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A Study of the Brussels 228 Chansonnier and Patronage in Margaret of Austria's Court

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REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY

A Study of the Brussels 228 Chansonnier and Patronage in Margaret of Austria's Court

Catherine Lamarre

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the MA Musicology with a Specialization in Women's Studies

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Abstract

This study examines the sixteenth century chansonnier, Brussels 228, which was compiled for Margaret of Austria (1480-1530). The analysis of the text, music, and gendered discourse found within will reveal how Margaret's status as a widow and a ruler influenced her musical patronage and the construction of this manuscript. In particular, the chansons *Me fauldra il, Il me fait mal,* and the two settings of *Dulces exuvie* will reveal the involvement of Margaret within the artistic production of her court. As well, an analysis of texts set to music within this chansonnier as well as by Josquin des Prez will examine the nature of his relationship with members of Margaret's court. The analysis of these works supports the underlying premise of this thesis, that Margaret manipulated the image of herself as widow along with existing societal conventions to produce a document that is an ideal expression of Margaret's patronage and her self.

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I would like to gratefully acknowledge the help and support of those who assisted me in the writing of this thesis. First, I would like to acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for its financial assistance. To Professor Paul Merkley, for inspiring me to pursue musicology and to ask the difficult questions as well as his invaluable support regarding the finer details of renaissance musical scholarship. Thanks also to Professor Nicole Labelle, for stepping in to help me finish this project. Special thanks go to Jessica Thirlwall, for her continuous support and critical eye, and also for showing me many resources that helped enrich this thesis immeasurably; and to David Banga, for his superior editing skills. I would also like to thank my friends and family for their continuous support and encouragement.

Introduction

The early 16th century was a period of great change in Europe. Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World in 1492, and colonization was becoming a priority for Spain. The English and French were still at odds, and the Duchy of Burgundy had fallen at the end of the 15th century, disrupting a delicate balance of power. Humanism emerged in Italy and swept through the European continent. This change in worldview brought Europe out of the dark ages and into the Renaissance. As well, a new religion was gaining popularity in German speaking countries, that of Martin Luther and his Protestantism. All of these events had far-reaching implications, both for the people who lived in Europe at the time, and for Western civilization for centuries to come. In the midst of all the cultural change, music was also undergoing a slow but radical transformation. Slowly, the harmonic function in polyphonic music was shifting from the tenor line into the bass. Pervasive imitation was becoming a popular compositional feature. As well, composers were experiment with more vocal parts. This combination of pervasive imitation and increased voices necessitated developments in compositional process, since the current modal system

was too rigid to encompass the changes. Sometimes vocal parts had to be manipulated in order to avoid dissonances, and the voice that shifted in order to accommodate proper harmonic function was increasingly becoming the lowest voice. While the modal system still reigned supreme and composers would not have thought of these changes in harmonic terms, this was indeed taking place and compositional process would alter drastically in ensuing generations. Eventually, these changes became codified into the major and minor scales that formed the basis for the harmonic system in use during the Common Practice era.

Secular music was one of the first sites of this shift; more specifically, the five-voice chanson. These chansons were particularly fertile ground for a number of reasons. One was that secular music was far more progressive than sacred music, which was still the pre-dominant form of polyphonic composition at this time. Another was simply the increasing number of voices that composers were using. The genre of five-voice *chanson* started appearing sometime during the last decade of the 15th century or the first few years of the 16th century. While composers of the 15th century focused their contrapuntal composition around the tenor voice, the addition of a fifth vocal line made it much more difficult to compose polyphony in this manner. Finally, there are seldom any chant *cantus firmi* in chansons, simply because chansons are secular in nature and thus do not require a sacred chant element. This change in process would have a trickle-down effect, spreading to chansons with fewer voices and spawning a new genre towards 1530, the Parisian chanson.

It is clear that Europe was on the cusp of dramatic changes, changes that all combined to influence the court of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530). The court was established for the future Charles V (1500-1558) by his Regent in the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria. Widely acknowledged as a woman of political acuity, piety, and artistic

sensitivity, Margaret assembled one of the most extraordinary courts in all of Europe, one which included leading humanists, writers, painters, and musicians. With all of these accomplishments, she established herself as a great patroness of the arts, so that all would know of her and remember her after her death. As both the daughter and emissary of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I (1459-1519), she negotiated treaties with both the French and the British, married into three of Europe's great houses, and ruled the Netherlands with grace and skill. She also commissioned a manuscript, a *chansonnier* for her personal use that reflected her tastes and her elevated position among Europe's elite.

This thesis focuses on an analysis of the Brussels 228 chansonnier and what we can infer about Margaret, her court, and musical compositional processes from its contents. By applying a discursive analysis to the music and text, I will illustrate that her gender was a central factor in knowledge production at her court and within her circle of influence. The ultimate goal of this thesis is to construct a dialogue with the past by interpreting the musical and gender discourses evident in Brussels 228 in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of Margaret's life, court, and society.

Margaret was connected by birth and by marriage to several important European dynasties. She was the daughter of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, who married to create the Habsburg-Burgundian Empire. Her father used her to form political alliances through marriage, first to the dauphin Charles of France , then to Juan of Castile (son of Isabella and Ferdinand II) (1478-1497), and finally to Philibert le Beau (1480-1504), Duke of Savoy. After being rejected by Charles and widowed by Juan and Philibert, Margaret asked not to be married again and her father instead granted her the regency of the Netherlands in the name of her nephew Charles. It was in this final role that Margaret

achieved her greatest accomplishments; she was a noted negotiator, patroness, and ruler. Not surprisingly, Brussels 228 was produced was during her years as regent. That a woman was able to achieve so much was an astonishing fact that gained the attention of her contemporaries, both intellectual and royal, and has piqued the curiosity and imagination of many generations of scholars since her death.

The most prominent scholar of Margaret in contemporary musicological circles is Martin Picker, whose 1965 book, *The Chanson Albums of Margaret of Austria*, provides a point of departure for my own research. In this book, he provides a very thorough description of Margaret's life, court, and the Brussels 228 manuscript. While he identifies many of the composers of the pieces through concordance and provides an excellent critical edition of Brussels 228, he does not venture further into more interpretive territory. I will use his work as a foundation for my own, taking the events and music that he describes and applying a feminist interpretive framework to selected chansons as well as to the act of musical patronage in the early 16th century.

As a woman, Margaret faced many limitations that a man of her rank would not have faced in the sixteenth century. While acknowledging the significantly privileged life she led, being gifted with wealth, intelligence, political influence, and unencumbered with a husband, Margaret still had to face obstacles created by her gender. As a result, it is essential that any analysis of her life and patronage be undertaken with the understanding that her gender would have shaped her thoughts and actions, as well as the reactions of those around her. Since an analysis would necessarily be gender-based, adopting a feminist methodology will enable me to address these issues of gender with the weight and gravity needed to produce a balanced picture of the results of her patronage.

After much reflection, I have decided to adopt a methodology that allows me to account for the gendered discourse contained in Brussels 228. Because this manuscript was created for Margaret, it will contain music that she considered appropriate for herself, a woman of refinement and sensibility. This manuscript, combined with an examination of other examples of her patronage will create a window into Margaret's world that will allow us to understand the gendered discourse in her court. In constructing a methodology that adequately embraces feminist ideals and the surrounding social milieu of Margaret's time, I owe a debt of gratitude to the ideas of Michel Foucault, a sociologist who pioneered this type of thinking with his book, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1*, and Sara Mills, who provides us with a roadmap of how it is possible to adapt Foucault's ideas to feminist analysis. The primary idea that I use is one that relies on the belief that human action and interaction is socially constructed, and this social interaction forms a discourse, or conversation, that is evident even after the fact in texts and artefacts. One of the best features of adopting this methodology is that it lends itself quite nicely to musical analysis. After all, music of this time contained many conventions of its own which combined to created different discourses. And Brussels 228 is an ideal artefact for a study of this time, containing as it does a set of texts constructed and compiled for a specific person at a specific point in time.

I apply discourse theory because discourse, as explained by Foucault, examines relationships between groups and individuals based upon their methods of communication. It can illuminate aspects of power and knowledge production, important features of patronage. While Margaret lived several centuries before these theories were constructed, the application of discourse theory will help in the reconstruction of Margaret's role in the creation of Brussels 228.

Many discourses are evident in Brussels 228. The discourse of gender is an obvious one, because the texts are often dictated from a gendered point of view, either that of a woman's grief, or a man's love for a woman. The discourse of power is also present, especially since it was produced for a ruler by her courtiers. These two discourses meet in the pair of chansons I study in chapter three, *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal,* which offer a woman's lament and a courtier's response, thus engaging in an intricate balance of intersecting discourses surrounding gender, love, and power. Music also offers rich discursive elements, those of musical forms, modes, and motives.

In my discussion on patronage, I will also draw from Deanna MacDonald's dissertation, "Acknowledging the "Lady of the House:" Memory, Authority, and Self-Representation in the Patronage of Margaret of Austria."[1] She examines current theories about patronage in art history, and applies them to Margaret's artistic commissions while also respecting considerations of her gender. I hope to provide a similar type of insight from a musicological perspective by applying this type of analysis to Brussels 228, a manuscript that MacDonald does not examine.

Chapter one will provide Margaret's biography, and establish what her goals as a patron would have been. Chapter two will examine the manuscript itself, from the physical aspects to elements of patronage and *topos*. Chapter three will undertake an analysis of two paired *unica* chansons, *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal.* Chapter four will examine two secular motets, both setting the text *Dulces exuvie* from Virgil's *Aeneid.* Finally, chapter five will address works with texts that Josquin des Prez also set to music.

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1 MacDonald, Deanna. "Acknowledging the "Lady of the House:" Memory, Authority, and Self-Representation in the Patronage of Margaret of Austria." Diss. McGill University, 2002.

It is also important that I situate my thesis within the broader feminist project. By examining Margaret's musical patronage from both a gendered and discursive angle, we can expose the subversive elements at play within the societal conventions surrounding womanhood during the sixteenth century. I will examine Margaret's role in "creating and reinforcing dominant paradigms, national identities and cultural norms."[2] This fits in with the subversive aspect of her personality, and we can see it not only through her artistic patronage, but also through the political work she undertook on behalf of her family. Margaret consciously used the image of the widow to advance her own interests as well as the interests of her family.

"Given that most historians pre-dating second-wave feminism tended to ignore or leave out women, it was apparent that 'History,' far from being objective, is dependent on the subjective viewpoint of the historian."[3] Rather than attempting to arrive at a purely objective view of sixteenth century patronage practices, this thesis will seek to arrive at a possible interpretation of the musical patronage practices of one woman and, hopefully, provide another lens through which scholars can view the production of the secular music of this time period. Since this thesis cannot seek to proffer anything but subjective interpretation of existing cultural material, it is important to base this interpretation on existing cultural discourses, as defined by Foucault. This analytical approach will not only encourage the contextualization of the chansons in Brussels 228 with other chansons extant at the time, but also with other art being produced in Margaret's court and even with her life's events. Music formed only a small part of the cultural output of Margaret's court, and thus we must

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2Cowman, Krista, and Louise A. Jackson, "Time," *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory*. Mary Eagleton, ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003, 11-31.

3 *Ibid.*, 39

take care to situate the works in this manuscript within a larger context.

Joan W. Scott, a feminist historian, states that "Historians must take as their project *not* the reproduction and transmission of knowledge said to be arrived at through experience, but the analysis of the production of knowledge itself."[4] This is what I hope to do in this thesis. While analyzing the contents of the manuscript, I will be asking how each particular piece came to be in the manuscript. While on the surface this appears to be a question of transmission, it is really a question of production because I am asking *why* each work is where it is. In order to do this, it is essential for me to adopt "an approach that is concerned with hermeneutics rather than grand theories of cause and effect" and to be preoccupied with "relationship between representation and identity." [5] This position situates my methodology as one that is post-structuralist in nature, or at the very least, concerned with contributing to the construction of a cultural history that takes a hermeneutical approach.

4 Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson, "Time," *Feminist Theory,* Mary Eagleton, ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, 41 (1991: 792)
5 *Ibid.*, 42

Chapter 1: Margaret's life and court

An examination of Margaret's life, specifically her education, court, and patronage of the arts in the Netherlands, is certainly in order before we proceed to the specifics of the Brussels 228 manuscript. By reviewing Margaret's life, we can contextualize the contents of Brussels 228 through events in her life and her intellectual, societal, and familial influences. This process of contextualization is essential to any analysis of music from Margaret's court because we otherwise run the risk of arriving at false conclusions if we approach the music from a more general context that does not take Margaret's gender and life into account.

"La Dame infortunée"

Margaret was born to Maximilian of Habsburg (1459-1519) and Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482), thus making her a member of the first generation of the Habsburg-Burgundian dynasty. The exalted status Margaret acquired as a result of her birth would shape the events of her life and consequently her patronage. This status afforded her wealth, education, and rank over male courtiers, and indeed, most of the men in Europe. As a result of this, she was not required to show men as much deference as most women would have at the time, with

the exception of her father, husbands, and other male relatives. As well, a brief look at her family tree and marriage connections reveals that Margaret was tied to many of the major courts of Western Europe.

Margaret's life was certainly an eventful one by any standards. She was betrothed at the age of 3 to Charles VIII of France. She spent her childhood in France and was provided with an education intended to prepare her for her role as queen of France. However, a struggle between France and the Empire over control of Brittany soon changed Margaret's position. In 1490, her father Maximilian negotiated to marry the then 11 year old Anne of Brittany. However, Charles' sister sent him to Brittany with an army and he married Anne on December 6, 1491, thus winning control of Brittany away from the Habsburgs and dissolving his contract with Margaret.[6] Margaret remained a "guest" of the French for another year while negotiations over the return of her dowry were conducted, returning to her family in 1493. Mary Beth Winn identifies two chansons by Octavian de Saint-Gelais, *Tous nobles cueurs* and *Tous les regretz* as being written specifically for this occasion.[7] This is important because these two chansons appear in Brussels 228, thus demonstrating a facet of the personal nature of the manuscript and also perhaps indicating that Margaret also felt sorrow about her departure from France, her childhood home.

Following her time in France, Margaret married prince Juan of Castile and Aragon as part of negotiations with Spain that also included the marriage of her brother Philip the Fair to Juana of Castile and Aragon. Juan and Juana were the children of Ferdinand II of Castile

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6 Deanna MacDonald, *Acknowledging the "Lady of the House:" Memory, Authority, and Self-Representation in the Patronage of Margaret of Austria.* Diss. McGill University, 2002, 12-13.

7 Mary Beth Winn, "'Regret' Chansons for Marguerite d'Autriche by Octavien de Saint-Gelais," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, xxxix (1977), 30-1.

and Isabella of Aragon, the monarchs who financed Christopher Columbus' expeditions to the New World. Margaret's time with the Spanish court must have been quite exciting; she was there to witness Columbus' third voyage to the New World and saw the treasures he brought back with him. Incidentally, Columbus named one of his ships in this voyage the *Margarita* in honour of the new crown princess of Spain.[8] Margaret was deeply influenced by the discovery of the New World, as evidenced by her possession of one of the largest ethnographic collections in Europe at the time.[9] One can also imagine that living in the repressively Catholic court of Ferdinand and Isabella also left its mark in Margaret. Her time in this court was to be short-lived, however, because Juan died in 1497 and Margaret delivered a still-born girl a few months after his death.[10] These deaths left her free of any obligation to the Spanish court and able to remarry.

After Juan's death, Margaret once again married to her father's political advantage, this time to Philibert le Beau, Duke of Savoy. He was related to the French royal family and held lands that would provide Maximilian with overland access to Italy, helping him in his campaign to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Margaret, however, did not appear to be impressed with this marriage, and MacDonald mentions that Margaret refused to sign a document stating that she was not being coerced into this marriage.[11] This marriage also turned out to be short-lived, lasting from 1501 to Philibert's sudden death in 1504.

After two tragic marriages in such quick succession, Margaret demanded that her father and brother allow her to remain unmarried. She had been married three times for the

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8 *Ibid.*, 13.
9 Deanna MacDonald, "Collecting a New World: The Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria," *Sixteenth Century Journal,* XXXIII/3 (2002), 651-3.
10 MacDonald, dissertation, 14.
11 *Ibid,* 14.

sake of political expedience, and all three marriages had left her devastated. Instead, Margaret sought to establish her independence as a widow and ruler of her dower lands. Whether or not Maximilian would have granted her this reprieve became moot in 1506, when her brother Philip died unexpectedly, leaving behind six children and a widow who was mentally unstable. Margaret stepped in and assumed the regency of the Netherlands for her nephew Charles, and took on the responsibility of the education of all her nieces and nephews. Margaret chose Mechelen as the seat of her regency, and lived there until her death in 1530.

It was in this last role as regent and guardian that Margaret truly excelled. She became renowned throughout Europe for her diplomatic skills and negotiated several treaties on behalf of both Maximilian and Charles. Margaret also assembled a court that included some of the leading humanist scholars and artists of her time, creating one of the earliest northern European humanist courts. Some of the more notable members of her court included Adrian of Utrecht, who later became Pope Adrian VI, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Agrippa von Nettesheim (author of *De la Superiorité des Femmes*), the composer Pierre de la Rue, poets Molinet and Jean Lemaire de Belges, and painters Bernard van Orley, Jacopo de' Barbari Albrecht Dürer, and Gerard Horenbout. It is interesting to note that many of these notables were progressive in their thinking, and Margaret's decision to assemble such a court demonstrates both her progressive attitude as well as a court that was in transition from a medieval-style feudal court, to a humanistic renaissance court.

It is this time period in Margaret's life that this thesis will examine, that of her residence in Mechelen from 1508-1530, when her status both as a widow and as a regent allowed her to become a great patron of the arts and a participant in the knowledge

production at her court. The rest of this chapter will focus on the intersection between Margaret's patronage and her expression and manipulations of her image as a woman and as a widow. Also important to keep in mind is the fact that Margaret was the first Habsburg woman to hold authority in this way, and MacDonald notes that her success was influential in her nephew Charles' use of Regents to maintain hold over an increasingly vast empire in the later sixteenth century.[12]

Patronage and Gender

While Margaret was certainly an excellent regent and a well-educated woman her gender often dictated her behavior as a ruler and patron. This is particularly evident in the chansonnier Brussels 228 because it was compiled for her according to her personal tastes and primarily contained secular music, which had the advantage of having fewer restrictions, both musical and textual, than sacred music. This section will demonstrate that Brussels 228 was the perfect vehicle for a female ruler to express herself as a patron.

Margaret introduced many new cultural trends to her court in the Netherlands. She had one of the first, and largest, ethnographic collections in the Netherlands as a result of her ties to the Spanish court, the Italian-Renaissance school of art came to her court and she also had one of the earliest northern humanist courts.[13] The careers of many internationally renowned singers and composers also added to the cultural stature of her court. Pierre de la Rue spent many years at her court, as well as at the courts of her brother and nephew. Furthermore,

12 *Ibid.*, 16.
13 *Ibid,* 26.

while there is no direct evidence that he was ever a member of her court, Josquin des Prez had spent many years in Italy before composing the chansons that appear in Brussels 228, at least one of which we know was composed specifically for Margaret.

In her dissertation, Deanna MacDonald explores Margaret's patronage of art and architecture from a gendered perspective. [14] She observes that "...a female ruler did need to consider gender in her actions, speech and image. Margaret was well aware of the limitations and advantages of her gender and manipulated her words and image accordingly...Margaret's successful rule revolved around her ability to understand and manipulate society's codes."[15] While applying MacDonald's observations, my analysis of Margaret's patronage looks through the lens of the Brussels 228 manuscript and her musical patronage. This will provide a different angle than MacDonald's because she is exclusively preoccupied with visual art and architecture. My work differs from and adds to MacDonald's work in that I am preoccupied with a holistic analysis of Brussels 228, a manuscript that is not mentioned anywhere in her dissertation. This omission is surprising given that Brussels 228 contains a portrait of Margaret and MacDonald provides an exhaustive listing and analysis of all of Margaret's other portraits. MacDonald deals exclusively with Margaret's artistic commissions, while I take her methods and apply them to the aspects of Brussels 228 that deals with art and patronage. MacDonald does not have a written text for her to analyze and also can be assured of the patronage of her work because there are usually documents that detail the commissioning of artworks, or the art contains portraits of Margaret herself. While it is a reasonably simple matter to determine that Brussels 228 was compiled for Margaret from the presence of her portrait and arms, it is

14 *Ibid,* 1.
15 *Ibid.* 30.

anybody's guess as to how many of the *chansons* were written at her behest, or even for her. Possible routes of transmission always provide musicologists with interesting puzzles, and this manuscript has a few puzzles of its own. A full discussion of the circumstances surrounding the transmission of individual pieces will ensue in the chapter dealing with the physical aspects of the manuscript.

MacDonald explores masculine and feminine behavior in art patronage in the 16th century. While masculine patronage would produce works that were costly, public, monumental and self-referential, feminine patronage would produce works that could contain the masculine traits, but at the same time the work also had to be feminine and virtuous. [16] MacDonald's explanation of this code of behavior enables us to see how a chansonnier would be a perfect medium for Margaret to express herself musically within a court setting. This manuscript is clearly self-referential, containing her portrait and arms, personal motifs (daisies and pearls), and chansons with texts that we can easily link to Margaret either because she wrote them, they were written for her, or they conform to the *topos* of lament that pervades this manuscript. Paul Merkley has, for example, established that the chanson *Plus nulz regretz* by Josquin was composed for the signing of the Treaty of Calais on January 1, 1508.[17] Alamire's workshop, which produced the manuscript, clearly put a great deal of effort and attention to this manuscript and spent a great deal of money, thus fulfilling another of the masculine requirements for patronage of costliness, demonstrating the wealth of Margaret's court. However, while this manuscript is both costly and self-referential, the nature of the works within provides a balance that allows Margaret to maintain a veneer of feminine modesty and decorum. These chansons would generally

16 *Ibid,* 32.
17 Paul Merkley, "Josquin desprez in Ferarra," JM, (XVIII, 4, Fall 2001), 568.

have been performed within the privacy of her court and thus retained the personal nature of the manuscript. Of course, visiting courtiers and dignitaries would doubtlessly have seen the manuscript and heard the chansons contained within, but the nature of this form of patronage was still less public than a spectacle or grand artwork praising Margaret's virtue. As well, the theme of lament was an appropriate, even virtuous, theme for a woman who had been widowed twice and never borne children.

Another aspect of patronage that MacDonald explores is the perception of the role of the patron in 16th century Europe. She asserts that the patron was viewed as the actual creator of the work, and the artist was simply the means through which the patron's vision was expressed.[18] This view of the patron as the originator of the artwork and the artist as the means through which the patron's ideas are expressed could quite easily have implications for music as well. By using this interpretation of patronage, Margaret's penchant for collecting regretz chansons becomes a penchant for *creating* regretz chansons. As well, this line between the role in the creation of art played by the patron and artist becomes increasingly blurred when we recall that Margaret wrote some of the poetry for Brussels 228 herself. This idea will have implications in further chapters, especially in my discussion of the manuscript and the chanson *Me fauldra il.*

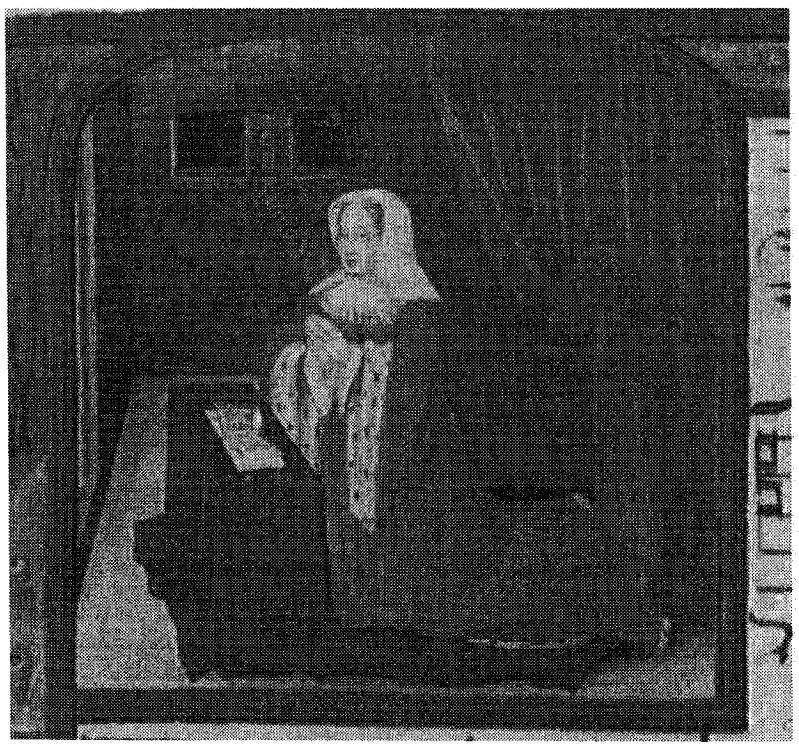
The first opening in Brussels 228 is particularly rich in details and provides several points of interest for scholars studying Margaret, her patronage, and her life. While the rest of the manuscript affords fertile ground for analysis, the opening motet, *Ave sanctissima Maria*, is particularly meaningful.

Margaret's portrait is clearly visible on the upper half of fol. 2r (see figure 2). She is

18 MacDonald, 3.

depicted kneeling at an altar and praying to the Virgin Mary. Her simple garb and widow's hood are typical of her portraits from 1504 onward. This portrait reinforces Margaret's public image as a chaste widow devoted to religion and prayer. McDonald mentions that the widow image was often portrayed as religious or devotional. As well, Margaret's bedroom contained an altar and cushion for kneeling during prayer (like the one shown in the Brussels 228 portrait).[19] She also kept a diptych by Orley in her bedroom.[20]

Figure 1: Portrait of Margaret, Brussels 228, *fol.* 2r, detail.



This posture of Margaret at prayer also features the words "*memento mei,*" thus indicating a supplication to the Virgin Mary, who is the subject of the opening motet. However, this positioning of Margaret as supplicant belies the self-aggrandizing and self-

19 *Ibid.*, 142.

20 Bernard van Orley, *Margaret of Austria and the Virgin and Child*, 1510's. Left panel: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; right panel, lost.

referential nature of this portrait. McDonald notes that Margaret was unusually self-promoting while maintaining an outward appearance of propriety. Her portrait collection emphasized the glory of her family in relation to her, and her religious patronage served to sanctify her House *and* her person.[21] This is also visible in Brussels 228: the first work is a Marian motet with illuminations that depict Margaret in prayer, her coat of arms, and the Virgin Mary. Thus, we can see that this first opening serves to place Margaret firmly within the Habsburg-Burgundian dynasty by placing her coat of arms on the same folio as her portrait, and Margaret's sanctity is emphasized both through her prayerful posture and the miniature of the Virgin on the facing page. Margaret's placement in both the heavenly and secular planes is further accentuated by the relationship between the placement of the miniatures and the corresponding vocal parts. While this motet is in six voices, it is canonic so there are only three parts written out on the page. The Virgin corresponds with the superius voice, Margaret with the tenor, and her coat of arms with the bassus. This positioning affords Margaret the most important place because the tenor is the voice of authority and the central voice. The placing of the coat of arms and the Virgin are also significant; with the Virgin occupying the highest voice, one could argue that this is the voice that is closest to the heavens, and the coat of arms' association with the bottom-most voice corresponds with earthly matters. Margaret's placement of herself below the heavenly yet above the earthly could be interpreted as putting herself in the realm of the saintly. Margaret's sleeves are lined with ermine, a fur reserved for royalty which further cements her status within this manuscript and within Europe's ruling classes. Brussels 228 also contains referential music such as laments for her father and brother, as well as chansons

21 MacDonald, dissertation, 33.

written for her (*L'épitre de l'amant vert, Plus nulz regretz,* and *Me fauldra il* and *il me fait mal*).

The portrait of the Virgin Mary also offers a strong indication of the possible identity of the miniature artist for this manuscript. Margaret commissioned Gerard Horenbout to complete the *Sforza Hours* manuscript in 1521. He tended to paint saintly figures and Mary in the image of Margaret, another example of sanctifying a personage through religious patronage and self-representation.[22] When we compare the features of the Virgin with Margaret, some remarkable similarities become apparent (see figure 3). First, there is the colour of the hair and the shape of the face. Second, both figures share a prominent lower lip, an identifying feature of many members of the Habsburg family. The combination of the stylistic aspects of the miniatures and the presence of Horenbout in Margaret's vicinity at approximately the right time certainly leads to a strong possibility that it could indeed be Horenbout who is the anonymous miniaturist. However, Dagmar Thoss, a leading scholar of art in Margaret's court, identifies the miniaturist as the Master of Charles V, the miniaturist of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1859.[23]

Figure 2: Virgin Mary, Brussels 228, *fol.* 1v, detail.

22 *Ibid.,* 142.

23 Dagmar Thoss, "Miniatures in the Alamire Manuscripts," *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535.* Herbert Kellman, ed. Ludion: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1999, 54.

However, with regards to a Horenbout attribution, Thoss acknowledges the difficulty in arriving at one definitively:

> ...it is precisely in connection with the label "Horenbout" that we face a complex series of problems concerning attribution and stylistic identity. Instead of becoming clearer as the number of scholarly studies grows, the contours of Horenbout's work are becoming more diffuse and harder to grasp. The widespread influence of his work, and the apparently overwhelming production of the school, continually constrain efforts to distinguish separate assistants, associates, and followers...It would surely be preferable, therefore, to identify all those miniatures we are not able to attribute convincingly to a well-defined miniaturist, or at least, to a well-defined workshop, as, simply, "Flemish," or "Ghent-Bruges school."

Unfortunately, Thoss neglects to delineate the features that prompt an attribution to the Miniaturist of Charles V, rather than Horenbout or even his workshop. As a result, I prefer to stand by my hypothesis for the time being.

The border also contains many self-referential images. Martin Picker has identified the daisies and pearls as images that are representative of Margaret because in French all three share the same name, Marguerite. However, the referential nature of the imagery does not

stop there. Margaret had several beloved pets throughout her life; indeed one of them, her parrot, is the subject of a satirical poem, *L'Épitre de l'amant vert,* by Jean Lemaire de Belges. An extract of this poem appears as the chanson *Soubz ce tumbel* on *ff.* 26v-27. I would like to make note of another direct reference to one of her pets, a monkey, in this manuscript (see figure 3).

Figure 3: Brussels 228, *fol.* 1v, bottom left.

The image of a monkey appears in the lower left-hand corner of the border on fol. 1v. My belief that the presence of this monkey is more than coincidental is reinforced by a 1499 portrait of Margaret that depicts her with two pets, a dog and a monkey.[24] The presence of such an animal in Brussels 228, and at such a prominent part of the manuscript no less, indicates another aspect of Margaret's personal taste.

Depictions of family in Margaret's patronage

In exploring Margaret's patronage and self-depiction in Brussels 228, we can see how she uses the image of herself as a noble widow to project a female authority. By

24 Master of 1499, *Margaret of Austria praying in her chamber*, c. 1501 (?) Museum of Fine Art, Ghent (MacDonald dissertation, 142).

appropriating and subverting the image of widow for her own interests, Margaret reinforces her image as a woman of piety, gravity, and reliability. However, we can see through her use of her family members' official portraits that she also manipulated the images of her relatives for political gain, while at the same time reflecting the patriarchal system that she lived in. As well, MacDonald believes that while Margaret's patronage was informed by both her paternal and maternal lineages, her Burgundian mother's culture may have influenced Margaret's patronage for geo-political reasons.[25] Margaret would have been careful not to produce artistic work that was too heavily "German," because the local authorities and population would not have been well-disposed towards that. As well, a simple survey of the members of her court shows that she tended to bring in scholars, artists, and musicians from the local area, namely Dutch, Flemish, and Frenchmen. This would have publicly reinforced her Burgundian heritage and helped with her general acceptance by her subjects. However, the principal reception hall in Margaret's residence, the Palace of Savoy, Mechelen, omitted her official portrait and that of her mother. This is interesting in light of the fact that Margaret's authority to rule in the Netherlands came from her mother's side of the family.[26] This omission could easily be seen as a part of Margaret's careful crafting of her image. First of all, she was the first woman in her family to hold any amount of power in her own right, and not through that of a husband. She might not have been overly eager to remind other rulers, and even her own family members, of that fact. As well, such a display of femininity might have been considered too bold for a woman of her time. After all, women were supposed to be self-effacing while the men were self-promoting.

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25 MacDonald, dissertation, 26
26 *Ibid,* 137-38.

Margaret as author and composer

Like many privileged women in the late fifteenth century, Margaret's education included musical and artistic training. Martin Picker quotes from Jean Lemaire's *Le couronne Margaritique* in describing her accomplishments: "besides feminine work of sewing and embroidery, she is excellently skilled in vocal and instrumental music, in painting and in rhetoric, in the French as well as the Spanish language...she has taken pen in hand and described elegantly in prose as well as in French verse her misfortunes and her admirable life."[27] As we can see, Margaret was certainly an intelligent woman, and her gentle upbringing left her with a strong appreciation for and knowledge of the arts she patronized. As well, we can see from this quote that she was quite fluent in French; indeed, it was her preferred language for communication and was the language spoken in her court. This perhaps explains in part her penchant for collecting chansons, rather than German or Flemish language songs.

Margaret's writings even appear in Brussels 228. *Pour ung jamais* and *Se je souspire/ecce iterum* are both certainly by Margaret, as evidenced by first-person referrals to events in her life. *Me fauldra il* is also likely by her because of the nature of the text as well as the nature of the responding text in the following chanson.[28] *Se je souspire/ecce iterum* is of particular interest because it appears that Margaret may have composed the music as well as written the text. Picker suggests that: "[i]n view of the personal character of the text and its idiosyncratic musical style, Margaret may well have been its composer, or at least a

27 Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Margaret of Austria*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965, 14.

28 Further analysis of *Me fauldra il* will follow in chapter 3.

collaborator in its musical conception."[29] This hypothesis is certainly plausible since we know that Margaret was instructed in the musical arts and an active participant in the artistic production of her court. As well, the extremely personal nature of the lament reinforces the possibility that Margaret composed the music. Certainly, the style does not fit the compositional style of any other piece in Brussels 228 or of any her court composers. Given her accomplishments in other areas, it would be surprising to learn that Margaret *hadn't* composed music at some point in her life.

Religious Convictions

Margaret was also renowned as a woman of great religious devotion and this is reflected in her patronage in many ways. Even though Brussels 228 is primarily a secular chansonnier, the opening work is a Marian motet and the miniatures that accompany this music reinforce Margaret's devout image. The image of Margaret praying to the Virgin Mary is superimposed with the actual image of the Virgin on the facing page, thus achieving an elevation of Margaret to a religious figure, as well as promoting herself as a "good" woman. However, one has to examine her religious devotion with a critical eye to what it helped her gain in the material world in addition to the spiritual fulfillment she might have gained from her Church-related activities.

As I previously mentioned, Margaret had to work within the constraints of sixteenth century society to achieve her goals of political power. One way she did this was to

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29 Martin Picker, "Margaret of Austria (1480-1530)," *Women Composers: Music Through the Ages, ed.* M. Schleifer and S. Glickman, i New York: G.K. Hall, 1996, 89.

cultivate the image of herself as a noble widow, devoted to the promotion of her family and the memory of her departed husband. MacDonald points out:

> In terms of patronage, the most common activity of widows was that of creating memorials for dead husbands, a duty Margaret devoutly carried out. In pictures and in her own person, Margaret also emphasized her piety and virtue, further placing herself beyond censure. A person with a reputation for sanctity could rationalize a grand public commission as an act of charity or for the glory of God...For example, Brou, although begun to honour her husband, was ultimately for her own glory.[30]

MacDonald's example of Brou is especially pertinent because Margaret had made it clear that she did not want to marry Philibert, the husband she was honouring. Thus, while acknowledging that Margaret had suffered more than her fair share of misfortunes, it seems somewhat unlikely that she missed her husband so much that she built a grand monument in his memory. Furthermore, it becomes even more unlikely when one considers that she appears just as often as Philibert in the artwork in the memorial.

Since Margaret commonly manipulated her own image to gain political influence, one must wonder how deeply felt her religious convictions were. She grew up in a time when the Church held a great amount of power throughout Europe, and owned vast tracts of income-producing land. Margaret had also married Juan of Castile and Aragon, whose mother Isabella was renowned in her efforts to stamp out heresy in Spain through the employment of the Spanish Inquisition. Finally, when her brother Philip died, her nephew Charles became crown prince and later king of Spain. It was certainly sensible for Margaret to cultivate a self image of feminine piety and devotion. As we can see, she even did this in manuscripts devoted to secular matters. Her religious involvement certainly paid off in terms of secular power. Margaret would likely never have held her power in the Netherlands

30 MacDonald, dissertation, 32-3.

for as long as she did without an image that was above reproach. As well, Margaret campaigned to have Adrian of Utrecht elected as Pope, a move that paid off for Charles when he later sought to become the Holy Roman Emperor. Given that pope Adrian VI owed his position to the Habsburgs, he gave Charles the legitimacy he sought in becoming Emperor.

Fortune infortune fort une

Before closing this chapter, I would like to briefly comment upon Margaret's personal motto, *fortune infortune fort une*. I have encountered divergent translations of this motto during the course of my research. Martin Picker translates this motto as "fortune makes one very unfortunate."[31] Deanna MacDonald translates it differently, as "the changes of fortune make one stronger."[32] I believe that Picker's is the appropriate translation, although I am not certain how to interpret the word *fortune*. The translation that MacDonald uses is incorrect because it employs the word *fort* twice, once as a verb and once as an adjective. As for the meaning of the word *fortune*, I am of two minds. Should we read it literally, as luck or wealth, with the implication that the fortune is good? Or should we read *fortune* as having more to do with an allegorical figure, Fate, who controls the outcome from above. Given Margaret's motto and her name for herself, "*la Dame infortunée,*" and her overall material and political success in life, it is tempting to read *fortune* as a reference to an allegorical character.

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31 Picker, 1965, 13.
32 MacDonald, dissertation, 11.

Chapter 2: The Manuscript

Chapter 2 deals with the physical aspects of the manuscript, such as a complete physical description and the contents of the manuscript. As well, I will discuss the workshop of Alamire, the producer of this manuscript, and place this manuscript within the context of contemporary manuscripts from his workshop. Furthermore, I will examine the theme of lament that is present as an overall *topos*, as well as a personal theme of Margaret's literary, musical, and artistic production.

Physical Description[33]:

The manuscript contains 73 parchment leaves, which are numbered in a modern hand. It measures 26 cm by 36.5 cm. There are three large divisions: folios 3v-35r, 36v-49r, and 50v-68r, with each section separated by a blank folio. The principal scribe copied 54 of the 58 works. Picker also identifies twelve gatherings: folios 1-2, 3-10, 11-18, 19-26, 27-35,

33 Martin Picker has worked more closely with the manuscript over the last 40 years than anyone else. It is therefore unavoidable that I will rely directly on his observations for the current section of this chapter. The three principal descriptions that Picker gives appear in his 1963 book, the introduction for the facsimile book (1986), and his entry for the catalogue of Alamire manuscripts, published in 1999. I will indicate when a particular observation appears only in one or two of the sources; all of the physical measurements mentioned have been drawn from all three sources together.

36-43, 44-49, 50-55, 56-59, 60-63, 64-69, and 70-73.[34]

The first two sections consist for the most part of four-voice chansons, followed by a section containing three-voice chansons. In the Alamire catalogue, Picker mistakenly reverses this order and states that the first two sections are devoted to three-voice settings.[35] Typically, chansonnier of this time had the opposite structure of Brussels 228, with a section of three voice chansons followed by a section of four voice chansons. Illuminations appear on the first 16 folios, which contain decorated borders and initials. As well, the first two folios of the third section are also illuminated. The illuminations at the beginning of the third section combined with the almost exclusive appearance of three voice chansons leads Picker to speculate that the final section may originally have been intended to form a separate manuscript.[36] Considering the fact that the final section of the manuscript contains almost exclusively three voice chansons, while the first two sections contain primarily four voice chansons, this seems like a reasonable assumption, particularly when one takes into account the unusual ordering of the three and four voice chansons. However, the problem is a bit more complicated than that. For instance, the three sections were all copied by the same scribe, as I will explain later. As well, the subject matter of the chansons is consistent from section to section. Both the scribal and topical unity indicate that there was a certain amount of planning involved in the manuscript, belying the assumption that it started as two separate chansonniers.

As I mentioned in chapter 1, it is clear that the manuscript was conceived and

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34Picker (1965) 112.

35 Picker, 1999, 69

[36]Picker: Alamire book, 69.

designed for Margaret; it contains her portrait and coat of arms on folio 2r, and frequently contains daisies and pearls (both can be translated as *marguerites*) as decorative motifs. As well, the music and text clearly refer to her as well as specific events in her life. In addition, an illumination that depicts Margaret praying to the Virgin Mary appears in the first initial of the tenor part of the opening motet, *Ave sanctissima Maria*, by an unknown composer.[37] This dedicatory motet is a good choice for both a ruler and a woman. In many ways, this manuscript also aptly demonstrates the gendered conventions surrounding patronage in the early 16th century.

None of the fifty-eight works contained in Brussels 228 contain attributions to a composer, with the exception of no. 25, *Plus nulz regrets,* a four voice chanson composed by Josquin des Prez with text by Jean Lemaire de Belges (for a list of contents of the manuscript, see table 1). Since all of the remaining works in this manuscript are unattributed, scholars have only been able to make attributions for some pieces through concordance with other contemporary sources that we are reasonably certain contain reliable attributions. This still leaves twenty-four unattributed works, nineteen of which are unique to this source. Of the attributed works, 15 are by Pierre de la Rue, 4 are by Josquin, 4 are by Agricola, 4 are by Compère, and Brumel, Ockeghem, Gaspar von Weerbecke, Pipelare, De Orto, Prioris, and Fransiscus Strus are each represented by one work. In the case of *Plus nulz* regrets, the name *Josquin Despres* appears in the initial of the superius on folio 27v, indicating the composer quite clearly. This chanson was composed to mark the signing of the treaty of Calais on January 1, 1508. While there has been some debate surrounding the

[37]Picker notes in his 1965 book that an Attaignant print ascribes this work to Verdelot but dismisses the attribution as doubtful (116)

actual date of composition, Paul Merkley persuasively argues that *Plus nulz regretz* was composed for the actual treaty signing ceremony.[38] The presence of this chanson in this manuscript combined with the ascription is an indication of both Josquin's stature as a composer and also of the importance of the personal event that occasioned the commission of this chanson.

38 Paul Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferrara," *Journal of Musicology*, v. XVIII, n. 4 (Fall 2001), 568.

Table 1: Contents of Brussels 228

Number	Folios	Incipit	Composer	Poet	Parts
1	1v-2	Ave sanctissima Maria			6
	2v-3	blank			
2	3v-4	Tous les regretz	(Pierre de la Rue)	St-Gelais	4
3	4v-5	De l'oeil de la fille du roy	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
4	5v-6	Ce n'est pas jeu	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
5	6v-7	Secretz regretz	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
6	7v-8	Dueil et ennuy			5
7	8v-9	Trop plus secret	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
8	9v-10	Autant en emporte le vent	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
9	10v-11	Il est bien heureux	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
10	11v-12	Pourquoy non	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
11	12v-13	Ce m'est tout ung			4
12	13v-14	Pour ce que je suis	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
13	14v-15	Quant il survient			4
14	15v-16	Je n'ay dueil	(Ockeghem)		4
15	16v-17	Mijn hert altijt	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
16	17v-18	Fors seulement	(Pipelare)		4
17	18v-19	Du tout plongiet/Fors seulement	(Antoine Brumel)		4
18	19v-20	Revenez tous regretz/Quis det ut veniat	(Alexander Agricola)		4
19	20v-21	Je n'ay dueil	(Alexander Agricola)		4
	21v-22	Residuum: Car Dieu voulut			
20	22v-23	Dueil et ennuy/Quoniam tribulation	(Johannes Prioris)		4
21	23v-24	Maria, Mater gratie			5
22	24v-25	Dulces exuvie		Virgil	4
23	25v-26	Sancta Maria, succurre/O werder mondt	(Franciscus Strus)		4
24	26v-27	Soubz ce tumbel		Lemaire	4
25	27v-28	Plus nulz regretz	Josquin des Pres	Lemaire	4
26	28v-29	Entrée suis en pensée	(Josquin des Prez)		4
27	29v-30	Vexilla regis prodeunt/Passio Domini	(Pierre de la Rue)	Hymn text	4

28	30v-31	Dulces exuvie	(Marbriano de Orto)	Virgil	4
29	31v-32	Fama Malum		Virgil	4
30	32v-33	Quant il advient			5
31	33v-35	Proch dolor/Pie Jhesu Domine			7
	35v-36	blank			
32	36v-37	C'est ma fortune			4
33	37v-38	Las, hélas			4
34	38v-39	Hélas, fault il			4
35	39v-40	Doleo super te	(Pierre de la Rue)		4
36	40v-42	Cueurs desole/Dies illa			5
37	42v-43	Plusieurs regretz			4
38	43v-44	Changier ne veulx			4
39	44v-45	Aprez regretz			4
40	45v-46	Me fauldra il		Margaret?	4
41	46v-47	Il me fait mal			3
42	47v-48	Anima mea	(Weerbecke)		4
43	48v-49	Plaine de duel	(Josquin des Prez)		5
	49v-50	blank			
44	50v-51	Pour ung jamais	(Pierre de la Rue)	Margaret	3
45	51v-52	Tous nobles cuers	(Pierre de la Rue)	St-Gelais	3
46	52v-53	A vous non aultre	(Pierre de la Rue)		3
47	53v-54	Va t'ens, regret	(Loyset Compère)		3
48	54v-55	Sourdez, regretz	(Loyset Compère)		3
49	55v-56	Plaine d'ennuy/Anima mea	(Loyset Compère)		3
50	56v-58	Se je souspire/Ecce iterum		Margaret	3
51	58v-59	Ce povre mendicant/Pauper sum ego	(Josquin des Prez)		3
52	59v-60	O devotz ceurs/O vos omnes	(Loyset Compère)		3
53	60v-62	Se je vous eslonge			3
54	62v-64	L'eure est venue/Circundederunt	(Alexander Agricola)		3
55	64v-65	Je ne scay plus			3
56	65v-66	Je ne dis mot			6
57	66v-67	J'ay mis mon cueur			3
58	67v-68	Triste suis			3
	68v-73v	blank			

Date of Manuscript

When it comes to determining the actual date of compilation, we are indebted to the Margaret's record-keepers. They allow us to surmise that the manuscript was compiled between 1516 and 1523 for a number of reasons, one of which is clearly indicated in palace inventories. There is no mention of the manuscript in a 1516 inventory of Margaret's library, but it is listed in a 1523 inventory. As well, while Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz* can be dated to approximately 1508 and the signing of the treaty of Calais, evidence suggests that some compositions were added after the main body of the manuscript had been written, but before the gatherings were bound into a manuscript. The motet *Proch dolor/Pie Jhesu (*foll. 33v-35r) was written for the death of Margaret's father, Maxmilian I, which occurred in 1519. This piece is written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript (and the same hand as Josquin's *Plaine de dueil,* foll. 48r-49v), and was presumably added in or after 1519. While neither piece appears in the same section of the manuscript, both appear at the ends of gatherings, which further supports the theory of a late addition into the manuscript.

Alamire's workshop

Brussels 228 was compiled in Alamire's workshop, a prominent producer of musical manuscripts for the Habsburg-Burgundian court from 1508-1535. Beautifully illuminated and meticulously scribed, these manuscripts served both as gifts for other European leaders as well as practical manuscripts that were used regularly. Having originated from Alamire's workshop, one can learn much about Brussels 228, from likely routes of transmission to

possible composers for the *unica* chansons to performance practice in Margaret's court.

While Alamire was a scribe and a singer, he also managed to embroil himself in the games of international politics and espionage. From 1515-1518, Alamire served as an English spy on France. His involvement in espionage ended in speculation that he was also spying on the English for the French.[39] Aside from these less than legitimate activities, Alamire's travels also served as a route of transmission for polyphonic music. Many of the chansons in Margaret's manuscript are in French, suggesting that the composers had, at least, composed them for an audience that understood this language. While Margaret's French education accounts for the language of these chansons, it does not necessarily account for the provenance of all of this music. It is quite possible that Alamire brought some of the chansons with him from France, and introduced them to Margaret's court.[40]

Before getting into the specifics of the repertoire of this manuscript, it is necessary to situate it within the larger context of the manuscripts produced by Alamire's workshop for members of the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex. Brussels 228 is "the most personal music book within the entire manuscript complex,"[41] in part because many of the chansons contained within this manuscript have been tied to Margaret herself. It is also unique because it contains more text underlay than any other manuscript in the Alamire complex of manuscripts; it is the only chansonnier to contain full text underlay.[42] This is interesting for several reasons. The first is that it strongly suggests that an entirely vocal performance was intended by the users of the manuscript, rather than a singer accompanied by instruments or

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39 Eugeen Schreuers, "Petrus Alamire: Musical Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy," *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535*, Herbert Kellman, ed. Ludion: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1999, 18-19.
40 Blockman, *Alamire,* 11
41 Eric Jas, *Alamire*, 31.
42 *Ibid.,* 31.

even entirely instrumental performances. As well, it is perhaps the only surviving chansonnier compiled before 1530 to contain full text underlay in all of the voices, to the point that repetitions are written out and syllables are separated in order to denote melismatic passage. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of text underlay in renaissance music. This was a time before the act of composition implied a composers' control over the actual performance of the piece. Music was often performed by a set of commonly followed conventions that dictated how to sing the text based on the length of the notes in the composition. As well, *musica ficta* was practiced at this time. The practice of *musica ficta* meant that even the notes on the page were subject to certain rules, and could be altered depending on the circumstance. This practice came out of the hexachord system, not to be confused with the modal system, of the middle ages. Furthermore, musical performance practice was often dictated by local custom, so the performance of a chanson in Paris wouldn't necessarily sound the same as a performance in Mechelen.

Warwick Edwards states that Brussels 228 is a particularly good source for the analysis of text because it contains careful underlay. He examines the superius underlay for clues to performance practice. However, he cautions that one must take scribal practice into account; the scribe would copy first the music, then the text.[43] This could occasionally result in the crowding of text if there is a passage with a high rate of syllabic change. Edwards cites Compère's *Sourdez regretz* as example. Here, the superius line features melismas that are broken by rests. "Yet everything we know of the tradition of lyric verse behind the texts of Marguerite's chanson albums points to how little their authors were concerned about the regular and predictable distribution of verbal stresses within lines in relation to the all-

43 Edwards, 1987, 33.

important matters of rhyme and syllable counting. If we centre our investigations around the musical accentuation of individual words we shall be doomed to failure."[44] In other words, Edwards is cautioning us against seeing what we want to see in terms of text underlay given our modern musical training and esthetic.

The presence of such complete text underlay in Brussels 228 also indicates the importance of the textual element of the chanson. Margaret was a literary woman, and we know that she wrote some of the poems in this manuscript so it is certainly understandable that the text would be given such emphasis. While making the task of transcription and performance easier for the modern scholar, the underlay in Brussels 228 can at times be unclear and one must also be watchful for scribal errors. As I mentioned earlier, the notes in the manuscript and the text underlay do not represent the totality of the composer's intentions nor of the singers' practices. Still, it is nice to see underlay that even includes repeated text; it certainly demonstrates an emphasis on the textual.

Alamire's workshop produced musical manuscripts for the courts of Phillip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, and Charles V. He also produced manuscripts for other European courts.[45] In terms of musical transmission of French chansons and the repertoire of the northern "Franco-Flemish" composers, Alamire served as an important point of transmission. One of the reasons that Brussels 228 is so interesting is that while it contains numerous chansons that appear uniquely in this manuscript, it also contains works composed for Margaret that became famous throughout Europe (most notably Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz*). The dissemination of Alamire manuscripts undoubtedly helped that happen.

Pierre de la Rue no doubt also increased his international reputation through his

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44 *Ibid.*, 37.
45 Kellman, *Alamire*, 6.

presence in the Alamire manuscripts. He is by far the most prominent composer in this complex of manuscripts, with 35% of the masses attributed to him.[46] He is also the most prolific composer in Brussels 228, with 15 of 58 pieces attributed to him. Some scholars attribute many of the *unica* chansons to Pierre de la Rue because of stylistic similarities, but unless new evidence is uncovered, it is impossible to prove that he composed any other chanson in the manuscript. That is not to say that it is unlikely that some of them are by la Rue; it is in fact quite likely, given that he was a singer in Margaret's court as well as Charles V and Philip the Fair's courts.

Josquin des Prez is another composer whose works appear prominently in the Alamire manuscripts. Kellman mentions that a preponderance of works by French composers Mouton, Févin, and even Josquin, indicates some sort of route of transmission between France and Alamire.[47] This last reference to Josquin is puzzling because he retired to Condé in 1503, not far from Margaret's court and Alamire's workshop, so that could easily account for his prominence in the manuscripts. He was also the most renowned composer in Europe in his day, so it is not unreasonable to presume that compositions by him would be sought after. As well, at this time there is little direct evidence to prove that Josquin was active in France, although it is certainly quite possible that he was in the employ of one of the French kings.

Brussels 228 was produced during the first half of Alamire's workshop's production (1508-1520).[48] One principal scribe appears to be responsible for copying the majority of pieces, fifty-four of the fifty-eight compositions. It does not appear that scholars have

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46 Jas, *Alamire*, 29
47 Kellman, *Alamire*, 10.
48 *Ibid.*, 11.

reached a consensus on the scribes for the remaining four hands. In the introduction to the facsimile edition of Brussels 228, Picker states that three different scribes were accountable for the remaining pieces (nos. 1, 31 and 42, and 43, 42 respectively) and that the principal scribe is the same scribe that copied Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, musiksammlung, MS Mus. 18746.[49] However, he does not make this clear in his catalogue entry for *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire* (1999). Here, the possible candidates for principle scribe are C, C_1, or C_6.[50] Flynn Warmington identifies the principle scribe for Vienna 18746 as Alamire, who is not mentioned as a candidate for the principle scribe of Brussels 228. Warmington also identifies the hand on 48r as that of scribe X.[51] It can be very difficult to identify scribal hands within a manuscript since one scribe's hand could vary within the same manuscript depending on a variety of factors, including the quill, year copied, and even time of day. Generally scholars look for a variety of indicators to determine whether a particular scribe copied a passage. The most common indicators are the clefs, time signatures, shapes of note heads and lengths of stems, as well as rests and the *chiasmus*, a mark made by the scribe at the end of a line to indicate the first note of the next line.

After my own analysis, I agree with Picker's assessment that four scribes were responsible for the copying of Brussels 228. As Picker states, the principle scribe copied everything except for Nos. 1, 31, 42, and 43. A second scribe copied the opening motet on fol. 1v-2r. A third scribe was responsible for *Proch dolor/Pie Jhesu* (ff. 33v-35r) and *Plaine de duel* (ff. 48v-49r). The fourth scribe copied *Anima mea* (ff. 47v-48r). This fourth scribe is likely scribe X, as identified by Warmington. Kellman notes that there are two layers,

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49 Picker, 1986, vii.
50 Picker, *Alamire*, 69.
51 Warmington, *Alamire*, 49.

although he does not specifically identify these layers.[52] This is inconsistent with the number of hands present in the manuscript and what we know about the added pieces. I submit that there are three layers; the first being the one copied by the main scribe before 1519, the second one containing the opening motet, and the third containing the pieces *Proch dolor/pie Jesu* and *Plaine de duel*, which were added in or after 1519. A fourth layer is possible, comprising *Anima mea*, but it is not clear whether it was copied with the bulk of the manuscript, between the first and third layers, or with the third layer.

The distribution of the scribal hands indicates that the principal scribe copied the bulk of the manuscript and that the other pieces were likely late editions. This is a reasonable conclusion given that *Proch dolor* is a lament of Maximilian's death, which occurred in 1519, likely after the bulk of the manuscript had been copied. Given that one scribe copied most of the manuscript, it becomes possible to speculate that the ordering of the pieces in the manuscript was carefully planned, a particularly important detail in the case of the paired chansons *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal*, which I discuss in the next chapter.

I attempted to find some sort of significance in terms of the clefs used in the manuscript because both the modern G-clefs and F-clefs were present in this manuscript. However, this was more difficult than I anticipated because the scribe appears to use these clefs at random, sometimes choosing to use them in place of the more common C-clefs, and sometimes simply using the C-clef regardless of the possibility of using the G or F clef. This could perhaps be an issue of the scribe simply copying whatever he saw in his exemplar, or it could simply have depended on his own personal whim. If indeed the scribe's use of clefs

52 Kellman, Herbert. "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands," *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference,* ed. Edward E. Lowinsky in collaboration with Bonnie J. Blackburn. London: Oxford U.P., 1976, 231.

is an indication of the exemplar used, it could prove worthwhile to examine other manuscripts in the Alamire complex as well as concordant sources to possibly determine a route of transmission.

Repertoire

The nature of the repertoire in this manuscript is extremely personal; containing chansons that can only be found here, chansons with texts that are clearly referring to Margaret – whether through authorship or textual reference – and chansons that can be connected to composers who were active in her court at the time. This section explores the personal nature of the manuscript and examines the suitability of this manuscript as a product of feminine patronage.

Margaret was clearly involved in some of the creative aspects of the manuscript's production. We know that she was a poet herself, and usually wrote in French as a result of her upbringing. The texts for *Me fauldra il* and *Se je souspire/Ecce iterum* both appear to be by Margaret, the first because it is self-referential (as I will demonstrate in Chapter 3), the second because the author mentions Phillip the Fair as her brother. Since Phillip had only one sibling, Margaret, the authorship seems clear enough. As well, she is the subject of other chansons written by her courtiers. *Il me fait mal* is a response to *Me fauldra il.* Jean Lemaire de Belges wrote *l'Epitaphe de l'amant vert* as a love song to Margaret from the point of view of her parrot, which dies at the end from a broken heart. The famous *Plus nulz regrets* by Josquin des Prez and Lemaire celebrates her signing of the treaty of Calais on January 1, 1508. *Tous nobles cueurs* and *Tous les regretz*, written by the French court poet

Octavian Saint-Gelais, lament her departure from the French court in 1513. Her father, Macmillan I, is properly mourned in *Proch dolor/Pie Jesu*, further linking this manuscript to Margaret and her family. Picker has even recently speculated that she composed *Se je souspire/Ecce iterum* herself.[53] This is not impossible since her upbringing included a musical education as I mentioned earlier, and was common for the aristocracy at that time.

The question of usage of the manuscript is important in determining the role that music in general, and this manuscript in particular, played in Margaret's court. Evidence of usage can also give musicologists important clues regarding performance practice, especially if there are corrections written in a different hand from the original scribe. Corrections added in another hand, while rare, are especially helpful in determining how *musica ficta* was applied in Margaret's particular court, or how careful and knowledgeable the original scribe was in his transcription. A close look at Brussels 228 gives us indications that it was used by the court, rather than simply displayed or even locked away in a private library. There are stains left on the edges of the pages, where oil and dirt from hands turning the leaves have left their mark. The stains are located where one would place one's fingers when turning the page. It is interesting to note, however, that there are almost no corrections in the manuscript. This demonstrates that a high level of care went into the preparation of the manuscript and that the scribes were most probably well versed in musical notation. We can also speculate that the proximity of the scriptorium to the court would also have ensured that local practices were incorporated into the manuscript, rather than being added by the singer. Such a correction would most often take the form of added or removed accidentals, and occasionally corrected notes or note values.

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53 Picker, 1996, 89.

Theme of Lament

As many scholars have noted, the unifying theme for this manuscript is one of lament.[54] Given the many misfortunes in Margaret's life, Picker interprets the *topos* as a reflection of her personal life.[55] Since Margaret also referred to herself as "*la Dame infortunée*," this is certainly a reasonable assumption. As well, when we regard the *topos* of the manuscript within the larger context of female patronage and social conventions, it is a most appropriate theme for a woman who has been widowed twice by the age of 24. Given her bereavement, a chansonnier featuring songs of courtly love would have been inappropriate. As well, such a chansonnier would not have reinforced Margaret's carefully constructed self-image of the noble widow, and would have drawn the sincerity of Margaret's grief into question.

Winn examines the predominance of *regretz* chansons in Margaret's personal collection:

> The motif of "regret" flourished abundantly in France at the end of the fifteenth century. The word signified sorrow, grief, or pain which was usually aroused by the loss or absence of a cherished friend or object. "Regret" is found in poetry of all genres and is characteristic of the *complainte* or *déploration* so favored by the Rhétoriqueurs. Nowhere, however, is it more strikingly manifest than in texts set to music by the most famous composers of the Renaissance: "Mille regretz" and "Plus nulz regretz" by Josquin, "Va t'en regret" and "Venez regretz by Loyset Compère, "Allez regretz" by Hayne van Ghizeghem, "Tous les regretz" by Pierre de la Rue. "Regret" chansons abound in manuscripts from the late fifteenth and

54 See Picker, 1986, VIII, 1999, 70. Mary Beth Winn also notes the overwhelming tone of sadness in the repertoire (1977, 23).
55 Picker (1986), VIII

> early sixteenth centuries, but are most numerous in two manuscripts commonly known as the chanson albums of Marguerite d'Autriche...the prominence of this motif in her albums has been noted, and indeed interpreted as a reflection of Marguerite's personal misfortunes.[56]

Winn shows that the *regretz* chanson has become a well developed genre in its own right and was most popular at the same time as Margaret was suffering her misfortunes. Considering the number of *regretz* chansons in Margaret's collection, one has to wonder how she influenced the composition of these pieces. As I mentioned earlier, it is possible to tie many of the works in Brussels 228 to events in Margaret's life. Two of these works are *regretz* chansons: *Plus nulz regretz* and *Tous les regretz*. Of the eight *regretz* chansons in Brussels 228, two have been conclusively tied to Margaret, another, *Secretz regretz*, is by Pierre de la Rue, who was a member of her court for a number of years, two more appear uniquely in this manuscript (*Plusieurs regretz* and *Après regretz)*, two are by Compère (*Va t'ens, regret*, and *Sourdez, regretz*), and one is by Agricola (*Revenez tous regretz*). Compère sang in the French Royal chapel in 1486, and as a result quite possibly knew Margaret.[57] Agricola served both Charles VIII, and Philip the Fair, so he was possibly twice within the sphere of Margaret's patronage.[58] Given that it is possible to link Margaret with all of the known composers of the *regretz* chansons in Brussels 228, and that the remaining *regretz* chansons appear in this manuscript alone, it seems that Margaret was at the very epicenter of this literary trend. One has to wonder if she alone helped to fuel the composition of these chansons or if this is all mere coincidence. Certainly, the melancholy nature of these chansons is quite well suited for a widow who is also a patroness of music. Could Margaret

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56 Winn, 1977, 23.
57 Picker, 1965, 44.
58 *Ibid.*, 41.

have decided that there was a lack of suitably somber chansons for her to listen to and ordered the composition as well as the collection of these chansons?

Margaret also ensures that there are suitable laments to mark the passing of her brother, Philip the Fair and her father Maximilian. *Se je souspire/Ecce iterum* has a text written by Margaret, and laments the passing of her brother Philip in 1506. *Proch dolor/Pie Jesu* was added to the manuscript in another hand after the bulk of the manuscript had already been compiled and mourns the passing of Maximilian in 1519. It is written entirely in black notation, which is a highly unusual feature in manuscripts of this time because of the cost associated with using so much ink to fill in the note heads. Thus the black notation appears to be another sign of mourning, and given that this work laments the loss of Margaret's closest surviving relative (as well as the most highly-ranked one), the use of this notation is entirely appropriate. Picker speculates that the timing of this addition as well as the fact that Josquin's *Plaine de duel* was copied in the same hand means that Josquin may well have composed *Proch dolor.*[59] However, this seems like rather tenuous evidence upon which to base an ascription. Once again, we must wait and see if any documentary evidence bears out this speculation.

Conclusion

Brussels 228 is certainly a unique and richly meaningful manuscript. With the many personal references that this manuscript contains to Margaret's life, it provides us with a record of Margaret's tastes and a serves as an ideal reflection of her musical patronage

59 Picker, 1986, VIII.

practices. The extravagant amount of time, money, and effort that went into the compilation of this manuscript as well as the self-referential nature of the miniatures in the first piece and many of the chansons, transforms this chansonnier into the perfect vehicle for a female patron to express herself as well as advance a political agenda of self-promotion while maintaining an outward appearance of chastity and decorum. The unique nature of this manuscript reinforces the extraordinary nature of Margaret's accomplishments and highlights the difficulty women had at the time in terms of self-expression through artistic patronage.

Chapter 3: A tale of two chansons; or, an analysis of *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal*

Before proceeding to an analysis of the two chansons in this chapter, it is necessary to briefly describe some of the conventions of the emerging secular musical genre of the chanson in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The musical genre *chanson* is named after the French form of poetry that bears the same name and evolved from the earlier *rondeau* form. The genre is typified by four to eight lines of ten syllables each, grouped into two phrases of four and six syllables respectively, which differs from the rondeau, which has eight-syllable lines. These phrases are separated by a *caesura*, or pause, and it is this syllabic structure that is probably one of the identifying features of the musical genre as well. In a compositional feature that is clearly related to the textual structure, many chansons of the early sixteenth century open with a four-note motif that is followed by a *caesura* that then proceeds to a longer phrase. These first four notes are generally set syllabically and the following notes generally are more complexly set, with melismatic passages.

Josquin des Prez was a leading innovator in this new genre, and frequently deployed the four-note motive in an imitative setting, using pervasive imitation to further unify the music and the text. He also pioneered the emerging genre of the five-voice chanson, which was becoming increasingly popular in court circles throughout early sixteenth century Europe.

Margaret was an avid collector of chansons, and Brussels 228 provides a great deal of first-hand evidence about performance practice, the relationship between text and music, and her personal musical tastes. *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal* are perhaps the two most personal

chansons within this manuscript.

It is always interesting to ask the question: "how are chansons in a manuscript interrelated?" In Brussels 228, there is an interesting case of a pair of chansons, one is a lament, and the other one is a courtly response to this lament. In *Me fauldra il*, the author bemoans her misfortune and asks if she must always suffer. *Il me fait mal* is a response in which the poet offers to take on the suffering of the first author. This section will conduct a feature-driven analysis of the two chansons in order to explore the ways that the two are connected both textually and musically.

This pairing is evident in many ways. The first, and most obvious, is the structure of both chansons; *Il me fait mal* addresses the points raised in *Me fauldra il.* They are both decasyllabic, with *caesuras* after the fourth syllable. The rhyming scheme is identical from line to line: AABB BCCB CBBC. The opening two lines of *Me fauldra il*, "*Me fauldra il tousjours ainsi languir?/ Me fauldra il enfin ainsi morir?*" are answered with "*Il me fait mal de vous voir languir,/ Et cent fois plus de vous lessier morir.*" As we can see, the responding poet even uses the same rhyming words as the first author. This rhythm and structure is the first indication that this is perhaps a dialogue between a lamenting woman, and a loyal (male) courtier. The original sentiment of melancholy is answered with the response that it would pain the courtier to allow his mistress to die. The key word here is *lessier*; it implies that the respondent can influence the outcome of the woman's death. It does not seem reasonable for a man to have addressed another man in this fashion. The impression we have of the responding poet as male increases at the end of the stanza, when he offers to die for her. This would be an appropriate sentiment for a man to express to a woman, and it further increases the likelihood that the first poet is a woman, and the respondent is a man.

Example 1: Texts of *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal*

Me fauldra il
40: 45v-46

Me fauldra il tousjours ainsi languir?
Me fauldra il enfin ainsi morir?
Nul n'ara il, de mon mal cognoissance?
Trop a duré, car c'est des mon enfance.

Je prie à Dieu qu'il me doint attemprance,
Mestier en ay, je le prens sur ma foy,
Car mon seul bien est souvent près de moy;
Mais pour les gens fault faire contenance.

Parquoy conclus, seullette et a par moy,
Qu'il me fauldra user de pacience.
Las, c'est pour moy trop grande penitence;
Certes ouy, et plus quant ne le voy.

Must I always languish thus?
Must I in the end die thus?
Will anyone notice my suffering?
Too much to bear, thus it's been since my childhood.

I pray to God that he will grant me temperance
The priest knows it, I take it on faith,
That my own good is often near to me;
But for men I must make a good countenance.

Why conclude, alone and by myself,
That I must use patience.
Alas, for me it is too great a penance;
Certainly yes, and more that I cannot see.

Il me fait mal
41: 46v-47

Il me fait mal de vous voir languir,
Et cent fois plus de vous lessier morir.
Si possible'est de vous donner ordonnance,
Morir je veulx pour vous en grant souffrance.

Ayez en Dieu bonne et ferme esperance.
J'a mestier n'est, je le prens sur ma foy,
Que vous troublez, car tout au cler je voy
Que sans nul mal bien arez allegeance.

Pensez comment est escript en la loy
Qu'amours fait moult, et charité immense
Est de morir pour aultre, en confidence
Que je scay bien qu'une fois morir doy.

It hurts me to see you languish,
And would hurt a hundred times more to let you die.
If it is possible to give you the order
I would die for you who are in great suffering.

Have in God a strong and good hope.
I'm not a priest, I take it on my faith,
That you trouble yourself, that I see everything clearly,
That nothing evil will ally itself to you.

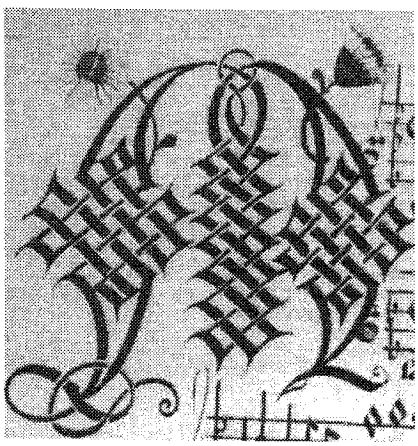
Think how it is written in the law
That loves make many, and charity immense
To die for another, in confidence
That I know well I must die one time.[60]

60 Translations mine.

The second stanza continues the lament and response theme. Once again, the rhyming scheme is identical in both chansons. As well, the first author expresses her faith in God, and her continuing piety in the face of adversity (*Je prie à Dieu qu'il me doint attemprance*). The response affirms her faith (*Ayez en Dieu bonne et ferme esperance*). This second stanza carefully constructs and reinforces the image of a woman who is pious and uninterested in the affairs of men. While it is well documented that Margaret was devoted to the Church and a very religious woman, it would have been in her own interest to actively promote this image of herself to others.

Picker raises the possibility that Margaret herself wrote *Me fauldra il.* He notes that the initial of the superius line is decorated with daisies (*marguerites*) (see figure 5). He speculates that this could indicate Margaret's authorship.[61] This is certainly the only piece in this section to contain such decoration, and the daisy appears throughout the manuscript as a representation of Margaret. There are, however, other indications that Margaret (or at least, a woman) wrote the text for this chanson.

Figure 4: Brussels 228, *fol.* 45v, detail.



61 Picker 1964, 137.

Merry E. Wiesner, in her book, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, states that the qualities that were desirable in women were "qualities like obedience, piety, and submissiveness."[62] The writer of this chanson appears to have these qualities in abundance. The first stanza indicates the author's submissiveness even as she laments her fate. The last line of the first stanza could also be read as autobiographical (*Trop a duré, car c'est des mon enfance*), if we suppose that the author is Margaret. She left the French court, where she was to marry Charles VIII, in 1493, at the age of 13, after he had rejected her at the age of 11. This was certainly a blow to the young woman, and the chanson could be referring to this incident. She also suffered many other times in her life. Margaret was married (and subsequently widowed) twice, first to Juan of Spain, and then to Philibert le Beau, Duke of Savoy.

Piety is a quality that is evident throughout *Me fauldra il*, especially in the second and third stanzas. She mentions that she prays to God to give her temperance and that she has faith. This is evident at other points in the manuscript. The opening piece is the motet *Ave sanctissima Maria*, which is attributed in other manuscripts to both Verdelot and Pierre de la Rue. There is a miniature on the upper initial of 2r, depicting Margaret at prayer. This devotional miniature was consistent with the other manuscripts and portraits, which show rulers' piety (especially for women). When one takes into account Margaret's life history, this miniature seems all the more apt. A devotion to prayer and piety would have been an appropriate reaction to the misfortunes in her life. Retuning to *Me fauldra il*, the author also mentions penitence, indicating that she believed she has transgressed in some way. This combination of passivity and piety indicates a strong likelihood that the author of *Me fauldra il* is indeed a woman, and it is also quite possible that the author is Margaret, given the possible autobiographical content. When taken as a whole,

62 Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000,

this lament is a proper formal, courtly expression for a woman of high qualities and appropriate sentiments.

Having examined the text of these two chansons, I will now turn to an examination of the music. One question for consideration is whether or not the music reflects the lament and response form of the text. Having amply demonstrated the textual interrelationships between the two texts, it is now time to determine if the musical features demonstrate the same sensitivities and parallels. In other words, did the composer of the second chanson have knowledge of the musical content of the first?[63] Or did one person compose both chansons? Honey Meconi believes that both pieces are the work of Pierre de la Rue, based on stylistic features.[64] This musical analysis will address the musical parallels between the two chansons, as well as search for "feminine" and "masculine" qualities, as they were articulated by the theorists of the time.

The first discrepancy between the two chansons is immediately apparent to even the most casual observer. *Me fauldra il* is a four-voice chanson, and *Il me fait mal* is a three-voice chanson. While this is a significant difference, it is not necessarily as problematic as one might originally think. The *superius, contra,* and *bassus* are the three voices in common in the two chansons, and there is no significant difference in overall range for the two pieces. Even the clefs placements are the same. *Il me fait mal* is missing the tenor voice, and while this is not a voice typically associated with women, it is a voice with a certain amount of authority. The absence of the tenor strengthens my earlier assertion that this chanson is the response of a courtier, or of someone lower in status than the lamenting female in *Me fauldra il.* As well, this

63 While it is certainly possible that the second chanson was composed first, the placement within the manuscript and subject matter indicate that it is a response to *Me fauldra il.* Thus, for the purposes of this analysis, I will treat *Il me fait mal* as though it was composed after the first chanson.

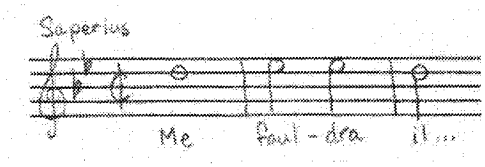
64 Honey Meconi, "Pierre de la Rue, ca. 1452-1518," *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535.* Herbert Kellman, ed. Ludion: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1999, 37.

is the only three-voice chanson to appear outside of the three-voice section of the manuscript. It appears on ff. 46v-47r, incidentally in the center of a gathering and thus presumably deliberately placed, while the three-voice section only begins at folio 50v, in the first opening of a new gathering. It seems clear that the two chansons were meant to be placed together, despite the different number of voices, and that this difference may even have been a deliberate tactic on the part of the composer.

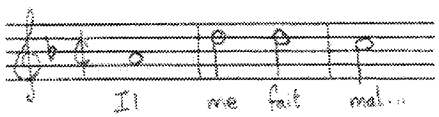
As well, *Il me fait mal* is significantly shorter than *Me fauldra il.* Once again, this difference is consistent with the idea of a courtier responding to his ruler. It would have been highly improper for a courtier's response to overshadow his monarch's statement. In this case, when we transcribe these works into modern notation with a semi-breve equaling a half note, the response contains 40 measures, compared with the lament's 54 measures.

Having discussed some of the differences between the two chansons, let us now examine similarities. Both have an opening four-note motive that is set syllabically with the text (examples 2 and 3).

Example 2:



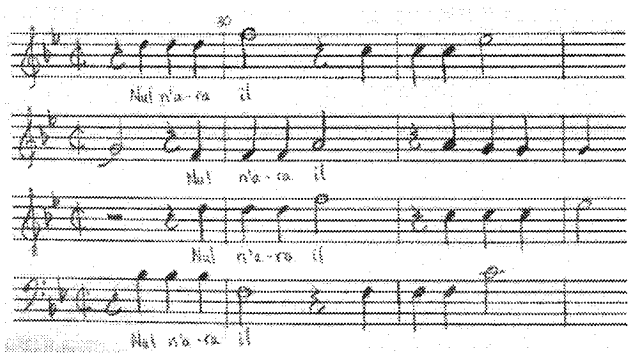
Example 3:



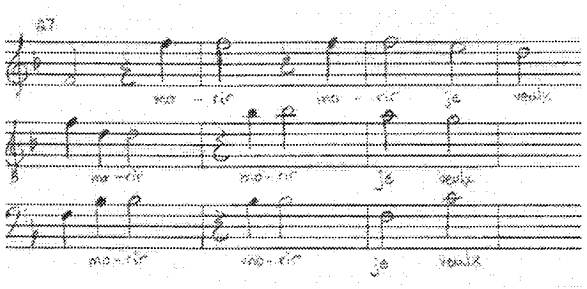
The contour of this motive is the same in both chansons, which strengthens the argument that *Il me fait mal* was likely composed as a response to *Me fauldra il.* This feature probably would have struck the listeners immediately and provided them with a sense of continuity if the two chansons were performed together. As well, both chansons are highly imitative in nature, although *Me fauldra il* is slightly less imitative than *Il me fait mal.*

Another interesting feature that these two chansons have in common is a brief hocket-like passage, lasting only a few moments (examples 4 and 5). In *Me fauldra il,* this passage occurs in measures 29-32 on the words *nul nara il,* which open the third line of the chanson. *Il me fait mal*, however, contains this passage in measures 27-29, on the word *morir*, which opens the concluding line of the chanson. While this brief hocket-like point of imitation does not occur at the same place in the text for both chansons, it is interesting to note that it does occur at almost the same temporal point in the chanson, again something that the audience likely would have noticed and appreciated. As well, this was not an imitative feature found in every chanson of the time, thus making it even more significant to find in this particular pair as well as it being a distinctive feature that is easy to hear.

Example 4:



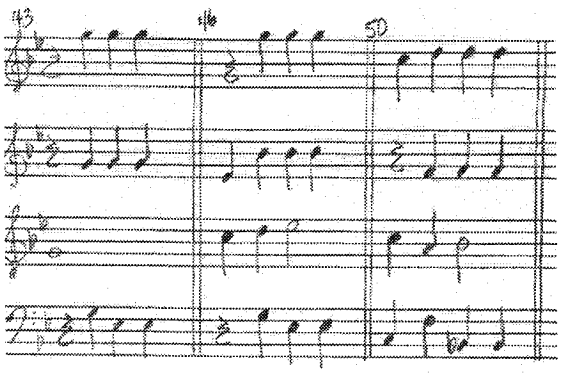
Example 5:



There is one other significant point of similarity between the two chansons. In the final

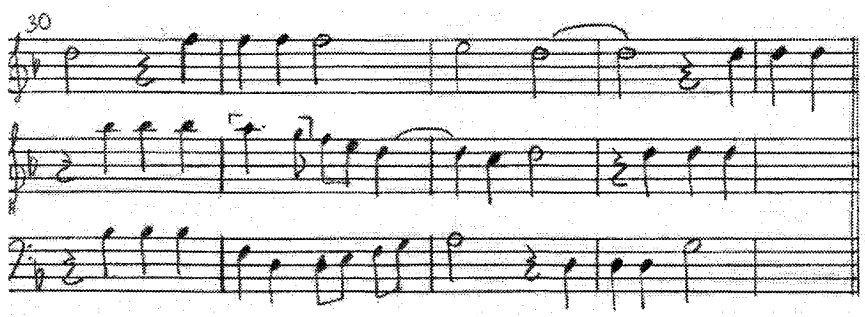
sections of both chansons, we find a pattern of three repeated pitches on minims. This occurs in *Me fauldra il* in measures 43, 46, and 50 in the *superius*, measures 46 and 50 in the *contra*, and not at all in the *tenor* and *bassus* (example 6).

Example 6:



While the *tenor* line is offset from the other three lines, the bassus does have three minims in a row at the aforementioned measures. It appears that the only reason the *bassus* line do not repeat the pitches is to provide a sense of harmonic variety. In *Il me fait mal*, the three repeated minims occurs in all the voices, although they are slightly offset from each other. The *superius* contains the motive at measures 30-1 and 33-4, the *contra* at measures 30 and 33, and the *bassus* at measures 30 and 32-3. Once again, we see clear motivic links between the two chansons (example 7).

Example 7:



In terms of scribal practice within the manuscript, there are several things to note. The first is that both pieces were copied by the same scribe. In both cases the *superius* voice contains G-clefs rather than C-clefs. As well, the only other clef used is the C-clef. Both pieces are meticulously copied, although there is some crowding of the notes at the end of the *superius* part in *Me fauldra il*. The text is written in a modern cursive, rather than Gothic, style. As well, repeated text is fully written out in *Me fauldra il*, and both pieces clearly indicate melismatic passages by separating syllables of words.

Another notable feature of *Me fauldra il* is that the opening phrase, *me fauldra il*, is repeated in the top three voices before proceeding to the rest of the line. This is unusual for a number of reasons. As I have mentioned earlier, full text underlay is rare in manuscripts from this time period, and written out repetitions are even more unusual. As well, modern editors tend to repeat the second part of a line, rather than the opening phrase. Furthermore, there are several places later in this chanson where there is no text underlay, leading one to question whether the text is supposed to be repeated or perhaps indicating a melismatic or event instrumental passage. Moreover, the only other repeated text that is written out is the final line. Having determined that this is an unusual feature of the underlay, it is time to determine what a possible function of such a repeat could be. The most immediate possibility is that it serves to emphasize the use of first person in this chanson, and thus elevates the status of the narrator through the repetition and emphasis. Margaret's likely authorship of this poem lends weight to this idea and also once again demonstrates a subtle form of self-promotion by Margaret.

Il me fait mal lacks this repetition, and indeed the scribe does not write out any repetitions of the text. This could simply be an indication that there are no opportunities for the text to be repeated, but the *superius* contains a passage in the second line that has no

corresponding text. Did the singers repeat the opening line here? Did they perhaps sing an open vowel sound? Or did this indicate an instrumental passage? Whatever the answer, the opening phrase of *Il me fait mal* is not given any emphasis through repetition. Since this chanson already opens with the same motif as *Me fauldra il* and the tone of the response is appropriate for a courtier speaking to his lady, perhaps it would have been presumptuous to use the same repetitive technique since it would then give the courtier's voice equal footing with that of his lady's.

This chapter provided an analysis of two chansons that are clearly paired within the manuscript, are most likely from Margaret's court, and have compositional features that indicate they were composed with the intention of being sung together. The lament and response format of the texts, combined with the opening musical motives, clearly serves to link the two works together in the mind of the listener. Given the personal nature of the *Me fauldra il*, it is highly likely that Margaret wrote the text herself and thus was conscious of the images that she was creating through the text. *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal* provide scholars an intimate example of the nature of the masculine and feminine discursive elements present in a woman-led court at the start of the sixteenth century.

Chapter 4: Feminine regrets: the case of Dido's lament

In Brussels 228, *Dulces exuvie* is the only text that is treated in two separate compositions, one by Marbriano de Orto, and the other anonymous.[65] This text is also an unusual one simply because it does not fall easily into an identifiable compositional genre. Normally, compositions with Latin texts are religious in nature, and called motets. The secular nature of *Dulces exuvie* is in keeping with the rest of the manuscript; however we cannot call it a chanson because it is not in French. Martin Picker simply identifies these pieces as secular motets, which indicates that these pieces have non-religious Latin texts.[66] This particular text comes from Virgil's *Aeneid*; it is Dido's last cry of lament immediately before she throws herself on her own funeral pyre. This was a popular text at the time; Josquin also composed a polyphonic setting to this text. Picker briefly explains the presence of these works by saying "(t)wo settings of Dido's lament from Vergil's *Aeneid* (Nos. 22 and 28) typify Margaret's obsession with mourning as well as humanist current of the time; the latter setting is by Marbriano de Orto (d. 1529), leader of her chapel."[67] While the subject of *Dulces exuvie* is consistent with the *topos* of the manuscript, the classical origin, the two settings, and the moral lessons of this text all make it worth a closer examination.

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65 Kellman tentatively ascribes the anonymous setting to Agricola in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 110.
66 Picker 1965, 95.
67 Picker 1986, VIII.

Analysis of Historical and Textual Sources

As Janet Schmalfeldt explains in her article, "In Search of Dido," Virgil's Dido is based on a historical figure.[68] The historical Dido was the Phoenician princess of Tyre and the founding Queen of Carthage. She was also a widow, known for her commitment to chastity, who committed suicide in order to avoid an unwanted second marriage that would have been forced upon her. We can see from this brief description of the historical Dido that she had much in common with Margaret of Austria. Like Dido, Margaret was a widow with an aversion towards remarriage and a reputation for chastity. They were also both rulers who were born into noble families and eventually ruled territories without the help of a husband; they both did this within male-dominated systems. They were strong and independent women who were able to manipulate the image of the widow in order to gain a position of power in an overwhelmingly patriarchal society. However, Margaret also had similarities to Virgil's Dido.

Virgil's Dido appears in books I and IV of the *Aeneid*, and she somewhat resembles the historical Dido. While still a widow and the queen of Carthage, her resemblance to the historical Dido ends there. Briefly, Aeneas finds himself on the shores of Carthage after escaping the aftermath of the Trojan Wars, where he becomes the recipient of the widow Dido's gracious hospitality. At this point the gods become involved, with Venus charging Cupid to "enflame her (Dido's) heart with a passion for Aeneas that is uncontrollable and ruinous."[69] After the many machinations of various gods, Aeneas returns to Italy, leaving Dido behind. When she realizes that she has abandoned her chastity for what turned out to be a casual dalliance, Dido takes her own life, burning to death upon a pyre.

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68 Janet Schmalfeldt, "In Search of Dido," *Journal of Musicology*, XVIII, 4 (Fall 2001), 584-5.
69 *Ibid.*, 585

In analysing Dido, Schmalfeldt notes that there are many similarities between Dido and Aeneas, even though one comes to ruin and the other to glory. The similarities between the two characters only reinforce the moral code that "masculine" characteristics in women are dangerous and ruinous. Schmalfeldt states:

> Both are obeying commands to found a new city and serve as its magistrate – remarkable, given that the concept of a woman as sovereign remains problematic to this day (throughout the 16th and into the 17th century in England, Queen Elizabeth I suffered comparisons with both the chaste and the unstable Dido). When we first meet her, Virgil's Dido is a beautiful, beloved, and genuinely effective queen – an exemplar of the "exceptional woman"...[70]

We can see these attributes in Margaret as well. As regent of the Netherlands, she founds courts for herself and her nephew Charles in the city of Mechelen, necessitating the building of palaces fit for rulers of their stature. While bestowed upon her by men, Margaret's role as Regent gave her sovereignty over the Netherlands. And while Queen Elizabeth I was compared with both the historical and literary versions of Dido, one can also make a strong case to suggest that Margaret may also have been compared to the historical version of Dido through the presence of these secular motets in Brussels 228. Although Margaret was not renowned for her beauty, her prowess as a diplomat, negotiator, and ruler had gained the attention of much of Europe, prompting Agrippa to dedicate his book, *De la superiorité des femmes*, to her, and also earned her a mention in the wildly popular book, *Il cortegiano*, by Baldassare Castiglione who mentions her in a discussion of female rulers: "consider Madonna Margherita, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, who till now has governed and still governs her state with the greatest prudence and justice."[71] While this is certainly high praise, the qualities that Castiglione finds praiseworthy are

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70 *Ibid.*, 589
71 Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtier*, 238.

telling; namely, they are appropriate qualities for women to have. One can be certain that Margaret would have been less esteemed if she had a reputation for grandiosity or militancy.

In recent years, many feminist scholars have analysed Dido's story. It embodies the archetype of the abandoned woman, and has served for centuries as a warning to women to guard their chastity or face certain ruin. The moral warning in this story is unmistakable, and was certainly popular in Margaret's time. But the repeated presence of this text in Brussels 228 is initially puzzling. Like the historical Dido, Margaret was a widow, and she was renowned for her chastity and piety. She had decided against marriage in order to avoid further heartbreak, having been widowed twice already. While the theme of the chansonnier is lament, it seems focussed on loss and bad luck rather than the result of any moral laxity, and there is certainly little mention of Margaret as anything other than a paragon of virtue, which makes the inclusion of Virgil's Dido seem like an odd choice indeed. Picker's statement that the presence of these motets is simply in keeping with the theme of lament and her obsession with mourning seems inadequate when we take a closer look at the story behind Dido's lament. The humanist nature of Margaret's court does offer another possible explanation; Margaret owned three statues of Hercules, and manuscripts of works by classical authors such as Aristotle and Ovid.[72] A closer look at Margaret's life in Mechelen may reveal yet another possible answer.

Martin Picker briefly mentions that in 1513, Margaret became involved in a "compromising" affair with a British courtier, Sir Charles Brandon, which ended very badly. In the end, she rejected Brandon, possibly because neither Maximilian nor Henry VIII would have been too pleased with the match.[73] It is also possible that Margaret simply did not want to be married since she enjoyed great freedoms and power as a widow and regent. However, it is very

72 MacDonald dissertation, 26.
73 Picker 1965, 12.

easy, and tempting, to imagine that both *Dulces exuvie* motets were placed in the manuscript as a reference to Margaret's fall from grace. In light of this scandal, I see two possible scenarios for the composition and insertion of these pieces in Brussels 228. The first is that Margaret, embarrassed and shamed at having lapsed from her chaste state, wanted these motets included in her *chansonnier* to serve as a reminder for what happened to women who strayed from the path of moral righteousness. Another possible scenario has Margaret's courtiers presenting these motets as a not very subtle admonishment to tend to her duties as a regent and widow, and not become romantically entangled again.

Example 8:

Dulces exuvie dum fata duesque sinebat
Accipite hanc animam, meque his exsolvite curis
Vixi, et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi;
Et nunc magna mei sub terra ibit imago.

The text for *Dulces exuvie* is certainly a moving and effective one, perhaps explaining its popularity among the Renaissance humanists. Classicist Leofranc Holford-Strevens provides an excellent translation and a point of departure for in-depth analysis:

> Sweet spoils, while fate and god allowed, receive this soul and free me from these cares. I have lived out my life, and fulfilled the course that Fortune gave me, and now it is a mighty ghost of me that shall go down below the earth.
>
> This speech...was a favourite text for Renaissance composers, and their settings have frequently been studied. Most conclude with the words *ibit imago*, which gain additional emphasis from the closing repetition, as in Marbriano de Orto's affecting setting, and most spectacularly, over a shift from Dorian mode to Phrygian, in Josquin's. Indeed, there is more to these verses than grief and despair; there is a noble pride. Seneca, who cites Virgil almost as a Christian cites Holy Writ, three times adduces the words *Vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi* ('I have lived out my life, and fulfilled the course that Fortune gave me'), as meet to be spoken by one who dies in good conscience. In the next line, the word most emphasized by the word-order is not *imago* but *magna*...[74]

74 Leofranc Holford-Strevens "Her eyes became two spouts': classical antecedents of Renaissance laments," *Early Music*, August 1999, 382.

Given Seneca's interpretation of the third line and the word-order emphasis of *magna* in the fourth line, an interpretation of this text as one spoken by a fallen, rather than noble, woman becomes slightly problematic. It will be interesting to see how the composers of the settings in Brussels 228 set these lines. Do they read the words literally, as those of a disgraced woman, or do they see the subtle nobility and grace that Seneca and Holford-Strevens identify?

Musical Analysis

It is interesting to note that the only other surviving copies of both *Dulces exuvie* versions are in Alamire manuscripts. While this by no means determines that these motets were composed in Margaret's court, it certainly indicates that these works are well-known in that city, and in Margaret's court. Just as there are contrasting versions of Dido's character, Brussels 228 contains contrasting settings of *Dulces exuvie*. We find the first setting of *Dulces exuvie* on folios 24v-25r, number 22 in the manuscript. This setting occurs in one other manuscript, London, British Library MS Royal 8 G.vii, which is also from Alamire's workshop and dates from 1513-25.[75] The London manuscript contains five settings of *Dulces exuvie* which are all grouped together in one gathering, and was prepared for King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon.[76] This other appearance reinforces the apparent proximity to Margaret's court, since Alamire was the court's musical manuscript supplier. As well, the dating of the London manuscript does not contradict the possibility of the motet being composed for Margaret, and it is also interesting that the only other surviving copy went to the British royal court!

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75 Herbert Kellman, *The Treasuryof Petrus Alamire,* Ludion, University of Chicago Press, 1999, 110.
76 *Ibid.,* 110.

Number 22 begins with a simple opening; each voice enters one at a time, slowly thickening the texture. The individual vocal lines are generally stepwise in movement, and do not appear to take any risks in terms of large leaps or chromaticisms. The first five notes of each entry have identical contours, but they all diverge significantly thereafter, thus limiting the imitation to small, contained points of imitation. There are no accidentals in the key signature with the exception of a B-flat that appears for one line in the *bassus*, and the time signature is **C.** All of the accidentals appear to have been written by the original scribe because there are appropriate spaces left in between notes for the placement of these accidentals. As well, the scribe uses C-clefs for the upper voices and F-clefs for the *bassus*. The final note is an E in three of the voices, indicating that the piece is in E-mode.

In terms of underlay and textual emphasis, the only words to receive a written-out repetition are *ibit imago* (ghost). As well, the third line of text does not receive any extraordinary attention. The texture of the music is polyphonic, although as I mentioned earlier, the anonymous composer does not employ much imitation. This composer definitely appears to emphasize the melancholy, lamenting aspect of the text rather than any of the hints of nobility and greatness contained within. Hence, a musical reading of this text is consistent with that of a warning to women to guard their chastity or face the unfortunate consequences.

The second setting of *Dulces exuvie* appears on folios 30v-31r, and is number 28 in the manuscript. While it is not paired with the anonymous *Dulces exuvie*, this version was copied by the same scribe, and we must assume that its placement, as well as its presence, in the manuscript was deliberate. The only other manuscript that this piece appears in is Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439 (Basevi Codex), and contains an attribution to Marbriano de Orto. Like Brussels 228 and London British Library MS Royal 8

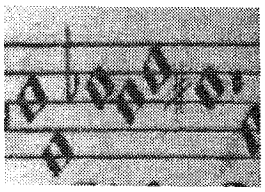
G.vii, the Basevi Codex is also a product of Alamire's workshop and was compiled between 1506-14, likely ca.1508.[77] While the compilation date places the date of composition well before the scandal at Margaret's court, it does reinforce the court's familiarity with Virgil's Dido. De Orto's version is also in four voices; however, it is more evocative than the anonymous setting, containing chromaticisms that express Dido's grief.

De Orto's version begins more dramatically than the anonymous version, starting in the *bassus* with subsequently higher voices entering at staggered intervals. The *bassus* and *tenor* voices sing a short duet, followed by a similar duet in the upper voices. It is only after the duets that all four voices appear together, in measure 15. There are no accidentals in the key signature, with the exception of a B-flat in the last line of the *bassus*. The time signature, as in the other setting, is **C**. In terms of accidentals, it initially appears that someone added accidentals in the *superius* voice after the music was copied, perhaps by a singer in Margaret's court (see figure 5 a). The first sharp in figure 5 is placed well in advance of the F it is modifying rather than right next to it. The second sharp is placed immediately in front of the C but it is also directly underneath a rest, giving it an *ad hoc* impression. However, an examination of the *tenor* reveals a sharp sign in the same hand as that of the previous accidentals. The angles of the lines in the sharp are the same, as are the thickness of the ink lines. This one is clearly a scribal accidental, because the scribe left extra space between the notes to accommodate the sharp sign (see figure 5 b).

Figure 5 a: Brussels 228 fol. 30v, detail:

77 *Ibid.*, 78.

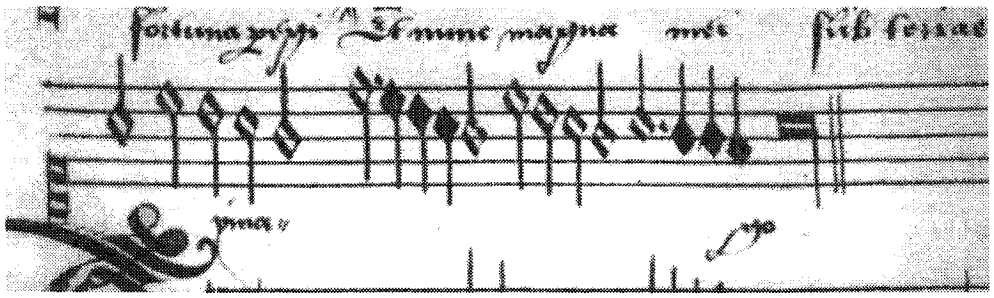
Figure 5 b: Brussels 228 fol. 30v, detail:



This setting of *Dulces exuvie* is much more chromatic and thus more evocative of Dido's grief than the previous setting. The final note is an A, indicating that the piece is either in transposed D-mode or possibly in A-mode.

However, the question of textual treatment remains. Holford-Strevens mentions the emphasis on the words *ibit imago*, even mentioning a closing repetition of these words. However, an examination of the source reveals that the only voice to contain a written out repetition of these words is the *bassus*. Indeed, the scribe ensures that these words will not be repeated in the *superius* voice by separating the last two syllables of *imago*, making it impossible for the singer to repeat them (see Figure 5 c). That is not to say that the words *ibit imago* do not receive special treatment by the composer, simply that it is not quite as Holford-Strevens describes it. *Ibit imago* certainly receives more musical emphasis than the word *magna*, which should be the most important word of the phrase because of the word order. Again, the third line of text does not receive any special treatment from the composer.

Figure 5 c: Brussels 228, *fol.* 30v, detail.



I would be remiss in my analysis if I did not mention the version of *Dulces exuvie* by Josquin des Prez. While it does not appear in Brussels 228, the exact nature of Josquin's relationship with Margaret's court is still unknown and his stature as a composer was so immense that his setting merits some analysis. The earliest surviving source of Josquin's *Dulces exuvie* is London, British Library MS Royal 8 G.vii, which is also from Alamire's workshop and dates from 1513-25. This is interesting in terms of transmission and possible circumstances surrounding composition because this source was compiled during Josquin's retirement and thus could have been composed when he was in Condé or at an earlier date. If indeed it was written during his Condé years, we can postulate another possible link between Margaret, Alamire, and Josquin. This version is stylistically quite divergent from the two settings in Brussels 228. Like the anonymous version, the entries are evenly spaced between the voices. However, the order entry is different. Josquin deploys first the *altus*, then the *bassus*, then the *tenor*, and finally the *superius*. While the time signature is also **C**, the note values for the opening line of text are fare longer than in the other two settings – longs, breves, and semibreves as opposed to the breves, semibreves, and minims in the anonymous version and, to a certain extent, the De Orto version. Lasting 85 measures, it is not significantly longer than the other two settings.

In terms of musical expression of the text, Josquin emphasizes certain lines of text as well as words. The first line of text is sung until measure 28, at which point a cadence along with a

significant thinning of the vocal texture highlights the end of one line of text and the beginning of another. The second line of text starts at measure 29 and ends at measure 45, for a total of sixteen measures, a significantly shorter treatment than the opening line. However, the phrase *accipite hanc animam* (accept this soul) is sung in a declamatory manner, with the texture becoming almost homophonic at this point. In all voices, the words *accipite hanc* are sung on a repeated pitch, which changes to a higher pitch when the word *animam* is sung. This emphasis lends a prayer-like quality to the lament and certain religious solemnity and legitimacy to Dido's impending death. The third line of text, which is perhaps the most noble and convincing line of text Dido utters, is accorded the same amount of musical space, sixteen measures, as the previous line. The final line takes almost as much time as the opening line, lasting from measures 61 to 85.

This final line, however, treats the text *et nunc magna mei* with an almost perfunctory shortness before proceeding to *sub terras ibit imago*, once again emphasizing the image of the ghost and the underworld rather than the word *magna*, which Holford-Strevens suggests is the emphasized word given the word order. The more rapid notes of the middle section gradually slow down at this point until all voices eventually return to the slow long notes of the opening phrase, leaving a haunting image behind in the mind of the listener. Once again, Josquin uses rhythmic elements to draw the listener's attention to certain words.

After a thorough examination of the significance of the Dido legend in women's studies and a renaissance construction of moral feminine behaviour, as well as settings of *Dulces exuvie* contained in Brussels 228 and Josquin's setting of the lament, I believe that the inclusion of these laments in Margaret's personal chansonnier are highly significant. However, ambiguity remains surrounding the intentions of the composers of these settings and of the compilers of the

manuscript. Holford-Strevens contends that "the settings of *Dulces exuvie* concentrate not on Dido's wrongs but on her woe."[78] He is in agreement with Picker on this account. It is possible though that they are not necessarily looking far enough beyond the surface of Margaret's life in an attempt to divine whether there could be an additional significance to these secular motets.

78 Holford-Strevens, 390.

Chapter 5: Texts also treated by Josquin

For many years, musical scholars have argued about whether or not Josquin des Prez actively worked for Margaret. He spent the last years of his life in Condé, in relative proximity to Margaret's court. As well, it is evident that the prominent composer had personal contact with members of Margaret's court, and doubtless the two knew each other by reputation. While scholars agree that Josquin's famous four-voice chanson *Plus nulz regretz* was written for Margaret, no one has been able to establish a more definitive link between the singer and Margaret's court. Many questions remain surrounding Josquin's life and one of them concerns the exact nature of his ties to Margaret's court. Did Margaret ever request him to compose chansons for her, in particular, *Plus nulz regretz*? The question of whether or not they ever met is also a fascinating one that for now must remain unanswered. While I will not be able to give a definitive answer to these particular questions, the contents of the manuscript certainly demand a closer look from a Josquinian point of view. I will start this chapter by outlining the primary arguments surrounding the date of the first performance of *Plus nulz regretz*, then proceed by examining three works in Brussels 228 that set texts also treated by Josquin: *Plusieurs regretz*, and *Fama malum*. While *Dulces exuvie* also falls into this category, I have already fully examined the various settings in the previous chapter.

Plus nulz regretz[79]

Plus nulz regretz, grans, moyens ne menuz
De joye nudz ne soyent dictz n'escriptz;
Ores revient le bon temps Saturnus,
Où peu cognuz furent plaintiffs et cris.
Longtemps nous ont tous malheurs infiniz
Batuz, pugniz et fais povres, maygretz,
Mais maintenant d'espoir sommes garniz,
Joinctz et unis, n'ayons plus nulz regretz.

Sur nos preaux et jardinetz herbus
Luyra Phebus de ses rais ennobliz,
Ainsy croistront noz bontonneaux barbus
Sans nulz abus et dangereux troubliz.

Regretz plus nulz ne nous viennent après,
Nostre eure est prés, venant des cieulx beniz,
Voisent ailleurs regretz plus durs que gretz,
Fiers et aigretz et charchent autres nidz.
Se Mars nous toult la blanche fleur de lis
Sans nulz delictz, sy nous donne Venus
Rose vermeille, amoureuse de pris,
Dont noz espritz n'auront regretz plus nulz.

No more regrets, large, medium, or small,
Of joy that is not spoken or written of;
Now returns the good times of Saturn,
Where little known were cries or complaints.
For a long time we all have infinite misfortunes
Beaten, punished and impoverished,
But now we have gathered hope,
Joined and united, we have no more regrets.

On our prayers and grassy gardens
Of the ennobling rays of the luminous Phebus,
Thus we believe our barbed bontonneaux
Without any abuses and dangerous troubles.

Regrets no more do not come after us,
Our Hour is near, coming from the benign heavens,
See elsewhere regrets that are harder than gretz,
Proud and bitter and searching for other nests.
Itself March we touch the white bed flower
Without no delights, if we give Venus
Rose vermillion, lover of the prize,
Of which our spirits have regrets no more.

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79 Translation mine

The point of departure for our examination of Josquin's influence in Margaret's court is necessarily the famous chanson, *Plus nulz regretz*. As I have mentioned earlier, it is one of the few chansons from this period that scholars have been able to connect to a specific patron and event. The occasion for the first performance of this chanson was presumably the celebrations surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Calais on January 1st, 1508, which secured peace between England and Maximilian I through the betrothal of Margaret's nephew, Charles, to Henry VII's daughter, Mary. Considering the previously unstable relationship between England, France, and the Low-Countries, this was indeed cause for celebration. However, even this chanson, with a relative wealth of documentary evidence surrounding its inaugural performance, has been the subject of recent debate.

Until recently, scholars interpreted a passage written by Jean Lemaire de Belges about the signing of the Treaty of Calais to mean that he wrote the chanson text after the celebrations surrounding this treaty signing:

> Après le retour prospère de Calais de messeigneurs les embassadeurs,...et qu'ilz eurent fait ample rapport de leur très heureux exploit,...le premier jour de l'an...mondit seigneur l'Archiduc, Madame sat ante, et...ses seurs alèrent en grante triuimphe, ouyr messe en l'église Saint Rombault,...Et ce jour mesmes, furent faictz les feux de joye parmy Malines, pour la publication de la deicte très noble alliance, très utile et très néccessaire. Et lors fut miss us ce chant nouvel.[80]

Herbert Kellman interprets the final sentence to mean that Lemaire wrote the chanson after January 1st, 1508, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* of 1508 for the composition of the chanson. He dates this composition between 1508 and 1511 (the earliest known dated source) based on his perception of a lack of evidence that the music was played at the signing of the treaty, and based on this sentence that apparently proves that Jean Lemaire de Belges wrote the

80 Kellman (1971), 182-3

poetry after the celebration that marked the signing of the treaty.[81] This weakens the case for Josquin's presence in Mechelen, and also provides no evidence that the chanson was written at the request of Margaret, or even for her court.

However, Paul Merkley has recently re-examined this letter and put forward the idea that Kellman has misinterpreted the meaning of the letter. Merkley states: "Actually the sentence cannot be restricted to such a narrow interpretation, and it is much more likely that Lemaire, who knew in advance of the plans for the engagement, prepared his poem well beforehand, and had it presented the night of the celebrations. It is also most probable that Josquin's musical setting, written as it was to celebrate the alliance and engagement, was performed at that time, rather than after the fact, and that he wrote the music at the request of the ruler herself, or of someone in that network of patronage."[82] Merkley's interpretation of this text does seem much more reasonable, especially given the circumstances of the celebration of the treaty and the importance of the chanson within Margaret's court. Otherwise, the mentioning of the chanson is incongruous given that Lemaire is in the midst of describing the celebrations. As well, festivities of this time period frequently included musical performances. The presence of *Plus nulz regretz* in Brussels 228 further underscores the proximity of the musical composition to Margaret's court. As well, is the only chanson in Brussels 228 with an attribution, a feature which is impossible to underemphasize. However, this attribution can prove somewhat problematic when trying to establish that Josquin was close to Margaret's network of patronage.

One can read the presence of the attribution to Josquin in two different ways. Either it is an indication that he was closely connected to Margaret's court and was well-respected therein, or his involvement was peripheral, and the presence of this attribution was necessary in order to

81 Kellman (1971), 183
82 Paul Merkley, "Josquin Desprez in Ferarra," *Journal of Musicology*, xviii, 4 (Fall 2001), 568.

demonstrate the importance of the composer and prove that he composed this chanson for Margaret. The attribution could simply have been an indicator of previous "glory days" of the court, commemorating what must have been a day of intense and spectacular celebrations. Furthermore, given the subsequent breakdown of this treaty, the chanson could have pointed to happier days at court when Margaret's circumstances in life appeared to be improving. So while the evidence surrounding *Plus nulz regretz* is fascinating, we must await further documentary evidence to solidify the exact circumstances surrounding the composition of this chanson.

Benefices

The allocation of benefices is another way to track the movements and patronage of the singers in various royal courts during the early 16th century. Benefices were Church positions that were generally associated with a local church or cathedral and granted an annual income based on the performance of generally light duties. These duties varied depending on what type of holy orders the holder needed to have, but they could be as light as a ten day residency per year. It was also possible to hire a proxy to perform the duties of the benefice. Granted through papal authority, rulers often sought to appoint favoured courtiers to these posts as a reward for service that didn't tax the treasury. It was quite common for singers at this time to hold a benefice in addition to membership in a ruler's chapel, and was also a subject of considerable controversy among both local parishioners and courtiers.[83] Since singers often moved from one court to another, it was sometimes necessary to exchange benefices with one another in order to

83 Many thanks to Paul Merkley, who explained the nature of benefices and the role they played in the renaissance court over many discussions.

retain the benefits involved with holding a benefice. One exchange in particular concerns us because it is directly related to both Josquin and Margaret. The explanation of this exchange is convoluted at best; Merkley supplies a concise summary of events:

> "It has been conjectured that Josquin may have come obtained his benefice in Condé through a triangular exchange with Loyset Compère and the singer Pierre Duwez. When the latter singer died in 1508, Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, whose officials apparently thought that he was still in possession of the provosty of Notre Dame of Condé, and that it had therefore become vacant, wrote to the chapter in Condé, instructing them to confer it on her physician. The chapter replied that their provost was in good health and was named Josquin Desprez. Duwez himself held a benefice in the church of St-Pierre of Douai, previously occupied by Compère, and accordingly a triangular permutation has seemed plausible."[84]

Merkley supplies previously unknown documentary evidence surrounding the triangular exchange later in this article.

However, while the triangular exchange of benefices is indeed fascinating, the more pertinent information with respect to the exact nature of Josquin's ties to Margaret's court is further delineated in the letter she wrote to the officials at Notre Dame of Condé. If, indeed, Josquin was known to Margaret and had written *Plus nulz regretz* at her request, then the timing of the letter to Notre Dame of Condé does not make sense. The letter was written in 1508, after the chanson was presented at the treaty signing celebrations. If Margaret herself had commissioned Josquin to write the chanson, then either she or her officials would most probably have known that he was the provost at Condé. This issue is furthermore confused by the fact that Pierre Duwez was a singer in the chapel of Maximilian and later a singer in the chapel of Philip the Fair, Margaret's brother, and obtained the provosty in St-Pierre of Douai in the triangular

84 *Ibid.* 548.

exchange.[85] So for Margaret, or her officials, to have been completely unaware of the whereabouts of two singers connected to her court does not seem probable. It is more probable that Josquin was not more than peripherally involved in Margaret's court in 1508, and thus was commissioned by someone else to write the chanson, possibly Jean Lemaire de Belges.

Having thus, for the moment, relegated Josquin to the outer peripheries of Margaret's patronage network, it is interesting to see that he exerted considerable musical influence upon some chansons in Brussels 228.

Plusieurs Regretz[86]

Plusieurs regretz qui sur la terre sont,

Et les douleurs qu'hommes et femmes ont,
N'est que plaisir envers ceulx que ie porte,
Me tourmentant de si piteuse sorte,
Que mes espris ne schavent qu'ilz font.

Many regrets that are on the earth,
And the pains that men and women have,
Are naught but pleasure compared to those I carry,
That torment me of such piteous kind,
That my spirits do not know what they are made from.

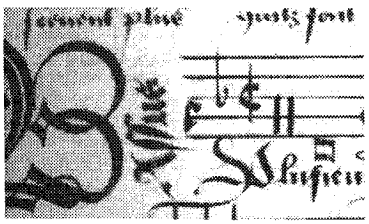
The final chanson in Brussels 228 that I will examine, while not the final piece that I will examine, is the anonymous *Plusieurs regretz*. It appears uniquely in this manuscript, on *ff* 42v-43, in the hand of the main scribe and in the middle of the second major section. Written in four voices, it uses the same text as Josquin's version of *Plusieurs regretz*. The time signature is **C**, all voices contain a B-flat in the key signature, and it is 54 measures in length. One of the most noteworthy features of this composition is the unusually low vocal range in the Contratenor and tenor. Both use F-clefs, in the position of modern-day bass clefs, which firmly places both

85 *Ibid.* 565.
86 Translation mine

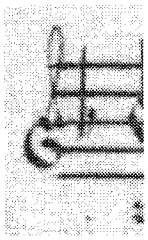
voices into much lower territory than normal. The bassus voice uses a G-clef, but it does not appear to be similar to the ones used in the superius voices, so it likely indicates a different range, most probably an octave lower than the superius G-clef (see figure 6 a and b).

Figure 6: Brussels 228, details.

a) *bassus* G-clef, fol. 43



b) *superius* G-clef, fol.23v



Like many chansons of this period, *Plusieurs regretz* opens with a four-note motive that sets apart the first four syllables of the opening line. This conforms to the textual structure, and emphasizes the text as a *regretz* chanson. The chanson continues with the first line of text until measure ten, at which point a cadence serves to emphasise the end of line one and the beginning of line two. The second line of text is set to a similar musical phrase, with the opening motive repeated for the first four syllables once again. The superius contains some rhythmic variation, however, the musical notes are generally the same as the first phrase's notes. This phrase lasts until measure 21, about the same amount of time as the first phrase, and the voices emerge from polyphonic expression to land on the final cadential note in G mode at the same time. An interesting feature of this chord is that both the *tenor* and *contratenor* voices sing notes that are lower in pitch than the *bassus'* low D (G and B respectively). The third line starts differently than the first two, with two bars of homophony indicating an important part of the text (*n'est que plaisir).* This would draw the listener's attention to the voice of the narrator, who states that the pains and sufferings in other's lives are as pleasures to the ones he is forced to endure. The next

line of text is also set apart by a homophonic statement at measure 35. The other expressive technique that is used by the composer is rhythmic, and generally opens the second parts of lines, consisting of three minims followed by a semi-breve.

Josquin's setting contains five voices, and can be found in five surviving sources, including Vienna 18746, which is a manuscript from Alamire's workshop. It seems unlikely that this is a coincidence, especially given the repeated links between Josquin music and other compositions that appear to have a commonality through Alamire's manuscripts. As I mentioned earlier, Alamire was well-travelled, and was known to have contacts at the French royal court as well as the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex. Given the nature of the benefice exchange as well as the other evidence we have surrounding Josquin's connections to both the French court and Margaret's court, both seem like possible points of transmission between Josquin and Alamire. Vienna 18746 was dated 1523 and signed by Alamire, which indicates his involvement in the copying of this manuscript.[87] This manuscript consists of part-books and houses many Josquin five-voice chansons. Since Alamire's workshop copied this manuscript after Josquin's death it seems likely that the manuscript served a commemorative purpose.[88]

Apart from containing five voices, Josquin's setting of *Plusieurs regretz* also diverges from the Brussels 228 setting on other key points. Josquin's setting does not contain many B^{-} flats, although it is also in G mode with a G final. Josquin's version was slightly longer than the Brussels 228 version, at 60 measures. Like the composer of the Brussels 228 setting, Josquin employs a different compositional technique to highlight the beginning of the third line. In this case, Josquin refrains from using a four note motive in all four voices until the beginning of the third line of text at measure 24 in the *tenor* voice. At this point, the four-note motive is

87 Kellman (1976) 214.
88 Kellman (1999) 29.

consistently used for the duration of the chanson.

Fama malum

Brussels 228 contains one other secular motet which also contains a text from Virgil's *Aeneid*. *Fama malum* is a warning about the negative impact of gossip, and personifies it as Rumour. Once again, this text is also set to music by Josquin but this time the relationship between the two works is apparent from the opening of the piece. However, before proceeding to a musical analysis, there are several significant differences in the transmission of the texts.

Fama malum

Brussels 228	Josquin
Fama malum **quo** non aliud velocius ullum; mobilitate viget, viresque **acquirit** eundo, Parva **metu** primo, mox sese **tollit** in auras Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubile condit.	Fama malum **qua** non aliud velocius ullum mobilitate viget viresque **adquirit** eundo; Parva **motu** primo, mox sese **attollit** in auras Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubile condit.

Fame, the great ill, from small beginnings grows:
Swift from the first; and ev'ry moment brings
New vigor to her flights, new pinions to her wings.
Soon grows the pigmy to gigantic size[89]

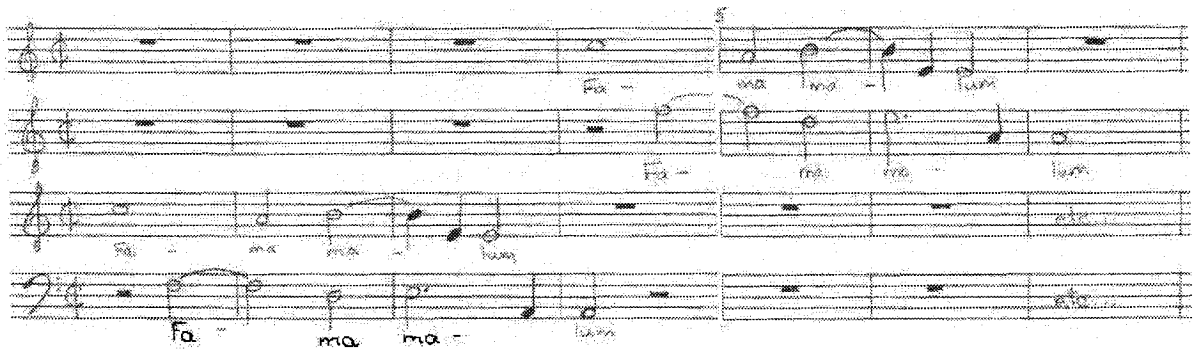
These differences are odd, because once again there is an Alamire link between the pieces. Josquin's *Fama malum* is included in London, British Library MS Royal 8 G.vii, the manuscript sent to Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, as I mentioned in the previous chapter.

Josquin opens *Fama malum* with a distinctive four-note motive that is emphatically stated in all four voices and appears a total of twelve times in the opening measures. This is certainly a typical compositional technique for Josquin, and indeed the rest of the motet is comprised

89 John Dryden, translation. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0052:book=4:line=173

primarily of short motivic units that are deployed throughout the voices in a highly imitative manner. The opening measures have the voices entering in staggered pairs; first the tenor and bassus followed by the superius and altus (see example 8). We can also see that the time signature for *Fama malum* is **C**. The text for this opening passage is roughly translatable as "evil rumour," and one can certainly hear the menace implicit in these words in the opening motive.

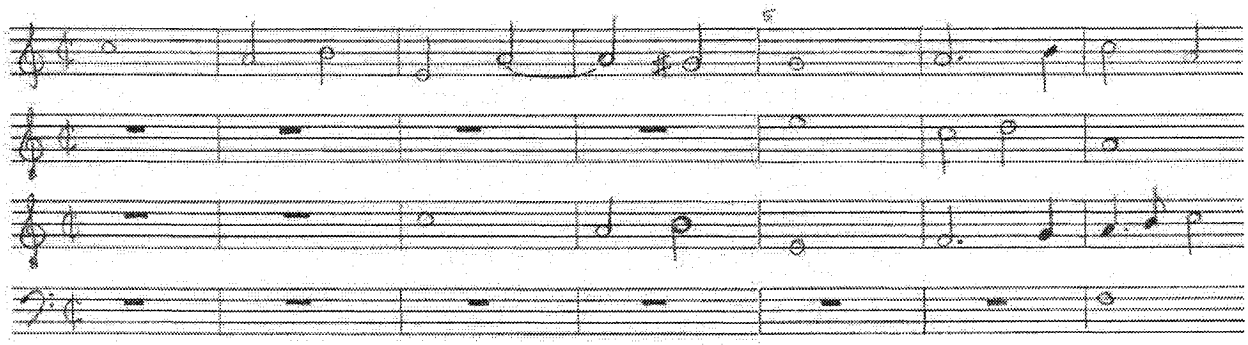
Example 8:



The Brussels 228 setting of *Fama malum* employs the same opening motive, although it does not repeat the last note the way that Josquin does (see example 9). This composer has the voices entering in an evenly spaced manner every two measures, starting with the superius, followed by the tenor, altus, and finally the bassus. The Brussels composer uses the same time signature, so one can easily suppose that the entries would have sounded very similar and anyone at Margaret's court who heard this version of *Fama malum* would have been immediately reminded of Josquin's version. The two versions also had the same vocal ranges, with the exception of the altus, which starts on an F in Josquin's setting and on an E in the anonymous setting. However, the Brussels composer may well have done this out of necessity because of the polyphonic constraints he found himself under. If he had entered on an F, this would have created a dissonance of a 2nd with the superius which was an unacceptable interval according to

the rules of counterpoint. By lowering the altus by one tone, the composer created a much more consonant interval of a 3rd.

Example 9:



There are many other significant differences between the two versions. Josquin's setting is longer at 83 measures, than the Brussels 228 version, which is 65 measures long. Because the *tactus* is the same, Josquin's *Fama malum* would have taken a noticeably longer time to perform. As well, Josquin's counterpoint is more complex rhythmically, frequently employing dotted rhythm patterns resulting in denser polyphonic passages. As I mentioned earlier, Josquin's setting is highly imitative, employing distinct motivic units in order to arrive at this imitation. I have identified six principle motives in the piece. Motive one is the most distinctive motive in the piece and is indeed the one that the Brussels 228 composer borrows. It lasts until measure 15. The second motive begins in measure 16 and lasts until measure 21. The third motive begins on measure 20 and ends on measure 31. The fourth motive begins on measure 32 and continues for several measures, while being interrupted with the third motive. Josquin employs the fifth motive exclusively for the words *mox sese attollit in auras*, from measures 53 to 59. The sixth measure appears on measure 66 and continues until the end of the piece.

This type of motivic composition is typical of Josquin's compositional style, especially as it pertains to his chansons. The secular nature of *Fama malum* may have influenced Josquin's

compositional technique and choices. Considering that Josquin's *Fama malum* can be found in a surviving Alamire manuscript, it is somewhat puzzling that it does not appear in Brussels 228. This second setting would provide an aesthetic balance to the two settings of *Dulces exuvie* contained therein.

This chapter has examined the nature of Josquin's relationship with Margaret's court through the analysis of some of his works that contain the same texts as works appearing in Brussels 228 as well as *Plus nulz regretz* and some of the scholarly rhetoric surrounding the issue of Josquin's proximity to Margaret's court. While Josquin's chansons do not make up a significant number of chansons in the Brussels 228, *Plus nulz regretz* is an important work in the manuscript. Its role in the celebrations for the signing of the Treaty of Calais indicates a certain proximity to Margaret's court, however, the letter sent by Margaret's officials to the Chapter of Norte Dame in Condé mere months after the treaty celebrations seemingly contradicts the presumption that Josquin was commissioned by Margaret to compose *Plus nulz regretz.*

The relationship between the works in Brussels 228 with works by Josquin appears to indicate that the composers in Margaret's court were aware of the same text settings and even, in the case of *Fama malum*, Josquin's musical settings. However, the relative scarcity of Josquin's chansons in Brussels 228 combined with his geographical proximity to Margaret's court seems to indicate that he was not active in her court. However, the major commonality between Margaret's court and Josquin's music appears to be the scribe Alamire. It seems that the next direction for the study of Josquin's activities in Condé may very well be through the study of Alamire's activities and his role in the transmission of Josquin's secular *oevre.*

Conclusion

Margaret of Austria lived in a time when the conventions surrounding proper behaviour for women were very strictly observed at all social levels. Her high rank and material wealth notwithstanding, Margaret had to maintain a delicate balance between masculine strength and feminine sensitivity in order to acquire and maintain political power. Having undergone a series of personal misfortunes that included rejection, widowhood, and miscarriage, her self-appointed pen-name of *la Dame infortunée* was certainly apt. In order to maintain the relative freedom and independence her status of widowhood gave her, Margaret had to construct for herself a carefully crafted image of a pious, sensitive woman who was not interested in co-opting for herself any of the masculine traits associated with power, such as aggressiveness or grandiosity.

While balancing the need to retain the outward appearance of a cooperative female, Margaret also subverted the existing patronage system in order to construct a flattering image of herself for posterity. She was also living during a period of major social and political changes in Europe. Her ethnographic collections indicate that she was also conscious of the empire-building ambitions of her family, and interested in what she could gain by supporting their agenda. As well, at this time humanism had begun in Italy and was sweeping through the European continent. This change in worldview brought Europe out of the dark ages and into the Renaissance, and Margaret was at the forefront of the Northern rulers who brought these humanist thinkers to their courts. Meanwhile, a new religion was gaining popularity in German speaking countries; that of Martin Luther and his Protestantism, and Margaret had her hands full with quelling the popular uprisings that resulted.

In this environment, Margaret needed to construct an image of herself that would keep as

many people happy as possible. The image of the subdued and pious widow was reinforced by her pen-name and well-known collection of *regretz* chansons. By employing secular music as a site of construction for her identity, Margaret was able to construct a far more personalized identity than the use of sacred music would have allowed. By commissioning the Brussels 228 chansonnier, Margaret was able to invest all of the self-promoting elements of a grander commission while maintaining for herself a feminine demeanour.

By focusing on an analysis of the Brussels 228 chansonnier, this thesis was able to ask larger questions about patronage and the depiction of gender in early sixteenth century Europe. I was also able to examine some pressing questions about the nature of secular music production and how it may have related to everyday court life. Chapter 1's examination of Margaret's life and general patronage practices examined how the Brussels 228 manuscript fulfilled many of the masculine requirements of patronage without appearing overly bold on Margaret's part. It was certainly costly, which was always a concern to a ruler trying to demonstrate to others the extent of their wealth. As well, it was self-referential and self-promoting because it would have been pointless to make a demonstration of one's wealth without ensuring that one is properly associated with the display. While not public in the sense that it was not visible to the general populace, Brussels 228 was as high in artistic quality as any presentation manuscript and gives evidence of being used for its stated purpose, that of choirbook. Any visiting diplomat or noble would have doubtless seen the book and known its true value, thus allowing Margaret to make a public demonstration without having to erect a statue of herself in the town square. Brussels 228 served as an excellent vehicle for a woman to express herself as a patron.

The manuscript itself provides an excellent case study from a musicological perspective as well; it is the only Alamire chansonnier that contains full text underlay for all of the pieces.

As well, it is meticulously scribed and contains many pieces that reflect the personal life of Margaret. The miniatures in the first opening serve to reinforce the self-representative aspect not only through the use of portraiture, but also the motifs contained in the borders.

The pair of chansons, *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal* appear as a formalized exchange between Margaret and an unnamed courtier. Both express themselves according to the proper gendered discourses of their time and give the observer a feeling for how the court may have operated. *Dulces exuvie* also typifies this feeling about Margaret's court, as well as adding a dash of the humanist flavour that must surely have been overwhelming at times.

Finally, by approaching the mystery of Josquin des Prez and his role within Margaret's court, I have attempted to add some insight based on the overlapping texts that Josquin and other musicians composed for as well as possible routes of transmission. Alamire appears, as always, to play a pivotal role in the production and transmission of music in the Habsburg-Burgundian court.

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Painting

Bernard van Orley, *Margaret of Austria and the Virgin and Child*, 1510's. Left panel: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; right panel, lost.