

da bit fructum su um.

In natura
te domini.
Introit.



Ver natus est no bis

Barbara Haggh
& Frédéric Billiet (dir.)
*Ars musica
septentrionalis*
De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical
à l'historiographie

bis cui

e us

magni consili i an ge lus.



antate domino canticū nouum.

quia mirabi lia fe cit. Glori a.

Or



ARS MUSICA SEPTENTRIONALIS
DE L'INTERPRÉTATION DU PATRIMOINE MUSICAL
À L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE

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avec la collaboration
de Claire Chamiyé et Sandrine Dumont

Ars musica septentrionalis

De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical
à l'historiographie



INTRODUCTION

Les bibliothèques du Nord de la France conservent d'incalculables témoignages d'une vie musicale remarquable et remarquée durant tout le Moyen Âge. Les grands centres intellectuels de cette région ont largement participé à l'élaboration des répertoires monodiques et polyphoniques, à l'évolution du langage musical, de la théorie et de la notation entre le IX^e et le XV^e siècle. Des études musicologiques ont été menées pour montrer le rôle des théoriciens, poètes-chanteurs ou compositeurs durant cette période, mais une histoire de la musique du Nord de la France reste à faire¹. Ce travail se heurte à la difficulté de cerner la région sur une si longue période. Les frontières changent, les invasions sont fréquentes, l'aire linguistique fluctue et les dénominations ne correspondent pas toujours aux réalités du territoire : Flandre septentrionale, Provinces-Unies. « C'est pourtant de cette région que proviennent les premiers spécimens de notations musicales pour le chant et la polyphonie (IX^e siècle) – notations paléofranques, messine, Laon », écrivait Sandrine Dumont en préambule aux manifestations de « Cantus 21 – Patrimoine musical du Nord de la France »². « Dès le XI^e siècle, les monastères du nord, déjà réputés pour leurs fabuleuses bibliothèques, sont connus notamment pour la copie des livres, dont on mesure l'efficacité à la vue des richesses bibliographiques actuelles (sans compter les pertes) ; ce résultat est particulièrement visible à la bibliothèque de Douai (collections provenant essentiellement des abbayes d'Anchin, Marchiennes et Saint-Amand). C'est aussi dans cette région que se développa, autour d'Hucbald, moine de Saint-Amand, la pratique, étendue ensuite à toute l'Europe médiévale, qui consiste à composer des offices spécifiques pour les saints en suivant l'ordre des tons ». Sandrine Dumont rappelle aussi l'importance des maîtrises du Nord (Saint-Quentin, Arras, Lille, Théroüanne, Cambrai, etc.), fondées sur le modèle bourguignon et au sein desquelles ont été formés les principaux musiciens de la Renaissance dont Guillaume du Fay et Josquin Desprez ainsi que de nombreux chantres recrutés pour élever le niveau musical des chapelles italiennes. Enfin il ne faut pas oublier que la ville d'Arras fut le centre d'une école de trouvères actifs dans toute la région, dont l'illustre Guillaume de Machaut fut l'un des derniers représentants³.

1 L'ouvrage d'Ignace Bossuyt est limité aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, *De Guillaume Dufay à Roland de Lassus : les très riches heures de la polyphonie franco-flamande*, Paris, Le Cerf ; Bruxelles, Racine, 1996.

2 Voir le site <www.adfugam.net>.

3 Extrait de l'introduction au colloque sur <www.adfugam.net>.

L'euro-région Nord-Pas de Calais – Picardie – Belgique est donc en quelque sorte le centre européen de la création musicale comme en témoignent les manuscrits retrouvés et réunis au XIX^e par le musicologue Edmond de Coussemaker auquel il est rendu un hommage particulier dans cet ouvrage. C'est dans son sillage qu'une équipe de chercheurs a pu récemment établir un inventaire des manuscrits conservés dans une partie des bibliothèques du Nord de la France, produire un catalogue⁴ et favoriser de nouvelles recherches regroupées dans le présent ouvrage.

L'étude du patrimoine de l'*ars musica septentrionalis* est envisagée dans quatre directions : le patrimoine musical du Nord de la France, l'héritage d'Edmond de Coussemaker, les polyphonies et polyphonistes, et les chansonniers français de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle.

8 La première partie est conçue comme une approche de la vie musicale dans le Nord de la France et résulte du travail d'inventaire des bibliothèques du Nord réalisé par Barbara Hagg et Michel Huglo. Leur connaissance des manuscrits a permis de présenter des aspects de la vie musicale – composition locale, dévotion privée – de la production intellectuelle – *musica speculativa* et *musica practica* dans le Nord avant Guillaume Du Fay – ou de focaliser l'attention du lecteur sur un répertoire précis comme les chants du processionnal de Cambrai. Dans cet article, Michel Huglo se concentre sur la cathédrale de Cambrai, véritable épiscentre culturel pour la région Nord. La collection des processionnaux de Cambrai constitue un patrimoine inestimable des chants dont certains parmi les plus anciens sont probablement gallicans et d'autres témoignent d'une influence de l'aire germanique – cas unique pour les processionnaux français contemporains. Par cette analyse minutieuse des rituels de la ville dont les manuscrits révèlent la cartographie, les gestes particuliers, les déplacements et les fêtes, Michel Huglo dresse un portrait saisissant de la vie quotidienne à Cambrai à cette époque.

Une grande partie de ces manuscrits avait été réunie dans la collection exceptionnelle de Coussemaker, le grand musicologue du Nord, présentée dans la deuxième partie. Michel Huglo explique la démarche historiographique fondatrice de ce musicologue et les conséquences dues à la dispersion en 1877 des manuscrits de sa collection. Ses travaux de premier ordre ont permis de faire avancer la musicologie sur des concepts nouveaux à l'époque, tel le « drame liturgique » dont Nils Holger Petersen cerne les contours à partir

4 B. Bouckaert (dir.), *Mémoires du chant. Le livre de musique d'Isidore de Séville à Edmond de Coussemaker*, Neerpelt, Alamire ; Lille, Ad fugam, 2007.

de l'ouvrage *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge*, publié en 1860⁵. Nils Holger Petersen explique comment la terminologie employée par Coussemaker dans sa tentative d'appréhender les particularités du genre a généré des discussions musicologiques pendant plus d'un siècle. Par ailleurs, l'intérêt de Coussemaker pour les manuscrits de théorie musicale a suscité l'étude de Shin Nishimagi, plus particulièrement sur le manuscrit F-Pn Rés. 359 contenant le *Dialogus de musica* de Guido d'Arezzo, copié au XIII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert dans les Ardennes. Cet article met en lumière la transmission de l'œuvre du maître italien dans la France septentrionale.

C'est à un autre théoricien du XIX^e siècle que Ronald Woodley consacre son article, montrant comment la redécouverte de Tinctoris, théoricien brabantin majeur du XV^e siècle, a pu faire l'objet de querelles politiques. Coussemaker et Fétis, entre autres, ont contribué à lui façonner une renommée internationale. Cette troisième partie aborde aussi d'autres aspects de la polyphonie à la Renaissance européenne. Lisa Urkevich présente le manuscrit 1070 du Royal College of Music de Londres ayant appartenu à Anne Boleyn. Par des comparaisons précises et une connaissance approfondie du contexte, elle apporte des conclusions déterminantes sur le manuscrit lui-même, et sur la destinataire de ce cadeau royal. Johan Guiton nous fait découvrir le compositeur Vincenzo Misonne, *Clerico Cameracensis Diocesis* qui n'échappe pas au déplacement en Italie comme la plupart de ses contemporains. Cambrésien d'origine, il bénéficie de nombreuses prébendes comme chanoine, chantre et compositeur. Mais il est remarqué par le grand « protecteur des arts » Léon X et s'installe à Rome.

L'ouvrage se clôt par une approche interdisciplinaire consacrée au chansonnier comme témoignage de la monodie profane. Les chansonniers français de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle n'ont cessé de fasciner musicologues et historiens d'art. Alison Stones nous dévoile des enluminures exceptionnelles et mesure avec finesse leur évolution sur le plan des thématiques abordées, de la structuration au sein même des manuscrits ou des préoccupations contemporaines. Helen Deeming traite des rapports texte/musique dans un autre chansonnier du XIII^e siècle. Ainsi, considérer le manuscrit Egerton 274 comme une entité à part entière lui permet de proposer un éclairage nouveau sur le contexte culturel de l'épanouissement de la chanson à la fin du siècle.

Le fonctionnement des traditions d'interprétation musicale est au centre des travaux de recherche de Claire Chamisyé. En étudiant les variantes manuscrites

5 E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Âge (texte et musique)*, Rennes, Vatar, 1860 ; Paris, V. Didron, 1861.

des *Miracles de Notre-Dame* de Gautier de Coinci, elle met en évidence des « manières de chanter » ce répertoire spécifique qu'est la chanson profane à sujet religieux dans le contexte culturel de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle. Ce dernier article sert de conclusion à l'ensemble des contributions consacrées à la mise en valeur du patrimoine musical du Nord de la France. Il répond aux problématiques de recherche développées par l'équipe Patrimoines et langages musicaux de l'université Paris-Sorbonne qui étudie parallèlement les sources et les problèmes d'interprétation qu'elles soulèvent.

Pour terminer, il convient de remercier Barbara Haggh, co-directrice de l'ouvrage, Claire Chamiyé, doctorante à l'université Paris-Sorbonne, et Sandrine Dumont, présidente de l'association Ad fugam, pour leur collaboration essentielle dans la réalisation de cet ouvrage.

TROISIÈME PARTIE

Polyphonies et polyphonistes

ANNE BOLEYN'S FRENCH MOTET BOOK,
A CHILDHOOD GIFT

THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGINAL OWNER OF MS. 1070
OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC, LONDON, REVISITED¹

Lisa Urkevich

In early sixteenth-century Europe both sacred and secular pieces were often copied into manuscripts that were frequently presentation or commissioned volumes, that is, books prepared as worthy gifts for a sovereign or a patrician. Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London (hereafter ms. 1070),² one of a handful of sources of Franco-Flemish music now in England, is apparently such a commissioned book. It opens with several pages with decorated initials and miniatures, and while the bulk of the pieces are by the finest continental composers of the day, of its 39 motets and three French chansons, eight are *unica*, anonymous and unique to the source and likely distinguish a specific owner. But the past and purpose of this volume are not readily revealed, as the meaning of even the most obvious clues has been 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 the musicologist Edward Lowinsky.³ Lowinsky acknowledges that the anthology has a French character, that it is by composers of Franco-Flemish origin, that most of them served at the French court, and that the watermarks of the paper are similar to those found on French paper. From his interpretation

¹ I would like to thank Richard Wexler for first bringing this manuscript to my attention and for his discerning comments. Thanks also go to Herbert Kellman for his insight into MS. 1070 and studies of related manuscripts.

² The manuscript sigla *Lcm* 1070 is used in the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols, ed. C. Hamm and H. Kellman (Stuttgart, Hänssler Verlag, 1979–1988) [Renaissance Studies, 1].

³ E. Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn," *Florilegium historiale*, J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale (eds), (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971), 161–235; reprinted with an appendix in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. B.J. Blackburn, vol. 2 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989), 484–528.

of its texts and visual images, however, Lowinsky concludes that MS. 1070 was prepared in England for Boleyn while she was queen, that is, probably around the time of her trial and execution in 1536. He deduces that Mark Smeaton, the English musician who was accused of committing adultery with Boleyn and testified against her, was the donor-editor and perhaps the principal scribe. He agrees that the book would ‘appear to be much older [than 1533-1536] if judged by its repertory, handwriting, initials, and paper,’ but proposes that it takes some time for French works to migrate to England.⁴

As this study will reveal, Lowinsky’s review is misleading. Although his facts are often accurate, his interpretations are not. MS. 1070 is not an English book from the 1530s, but indeed a French volume from c. 1505-1509, with a few additions probably added after 1514. It was not prepared for Anne while she was queen, but was no doubt acquired by her while she was a child in France. Thus, ms. 1070 is extraordinary on several levels. No manuscript of comparable size, decoration, or content has been identified as emanating from the French court complex.⁵ (ms. 1070 is comprised of many multi-part motets, contains both sacred and secular works, and both Latin and French texts). Moreover, it would seem that this book of sacred music was owned and likely performed by amateurs, that is, amateur women and girls, and this is unusual, since motets were typically relegated to professional musicians in sacred settings. It is also of some interest that the pieces in ms. 1070 date from as early as the 1470s to at least 1514. The layer added later indicates that ms. 1070 was in use decades after several of the works were composed. Thus, some relatively old music was probably being performed by fairly young patrons.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOURCE

Ms. 1070 is not a luxurious manuscript like many others associated with royals. There are no illuminations with gold or lavish decorations, the dimensions are mid-sized (c. 28.5 by 19 cm); and the anthology is copied on paper rather than more expensive parchment.⁶ Moreover, Boleyn’s name is not large or near the front of the book, as one would expect in a source dedicated to a queen, but is small, in a hand foreign to the volume, nested beneath an alto part on folio 79r of the 134 folios. Still, ms. 1070 was apparently commissioned with someone

⁴ E. Lowinsky, *Florilegium*, *op. cit.*, 507.

⁵ Two pieces in ms. 1070 have no texts and they and most of the works without attributions have been identified from concordances.

⁶ A detailed description of ms. 1070 along with further discussion of texts and symbols can be found in L. Urkevich, “Anne Boleyn, A Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts” (PhD, University of Maryland, College Park, 1997).

or some event in mind. Of its 42 pieces, eight are *unica*, including the opening work, an unusual humanistic motet. The compositions that can be attributed are by esteemed composers: Josquin, Mouton, Brumel, Compère, Févin, Thérache, Obrecht, and Sermisy. Josquin is the composer most represented, with ten works, followed by Mouton with nine. No more than three works each are by the remaining six composers. Four pieces are anonymous, but are found in other sources. Three French chansons (and one of the motets) were added by later hands and were not part of the original scheme.

Although it is a presentation manuscript, ms. 1070 was apparently used for performance. It is in choirbook format so that all voices of each composition are visible when the book rests open, whether they may be the 34 four-voiced pieces or the eight works for three, five, and six parts. Moreover, the folios have slightly worn edges (the pages that contain decorations near the front of the book are more well-thumbed), and sharp and flat signs were inserted, mostly in the first half of the volume (11r-102v), which seem contemporaneous.

The illustrations in the first three gatherings form a compact unit, and this was no doubt the first section produced. Each piece here has decorations that sometimes incorporate the initials, but often are merely miniatures with no letters. The images are in a provincial style and enhanced with only two colors, standard blue and red (or vermilion). They are comprised of flowers, plants, fruit, beasts, birds, monsters, fish, and some humans. As Janet Backhouse and Michelle P. Brown of the British Library have confirmed, the decorations are continental and have a 'French rather than Flemish character.'⁷ (See PL 1).

There are a total of five scribal hands in the volume, and with one exception, each music scribe provided the corresponding text.⁸ With respect to scripts, content, and physical characteristics, ms. 1070 is divided into two main parts: part one with 13 gatherings (11r-102v) is much larger than part two (103r-134v) with only five gatherings (see Table 1a-d). The soiled folio 102v corresponds to the end of part one.⁹ Part two differs from part one in that it has fewer folios, and introduces three-voiced works, French texts, attributions, and a new hand (scribe 5). Moreover, it is defined by a change in staves from eleven per page to nine, and a predominance of hand 2 rather than 1.

7 Janet Backhouse and Scot McKendrick of the British Library further report that 'there is no specific region or school suggested.' Personal correspondence, 9 September 1996. Also see E. Lowinsky, *Florilegium*, *op. cit.*, 492, n. 29 (see Plate 1).

8 The exception is on f. 87r, where hand 1 copied the music and hand 2 provided the text. Lowinsky only identifies four hands, as he believes that hands 1 and 3, as designated here, are the same.

9 Half of f. 102v, running lengthwise, is soiled, especially along the outer edge. This suggests that part one of the manuscript was carried while folded in two, vertically.

12

Noy declinaui non declinaui et consolatus sum de relictis legem tuam Cantabiles michi erant iustitiae

Antem tua non declinaui in memoria iudiciorum tuorum ascende domine et consolatus sum defectio tenuit me in precibus relictis declinaui cantabiles michi erant iustitiae tuae

13

In loco peregrinationis mee Memor sum nocte nominis tui domine et custodiam legem tuam Hec facta est michi quia iustificationes tuas exquisivi

PLATE 1. Ms. 1070 Scribe 1, fols. 6v-7r from Josquin's *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo*
 Reproduced by permission of the Royal College of Music, London

Scribe 5, whose work first appears in the middle of part two on 113v-115r, entered two chansons that date later than scribe 2's contributions (PL 3). Both of scribe 4's musical entries, the last piece in the book (*Gentilz galans*) and a motet by Brumel, *Sicut lilium inter spinas* (92v-93r), occur at the ends of gatherings and share no folios with other hands. They are not part of the original gatherings.

If we review the dates of the music alongside the scribal hands, it would appear that, in general, the work of scribes 1-3 was prepared around 1505-1509. There may have been a small lapse in time between the production of the first three gatherings with the illustrations and the subsequent gatherings, where we begin to see more of hands 2 and 3. In fact, with the additions by these later hands, it is possible that the function of the book changed from that of a presentation manuscript to that of one for performance. However, the lapse was nominal, since the music of all three scribes can be found in manuscripts and prints from relatively the same time. The few later additions by scribes 4 and 5 were entered no more than a few years after the core of the book.¹⁰

Ms. 1070 shares the most concordances with Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1760, that is: #13 *Sub tuum presidium* by Brumel, #14 *Verbum bonum et suave* by Thérache, #41 *Sancta trinitas unus deus* by Févin, and #40 *Adiutorium nostrum* by Mouton.¹¹ Ms. Pepys 1760 was prepared in France in 1509 around the same time as the bulk of ms. 1070. Not long thereafter, ms. Pepys 1760 was imported to the isle as a presentation book for a young English prince, perhaps Henry VIII. Through variant readings, Lowinsky has discovered that the Thérache motet, *Verbum bonum et suave*, in both manuscripts was prepared from the same exemplar.¹² Still, the books are not comparable, since ms. Pepys 1760, which is half full of chansons along with its sacred pieces, is of much finer quality, as would be expected in a music book prepared for a young prince.

If we review the physical characteristics and contents of ms. 1070, it is clear that like ms. Pepys 1760, it is of French origin. All composers except Obrecht, a famous international composer, have a French court connection, and several, including Mouton, Sermisy, Févin and Thérache, have especially strong ties to France. And the paper no doubt comes from northern France.¹³ Moreover, the illustrations clearly have a French character, and the script-types are French—

¹⁰ See L. Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn. A. Music Book," *op. cit.*, 61-81, for concordances and dating.

¹¹ *Adiutorium nostrum* is attributed to Févin in Ms. Pepys 1760. In ms. Pepys 1760 as in ms. 1070, the names of Anna and Ludovicus (Anne of Brittany and Louis XII) remain in the text of the piece.

¹² Ed. E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968), 146-47 [Monuments of Renaissance Music].

¹³ See L. Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn. A. Music Book," *op. cit.*, 13-21; E. Lowinsky, *Florilegium*, *op. cit.*, 488.

scribes 2, 4 and 5 manifest a variant of bastard secretary French script, while scribe 1 and 3 display a kind of a *bâtard* (*lettre bourguignonne*) known in the Low Countries and France.

That ms. 1070 survives at all is likely due to the fact that it left France during the Renaissance. Many if not most Renaissance French manuscripts of sacred music were undoubtedly destroyed following the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror when religious books were targeted, especially those that seemed to glorify court culture. The few that did not perish, like ms. Pepys 1760, were exported most probably during their own time. This is surely what happened to ms. 1070. It was likely brought to England in the early 16th century.

ANNE BOLEYN'S NAME

100

The most intriguing clue in the manuscript is the name of Boleyn, which appears within #24, Compère's *Paranymphus salutat virginem*, copied by scribes 2 and 3. A hand foreign to the book placed the entry beneath and to the right of the *altus* part on 79r. This page has music and text written solely by scribe 3. (See detail Fig. 1 and PL 2). The entry reads:

M^{ris} 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*]

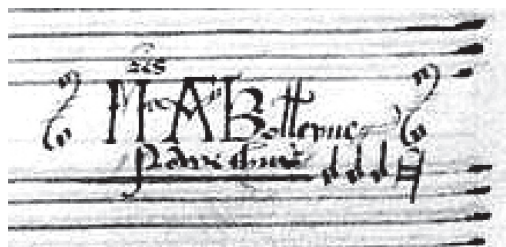


Figure 1. Detail of Boleyn designation, fol. 79r

Reproduced by permission of the Royal College of Music, London

'Nowe thus' is the motto of Boleyn's father, Thomas.¹⁴ 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

¹⁴ J.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 is mentioned in several histories of Boleyn.

156

Paranympheus salutatur
virginem Intemeratam dñs
fecit inter mulieres bea
ta Aue Inquit gratia plena humilis
maria

Paranympheus salutatur
virginem Intemeratam dñs
tu inter mulieres Benedicte Aue Inquit
gratia plena maria

157

Paranympheus salutatur vir
ginem Intemeratam tam Deus te
cum inter mulieres benedicte Aue
Inquit gratia plena humilis
maria

Paranympheus
salutat virginem intemeratam deus
tecum inter mulieres benedicte Aue In
quit gratia plena humilis maria

PLATE 2. MS. 1070 Scribe 3, fol. 79r. Boleyn's designation with Compère's
Paranympheus salutatur virgine
Reproduced by permission of the Royal College of Music, London

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 staff might be recognized. Following the motto, three *minims* and one *longa* 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 small) and a knowledge of music.

102 The location of the designation suggests that ms. 1070 was not prepared for Anne. It is 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 manuscripts with dedications—for instance, a coat of arms and motto (of Bouton) are on inner pages of the Chigi Codex—¹⁵the presentation of the ‘Bolleyne’ note beneath an *altus* part is odd. In addition, the Boleyn name entry is not similar to markings in other contemporary manuscripts that represent an individual; for example, in London, British Library, ms. Royal 8 G. vii, the illuminated initial pages bear heraldic emblems of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. Our designation 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. It is placed with some intention. It is much more carefully entered than other additional writing in the manuscript, such as the maxim that was penned on fol. 116v,¹⁶ or the 20th-century note on the last page of the source (‘This ms. [*sic*] is about 250 years old’). Thus, the entry is not that of a dedicatee, yet neither is it an offhand jotting. It falls somewhere in between. ms. 1070 was apparently prepared for someone other than Boleyn, but the intended marking suggests that Anne owned or had possession of the book.

‘Anne Boleyn’ was the name given to the girl at birth and she certainly used it throughout her life. Her neat signature, ‘anne boleyne,’ all lower-case letters, can be found in her correspondence to the statesman Thomas Wolsey among others,¹⁷ but only until her marriage in 1533. Once Anne became a member of the royal family, she distinguishes herself with a large, free, ‘Anne the Quene

15 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234.

16 The maxim 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.” See L. Urkevich, “Anne Boleyn Music Book,” *op. cit.*, 240, for a possible interpretation.

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

[sic],’ which she scrawled across documents, in margins, sideways, and so forth—the type of aloof mark warranted to those with power.¹⁸ 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,¹⁹ that of her father, Sir Thomas, or, after 1526, when Anne became involved with the king, Henry VIII.

Anne’s father, Sir Thomas, was raised to the English peerage on 18 June 1525 as Viscount Rochford and was then elevated to two earldoms, Wiltshire and Ormond, on 8 December 1529.²⁰ Because of this latter advancement, his children took the surname Rochford, and thus, Anne styled herself Lady Anne Rochford.²¹ Subsequently, when she herself was raised to the peerage in 1532, Anne was referred to as the Marchioness of Pembroke. The simple title ‘Mistress’ with the surname Boleyn would not have been employed after 1529.²²

There were three stages of Boleyn’s life when she used the title ‘Mistress’: from her birth in 1501/07 until 1513 when she went to Europe; from 1513–1521, her continental years; and from 1521–1529, her subsequent years back in England. It is improbable that she acquired ms. 1070 during her time in England, either during her early childhood or the years preceding 1529. If such were the case, the donor would have been either her father Sir Thomas, or, after 1526 when they became involved, Henry VIII.²³ But there is no indication that either man ever owned such a book.²⁴ Before 1513 Anne lacked the education and the ability to appreciate these complex polyphonic Latin motets. In any event, neither man would have been the original owner of this manuscript made in France. Therefore, we must turn to the significant patrons of the continental courts with whom Boleyn lived from 1513 to 1521.

¹⁸ For instance, see the Boleyn’s letters, London, British Library, Add. ms. 19398, f. 22a, and the holograph, f. 22b.

¹⁹ E.W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986), 90, 284–85, 290.

²⁰ J.E. Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England*, iii: 159.

²¹ London, British Library, Cotton ms. Vesp. F. xiii, f^{os} 109, 132. M.A. Everett Wood (Green), *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, 3 vols (London, Henry Colburn, 1846), ii: 74–75. J.S. Brewer et al. (ed.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 2 vols (London, Longmans, Green and Co, 1862–1932), v: 12.

²² For the specific terminus of 1529, see R.M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), 249. Since the note refers to Boleyn before her notoriety, as ‘Mistress,’ and is accompanied by her father’s personal motto, one not commonly known throughout the decades, it can be determined that whoever wrote it personally knew Boleyn. 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.

²³ E. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, *op. cit.*, 108, gives 1526 as the date of Henry’s courtly pursuit of Anne.

²⁴ On Thomas Boleyn, see W.H. Dean, “Sir Thomas Boleyn: The Courtier Diplomat: 1477–1539” (PhD, West Virginia University, 1987).

Boleyn's maiden years were somewhat unusual in that she was a ward or in the service of several famous and powerful royal women. In 1513, she was sent to the duchy of Brabant of the Low Countries and placed under the guidance of Margaret of Austria.²⁵ Although Margaret was a grand patron of the arts, it is unlikely that ms. 1070 initially belonged to her. The large number of French works and the scarcity of Burgundian pieces in our source does not align it with extant Hapsburg manuscripts. Granted, the Flemish Chigi Codex contains many French pieces,²⁶ but in the case of ms. 1070, there are so few works with Netherlandish associations that one is hard pressed to suggest that ms. 1070 even has this type of dual character.

When Anne Boleyn left the Low Countries in 1514, she went to the northern court second only to Margaret's in brilliance—the court of France. She was now needed as a French-speaking attendant and companion to Mary Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII, who was to wed Louis XII. But after only a few months of marriage Louis XII died and Francis succeeded to the throne. Mary Tudor returned to England in the Spring of 1515, but Boleyn, who was apparently liked by the royal sisters, 'was detained by Claude [Louis XII's daughter] who later became queen.'²⁷

Anne Boleyn would have met and even resided with many leading French women during her time at court. Renaissance society was largely segregated by gender, and it was standard practice for royal women to rear and supervise girls and younger women at their palaces alongside their own daughters. These court women were together so often that their lives became tightly entwined. So, while in the service of Claude, as a matter of course, Boleyn would have spent a great deal of time with

25 H. Paget, "The Youth of Anne Boleyn," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 54 (1981), 163-166. Paget established that it was not Mary Boleyn, but Anne who left England in 1513, and her initial continental experience was not in France as has been speculated but in Brabant.

26 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*, (ed. and with introduction by H. Kellman) (New York: Garland, 1987), vi [Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 22].

27 Lancelot de Carles, *Epistre contenant le proces criminel fait a lencontre de la Roynne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre* (Lyon, 1545). A copy of De Carles's work can be found in London, British Library, Add. ms. 40662. See E. Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (London, Thomas Whitaker, 1649), 161, 218. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth; Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, J. Stevenson, A.J. Crosby, A.J. Butler, S.C. Lomas, and R.B. Wernham, (ed.), 23 vols (London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863-1950), iii: 870, 10 January 1561: 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.

Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I and one of the most influential people in the kingdom. She was the guardian of Claude and lived and traveled with the young queen extensively. Never far from Louise's side was her daughter Marguerite d'Angoulême (1492-1549), the duchess of Alençon and later queen of Navarre (after 1527). Boleyn would form an important friendship with Marguerite, and indeed, it seems that Anne was under Marguerite's patronage at some point.

This relationship between Anne and Marguerite is an important one that is sometimes overlooked. However, several sources attest to it, one of the most significant being a history of Queen Elizabeth written by William Camden (1615). 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 Bretaine, wife to Francis the first, and after her death on Margaret of Alencon, who was a prime favourer of the Protestant Religion then springing up in France.²⁸

In addition, the perceptive seventeenth-century scholar Herbert of Cherbury reported:

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.²⁹

Anne herself verifies a close friendship. In 1535, when she was queen, Boleyn sent a message to Marguerite, part of which expressed that her 'greatest wish, next to having a son, was to see you [Marguerite] again.'³⁰ 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 accompany the French king rather than his second wife, Eleanor.³¹

²⁸ William Camden, *The Historie of the Life and Reigne of the Most Renowned [sic] and Victorious Princess Elizabeth [Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha ad annum salutis M.D. LXXXIX, 1615]*, trans. R. Norton (London, Benjamin Fisher, 1630), 1-2. There are minor flaws in Camden's account. He does not mention Anne's time in Brabant (although this is overlooked by most), and there is an 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.

²⁹ E. Herbert, *The Life and Raigne, op. cit.*, 257.

³⁰ J.S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, op. cit.*, IX: 378; from Paris, BnF, fonds fr., MS 3014.

³¹ 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. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, op. cit.*, v: 1187. Also see R.M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall, op. cit.*, 115. Marguerite, however, declined to play hostess for her brother.

It may also be telling that Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII 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, that is, at about the same time Anne would have been close to the duchess or perhaps also in her service. This book (London, British Library, MS Royal 16 E XIII) was made specifically for the English royalty, or at least for Anne (it includes her name and Henry's, Anne's device, and her coat of arms) and is either unique or a variation of another Marot poem. It mentions both 'Fraçoys nostre roy,' and his sister, 'La precieuse et bonne Marguerite.'³²

The tie between Anne, Marguerite, and Marot is a significant one, because Marguerite (and Marot) can clearly be associate with ms. 1070. This is most immediately seen in the copy of scribe 5. For instance, *Jouyssance vous donneray* (#35 of ms. 1070) is a chanson composed by Claudin Sermisy, a prized composer at the court of Francis I, where Marguerite frequently had the virtual role of queen (Fig. 2). It is a setting of a poem by Clément Marot, a writer whose works Sermisy often set.³³ Marot, of course, was the famous poet and close friend of Marguerite d'Alençon, herself a noted humanist and a writer of poems, plays, and other publications. We know that *Jouyssance vous donneray* was a favorite song of the duchess, because Marguerite penned a collection of song texts, the *Chansons spirituelles*, and one was to be sung to the tune of *Jouyssance vous donneray*.³⁴ And as queen of Navarre she used this musical setting of it in her comedy *Trespas du Roy*.³⁵ Moreover, *Mont de Marsan*, another of her plays, employs a few lines from *Jouyssance vous donneray* (with the Marot text), sung by a shepherdess.³⁶ 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.³⁷ *Jouyssance vous donneray* along

32 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.

33 H.M. Brown, "The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-30," in *Chanson and Madrigal: 1480-1530*, ed. J. Haar (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964), 28.

34 See Chanson 2 in ed. G. Dottin, *Marguerite de Navarre: Chansons Spirituelles* (Geneva, Droz, 1971), 8-10.

35 R.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.

36 Ed. V.L. Saulnier, *Marguerite de Navarre: Théâtre Profane* (Geneva, Droz, 1946), 218, 308; H.M. Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1963), 139, 243, 244-45. Gustave Reese describes the piece as a later, more fashionable homophonic chanson in his *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, Norton, 1954; rev. edn. 1959), 292.

37 The piece is depicted in at least four paintings. See J. Parkinson, "A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy," *Music & Letters*, 39 (1958), 118-22.

*Jouissance vous donneray mon amy et vous me-
 nerez la ou pretent vostre esperance* *dimante*
*ne vous lesseray enroxe quant morte seray lespit en aura sou-
 uenance' lespit en aura souuenance'*
Tenor
*Jouissance vous donneray mon amy et vous menerez la ou pre-
 tent vostre esperance* *dimante ne vous*
lesseray enroxe quant morte seray lespit en
aura souuenance lespit aura sou

Figure 2: MS 1070, fol. 113v (Scribe 5), from Sermisy's *Jouissance vous donneray*
 Reproduced by permission of the Royal College of Music, London

with the other secular chanson by scribe 5, the anonymous *Venes regres venes tous*, were both published in 1528 by Attaignant, and Marguerite no doubt would have known *Venes* as well.³⁸ Likewise, the third chanson in ms. 1070, #42, written by Scribe 4 in the distinctive French-like *bastard secretary* script, the anonymous *Gentilz galans compaignons*, is similar to *Jouissance vous donneray* in that it is a theatrical chanson and would have been enjoyed by those in her circle of French humanists.³⁹

Of course, Marguerite had a great interest in music. She wrote song poems, and was depicted in a miniature alongside musicians.⁴⁰ And she had at least one music book in her possession, ms. fr. 1596, i.e., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fonds fr. 1596, a volume of six French chansons that she apparently received as a child.⁴¹ Moreover, if we compare ms. 1070 with Marguerite's book ms. fr. 1596, which was given to or prepared for her c. 1495, we see that the work of ms. 1070's scribe 1 bears a resemblance to the main script of Marguerite's volume. And the inscription at the beginning of ms. fr. 1596 that refers to 'Marguerite d'Orleans' is in the same flowery style characterizing scribe 4's work in ms. 1070. There are no concordances between ms. fr. 1596 and ms. 1070—Marguerite's chansonnier dates from earlier than 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 of the time and, although this may be of limited significance, it contains penwork initials with profiled faces that are somewhat like those that appear in ms. 1070. Most noteworthy is that ms. fr. 1596 is similar in general disposition to ms. 1070. That is to say, although ms. 1070 is of slightly higher quality, having so many decorated initials and miniatures, it would not be as out of place alongside MS. fr. 1596 in Louise of Savoy's Cognac library, as it might be, for example, in a royal library.

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38 P. Attaignant, *Trente et deux chansons musicales*, RISM 1528/5. See *Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e siècles*, RISM B1, ed. F. Lesure (München-Duisburg, G. Henle, 1960).

39 H.M. Brown, *French Secular Theater*, *op. cit.*, 221.

40 See "La Coche ou le Debat de l'Amour (c. 1540)," Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 91, f. 3.

41 See R. Wexler, "Music and Poetry in Renaissance Cognac," in *Musique naturelle et musique artificielle: In Memoriam Gustav [sic] Reese*, ed. M.B. Winn (Montreal, Ceres, 1980) [Le moyen français, 5], and H. Omont, *et al. Bibliothèque nationale, Département de manuscrits, catalogue* (Paris, Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1868), i, 270. Moreover, Marguerite was familiar with music beyond the French realm. She translated the famous frottole by Michele Vicentino, "*Che fara la, che dira la*," into French and then used it in the nineteenth nouvelle of her *Heptaméron*. Also see G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, 292.

Therefore, it is logical to conclude that ms. 1070 was in the hands of Marguerite and was given to Boleyn before she left for England. We know that Marguerite owned at least one other music book, that she enjoyed music, that Mouton—who is highly represented in the French produced ms. 1070—was at the court of her brother, that ms. 1070 has clear clues pointing both to Boleyn and Marguerite, and that the women were close associates and may have lived together in France during the time when the later layers of the volume would have been added. But the question still remains, for whom was the book originally commissioned?

ORIGINAL OWNER

Firstly, the texts imply that ms. 1070 was made for a woman, as it is flecked with ‘female’ words including: ‘sisters,’ ‘daughters,’ ‘wife,’ and ‘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. 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 coincidental that some of the voice ranges are equal or near equal, indicating that they could have been performed by an all female vocal ensemble.⁴²

If we look more closely at the texts, especially those of the main fascicle comprised of the first three gatherings with illustrations, it is clear that ms. 1070 was made to commemorate a wedding. The three works here by Mouton, #4, #5, and #6, manifest the wedding motif. It is certainly evident from the use of the famous nuptial vows in #4 *In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum*, Matthew 19: 3-6 (e.g., ‘What therefore God has joined together, let no man put asunder’). The next two motets call to mind a desire for children, which is common in marriage dedications: motet #5 *Laudate deum in sanctis*, which is from a woman’s perspective, containing the unique line, *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. It 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.’⁴³ A reference to children or conception is common

42 For instance, #24 the Compère piece *Paranympus salutatur virginem*, which has Anne Boleyn’s name under the alto part, could possibly have been performed by all women.

43 Because Elcana’s wife was named ‘Anna,’ Lowinsky believed that an ‘Anne’ was being invoked by the few words *laetata sum*. He asserted that 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 name simply refers to the biblical figure.

in wedding manuscripts. Likewise, the last piece in this illustrated section, a popular Nativity motet #6 *Queramus cum pastoribus*, fittingly indicates a wish for offspring.

If we turn to the first piece, the *unicum*, a motet-style musical setting of a humanistic poem, we can see that this wedding book is associated with the Angoulême family, particularly Marguerite’s mother, Louise of Savoy. Work #1 *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 goddesses Pallas and Juno, and the demigod Hercules. ‘Pallas,’ frequently used interchangeably with ‘Athena’ and ‘Minerva,’ represents Reason. Juno, who corresponds to the masculine Genius, is the goddess of women “and the whole life cycle of women, especially of childbirth”—so reference to her is indeed fitting in a wedding book.⁴⁴ 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.

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Pallas and Juno are two female gods with whom Louise of Savoy had an affinity. In her *Les Échecs amoureux*, c. 1500,⁴⁵ it is Pallas who discourses on the importance of music. Moreover, in this source, it is the countess herself who is depicted as these deities in the garden, where they represent the Active Life and the Contemplative Life. 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.’⁴⁶ In ms. 1070, since a staring dragon figure accompanies *Forte si dulce*, Louise might be identified as Pallas, protecting and guarding her daughter, perhaps, the bride.⁴⁷

Other Angoulême connections in this piece might lie in the invoking of Hercules, a demigod to whom Louise’s son Francis was frequently likened;⁴⁸ and the inclusion of the image of a rose, a favorite flower of Louise, and a marguerite, a common play on the name Marguerite.⁴⁹ The decoration

44 E. Burr, (trans.), *The Chiron Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology* (Wilmette, IL, Chiron Pub., 1994), 158.

45 BnF, fonds fr., MS 143.

46 *Ibid.*, 97, 101.

47 For more on Louise and Marguerite and their association with figures from Antiquity and Christianity, see A.-M. Lecoq, *François I^{er}. Imaginaire. Symbolique et Politique à l’aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris, Macula, 1987), 74-75, 113, 127, 167.

48 A.-M. Lecoq, *François I^{er}. Imaginaire*, op. cit., 204-6, 226-27, 255.

49 J. d’Orliac, *Francis I: Prince of the Renaissance*, E. Abbott (trans.) (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1932), 30. According to Orliac, ‘Louise adores flowers, and her illuminations bespeak

of the third work, the *unicum*, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, includes another marguerite and a sunflower. This later flower was one of Marguerite d'Alençon's devices, 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.'⁵⁰ Moreover, ms. 1070 contains two miniatures of women with turbans (see PL 1).⁵¹ The countess Louise, who loved to be depicted in manuscript illustrations, had a penchant for turbans, at least in her earlier years, and she is often portrayed with this headdress. It seems more than coincidence that in *Les Échecs* (which mentions Pallas), there is a representation of a turbaned Louise playing the hammered dulcimer, and in ms. 1070 these same symbols (females, turbans, Pallas, and music) are combined. Of course, that ms. 1070 is dominated by works of Mouton is also a connection. Mouton would go on to enter the court of Louise's son, Francis, and write at least one piece for Louise, i.e., *Exalta Regina Gallie, Jubila mater Ambasie*.

Assuming that ms. 1070 was prepared for a betrothal of Louise of Savoy or her daughter, it would be difficult to discern which of the two was to be the bride.⁵² In 1505, when ms. 1070 was likely initiated, Louise (1476-1531) was only 28-years old, and, having been widowed since 1496, was actively being courted for prospective unions. Marguerite was thirteen-years old, of marrying age, but still largely under the influence of her commanding mother. She, her brother, and Louise, 'the Trinity,' were exceptionally close, so signs in ms. 1070 that might call to mind the mother could actually have been referring to the daughter. (Francis would go on to adopt several of his mother's devices, such as the salamander.)

Both women participated in matrimonial discussions in the first decade of the 16th century. Marguerite eventually married the duc d'Alençon in 1509, and it is possible that ms. 1070 was prepared for this wedding, since the event was quite grand. Louis XII himself escorted the bride and Queen Anne (of Brittany), who, like Louis, was profoundly fond of young Marguerite, provided a state banquet and tournament where the two sat side by side, distributing prizes to

her preferences: the carnation, the forget-me-not, and, in particular, the rose, which she cultivated in her gardens.' Marguerites like those in ms. 1070 can be seen in Marguerite's manuscript, BnF, n.a. lat. 83.

50 J.G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 5.

51 The turbaned woman's face on f. 6v was apparently darkened in at a later time. Note the square neckline on her dress which was a French fashion.

52 It 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 speculate that it was made for a union that did not take place, like that of one of the Angoulême women and a Tudor.

the festivities' victors.⁵³ But the songbook also could have been prepared for the proposed unions between Marguerite or her mother and the English Tudors c. 1502-1505. By 1505 Henry VII proposed his son the prince (Henry VIII) for Marguerite, adding a request that Louise come to England and wed the king himself.⁵⁴ Louise eventually refused, 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.'⁵⁵ In any event, by 1505, a proposed merger between the ranking families of France and England became known throughout Europe, and ms. 1070 may have been conceived to honor this—there is frequent mention of 'kings' in the texts of the sacred compositions.⁵⁶ Whether the motet book was prepared for a marriage with the Tudors or with the duc d'Alençon, by 1520, around the time Boleyn received the manuscript, Marguerite would not have felt compelled to keep it for sentimental reasons. She never did wed a Tudor, and her marriage to the duc d'Alençon was quite unhappy.

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THE GIFT

If Marguerite or her mother gave ms. 1070 to Anne Boleyn, and this seems to be the case, it would have been an exceptional and somewhat thoughtful gift for this young English girl, foremost because she would have appreciated it more so than many. Anne Boleyn was highly musical, in fact, among all her accomplishments she was often most noted for her musical prowess. Accounts reveal that she 'knew perfectly how to sing and dance...to play the lute and other instruments.'⁵⁷ She was as 'wise a woman endued with as

53 M. Walker Freer, *The Life of Marguerite d'Angouleme, Queen of Navarre, Duchesse d'Alençon and de Berry*, 2 vols (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1856), 30.

54 J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968), 10; J. Lingard, *A History of England*, 13 vols (London, C. Dolman, 1844), iv: 215.

55 J. d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, ed. R. de Maulde la Clavière (Paris, Librairie Renouard, 1889-1895), iv: 30.

56 On the marriage, see also P. 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.' A.F. Pollard (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII from Contemporary Sources* (New York, AMS Press, 1967), iii: 92-93.

57 L. De Carles, *Epistre contenant le proces criminal, op. cit.*, lines 55-58. See also E. Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life and Raigne, op. cit.*, 161, 218.

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.’⁵⁸ One of the courtiers of Francis I recognized:

[Anne] possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sung, like a second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive. ...Besides singing like a syren, accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than king David, and handled cleverly both flute and rebec.⁵⁹

And Lord Herbert Cherbury (1583-1648) noted:

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.⁶⁰

So Boleyn would have valued a music book as a gift, especially one from France, a country with which she always manifested a deep affinity (as a final courtesy, Anne was even executed in a French manner).

Moreover, that ms. 1070 was originally for a wedding is most fitting. Boleyn was recalled to England in late 1521 partially because her education was considered complete, but also because her presence was required for a betrothal that would resolve a family dispute. Conflicting claims over the Irish earldom of Ormonde could be consolidated if Boleyn, the daughter of the co-heir to the earldom, were to wed James Butler, the son of the other co-heir.⁶¹ It was in the spring of 1520 that the union was suggested to Wolsey,⁶² and Boleyn likely learned of the possible marriage not long thereafter. Thus, it is appropriate that Anne’s name is placed in the midst of the *Compère piece*, *Paranymphus*, ‘bridesman’, a song that calls to mind marriage, with text that pertains to the

58 W. Thomas, *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. J.A. Froude (London, Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861), 70. London, British Library, Sloane ms. 2495, f. 2v.

59 From the memoirs of the count de Chateaubriant, in A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 8 vols (London, George Bell, 1885), ii: 571-72.

60 E. Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life and Raigne*, *op. cit.*, 257.

61 Although discussion concerning the marriage of Anne with James Butler continued until the Spring of 1523, no settlement was ever reached.

62 E.W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, *op. cit.*, 43-44.

Annunciation.⁶³ Interestingly, *Paranymphus* was an experimental work of Compère; his only sacred composition written for *voces aequales*, initially, for all low voices, the voices of men.⁶⁴ But since all parts are equal, an ensemble of women could easily have sung this composition by simply reading the parts up an octave, which was probably the case. Boleyn's name beneath the altus part could merely have indicated that she sang alto.

The actual inscription, 'Mrs A. Bolleyne, Nowe thus' with the musical notes, remains an enigma. Lowinsky suggested, 'Perhaps the three notes with stems going upward were meant to point to [Anne's] three years as queen of England. 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.'⁶⁵ Of course, the book was not for Boleyn while she was queen, but if one speculates that the notes have something to do with time, then the three *minims* with the *longa* might represent three plus ten (the *longa* has a *signum* above it which often acts as a fermata) therefore, the number thirteen—thirteen years. Boleyn was born in either 1501 or 1507, and if one holds to the 1507 birthdate, then she was about thirteen-years old when she would have been notified about her coming return to England, perhaps around the time she received ms. 1070. And Thomas Boleyn's device 'Now thus,' which was an indicator of his ambition, seems clearly to refer to the title 'Mistress'. 'Now' denotes a current period of time, and Anne was for now of meager status, a mere thirteen-year-old girl of low rank whose situation would change should she return to her homeland and marry the son of an earl.

Lowinsky's interpretation of the evidence is erroneous. ms. 1070 is not an English book prepared for Anne Boleyn while she was queen. It was not copied by Boleyn's alleged paramour, the English musician Mark Smeaton, in 1536

63 See G.G. Meerssemann, *Der Hymnus Akathistos im Abendlande* (Freiburg, Switzerland, Universitätsverlag, 1958-1960), i: 144: 'Brautfuehrer' is certainly the angel Gabriel. The source is unidentified, but the first three words *Paranymphus salutat Virginem* can be found in a medieval hymn to the Virgin listed in F.J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Aalen, Scientia Verlag, 1964), ii: 37. See E. Lowinsky, *Florilegium historiale*, *op. cit.*, 516.

64 L. Finscher, *Loyset Compère c. 1450-1518: Life and Works* (Roma, AIM, 1964), 199 [Musicological Studies and Documents, 12].

65 E. Lowinsky, *Florilegium historiale*, *op. cit.*, 495. Lowinsky noted that Jack Westrup observed that the *longa* looked like an ax. If one were to entertain the idea, then it might be of interest that Anne was executed in a French manner by a French swordsman imported from Calais who beheaded her with a long sword as she was kneeling upright. She did not die on the English block via an axe. J.S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, *op. cit.*, x: 902, xi: 381.

during the period in which she was ‘tried, sentenced, and executed.’⁶⁶ And the images and text were not chosen with her in mind. ms. 1070 is a French motet book from the preceding generation, c. 1505-1509. It 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 copied from the same exemplar or from related descendants. Excepting Obrecht, all the composers represented are associated with the French court complex. The later layers of ms. 1070, the work of scribes 4 and 5, seem unquestionably French in style and content, and one of their contributions was a favorite piece of Marguerite d’Alençon. Scribe 1 was likely French, since a similar hand can be found in a chansonnier that belonged to Marguerite (ms. fr. 1596). The decorations of ms. 1070 have a French character, and the paper is found in sources from northern France. ms. 1070 was no doubt commissioned for a wedding probably involving Louise of Savoy or Marguerite d’Alençon c. 1505-1509, and was then given to Anne Boleyn as a gift sometime before 1521 when she returned to England. Consequently, like ms. Pepys 1760, it escaped the subsequent destruction that befell other manuscripts of sacred music following the Revolution, especially those which may have been associated with the French court. Therefore, there is little doubt that ms. 1070 is among the rare extant music books produced in Renaissance France.

⁶⁶ E. Lowinsky, *Florilegium historiale*, *op. cit.*, 509, 495, 501.

Table 1a. Ms. 1070 Gatherings, Hands, Composers, Works

Section	Gathering	Hand	No.	ff.	Composer	Incipit	Vcs.	
I	ff. 1-6			1r-----	BLANK			
		hand I	#1	1v-5r	<i>unicum</i>	1. <i>Forte si dulci stigiū boantem</i> 2. <i>Palas actea</i>	4 vcs	
	#2		5v-10r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Memor esto verbi tui servo</i> 2. <i>Porcio mea</i>	4 vcs		
	ff. 7-13		#3	10v-16r	<i>unicum</i>	<i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	4 vcs	
			#4	12v-15r	[Mouton]	1. <i>In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum</i> 2. <i>Propter hoc dimittet</i>	4 vcs	
			ff. 14-21	#5	15v-18r	[Mouton]	1. <i>Laudate deum in sanctis eius, et audiatuꝛ vox</i> 2. <i>Quia cum clamarem</i>	4 vcs
				#6	18v-21r	[Mouton]	1. <i>Queramus cum pastoribus</i> 2. <i>Ubi pascas ubi cubes</i>	4 vcs
				21r	BLANK			

Table 1b. Ms. 1070 Gatherings, Hands, Composers, Works

Section	Gathering	Hand	No.	ff.	Composer	Incipit	Vcs.	
2	ff. 22-29			22r	BLANK			
		hand 2	#7	22v	<i>unicum</i>	<i>O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve</i>	4 vcs S,T only	
				23r	BLANK			
		hand 1	#8	23v-27r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> 2. <i>Eya mater</i>	5 vcs	
	#9		27v-31r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Mittit ad virginem</i> 2. <i>Accede nuncia</i>	4 vcs		
	ff. 30-37			#10	31v-33r	[Josquin]	<i>Ave maria gratia plena...virgo serena</i>	4 vcs
				#11	33v-34r	<i>unicum</i>	<i>Fer pietatis opem miseris mater pietatis</i>	4 vcs
				#12	34v-35r	[Mouton]	<i>Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te</i>	4 vcs
				#13	35v-36r	[Brumel]	<i>Sub tuum presidium confugimus</i>	4 vcs
				#14	36v-38r	[Thérache]	<i>Verbum bonum et suave</i>	4 vcs
						38v-40r	BLANK	
	ff. 38-45	hand 1	#15	40v-42r	<i>unicum</i>	1. <i>Maria magdalene et altera maria</i> 2. <i>Jesum quem quaeritis</i>	4 vcs	
			#16	42v-46r	[Févin]	1. <i>Tempus meum est ut revertar ad eum</i> 2. <i>Viri galilei aspicientes</i>	4 vcs	
	ff. 46-53					46v-47r	BLANK	
hand 1		#17	47v-51r	[Mouton]	1. <i>Sancti dei omnes orate pro nobis</i> 2. <i>Criste audi nos</i>	4 vcs		

Section	Gathering	Hand	No.	ff.	Composer	Incipit	Vcs.	
	ff. 54-60		#18	51v-55r	<i>unicum</i>	1. <i>Bona dies per orbem lucessit</i> 2. <i>Pax vobis ego sum</i>	4 vcs	
			#19	55v-58r	[Mouton]	1. <i>In illo tempore maria magdalene</i> 2. <i>Dic nobis maria</i>	4 vcs	
			#20	58v-62r	anonymous	1. <i>Regina celi letare</i> 2. <i>Resurrexit sicut dixit</i>	4 vcs	
	ff. 61-68				62v-63r	BLANK		
		hand 1	#21	63v-68r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Preter rerum seriem</i> 2. <i>Virtus sancti spiritus</i>	6 vcs	
			#22	68v-72r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Virgo salutiferi</i> 2. <i>Tu potis es prime</i> 3. <i>Nunc celi regina</i>	5 vcs miss vcs/ text	
			#23	72v-73r	[Mouton]	[<i>Gaude Barbara beata summe pollens</i>]	4vcs no stems or text	
	ff. 69-77				73v-77v	BLANK		

Table 1c. Ms. 1070 Gatherings, Hands, Composers, Works

Section	Gathering	Hand	No.	ff.	Composer	Incipit	Vcs.
3	ff. 78-85			78r--	BLANK		
		hand 2	#24	78v-80r	[Compère]	1. <i>Paranymphus salutat virginem</i> [Boleyn designation]	4 vcs
		hand 3				2. <i>Ecce virgo decora</i>	
			#25	80v-83r	[Compère]	1. <i>Profitentes unitatem veneremur trinitatem</i> 2. <i>Digne loqui de personis</i>	4 vcs
			#26	83c-85r	[Compère]	1. <i>O genitrix gloriosa, mater dei spetiosa</i> 2. <i>Maria mater gratie</i>	4 vcs
4	ff. 86-93		#27	85v-87r	<i>unicum</i>	1. <i>O virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud</i> 2. <i>Filie Jerusalem</i>	4 vcs missing text
		hand 2 hand 1					
		hand 1	#28	87v-91r	[Mouton]	1. [<i>Maria virgo semper laetare</i>] 2. [<i>Tè laudant angeli</i>]	4 vcs
						BLANK	
		hand 4	#29	92v-93r	[Brumel]	<i>Sicut lilium inter spinas</i>	4 vcs
					BLANK		
5	ff. 94-102	hand 2	#30	94v-96r	[Brumel]	1. <i>Que est ista que processit</i> 2. <i>Et sicut dies verni</i>	4 vcs
		hand 3					
			#31	96v-102r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Liber generationis</i> 2. <i>Salomon autem</i> 3. <i>Et post transmirationem</i>	4 vcs
			#32	102v	[Josquin]	<i>Factum est autem cum baptizaretur</i>	4 vcs S,T incomplete

Table 1d. Ms. 1070 Gatherings, Hands, Composers, Works

Section	Gathering	Hand	No.	ff.	Composer	Incipit	Vcs.	
6	ff. 103-09			103r---	BLANK			
		hand 2	#33	103v-07r	<i>unicum</i>	1. <i>Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus</i> 2. <i>Gloria patri</i>	3 vcs	
			#34	107v-13r	Obrecht	1. <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i> 2. <i>Et stella maris</i> 3. <i>Tu que genuisti</i> 4. <i>Virgo prius</i> 5. <i>Sumens illud ave</i>	3 vcs	
		ff. 110-17	hand 5	#35	113v-14r	[Sermisy]	Jouissance vous donneray	4 vcs
			#36	114v-15r	anonymous	Venes regres venes tous	4 vcs	
	hand 4			115v-17r	BLANK	116v MAXIM, 'Tuo te pede metire...'		
	hand 2		#37	117v-21r	anonymous	1. <i>Popule meus quid feci tibi</i> 2. <i>Ego eduxi te mare rubrum</i> 3. <i>Ego eduxi te per desertum</i> 4. <i>Quid ultra debui</i>	4 vcs	
			#38	121v-25r	Josquin	1. <i>Huc me sydereo</i> 2. <i>Felle sitim</i>	6 vcs no 1st alto	
		ff. 118-26		#39	125v-28r	[Josquin]	1. <i>Homo quidam fecit cenam</i> 2. <i>Venite comedite</i>	5 vcs
			#40	128v-30r	[Mouton]	<i>Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini</i>	4 vcs	
			#41	130v-32r	[Févin]	<i>Sancta trinitas unus deus</i>	4 vcs	
	ff. 127-32				132v-33r	BLANK		
		hand 4	#42	133v-34r	anonymous	Gentilz galans compaignons	3 vcs	
7	ff. 133-34			132v-33r	BLANK			
		hand 4	#42	133v-34r	anonymous	Gentilz galans compaignons	3 vcs	

TABLE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

- ADN** : Archives départementales du Nord, Lille
AGR : Archives générales du Royaume, Bruxelles
AIM : American Institute of Musicology
AMS : American Musicological Society
BAV : Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana
BM : Bibliothèque municipale
BnF : Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BrB : Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles
CAO : *Corpus antiphonarium officii*
CCB : *Corpus catalogorum belgii*
CMM : *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*
EMH : *Early Music History*
EPHE : École pratique des hautes études, Paris
IM : Institute for Musicology
IMM : Institute of Mediaeval Music
IMS : International Musicological Society
IRHT : Institut de recherche sur l'histoire des textes, Paris
JAMS : *Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JoM : *Journal of Musicology*
MGG : *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
MI : Medieval Institute
Pal.Mus. : Paléographie musicale
PUF : Presses universitaires de France
RdM : *Revue de musicologie*
RISM : *Répertoire international des sources musicales*
RMN : Réunion des musées nationaux

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Ars musica septentrionalis

De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie

Les manuscrits musicaux du Moyen Âge conservés dans le nord de la France méritent l'intérêt porté sur eux par les plus grands musicologues. Au ^{xix}^e siècle, Charles-Edmond de Coussemaker réunissait les plus beaux exemplaires des livres de chant et des traités musicaux qui témoignent encore de l'intense activité des abbayes d'Anchin et de Saint-Amand : le présent ouvrage lui rend hommage. Cet héritage a permis aux spécialistes de poursuivre les recherches, de cataloguer les manuscrits, et d'étudier les notations musicales, les enluminures, les œuvres polyphoniques profanes et sacrées, les textes des chansonniers et les traditions d'interprétation.

Cet ouvrage est un complément indispensable au magnifique catalogue des manuscrits qui ont été exposés lors du colloque international organisé par l'université Paris-Sorbonne et *Ad Fugam* dans le cadre du projet européen *Cantus 21* de valorisation du patrimoine musical régional.

Couverture : Graduel de Robert de Croÿ, 1540, Médiathèque municipale de Cambrai, Ms D12, fol. 2v



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