).

The text of the fifth work of MS 1070, Mouton’s “Laudate deum in sanctis,” is a combination of disparate lines from the bible.

#5 Laudate Deum in sanctis eius et audiatur vox exultationis et tabernaculis iustorum	Praise God in His holy places and the voice of rejoicing is heard in the tabernacles of the just
Quoniam deprecationem eorum exaudiunt Dominus, in cuius virtute rex exultavit vehementer	Since the Lord has heard their supplication, in whose power the king has rejoiced exceedingly
et ego laetata sum in salutari suo	and I [a female] have rejoiced in His salvation
Igitur vota mea reddam Domino in conspectu sanctorum eius.	Therefore, I will pay my vows to the Lord in the sight of his holiness
Pars II: Quia cum clamarem ad eum exaudivit vocem meam	Part II: For when I cried to Him, He heard my voice
Propter hoc laetabitur cor meum, et exultabit lingua mea insuper et caro mea quae refluoruit requiescet in spe	Therefore my heart shall be glad and my tongue rejoice, moreover, my flesh, that has flourished again, shall rest in hope

Misericordia quae subsequetur me dum annuntiabitur generation ventura, tunc annuntiabunt caeli iusticiam eius.	Mercy which will follow me shall be declared by the generation to come, then the heavens shall announce His justice
---	--

Laudate ergo Dominum quoniam bonus est psalmus	Praise, therefore, the Lord because psalm is good,
---	---

Deo nostro sit iucunda decoraque laudatio	To our God be joyful and praise Him with beauty
--	--

Text based on the following, as identified by Lowinsky: Ps. 150: 1; 117: 15; 6: 10; 20: 2; 1 Kings 2: 1; Ps. 115: 18; 21: 25; 15: 9; 27: 7; 22: 6; 21: 32; 146: 1.¹⁷

A remarkable line in the motet, “et ego laetata sum in salutari suo” (“and I [a female] have rejoiced in his salvation”), has been identified by Lowinsky as coming from 1 Kings 2:1, the only biblical passage in which “laetata” and “sum” appear together.¹⁸ This line is noticeably in the feminine gender, which suggests that the text is presented from a woman’s point of view. It tells of how the king has rejoiced in the Lord; the Lord has heard the prayers. The woman celebrates the king’s salvation, and thus, she “will pay [her] vows to the Lord, because when [she] cried to him, he heard [her] voice.”

The chapter from which the “laetata sum” phrase comes, 1 Kings 2: 1, pertains to a desire for children and specifically recounts the story of Elcana and his barren wife Anna, whom the Lord visited, “and she conceived, and bore three sons and two daughters.” Because Elcana’s wife was named “Anna,” Lowinsky believed that an “Anne” was being invoked by the few words “laetata sum.” He asserted that

¹⁷Lowinsky, 499.

¹⁸Ibid.

this was Anne Boleyn, but concedes that, since the piece was composed by Mouton, the original “Anne” was probably Anne of Brittany for whom Mouton worked. It seems, however, that the use of the words from the passage could simply imply a wish for children with the Lord’s assistance from a woman’s perspective. This would be in keeping with the preceding work, a nuptial motet.

The images that accompany “*Laudate deum in sanctis eius*” are a rose with thorns; an artichoke; a female monster with a second face on its forebody (the counterpart of the two-faced male monster); a crowned man with a cut on his right cheek; a strawberry; and a fish. The female creature, with prominent breasts, perhaps farcically symbolizes motherhood and nursing. The crowned man most certainly signifies a king.

The last and sixth piece of the decorated section of MS 1070, “*Queramus cum pastoribus*,” was a popular Mouton motet for the nativity. It bears images of a man with hood and hat; a growling dog’s head (perhaps representing devotion); a covered chalice (a ciborium?);¹⁹ a rose with thorns; and various flowers.

#6 *Queramus cum pastoribus*
Verbum incarnatum:
Cantemus cum hominibus
Regem saeculorum

Let us seek with the shepherds
 the Word incarnate
 Let us praise (in song) with the people
 the King of the ages

Noel, Noel

Noel, Noel!

¹⁹A type of lidded chalice that contained the Eucharistic hosts for distribution; see Kevin Orlin Johnson, *Expressions of the Catholic Faith* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1994), 191.

Quid tu vides in stablo?
 Jesum natum de Virgine
 Quid audis in presepio
 Angelos cum carmine
 et pastores dicentes

Noel, Noel

Pars II:
 Ubi pascas ubi cubes²⁰
 dic si ploras aut si rides
 te rogamus, Rex Christe

Noel, Noel

Cibus est lac Virgineum
 Lectus durum presepium.
 Carmina sunt lacrimae

Noel, Noel

What do you see in the stable?
 Jesus born of the Virgin
 What do you hear in the manger?
 the Angel with song
 and the shepherds saying,

Noel , Noel!

Part II:
 Wherever you may eat,
 Wherever you may rest
 Tell us if you cry or laugh
 We ask thee, Christ the King

Noel , Noel!

Your food is the milk of the Virgin
 Your bed is a manger
 Your songs (lullabies) are tears

Noel, Noel!

The first six works of MS 1070 suggest that the music book was originally prepared to celebrate nuptials, and likely the wedding of a king. The wedding motif is certainly evident from the use of the famous nuptial vows in Mouton's "In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum." The motet from the woman's perspective, "Laudate deum in sanctis," and the nativity motet, "Queramus cum pastoribus," both might indicate a desire for children—which would be fitting alongside a wedding piece. The royal association can be found in such text as "Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise Him, all ye people" ("Laudate Dominum omnes gentes"); and

²⁰Song of Songs, 1: 6.

the king's rejoicing in Mouton's "Laudate deum in sanctis," which also contains a miniature of a crowned man and a passage, spoken by a woman (possibly a bride).

It was not unusual to commission music manuscripts for weddings, and when the nuptial element is added to some of the previous findings, a general scenario develops: a music book was commissioned in France in the first decade of the sixteenth century for a wedding that probably involved a royal personage and/or someone connected directly or indirectly with either Anne Boleyn or Marguerite d'Alençon, or both. The first possible owners to come to mind are those discussed in Chapter 6: Katherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor, Margaret of Austria, Anne of Brittany, Louise of Savoy, or Marguerite d'Alençon herself.

Of course, that our list of possible owners should include all women is not peculiar, since MS 1070 is clearly associated with two women, Boleyn and Marguerite d'Alençon, who lived in a largely gender segregated culture. But what is of some interest is that the texts in these opening pieces, in fact, throughout MS 1070, affirm that MS 1070 is a woman's song book. The texts are flecked with female gender words including: sisters, daughters, wife, hostess. Moreover, figures such as Pallas, Juno, Maria Magdalene, St. Barbara, and of course, the Blessed Virgin Mary under her various names, are all invoked.²¹ Indeed, approximately two-thirds of the texts directly or indirectly make reference to female personages. In addition, there are several images of woman and female beasts in the book, and it certainly seems more than coincidence that the voice ranges in various works are equal or near equal, indicating that they could have been performed by an all female vocal ensemble (see Appendix B).

²¹Note the texts throughout this chapter and in Appendix B. See also the list of pieces in Table 4 above.

When we take into consideration that three of the six opening works are by Mouton, who was in the service of the French court of Anne of Brittany and Louis XII, it is quite logical to infer that MS 1070 belonged to Anne, or both Louis and Anne. The reference to keeping a promise in the Josquin motet, “Memor esto,” could apply to Anne’s promise to marry Louis XII, should her first husband Charles die without issue, as was the case. A subsequent addition , #40 in hand 2, was written for the birth of their daughter, Renée.²² Both king and queen were fond of young Marguerite d’Angoulême, who was frequently at the palace: indeed, when the young woman wed the duc d’Alençon in 1509, the king gave her away, and Anne of Brittany furnished her with a wedding banquet. So either royal could have been the initial owner of the book and then have given it to the favored girl.

But there are some flaws with this position. For one thing, Josquin’s “Memor esto” is not believed to have been composed until at least 1501, the apparent date of his first point of contact with the French court; Louis and Anne were married in 1499, two years before. Therefore, should the date of Josquin’s initial encounter with the palace be accurate, then the book would not apply to their wedding. And what of some of the images, like the nude siren and the creature with sagging breasts? Anne of Brittany was extremely prudish. She was well known for the strict guidance she wielded over her maidens, as well as for her own modest nature. Indeed, as John Harthan has noted, in Anne’s famous Book of Hours, the scene of David watching the nude Bathsheba is noticeably absent.²³ This scene is a familiar standard in these devotional books and only one as avidly prim as Anne would have found it offensive. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the puritanical

²²See above Chapter 3; Chapter 7. However, this Mouton work, “Adiutorium nostrum,” appears in several sources not associated with French royalty.

²³John Harthan, *The Book of Hours* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1977), 29.

queen would have commissioned a manuscript filled with mostly sacred motets and then have had it decorated with nasty beasts and a nude mermaid, as innocent as these figures may be.

Moreover, there is a question concerning the quality of the book. Louis XII was the sovereign of a great kingdom and Anne of Brittany was a wealthy duchess, ruler of the most magnificent remaining fief of Europe, and queen of France for a *second* time. It was around 1500-08, that is, approximately the time when MS 1070 was produced, that Anne of Brittany commissioned the above mentioned “Grandes Heures,” considered one of the most beautiful illuminated manuscripts in the world.²⁴ Artistically, MS 1070 is hardly in a league with Anne’s Book of Hours—or many of the other ornamented manuscripts in the royal library for that matter. Therefore, it is certainly questionable whether the queen of France would have ordered a music manuscript, had it decorated in a most provincial fashion on cheap paper (relative to parchment), with no gold illumination, by a scribe of average ability, that remains incomplete.²⁵

Turning to the remaining women in our discussion, we see that they all were involved in matrimonial negotiations in the early sixteenth century, most of which concerned the English Tudors. A review of the seventh piece of MS 1070, “O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve,” might be of interest, since Lowinsky proposed that it invokes Tudors. This work was copied by scribe 2 (rather than scribe 1) and is not decorated, yet it still seems associated with the opening pages, since it is the only work by scribe 2 (who was apparently a contemporary of scribe 1) within the first two large sections of the manuscript (see Fig. 16). “O salve genitrix” is an

²⁴Ibid., 128. Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 9474.

²⁵Although the general appearance of scribe 1’s copy is pleasant enough, he/she made many careless mistakes, miscopying in several instances; see Chapter 2.

anonymous *unicum*, and as such may have been composed specifically for MS 1070. The work is incomplete, consisting of only the superius and tenor parts. Its text reads:

#7 O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve.	Hail, sweetest Virgin Mother, hail.
Salve quae superum sceptrum Maria tenes.	Hail Mary who holds the sceptre of the heavens.
Vincis et ipsam et rosas vincis et omne jubar.	You outshine the roses and all radiance.
Ad te clamamus soboles miserabilis Evae quos propria pulsos vallis acerba locat.	To you we call, children of pitiable Eve, whom, driven from our own home [home = Paradise], the bitter valley [of tears] houses. ²⁶

The text here suggests an association with a queen of a nation, as Mary is queen of the heavens.²⁷ Lowinsky has identified every word or concept as “found in older Marian prose or poetry save one: ‘et ipsa rosa vincis.’” He notes that, “Mary is often likened to a rose or a lily, but she is not said to excel, to outshine, to conquer the roses.”²⁸ However, text has been found in a Medieval hymn in which Mary outshines both the roses and the lilies, “vincens rosas rubore, lilia candore.”²⁹ Thus,

²⁶Lowinsky 500; the bracketed remarks are Lowinsky’s.

²⁷This type of symbolizing, likening people to holy figures, was common, particularly in France; see the many instances in Myra D. Orth, “‘Madame Sainte Anne’: The Holy Kinship, the Royal Trinity, and Louise of Savoy” in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990); and Lecoq.

²⁸Lowinsky, 500.

²⁹Gilles Gerard Meersseman, *Der Hymnus Akathistos im Abendlande*, (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1958-60), I: 142, line 179. I am indebted to James Marchand, University of Illinois, for bringing this to my attention; James Marchand, *Medieval Texts—Philology, Codicology and Technology*, online, internet, MEDTEXTL@postoffice.cso.uiuc.edu, August, 1996.

the line is not as prominent within the piece as Lowinsky originally asserted. But he suggests, and it might be speculated, that in this instance outshining the roses could refer to outshining the Tudors. The rose was the symbol of the English Tudor family, and there are proportionally a noticeable number of roses on the opening pages of MS 1070. Still, this piece need not represent a Tudor connection in order for the book to have been for a wedding.

Returning to possible owners, MS 1070 could have been in the possession of Mary Tudor, the third wife of Louis XII, who wed the king in 1514. If one entertains the Tudor connection in "O Salve genitrix," then the noted passage might suggest that as queen of France, Mary now would outshine or "conquer" her own past line. Marguerite d'Alençon was a companion of the young queen and could have received the book from her. Of course, Anne Boleyn was in Mary Tudor's service in France and apparently later in England, and therefore, she too could have been in a position to come into contact with a music book owned by Mary. Moreover, Mary's brief time as queen consort, just a few months, might explain the incomplete state of the manuscript.

Mary Tudor was musical and performed on the lute, a skill she learned partially from Katherine of Aragon while a girl in England.³⁰ She apparently performed for Louis XII while his bride.³¹ As a contemporary noted, Mary delighted in "hearing singing, instrumental music, and dancing."³² Therefore, she may have enjoyed music books. But would Mary Tudor have been familiar with or even have liked these French compositions? And what of the images? Not one, but

³⁰See Mattingly, 79.

³¹See Richardson, 24, 37, 112.

³²Lingard, IV: 258, 260.

two turbaned figures are painted in the manuscript, and turbans were hardly a common headdress among the English. Also, there is still the question of quality. Louis XII lavished the richest of jewels on his young bride, and she became quite accustomed to and proud of the extravagances that accompanied her position as queen. Would the king have requested or approved of such a modest book for his precious Mary? During her brief incumbency, would she have commissioned it?

Katherine of Aragon is another possible owner. Of course, she was someone else with whom Anne Boleyn came into contact several times in her life. And, if we hold to the Tudor link, then Katherine would have been the foremost woman involved in matrimonial negotiations with the English in the early sixteenth century. Discussions concerning her union with the Tudor line went on for years. She married Arthur in 1501 (he died shortly thereafter), then in 1503, following the death of Elizabeth of York, Henry VII himself turned to Katherine as his first choice for a new bride.³³ Finally, Katherine wed Henry VIII in 1509. The turbans, pomegranates (the symbol of Spain), and opening humanistic text could have been associated with someone of her Iberian origins. Still, there is no substantial evidence connecting the young Katherine of Aragon to MS 1070, a French-produced book featuring the works of French composers.

It is possible that Margaret of Austria was the dedicatee. Following the death of her cherished husband, Philibert of Savoy, in 1504, she was pressured by her father, Maximilian, and brother, Philip of Burgundy, to wed the aging Henry VII of England. Henry was most serious about this prospect and maintained discourse with the Hapsburgs until 1507, at which time, after prolonged and personal arguments between Margaret and Maximilian, the regent made her

³³A proposal Isabella of Spain quickly rejected. Mattingly, 57-58.

repeated rejections of the proposal heard.³⁴ Here again, the pomegranates and turbans found in the decorations of MS 1070 could be taken for Spanish symbols and thus apply to Margaret, whose first husband had been a Spanish prince (Katherine of Aragon's brother), and whose brother, Philip, had become king of Castile in 1506. Margaret could have given the book to her friend the English ambassador Thomas Boleyn or to her child resident Anne Boleyn, either of whom then could have transported MS 1070 to France. From there, it could have gone on to Marguerite d'Alençon. But there are problems with this scenario as well—the content and character of MS 1070 indicate that it was produced in France rather than in Burgundy.

The foregoing leads us to two remaining potential owners: Marguerite d'Angoulême and her mother, Louise of Savoy. Both participated in matrimonial discussions in the first decade of the sixteenth century that happened to concern Tudors. As early as 1502, Louis XII proposed a marriage between his ward, Marguerite, and the son of Henry VII, Henry of York. At this early date, Henry VII declined, suggesting that Marguerite was not of the proper ranking and that he would rather have his son wed one of the French king's own daughters.³⁵ But then, after 1504, when Francis became the dauphin, Marguerite's position was elevated, and she became a much more attractive prospect to the English. Granted, following the death in 1502 of Prince Arthur, Katherine of Aragon was to wed the new English heir, young Henry (VIII). But Henry VII was reluctant to conclude this marriage treaty because of his desire to dissolve the alliance between France and

³⁴S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 291.

³⁵Scarisbrick, 10; Lingard, IV: 215.

Aragon. Henry's change of mind is described in an 1508 letter to Margaret of Austria:

... The King of France, at divers times, has proposed to Henry that the Prince of Wales should marry the sister of the Duke of Angoulême. The King of England has constantly rejected these offers, though the King of France has been ready to make great sacrifices. He would not even now accept them, were it not that they would be advantageous to the Emperor and the Prince. ... It is known that the King of France greatly desires this marriage and alliance.³⁶

Henry VII first revived negotiations concerning a union of young Henry with Marguerite in 1505. An English ambassador went to France and proposed the prince for Marguerite, adding a request that the girl's twenty-eight-year-old mother, Louise of Savoy, who had been widowed since 1496, come to England and wed the king himself. Louise refused the offer because of her love for and devotion to her son, whom she could not bear to leave. Henry VII then asked for young Marguerite's hand. Marguerite refused. She reportedly said, "England is a far and strange country, and its King is something elderly for a bridegroom. If perchance my brother were to become King, I might then find a young, rich, and high-born husband without going over the sea to look for him."³⁷

In any event, by 1505, a proposed union between the ranking families of France and England became known throughout Europe. On October 10, 1505, an ambassador to the English monarch wrote to the king of Portugal:³⁸

³⁶*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, I: 600.

³⁷Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, ed. R. de Maulde la Clavière, (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1889-95), IV: 30.

³⁸On the marriage, see also Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre* (Paris: Champion, 1930), I: 15.

Sire, the king of England is treating to get married in France to the daughter [sic, sister, Marguerite] of the count of Angoulême, the Dauphin [Francis], or to his mother [Louise of Savoy], and he has sent thither for that purpose lord Somerset his ambassador, he is also trying to marry his daughter [Mary Tudor] to the same Dauphin, and is using great efforts for it.³⁹

During the first decade of the sixteenth century, Louise of Savoy and her children were closely connected with the royal French court; her son was the heir to the throne and her daughter a ward. Later, of course, Mouton, who is represented by a large proportion of works in MS 1070, would enter into the service of Francis and apparently write at least one piece for Louise, “Exalta Regina gallie, Jubila mater Ambasie.” It would not have been odd for Louise to have commissioned a book with works by composers associated with the French court even before her son assumed the crown. It is quite plausible that she could have had MS 1070 prepared for herself or her daughter around 1505 when the marriage negotiations with Henry VII were underway. This date would fit the circumstances, since evidence suggests this is when the core of MS 1070 was produced. That a marriage between the English king and neither of these women ever took place could explain the incomplete state of MS 1070 and its shift in function from a presentation manuscript to a functional one, that is, one to be used in performance.

Moreover, the quality of the book is what one might expect to find in the Angoulême household in the earlier years, they being a family with relatively moderate resources. Another music book from the Angoulême court, MS fr. 1596, which may have come into Marguerite’s possession ca 1498, is of a provincial nature like MS 1070, and our music book would not be out of place alongside it in the Cognac library, as for example it might be in the royal library. Moreover, the

³⁹A. F. Pollard, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII from Contemporary Sources* (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 3: 92-93.

work of hand 1 in MS 1070 is in a style similar to that of the scribe who copied MS fr. 1596.

Therefore, it seems that of the six women discussed in this study who had some association with Boleyn, Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d'Alençon would have most logically been the original owners. But assuming that MS 1070 was prepared for the possible betrothal of one of them (to Henry VII or even to Prince Henry), it would be difficult to discern which of the two was to be the bride.⁴⁰ In 1505 Marguerite was thirteen years old and still largely under the influence of her commanding mother. Moreover, she, her brother, and Louise, "the Trinity," were exceptionally close. (Francis would go on to adopt several of his mother's devices, such as the salamander.) Signs in MS 1070 that might call to mind Louise, could actually have been referring to Marguerite.

MS 1070 opens with a musical setting of a humanistic poem invoking Pallas and Juno, two female gods with whom Louise had an affinity. In her *Les Échecs amoureux*, circa 1500,⁴¹ the countess herself is depicted as these deities in the garden (see Fig. 40, their names are placed behind them), where they represent the Active Life and the Contemplative Life.⁴² But as Jean Seznec explains, Pallas "with the dragon at her side, signifies the virgin's need for strict guardianship and for protection against the snares of love."⁴³ In MS 1070, since a staring dragon figure accompanies "Forte si dulce," Louise might be identified as Pallas, protecting

⁴⁰It is possible that MS 1070 was commissioned for Marguerite's wedding to the duc d'Alençon in 1509, but because the original layer is incomplete, one might lean towards the probability that it was made for a union that did not take place, like that of one of the Angoulême women and a Tudor.

⁴¹Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 143.

⁴²Seznec, 107.

⁴³Ibid., 97, 101.

and guarding her daughter, the bride. There is certainly some connection between Louise and specifically Pallas, for surviving sources identify the countess with the goddess.⁴⁴ And, as one might recall (Chapter 7), it is Pallas who discourses on the importance of music in Louise's *Les Échecs amoureux*.

Other Angoulême connections in this piece might lie in the invoking of Hercules, a demigod to whom Francis was frequently likened;⁴⁵ and the inclusion of the image of a rose, a favorite flower of Louise, and a marguerite, a common play on the name Marguerite.⁴⁶

The decoration of the third work, "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes," includes a marguerite and a sunflower or marigold. This latter flower was the device of Marguerite d'Alençon, for it was believed to "aptly symbolize the princess; the flower always turned to the sun, and its petals were like the sun's rays; the princess turned her acts towards God, the sun of justice."⁴⁷

"In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum," the wedding motet, depicts a woman with her hair down and a woman with a jeweled turban. In northern Europe, younger women and girls often wore their hair loose, and so in this instance, the image seems to represent the bride, who might have been the thirteen-year-old Marguerite. Of course, the countess Louise, who loved to have herself depicted in miniatures, had a penchant for turbans, at least in her earlier years, and is often portrayed with this headdress (see Figs. 36, 37, 43). It seems more than

⁴⁴See Lecoq, 74-75, 113, 127, 167.

⁴⁵Ibid., 204-06, 226-27, 255.

⁴⁶According to Orliac, " Louise adores flowers, and her illuminations bespeak her preferences: the carnation, the forget-me-not, and, in particular, the rose, which she cultivated in her gardens." Orliac, 30. Marguerites like those in MS 1070 can be seen in Marguerite's manuscript Bibliothèque nationale, N.A. Lat. 83.

⁴⁷Russell, 5.

coincidence that in *Les Échecs* (Fig. 36) there is a representation of a turbaned Louise performing music, and in MS 1070 these same symbols (females, turbans, and music) are combined. This turbaned figure in MS 1070 possibly represents the mother-of-the-bride, Louise.⁴⁸ Moreover, it may be of note that this piece and the following one (#5) contain images of strawberries, a favorite fruit of the countess.⁴⁹

And what of the nudity that would have offended Anne of Brittany? Such hardly would have embarrassed Louise of Savoy, nor presumably her daughter. Louise herself is represented as the nude Venus (the symbol of the Amorous Life) in the provocative *Les Échecs* miniature of "Desire entering the Orchard" (Fig. 40), and her Book of Hours contains dozens of images of nude people, both men and women. Louise, who traveled about with her husband's mistress and his bastard children, was anything but modest, and with her forceful demeanor, it would not be unusual for some to view her as the siren (an image of which is found in "Forte si dulci"), the *femme fatale*.⁵⁰

Music, turbans, Pallas, strawberries, and France are items that seem point to Louise of Savoy. Moreover, later layers of MS 1070 contain the initials of her daughter and the name of her daughter's friend. The Boleyn inscription indicates that MS 1070 was in France after the girl arrived in 1513. Assuming that it was, and remained, in the possession of the Angoulême family, we can surmise that the

⁴⁸The black turbaned female, who appears with "Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo," seems to resemble the countess more closely than the figure without coloration. Should this be Louise, then perhaps some later performer darkened the face as a sign of disrespect to the controversial countess.

⁴⁹Orliac, 30. Lowinsky, 500, asserts that the white figure with the turban resembles Katherine of Aragon and the image of the woman with loose hair resembles Anne Boleyn.

⁵⁰Book of Hours, London, British Library, Kings 7; apparently, Louise had several salacious books in her library; Knecht, 6, fn. 10.

It is interesting to note, that when speaking of Boleyn and music, a French courtier likened her to "a second Orpheus" and a "syren," figures both invoked in "Forte si dulci"; see p. 101 above. Still, it is highly unlikely that this work was produced with Boleyn in mind.

work by the next layer of hands, 2 and 3, was entered around the time of Marguerite's marriage to the duc d'Alençon. Several of these pieces, like "Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini" (#40) and "O virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud" (#27, Feast of Expectation of Birth) could apply to a marriage and the hope for subsequent childbirth. In any event, the third layer was probably entered no more than a few years before 1512, the probable date of composition of "Paranymphus salutat virginem" (#24),⁵¹ and this would have been around the time of Marguerite's wedding in 1509. Again, it may be more than coincidence that two works in this layer, i.e., #25, "Profitentes unitatem veneremur," and #41, "Sancti Trinitas unus deum," pertain to the Trinity, the symbol associated with Louise's family.⁵²

The last layers of MS 1070, that is, the work of hands 4 and 5, were likely entered after 1517—long after Marguerite was married and a few years after her brother assumed the throne. These layers are comprised of four pieces:

hand 4:

"Sicut lilium inter spinas," Brumel (#29), contains IHS/MA
 "Gentilz galans compaignons," anon. (#42)

hand 5:

"Jouyssance vous donneray," Sermisy/Marot (#35)
 "Venes regres venes tous," anon. (#36)

The pen-work initial of "Sicut lilium" contains the letters of Marguerite's name, "MA." The text is from the Song of Songs 2:2.

⁵¹See Chapter 3.

⁵²As Orth reports, "It was common practice at the French court to consider the terrestrial ruler as a reflection of the divine, the royal family as the Holy family. François I, Marguerite, and Louise of Savoy were consistently called the "royal trinity"; Orth, "Madame Sainte Anne": The Holy Kinship, the Royal Trinity, and Louise of Savoy," 212. See also Knecht, 160 and Appendix A below (the information regarding Claude's Book of Prayers) for reference to the Trinity and Angoulême family portrayal in miniatures. For a listing of the texts of MS 1070 and their original purpose, see Blackburn's catalogue in Lowinsky, 513-19.

29 Sicut lilium inter spinas
sic amica mea inter filias.

As a lily among thorns,
so is my love among the daughters.

This biblical poem is a love song unfolding as follows:

I am a rose of Sharon,
a lily of the valleys.
*As a lily among thorns,
*so is my love among the daughters.
As an apple tree among the trees of the wood,
so is my beloved among young men.
With great delight I sat in his shadow,
and his fruit was sweet to my taste.

The isolated second stanza (2a, 2b), serving as the text of the work in MS 1070, is not necessarily a reference to the biblical love song. These two lines can be found used as an antiphon for the Feast of the Purity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (October 17).⁵³ "Daughters" in a biblical context could simply mean maidens, or it could mean women of a specific clan or tribe, such as "the daughters of Jerusalem."⁵⁴ Marguerite d'Alençon may have viewed "Daughters" more literally, since she herself was half of a famous mother-daughter duo.⁵⁵

The other song copied by hand 4, "Gentilz galans compaignons du resin" is a drinking song, which is highly unusual in a book of mostly sacred motets. But this is the last piece in the entire volume, and it is on paper not found elsewhere in the manuscript (that with the hand/star watermark). It is apparently a jocular, later

⁵³Catholic Church, [Liber Antiphonarius] *Antiphonale sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912), [207].

⁵⁴Orthmar Keel, *The Song of Songs: A Continental Commentary*, trans. Frederick J. Gaiser (Minneapolis: fortress Press, 1994), 80.

⁵⁵Marguerite had one child, a daughter, the celebrated Jeanne d'Albret, but she was not born until January, 1528, several years after the music book was assembled.

addition to what seems to have been a well-liked possession.⁵⁶ The text “Gentilz galans” refers to a hostess, a woman, a tavern keeper, who is treating her guests:

#42 Gentilz galans compaignons du resin
 bevons d'autant au soir
 et au matin jusque a cent soulz et ho
 A nostre hostesse ne baillon point
 d'argent mais ung credo

Dear, gallant drinking companions [companions of the grape]
 let us drink the same amount in the evening
 and in the morning as a hundred drunkards
 (or a hundred sous [unit of money] worth) and ho!
 to our hostess, let us not give money, but rather credit
 (or a prayer/creed).⁵⁷

Should MS 1070 be Marguerite's book, and this would seem to be the case, then she may have been likened to the hostess. Marguerite was a deeply pious woman, but not a prude, so perhaps the last line with the word play—that she be paid with prayer rather than money—was to tease her about her outwardly devotional character. This would be particularly fitting at the end of a book of predominately religious motets. Marguerite was known to have been a protector of religious reformers and her generous, good nature was manifest throughout her life,

⁵⁶As was mentioned in Chapter 2, the pages are thumbed and notations and accidentals were inserted, apparently by contemporary performers.

⁵⁷It was apparently a well-liked piece, since it can be found in print as early as 1520. *Chansons a troys*, Antico and Giunta, 1520. See H. M. Brown, *French Secular Theater*, entry 140, 221. Théodore Gérold lists it among a few other drinking songs found in the Bayeux Manuscript, where its text is slightly different from that of MS 1070. See Gérold, *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux* (Genève: Minkoff, 1921), 55.

apparently even in her earlier years when she was duchess d'Alençon, that is, when this song was likely composed.⁵⁸

Hand 4 also entered a maxim on the blank-staved p 232/116v. It reads:

Tuo te pede metire/
Nosces teipsum ut noris quam/
sit tibi curta suppellex”.

Measure yourself by your own rule.
Know yourself so that you are aware
of how poorly you are furnished.⁵⁹

Lowinsky has identified the text of this note as coming from works of the ancient Romans Horace and Perseus: “Tuo te pede metire” is the last line of Horace’s seventh epistle, and “noris quam sit tibi curta suppellex,” the last line of the fourth satire of Perseus. The Horace tale is of a man of modest means who is provided with a farm, but becomes exhausted from situations arising from his love of possession, and thus longs for his former life. The Perseus tale is similar. Both are about regret and yearning for the past. Lowinsky believed that the note applied to the English-court musician Mark Smeton, Queen Anne’s (Boleyn’s) accused paramour, a man of humble origins who became too greedy and thus caused his own downfall. Lowinsky also surmised that MS 1070 was “specifically written for Anne Boleyn” while she was queen of England, and that Smeton was the donor-editor of the book.⁶⁰

⁵⁸The historian Guizot notes that Marguerite was “. . . the most generous and most affectionate, and the most loveable person in a family and a court which were both corrupt.” François M. Guizot, *A History of France* (New York: J. B. Alden, 1884), IV: 12.

⁵⁹Lowinsky, 509.

⁶⁰*Ibid.* Again, the findings in this dissertation do not support the supposition that Boleyn commissioned the book while queen; and moreover, similarities between Smeton’s hand and any of

An added notation such as this in a music book would certainly suggest an association with a specific person, and since the note is in the same hand as that of the piece with the "MA," it seems to pertain to Marguerite d'Alençon. The maxim may refer less to regret of possession than to regret of or coping with change and choice. The note is supportive and warns against letting a grim situation have an impact on one's personal appraisal. In the case of Marguerite, the maxim may be referring to the fact that she married far beneath herself, personally and intellectually, when she wed the duc d'Alençon in 1509.

Marguerite was one of the most highly educated women of her day. She had royal blood and was the sister of one in line to the throne; she could have and should have wed a king. But instead, to settle a dispute between the crown and the house of Alençon, she was saddled with the duc d'Alençon, as Alice Cocoran has noted, a man "weak and obstinate, and vain enough to be continually seeking offices which he was incompetent of discharging." He had "an uncultivated mind and no interest in learning. He was sullen and unsociable. In other words he was just the kind of person poor young Marguerite . . . would not want to marry."⁶¹ The maxim may have been a note of encouragement to the duchess, reminding her to take stock of herself and realize that she is poorly represented by her title, court, and husband.⁶² This would be a most appropriate message should the book have been prepared originally for Marguerite's betrothal with the king of England—thus a reminder of the throne she might have assumed.

those in MS 1070 seem doubtful. See also Chapter 7 for a discussion of manuscripts at the English court.

⁶¹Alice M. Cocoran, "Marguerite de Navarre, the Woman," M.A. Thesis, University of Rochester, 1937, 11.

⁶²Of course, the saying could have applied to Anne Boleyn at the time: She was another who certainly might have felt cheated by her circumstances.

Hand 5's contributions consist of two love songs, "Jouyssance vous donneray" by Sermisy/Marot and the anonymous "Venes regres venes tous." These works appear in succession as #35 and #36 of MS 1070. The text of "Jouyssance," a well-distributed piece and a favorite of Marguerite's, reads:

#35 Jouyssance vous donneray mon amy et vous meneray La ou pretend votre esperance	Joy, dearest lover, thine shall be, And I shall lead thee tenderly Where hope would have thee seek thy pleasure;
Vivante ne vous lesseray encores quand morte serray L'esprit en aura souvenance	Alive I shall not part from thee, And still when death has come to me My soul its memories shall treasure. ⁶³

"Venes regres venes tous" is as follows:

#36 Venes regres venes tous a mon cueur venes y tost nul de vous ne me laisse venes soucy venes parmes et pleurs venes y tous qui les amans oppresse	Come regrets, come all to my heart, Come swiftly, let none of you depart; Come care, come sorrow, and come tears, Come all that oppresses a lover's heart. ⁶⁴
--	---

There were two loves in Marguerite's early life. The first, the handsome and ardent Gaston de Foix, was one of several young pages who were childhood companions of Marguerite and her brother. The other (who pined more for her than she for him) was Guillaume Gouffier, seigneur de Bonnivet, who joined Francis's

⁶³Translation and transcription in Reese, 292-93.

⁶⁴Lowinsky, 500.

circle of friends around 1506.⁶⁵ But Gaston was Marguerite's great love, and it was he whom she longed to wed.⁶⁶

Marguerite's relationships with Foix and Bonnivet are recounted in her autobiographical *Heptaméron*. In one tale, Marguerite describes a young countess (Louise of Savoy) left widowed with a son, the count of Arande (Francis), and a daughter, Floride (Marguerite). There is a young lad referred to as the Child of Fortune's son (Gaston de Foix) who:

has been brought up at the court, and is one of the most charming and perfect young princes that there is in all Christendom. And if there is talk of marriage, in the opinion of our womenfolk, he would be sure to have the lady Floride [Marguerite], in order that we might be able to see united the handsomest couple in all Spain [France].⁶⁷

Floride (Marguerite) desperately wants to marry the Child of Fortune's son (Foix), but her mother wills otherwise, as she is destined for the duc de Cardonne (duc d'Alençon).

Bonnivet, "the professional lover of his time," apparently pursued Marguerite for years.⁶⁸ As is reported in the *Heptaméron*, he married into Marguerite's household in order to be near her. At some time, while she was Alençon's wife, she began to "feel in her heart something more than she was accustomed to feel there" regarding Bonnivet.⁶⁹ In Marguerite's tenth *nouvelle*, Louise (as Dame Oisille) encourages Bonnivet to seek from her daughter "that

⁶⁵Knecht, 12.

⁶⁶Later, Marguerite was quite taken with the king of Navarre, a man whom she happily wed in 1527.

⁶⁷Putnam, 68-69.

⁶⁸Mayer, 56.

⁶⁹Putnam, 69.

which the honour of ladies forbids” and scolds Marguerite when she does not concede. Louise believed that Bonnivet could give Marguerite the child that Alençon could not.⁷⁰

These two love songs, “Jouyssance vous donneray” and “Venes regres venes tous,” both published in 1528, where probably composed during Marguerite’s early life as duchess d’Alençon, 1509-20. One has text by Marguerite’s friend Marot, and both are unique in MS 1070 because they are the only contributions by hand 5, and they are love songs in a book with works of mostly sacred texts.⁷¹ In commissioned books, songs were usually chosen for a specific reason—in this case, the works could apply directly to the duchess d’Alençon, a young woman between seventeen and twenty-eight years old, trapped in a marriage to a man she neither respected nor loved. Alongside the “measure yourself” maxim, a work like “Venes regres/Come regrets . . . Come all that oppresses a lover’s heart” would appropriately reflect the sentiments of an intelligent woman such as Marguerite, who longed for past loves, yet was wed to a “distinguished but unbelievably stupid” man.⁷²

And what of the Boleyn connection to MS 1070? Her name and her father’s motto are inserted beneath the altus part of Compère’s “Paranymphus salutatur virginem.” “Paranymphus” was an experimental work of Compère; his only sacred composition written for *voces aequales*, initially, for all low voices, the voices of men.⁷³ But since all parts are equal, an ensemble of women could easily have sung

⁷⁰Mayer, 59.

⁷¹“Gentilz galans” is the only other piece in MS 1070 that has French text. MS 1070 contains pieces that are in Latin, but are not strictly liturgical, such as the opening humanistic poem “Forte si dulci,” #22 “Virgo salutiferi,” and #38 “Huc me sydereo.”

⁷²Mayer, 55.

⁷³Finscher, 199.

this work by simply reading the parts up an octave, which was probably the case. The inscription reads: *Mris A. Bolleyne, Nowe thus*, followed by 3 minims and a longa with a signum.⁷⁴ Anne's full Christian name is not provided, but her title is clearly indicated. It certainly seems that "now thus" refers to the girl's lowly designation.

As one might recall, from an early age Anne was raised among the most prestigious progeny in northern Europe. Her playmates at the court of Margaret of Austria were being prepared to assume one day some of the highest positions in Europe. Indeed, Eleanor became the queen of Portugal and France; Ysabeau, the queen of Denmark; and Mary, the queen of Hungary; while young Charles (V) was later crowned the Holy Roman Emperor and assumed a position as one of the most powerful men of his epoch. Anne must have experienced the same or similar training and lifestyle as these children, and in some ways may have felt like their peer, but with one clear distinction: she was not of a ranking even to aspire to such grand posts. In 1514, Anne left the splendid household of Margaret of Austria and went into the service of the queen of France, Mary Tudor, and then continued on with the subsequent queen, Claude. Clearly, in the formative years of this young English girl's life, she lived among other girls who were to be queens or among queens themselves. Moreover, she was surrounded by the most powerful, intelligent women in all of northern Europe. Her initial guardian was the brilliant Margaret of Austria, a regent, a woman who ruled in her own right. In France, Anne must have encountered the formidable Louise of Savoy, the unofficial ruler of the kingdom, and Marguerite d'Alençon, one of the brightest minds of her day, a woman bold enough to challenge the Sorbonne, became Anne's friend. With these

⁷⁴See Fig. 11 and Chapter 6 Addendum.

kinds of extraordinary influences during her childhood, it is no wonder that Anne Boleyn, the daughter of an ambassador, developed the ambition and acumen needed in order to become a powerful woman herself, indeed, a queen.

But what all this indicates is that Anne must have been aware of her insignificant rank during her youth. Such would have been pronounced, at least to her, since she was living among so many women of high standing and of royal blood. Therefore, returning to the inscription, “now thus” seems clearly to refer to the title “Mistress.” “Now” denotes a current period of time, and Anne was for now of meager status. The note does, however, suggest that there was hope that Anne might assume something greater, for “now” is a transitory concept.

These words are followed by a brief musical message, a most interesting enigma: three minims (short notes) and a longa (a long note) upon which is placed a signum. A signum congruentiae is a musical symbol with many possible meanings. It is often found in polyphonic compositions throughout the Renaissance, used as a marker inserted in each individual part to provide the performers a point where they all should coincide.⁷⁵ Such signa are most significant in early music compositions, since these pieces frequently consist of highly complex polyphony that is not segmented with bar lines, which later function as general markers. But a signum can also be used as a standard ending sign placed on the last or final notes of a section or piece, and this would appear to be the purpose of the symbol in the Boleyn inscription.⁷⁶ It seems merely to symbolize that the four notes are a complete unit, with a beginning and an end.

⁷⁵For more on this use of the signum, see Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942), 94.

⁷⁶There is no polyphony evident, and another signum is used for appearance sake, to dot the i of “Mrs.”

The minims could equate to three modern-day quarter notes, three beats, and if such were the case, then the longa, *without the signum*, would equate to a double whole note, eight beats. But, when the signum is added to the last note of a piece, the duration of that note usually becomes indefinite—the duration is often extended, since the signum can act like a fermata. Therefore, quantitatively, all that can be said about the musical inscription is that it represents three short units and one long unit, likely something over eight, but certainly indefinite.

Thus, “now” indicates the present period of time. Anne has the title of Mistress for now. What else could Anne be now, but pertaining to units? Since “now” specifies this immediate temporal place, might it not apply to one’s current age, that is, the number of years a person has existed, as of “now”? Anne’s name was apparently entered in the book before 1529; therefore, she would have been either younger than twenty two or twenty eight (depending on the year of her birth) when the note was penned. Since there is such a strong French-court connection with MS 1070 as well as a link between Anne and Marguerite d’Alençon, it is reasonable to assume that Anne’s name was entered before she left France in 1521. Thus, the note seems to have been written either before Anne was fourteen or twenty.

Three short units and one long unit could represent the age thirteen, three years and a decade.⁷⁷ If one holds to the 1501 birthdate, then Boleyn was thirteen in 1514, a year she began at the court of Margaret of Austria and ended at the court of France in the service of Mary Tudor. But if one adheres to the 1507 birthdate, that is, the date favored by most historians, then Boleyn was thirteen in 1520 or

⁷⁷The question might arise as to why the scribe would not have written out the full duration of ten beats in order to signify the decade. Within the limitations of mensural notation, it is virtually impossible to depict a note with this duration. Any more literal of an attempt would be very odd, indeed, and such a creation would not resemble a complete musical entity and certainly would not be as aesthetically well structured as the inscription in MS 1070.

perhaps into 1521. Some believe that 1520 was around the time that Boleyn actually lived with Marguerite d'Alençon.⁷⁸

Next, one might ask, why is Anne's name placed in the midst of the Compère piece, "Paranymphus"? The word "paranymphus" itself translates as "bridesman," which would not be an unusual term found in a book that was commissioned for a wedding. But the entire text pertains to the Annunciation. Its source is unidentified, but the first three words can be found in a Medieval hymn to the Virgin.⁷⁹ The text of the piece translates:

⁷⁸On the 1520 date, see Chapter 5, 112-13, and Warnicke, 23. Lowinsky, who believed that Boleyn owned the book while she was queen, suggested that the designation may refer to her death. He reports, "perhaps the three notes with stems going upward were meant to point to her three years as queen. Perhaps the minims were intended to indicate how fast they had passed by, while the *longa* with its stem downward was to be a sign of the end that had come in a catastrophic reversal of fate." He also mentions that at a 1969 Royal Music Association meeting, Sir Jack Westrup made the observation that the *longa* looked like an ax. [If one were to entertain the idea, then it might be of interest that Anne's method of beheading was unusual in England, for it was not an English ax that fell the queen, but a sword wielded by a Frenchman, see Chapter 4 above.] Lowinsky further indicates that, "The codex must have been in the process of being written when Anne was tried, sentenced, and executed," which is manifest in the "fragmentary character of the manuscript" among other things. Lowinsky 509, 495, 501.

⁷⁹Lowinsky, 516. Franz Joseph Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964), II: 37.

24 Paranympus salutat Virginem
intemeratam:

“Deus tecum, inter mulieres
benedicta
Ave” inquit “gratia plena humilis
Maria.

The Bridesman [best man] greets the
undefiled Virgin:

“God is with thee, blessed among
woman
Hail,” he says, “humble Mary full of
grace.

Pars II:
Ecce virgo decora, virginitate
servata,
tu paries Filium, intacta Maria.”

Part II:
Behold, beautiful virgin, your virginity
having been preserved,
you will give birth to a Son, chaste
Mary.”

“Paranympus,” the bridesman, obviously pertains to the angel Gabriel, *angelus paranympus*, i.e., the angel bridesman.⁸⁰

The reference to one “undefiled, chaste, preserved,” might have applied to the young Boleyn, who was presumably a virgin before 1529 when her name was entered. Such might be pronounced alongside her married (or widowed) friends or guardians (that is, Marguerite d’Alençon, et al.) The text speaks of the bridesman, Gabriel, approaching Mary as a representative of God, thus, symbolizing a best man, an emissary, greeting a maiden. This might refer to someone approaching Anne about a prospect, a marriage.⁸¹

There were two men that Boleyn officially considered marrying. One was Henry VIII. But Anne already had a substantial relationship with the king by the time marriage was discussed, and a third party, a “paranympus,” was not needed to broach the subject. The reference would more likely apply to the notice Anne

⁸⁰See Meersseman, I: 144; “Brautfuehrer” is certainly the angel Gabriel.

⁸¹Again, one should keep in mind that such metaphors of holy and secular beings were commonly applied during the time, particularly at the French court.

received in France in 1521, or earlier, that she return to England to marry James Butler, the son of the co-heir to the earldom of Ormonde (it was in the Spring of 1520 that the union was suggested to Wolsey).⁸² It is possible that her father or some other envoy came to the court to give her the news. Anne or one of her friends may have noticed that the piece applies to her: “paranympus” has come to tell Anne of her future.

Such a scenario would be in keeping with the designation (Mrs A. Bolleyne), the motto (nowe thus), and the musical symbol, particularly if this were to represent the age of a thirteen-year-old Anne in 1520-21. The hope implied with “nowe thus” a “Mistress” would be realized if the inscription were written in connection with a betrothal, for what was Anne “nowe”? She was a virgin, a maiden, one with the lowly title of “Mistress”—all of which would change when or if she married the son of the heir of Ormonde. Therefore, the inscription would be most appropriate should the book have belonged to one of the royal French women and then been given to the English girl in 1520 upon the news of a betrothal.

⁸²Ives, 43-44.

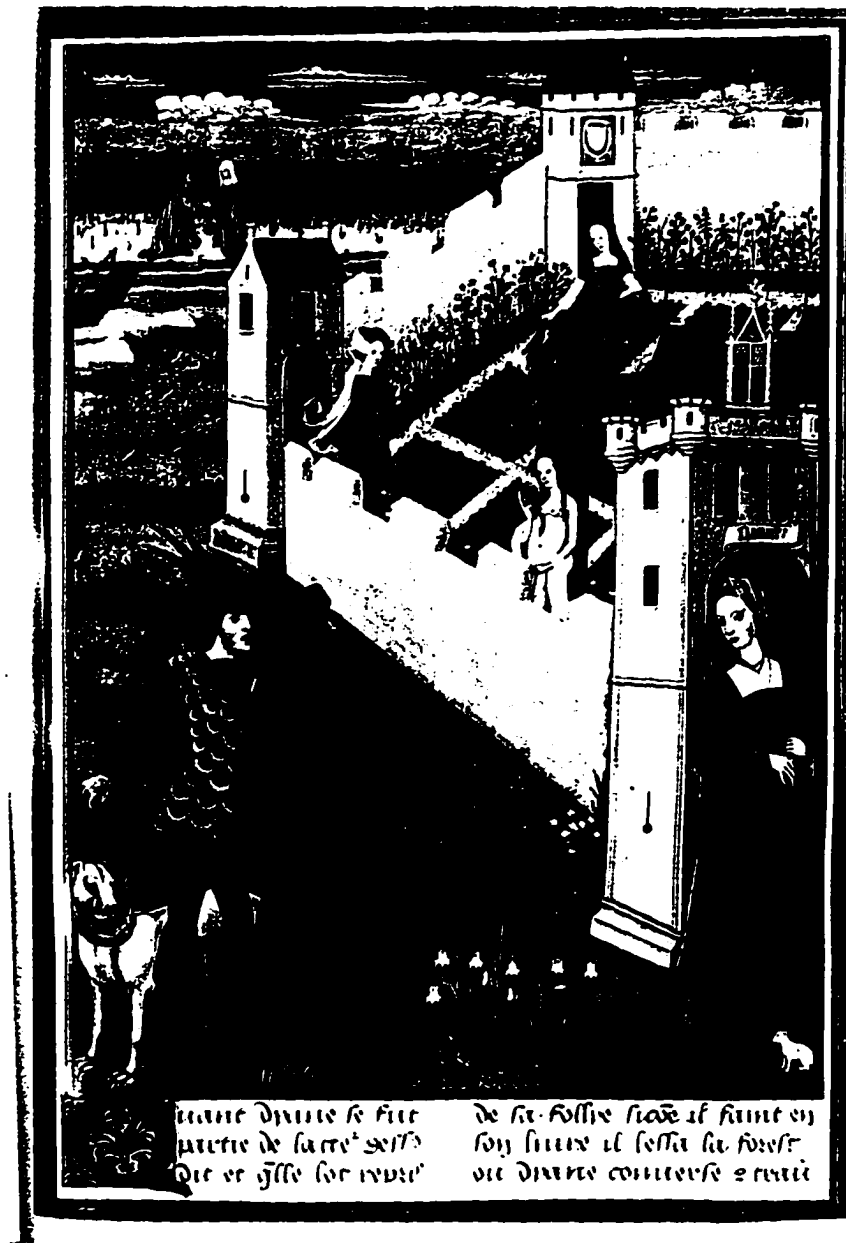


Figure 40: Louis of Savoy as various characters in a miniature from *Les Échecs amoureux*, Bibliothèque nationale. MS fr. 143, f. 198v⁸²

⁸²Reproduced in Porcher, plate 89. "The author takes Désiré into the Orchard."

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

MS 1070 is a Renaissance music book that clearly has been in England since at least the later eighteenth century. Copied on its 134 paper folios are thirty-nine motets and three chansons. Eight pieces are unique to the volume, but the majority were written by some of the most noted composers of the Renaissance. The watermarks on its paper are most similar to, if not the same as, those found in sources from northern France. The opening pages bear decorations that are relatively simple, without gold illumination or elaborate coloration.

The book, which is divided into two main parts, contains five different scribal hands and was compiled in at least three layers. Based on physical characteristics, content, and the approximate dates of compositions, it seems that the core of MS 1070 was prepared in the first decade of the sixteenth century, probably around 1505; the second layer (hands 2 and 3) was inserted ca 1510; and the last (hands 4 and 5) was seemingly copied in 1517 or slightly later.

The name “Mrs A. Boleyn,” the motto of Boleyn’s father, “Nowe thus,” and a musical inscription are penned beneath the altus part of Compère’s “Paranymphus salutat virginem” (in part two, p. 157/79r). Anne Boleyn is best known as the controversial English queen and one of the most important and influential figures in the events leading to the English Reformation. The simple title “Mistress” with the surname Boleyn would not have applied to her after 1529, when her father was elevated to an earldom, and it certainly would not have been employed after she became queen in 1533. The note was apparently written during

Boleyn's early years, since it is unique to a person of lowly rank, a girl without fame or distinction. Whoever had Anne's name inserted, if it were not Boleyn herself, evidently knew her well, and before 1529.

Anne resided with several distinguished women during her childhood. She was born in England and spent her initial years on the isle (1501/07-1513) but then went to live on the continent, first at the court of Margaret of Austria (1513-1514), then at the French court (1514-1521) in the service of Mary Tudor followed by that of Claude of France. It is quite probable that near the end of her sojourn, Anne served Marguerite d'Angoulême/Alençon, later queen of Navarre. After Boleyn returned to England, she may have been a lady-in-waiting of Mary Tudor once again (ca 1522-23), and of course, she was in the household of Katherine of Aragon (ca 1527). Through political and familial relationships, the lives of these women, among others such as Louise of Savoy, were tightly entwined, and MS 1070 could have passed through the hands of any one of them.

When the music book is compared with other Renaissance volumes, it becomes apparent that it is not a product of England. It contains no works by English composers, and when placed alongside established English sources, it reveals no substantial similarities. Neither is it a Hapsburg court manuscript, although one hand, hand 3 bears a Burgundian character. MS 1070 is clearly a French book. Except for Obrecht, all of the composers represented have a connection to the French court. The volume shares pieces and concordances with one French source (MS Pepys 1760), and a visual style with another (MS fr. 1596). It bears decorations that have a French character, is written on paper with watermarks like that of paper found in northern France, contains a composition that was a favorite of Marguerite d'Alençon ("Jouyssance vous donneray"), and carries her initials, "MA." As a French book, MS 1070 remains an unusual source.

Nothing comparable in regard to decoration, volume, and content has been identified as emanating from the French court: MS 1070 is comprised of many long motets, that is, motets in more than one part, and it contains both sacred and secular works, and both Latin and French texts.

The music book was used in performance, but this was not its sole purpose, for it is a presentation manuscript, attested to by the decorations and text on the initial pages.¹ A review of these items indicates that MS 1070 was prepared for the celebration of a wedding or a betrothal that probably involved royalty; however, the owner or dedicatee (the betrothed) was not a great monarch or person of similar distinction, since the source notably has a simple, provincial appearance. The core material was never completed as planned; therefore, it is likely that the marriage never took place.

The original owner was undoubtedly a woman. That MS 1070 is a woman's song book is evident from its Boleyn and Marguerite connection, the numerous texts that recall women, and the notably close voice ranges of many of its pieces.

Of course, the most compelling evidence concerning specific past owners includes the name of Boleyn, in a hand seemingly otherwise foreign to the manuscript, and the initials "MA," part of the original copy of a later layer. The text of the composition with Marguerite's initials is by the poet Marot, who was in the service of the duchess from 1519, at about the same time Anne would have been close to Marguerite. Moreover, Anne, Marguerite, and Marot can all be associated with another book, one dating from years later, that was presented by the French court to Anne (and probably Henry) after Boleyn became queen.² The evidence

¹It is not uncommon in presentation books for there to be a preponderance of decoration at the beginning of a volume.

²London, British Library, MS Royal 16 E XIII.

detailed in the previous chapters leads to the conclusion that Anne Boleyn and Marguerite d'Alençon each possessed MS 1070, and that it probably passed from one to the other.

A provenance of MS 1070 might be described as follows:

Sometime after 1502, discussions developed concerning a union between the young Marguerite d'Angoulême and a royal Tudor, perhaps Henry VII.³

Marguerite was loath to leaving France and her family and marrying the old king.

Both Louise of Savoy and Louis XII apparently supported the union, thus perhaps one of them, maybe Louise who often procured books for her household, commissioned MS 1070 as a gift for the purpose of persuading her daughter.⁴

Marguerite was obviously a lover of music, for even at this early age she owned at least one other music manuscript, MS fr. 1596. MS 1070 is of a slightly higher quality than MS fr. 1596: it contains many more pieces, is ornamented with decorations, and has opening text specific to a wedding. Although, to an established queen, MS 1070 would appear a plain book, to someone of Marguerite's years and status, it would have been a prized possession.

The nuptials never took place. Therefore MS 1070 was never finished, at least according to the original plan. Nevertheless, Marguerite kept the book. A few years later, perhaps around the time of her wedding to the duc d'Alençon in 1509, the duchess had a few more works added that might symbolically pertain to marriage, childbirth, and her family, "the Trinity." This is when "Paranymphus" would have been copied, as well as the other works by hand 3 and possibly the bulk

³Negotiations peaked around 1505 when Marguerite was thirteen.

⁴Anne de Beaujeu was still keeping active at court and she may have been the one who initially suggested that Marguerite marry the Prince of Wales; Mayer, 34. Anne de Beaujeu certainly also could have been the presenter of MS 1070. She was apparently musical herself and probably owned another noted French music book (see Appendix A).

of those by hand 2 (see Chapter 2; part two may have been attached to part one around this time). A few more years passed, and the chansons and the maxim about being “poorly furnished” were inserted. The message at this time would have been most fitting, since it was placed in a book that possibly represented Marguerite’s earlier betrothal to a monarch. It is a reminder of how she could have been a queen, rather than the wife of the unimpressive duc d’Alençon.

Someone, perhaps a court musician, added the drinking song to the end of this book of mostly religious motets. The manuscript by this time had become a source for social use.

After having known each other for some while, Boleyn and Marguerite developed a friendship. Anne, too, was a lover of music and no doubt would have performed alongside Marguerite and the other court Ladies, since, as a matter of course, they spent much time together. It is probable that both Anne and Marguerite performed from MS 1070 itself.

Around 1520, Marguerite learned that the English girl was to be recalled to her homeland for a proposed marriage. After some seven years in France among the Angoulême family, Boleyn had become a favored companion. Marguerite lamented the forthcoming loss of her friend, and wished to bestow a gift on the younger woman before she departed. A music book would have been suitable, especially one originally prepared for a wedding, the wedding of a thirteen-year-old betrothed, which Boleyn was now. And/or, perhaps the book was one of which Anne was fond. Boleyn may have added her own name, or Marguerite may have asked a court musician to personalize the *Compère* piece, a piece whose ranges are such that it could easily have been sung by a vocal ensemble of all women. With the addition of Sir Thomas’s motto and Anne’s musically represented age, the inscription would have applied nicely to “Mistress Boleyn,” as she was for “nowe.”

The name designation was placed beneath the altus part, which may have been the part Boleyn sang.

Marguerite may have given the book to the girl as a parting gift. Perhaps Anne took the volume back to England with her in 1521, and thus, like the French MS Pepys 1760, which apparently has been on the isle since the Renaissance, MS 1070 escaped the subsequent destruction that seems to have befallen other manuscripts of sacred music remaining in France.

* * *

Beyond music history, MS 1070 may contain revealing information. It cannot be denied that the manuscript bears signs pointing to both Boleyn and Marguerite d'Alençon. For years, scholars have been debating whether and how well these two knew each other; thus, MS 1070 might be viewed as a significant piece of evidence supporting an early friendship. Also, the history of the source could be added to the discussion asserting the 1507 birthdate of Boleyn. Should the musical note represent Anne's age, thirteen, and should it have been entered around 1520, both quite possible suppositions, then she was born in 1507. Some argue against this birthdate, stating that a seven-year-old could not have written the "Veure" letter that Anne sent from the court of Margaret of Austria to Thomas Boleyn (Fig. 27). But the culture of the Renaissance and relative ability of children with regard to age is not comparable to that of the present-day western world. By the age of thirteen, Anne of Brittany was duchess of Brittany, and Louise of Savoy, countess of Angoulême. Although much of the music of MS 1070 is complex, it certainly would seem that it could be performed by educated thirteen-year-olds.

With regard to music history, it is of note that MS 1070, a book with secular and sacred pieces, was probably performed by amateurs; it is believed that sacred

works were usually relegated to professional musicians in sacred settings. (Such also raises some interesting questions, since no anthology of sacred music has been shown to have been prepared for the royal chapels of Louis XII or Francis I.)⁵ It is also of some interest that the pieces in the manuscript date from as early as the 1470s to after 1517. That the later layer was even added indicates that MS 1070 was in use decades after most of the pieces were composed. Thus, relatively old music was probably being performed by relatively young patrons. This would attest to the fame and quality of pieces by composers such as Josquin and Obrecht.

But perhaps what is of most significance is that, along with some contemporary sources, MS 1070 reveals that there was a high level of music education and comprehension among the ranking women and girls of France, particularly Louise of Savoy and her daughter. MS 1070 is a source of forty-two pieces, many of which are highly sophisticated. It presumably would have been owned and performed only by someone who was a knowledgeable dilettante, at the very least. Thus Boleyn's connection to the book clearly affirms her musical ability in general, and certainly before 1529. Even more so, the source attests to Marguerite's musical prowess, since the book evidently was commissioned for her. Moreover, when Marguerite was merely six-years old, she apparently had another music book in her possession, MS fr. 1596.

Such may not be unusual among her family. Louise of Savoy's aunt, Anne de Beaujeu, was probably the initial owner of the chansonnier MS Royal 20 A. xvi (discussed in Appendix A) that was otherwise believed to have been owned by Louis (XII), and this music book probably later came into the possession of Louise as well. There are so few extant French music manuscripts that being able to

⁵Nor for the chapels of the three preceding French kings, for that matter.

associate even three with one family is significant, particularly when this family is dominated by musical women.⁶ With little doubt, the women of France were highly active as performers and patrons, and one can certainly assume that they would have had an influential role in the advancement of professional music and musicians at their courts.⁷

MS 1070 is a 500-year-old music book, and at a brief glance, one might view it as merely an interesting bauble of a long-gone noble. But its examination reveals important information concerning the musical past of France as well as insight into relationships and associations involving some of the most notable figures of northern Europe. Hopefully, such findings will contribute to further investigation into the study of music of the French Renaissance and the musical activities of women and girls.

⁶Another French music book, London, British Museum, MS Harley 5242, also belonged to a woman, Françoise de Foix, Francis I's official mistress; see Chapter 7.

⁷It also is probable that at least one of these French-court women tried her hand at composition. Some of the *unica* of MS 1070 seem to have an amateurish quality and the possibility might be entertained that one or more of them was composed by a gifted female dilettante (see, for instance, "Fer pietatis" and "Maria Magdalene" below). Although composing was associated with the public male domain, as opposed to the private/home female domain, the women of the French court were constantly crossing the boundaries. Marguerite, for instance, was an author, a playwright, a reformer, a ruler. Such a woman would hardly have been deterred from taking part in a craft that interested her simply because it was traditionally done by males.

Of course, no professional female composers are assigned to the French courts of Louis XII or Francis I. But the cultural gender limitations of the time prohibited women from access to the same considerable education and resources available to males. Thus, there are few compositions attributed to professional female composers from the Renaissance in general.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS ROYAL 20 A. XVI

MS Royal 20 A. xvi is a French manuscript, mostly of three-part chansons, that dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century. It is copied in two separate sections. The first (ff. 1-22) has illuminated initials accompanying its anonymously entered three-part chansons—chansons that through concordances can largely be attributed to Alexander Agricola (b ?1446-1506) and Hayne van Ghizeghem (ca 1445-d. between 1472-97). The second section (ff. 22-36) is also of three-part chansons except for two pieces for four voices. This section was prepared by a different music copyist than the first and has works by at least eight different composers including Ockeghem, Fresneau, Compère, Crespières, and Josquin, composers all associated with the French royal court. This book has been examined and reviewed extensively by Louise Litterick in “The Manuscript Royal 20. A. XVI of the British Library,” Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976. Litterick dates the first section 1483-88, and the second section as having been written sometime later.

Folio 1v of the manuscript contains a miniature of a male reclining on a couch or bed in an open tent of gold and black stripes. This image is framed by a black border on which are placed several single gold wings (Fig. 41). Folio 2 also has a border with these single wings, but here they are black and the background gold. Litterick asserts that the borders of ff. 1-2 were entered before the miniature and that they and the miniature are by different artists.

Folio 3v has a different miniature and border. The illustration at the bottom of this page depicts three figures in front of a low wall: a standing winged woman

before whom sits another female in a plain gold dress and black headdress playing the psaltery.¹ Facing them is a man holding a heart in his hands. The border, which Litterick believes was probably produced the same time as the miniature, has a series of small and large “A”s entwined with what might be a cordelière. Litterick suggests that the “A”s probably refer to Anne of Brittany, and perhaps she is the one depicted as the seated woman (see Fig. 42). Litterick further proposes that the reclining male on the preceding page (f. 1v, Fig. 41) represents Anne’s husband, Louis d’Orléans (Louis XII), perhaps the first owner the manuscript, and that the single wings (*ailes*) are a clever reference to the first letter of his name.

Like MS 1070, MS Royal 20 A. xvi apparently arrived at its present form through various stages: the two sections of music were copied, one following the other; and the opening decorations were inserted, also at different times, probably after the music. If the wings refer to Louis d’Orléans, then the Anne of Brittany “A”s came after 1499, that is, after she married Louis. Or perhaps if the rope connecting the “A”s is Anne’s cordelière,² as Litterick asserts, then the “A”s were entered after at least 1498, that is, after Anne founded the Tertiaries of Saint Francis, a sisterhood that used this cord as their emblem.³

I believe that Litterick, as well as others who have dealt with this manuscript, has overlooked something significant: the single wing is an emblem of Louise of Savoy. Louise’s motto, from Psalm 54: 7 is “Dieu m’a donné des ailes! Je volerai et me reposerai,”⁴ and single wings can be found in her manuscripts,

¹In Louise of Savoy’s *Les Éschecs* miniature (Fig. 36), the countess is playing the hammered dulcimer, which is like the psaltery depicted here, except that the strings of the psaltery are plucked.

²A device of Anne of Brittany comprising a rope with knotting and a tassel at the end.

³Sterling, 8.

⁴Putnam, 13. Apparently based on the wording on the back of her coinage “Pennas dedisti volabo et requiescam” which comes from Psalm 54: 7. See also Lecoq 470-71.

appearing, for instance, throughout her collection of animal fables, London, British Library, Add. MS. 59677.⁵

As evidence that MS Royal 20 A. xvi is connected to Louis d'Orléans (XII), Litterick reports that the visual pun with the "L" and the *ailles* (wing) is exploited in a book made for him, that is, a copy of Ovid's *Épistres* as translated by Octavien de Saint-Gelais (Paris Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 873). Of course, a different copy of Octavien's *Épistres*, MS fr. 875 completed in 1496 (Fig. 37), was prepared for Louise of Savoy at her Cognac court, where Octavien lived and served under both Louise and her husband, Charles d'Angoulême.⁶ It seemed to me that the copy to which Litterick refers (MS fr. 873) also might be associated with Louise, and that those whom Litterick cites who assert it was for the Louis d'Orléans were mistaken. Indeed, it seemed quite evident that female figures featured in MS fr. 873 on pages with the wings and "L"s resembled Louise as she is depicted in so many miniatures. (Compare the woman in Fig. 43 from MS fr. 873, for instance, with the characters in Figs. 36, 37, and 40; the countess having a healthy ego, was certainly fond of having her image reproduced in manuscripts.) I therefore got in touch with Myra Orth, former curator of the Getty Center, who has dealt extensively with French Renaissance manuscripts, Louise of Savoy, and her family, and presented her with my suspicions. Orth confirmed she has found that MS fr. 873 was prepared for Louise of Savoy and referred me to the findings of Anne-Marie Lecoq, who arrived at the same conclusion and provides further explanation in *François Ier Imaginaire*

⁵Lecoq, 470, lists several sources owned by Louise with this emblem, although she does not mention the fable book, which I examined at the British Library. See also Winn, "Books for a Princess," 614.

⁶See above, Chapter 7.

(1987).⁷ Apparently Orth, Lecoq, and I all concluded, independently, as no doubt, have others, that MS fr. 873 was made for Louise of Savoy, not Louis d'Orléans.

Therefore, rather than seeing symbols of Louis (XII) and Anne of Brittany in MS Royal 20 A. xvi, one might see instead the marks of Louise of Savoy and Anne, the two nemeses. Should this be the case, then the reclining male in the opening miniature surrounded by the single wings might be none other than Louise's "Caesar," her son Francis (I). In fact, the figure, upon a closer examination, resembles a lad, a youth, rather than a mature man such as Louis (b. 1462). Francis was born in 1494, and the male character is probably at least ten years of age; therefore, if it does represent Francis, the image was entered after 1504.

But who would have owned such a manuscript containing the symbols of Anne of Brittany and Louise of Savoy? The artists, artisans, courtiers, and ambassadors of the royal court were well aware of the jealous rivalry between Queen Anne and the countess, and it would have been unlikely that any one of them would have commissioned or been involved with presenting such a book to either of these formidable women. Nor would Francis have owned the book, as there was no love lost between the youth and Anne of Brittany; she viewed the boy as the male version of his scheming mother.⁸ Perhaps the only logical owner of the manuscript then would have been Claude of France, the daughter of Anne of Brittany and daughter-in-law of Louise of Savoy.

Claude, who was formally betrothed to Francis in 1506,⁹ owned at least two books that had the emblems of both her mother and her mother-in-law. Claude's

⁷Personal correspondence with Orth, August 22, 1996.

⁸For a more detailed discussion on the lives and relationships of this French royalty, see Chapter 6 above.

⁹Knecht, 13, 14.

Book of Hours, ca 1515-16 (H. P. Kraus Collection, New York), contains her mother's device, "Non Mudera" (she will not change), the cordelière (an emblem Claude adopted from Anne), and prayers for her deceased parents, both of whom had died by 1515. But it also includes the undulating cord without knotting, shaped into a series of loops—a motive of Louise of Savoy. It likewise bears Claude's seemingly personal emblem, the armillary sphere, which was sometimes the attribute of Melancholy and Prudence.¹⁰ It may be of note that the reclining male in MS Royal 20 A. xvi has been identified by Litterick as representing Melancholy, both because of the position of his body and the accompanying text, which opens, "L'eure est venu de me plaindre."¹¹

Another source containing emblems of her husband's mother and her own mother is Claude's Book of Prayers (New York, H. P. Kraus Collection). This manuscript includes a miniature (perhaps a later addition) of The Trinity (representative of Louise and her two children, Francis, and Marguerite) "surrounded by the twisted rope motive, the typical emblem of Louise of Savoy and her son," while all of the other folios are framed by the cordelière, Anne's emblem.¹²

However, there is a problem with the hypothesis that MS Royal 20 A. xvi was for Claude. The music dates from the 1480s and would have been old-fashioned in a book prepared for the young Claude (b. 1499); moreover, the manuscript does not have the appearance of sources contemporary with Claude,

¹⁰Sterling, 8-11.

¹¹"The time has come to lament;" Litterick, 31-32. Such a personification seems quite sound, since the hand on the cheek was ubiquitous as a gesture of sorrow in the Middle Ages.

¹²Sterling, 16.

seeming much older, not to mention that its music predates Anne of Brittany's arrival at the French court (1491).

Further consideration reveals that the "A"s on f. 3v may not represent Anne of Brittany at all, since the cord that connects them is probably not her device. Indeed, her *cordelière*, as seen, for instance surrounding her coat of arms in her famous Book of Hours, does not resemble the cord depicted in MS Royal 20 A. xvi. The cord in the music book has an earlier appearance. Such a cord linking letters can be seen in a manuscript dating from 1465 that belonged to Charles of France, Louis XI's brother and Anne de Beaujeu's uncle. (See Fig. 44, in this case, the letters are A, E.)¹³ The Charles of France MS cord certainly has no connection to Anne of Brittany (she was not born until 1477); such is probably the case concerning the rope in MS Royal 20 A. xvi.¹⁴

Further clues concerning the past of the *chansonnier* can be found in the history of the wing emblem. According to Lecoq, Louise of Savoy adopted this device because, obviously, *ailles* (wing) is a play on the letter "L," but also because it was connected with her Bourbon heritage. As was discussed in the section on Louise of Savoy, Louise's mother was Marguerite de Bourbon, sister of Pierre de Beaujeu, the duc de Bourbon (from 1488) who was married to Anne de Beaujeu (Bourbon). When Louise's mother died in 1483, she and her brother went to live with their aunt, Anne, who was the acting ruler of France.

The wing of Louise is one of a series of wings that was adopted by various members of the Bourbon family. For instance, one can see the single wing and pair

¹³For more on this manuscript see Margaret B. Freeman, "The Annunciation from a Book of Hours of Charles of France," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 19 (Dec. 1960): 105-18. According to Sterling, 33, the artist is Jean de Laval.

¹⁴This is not to say that the appearance of the cord in MS Royal 20 A. xvi suggests a direct link to Charles of France. The reference is merely to demonstrate that this device appears in French manuscripts dating from long before the era of Anne of Brittany.

of wings with “L”s decorating the sainte chapelle of Champigny-sur-Veude, begun in 1508 by Louis de Bourbon and his wife and cousin, Louise de Bourbon.¹⁵ Also, on a coin of Pierre de Bourbon (1438-1503), Louise of Savoy’s uncle, there is the image of a deer with the Bourbon wings. Therefore, the “A”s in MS Royal 20 A. xvi, like the wings, probably have a Bourbon connection. It seems logical to deduce, then, that they might refer to Anne de Beaujeu, duchesse de Bourbon, Louise’s guardian, rather than Anne of Brittany.

Of course, the 1480s compositions would fit appropriately within Anne de Beaujeu’s era (1461-1522). But of even more significance is that, as Litterick notes, Janet Backhouse of the British Library identified the artist of the miniatures as the famous Bourges illuminator, Jean Colombe (ca 1435-ca 1493).¹⁶ Jean, the brother of the well-known sculptor Michel (see Chapter 7), frequently produced manuscripts for Charlotte of Savoy (d. 1484), Anne de Beaujeu’s mother.¹⁷ Moreover, he prepared at least one book for Anne de Beaujeu herself, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 677.¹⁸

Thus, it would seem most probable that MS Royal 20 A. xvi was prepared for Anne de Beaujeu. The regent could have given the book to her niece, Louise, who later may have had the border with the wings entered. Should the male figure be contemporary with the entwined “A”s, then it may originally have been meant to represent de Beaujeu’s brother, Charles (1470-98), later Charles VIII. Anne had

¹⁵Lecoq, 472-73.

¹⁶Litterick, 14.

¹⁷Janet Backhouse, “Beothius, De consolatione philosophia” in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, ed. Thomas Kren (New York: Hudson Hills, 1983), 157.

¹⁸See Plummer, no. 70.

become regent for her young brother upon the death of their father, Louis XI, in 1483.

It is beyond the scope of this study to delve further into the history of MS Royal 20 A. xvi; however, it seems that the past of this manuscript requires further examination in terms of Anne de Beaujeu, the Bourbon family,¹⁹ and Louise of Savoy.²⁰

¹⁹The Bourbon family was likely quite musical. Note (from Chapter 7) that it was possibly Charles de Bourbon who commissioned MS Harley 5242.

²⁰Of course, the wings in MS Royal 20 A. xvi may be referring to a member of the Bourbon family other than Louise, but the similarity in the way they appear in the borders of MS fr. 873 and this music book certainly give a connection with Louise some credence.



Figure 41: Folio 1v of MS Royal 20 A. xvi
with a border of single gold wings and a miniature of a reclining male



Figure 42: Folio 3v of MS Royal 20 A. xvi featuring connected "A"s and three figures



Figure 43: Page from MS fr. 873 (Ovid's *Épistres*, trans. St.-Gelais) depicting Louise of Savoy and her devices²¹

²¹Reproduced in *Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps* (Nantes: Musée Dobrée, 1961), plate 24. See also Lecoq.

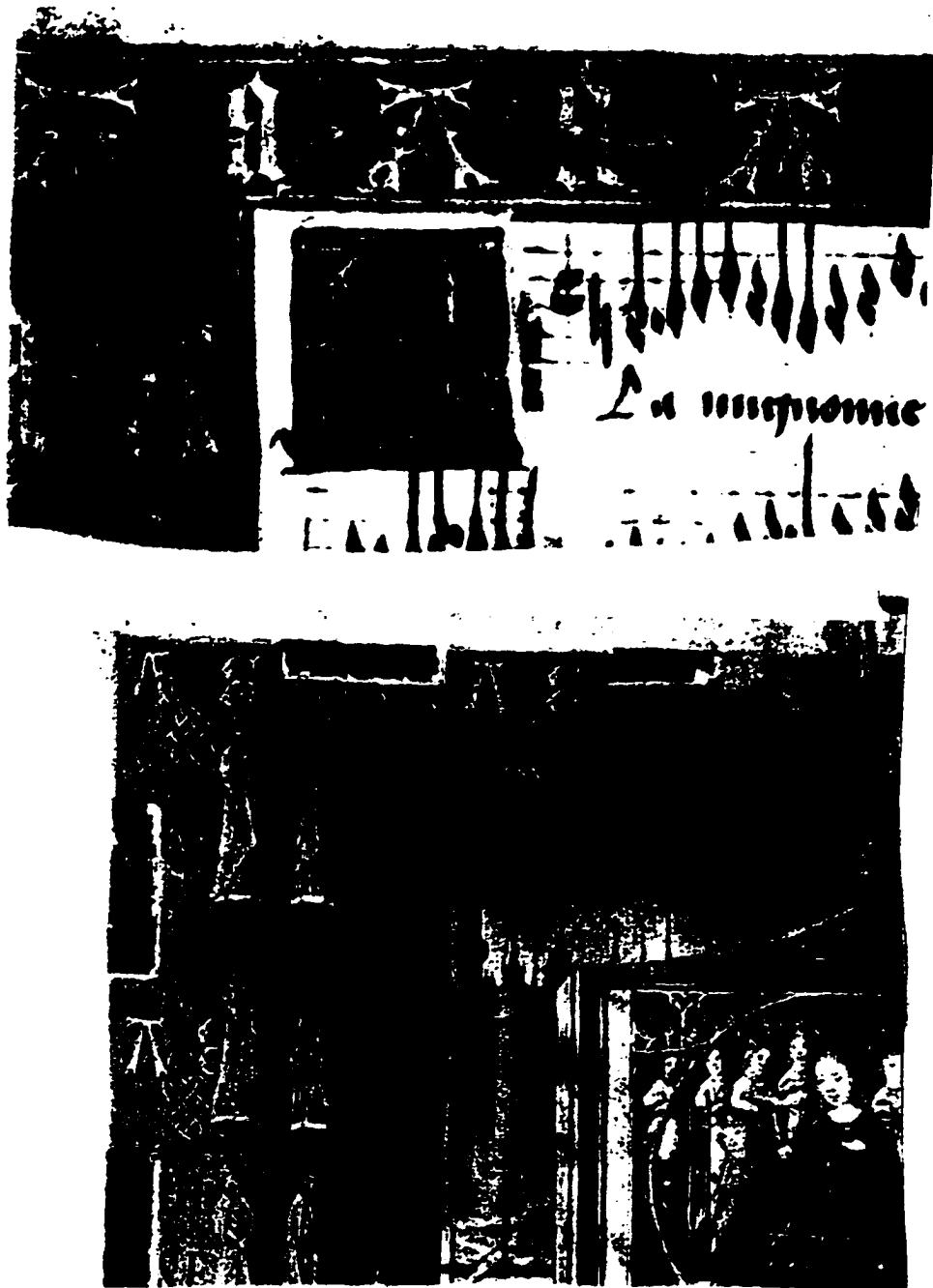


Figure 44: Detail of Folio 3v of MS Royal 20 A. xvi (see Fig. 42) and of a page from the Hours of Charles of France, 1465, The Cloisters. Metropolitan Museum, New York.²²

²²Reproduced in Freeman. "The Annunciation."

APPENDIX B **TRANSCRIPTIONS OF UNICA AND ANONYMOUS WORKS** **WITH A COMMENTARY**

INDEX:

<u>position # in MS 1070</u>	<u>page # below</u>
<i>-Unica-</i>	
A. 3 Laudate dominum omnes gentes	285
B. 7 O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve	291
C. 11 Fer pietatis opem miseris mater pietatis	295
D. 15 1. Maria magdalene et altera maria 2. Jesum quem quaeritis	298
E. 18 1. Bona dies per orbem lucessit 2. Pax vobis ego sum	304
F. 27 1. O virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud 2. Filie Jerusalem	315
G. 33 1. Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus 2. Gloria patri	321
<i>-Anonymous-</i>	
H. 20 1. Regina celi letare 2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	334
I. 36 Venes regres venes tous	344
J. 37 1. Popule meus quid feci tibi 2. Ego eduxi te mare rubrum 3. Ego eduxi te per desertum 4. Quid ultra debui	347
K. 42 Gentilz galans compaignons	361

COMMENTARY:

MS 1070 was evidently a music book used by women. This is attested to not only by the provenance of the source but also by the voice ranges of the music. In the following transcriptions, the top three voices, labeled here Superius, Altus, and Tenor, tend to be unusually close in tessitura and often are equivalent to soprano, alto, alto ranges.¹ The voice labeled Bassus frequently sounds in the tenor range and also could be sung by a woman.² At times, the Bassus seems too low for a female to have performed it, and in these instances, the part could have been played on an instrument. As for the works in MS 1070 not presented here, while many could not have been performed by an all female vocal ensemble, they certainly could have been sung by a mixed group. Along with the equal voice ranges, it is also of interest that the texts of the *unica* and anonymous works frequently invoke women, particularly the Blessed Virgin Mary (e.g., Virgin Mother, Mother of Pity, Mary Magdalene, the women at the tomb, Queen of Heaven, daughters of Jerusalem, a hostess).

In the transcriptions, time values are represented so that a MS 1070 breve is equal to a whole note $\equiv \circ$ and all other note durations are relative. Bar lines demarcate the breve measure, but they are not intended to imply an accent or any particular phrase structure. The incipit of each voice as it appears in the manuscript, including clefs, key signatures, notes and texts, is provided at the beginning of each transcription; however, if not supplied in MS 1070, the initial letter of the literary

¹Except for "Venes regres venes tous," voice designations are absent in the following works in MS 1070. See Chapter 2.

²In Compère's "Paranympus," the work bearing the Boleyn inscription (which is not transcribed below), each voice has the same range and could easily have been sung an octave higher than written, and thus, been sung by females.

text of each *pars* is editorially added without comment.³ Original accidentals are positioned within the staves, while editorial accidentals, applied according to traditional rules of *musica ficta*, are placed above the staves.⁴

A solid bracket over notes indicates that the pitches were originally in a ligature. A broken bracket represents coloration. Musical additions of an editorial nature (excepting editorial accidentals) are enclosed in square brackets. Editorial literary texts, that entail a repeated word or phrase of previously stated original texts, are italicized. Latin textual abbreviations have been expanded without comment. The method of text underlay attempts to follow the principles suggested by early theorists; however, the positioning of text in the original manuscript also is taken into consideration.⁵

During the Renaissance, MS 1070 was obviously more than an ornamental or presentation book; it was a source for applied use. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that each time one of its compositions was performed, the musicians could have employed a certain amount of interpretive freedom with regard to the application of *musica ficta*, ornamentation (if any), and text underlay, particularly with more familiar texts, such as those of the psalms. Therefore, each of the following transcriptions should be viewed as a version of performance, but not an inflexible one.

³Of the works presented below, the only ones with initials are "Laudate dominum omnes gentes," "O salve genitrix," "Venes reges venes tous," and "Gentilz galans compaignons."

⁴On *musica ficta* see Karol Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Margaret Bent, "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta," *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 73-100; Gaston G. Allaire, *The Theory of Hexachords, Solmization and the Modal System*, Musicological Studies and Documents 24, 1972.

⁵See Edward Lowinsky, "A Treatise on Text Underlay by a German Disciple of Francisco de Salinas," in *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961), 231-51; and Gioseffo Zarlino's comments reproduced in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), 259-61.

The following works of MS 1070 are transcribed below:⁶

*UNICA*⁷

A. no. 3

LAUDATE DOMINUM OMNES GENTES

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes,
laudate eum omnes populi.

Praise the Lord, all ye nations,
praise Him all ye people.

Quoniam confirmata est super nos
misericordia eius, et veritas Domini manet
in aeternum.

For His mercy is confirmed upon us
and the truth of the Lord remaineth
forever.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Glory to the Father, and the Son, and
the Holy Spirit.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper,
et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

As it was in the beginning, is now and
ever shall be, world without end.
Amen.

This work is one of the opening, decorated pieces in the music book. The decoration includes images of several flowers, one being a marguerite, another a sunflower (or marigold), two flowers associated with Marguerite d'Alençon (see Chapter 8). None of the parts is notably low; they can be assigned to the ranges of mezzo soprano, alto, tenor, and baritone and thus could all have been sung by women. The text is that of Psalm 116 with the Gloria Patri. Psalm 116, the shortest psalm, was sung on Mondays at Vespers in both monastic and secular services. In what equates to bar 66 in the manuscript, the Superius and Tenor have a tempus sign of "3," while the Altus and Bassus shift meter through coloration. The musical style suggests that of Josquin/Mouton.

⁶Bonnie Blackburn's catalogue (accompanying the Lowinsky article) lists the sources of some of the texts of the *unica* and anonymous works. Lowinsky, 513-19.

⁷"Forte si dulci," the first work and initial *unicum* of MS 1070, is transcribed and published in Lowinsky, 521-28. It is therefore not presented here.

B. no. 7

O SALVE GENITRIX VIRGO DULCISSIMA SALVE

O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve.
 Salve quae superum sceptrum Maria tenes.
 Vincis et ipsam et rosas vincis et omne
 jubar.
 Ad te clamamus soboles miserabilis Evae
 quos propria pulsos vallis acerba locat.

Hail, sweetest Virgin Mother, hail.
 Hail Mary who holds the sceptre of the
 heavens. You outshine the roses and
 all radiance.
 To you we cry, children of pitiable
 Eve, whom, driven from our home
 [home = Paradise], the bitter valley [of
 tears] houses.⁸

The text recalls the well-known Marian antiphon "Salve regina" (see "Regina celi" below). The Altus and Bassus parts were never copied into MS 1070, and the work here is thus incomplete. But from the ranges of the Superius (d1—f2) and Tenor (f—g1), it would seem that this composition could have been performed by higher voices.⁹ Because of the reference to the rose, a Tudor symbol, and a connection between the Tudor family and the possible owners of MS 1070, this piece may advance the idea of a Tudor association in the song book (see Chapter 8).

C. no. 11

FER PIETATIS OPEM MISERIS MATER PIETATIS

Fer pietatis opem miseris,
 Mater pietatis, et nostri memor
 assidua prece posce tonantem.

Give the help of your love to the
 wretched, Mother of Piety, and
 remember us, implore God with
 constant prayer.

Given its high Bassus, "Fer pietatis" could have been sung by an ensemble of women performing all four parts. This prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary was used at the feasts of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, December 8, and the Birthday of Mary, September 8.¹⁰

⁸Lowinsky, 500; the bracketed remarks are Lowinsky's.

⁹The pitch designations used here are those of Helmholtz: c1 equals middle c.

¹⁰As found in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15181 and 15182.

D. no. 15

1. MARIA MAGDALENE ET ALTERA MARIA

2. JESUM QUEM QUAERITIS

Maria Magdalene et altera Maria
ibant diluculo ad monumentum.
Angelus Domini descendit de caelo,
et dixit mulieribus:

Maria Magdalene and the other Mary
went early to the tomb.
The Angel of God descended from
heaven
and said to the women:

Jesum quem quaeritis non est hic,
surrexit ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum.
Alleluya.

Jesus whom you seek is not here,
He is risen, behold the place where
they laid him. Alleluya.

Another work with high voices, soprano, alto, alto, tenor, "Maria Magdalene et altera Maria" is somewhat amateurish, particularly in comparison with many of the pieces in the MS 1070. If a skilled and talented dilettante were to try her hand at composition, one might expect a result such as this. The text, which concerns the Easter Resurrection, is comprised of biblical phrases based on Matthew 28: 1-6.

E. no. 18

1. BONA DIES PER ORBEM LUCESSIT

2. PAX VOBIS EGO SUM

Bona dies per orbem lucescit,
de sepulcro Rex noster recessit.
Bona dies in qua surrexit,
Moriendo qui morte destruxit.
Bona dies est qua preparavit

Resurgendo qui vitam paravit.
Bona dies est ad cuius ortum
Perducamur ad salutis portum.

Blessed day shining throughout the
world,
Our King arises from the sepulcher.
Blessed day in which He has risen,
He who destroyed death by dying.
Blessed day on which preparation is
made
by He who gives life by rising again.
Blessed day at the beginning of which
we are led through the port of
salvation.

Pax vobis ego sum, Alleluya,
 Nolite timere, Alleluya,
 Pax vobis ego sum, Alleluya,
 Portas attolite, [Alleluya],
 Pax vobis qui tristes, [Alleluya],

De nece fuistis, [Alleluya],
 Estate nunc testes, [Alleluya],
 Qui vivum vidistis, [Alleluya],
 Dominus surrexit, [Alleluya],
 Sicut vobis dixit, [Alleluya].

Bona dies, bona dies,
 Dicere centies non sufficit,
 Ergo bona dies, [Alleluya]

Peace be with you, Alleluya,
 Fear not, Alleluya,
 Peace be with you, Alleluya,
 Open the gates, [Alleluya],
 Peace be with those who are mournful,
 [Alleluya],
 Because of death, [Alleluya],
 be now witness, [Alleluya],
 You who see Him alive, [Alleluya],
 The Lord is risen, [Alleluya],
 As He told you, [Alleluya].

Blessed day, blessed day,
 To say a hundred times is not enough,
 Ergo, blessed day, [Alleluya].

The text of this work is also for Easter, which is not unusual, since Easter is the holiest time of the Church year. The first part evokes the Resurrection, and the second part begins with the words of Jesus to His Apostles afterwards (see Luke 24: 36, "Peace to you! It is I, do not be afraid.") Part I, with 10 syllables per line, nicely fits the poetic rhyme scheme AA BB CC DD, and Part II, with the editorial "[Alleluyas]," fits the rhyme scheme AB AB CD CD EE with a coda.

F. no. 27

1. O VIRGO VIRGINUM QUOMODO FIET ISTUD
2. FILIE JERUSALEM

O Virgo virginum,
 quomodo fiet istud
 quia nec primam similem visa est
 nec habere sequentem?

Filie Jerusalem
 quid me admiramini?
 Divinum est mysterium
 hoc quod cernitis.

O Virgin of virgins,
 how can this be
 that none like thee has been seen
 or ever shall be?

O daughters of Jerusalem
 why are ye astonished?
 Divine is the mystery
 that ye see.¹¹

¹¹Translated by David Fallows; The King's Singers, *Renaissance: The Music of Josquin Desprez*, liner notes, RCA, BMG Music, 1993.

The text is that of an antiphon to the Magnificat for the Feast of the Expectation of Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, December 18. The MS 1070 copy bears the hands of scribes 1, 2, and 3; thus it is of significance to the above assertion that all three scribes were affiliated with the same workshop. All four voices are high enough to have been performed by an ensemble of women (alto, alto, alto, tenor).

G. no. 33

1. GABRIELEM ARCHANGELUM SCIMUS DIVINITUS

2. GLORIA PATRI

Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus
te esse affatum;
uterum tuum de Spiritu Sancto nominus
[credimus] impregnatum.
Erubescat Judaeus infelix qui dicit
Christum ex Joseph semine esse natum.

We know the archangel Gabriel
addressed you by divine knowledge,
we discuss how your womb was
impregnated by the Holy Spirit.
Shame on the unfortunate Jew who
said Christ was born from the seed of
Joseph.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Glory to the Father, and the Son, and
the Holy Spirit.

The text of part I is the versus of the responsory for the Annunciation, *Gaude Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses*.¹² Only the first part of the Gloria Patri is provided in MS 1070. Since the scribe intentionally distributed this shortened text throughout the remaining music, the rest of the doxology is not added editorially in the transcription. The ranges of this work suggest that it could have been sung by three women with little difficulty.

¹²See also Dom Rene-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (Rome: CAO, 1963-79), entry 6759.

ANONYMOUS WORKS

H. no. 20

1. REGINA CELI LETARE

2. RESURREXIT SICUT DIXIT

Regina celi letare, Alleluya.

Quia quem meruisti portare, Alleluya:
resurrexit sicut dixit, Alleluya.

Ora pro nobis Deum, Alleluya.

Queen of heaven rejoice, Alleluya.

He whom thou wast worthy to bear,
Alleluya: is risen as He said, Alleluya.

Pray for us to God, Alleluya.

This text is that of one of the four famous antiphons in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹³ By the thirteenth century, these antiphons lost their connection with psalmody and were used to end Offices upon the choir's departure. They are seasonal. "Regina celi" was heard in the Spring, that is, between Compline of Easter to None of the Saturday after Pentecost.¹⁴ The text and melody were often used in polyphonic settings, as is the case in MS 1070: the tenor part of the composition here comprises the cantus firmus of the chant.¹⁵ The MS 1070 piece can be found in one other source, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 760 (ca 1520-30), which was copied later than that of MS 1070. This work is a high-tessitura composition for alto, alto, alto, tenor voices; however the lowest part has a wide range and probably would best be performed on an instrument.

¹³Translated in Harper, 274-75.

¹⁴Ibid., 132.

¹⁵The chant can be found in *Antiphonale sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912), 58; and LU, 275.

I. no. 36

VENES REGRES VENES TOUS

Venes regres, venes tous a mon cuer,
 venes y tost nul de vous ne me laisse venes
 soucy,
 venes parmes et pleurs,
 venes y tous qui les amans oppresse.

Come regrets, come all to my heart,
 Come swiftly, let none of you depart;
 Come care, come sorrow, and come
 tears,
 Come all that oppresses a lover's
 heart.¹⁶

"Venes regres" was a later addition to MS 1070 (copied by hand 5). It is the only work of those transcribed here with specific voice designations: "Tenor," "Contra tenor," and "Bassus." It can be found in a Renaissance print, Attaignant, *Trente et deux chansons musicales*, ca 1528, that was no doubt prepared years after the work was copied into MS 1070.

J. no. 37

1. POPULE MEUS QUID FECI TIBI
2. EGO EDUXI TE MARE RUBRUM
3. EGO EDUXI TE PER DESERTUM
4. QUID ULTRA DEBUI

1. Popule meus quid feci tibi,
 aut in quo contristavi te?
 Responde mihi.
 Ego eduxi te de Egypto in manu forti, in
 signis magnis et prodigis excelsis,
 et parasti crucem salvatori tuo.

My people, what have I done to you?
 How have I offended you?
 Answer me.
 I led you from Egypt with a strong
 hand, with great signs of high wonders,
 and you prepared a cross for your
 Savior.

2. Ego eduxi te mare Rubrum et demersi
 pharaonem et exercitum eius coram
 oculis tuis,
 et de spoliis eius namque ditavi te,

 et parasti crucem salvatori tuo.

I led you through the Red sea and
 drowned Pharoah and his army before
 your eyes,
 and from his spoils I also enriched you,

 and you prepared a cross for your
 Savior.

¹⁶Translated by Lowinsky, 500. See Chapter 8, above.

3. Ego eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis, vestimenta tua non sunt atrita, manna quoque cibavi te et introduxi in terram satis optimam, et parasti crucem salvatori tuo.

I led you through the desert for forty years, your garments did not become worn, with manna I also fed you and led you into the most sufficient land, and you prepared a cross for your Savior.

4. Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci?

What more could I have done for you that I did not do?

Ego quidem plantavi te et muro circumdedi te, et de primitus frugum tuarum aceto potasti me, et perforasti lancea latus, salvatori tuo.

Indeed, I settled you and surrounded you with a wall, and of the first of your fruits of the earth, you gave Me vinegar to drink, and pierced through the side of My body, This for your Savior

“Popule meus” can be found in one other manuscript, Nuremberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, MS 83795, which dates from ca 1539-48, decades after MS 1070 was copied. The text is a variation of the Improperia. Improperia, or Reproaches, are solemn prayers sung on Good Friday of Easter Week.¹⁷ Alto, tenor, tenor, bass are the voice ranges, but a female vocal ensemble could perform all parts by simply singing them up a perfect 5th. The position of this work in relation to those that surround it suggests that, in its final form, MS 1070 was not to have its pieces performed in succession: “Popule meus,” with its somber and moving text, is preceded by a French love song, “Venes regres venes tous,” (above) and followed by a composition comprising a humanistic poem, “Huc me sydereo.”

¹⁷See LU 704-08; Harper, 145; and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 907, 913, 926.

K. no. 42

GENTILZ GALANS COMPAINGNONS

Gentilz galans compaignons du resin	Dear, gallant drinking companions [companions of the grape]
bevons d'autant au soir	let us drink the same amount in the evening
et au matin jusque a cent soulz et ho!	and in the morning as a hundred drunkards [or a hundred sous, unit of money, worth] and ho!
A nostre hostesse ne baillon point d'argent mais ung credo	to our hostess, let us not give money, but rather an I.O.U. [or a prayer/creed].

“Gentilz galans” was evidently a well-liked piece in the sixteenth-century, since it can be found in many manuscripts and prints from as early as 1520.¹⁸ A monophonic version with slightly different text is in the Bayeux Manuscript.¹⁹ “Gentilz galans,” which was copied by hand 4 (see Chapter 2) on the unusual hand/star watermarked paper, is the last work in MS 1070 and clearly a later addition.

¹⁸See Chapters 3 and 8 above. *Chansons a troys*, Antico and Giunta, 1520; Howard Mayer Brown, *French Secular Theater*, entry 140, 221, lists several concordant sources.

¹⁹Modern edition in G  r  ld, 55, and Thomas Noblitt, ed., *Tricinia*, vol. 9 of *Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538-1545 in Praktischer Neuausgabe*, Georg Rhau printer (Basel: B  renreiter Kassel, 1989), 213-14. A transcription based on MS 1070 is published in Howard Mayer Brown, *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 74-75.

Laudate dominum

Superius *Laudate* Lau - da - te Do - mi - num o -

Altus *Laudate* Lau - da - te Do - mi - num o -

Tenor *Laudate* Lau - da - te Do - mi - num o -

Bassus *Laudate* Lau - da - te Do - mi - num o -

5

mnes gen - tes,

mnes gen - tes, lau - da - te e - um

mnes gen - tes, lau - da - te e - um

mnes gen - tes, lau - da - te e - um

10

lau - da - te e -

lau - da - te e - um

om - nes po - pu - li. lau - da - te

om - nes po - pu - li.

15

um om - nes po - pu - li.

om - nes po - pu - li. Quo -

e - um om - nes po - pu - li.

om - nes po - pu - li.

20

Quo - ni - am con - fir - ma - ta est su - per nos

ni - am con - fir - ma - ta est su - per nos.

Quo - ni - am con -

Quo - ni - am con - fir - ma -

25

mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e - ius,

mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e - ius,

fir - ma - ta est su - per nos mi - se - ri - cor - di - a

ta est su - per nos mi -

30

mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e -

mi - se - ri - cor - di a - e -

e - ius, mi - se - ri - cor - di -

se - ri - cor - di - a e - ius, mi - se - ri -

35

ius,

ius, e - ius,

a e - ius, et ve - ri - tas Do - mi -

cor - di - a e - ius, et ve - ri - tas Do -

40

et ve - ri -

et ve - ri -

ni ma - net in ae - ter - num. et

mi - ni ma - net in ae - ter -

45

tas Do - mi - ni ma - net in ae - ter -

tas Do - mi - ni ma - net in ae - ter -

ve - ri - tas Do - mi - ni ma - net in ae -

num, ma - net in ae -

50

num. Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi -

num. Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi -

ter - num.

ter - num.

55

li - o, et

li - o, et

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o,

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o,

60

Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto, et Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto,
 Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto, et Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto,
 et Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto, et Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto,
 et Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto, et Spi-ri-tu-i San-cto.

66

cto. Si-cut e-rat in
 cto. Si-cut e-rat in
 cto. Si-cut e-rat in prin-ci-pi-o,
 cto. Si-cut e-rat in prin-ci-pi-o,

72

prin-ci-pi-o, et nunc,
 prin-ci-pi-o, et nunc,
 et nunc, et sem-per, et nunc,
 et nunc, et sem-per, et nunc,

78 $\text{O} = \text{O}$

et sem - per, et in sae cu - la sae -
 et sem - per, et in sae cu - la sae -
 et sem - per, et in sae - cu - la sae cu -
 et sem - per, et in sae - cu - la sae -

84 $\text{O} = \text{O}$

cu - lo - rum. A - men. Et in sae - cu -
 cu - lo - rum. A - men. Et in sae - cu -
 lo - rum. A - men. Et in sae - cu -
 cu - lo - rum. A - men. Et in sae - cu -

90

la sae - cu - lo - rum. A - men.
 la sae - cu - lo rum. A - men.
 la sae - cu - lo - rum. A - men.
 la sae - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

O salve genitrix virgo

Superius *O salve* O sal - ve ge - ni - trix

Altus *O salve*

Tenor *O salve* O sal - ve ge - ni - trix

Bassus

6 Vir - go dul - cis - si - ma, sal -

Vir - go dul - cis - si - ma

12 ve. Sal - ve quae

sal - ve.

18

su - pe - ram scep - tra Ma - ri - a

Sal - ve quae

24

te - nes, Ma - ri - a te -

su - pe - ram scep - tra Ma - ri - a

30

nes.

te - nes. Vin -

36

Vin - cis et ip - sam ro -

cis et ip - sam ro -

42

sas, vin - cis et omne - ju -

sas vin - cis et o - mne ju -

48

bar. Ad te cla - ma - mus so - bo - les mi -

bar. Ad te cla - ma - mus so - bo - les

54

se-ra - bi - lis E - vac,

mi - se-ra - bi - lis E - vac,

60

quos pro-pri - a pul - sos val - lis a - cer - ba lo -

quos pro-pri - a pul - sos val - lis a - cer - ba lo -

66

cat val - lis a - cer - ba lo - cat.

cat val - lis a - cer - ba lo - cat.

Fer pietatis

Superius
Altus
Tenor
Bassus

Fer *Fer* pi - e -
Fer *Fer* pi - e - ta -
Fer *Fer* pi - e -
Fer *Fer* pi - e - ta - tis

6
ta - tis o - pem, *Fer* pi - e - ta - tis o -
tis o - pem, o -
ta - tis o - pem, o - pem, o -
o -

13
pem, mi - se - ris, Ma - ter pi - e - ta -
pem, mi - se - ris, Ma - ter pi - e -
pem, mi - se - ris, mi - se - ris,
pem, mi - se - ris, Ma - ter pi -

20

tis, pi - e - ta - tis, pi - e - ta - tis, Ma - ter -

ta - tis, mi - se - ris, Ma - ter - pi - e - ta -

Ma - ter pi - e - ta -

e - ta - tis, Ma - ter

27

pi - e - ta - tis,

tis, pi - e - ta - tis,

tis, pi - e - ta - tis,

pi - e - ta - tis,

34

et no - stri me - mor, et no - stri

et no - stri me - mor, me -

et no - stri me - mor as - si - du -

et no - stri me - mor as - si -

42

me - mor, as - si - du - a prece - po - sce

mor, me - mor, as - si -

a, me - mor as - si - du - a,

du - a, me - mor as - si - du - a, as - si -

49

to - nan - tem,

du - a pre - ce

pre - ce po - sce, po - sce,

du - a, pre - ce po - sce, to -

56

to - nan tem.

po - sce tonan - tem, tonan tem, tonan - tem.

to - nan to - nan - tem.

nan-tem to - nan tem.

Maria Magdalene

Superius *Maria* Ma - ri - a Ma - gda - le - ne et

Altus *Maria* Ma - ri - a Ma -

Tenor *Maria*

Bassus *Maria*

6 al - te - ra Ma -

gda - le - ne et al - te - ra Ma - ri - a.

Ma - ri - a Ma - gda - le -

Ma -

11 ri - a, et

Ma - ri - a Ma gda - le -

ne et al - te - ra Ma - ri -

ri - a Ma - gda - le - ne et al - te -

16

al - te - ra Ma - ri - a

et al - te - ra Ma - ri - a

a, i - bant di - lu - cu - lo

ra Ma - ri - a i - bant di - lu - cu -

21

i - bant di - lu - cu - lo ad mo - nu - men - tum, i -

i - bant di - lu - cu - lo ad mo - nu - men -

ad mo - nu - men - tum, i - bant di -

lo ad mo - nu - men - tum, i -

26

bant di - lu - cu - lo ad mo - nu - men - tum,

tum,

lu - cu - lo ad mo - nu - men - tum.

bant di - lu - cu - lo ad mo - nu - men - tum. An -

31

De - scen-dit de
An - ge - lus Do - mi - num,
De -
ge - lus Do - mi - num,

35

cae - lo,
et di - xit
scen - dit de cae - lo,
et di - xit mu -

39

et di - xit mu - li - e - ri - bus:
mu - li - e - ri - bus, et di - xit mu - li - e - ri - bus:
et di - xit mu - li - e - ri - bus:
li - e - ri - bus: et di - xit mu - li - e - ri - bus:

Secunda pars

1

Je - sum, Je sumquem quae - ri - tis, Je sum quem _____

Je - sum, Je sumquem quae - ri - tis, Je sum quem quae - ri - tis

Je - sum, Je - sumquemquaeri - tis, Je - sum quem quae -

Je - sum, Je sumquem quae - ri - tis, Je sum quem quae - ri - tis

7

tis non est hic, non est hic.

non est hic, non est _____ hic. Sur -

ri - tis non est hic, non est hic. Sur -

non est hic, non est hic. Sur-re -

12

Sur - re - xit. Ec-ce lo -

re - xit. Ec - ce lo-cus,

re - xit. Ec - ce lo-cus, ec -

xit. Ec-ce lo - cus,

17

cus ec-ce lo-cus u - bi po - su - e - runte -

ec-ce lo-cus u - bi po - su - e - runt e -

ce locus,

ec -

23

um, ec-ce lo-cus u - bi po - su - e-runt

um, ec-ce lo-cus u - bi po - su e - runt

ce lo-cus, ec-ce lo-cus u - bi po-su - e - runt e -

ec - ce locus, ec - ce lo-cus u - bi po - su - e -

29

e - um. Al - le-lu-ya, Al - le-lu-ya, Al -

e um. Al - le-lu-ya, Al - le-lu-ya, Al -

um. Al - le-lu-ya, Al - le-lu-ya, Al -

runt e - um. Al - le-lu-ya, Al - le-lu-ya, Al -

35 3 $\text{O}=\text{O}$.

le-lu-ya, Al-le lu - ya;

le-lu-ya, Al-le le - - ya,

le-lu-ya, Al le - lu - ya, - Al-le-lu -

le-lu-ya, Al-le - lu - ya, Al-le-lu -

41

Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, —

Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le -

ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al -

ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le -

49

Al-le lu ya. -

lu - ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya.

le-lu - ya, Al-le-lu-ya. Al-le-luya, Al-le-lu-ya.

ya, Al-le-lu-ya. Al-le-lu-ya, Al-le-lu-ya.

Bona dies

Superius *Bona* Bo - na di - es per

Altus *Bona* Bo - na di - es per or - bem

Tenor *Bona*

Bassus *Bona*

6 or - bem lu - ces - sit, Bo -

lu - ces - sit per or -

Bo - na di -

Bo - na di - es

11 na di - es

bem lu - ces - sit de se -

es per or - bem lu - ces -

per or - bem lu - ces - sit

16

de se - pul - cro rex no - ster

pul - cro rex no - ster re - ces -

sit de se -

21

re - ces sit, re -

sit, re -

de se - pul - cro rex no -

pul - cro rex nos - ter re - ces -

26

ces - sit,

ces - sit, Bo-na di - es in qua -

ster re - ces - sit

sit, Bo-na di -

31

re - su - re - xit,
bo - na di - es in qua re -
es in qua re - su -

36

mo - ri - en - do
mo - ri - en - do
re - xit, mo - ri - en - do qui -
re - xit mo - ri - en - do

42

qui mor - tem de - stru - xit, Bo -
qui mor - tem de - stru - xit, Bo - na
mor - tem de - stru - xit,
qui vi - tam de - stru - xit,

48

na di-es est qua pre pa - - ra -

di-es est qua pre - pa - ra - vit,

Bo - na

Bo -

53

vit,

di-es est qua pre - pa - ra -

na di-es est qua pre - pa -

58

Re - sur - gen - do qui vi-tam pa - ra -

Re - sur - gen - do qui vi - tam

vit, Re - sur - gen -

ra - vit, Re -

63

vit, pa - ra -

pa - ra - vit, pa - ra -

do qui - vi - tam - pa - ra -

sur - gen - do qui - vi - tam pa - ra -

68

vit, Bo - na di - es est ad cu -

vit, Bo - na di - es est ad cu -

vit, Bo - na di - es est ad cu - is

vit, Bo - na di - es est ad cu -

73

is or - tum per - du - a mur - ad sa - lu -

is or - tum per - du - a - mur - ad sa - lu -

or - tum

is or - tum

78

tis por tum, - per-

tis por tum,

per - du-a-mur ad sa-lu - tis, por -

per-du - a - mur

84

du - a mur ad sa - lu - tis por - tum.

per - du - a - mur ad sa - lu - tis por tum.

tumper - du - a - mur ad sa - lu - tis, por - tum.

tum per - du - a - mur ad sa - lu - tis, por - tum.

Secunda pars

1

Pax vo - bis e - go sum,

Pax vo-bis e-go sum,

Pax vo-bis

6

Al - le - lu -

Al - le -

Pax vo - bis e - go sum,

e - go sum,

11

ya, no -

lu - ya, no - li - te

no - li - te ti - me - re,

no - li - te ti - me - re,

16

li - te ti me - re, Al - le - lu -

ti - me - re, Al - le - lu - ya

Al le - - lu -

Al - le lu ya, - Al - le - lu -

21

ya, Pax vo-bis e-go sum,

ya, Pax vo-bis e-go sum,

ya, Al-le - lu - ya, Pax vo-bis e-go sum,

ya, Pax vo-bis e-go sum, por

26

por - tas at-to - li - te, Pax vo-bis

por - tas at-to - li - te,

por - tas, por-tas at-to - li - te,

tas at-to - li - te,

31

qui tri - stes, de ne-ce

Pax vo-bis qui tri - stes, nur fi - u - stis, nunc

36

fi - u - stis, E - sto - te nur te - stes qui -

41

Al - le - stes qui - vi - vum vi - di - stis, vi - vum vi - di - stis,

46

lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Do - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Do - Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Do -

51

mi-nus sur - rex - it, Al - le - lu - ya, Al -

Do - mi - nus sur-rex - it, Al - le - lu - ya,

mi-nus sur - rex - it, Al - le - lu - ya, Al -

mi-nus sur - rex - it, Al - le - lu - ya, Al -

56

le - lu - ya, Si-cut vo - bis di -

Al - le - lu - ya, Si - cut di - xit vo -

le - lu - ya, Si - cut vo -

le - lu - ya, Si - cut di - xit.

61

3 $\circ = \circ \cdot$

xit, Bo - na di - es, bo - na

bis, Bo - na di - es, di - ce - re cen - ti -

bis di - xit, Bo - na di - es, di -

vo - bis, bo - na di -

66

di - e, di - ce - re cen - ti - es non suf - fi -

es non suf - fi -

ce - re cen es non suf - fi -

es, di - ce - re cen - ti - es non suf - fi -

71

cit, Er - go, bo -

cit, Er - go, bo - na di -

cit, Er - go, bo - na di - es,

cit, Er - go, bo - na di - es, Al -

77

na di - es, Al - le - lu - ya.

es, Al - le - lu - ya.

Al - lu - ya.

le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya.

O virgo virginum

Superius
O virgo

Altus
O virgo O Vir - go vir -

Tenor
O virgo

Bassus
O virgo O Vir - go

6

gi - num, O

gi - num, O

11

vir - gi num,

Vir go vir gi

Vir go vir gi

Vir go vir

16

quo - mo - do fi -

num, quo - mo - do

num, quo - mo - do

gi - num, quo - mo - do

21

et i - stud, quo - mo -

fi - et i - stud, quo - mo -

fi - et i -

26

do fi - et i - stud,

do fi - et i - stud, qui -

i - stud, qui - a

stud, qui -

31

qui - nec pri - mam si - mi - lem

a nec pri - mam si - mi - lem

nec pri - mam si - mi - lem

a nec pri - mam si - mi - lem

36

vi - sa est, vi - sa

vi - sa est,

vi - sa

vi - sa est, vi - sa

42

est, nec ha - be - re se - quen

nec ha - be - re

est, nec ha - be -

est nec ha - be - re se - quen

48

tem? se - quen - tem?

se - quen - tem?

re - se - quen - tem?

tem? se - quen - tem?

Secunda pars

1

Fi - li - e Je - ru - sa -

Fi - li - e Je - ru - sa -

Fi - li - e Je - ru - sa -

Fi - li - e Je - ru - sa -

7

lem, Je - ru - sa -

Fi - li - e Je - ru - sa -

Fi - li - e Je - ru - sa -

lem,

13

lem, quid me quid me quid me

lem, quid me ad - mi - ra -

lem, quid me ad - mi - ra - mi - ni?

19

ad - mi - ra - mi - ni? quid me ad - mi - ra -

mi - ni? quid me ad - mi - ra - mi -

quid me ad - mi - ra - mi -

25

mi - ni? Di - vi - num est, Di - vi - num est

ni? Di - vi - num est, Di - vi - num est

mi - ni? Di - vi - num est, Di - vi - num est

31

my-ste - ri - um, my - ste -

myste - ri - um, my-ste - ri-um, my-ste -

my-ste - ri - um, my -

myste - ri - um, my - ste -

37

ri - um, hoc quod

ri - um, hoc quod cer - ni -

ste - ri - um, hoc quod cer - ni -

ri - um, hoc quod

43

cer - ni - tis.

tis, hoc quod cer - ni - tis.

tis, hoc quod cer - ni - tis.

cer - ni - tis, cer - ni - tis.

Gabrielem archangelum

Superius
Gabrielem Ga - bri - e -

Altus
Gabrielem Ga -

Tenor
Gabrielem Ga - bri - e -

5
 lem, Ga - bri - e - lem
 bri - e - lem,
 lem, arch -

9
 arch - an - ge - lum - sci -
 arch - an - ge -
 an - ge -

13

mus di - vi -
lum cre - di - mus di - vi -
lum sci - mus

Detailed description: This system contains measures 13 through 16. It features three staves in a three-part setting. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: 'mus di - vi -' on the top staff, 'lum cre - di - mus di - vi -' on the middle staff, and 'lum sci - mus' on the bottom staff. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests.

17

ni - tus te es -
ni - tus te es -
di - vi - ni - tus te es - se

Detailed description: This system contains measures 17 through 20. It features three staves in a three-part setting. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: 'ni - tus te es -' on the top staff, 'ni - tus te es -' on the middle staff, and 'di - vi - ni - tus te es - se' on the bottom staff. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests.

21

se af - fa -
se af - fa - tum,
af - fa -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 21 through 24. It features three staves in a three-part setting. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: 'se af - fa -' on the top staff, 'se af - fa - tum,' on the middle staff, and 'af - fa -' on the bottom staff. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests.

25

tum, te es se

af fa tum, te

tum, af fa

29

af fa tum, U

es se af fa tum,

tum, U te rum tu

33

te rum tu um,

U te rum

um, U

37

U - te - rum - tu -

tu - um, U - te

te - rum tu

41

um, de Spi - ri - tu San - cto,

rum de Spi -

um, de Spi - ri - tu San - cto, de

45

de Spi -

ri - tu San - cto, de Spi - ri -

Spi - ri - tu San - cto, no - mi - nus, no -

49

ri - tu Sancto de Spi - ri - tu San - cto

tu San - cto,

mi - nus,

53

no - mi nus, im -

no - mi nus,

de

57

pre - gna - tum, im - pre -

no - mi nus im -

Spi - ri - tu San - cto, im - pre -

61

gna - tum, im - pre -

pre - gna - tum,

gna tum, - im

This system contains measures 61 through 64. It features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff has a treble clef. The bottom staff has a bass clef. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: 'gna - tum, im - pre -' on the top staff, 'pre - gna - tum,' on the middle staff, and 'gna tum, - im' on the bottom staff.

65

gna - tum, im

im - pre

pre - gna

This system contains measures 65 through 68. It features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff has a treble clef. The bottom staff has a bass clef. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: 'gna - tum, im' on the top staff, 'im - pre' on the middle staff, and 'pre - gna' on the bottom staff.

69

pre - gna - tum,

gna tum

tum, im - pre - gna - tum,

This system contains measures 69 through 72. It features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff has a treble clef. The bottom staff has a bass clef. The lyrics are distributed across the staves: 'pre - gna - tum,' on the top staff, 'gna tum' on the middle staff, and 'tum, im - pre - gna - tum,' on the bottom staff.

73

Three staves of music. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a whole note chord, followed by two measures of rests, and then a half note. The middle staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note.

E -

E - ru -

E - ru - be -

77

Three staves of music. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note. The middle staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note.

ru - be - scat, E - ru - be -

be - scat, E - ru -

scat, E - ru - be -

81

Three staves of music. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note. The middle staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It contains a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note.

scat, Ju - de -

be - scat, Ju - de - us

scat, Ju - de - us

85

us in fe -

in fe - lix, in -

in fe - lix

89

lix

fe

lix

qui di -

93

qui di - cit Chri -

qui di - cit, qui

cit Chri - stum

97

stum ex Jo -

di cit,

Chri - stum ex Jo - seph

102

seph se -

se - mi - ne

se -

107

mi - ne

se - mi - ne

mi - ne

111

es - se na - tum, _____

es - se _____

es -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 111 through 114. It features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics 'es - se na - tum,' are written below the first staff, with a long horizontal line following 'tum,'. The middle staff has a treble clef and the lyrics 'es - se' followed by a long horizontal line. The bottom staff has a bass clef and the lyrics 'es -' followed by a long horizontal line.

115

na - tum, na -

na - tum, na - tum,

se na -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 115 through 118. It features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics 'na - tum, na -' are written below the first staff. The middle staff has a treble clef and the lyrics 'na - tum, na - tum,'. The bottom staff has a bass clef and the lyrics 'se na -'.

119

tum,

tum,

Detailed description: This system contains measures 119 through 122. It features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics 'tum,' are written below the first staff. The middle staff has a treble clef and the lyrics 'tum,'. The bottom staff has a bass clef and the lyrics 'tum,'.

Secunda Pars

1

Glo -

Glo - ri - a Pa -

Glo - ri - a Glo -

6

ri - a Pa tri,

tri,

ri - a Pa - tri,

11

Pa

Pa - tri,

Pa tri,

16

tri, *et* *Fi -*

et *Fi - li-o,* *et*

et *Fi - li-o,*

22

li - o, *et* *Fi - li - o,*

Fi - li - o,

Spi - ri - tu, *Spi -*

27

et *Spi - ri - tu,*

et *Spi - ri - tu,*

ri - tu, *et*

32

et Spi - ri - tu, San - cto, —

et Spi - ri - tu, San -

Spi - ri - tu, et Spi -

37

San -

cto, — San -

ri - tu, Spi - ri - tu, San -

43

cto, San - cto.

cto,

cto, San - cto,

Regina celi

Superius *Regina*

Altus *Regina* Re - gi - na ce - li

Tenor *Regina*

Bassus *Regina* Re -

5

Re - gi - na ce -

le - ta - re, Re - gi - na

gi - na ce - li - le - ta - re, Re - gi - na

10

li le - ta

Re - gi -

Re - gi - na ce - li le - ta

Re - gi - na ce - li le - ta

15

re, le -

na Re - gi na

re, le -

re, Re - gi - na le -

20

ta - re, Al - le -

le - ta - re, Al - le -

ta - re,

ta - re, Al - le -

25

lu

lu - ya, Al

Al - le - lu

lu - ya, Al - le -

29

ya, Qui - a, qui - a - quem,
 lu - ya, Qui - a, quem,
 ya,
 lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Qui -

34

qui - a - quem, me -
 Qui - a, quem,
 a, quem,

38

me - ru - i - [i]
 ru - i -
 me - ru -
 me - ru - i -

42

sti, por - ta -

sti, me - ru - i - sti,

i - sti, por -

sti, me - ru - i - sti,

47

re, por -

por - por - - ta - re,

ta - re,

por - ta - re, re,.

53

ta - re,

por - ta - re, por - ta - re,

por - ta re, por - por -

por - ta - re, por - por - ta -

58

por - - por - ta

porta - re,

ta - re,

re, - - por - ta -

63

re, Al - le - lu -

por - ta - re, Al le - Al -

Al - le -

re, Al - le - lu -

68

ya, Al - le - lu - ya,

le - lu -

lu - ya,

ya. Al - le -

73

Al - le - lu - ya.

ya, Al le - - lu ya

Al - le - lu - ya.

lu - ya, Al le lu - - - ya.

Secunda pars

Re - sur - re -

Re - sur-re - xit, si -

Re - sur - re -

Re - sur - re - xit, Re -

xit, si - cut

cut di - xit, si -

xit, si - cut di - xit,

sur re - xit, si - cut di - xit,

12

di - xit, Al - le - lu -

cut di - xit,

si - cut di - xit

si - cut di - xit, Al - le - lu -

17

ya, Al - le - lu - ya, O -

Al le lu -

Al - le lu - ya,

ya,

22

ra, O -

ya, O - ra, O - ra

O - ra,

O - ra, pro-

27

ra, — pro no -

pro — no - bis, O -

pro no - bis,

no - bis, O - ra —

32

bis, O - ra pro no - bis, —

ra pro — no -

O - ra — De -

no - bis, — De -

37

De - um, Al - le - lu -

bis, — De - um,

um, Al - le - lu -

um,

43

ya,
Al - le - lu -
ya,
Al - le - lu - ya, Al -

49

Al le lu - - - ya,
ya, Al - le - lu -
Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le -
le - lu - ya, Al -

54

Al - le - lu - -ya, Al - le -
ya, Al - le -
lu - ya, Al -
le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu -

59

lu - ya, Al le lu - ya,

lu - ya,

le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya,

ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le -

64

Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu -

Al - le - lu -

Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu -

lu - ya, Al -

70

ya, Al - le - lu - ya.

ya, Al - le - lu - ya.

ya, Al - le - lu ya.

le - lu ya.

Venes regres

Superius
Venes Ve-nes re-gres, ve - nes tous a

Contra Tenor
Venes Ve - nes re-gres, ve - nes tous a

Tenor
Venes

Bassus
Venes

5
mon cueur, Ve -
mon cueur,
Ve - nes re-gres, ve - nes tous a mon
Ve - nes re-gres, ve - nes tous a mon

10
nes y tost, nul de vous ne me.lais - se,
Ve-nes y tost, nul de vous ne me.lais - se,
cueur, Ve - nes y tost, nul de
Ve - nes y tost nul, de

15

Ve- nes y tost,-- nul

Ve- nes y tost, nul de vous ne

vous ne me lais- se, Ve - nes y tost,-- nul de

vous ne me lais se, Ve nes y - tost- nul, de

20

de vous ne me lais - se, Ve - nes sou - cy, Ve -

me lais - se, Ve - nes sou - cy, Ve -

vous ne me lais - se, Ve - nes sou - cy, Ve -

vous ne me lais - se, Ve - nes sou - cy, Ve -

25

nes lar - mes et pleurs, Ve - nes y tous

nes lar- mes et pleurs, Ve - nes - y tous

nes lar - mes et pleurs, Ve - -nes y tous

nes lar - mes et pleurs, Ve - nes - y tous

30

qui les a -

qui les a - mans op - pres -

qui les a - mans op - pres -

33

mans op - pres - se, qui les

qui les a - mans op - pres

se, qui les a - mans

se, qui les a - mans

37

a - mans op - pres se.

se, qui les a - mans op - pres se.

op pres se.

op - pres se.

Popule meus

Superius
Popule Po - pu - le,

Altus
Popule Po - pu - le,

Tenor
Popule

Bassus
Popule Po - pu -

6
Po pu - le me -
me - us, Po - pu - le
Po - pu - le me - us
le - me - us quid fe - ci,

11
us quid, quid, fe -
me - us, quid fe -
quid fe - ci
aut in quo

16

ci ti - bi, aut
ci aut in quo con -
ti bi,
con - tri - sta -

21

in - quo con - tri - sta - vi -
tri - sta - vi - te?
aut in quo con - tri - sta - vi
vi te?

26

te? Re - spon - de mi - hi.
Re - spon - de mi - hi.
te? Re - spon - de - mi - hi.
Re - spon - de - mi - hi.

31

E - go e - du - xi te

36

In ma -
E - gy - pto in ma -
de E - gy - pto in

41

nu for - ti, in sig - nis
nu for - ti, in sig - nis ma -
nu for - ti, in sig - nis ma -
ma - nu for - ti, in sig - nis

46

ma - gnis et pro-di - gus ex - cel -

gnis et pro-di - gus ex - cel -

gnis et pro-di - gus ex - cel -

ma - gnis et pro-di - gus ex -

52

sis, et pa - ra -

sis, et pa - ra -

sis, et pa - ra -

cel - sis, et pa - ra -

57

sti cru -

et pa - ra - sti cru -

sti cru -

et pa - ra - sti cru -

62

cem sal - va - to - ri tu o.

cem sal - va - to - ri tu o.

cem sal - va - to - ri tu o.

cem sal - va - to - ri tu o.

Secunda Pars

E - go e - du xi te ma -

E - go e - du xi te ma -

E - go trans e - du - xi te

E - go e - du xi te,

6

re Ru - brum,

re Ru - brum et de-mer - si pha-ra - o -

ma - re Ru - brum,

et de-mer - si pha -

11

et ex-cer-ci-tum

nem et ex-cer-ci-tum e -

et ex-cer-ci-tum e -

ra - o - nem et ex-cer-ci - tum e -

16

e - ius,

ius co - ram o - cu - lis tu -

ius,

ius, co - ram o - cu - lis tu -

21

et de spo - li - us e - ius nam -

is,

et de spo - li - us e - ius

is, nam -

26

que di - ta - vi te, et pa - ra - sti

nam-que di - ta - vi te, et pa - ra - cru-

nam - que di - ta - vi te, et pa - ra - sti

que di - ta - vi te, et pa - sti

32

cru - cem sal-va-to - ri tu - o.

cem sal - va-to-ri tu - o.

cru - cem sal-va-to - ri tu - o.

cru - cem sal - va-to-ri tu - o.

Tertia Pars

1

E - go e - du - xi te per de - ser -

E - go e - du - xi te per de - ser -

E - go e - du - xi te per de -

E - go e - du - xi te per de -

6

tum, ve - sti-men-ta tu -
tum qua - dra-gin-ta an - nis,
ser - tum, ve - sti-men-
ser - tum qua - dra-gin-ta an - nis,

11

a non sunt a - tri -
ve - stimen-ta tu - a,
ta tu - a non sunt a - tri -
ve - sti-men - ta tu - a non sunt a -

16

ta man - na quo - que ci - ba -
man - na quo - que ci - ba - vi
ta man - na quo - que ci - ba - vi
tri - ta, man - na quo - que ci - ba -

21

vi te et in - tro - du -

te et in - tro - du - xi

te et in - tro - du -

vi te et in - tro - du - xi in

26

xi in ter - ram sa - tis o -

in ter - ram sa - tis op -

xi in ter - ram sa - tis

ter - ram sa - tis o - pti -

31

pti - mam, et pa -

ti - mam,

o - pti - mam, et pa - ra -

mam, et pa - ra -

36

ra - sti cru - cem sal - va - to -
et pa - ra - sti cru - cem sal -
sti cru cem sal - va - to -
sti cru cem sal - va -

41

ri tu o.
va - to - ri tu o.
ri tu o.
to - ri tu o.

Quadra Pars

Quid
Quid ul - tra
Quid ul - tra
Quid ul - tra de - bu -

7
ul - tra de - bu - i fa -
de - bu - i
de - bu - i fa - ce - re ti bi
i fa - ce - re ti - bi

12
ce - re ti - bi et non fe
fa - ce - re ti - bi et non fe
et non fe -
et non fe -

17
ci? E - go qui - dem plan - ta - vi
ci? E - go qui - dem plan - ta - vi
ci? E - go qui - dem plan - ta - vi
ci?

22

te, te, te et mu - ro cir-cum - de - di

Et mu - ro cir-cum - de - di

27

et de pri - mi-tus fru - gum tu - et de pri - mi-tus fru - gum tu - te, et de pri - mi-tus fru - gum

te, Et de pri - ni-tus fru - gum tu -

32

a - rum a - a - rum a - ce - tu a - rum a -

a - rum a -

37

ce - to po - ta -

to po -

ce - to po - ta - sti me,

ce - to nam - que po - ta - sti me,

42

sti me, et per - fo - ra -

ta - sti me, lan -

et per - fo - ra -

Et per - fo - ra - sti

47

sti lan - ce - a la - tus sal -

ce - a la - tus per - fo - ra -

sti lan - ce - a la -

lan - ce - a la -

51

va - to -

tus sal - va - to -

tus Sal - va - to -

55

ri tu -

sti sal - va - to -

ri tu -

ri tu - o - tu -

59

o.

ri tu - o.

o.

o.

Gentilz galans

Superius
Gentilz Gen - tilz ga - lans com -

Altus
Gentilz Gen - tilz ga - lans compain -

Tenor
Gentilz Gen - tilz ga - lans com -

4
paingnons du re - sin bev - vons d'au -

gnons du re - sin bev - vons d'au - tant au

paingnons du re - sin bev - vons d'au - tant

9
tant au soir et auma - tin jus - que cent soulz

soir et au ma - tin jus - que_a cent

au soir et au ma - tin jus - que_a cent

13

et ho! a nos-tre_ho-tes - se, ne bail-lon

soulz et ho! a nos tre_ho - tes - se, ne

soulz et ho! a nostre_ho-tes - se, ne bail-lon point d'ar -

18

point d'ar-gent, mais ung cre - do, a nos -

bail - lon point d'ar - gent, mais ung cre - do, a nostre_ho-

gent, mais ung cre-do, a notre_hotes - se, ne

23

se, ne bail - lon point d'ar-gent, mais ung cre do.

tes se, ne bail - lon point d'ar - gent, mais ung cre do. -

bail - lon point d'ar - gent, mais ung cre do. -

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