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Anne Boleyn's Musical Life Through an Examination of Rcm MS 1070

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Report

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Dedication

To all of the amazing women who have inspired me through the years.

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Abstract

Anne Boleyn's Musical Life Through an Examination of Rcm MS 1070

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Rcm MS 1070 has fascinated and perplexed musicologists since the 1960s. The manuscript which contains some of the most well-known examples of French court motets and French chansons has received special attention due to the signature of England's most infamous queen, Anne Boleyn, in the altus of one of these motets. Although Anne Boleyn is a notable historical figure whose musical abilities have been widely remarked upon, little is known about her musical life. Rcm MS 1070, also known as Anne Boleyn's Music Book, offers insight for scholarship surrounding Anne Boleyn's musical education and tastes. Consequently, musicologists have debated on the origins of the manuscript, how Boleyn could have come to own it, and what it tells us about her musical activity. Through an examination of the previous scholarship and of the thematic contents of the manuscript, I demonstrate that Rcm MS 1070 was likely a gift to Anne Boleyn from Marguerite d'Alçenon upon her return to England to marry James Butler, Earl of Ormonde. The manuscript, which is filled with pieces that are strongly connected to books of hours, was meant to be pedagogical for Anne by reminding her of her duties

as wife and mother and was meant instruct her future court musicians by transmitting the greatest French court motets of the time from Paris to England.

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Chapter 1: Chapter Introduction

At Madame Tussauds London museum, the colossal figure of Henry VIII is surrounded by the six women who have aided his legend. Divorced, beheaded, died, divorced, beheaded survived: Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Katherine Howard, and Catherine Parr are positioned around the king. The two women to whom Henry VIII gave the highest places honor in his life, Jane Seymour (who died giving birth to his only legitimate male heir) and Anne of Cleves who was honored with the title of “the king’s beloved sister,” are the only two figures who stand. Jane Seymour is given a place of honor at the king’s right side. In the forefront of this tableau, Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn face one another, locked in eternal struggle, a struggle which defined their relationship to Henry VIII and their roles as queens of England. In fact, each of the wax figures in dress, their placement in relation to Henry and one another, and the activity assigned to them reveal something about how the public perceives them. It is of interest, then, that the figure of Anne Boleyn is portrayed seated while playing the lute.

Anne Boleyn has been a subject of public fascination since her execution on Tower Green on 19 May 1536, and yet her persona has been the source of massive speculation. There has been no shortage of media dedicated to telling her story to either defend her as a martyr of the Reformation or condemn her as a whore who bewitched the king in order to separate the monarch from the one true faith. She has been the subject of biographies, histories, novels, movies, and television shows since her downfall. Unfortunately, we will never know the “real” Anne Boleyn. Her destruction was so swift,

sudden, and complete that almost all documentation that would be useful in uncovering her story has been destroyed.

Despite this, records of Anne Boleyn from those who knew her survive and some of these records tell us a bit about her musical habits. We know that she was well trained. At a very young age, she was sent to the court of Margaret of Austria where it is likely that Henry Brendemers was her tutor. When she moved to France, she made quite an impression on the French court with her musical abilities. Many of her contemporaries, whether friendly or hostile, commented upon her musical ability. There are several contemporaneous statements about Anne that echo William Thomas's claim that she was "[i]mbued with as many outward good qualities in playing on instruments, singing, and such other courtly graces, as few women were of her time."¹ Even Nicholas Sanders, a Catholic propagandist who wrote a hostile account of her time as queen in the years following her death, remarked upon her musical abilities stating, "[s]he was handsome to look at, with a pretty mouth, amusing in her ways, playing well on the lute, and was a good dancer. She was the model and the mirror of those who were at court, for she was always well dressed, and every day made some change in the fashion of her garments."²

¹ The full quote can be found in Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989). 21. This original can be found in L. de Carles, *Epistre Contenant le Procès Criminel Faict à Len Cointre de la Royne Anne Boullant D'Angleterre* (Lyons, 1545), lines 37-80, als in G. Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française* (Paris, 1927), and G. A. Crapelet, ed., *Lettres de Henri VIII à Anne Boleyn avec la traduction* (Paris, 1826) 168-214.

² Printed in Elizabeth Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2013).49. The original is taken from Nicholas Sanders, *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (1585).

In addition, there are records from both Anne's and her daughter Elizabeth's households that provide evidence that Anne owned decorated clavichords.³

There is one other piece of evidence that points to Anne Boleyn's musical abilities and tastes: MS 1070, popularly known as the "Anne Boleyn Song Book". The manuscript housed at the Royal College of Music in London is a book of French motets and chansons in which Anne Boleyn's signature is inscribed. This manuscript has fascinated and perplexed musicologists since it was first discussed in scholarly literature in the 1960s. Main questions include where and why the manuscript was made, how it may have been used, and how Anne may have come to own it, if she owned it at all. The recent publication of the facsimile of this manuscript has raised further questions about the manuscript's uses and relationship to Anne Boleyn.

This report takes this manuscript and the scholarship that has been published about it as its focal point. In the course of this study, I endeavor to answer some of the questions about ownership and usage of the manuscript. In order to do so, I provide a survey on how these questions have been researched and answered in previous scholarship. In addition, I offer my own analysis of the contents of the manuscript.

³ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy"* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004). 257. It is likely that Anne Boleyn would have played instruments similar to these. Warnicke states that in Brussels, "As part of her training, Anne learned to play the lute and other instruments well, to dance pleasantly, to converse fluently in French, and to do needlework exquisitely." Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII*. 21.

WILL THE REAL ANNE PLEASE STAND UP?

It is important to understand the reception history of Anne Boleyn before we turn to the survey of the musicological scholarship. Since musicology has been influenced by trends in other disciplines and popular culture, it is essential to understand which Anne Boleyn is referenced in each scholar's work, since considerations of the manuscript is often based on the ideological reception of Anne's figure. As stated above, it is impossible to know the "real" Anne Boleyn since many of the documents that could give us more information were destroyed during her downfall in 1536. It is tempting to believe that accounts of her by contemporaries aid us in understanding Anne, but these accounts are often biased. In fact, many of the contemporary accounts we have about Anne and much of her narrative comes from Eustace Chapuys, Spanish ambassador to England. Chapuys was no friend of Anne's. However, even her friends' accounts of her are problematic.

The English reformation that was the result of her marriage created such an inflammatory political situation that nearly any contemporary who wrote about her had biases. Her role in the reformation made her equally a she-devil and an angel. The "real" Anne Boleyn was gone as soon as she was beheaded on Tower Green. Almost immediately afterwards, however, "Anne Boleyn," or a projection of the woman who once was, was created, and she has shifted in shape ever since.⁴

⁴ I will not attempt a full history of Anne Boleyn here. Many historians have produced monumental works that weigh conflicting surviving evidence and biased accounts carefully. See the works of Ives (2004) and Warnicke (1989) for biographies that are sensitive in their

Almost as soon as Elizabeth I took the throne, works about Anne Boleyn and her role in the Protestant reformation began to emerge. These works painted Anne either as a martyr of the Reformation or as whore who dragged the souls of the English into degradation. She appears in the former capacity in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* that was published in 1563.⁵ This work was a history of Protestantism and martyrology that portrays Anne Boleyn as a martyr whose "efforts [were] a heroic accomplishment for which she paid with her life."⁶ George Wyatt, grandson of the poet Thomas Wyatt who was caught up in Anne Boleyn's downfall, also wrote a history of the queen that was favorable. On the other hand, Anne's role in the Protestant reformation in England was not contested by Catholic writers such as Nicholas Sanders and as such she became the target of their ire. In fact, many of the myths about Anne Boleyn's appearance come from Nicholas Sanders's work *Schismatis Anglicani* (1585). Sanders gives Anne Boleyn a sixth finger, moles (which were believed to mark witches at the time), and jet-black hair.⁷ From this point until the 19th century, Anne Boleyn was always mentioned in histories or literature in reference to her role in the protestant reformation in England.

treatments but different in their conclusions. See Susan Bordo, *The Creation of Anne Boleyn: A New Look at England's Most Notorious Queen* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013) for a full reception history of Anne Boleyn in print and on screen. The section that follows relies heavily on this study.

⁵For excerpts of Foxe's work, see Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers*.

⁶ Bordo, *The Creation of Anne Boleyn*.140.

⁷ Very little of this is true. From portraits, for example, we know that Anne Boleyn's hair was likely auburn. Descriptions of her as "dark" did not necessarily mean jet-black hair. It simply meant she was not blonde. The moles and sixth finger are also likely fictions. Henry VIII would not have raised her to the level that he did if any bodily deformity could be detected. As future mother of his heir, Anne's body would likely have been scrutinized for such marks. For further discussion of these myths and their perpetuation, see Bordo. 139-141.

Anne reappears in full force in the nineteenth century. Artists, historians, and novelists focused on her victimhood. Several works survive that vividly paint Anne Boleyn as the victim of Henry's villainy, including paintings such as the famous example by Edouard Chibo.⁸ In these paintings, Anne often behaves according to nineteenth century notions of grief and hysteria. She is often seen swooning or weeping upon hearing her fate.⁹ She even becomes the subject of an opera, Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*.¹⁰ In this telling, Anne Boleyn becomes a victim of Henry's, executed out of jealousy and spite. If Anne was not explicitly portrayed as a victim, authors and artists choose to highlight the earlier aspects of her courtship with Henry to implicitly portray her as a victim. These works and paintings highlight her love for him in order to draw on dramatic irony given the reader's awareness of Anne's end. This is also true of histories taught to Victorian children.¹¹ Furthermore, it is in the nineteenth century that Anne Boleyn makes her debut in novels.¹² Her place in fiction has not diminished since then as there are a plethora of novels written about her that have been published in the last twenty years.

By the early twentieth century, historians were beginning to question the popular portrayals of Anne Boleyn. It is during this time that a more nuanced view of Anne Boleyn came to the fore. Authors began to question the reliability of the contemporary accounts that were available about Anne and about her story. In particular, questions

⁸ Bordo. Plates.

⁹ Based on historical accounts, we know this is not the case

¹⁰ The libretto of Donizetti's opera was written by Felice Romani after two other plays: Ippolito Pindemonte's *Enrico VIII ossia Anna bolena* and Alessandro Pepoli's *Anna Bolena*. William Ashbrook, "Anna Bolena," *Grove Music Online*, n.d.

¹¹ Bordo, *The Creation of Anne Boleyn*. 155-158

¹² Bordo. 160-170.

began to arise about the use of Eustace Chapuys's letters as primary sources due to his very clear biases.¹³ In addition, authors began to suggest various scenarios that accounted for her behavior that questioned her agency in her own story. Mary Hastings Bradley suggested that Anne was an agent of her ambitious uncle (the Duke of Norfolk) and her father and that she had very little choice in her relationship with Henry. Furthermore, Cromwell's political ambitions was the main reason for her fall, since he became the sole orchestrator of Anne Boleyn's execution in order to save his own life.¹⁴

The popular image of Anne underwent another significant change in the years following World War II. Due to conditions of the war, women were granted a new level of freedom and wanted to see women that reflected their new-found strengths and freedoms. Anne, during this time, became free-spirited, fiery, and strong, by bearing up under awful circumstances and achieving the final victory through the success of her daughter, Elizabeth. The most iconic portrayal that reflects this "Anne Boleyn" on screen was done by Geneviève Bujold in the film *Anne of a Thousand Days*. On the famous tower scene, Bordo notes that "...Bujold's fire, issuing from her petite frame and elfin face, her hair disheveled, her dark eyes glittering with pride, desperation, hurt, and vengeance, transformed the potentially hokey into an indelible, iconic moment."¹⁵

There has been no shortage of stories about "Anne Boleyn" in recent years. Anne has been sexualized in *The Tudors*, made into "the bitch" in Phillipa Gregory's *The Other*

¹³ Chapuys *never* referred to Anne favorably. In fact, he almost exclusively refers to her as "the great whore" or "the concubine" in all of his correspondence. See the letters of Eustace Chapuys in Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers*.

¹⁴ Bordo calls Bradely's account "sympathetic but not idealizing." Bordo, *The Creation of Anne Boleyn*. 164.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 190.

Boleyn Girl, and returned to Chapuy's version of Anne in Hillary Mantel's *Wolf Hall*.

The contemporaneous sources about Anne Boleyn have been examined and re-examined over and over by historians in an effort to find the "real" Anne Boleyn and by authors in an effort to find an impression of her that suits their own needs. The result is that further layers are added to "Anne Boleyn," and the version of her that appears often communicates more about the time in which she was created than the real Anne herself.

Historical imagination has also affected the discussion of Anne Boleyn's musical life. For example, "O death rock me asleep," is a composition that has been attributed to Anne during her time in the Tower of London. The poetry tells of the execution of a guiltless person who longs for the peace of death. The attribution of this piece to Anne Boleyn is a further creation of an idealized image of her. While the authorship of the poem is inconclusive, there are no accounts of Anne Boleyn composing music in the final days of her life despite the fact that her jailer was tasked with keeping a close account of her actions. It is unlikely that she would have composed music. However, the song fits neatly into the image of "Anne the victim." Almost all that we know about Anne Boleyn as a musician or patron of music is by contemporaneous sources who often had something to gain by their accounts. We can make assumptions based on these accounts, but as we have seen they often get wrapped up in the various layers that make up "Anne Boleyn." There are three key pieces of evidence that do not come from these second-hand source: 1) her musical education in Brussels from Henry Brendemers, 2) the record of ownership of virginals, and 3) the manuscript bearing her signature, Rcm MS 1070.

Consequently, most musicological studies on Anne Boleyn have centered on MS 1070, especially considering the two former points are relatively straight-forward. These studies have not been immune from privileging an “Anne Boleyn” that has appeared in studies in sister disciplines and in representations in popular culture. Historical accounts of “Anne Boleyn” manifest themselves in musicological work on MS 1070 is discussed in the following chapter. This manuscript is an enigma, but it can offer us interesting insights into Anne Boleyn’s musical life. The questions raised by this manuscript are the questions that will be explored in the following pages: Who was this manuscript for? Why was it made? What can it tell us about Anne Boleyn? Through an examination of the scholarship done on this manuscript and an examination of the thematic contents of the manuscript, I demonstrate that the manuscript was likely a gift to Anne Boleyn from Marguerite d’Alçenon upon her return to France to marry James Butler, Early of Ormonde. The manuscript which is filled with pieces that are strongly connected to books of hours were meant to be pedagogical for Anne by reminding her of her duties as wife and mother as well as for her future court by transmitting the greatest French court motets of the time from Paris to Ireland.

Both the “real” Anne Boleyn and “Anne Boleyn” have a relationship to music. “Anne Boleyn’s” musical life is permanently fixed in wax at Madame Tussaud’s where she will play her lute opposite Katherine of Aragon into the foreseeable future. The many films and television shows that depict “Anne’s” musical ability in order to amplify specific representations will remain with us. However, an examination of MS 1070 will

offer a window into the “real” Anne Boleyn’s musical life, her musical education, and the practices of sixteenth century French women.

Chapter 2: Scholarship Survey

The manuscript commonly referred to as Anne Boleyn's Choirbook (GB-Lrcm Ms 1070) is one of the most telling examples of Anne Boleyn's musical practice and taste. The book contains motets and chansons composed by some of the most celebrated and respected composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These same composers were connected to the courts or musical traditions of Burgundy or of France, which were major musical centers at the time. It was in these courts that new musical idioms and conventions were established in the early years of the 16th century. That Anne Boleyn's signature is included in a manuscript containing works by composers such as Josquin des Prez, Jacob Obrecht, Claudin Sermisy, and Antoine Fevin is a significant indicator of her musical life and experiences in a northern European court. Several scholars have highlighted the relevance of this manuscript to achieve a better understanding of the ill-fated queen and her relationship to music.

The manuscript has been the main focus of musicological research on Anne Boleyn and has received scrupulous attention from scholars as well since at least the 1960s. Discussion of the origins and purpose of the manuscript has produced conflicting results. These are some of the questions that have been extensively debated: For whom was it created? What was its purpose? And finally, how did Anne Boleyn come to own it? Despite the conflicting conclusions, there are two points which remain undisputed amongst scholars regarding the manuscript. The manuscript was intended as either a gift for or for the use of a woman, and Anne Boleyn did, indeed, own it at some point in her life. Scholars continue to be fascinated by this manuscript because of its conflicting

evidence and because the answers to these questions have important implications for our understanding of female musical practice in the sixteenth century in general and of Anne Boleyn in particular.

This chapter will trace scholarship on MS 1070 from the 1960s to the most recent publications. In order to acquaint the reader with the manuscript in question, I begin with a brief survey of the document.¹⁶ Following this survey, I will examine each of the major studies chronologically, outlining the major points, strengths, and important conclusions from each. Finally, I will address the implications of those conclusions in order to understand how the study of this manuscript is placed in larger contexts both musically and historically. It is my hope that a comprehensive survey of this scholarship will be useful to future scholars intending to grapple with this manuscript.

THE MANUSCRIPT

MS 1070 is a choirbook of rather small size and relatively unassuming nature in that it is not a neatly copied or richly illuminated manuscript. It also presents mistakes,

¹⁶ It is important to note that my experience with MS 1070 is not first hand, but based on the recent facsimile edition. Secondary sources written by trusted scholars who have had access to the document were also essential to the present work. The secondary source most useful to the examination of MS 1070 has been “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, Revisited,” in *Ars musica septentrionalis* by Lisa Urkevich, edited by Frédéric Billet and Barbara Hagg. Also vital to this research is E. Lowinsky’s chapter “A Music Book for Anne Boleyn” in *Florilegium historiale: Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* edited by J.G Rowe and W. H Stockdale. Both musicologists have laid out tables that detail the contents in MS 1070. *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* by Eric Ives has been essential to analyzing the physical characteristics of the document as has Lisa Urkevich’s dissertation Lisa Urkevich, *Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest, 1997).

oversights, and omissions, and it is written on paper rather than vellum.¹⁷ It was copied by multiple scribes and is divided into two parts. The first part has thirteen gatherings and ends with a damaged folio. The damaged folio may indicate that the book was meant to be a presentation book originally, which later morphed into a performance book. The lack of illuminations in the second half of the manuscript further supports this idea.¹⁸ The second has five gatherings and, as Lisa Urkevich observes, “introduces three-voiced works, French texts, attributions, and a new hand.”¹⁹

The manuscript contains thirty-nine Latin Motets and three French chansons composed by some of the most celebrated and innovative composers of the time, such as Josquin des Prez, Jean Mouton, Loyset Compère, Jacob Obrecht. Most of the composers included in this volume have very strong connections to the royal courts of both France and Burgundy, two of the places where Anne Boleyn was educated as a child. Most of the compositions are sacred or paraliturgical in content. This makes them suitable for personal devotion. Three of them, however, are secular with a strong thematic connection to humanistic thought. Some combine sacred imagery with Greek mythology while others are settings of Italian humanist poetry. The illuminations are contained in the first part of the manuscript and use only black, brown, blue, and red ink and, as Ives notes, they are

¹⁷ It was common for books presented to royals to be written on the most expensive parchment, particularly when they were given as gifts. It is uncommon for manuscripts made for wealthy patrons to be made of paper.

¹⁸ A detailed examination of the musical texts and illuminations in MS 1070 will be undertaken in Chapter 3.

¹⁹ Lisa Urkevich, “Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited,” in *Ars Musica Septentrionalis: De l’interprétation Du Patrimoine Musical à l’historiographie*, ed. Barbara Haggh and Frédéric Billiet (Paris: PUPS, 2011), 96.

“decidedly old-fashioned collection of fruit, foliage, grotesques and monsters, not by the best illustrators.”²⁰

Anne Boleyn’s signature is placed beneath an altus part in Loyset Compère’s *Paranymphus salutat virginem*. The signature reads: Mrs A. Bolleyne. Beneath the signature is the phrase “Nowe thus” followed by three minims and a longa.²¹ Though it does not appear at the beginning of the book as would be expected if the book were, in fact, dedicated to her, it is not “haphazardly scribbled in,” but placed there intentionally.²² The title “Mistress” and the motto “nowe thus” are important in dating the signature. “Mistress” indicates that Anne Boleyn owned the book before her marriage to Henry VIII, and the motto “nowe thus,” indicates that it was written before the year 1529, since the motto and the family name “Bolleyne” were used by Anne Boleyn’s father, Thomas Boleyn, before his elevation to the Earldom of Wiltshire and Ormond in December 1529. After that, Anne Boleyn would have referred to herself as Lady Anne Rochford. The presence and nature of this signature in the manuscript are evidence that Anne Boleyn owned it before the year 1529.

²⁰ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: “The Most Happy”* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 258.

²¹ Urkevich, “Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited.”100.

²² *Ibid*, 102.

FOUNDATIONAL TEXT

The first substantial studies dedicated to MS 1070 were published by Edward E. Lowinsky in the 1960s.²³ A major scholar of Renaissance music, Lowinsky provided the foundational studies on MS 1070. “A Music Book for Anne Boleyn” is a comprehensive study of MS 1070. It provides a description of the manuscript, a hypothesis regarding the origin of the manuscript, a brief history of Boleyn’s life, and conclusions about the manuscript’s donor.²⁴ Lowinsky’s study is essential to musical scholarship about Anne Boleyn for several reasons. It is the first extensive study of the manuscript, it is the first examination of the manuscript in its historical context, and it is the first to posit a likely editor and patron of the manuscript.²⁵ This work exemplifies Lowinsky’s rigorous approach to the study of manuscripts. In addition to manuscript studies, Lowinsky incorporates methodological approaches from historiography, archival research, and textual scholarship. His conclusion is that the manuscript was compiled for Anne Boleyn

²³ Lowinsky is considered one of the fathers of musicology, and his work continues to be highly respected despite accusations of positivism. Paula Higgins, “The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57:3 (Fall: 2004), 443-510.

²⁴ This is not Lowinsky’s first study on MS 1070. He had previously published “MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London,” in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* in 1969. A discussion of this article is not included here since Lowinsky mentions that “A Music Book for Anne Boleyn,” is built from this article in the footnotes of both publications. Both publications contain similar arguments and conclusions. I have chosen to focus on the later article because of its more in-depth examination of the source. Edward E. Lowinsky, “MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 96 (1969): 1–28.

²⁵ Lowinsky was not the first to examine the manuscript. James R. Braithwaite discussed it in his unpublished dissertation, “The Introduction of Franco-Netherlandish Manuscript to Early Tudor England: The Motet Repertory,” (Boston University, 1967). See Edward E. Lowinsky, “A Music Book for Anne Boleyn,” in *Collected Work: Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays.*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 483.

in England by Mark Smeaton sometime between 1533 and 1536 and that it remained incomplete because of the fates of the compiler and dedicatee.

Lowinsky's study begins by describing the physical characteristics of the manuscript. He provides details about the individual works and their time of composition, the size of the object, the paper and ink quality, the scribe(s), the irregularities in the music (missing text, music, mistakes, or corrections), the watermarks, the color scheme, and the illuminations. Before he begins his analysis of MS 1070, Lowinsky states: "[i]t is a strange and difficult manuscript with a confusing multitude of variegated, and at times, conflicting evidence."²⁶ This observation is confirmed moving forward. Additionally, Lowinsky was the first to notice that the compositions in MS 1070 are from an earlier generation and that many have a Marian subject. He notes that there are two scribes and that the music, particularly later in the manuscript contains many mistakes including missing music and text and many obvious corrections. He also notes the limited and dated color scheme and identifies three watermarks, all of French origin.²⁷ Moreover, Lowinsky discusses the quality of the illuminations defining them fairly modest, generic, and "provincial" in character.

It is at this point that Lowinsky introduces his thesis that MS 1070 was prepared for Anne Boleyn after she had become queen of England. In support of this thesis, Lowinsky recalls the story of Anne Boleyn's rise and fall at the English court. This historical context is what informs many of Lowinsky's conclusions. For example, he interprets the musical signature that accompanies the signature "Mistress A. Bolleyne

²⁶ Ibid, 483.

²⁷ In particular, he notes its relationship to models used in the twelfth century. Ibid, 491.

‘nowe thus’” in the manuscript as referring to Anne Boleyn’s three years as queen before her sudden “end” indicated by the final longa with a downward stem.²⁸ He continues by analyzing the texts of the motets and chansons with particular focus on the first part of the manuscript in order to connect them to Boleyn. He contextualizes several of the choices based on his interpretation of Anne Boleyn’s story, explaining various pieces as indicative of her religious reformist ideas, humanist education, Henry’s promises to her, Anne’s promises to him, and emotional responses to moments in her life.

As a final piece of evidence, Lowinsky takes a closer look at some of the illuminations. On pp. 28-29 of the manuscript, there are four illuminations that Lowinsky identifies as belonging to Anne Boleyn and her rival, Catherine of Aragon. There is an image of the pomegranate which was the device used by both Catherine and the Imperial family. Opposite is an image of a bird with spread wings that is identified by Lowinsky as a falcon, Anne’s device when she was queen. The other two illuminations portray a figure in a turban and a woman with loose flowing hair. This is interpreted by Lowinsky to be Anne Boleyn (who wore her hair loose and flowing at her coronation) and Catherine of Aragon (who was known to cover her hair). The presence of Catherine of Aragon in a manuscript meant for her rival is not surprising to Lowinsky. He indicates that the manner in which Catherine’s devices are represented are significant. A later illumination shows a bird pecking at a pomegranate, which is indicative of Anne’s defeat

²⁸ Lowinsky and others have indicated that this longa also resembles an axe. Ibid, 495.

of Catherine in the greatest struggle of her life. Lowinsky also notes the appearance of several roses that “protect” the falcon at this point in the illuminations.²⁹

The final third of the study is dedicated to proving that Mark Smeaton was the author of this manuscript. Lowinsky claims that the fragmentary nature of the manuscript, its lack of contemporaneous repertory, and its provincial script and illuminations indicate that the author is Mark Smeaton, who was executed alongside Boleyn as her lover.

Lowinsky assumes a strong connection between Anne Boleyn and Mark Smeaton not on the basis of the accusation levied against Boleyn but on the basis of archival evidence of his connection to her brother George Boleyn and his employment in the privy chamber of her husband. Lowinsky claims that the French music and reformist ideas in the manuscript were meant to please Boleyn. This also explains why the pieces included were from an earlier generation since music took time to travel from France to England.

THE HISTORIANS

Lowinsky’s study remained the fundamental study on MS 1070 for thirty years. It gained considerable attention from historians, such as Retha M. Warnicke and Eric Ives who both cite Lowinsky in their monumental works on Boleyn. An expert on Tudor England, Ives, published a biography of Anne Boleyn in 1989 that was reworked and published in 2004 and that stands a testament to his life’s work on the subject. American historian Retha M. Warnicke’s theories, particularly the one claiming that Boleyn gave

²⁹ Ibid, 501.

birth to a deformed male fetus, have been hotly debated by scholars.³⁰ Warnicke's book *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* was written in response to Ives's 1989 book *Anne Boleyn*.³¹ Although these scholars' works are antithetic on several points, they both disagree with several of Lowinsky's conclusions that are based on various historical factors.

Warnicke's book is clearly influenced by the feminist turn in scholarship, which she discusses in her introduction. She eschews the *femme fatale* title commonly given to Boleyn in favor of examining major events in Boleyn's life in the context of the social and cultural values of the sixteenth century. Warnicke actively opposes the picture of Boleyn as a power-hungry harlot or as the victim of a cruel fate. She devotes portions of her study to Anne Boleyn's musical upbringing in Burgundy and France and provides an appendix in which she discusses Lowinsky's conclusions about MS 1070.

Warnicke begins by refuting the idea that the manuscript could have been signed by Boleyn after 1529. She uses Thomas Boleyn's elevation to the earldom as a *terminus ante quem*, after which Anne would have been referred to as Lady Anne Rochford. Similarly, the falcon would not have yet been Anne Boleyn's device since it was adopted when she became queen of England in 1533. Furthermore, Warnicke points out that the pomegranate was also used as the device for the royal family of Spain and Granada, just

³⁰ Rob Coldstream, *The Last Days of Anne Boleyn*, Documentary (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2013).

³¹ Both scholars have published numerous works on Anne Boleyn, many of which make mention of MS 1070. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to focus on the most complex and thorough works by each author as they are both based on previous publications. Warnicke's book *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* is based on several articles she had previously published in a number of journals and Eric Ives's 2004 publication *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* is based on his previous book published in 1989.

as “the rose was that of England, the lily of France, the olive of the pope, and the pineapple of the Empire.”³² She further disputes that the figures represent portraits of Anne Boleyn and Catherine of Aragon by demonstrating that the turbaned figure appears more than once in the choirbook and is given, “dark skin like that of a moor.”³³ Warnicke also disputes the claim that Smeaton could have written the manuscript. The establishment of a date no later than 1529 makes it impossible for the young Smeaton to have been in contact with the Boleyn family.³⁴

Warnicke is the first scholar to seriously posit that the book was written in either Malines or France. She suggests that the crudeness of illumination and the fragmentary nature of the manuscript can be explained by the sudden move from one court to another. Thus, she suggests that the manuscript could have been acquired in either Burgundy during Anne’s time at the court of Margaret of Austria or in France during her time at the court of Claude of France. Warnicke believes that the presence of the turban figure in the manuscript is its most significant piece of evidence and its celebration of Iberian culture points to Malines. The book was likely a reject and given to the Boleyn child who had a particular love and talent for music. Although Warnicke does not discuss this theory in depth, it has been particularly influential for later scholarship.

Eric Ives also disputes the 1533 date advanced by Lowinsky by offering a reasoning that is similar to Warnicke’s. He admits that a 1533 date is very tempting, and

³² Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 249.

³³ *Ibid*, 249.

³⁴ In fact, Mark Smeaton was then employed by Cardinal Wolsey who is commonly referred to as one of Anne Boleyn’s greatest enemies. He was also working at Henry VIII’s court at this time. *Ibid*, 250.

he validates several points made about the relationship of some of the motets in the manuscript to the image that Boleyn presented to the public during her coronation in 1533. However, the nature of the inscription, which could not have been inserted before 1529, is indisputable. Ives suggests that the manuscript dates from the period of 1527 when Anne and Henry were looking forward to their marriage. Ives's dating strategies are similar to Lowinsky's. They are based on the analysis of the texts of the motets as indicative of Boleyn's situation in the period between 1527 and 1529. He claims the 'nowe thus' was a confident proclamation that she would raise her station, and the musical signature indicates the three years of courtship between Henry and Anne followed by their marriage.³⁵

Ives's work provides several important points that will be further developed by future scholars. The first is that the book was produced in England and could not have been produced in France or Burgundy because of the contents. Additionally, Ives notes that those contents are decidedly "female" and make frequent reference to marriage. Next, it is important to note Ives's claims about Anne's musical ability and the difficulty of the musical contents of MS 1070. Ives states that "[a]ll this repertoire calls for professional singers, so Anne Boleyn would not have taken part herself."³⁶ Ives does not believe that the manuscript was used by Boleyn to perform music. Finally, Ives believes that the manuscript was not a gift but made specifically for Boleyn and, therefore, catered to her musical tastes specifically.

³⁵ Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy."* 258.

³⁶ Ives offers no support of this claim. *Ibid*, 259.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

The next substantial musicological study centered on MS 1070 was Lisa Urkevich's dissertation, "Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern European Courts," which was later condensed into an article published in 2011.³⁷ Urkevich's dual training in musicology and ethnomusicology allows her to bring a wide range of skills to her project.³⁸ Her work on MS 1070 is significant in that it is the first to seriously take up Warnicke's suggestions that the manuscript was of French or Burgundian origin and that it was a gift to the young Boleyn. Furthermore, she posits a list of women for whom the original manuscript may have been intended. Her scholarship on MS 1070 has been referenced by other prominent early music scholars who work on women in music and her conclusions have had far-reaching implications for textual criticism, musical practices of women, and Anne Boleyn herself.³⁹

Urkevich builds her arguments from Lowinsky's scholarship. She contends that many of Lowinsky's facts about the manuscript are correct. It is the interpretation of those facts that is incorrect. In fact, her methodology in examining MS 1070 is very

³⁷ Lisa Urkevich, *Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest, 1997) and Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited."

³⁸ Her primary research is in the contemporary music of the Arabian Peninsula and she currently works and resides in Kuwait. She has published numerous studies about Renaissance music as well. These include works on Anne Boleyn and Anne of France as well as musical editions. See: "Lisa Urkevich," Lisa Urkevich, accessed October 1, 2017, <https://www.urkevich.com>.

³⁹ Linda Phyllis Austern, a prominent scholar on early modern women and music, agrees with Urkevich's conclusions in the article "Women's Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England." The challenges to Lowinsky's work by both historians and Urkevich have been noted, and his thesis about the origins, dating, and composition of MS 1070 are generally accepted as outdated or incorrect. Linda Phyllis Austern, "Women's Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England," *Early Modern Women* 3 (Fall 2008): 127–52.

similar to Lowinsky's. She discusses various physical features of the manuscript and the modes of content inclusion. She pays particular attention to concordances with other manuscripts, some of which were also used in Lowinsky's study including Pepys 1760 (BG-Cmc MS 1760).⁴⁰ Based on examination of the paper, script type, and concordances with other manuscripts, Urkevich concludes that MS 1070 was prepared in France and transported to England at the beginning of the 16th century.

Next, Urkevich turns her attention to Anne Boleyn's signature. In addition to echoing Warnicke's arguments concerning dating, Urkevich suggests that the signature indicates that the manuscript was *not* prepared for Anne Boleyn. The placement of the signature in the altus of the motet *Paranymphus salutat virgine* by Compère would be unusual if the manuscript was intended as a presentation book for Boleyn. In addition to its placement, Urkevich notes the manuscript's size and lack of decoration, which would also be unusual for the dedicatee of a presentation manuscript. She argues that because we know Boleyn could not have acquired this book after 1529, we must turn our attention to the times when she would have been addressed as "mistress." These are the times of her childhood in England, her training in France, and the period between 1526 and 1529 before she was married but after she had returned to England. Urkevich rules out an acquisition of the manuscript during Anne's childhood as she would have been too young

⁴⁰ Both Lisa Urkevich and Edward Lowinsky compare MS 1070 with Pepys 1760. Although Pepys 1760 was prepared for a royal patron and MS 1070 clearly was not, they share many concordances and both ended up in England. Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn," and Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited."

and of too little experience to appreciate such gift. She also rules out the period between 1526 and 1529. In that case, the only two donors could have been her father, Thomas Boleyn, or Henry. Since there is no evidence that Thomas Boleyn ever owned such a book and a gift from Henry would have been considerably more lavish, Urkevich eschews this time frame.

She turns her attention to possible patrons of the manuscript that Anne Boleyn would have encountered during her education in the courts of Margaret of Austria, Mary Tudor (while queen of France), and Claude of France. Urkevich lands on the possible original owners as being either Louise of Savoy (mother-in-law to Claude of France) or her daughter, Marguerite D'Alençon. The production of this manuscript for one of these women would explain many of its physical characteristics. Louise of Savoy was a collector of books and manuscripts even before her son, Francis I, ascended the French throne. Most of the books in her collection were modest befitting her station. This would explain why a manuscript that began as modestly as MS 1070 would be abandoned. Once her son ascended the throne, Louise would have been able to afford more lavish manuscripts.

Urkevich also makes the argument that the manuscript may have been commissioned upon the betrothal of either Louise herself or her daughter and abandoned when those negotiations fell through upon her son's ascension to the throne of France. The texts of MS 1070 clearly indicate a marital theme and Louise, who was then widowed, and her daughter were both highly sought-after brides around the time that MS 1070 would have been compiled. In addition to this, Urkevich notes several textual and

visual connections in MS 1070 with Louise, Marguerite, and Francis I, including connections to French poet Clément Marot, images of marguerites in the illuminations, and references to the Trinity which may have been a reference to the mother and children who were so close.⁴¹

Finally, Urkevich suggests that Anne Boleyn's interest in music, her closeness to Marguerite, and his impending departure for England to marry the Earl of Ormond resulted in Marguerite giving the manuscript to the young Boleyn as a parting gift. Anne Boleyn's particular affinity for music was recognized by several members of Francis I's and Henry VIII's courts. Therefore, a music manuscript would have been a particularly well-placed gift.⁴² Boleyn's relationship with Marguerite of Alençon has been hotly debated amongst scholars. Focus on a statement made about Marguerite at the end of Anne Boleyn's life has been analyzed in several works with varying conclusions. It is not Urkevich's goal to offer a solution to this debate. However, if the manuscript had been a gift from Marguerite d'Alençon, MS 1070 would serve as a concrete connection between the two women that would have significant impact on our understanding of their relationship.

Finally, Urkevich's conclusions, should they prove correct, would have significant ramifications on another topic of debate among Boleyn scholars: her birthdate.

⁴¹ Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited." 103-112.

⁴² Even one of Anne's greatest critics, Nicholas Sander, remarked upon her musical ability. "She was handsome to look at, with a pretty mouth, amusing in her ways, playing well on the lute, and was a good dancer. She was the model and the mirror of those who were at court, for she was always well dressed, and every day made some change in the fashion of her garments." from "Chapter V" of *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* published in 1585 reproduced in Elizabeth Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2013) 49-50.

Two birth dates have been suggested, 1501 and 1507.⁴³ Scholars have argued that the 1507 date could not possibly be correct since Boleyn would have been too young to be considered for the position of lady-in-waiting at the court of Margaret of Austria. Urkevich argues against this, claiming that Boleyn was not taken in as a lady-in-waiting, but as a child to be educated alongside the royal children.⁴⁴ She then proposes that the musical signature accompanying Boleyn's name indicates the number thirteen: the age she would have been when she returned to England to marry the Earl of Ormond had she been born in 1507.⁴⁵

Urkevich also provides a complete table of the contents of MS 1070. This chart includes manuscript sections and gatherings, hands, folio indications, composer identification, incipit, and number of voices for each piece. Urkevich also edited the *unica* pieces and the chansons from the manuscript. She also recorded and published them on her website.⁴⁶

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

In 2015, David Skinner recorded an album of the music in MS 1070. In the liner notes, he indicates that he holds that the manuscript was not made in France but in

⁴³ Warnicke holds with the 1507 birth date while Ives emphatically holds with the 1501 birth date. See chapter one of *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, Ives and chapter one of *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, Warnicke.

⁴⁴ This practice was not uncommon in Renaissance courts

⁴⁵ Urkevich also notes that if MS 1070 was, in fact, composed in France, it would be one of the few remaining examples of French Renaissance manuscripts available for study as many of them were burned during the French Revolution.

⁴⁶ "Lisa Urkevich."

England.⁴⁷ In 2016, permission was granted to disassemble the manuscript for further study. This disassembly also allowed for the production of a facsimile. The essays discuss context, ownership, decorations, repertoire, and genesis. The essays are followed by various appendices that outline the manuscript's gatherings, concordances, sources and bibliography, and corrections.

This edition marks a new approach to scholarship on MS 1070. As discussed above, there have been several common threads in all of the studies of MS 1070. Among them are textual criticism and historical contextualization. Despite the confusing evidence pertaining to MS 1070, the manuscript has been analyzed in much the same way by all of the scholars who have dealt with it. As the historical views around Anne Boleyn have shifted and more scholarly attention has been devoted to historical women, scholars' conclusions have grown and changed. The studies done by Thomas Schmidt, David Skinner, and Katja Airaksinen, however, offer a new methodological approach to MS 1070. Instead of contextualization and textual criticism, these essays rely heavily on paleographical, codicological, and musical analysis. They focus on the compositional techniques and concordances.

David Skinner traces the history of the ownership of the manuscript from the 19th century to the present. While studies with a similar methodology have been published previously, Skinner discusses the manuscript's history in greater detail. In addition, he discusses evidence to suggest that the manuscript was once in English hands regardless of the general consensus that the manuscript is of French origin. This evidence includes an

⁴⁷ David Skinner, *Anne Boleyn's Songbook: Music & Passion of a Tudor Queen*, CD (Obsidian, 2015).

examination of modes of editing and copying music. In his conclusions, Skinner points out that “[i]t is impossible to claim her (or anybody else’s) direct ownership of RCM 1070.”⁴⁸ Despite the title of the essay, Skinner resists historical contextualization of manuscript within Anne’s biographical details.

Katja Airaksinen-Monier’s chapter entitled, “Decoration,” offers some insights into the illuminations. While scholars have discussed various aspects of the illuminations in MS 1070, they normally do not go further than describing them as “French” and “provincial.” The essay suggests a strong connection with Charles D’Angoulême and the House of Orléans based on concordances with illuminations in other manuscripts and the origins of various motifs. Airaksinen-Monier also suggests that the illuminations were meant to “give the appearance of a printed book in vogue at the time.”⁴⁹

Thomas Schmidt’s two essays were likely made possible due to the permission to disassemble the manuscript. His chapters focus on the physical characteristics and making of the manuscript and the repertoire. In “Physical Description and Genesis,” Schmidt examines the stitching, the gatherings, the watermarks, the scribal hands, and other physical characteristics to determine how each gathering was composed and put together. In “Repertoire,” Schmidt suggests that the manuscript was put together based on

⁴⁸ David Skinner, “Context and Earlier Ownership,” in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 11.

⁴⁹ Katja Airaksinen-Monier, “Decoration,” in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 23.

genre considerations.⁵⁰ He maintains that the manuscript is an anthology of the greatest French court motets. Instead of textual analysis, Schmidt uses examination of compositional techniques to support his conclusions.

The studies in this facsimile edition, while supporting some of the existing theories about the manuscript, offer new insights as well as new methods and modes of inquiry on MS 1070.⁵¹ As it currently stands, MS 1070 is generally accepted as having been made in France. How Boleyn came to own the manuscript and what the manuscript was originally intended for is still up for scholarly debate. This thesis is not focused on either proving or disproving one scholar's opinion. Instead, it is my aim to demonstrate that this manuscript was representative of the types of music Anne Boleyn would have performed with her ladies and was essential to her image as a cultured, well-bred woman. The next chapter takes an in depth look at how the texts of MS 1070 have been criticized by scholars and offer suggestions about the possible uses of the manuscript based on my own analysis

⁵⁰ See Thomas Schmidt, "Repertoire," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 27.

⁵¹ Further discussion of these existing theories can be found in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Textual Analysis

The previous two chapters provide a critical overview of Anne Boleyn's reception history and offer an overview of the scholarship concerning MS 1070, including the "confusing multitude of variegated, and at times conflicting evidence" of the manuscript that has resulted in a variety of theories about MS 1070's origin and purpose.⁵² The primary concern of these chapters is the examination of the various effects these methodological approaches have had on our understanding of both Anne Boleyn and this particular manuscript. In the course of these summaries it has become clear that Anne Boleyn's reception history has had a great effect on the ways in which scholars approach this manuscript. Further, similarities in methodological approach to MS 1070 have been detected across disciplinary lines. Almost all of the studies about MS 1070 use textual criticism to support their claims.⁵³ The results of these studies are frequently contextualized in biographical details of Anne Boleyn's life. Often times, this leads to conclusions that have been deemed speculation.⁵⁴

This chapter revisits this approach by considering the most recent scholarship about the manuscript's origins and composition. In 2016, permission was granted to disassemble MS 1070 to allow further studies. This led to some important insights about the structure and repertoire of the manuscript. A thorough examination of scribal hands,

⁵² Edward E. Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn," in *Collected Work: Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*. Published by: Chicago, IL, USA: University of Chicago Press, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 483.

⁵³ See the conclusion of Chapter 2 for further discussion of these scholarly trends.

⁵⁴ Thomas Schmidt also makes this observation in his examination of the manuscript's physical characteristics, genesis, and repertoire. Thomas Schmidt, "Physical Description of Genesis," and "Repertoire," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 12–20 and 24–32.

repertoire composition, and organization has already been undertaken⁵⁵ and will not be attempted here. Instead, I will offer a thematic analysis of these texts and will put my analysis in connection with these new insights about the manuscripts composition and organization. Finally, I will offer my hypothesis about the purpose and uses of MS 1070 based on this analysis. Before delving into this analysis, it is useful to discuss the pieces that have attracted scholars' attention and how these analyses have influenced our understanding of the manuscript's purpose and uses.

APPROACHES IN SCHOLARSHIP

Edward Lowinsky's study concluded that the manuscript was written for Anne Boleyn while she was queen (1533-1536) and that it was prepared for her by her convicted 'lover' Mark Smeaton. Lowinsky offers various pieces of evidence to support his conclusion.⁵⁶ A large portion of that evidence is a textual analysis of the first seven motets in MS 1070, which he interprets as being closely connected to Anne Boleyn's political and personal situation around the year 1533. In particular, Lowinsky claims that the motets were chosen for their texts to please Anne Boleyn by alluding favorably to her relationship with Henry VIII. They were presented to Anne Boleyn as a means of building her image as legitimate queen of England and future mother of the heir to the throne.

For example, Lowinsky views the fifth motet in the manuscript as being composed specifically to mirror Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII's marriage. The motet *Laudate deum in sanctis eius/ Quia cum clamarem ad eum* is identified by Lowinsky as

⁵⁵ See Thomas Schmidt's chapters in Thomas Schmidt et al., eds., *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017).

⁵⁶ See Chapter 2 for a full description of Lowinsky's arguments.

being composed of a variety of texts from the Book of Psalms and I Kings.⁵⁷ He points out that, “the author of this psalm mélange changes singular to plural, adds a word here, omits another there, and takes all sorts of liberties.”⁵⁸ This text is an allusion to God, Henry VIII, and Anne Boleyn and their desire for a male heir. In the first part of the motet, the king rejoices because he has gained God’s favor. This is followed by a line that is unusual because it employs the feminine voice: “et ego laetata sum in salutari suo.”⁵⁹ Lowinsky identifies this change in the text as pointing to the story of Elkanah and Hannah (I Samuel), who were childless and eventually granted children by God. Therefore, the inclusion of this text in a manuscript believed to have been compiled for Anne Boleyn around 1533 pointed to the belief in Anne Boleyn’s ability to provide the long awaited male heir.

Lowinsky treats many of the texts in this fashion. *Forte si dulci* receives quite a bit of attention from Lowinsky, as does the other unicum work of the first seven motets, *O salve genitrix virgo*. Lowinsky notes the prominence of prayers related to progeny and motherhood in the manuscript. These are clear indications according to Lowinsky that this manuscript was composed specifically with Anne Boleyn in mind on the occasion of her coronation. These texts speak to both the personal feelings of and the image portrayed by Anne Boleyn on the eve of her coronation. Nor is Lowinsky alone in using this type of analysis to support his thesis about MS 1070’s origins and uses.

Eric Ives also uses textual analysis to support his thesis that the manuscript was acquired by or presented to Anne Boleyn between the years 1527 and 1533. He notes that the majority of the themes of the motets would mirror Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn’s

⁵⁷ For a full description of the Biblical origins of each line, see Lowinsky, “A Music Book for Anne Boleyn,” 499.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 498.

⁵⁹ This roughly translates to, “And I am glad (female) in his salvation.”

situation in 1527 when they were, “confidently looking forward to early marriage and the arrival of children.”⁶⁰ Ives cites *In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum* by Jean Mouton and *Jouyssance vous donneray* by Claudin de Sermisy. These two pieces make the strongest case for Ives’s thesis as *In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum* is the sequence from the High Nuptial Mass and *Jouyssance vous donneray* seems to reflect Anne Boleyn’s musical and poetic tastes since the poetry was composed by reformist Claude Marot.⁶¹

Lisa Urkevich also uses textual analysis, even though more sparingly and to support a much different thesis.⁶² An integral part of her argument is that the manuscript was commissioned for a betrothal and gifted to Anne Boleyn as she returned to England upon her own betrothal to James Butler. According to Urkevich the manuscript was a gift to Anne Boleyn by either Louise of Savoy or her daughter Marguerite D’Alençon. Her primary focus is shifting some of the imagery that appears in these motets as representative of Louise or Marguerite whom Urkevich has identified as possible the possible commissioners of MS 1070. In her dissertation Urkevich, as Lowinsky, focuses on the first seven motets in MS 1070.⁶³ Urkevich is more general in her interpretation of

⁶⁰ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: “The Most Happy”* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 257.

⁶¹ Both Eric Ives and Edward Lowinsky note the connections between Anne Boleyn, Clement Marot, and French reformist circles. See Lowinsky, “A Music Book for Anne Boleyn,” and Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: “The Most Happy.”*

⁶² Lisa Urkevich, *Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest, 1997) and Lisa Urkevich, “Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited,” in *Ars Musica Septentrionalis: De l’interprétation Du Patrimoine Musical à l’historiographie*, ed. Barbara Hagg and Frédéric Billiet (Paris: PUPS, 2011), 95–120.

⁶³ Urkevich also offers translations and musical editions of the unicum and anonymous pieces in MS 1070. These editions and translations have been published on her website: “Lisa Urkevich,” Lisa Urkevich, accessed October 1, 2017, <https://www.urkevich.com>.

the texts than Lowinsky. ⁶⁴ For Urkevich this manuscript was written for a woman on the verge of marriage.⁶⁵

The strongest evidence that Urkevich offers in support of a connection between MS 1070 and Marguerite D'Alençon is the text of the opening motet *Forte si dolci* where the goddesses Pallas and Juno are interpreted by Urkevich as projections of Louise of Savoy.⁶⁶ Urkevich also discusses the fourth, fifth, and sixth motets as symbolic of marriage and childbirth. She draws connections to Louise and Marguerite by examining the illuminations connected to these motets. Urkevich argues that the image of the rose and the daisy are clear indications of these two women.⁶⁷ Finally, Urkevich mentions the appropriateness of the Boleyn designation in *Paranymphus salutat virginem*, a motet with allusions to the Annunciation considering that she was soon to be a wife.

Most studies about MS 1070 are primarily focused on the first seven motets, and Lyoset Compère's *Paranymphus salutat virginem*, and Claudin de Sermisy's *Jouyssance vous donneray*. There are multiple reasons why scholars have focused primarily on these motets. They are the most complete since they contain illuminations. They contain the least amount of mistakes, and appear to be forming a complete section. *Paranymphus salutat virginem* is given special attention because this is where the Boleyn designation is found. *Jouyssance vous donneray* is often mentioned because of its appearance in various paintings of women making music. The thematic content of *Jouyssance vous donneray*

⁶⁴ Instead of the line by line analysis done by Lowinsky, Urkevich analysis the main themes of these selected texts. In addition, Lowinsky relates many of these texts to Anne's reformist beliefs of which we know very little.

⁶⁵ Lisa Urkevich, *Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London*.

⁶⁶ Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited," 110.

⁶⁷ Daisy is 'marguerite' in French. *Ibid*, 110.

coincides with all of the reports that exist about Anne Boleyn's personality and perhaps the doodles written by Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII in an illuminated Book of Hours.⁶⁸

COMPILATION OF THEMATIC CONTENT IN MS 1070

Minute examinations of the texts included in MS 1070 have led to advance various theories about the manuscript's origins and purpose. These textual criticisms frequently draw on the assumption of thoughts and feelings of both Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn at various points in their relationship. Although this scholarship does delve into the original purposes of and socio-political contexts for these compositions, the use of textual criticism in this manner is, while tempting, not particularly sturdy. We've seen that several texts have been interpreted in very different ways to support very different conclusions. Despite their individual conclusions, all scholars agree that the general thematic material in MS 1070 is about marriage and progeny.

These conclusions, however, are reached by examining only a few select texts. What other texts were present in MS 1070? Are all of the texts Marian or related to the themes of marriage and progeny as most scholars suggest? Is it possible that the origins of the texts and themes in MS 1070 are indicative of the manuscript's origins, purpose, and uses? These are the questions I aim to answer.

In order to understand the repertoire of MS 1070, it is necessary to examine all the motets, the origins of their texts (whether biblical or otherwise), the liturgical uses of the *cantus prius factus* or the text, and the general themes of each text. My aim is to discuss

⁶⁸ Anne Boleyn was known to be a skillful courtier, well-versed in courtly games and flirtation. The poem *Jouissance vous donneray* is an example of courtly love language that was used in these courtly games and flirtations. Anne wrote verses to Henry that have similar sentiments to the text of this poem in a book of hours. The doodle reads, "Be daly prove you shalle me fynde, To be to you bothe loving and kynde," in King's MS 9, fol. 66v at the British Library in London. For a plate image with a full description, see Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy,"* Plate 19.

the possible liturgical or thematic organizational method with the final goal to obtain a more complete understanding of the the manuscript's composition or uses. Appendix A provides this information and examines texts for evidence of organizational criteria.⁶⁹

One possible aspect to be considered is whether the books could have been used in Anne Boleyn's personal or household chapel or as musical a Book of Hours for Anne Boleyn. In order to do that, it is important to examine the order of the pieces to uncover their possible liturgical order. When considering styles, the manuscript appears to be a compilation of motets representative of the style that Anne Boleyn was accustomed to in her childhood and that she wished to continue to support as the head of her own household once she was back in Ireland and married.

Recent publications, including the recent facsimile edition have lead to a shift in focus. These recent studies, which privilege focus on the physical characteristics of the manuscript, are essential to understanding the thematic contents of the manuscript.⁷⁰ These studies do not rely on textual criticism but on codicological analysis: they discuss the physical characteristics of the manuscript, including the layout, scribal hands, and genres of the pieces. Thomas Schmidt's assertion that the manuscript is an anthology of French motets is built upon the idea that each section of the manuscript was organized by type. Examination of scribal hands, gatherings, and mistakes and corrections to the repertoire support this. This leads to new insights, especially when considering the general thematic contents of MS 1070.

⁶⁹ The complete table can be found in Appendix.

⁷⁰ Schmidt et al., *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070)*, and Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Bodmin, Cornwall: MPG Books Ltd, 2007).

EXAMINATION OF THE THEMES IN GATHERINGS

The latest scholarship on MS 1070 indicates that each gathering of the manuscript was completed separately, in fits and starts, but was conceived of as a whole. Each gathering is organized by either genre or composer. According to Thomas Schmidt, there are six repertorial units of four types: 1) French court motets, 2) shorter homophonic settings, 3) sequence settings by Josquin, and 4) late tenor motets by Josquin.⁷¹ There are three sections of French court motets and one each of the others. In addition, Schmidt identifies a gathering completely dedicated to the motets of Loyset Compère (Gatherings X and XI) and suggests that these are representative of the composer's work. This type of development (genre or composer) for gatherings is given by Schmidt for the first twenty-eight motets. The final motets and chansons of the manuscript are more difficult to interpret, since neither category of style nor authorship seems to follow a precise criterion.

In addition to understanding the ordering principles of the gatherings, textual themes also need to be taken into account. All but one of the gatherings containing the first twenty-eight motets includes pieces with Mariological texts: all texts are centered on a female figure or are directly or indirectly connected to lineage and progeny. For example, two of the three pieces in the Compère gathering are concerned with texts related to the Virgin Mary as mother and servant of God. This type of representation is common to books of hours, especially those meant for women.⁷²

Similarly, the two Josquin gatherings are intimately related to the Blessed Virgin Mary, childbirth, and motherhood. The first of the Josquin gatherings, the sequence settings, (Gatherings IV-V) are all Marian. Additionally, each of these sequences are

⁷¹ For full descriptions see Thomas Schmidt, "Repertoire," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 27.

⁷² For further discussion of the relationship between MS 1070 and books of hours, see chapter 4.

prayers of intercession to the Blessed Virgin Mary for salvation. They recognize her instrumental role for salvation as bearer of Christ. The late tenor motets by Josquin (Gatherings IX-X) have Marian texts in that they revolve around themes of motherhood, childbirth, and chastity. While the texts of these motets are not associated with any liturgical feast day (either Mass or Office), they are deemed appropriate for Marian feasts. Finally, the next two Josquin motets (# 31 and #32), although not considered by Schmidt as being part of their own section, both deal with progeny and lineage and have texts that are taken from the opening chapters of the gospels of Matthew and Mark.

Gathering V ends with the shorter homophonic settings referred to by Schmidt. These, too, are all Marian either by association through a Feast Day dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary or by a text that is a direct setting of a Marian sequence or antiphon. Two of the motets are directly connected to the feast of the Immaculate Conception and the final motet in this section is closely associated with the feast of the Nativity.

The opening section (which Schmidt identifies as French Court Motet) is the one with more tenuous Marian connection. The motets in this opening section are, however, centered on the themes of marriage, fertility, and maternity. *In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum/Propter hoc dimitter* contains the text that is used for the sequence in the High Nuptial Mass. *Laudate deum in sanctis eius, et audiatur vox/Quia cum clamarem ad eum* is the motet with the textual “mélange” identified by Lowinsky and described above.⁷³ This motet, aside from the unusual addition of the female subject-position in the text, also deals with supplication for progeny. Finally, *Queramus cum pastoribus/Ubi pasca ubi cubes* deals directly with the Nativity. In these three motets, there is a progression from matrimony to supplication to God for a child and the blessing of that marriage by the

⁷³ The motet *Laudate deum in sanctis eius/ Quia cum clamarem ad eum* is identified by Lowinsky as being composed of a variety of texts from the Book of Psalms and I Kings. See above.

birth of a male child. In this light, the opening three texts are thematically connected to the final three texts. The opening text of the manuscript does in fact refer to progeny and specifically mentions the importance of Lazarus's sisters' prayers in his resurrection. The following text, Josquin's *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo/Porcio mea* refers to promises and faithfulness. The anonymous text that follows *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* is a prayer of thanksgiving.⁷⁴ Of the seven motets, six are clearly related to female concerns: one is directly connected Mary (#6) while a second is indirectly to the Virgin (#3), and the three others have a mention of women or female issues. (#1, #4, and #5). One might suggest a topical progression from the first motet to the seventh: the section begins with betrothal, progresses through to marriage, and ends with the birth of an heir with prayers of thanksgiving, praise, and supplication in between.

Gatherings VI-VIII (which Schmidt identifies as a second section of French Court Motets) share their own theme. Two of the motets in these gatherings can be related to women (#16 and #20). *Regina celi letare/Resurrexit sicut dixit* (#20) is the only motet here that is Marian. *Maria Magdalene et altera Maria/Jesum quem quaeritis* (#16) is the Resurrection text taken from the book of Matthew and features Mary Magdalene. Beyond her role in the story, the text does not mention women, childbirth, or any other themes traditional associated with women. However, it is of note that Resurrection texts to texts about Jesus' birth, feature women or have a female presence. This is in line with the iconography of books of hours, which often featured these moments in the Gospels.⁷⁵ Regardless of their connection to Marian or female themes, the texts of these gatherings do share their own theme. Each text is connected to the Easter service in some respect.

⁷⁴ This motet has a possible connection to Marian worship. The text is taken from the Psalm 116 which is often used as a tract on both Holy Saturday and Saturday during the fourth week of Lent. Vigil Masses were often dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

⁷⁵ For a more indepth discussion of the connection of MS 1070 to books of hours, see chapter 4.

Of the first twenty-eight motets in MS 1070, only two have not been treated here: *O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve* (#7) and *Gaude Barbara beata summe pollens* (#23), which have escaped Schmidt's attempt to categorization. They were likely inserted by Scribe II at a later time and are not part of the original conception of these subsections. *O salve genitrix* is a Marian antiphon and *Gaude Barbara beata summe pollens* is a sequence often used on the feast of St. Barbara Virgin and Martyr. Although they do not belong to any particular subsection, both motets are centered on femininity, virginity, and chastity.

These two motets are not the only ones that are not categorized by Schmidt. Schmidt finds categorizing the final thirteen motets (and chansons) of the manuscript difficult. After the final French court motet entry (#28 - *Maria virgo semper laetare/Te laudant angeli*), Schmidt begins to categorize by voicings. For example, #33 and #34 (*Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus/Gloria patri* and *Alma redemptoris mater/Er stela maris/Tu que genuisti/Virgo prius/Sumens illud ave*) are grouped together because they are settings for three voices. These motets share the theme of Mary as Virgin Mother. The next gathering (XV) contains two of the three total chansons (*Jouyssance vous donneray* and *Venes regres venes tous*) copied in the manuscript. Schmidt groups the next two gatherings (XVI - XVII) that follow these chansons, by voicing as well, since they contain all motets for five voices. Thematic analysis of these motets is very challenging. Not only do the pieces bear very little relationship to one another within the same gathering, they also bear very little relationship to any other piece copied in the manuscript. The only connecting theme for these pieces is that they are Christ-centric or Christ related. They contain texts associated with Christological feasts but do not seem to

be in any specific liturgical order.⁷⁶ The final piece in the manuscript is the anonymous chanson *Gentilz galans compaignons*.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of general themes in the texts of MS 1070 and an examination of these themes in light of the structural and repertoire organization of the manuscript has provided some new perspective to the questions posed at the opening of the chapter. When the texts are taken more generally and in consideration with these subsections, it is still clear that the majority of the book is related to themes that were either Marian or relevant to women. Particularly, the general themes of many of the motets in MS 1070 center around motherhood, chastity, and progeny. This, alongside Schmidt's hypothesis that the manuscript is a sort of anthology of the best French court motets, leads me to believe that this manuscript may have, in fact, been a gift given to Anne Boleyn as she left France to marry James Butler, Earl of Ormonde. The following chapter considers the dual purposes this manuscript may have served by exploring the possibility that this gift was meant to be pedagogical for Anne and by analyzing its role in helping the diffusion of French music and style in England.

⁷⁶ Only one of these motets can remotely be related to Marian or female centric issues. *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini* by Jean Mouton has been identified by Lowinsky as a prayer to St. Renatus whom he identifies as the patron saint of expectant mothers. While I have found literature linking St. Renatus to fertility and identifying him as one of the phallic saints, I have found no literature connecting this text or his person to expectant mothers. Lowinsky, "A Music Book for Anne Boleyn," 500.

Chapter 4: MS 1070 and Anne Boleyn

Direct examination of MS 1070 as well as recent scholarship have answered several of the questions that were posed at the beginning of this study. Previous chapters show how the manuscript originated in France and how most compositions in the manuscript have direct or indirect connections to either the Blessed Virgin Mary or to themes that can be considered of special interest for women. There are several questions that remain unanswered about MS 1070, however, mostly because of lack of evidence.

These include: how MS 1070 was produced in the first place, how Anne Boleyn may have come to own it, and how she used it. I posit that MS 1070 was gifted to Anne Boleyn before she left France to marry James Butler and that its contents have a clear pedagogical purpose. This chapter will discuss, first, the pedagogical purpose of the manuscript; second, the practices of gift giving in Renaissance France in order to uncover the possible occasion in which MS 1070 might have been given to Anne; and, finally, the function of the manuscript in relation to Anne's public image and within the Tudor court.

MS 1070: PEDAGOGICAL PURPOSE

That MS 1070 was not a presentation manuscript is evident in that: (1) it does not have a dedication page with indication of a dedicatee; (2) its illuminations use only three colors and are "provincial" in character; (3) it contains several obvious mistakes, and (4) it is written on paper, not on vellum. Why, then, was the manuscript produced? And for whom? Based also on discussion included in the previous chapter the manuscript seems to have been intended as a pedagogical tool either for a woman and was given to Anne Boleyn who used it directly or to educate her household.

Thematic elements validate the hypothesis advanced by Lisa Urkevich and Thomas Schmidt about the original purpose of the manuscript that it was written on the occasion of a marriage for either Louise of Savoy or her daughter, Marguerite d'Alçenon (Urkevich) and that it may have been compiled as an anthology of the best French motet compositions (Schmidt).⁷⁷ When these hypotheses are combined with the notion that MS 1070 is not a presentation manuscript, it becomes clear its main purpose was likely pedagogical.

MS 1070 would have likely served a pedagogical purpose once it was given to Anne Boleyn due to its striking similarities to books of hours. Books of hours were often used by women to learn to read and write. Further, they often featured thematic content that would be suitable to a woman's education. Stories from the Bible that featured women often were often the subject of the visual apparatus in books of hours. Jesus' birth, childhood, death, and resurrection are often the main iconographic themes because they demonstrate women's roles in society as wives, mothers, and rememberers for their families.⁷⁸ Those that were compiled for women upon the occasion of their marriage often included special prayers for pregnant women or

⁷⁷ See Lisa Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book, A Childhood Gift: The Question of the Original Owner of the MS. 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited," in *Ars Musica Septentrionalis: De l'interprétation Du Patrimoine Musical à l'historiographie*, ed. Barbara Hagg and Frédéric Billiet (Paris: PUPS, 2011), 95–120 and Thomas Schmidt, "Repertoire," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 24–32.

⁷⁸ Elizabeth L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008) and Roger S. Wieck, "The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, vol. 45, Studies in the Humanities (Canterbury and New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 431–76.

mothers.⁷⁹ An analogous thematic content can clearly be seen in the compilation of MS 1070 which focuses primarily on themes of marriage, childbirth, and motherhood.

The previous chapter demonstrates that most of the pieces in Schmidt's genre divisions (1, 2, 3, 5, and 6) of MS 1070 have a Marian center except for those included in section 4. These pieces are thematically Christological, since they focus on the Resurrection. This too, however, is a theme that feature women and, in fact, is often depicted in books of hours. In fact, there are no motets in MS 1070 that center on the only portion of Jesus' life in which women do not figure prominently: his ministry. Although musical manuscripts were not necessarily structured as books of hours, there is a clear thematic connection between the contents of MS 1070 and the visual apparatus of these books. Therefore, in addition to containing music that was familiar to Anne, the texts of the manuscript provide lessons about the duties of women of the 16th century who expected to embark on the journey of marriage.

Manuscripts that were not meant for presentation to royalty were often used as vehicles to export musical styles from one place to another. Indeed, Theodor Dumitrescu identifies MS 1070 as one of the manuscripts that was instrumental in transferring continental musical styles to England.⁸⁰ Dumitrescu successfully demonstrates that in addition to a large amount of manuscripts including continental music in England, there were several English manuscripts containing continental style. This indicates that continental style had a very real impact in England. As we have seen in chapter three, Thomas Schmidt shows that the manuscript appears to be an anthology of some of the most highly-regarded contemporary French court motets.⁸¹ Therefore, it

⁷⁹ Virginia Reinburg, "'For the Use of Women': Women and Books of Hours," *Early Modern Women* 4 (Fall 2009): 235–40.

⁸⁰ Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Bodmin, Cornwall: MPG Books Ltd, 2007), 117-172.

⁸¹ Schmidt, "Repertoire," 24-25.

was likely that MS 1070 was part of a larger trend in the diffusion of the French court motet to England.

That said, how can we determine that the manuscript had specific ties to English performers? Scholars have discussed the performative uses the manuscript and Anne's active role in the performance the repertory. Urkevich, in particular, claims that the motets in MS 1070 could have been performed by an entire female consort of which Anne was a part.⁸² This, however, is unlikely since most pieces are not for equal voices and were written for professional singers. In addition, the written accidentals are a major clue to speculate about the manuscript's use. Theodor Dumitrescu identifies these accidents, especially the use of sharps and "English letter-f form of the fa sign," as being specifically English.⁸³ He concludes that, "The testimony of LonRC 1070, then, provides a rare and important confirmation of use by musicians who were almost certainly not associated with the manuscript's original context--indeed on the the rare examples of added accidental performance marks of any sort in a choirbook of the period."⁸⁴ Dumitrescu also demonstrates that while French musicians were hired in courtly circles, English musicians continued to serve in the chapels. Therefore, it follows that the markings on motets would have been placed by English musicians. In addition, David Skinner notes that there are several instances in MS 1070 of dotting notes that indicates use by English hands.⁸⁵ Since Anne would not have added markings that were English in

⁸² Although this may be true for a few of the pieces, it is not true for the majority of the pieces. Lisa Urkevich, *Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest, 1997).

⁸³ Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations*, 151.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 152.

⁸⁵ David Skinner, "Context and Earlier Ownership," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 7-8.

nature as she was trained in the Flemish and French courts, it can be concluded that she did not use the book to perform from herself.

Thus, how do we reconcile the presence of these English accidents with Anne Boleyn's name in this manuscript? What is the significance of its having belonged to her if she did not, in fact, use it? Since the manuscript's main content is composed of the most prominent contemporaneous French court motets and the markings indicate use by English hands, this probably means that while the manuscript was compiled in France, it was later brought to England (possibly by Anne) where the new accidents were added. Below I will explore the possibility that the manuscript was given to her by Marguerite D'Angouleme upon her departure from France to marry James Butler in order that she may have French music in her household.

POSSIBLE GIFT

Lisa Urkevich was the first to advance the hypothesis that MS 1070 was a gift (albeit second-hand) to Anne Boleyn from one of the women from the French court. She claims that MS 1070 was prepared for Marguerite D'Angouleme or Louise of Savoy and given to Anne Boleyn at some point during her time in France.⁸⁶ Several scholars have pointed out that notwithstanding the general value of Urkevich's studies, her idea that the manuscript was a gift is speculative.⁸⁷ She generally uses textual criticism and illumination analysis to support her theory. While much of her analysis (particularly with regards to the illuminations) has been disproven, recent studies in the practice of gift

⁸⁶ For a full description of the contents of Urkevich's arguments, see Chapter 2.

⁸⁷ For critiques about speculation see Dumitrescu, Skinner, and Schmidt. Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations*, Skinner, "Context and Earlier Ownership," and Thomas Schmidt, "Physical Description of Genesis," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 12–20.

giving and in the illuminations in MS 1070 could support her theory.⁸⁸ In addition, recent scholarship on the illuminations in MS 1070 offers support that the manuscript is connected to the posited gift-giver, Marguerite d'Alçenon.

Until 2017, there had been no studies exclusively dedicated to examining this style of illumination, its place of origin, and who could have been responsible for it. Katja Airaksinen-Monier's recent study further strengthens the Angoulême connection for MS 1070.⁸⁹ She notes the "parallels [with] ... the Book of Hours illuminated around 1485 by Robinet Testard in Angoulême, in western France for Charles d'Angoulême, the father of François I."⁹⁰ In addition to identifying similarities to books related to the Angoulême family, Airaksinen-Monier recognizes some of the branches and foliage used to decorate the initials as originating from an "Orléanist emblem." These initials are comprised of "forms and motifs, extending to the small detail of three-petal flowers and groups of pearls placed in the corners of the backgrounds to the initials."⁹¹ Charles d'Angoulême was also the father of Marguerite d'Alçenon and husband of Louise de Savoy. If we accept that the illuminations have a connection to the Angoulême family, then the claim that the manuscript was first prepared for or commissioned by either Louise of Savoy or Marguerite d'Angoulême becomes plausible.

Of all of the possible family members, Marguerite is the most likely person to have given this manuscript to Anne, if it was given at all.⁹² The connection

⁸⁸ Schmidt, "Repertoire."

⁸⁹ Katja Airaksinen-Monier, "Decoration," in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 21–23.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹² Louise would likely have taken very little interest in Anne after her son ascended the throne of France. Although Anne Boleyn can not be connected to Marguerite's court, she would have been in close contact with Marguerite nonetheless. There are records of Anne Boleyn's service in Queen Claude of France's court. Claude was the wife of Francis I. There is also substantial scholarship written on the close connection between Louise of Savoy and her son, Francis, and

between Anne Boleyn and Marguerite de Navarre (as she became known after her second marriage) is very difficult to parse out.⁹³ Little is known about their relationship other than they likely came into contact with one another during Anne Boleyn's time in France and that Anne expressed that her greatest wish, besides having a healthy son, was to see Marguerite again.⁹⁴ We also know, however, that Anne Boleyn and Marguerite de Navarre had many common interests, particularly in artistic patronage and religious issues. Additionally, they both had strong connections via the works of Clément Marot, as several musicologists have demonstrated.⁹⁵

The connection with books of hours also serves as a further demonstration that the manuscript could have been a gift. We have already the striking similarities between the thematic contents of MS 1070 and the visual apparatuses of most books of hours.⁹⁶ Books of hours with visual representations that mirror the content of most motets in MS 1070 were often gifted upon a woman's marriage. After marriage, they became family possessions that were often passed down. As Virginia Reinburg state,

daughter, Marguerite. In fact, they were known as the "holy trinity." Therefore, it is more than likely that Marguerite would have been close to her brother and mother and encountered the young Boleyn in this manner. In addition, Marguerite was the unofficial queen of Francis I's court, presiding over banquets and entertainments, since Claude was often occupied with giving birth.

⁹³ In fact, Lisa Urkevich notes that her theory if proven, would have strong implications on what we know about the relationship between Marguerite and Anne. Urkevich, *Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London*.

⁹⁴ This comment has been noted by several of Anne Boleyn's biographers including Eric Ives and Retha Warnicke

⁹⁵ Lowinsky and Urkevich both discuss Anne Boleyn's connections with Clément Marot and other reformist writers. Eric Ives and Retha Warnicke also dedicate entire chapters to Anne Boleyn's connections to religious reform in their biographies. In addition, Patricia Francis Cholakian and Rouben Charles Cholakian's biography *Marguerite de Navarre: Mother of the Renaissance* offers a detailed discussion of Marguerite, her own works, and her connection to church reform. Patricia Francis Cholakian and Rouben Charles Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre: Mother of the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

⁹⁶ See discussion above.

“[t]he book of hours was a special kind of legacy from a woman to her female heirs, or to deliberately chosen spiritual descendants like goddaughters. Friends, or fellow nuns. Such legacies carry with them the donor’s hope that the emotional and spiritual bonds uniting friends or godmothers and goddaughters would endure past her death.”⁹⁷ Therefore, if we accept that Anne Boleyn and Marguerite d’Alçenon were friends, it is possible that this gift stands as a testament to their friendship and Marguerite’s well wishes on the occasion of Anne Boleyn’s impending marriage.

Consequently, the musical and thematic contents of the manuscript indicates that the manuscript was given to Anne on her return to England to marry James Butler. This marriage was arranged by her father and the Earl of Ormonde in order to settle an inheritance dispute between the two men. Anne was recalled from France for the purpose of taking up residence in Ireland as the wife of the Earl’s son. A gift at this point in life to a lady-in-waiting at the court would have been entirely appropriate. Although we do not have a record of this, it is entirely possible that Marguerite would have gifted this manuscript to Anne Boleyn as both parting and wedding gift as it was customary for “[r]elatives and associates of the bride [to] contribute to her dowry: her godmother, her master or mistress (if she was in employ), her uncles and brothers.”⁹⁸ Given that the two women likely would have spent a substantial amount of time together and seem to have had similar interests, it is possible that Marguerite may have viewed a music book as a fitting gift for Anne Boleyn. Anne’s musical capabilities at the French court are well documented as well as her acquisition of French style and manners. This manuscript may have been given to Anne for two purposes: 1) to remind her of her duties of wife and

⁹⁷ Reinburg, “‘For the Use of Women’: Women and Books of Hours,” 238.

⁹⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 29.

mother and 2) as a tool to set up her household in Ireland upon her marriage with music that was important to both Anne's tastes and image.

FUNCTION

One of the few facts that we know about Anne Boleyn is her connection with French style. In the English court she was seen as exotic and her manners and style of dress were seen as French. Even her English was marked with a slight French accent. This "Frenchness" was amplified on the political stage. Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn did not strengthen political alliances in the traditional manner, but Anne's close association to the French court indicated an alliance between English and French interests. Their marriage, of course, created enmity between England and the Spanish and Holy Roman Empires since its ruler, Charles V was the nephew of Katherine of Aragon, whom Anne Boleyn had replaced. In fact, some scholars have suggested that it was this political image that was part of the reason (or ammunition) for Anne's downfall when Henry began favoring an alliance with Charles V around 1563.⁹⁹

Her patronage of other types of art in the French style is very well documented. For example, she preferred that her Books of Hours and Scripture be written in French. Her French square necklines and rounded hood created a fashion trend at the court that was completely antithetical to the typical gable hood of the English worn by Katherine. Even her coronation drew continental parallels by exploiting the use of the Holy Spirit descending to crown the Virgin Mary as had been done for Queen Claude's entry into Paris in 1517.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the use of a humanistic allusion to classical themes in

⁹⁹ Whether Anne's downfall was the symptom of this shifting alliance or the cause of this shifting alliance has not been determined.

¹⁰⁰ Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy"* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 223.

Anne's coronation not only had hardly been seen in England before, but was also a means to prove Anne's worthiness to the crown and a confirmation of her role as queen of England.

The use of French style to legitimate rule would not have been a foreign idea to Henry, either. In fact, as Theodor Dumitrescu has pointed out, both Henry VII and Henry VIII were thoroughly enmeshed in the French musical style as a means of legitimizing their still very unstable claim to the throne of England. What's more, Henry VIII had a French music tutor and his compositions reveal a French influence.¹⁰¹ As discussed above, this was part of a larger trend of the diffusion of French musical style in England. In this case, French style was used for the politics of magnificence. The politics of magnificence displayed through the patronage of art was a lesson that Anne Boleyn also learned in her early years from Margaret of Austria, Queen Claude of France, and Marguerite de Navarre.¹⁰²

Given all the observations above about her private and public association with French court culture, it seems likely that she favored music that would have been understood at the time as the French style. This would have been not only in line with her own interests, tastes, and public image, but also with those of her husband. It is unsurprising then, that Anne Boleyn would have taken back some of the most revered French music of the time upon her departure from France. She could not have known that she would become queen of England, since she was originally headed to Ireland, which is much further from Paris than even London.

¹⁰¹ Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations*.

¹⁰² Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy,"* 245.

CONCLUSION

The predominance of French court motets of the highest caliber indicates that the manuscript was compiled as means of transferring a repertoire from one place to another. This becomes clear when we take into account the English-style accidental markings that indicate use of the manuscript by English musicians. Whether or not this was the intention of the copyists, the manuscript did contribute to the diffusion of continental style in England. The presence of Anne Boleyn's signature in the manuscript could indicate that she was responsible for bringing the manuscript over from France. This chapter builds upon Urkevich's hypothesis that the manuscript was a gift to Anne Boleyn on the occasion of her betrothal of James Butler. Anne's subsequent departure from France suggests that the manuscript was given for the specific purpose of establishing her own household. The connection of the manuscript to Marguerite de Navarre and Louise of Savoy is also discernible in the style of the illuminations and in line with the practice of gift-giving in 16th century France. This reinforces the likelihood that MS 1070 could have been a gift for Anne Boleyn from a woman at the French court.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Are we any closer to finding the “real” musical Anne Boleyn? At the beginning of this report, I suggest that most of what we know about Anne is actually a cultural and intellectual construct. Each “Anne Boleyn” is a product of the time in which she was created and reveals the biases of the scholars and societies in which she is created. Over time, layers of “Anne Boleyns” have been pasted one on top of the others. Several questions were posed at the beginning of this report in order to find the “real” musical Anne Boleyn through an examination of MS 1070. Some of these questions (see Introduction) were: 1) For whom was this manuscript destined? 2) What was its purpose? And 3) What can the manuscript tell us about Anne Boleyn?

There are several facts that are universally accepted about MS 1070. These include that Anne Boleyn’s name does appear in the manuscript. With this comes the hypothesis that she may have owned or come into contact with it. Although the extent of her involvement in the manuscript’s copying or use is unknown, the presence of her name indicates that the manuscript bears a connection to her.¹⁰³ Scholars such as Urkevich, Schmidt, and Skinner also agree on dating the manuscript before the year 1529 due to the signature and the chanson repertoire copied at the end of the manuscript. It is also universally accepted that most of the manuscript was copied in France and brought over to England in the early years of the sixteenth century. However, the manuscript bears a strong connection to English musical practice. Some of the markings suggest the intervention of English hands. Finally, it is accepted that the manuscript was composed in fits and starts and was never fully completed.

¹⁰³ David Skinner has suggested that perhaps the book did not belong to Anne Boleyn at all. Perhaps she never saw it in her life. Regardless if this is true or false, the fact that *someone* who was of the same generation put her name in a manuscript of French court motets is significant and indicates something about the ways in which she was perceived by those around her.

Based on these facts and the hypotheses advanced by scholars, it becomes likely that this manuscript was indeed a gift from a French lady, likely Marguerite d'Alçenon, upon Anne Boleyn's departure from France on the occasion of her impending marriage to James Butler. Anne was characterized throughout her life by her "Frenchness." Therefore, it is likely that she would have been grateful for the ability to bring some music that suited her tastes with her to set up her new household in Ireland. It has been demonstrated that the book contains motets that were highly revered in French courts. These motets are not only gathered by style but also because they were all related to specific themes, many of which are related to themes of marriage, lineage, and motherhood. Taken together, the contents of MS 1070 bear a strong thematic connection to the most common iconography of books of hours and may have served a pedagogical purpose for Anne Boleyn. Regardless, the English markings indicate the intervention of English hands on an otherwise French repertory and that therefore the manuscript contributed to the larger diffusion of French music in England.

There are still many issues left to explore. A particularly fruitful study would be to examine the manuscript in the context of educational settings for French ladies-in-waiting in the early 16th century. This would perhaps illuminate the discussion surrounding Anne Boleyn's possibly active role in the performance of the contents of the manuscript. A more in-depth study on the style of illuminations and a comparison with other manuscripts would also be particularly useful in identifying the place of origins of manuscript and its intended destination.¹⁰⁴ Additional insights could also come from an examination of the two proverbs written in Latin on f. 116v of MS 1070 come from the work of Erasmus. The first translate to "measure yourself by your own foot." The second

¹⁰⁴ The partial attention to illuminations in the scholarship has also been remarked upon several times. See chapters 2 and 4.

translates to “Live with yourself that you may know how under-furnished you are.”¹⁰⁵ What was the purpose of these messages? Does their moral character indicate that Anne Boleyn did in fact own this manuscript? Does their placement in this manuscript indicate that music played some role in her downfall? These all offer fascinating possibilities for further understanding Anne Boleyn’s musical life. Additionally, there is a third piece of writing that has yet to be deciphered. Determining why these texts were incorporated and speculating about their ultimate meaning would possibly help answering some of the still open questions.

The question still remains: Have we found a piece of the “real” Anne Boleyn? Or have we just added another layer to “Anne Boleyn”? Anne Boleyn’s is the story of the attempt to erase a prominent figure, the thwarting of that erasure, and the creation of a legend in her place. The circumstances of her death and her centrality in the English Reformation combined with the attempted erasure of her persona have contributed to continued fascination with her story. Does my version of Anne find a piece of the “real”? The truth is we will never know. The story I have told and the truths I have sought out are also influenced by my own biases and engagement with the biases of others. In the end, this study adds another layer to “Anne Boleyn” instead of uncovering the “real,” which at this point is impossible to find. Why, then, should we add layers to “Anne Boleyn” the image? What is the purpose if we will never get to the truth of who she was? The answer is quite simple. Each representation of Anne offers a new nuance to a character who is often painted as two-dimensional, particularly in popular culture. Anne is portrayed as either a martyr or a manipulator. However, if all the layers of Anne are taken in at once we are left with a portrait of a complex woman who we may never

¹⁰⁵ David Skinner, “Context and Earlier Ownership,” in *The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070): Facsimile with Introduction*, ed. Thomas Schmidt et al., DIAMM Facsimiles 6 (Exeter, Great Britain: Short Run Press, 2017), 10.

understand. In short, we are left with a multi-dimensional human being which is the closest we can come to understanding the “real” Anne.

Appendix A: MS 1070 Textual Origins and Liturgical Uses

Position	Incipit	Composer	Hand (Schmidt)	voices	Illuminations
1	Forte si dulci stigiium boantem/Palas catea	unicum	Ib	4	Opening initial decorated in Brown, black, red, and blue; Floral imagery; FLOWERS for cantus and tenor, leaves for altus and bassus. The initials are colored in with the blue and red ink; 3 features images at the head instead of initials: a flower (rose?) colored with red ink for the cantus, a bird (falcon?) pecking at fruit (pomegranate) colored with blue and red ink for the altus, a sea monster colored in red for the tenor, and another flower for the bassus, colored in red and blue; The secunda pars starts with more initials featuring floral and monster imagery, this is followed by more miniatures featuring floral imagery and sea creatures, including a siren. All illuminations are

					colored with the same ink.
2	Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo/Porcio mea	Josquin des Prez	Ib	4	The colors used here are the same and used in the same fashion as above; The beginning of the prima and secunda pars have decorated initials consisting of sea creatures, grotesque faces and floral imagery; The ink is faded significantly on 8r; More sea imagery (merman), the image of the "moor" is on 6v, balance of colors, more flowers, birds, and fruit; The illuminations of 8v-10r are faded and significantly less detailed than those that came before.
3	Laudate dominos omnes gentes	unicum	Ib	4	Initials in the same style as before followed by miniatures; The ink is significantly faded on 10v-11r (initials); The intricacy of the earlier illuminations has returned here; Birds, flowers, and scowling face for the secunda pars; colors again are balanced;

					miniatures lacking in detail compared to earlier examples
4	In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum/Propter hoc dimitter	Jean Mouton	Ib	4	All the same as above; the illuminations for this piece are more "rude"; more sea creatures; Lowinsky/Warnick e illuminations contained here.
5	Laudate deum in sancito eius, et audiatur vox/ Quia cum clamarem	Jean Mouton	Ib	4	Illuminations same as before; another Rose, sad king, more fish; the illuminations seem to be undertaken with renewed vigor here. They are more detailed and neatly done.
6	Queramus cum pastoribus/Ubi pasca ubi cubes	Jean Mouton	Ib	4	Illuminations same as above; the initials on the opening pages are more faded than the others; two open pages of initials followed by miniatures.
7	O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima salve	unicum	II	4 (S & T beginnings ONLY in MS1070)	First piece without illuminations; space is left for miniatures, but 's' of "salve" is written in.
8	Stabat mater dolorosa/Eya mater	Josquin des Prez	Ib	5	Penciled in initials; illuminations not realized
9	Mittit ad virginem/Accede	Josquin des Prez	Ib	4	Space left for decoration of

	nuncia	(authorship considered secure)			initials; not realized
10	Ave maria gratia plena...virgo serena	Josquin des Prez	Ib	4	
11	Fer pietatis open miserai mater pietatis	unicum	Ib	4	
12	Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te	Jean Mouton	Ib	4	
13	Sub tuum presidium confugimus	Antoine Brumel	Ib	4	
14	Verbum bonum et suave	Pierrequin de Thérace	Ib	4	
15	Maria magdalene et altera maria/Jesum quem quaeritis	unicum	Ib	4	
16	Tempus meum est ut reverra ad eum/Viri galilei aspicientes	Antoine de Févin	Ib	4	
17	Sancti dei omnes orate pro nobis/Criste audi nos	Jean Mouton	Ib	4	
18	Bona dies per orbed lucessit/Paz obis ego sum	unicum	Ib	4	
19	In illo tempore maria magdalene/Dic nobis maria	Jean Mouton	Ib	4	
20	Regina celi letare/Resurrexit situ dixit	Anonymou s	Ib	4	
21	Preter rerum seriem/Virtus sancti spiritus	Josquin des Prez	Ib	6	
22	Virgo salutiferi/Tu potis es prime/Nune celi regina	Josquin des Prez	Ib (II)	5 (missing vcs/text)	

23	Gaude Barbara beata summe pollens	Jean Mouton	II	5 (no stems/text)	
24	Paranymphus salutatur virginem/Ecce virgo decora	Lyoset Compère	Ia (78v II)	4	Space left for unrealized illuminations; Boleyn signature in tenor
25	Profitentes unitatem veneremur trinitatem/Digne loqui de personis	Lyoset Compère	Ia	4	Space left; none
26	O genitrix gloriosa, mater dei spetiosa/Maria mater gratie	Lyoset Compère	Ia	4	Space left; none
27	O virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud/Filie Jersusalem	Lyoset Compère (?)	Ia (87r: Ib music, II text)	4	Space left; none
28	Maria virgo semper laetare/Te laudant angeli	Jean Mouton	Ib	4 (missing text)	
29	Sicut lilium inter spinas	Antoine Brumel	Ia (94v: II)	4	
30	Que est ista que processit/Et situ dies verni	Antoine Brumel	Ia	4	
31	Liber generationis/Salomon autem/Et post transmirationem	Josquin des Prez	Ia	4	
32	Factum est autem cum baptizaretur	Josquin des Prez	Ia	4 (S & T incomplete)	
33	Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus/Gloria patri	unicum	II	3	
34	Alma redemptoris mater/Et stella maris/Tu que genuisti/Virgo	Jacob Obrecht	II	3	

	prius/Sumens illud ave				
35	Jouissance vous donneray	Claude de Sermisy	IV	4	
36	Venes regres venes tous	Anonymou s	IV	4	
37	Popule meus quid feci tibi/Ego eduxi te mare rubrum/Ego eduxi te per desertum/Quid ultra debui	Anonymou s	I	4	
38	Huc me sydereo/Felle sitim	Josquin des Prez	II	6	
39	Homo quidam fecit cenam/Venite comedie	Josquin des Prez	II	5	
40	Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini	Jean Mouton	II	4	
41	Sancta trinitas unus deus	Antoine de Févin	II	4	
42	Gentilz galans compaignons	Anonymou s	III	3	

Biblical origin	Liturgical Uses	Paraliturgical	Theme	Section (Schmidt)	Gathering	pp./ff.
Reference to John 11:1-44		Likely Paraliturgical due to connections with mythology	MUSIC; lutes and singing; CHRIST; Lazarus: ORPHEUS; RESURRECTION; WOMEN'S PRAYER; PALLAS, JUNE, HERCULES; Appeals to Christ through song	1. French Court Motets	I	2-9/ 1v-5r*
Psalm 118:49-64 of the Vulgate Bible;	Communion on Thursday 5. after Passion	--	PROMISE; SINFULNESS, LAW; FAITHFULNESS; acceptance of position as keeper of the law	1. French Court Motets	I-II	10-19/5v-10r

first section of the lessor doxology ; no cantus prius factus has been identified	Sunday(Holy Thurs.); on Sunday 20 after Pentecost ; whenever		(household?)			
Psalm 116	1)Tract on Holy Saturday and on Saturday during the Saturday of the fourth week of Lent and Sept.? 2) Communion for Mass for the Propagation of the Faith	—	possibly; connection to the VIGIL MASS which is traditionally MARIAN; PRAISE; DOXOLOGY; MERCY; Text itself is more CHRIST-centric.	1. French Court Motets	II	20-31/10v-16r
Matthew 14/19?	Sequence for the High Nuptial mass	—	SEQUENCE: DIVORCE; MARRIAGE; NEW TESTAMENT	1. French Court Motets	II	24-29/12v-15r
Psalm 150 1; 117:15; 6: 10 ; 20: 2; 1 Kings 2: 1; Ps. 115: 18;	Antiphon 5 at Lauds on Thursday 5 per year	—	JUSTICE; PRAISE; SUPPLICATION to one's KING; (FEMALE) "rejoicing" in King's MERCY; CONCEPTION/PREGNANCY; BEAUTY	1. French Court Motets	II-III	30-35/15v-18r

21: 25; 15: 9; 27: 7; 22: 6; 21: 32; 146: 1.						
?	NATIVI TY	—	NATIVITY; SHEPHERDS; BREASTFEEDING; MOTHERHOOD; LULLABIES	1. French Court Motets	III	36- 41/18v- 21r
13th century antiphon in honor of the BVM	Used to end Offices; seasonal		MARIAN; connected to “Salve regina”; reference to the ROSE; QUEEN of Heave; SUPPLICATION	Left out	III	44/22v
	Church Celebrati on of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary (Synod of Cologne 1423)	13th Century Franciscan Sequence/Fr. . Rondeau Comme femmes desconfortée	MARIAN; the SUFFERING of the Virgin mother during the CRUCIFIXION; Secunda Pars: PRAYER for SALVATION to the Virgin Mother; Rondeau: DEATH, MISFORTUNE, CONSOLE	2. SEQUENC E settings by Josquin	IV	46- 53/23v- 27r
—	Feast of the Annuncia tion of the Holy Virgin Mary (March 25)	12th century sequence of French origin traditionally attrib. to Peter Abelard (not likely). Abelard is a "logician, moral philosopher, poet and theologian."	MARIAN; Prima Pars: ANNUNCIATION, dispelling of darkness, GREED, PRIDE, SINFULNESS, vanquished by the VIRGIN BIRTH; Secunda Pars: HAIL MARY, CHASTITY, ACCEPTANCE of God's will.	2. SEQUENC E settings by Josquin	IV - V	54- 61/27v- 31r

		(95)				
—	Appropriate for Marian Feasts	12th century sequence of German origin/possibly laude. Text organ : 14th century poem found in Fr. and Ger. Books of Hours.	MARIAN;	2. SEQUENCE settings by Josquin	V	62-65/31v-33r
—	Immaculate Conception of Mary (Dec. 8) Birthday of Mary (Sept. 8)	Poem/composition by?	MARIAN; PRAYER for MERCY from a VENGEFUL/ANGRY God; MISERY	3. Shorter HOMOPHONIC settings	V	66-67/33v-34r
Song of Songs 4:7	Vespers and Lauds Immaculate Conception	—	BEAUTY; MARRIAGE; MARIAN	3. Shorter HOMOPHONIC settings	V	68-69/34v-35r
Antiphon in Honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary/Our Lady of Prompt Succor? Marian?	Appropriate for Marian feasts	—	Marian	3. Shorter HOMOPHONIC settings	V	70-71/35v-36r
Based on an entire SEQUENCE	Feasts of the Nativity, the	--	MARIAN; EPIPHANY; LINEAGE; BIRTH; FLORAL imagery	3. Shorter HOMOPHONIC settings	V	72-75/36v-38r

melody of three paired versicles; text originated in the 11th century in Southern France from whence it disseminated all over Europe.	Annunciation, and the Assumption		(lily among thorns); BRIDE; MARRIAGE			
Matthew 28: 1-6	Response I. on the second Thursday after Easter or on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene	--	WOMEN; MARY MAGDALENE; RESURRECTION; EASTER	4. French Court Motet	VI	80-83/40v-42r
	First part responsory; second part antiphon Ascension of Our Lord Mass; Antiphon used throughout the Office on	--		4. French Court Motet	VI	84-91/42v-46r

	the Ascension					
	Litany of Saints; Easter Vigil, All Saints Day, and conferring of Holy Orders	--		4. French Court Motet	VII	94-101/47v/51r
	Easter		RESURRECTION; EASTER Sunday; SALVATION; PEACE	4. French Court Motet	VII	102-109/51v-55r
	Easter Service			4. French Court Motet	VIII	110-115/55v-58r
13th century Antiphon about BVM	end Offices upon the choir's departure		MARIAN; BIRTH; QUEEN	4. French Court Motet	VIII	116-123//58v-62r
SEQUENCE consisting on three paired strophes originated in the 13th century and can be traced back to the Notre Dame Repertory	"Consistently associated with feasts of the Holy Virgin, but not connected to one particular liturgical day.		MARIAN; BIRTH; VIRGINITY; MOTHERHOOD; CHILDBIRTH	5. Late Tenor Motets by Josquin	IX	126-135/63v-68r
Non	Would be	Ercole	CHILDBIRTH;	5. Late	IX-V	136-

biblical; based on antiphon <i>Ave Maria</i> pp. 1416/1679 in the <i>Liber Usualis</i> ; Reference to Proverbs 8:22-30 in <i>Prima Pars</i>	appropriate for Marian feasts	Strozzi wrote the text. Published in 1513 posthumously as <i>Ad gloriosam virginem in Potetae pater et filius</i> . Published in Venice by Aldus Manutius	MOTHERHOOD; MARIAN; CHASTITY; star and sea; FALLEN WORLD; MERCY; REDEPTION; BREASTFEEDING	Tenor Motets by Josquin		143/68v-72r
Sequence about St. Barbara	Feast of St. Barbara; Virgin and Martyr; Dec. 4		Virginity; duty; familial praise		X	144-145/72v-73r
Text from <i>Text de Visitation BMV</i> without <i>cantus prius factus</i> ;			MARIAN; ANNUNCIATION echos within the text, MARRIAGE, CHASTITY, BIRTH, HEIR, SERVANT		X-XI	156-159/78v-80r
compilation of various text fragments, nine verses from the <i>sequence de Trinitate</i> ,	Would be appropriate on the fest of the Holy Trinity; Perhaps Pentecost?		TRINITY		XI	160-165/80v-83r

doxology (Gloria Patri, Benedica mus, Alleluia, and Amen) Plainsong used in the doxology						
Various text fragments of the BVM without cantus prius factus.	Appropri ate for Marian Feasts		Marian; Virginity; birth; motherhood; Floral imagery (rose); breastfeeding; Original sin (Eve)		XI	166- 169/83v -85r
	Antiphon to the Magnific at for the Feast of the Expectati on of Birth of the BVM, Decembe r 18th		VIRGINITY; BIRTH; MAIDENHOOD		XI-XII	170- 173/85v -87r
	Assumpti on of the BVM; 15 August	--	Marian	6. French Court Motets	XII	174- 181/87v -91r
Song of Songs 2:2	Antiphon 1 at Vespers and Lauds;	Connected to St. Anne and Anne of Brittany	Marriage; love; floral		XII	184- 185/92v -93r

	Purification of the BVM					
	Sixth responsory of Matins for the feast of the BVM		Beauty; light; female companionship/admiration; Floral (roses & lilies of the valley)---- could this be a union between France and England?;		XII-XIII	188-191/94v-96r
Matthew 1:1-16	Sung in the monastic liturgy as the concluding gospel at Christmas Matins; this practice later spread throughout the Universal church.		Birth; Marian; lineage		XIII	192-203/96v-102r
Luke 3, 21-4, 1.	Final gospel at Matins at Epiphany in the monastic liturgy; practice later spreads throughout the universal church		Transfiguration; baptism; genealogy; Marian; birth; lineage		XIII	204/102v

—	Divine Office incorporated into Compline and other Offices in the 12th c by Cistercians and others. Responso ry for the Annuncia tion.	<i>Gaude Maria Virgo, cunctas, haereses</i>	Marian; Annunciation of Christ; Birth; lineage		XIV	206-213/103 v-107r
13th century antiphon			Marian; “Kindly Mother Redeemer”		XIV- XV	214-225/107 v-113r
		Claude Marot in his <i>Adolescence clémentine</i> 1532.	JOY; COURTLY LOVE; PLEASURE;		XV	226-227/113 v-114v
			REGRETS; SADNESS; SORROW; COURTLY LOVE		XV	228-229/114 v-115r
Micah 6:3, Jeremiah 2:2, Isaiah 5:2, 40	Improperia; Offices for Good Friday the Savior		Reproaches; forgiveness; redemption		XVI	234-241/117 v-121r
Based on Zacharias 12, 10; Cantus firmis is based on the Antiphon	Lauds on Holy Saturday	Also based on a humanistic poem by Maffeo Vegio published in 1521 in	Love; crucifixion		XVI- XVII	242-249/121 r-125r

Plangent cum quasi unigentium		Turin. The poem also appears in a prayer book made for Anne of Brittany.				
Luke 14, 16, 17; Proverbs 9,5; from Dominica n source <i>Homo quidam fecit cenam</i>	Responso ry; most sources of the chant designate <i>Chorpus Christi</i> ; Vespers and Processio ns	Processions and after the chapter at Vespers	Invitation; hospitality; Bread and Wine; Body of Christ		XVII	250-255/125 v-128r
Psalm 123:8	Antiphon 3 Vespers Thursday 3 per year		Divine help; creation		XVII	256-259/128 v-130r
	Feast of the Trinity	Connection to the Primer	Trinity		XVII	260-263/130 v-132r
			DRINKING Song; HOSTESS		XVIII	266-267/133 v-134r

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