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The Wings of the Bourbon: The Early Provenance of the Chansonnier London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 A. XVI*

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The chansonnier London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 A. XVI (hereafter LonBLR 20 A. XVI) is among few surviving late-fifteenth-century French music manuscripts. Comprised of twenty-eight mostly three-voice love songs by choice court composers, the small song book is adorned with charming opening illustrations including borders of wings, a lounging male, and a lover giving his heart to a woman playing a dulcimer. Its characteristics indicate that LonBLR 20 A. XVI emerged from a place of social and artistic wealth, and indeed the source was clearly prepared in connection with one of the grandest courts of Renaissance Europe. Like other chansonniers, which were often cherished gifts or mementos commissioned for a sovereign or noble patron, the unique facets of our volume point to a particular dedicatee. cursory assessments from earlier scholarship resulted in a hypothesized provenance suggesting that the first part of the book was prepared for Louis d'Orléans, c. 1483, with the second part being added around 1499 when he wed Anne of Brittany.¹ However, the original ownership has in fact never been firmly established. As we will see, an evaluation of new data and a fresh assessment of clues indicates that LonBLR 20 A. XVI emanated from the French court of Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre II duc de Bourbon, de facto regents in the years 1483-91.

Description of the Chansonnier²

The chansonnier comprises forty-six parchment folios with six gatherings beginning respectively on fols. 1, 9, 17, 25, 31, and 39 (see Table 1). Like other chansonniers of the late fifteenth century, it is in upright choirbook format: except for the first few folios, the discantus part is on the verso side and the tenor and contratenor parts opposite on the recto. Because of their small size or missing underlaid texts in the lower parts, some have questioned whether such presentation manuscripts were used as actual performance

* I initially addressed this topic in a paper at a meeting of the New England Chapter of the American Musicological Society, Worcester, MA, 2003. The discussion has been significantly expanded and clarified here.

¹ A connection between LonBLR 20 A. XVI and Louis d'Orléans and Anne of Brittany is presented in Louise Litterick, 'The Manuscript Royal 20. A. xvi of the British Library' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976). In the preface to the facsimile edition of LonBLR 20 A. XVI, Howard Mayer Brown relies heavily upon Litterick's dissertation and reiterates her findings regarding the ownership of the book, e.g., the 'As in the manuscript 'most certainly refer to Anne of Brittany': Howard Mayer Brown, *London, British Library, MS Royal 20 A.XVI*. (New York, 1987). LonBLR 20 A. XVI is also briefly discussed in Steven Bonime, 'Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music: An Archival Study' (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975). Bonime is in accord with Litterick regarding original owner and description.

² For a more detailed description of the chansonnier see Litterick, 'Manuscript Royal'.

documents.³ With our volume, however, three individuals could have read from the pages simultaneously. It is slightly larger in diameter than many other chansonniers of the time (16.5 cm. x 23.25 cm.) and about half of the pieces have texts in all parts.

Table 1. Contents and gatherings of LonBLR 20 A. XVI

SECTION 1: Fols. 1v-22r					
16 pieces, à 3, no attributions, text in top voice only, one music scribe, two text scribes, six gatherings, all pages are ruled					
1. <i>Leure est venue/[Circumdederunt me]</i>	[Agricola]	virelai/motet-chanson: bass text in other sources from the introit for Septuagesima Sunday	1v	Gathering 1	
2. <i>A la mignonne de fortune</i>	[Agricola]	virelai	3v		
3. <i>Si vous voulez</i>	[Agricola]	bergerette	5v		
4. <i>En attendant la grace de ma dame</i>	[Agricola]	rondeau cinquain	7v		
5. <i>Il n'est vivant tant</i>	[Agricola]	virelai	8v		
			(No. 5 cont.)	9r	
6. <i>C'est mal cher[h]é</i>	[Agricola]	rondeau cinquain	10v	Gathering 2	
7. <i>En effait se ne reprenés</i>	[Anon.]	rondeau	11v		
8. <i>Par ung jour de matinée</i>	[Agricola]	chanson sixaine	12v		
9. <i>Pour faire l'arlkymie d'amours</i>	[Anon.]	rondeau quatrain	13v		
10. <i>C'est trop sur amours</i>	[Agricola]	rondeau quatrain	14v		
11. <i>Soit loing ou pres</i>	[Agricola]	rondeau quatrain	15v		
12. <i>Se je vous eslonge</i>	[Agricola]	virelai	16v		
			(No. 12 cont.)	17r	
13. <i>Ce n'est pas jeu d'eslonger</i>	[Hayne]	rondeau quatrain	18v	Gathering 3	
14. <i>Elle en est hors du cueur, unicum</i>	[Anon.]	rondeau cinquain	19v		
15. <i>Alez regret vuydes de ma presence</i>	[Agricola]	rondeau cinquain; tenor from Hayne chanson	20v		
16. <i>De vous aimer follement m'assenty</i>	[Hayne]	rondeau	21v-22r		
SECTION 2: Fols. 22v-36r (36v-46r are blank ruled pages)					
Twelve pieces, all à 3 except for two à 4, some attributions, all parts texted, one scribe for both music and texts					
17. <i>La regretée en tous biens accomplie</i>	Heyne	rondeau cinquain	22v		
18. <i>Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte, à 4</i>	[Ockeghem]	rondeau quatrain	23v		
19. <i>Je n'ay dueil que de vous, à 4</i>	[Agricola]	virelai related to bass motive of No. 18	24v		

³ Craig Wright, 'Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France during the Fifteenth Century: A Conspectus', in *International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley, 1977*, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel-Philadelphia, 1981), 644.

Table 1. (continued)

			(No. 19 cont.)	25r- 26r	
20. <i>Royne des flours que je desire</i>	[Agricola]	virelai		26v	Gathering 4
21. <i>Mon souvenir me fait morir</i>	Heyne	rondeau		27v	
22. <i>A leure que premier vous vis</i> , unicum	Bonnel	rondeau		28v	
23. <i>Sire se vous ne pourvoyez</i> , unicum	Crespieres	rondeau		29v	
24. <i>Que vous madame je le jure/In pace in idipsum</i>	Josquin	virelai/motet-chanson		30v	
			(No. 24 cont.)	31r	
25. <i>Je scay tout ce qui me nuyst a savoir</i>	[Hayne]	rondeau		31v	Gathering 5
26. <i>Nuit et jour sans repos avoir</i>	[Fresneau]	rondeau		33v	
27. <i>Mes pensées ne me lessent une heure</i>	[Compère]	rondeau		34v	
28. <i>Mon loyal cueur a entrepris parti</i> , unicum	[Anon.]	rondeau quatrain		35v-36r	
Blank ruled pages				39r-46	Gathering 6

The chansonnier is divided into two sections. Section 1 (fols. 1v-22r) contains three-voice unattributed works, each with text solely in the uppermost voice and decorated initials before each of the three parts. A single scribe copied the music notation of these sixteen initial pieces. The texts are in two different hands, neither seemingly that of the music copyist: the text hand of fols. 1v-2v and 7r-8v differs from the text hand in the rest of section 1. In section 2 (fols. 22v-36r), which contains attributions but no illustrations or decorations, all the musical parts include texts. Since the weight and thickness of the pen strokes is similar between the text and music copy in section 2, it appears that one scribe provided both.⁴ In any case, neither the text or music hand of section 2 is found in section 1. Approximately half of the twelve pieces in section 2 bear attributions.

Contents also delineate the sections. Through concordances it can be determined that, of the works that can be attributed in section 1, eleven are by Alexander Agricola (1445/46-1506), and two by Hayne van Ghizeghem (c. 1445-1476/97). Two of the remaining compositions in section 1 are anonymous also in their concordances. One final piece in the section is an *unicum* (see Table 1). Section 2, which contains two four-voice works, comprises two chansons by Hayne,⁵ two by Agricola, one anonymous *unicum*, and one piece each by the following: Johannes Ockeghem (c. 1410-97); Pietrequin Bonnel (fl. late

⁴ Most music scribes were trained to copy both notes and letters. For more information, see Leeman Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York, 1999), 186-87.

⁵ Piece No.25, *Je scay tout*, is attributed to Hayne in the chansonnier Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2856. Litterick, however, asserts that it is doubtful that he composed this piece; L. Litterick, 'Hayne van Ghizeghem', in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> (accessed 5 September 2010).

fifteenth century); Jehan Crespières (Crespinet, fl. late fifteenth century); Josquin des Prez (c. 1450/55-1521); Jehan Fresneau (fl. c. 1468-1505); Loyset Compère (c. 1445-1518). The Bonnel and Crespières works are attributed *unica*.

The music of section 2 begins in the middle of the third gathering immediately after the final piece of section 1. The two sections thus share a folio—the lower voices of piece No. 16 (section 1) are on the recto of fol. 22 and the upper voice of piece No. 17 (section 2) is on the verso. This indicates that section 2 was not a separate gathering attached to the end of the book, but rather was copied onto pre-existing folios that were pre-lined with staves.⁶ Of the other gatherings, except for the sixth and final one that contains no music, pieces overlap so that the last work of one gathering is continued onto the first recto page of the next. This consistent overlapping pattern between gatherings, even between the two sections, indicates that the manuscript was constructed with a preconceived strategy, in which case it is less likely that section 2 was a later inserted ‘afterthought’.

The volume was clearly intended to be somewhat large. The last empty folios of gathering 5 are lined with staves and the final gathering (gathering 6) contains only blank ruled pages. Parchment was very expensive and no-one would have added so many lined folios with the aim that they remain empty. The music-less pages support the premise, presented below, that at some point there was a change in the owner’s situation (i.e., Anne de Beaujeu and her husband left the French court) and the owner no longer had the same access to composers or scribal resources that he/she had when the bulk of the book was copied.

All twenty-eight compositions are *forme-fixe* settings. Twenty-six are chansons à 3, two of which are motet-chansons: the opening piece by Agricola (*L'heure est venue/Circumdederunt me*), and No. 24, Josquin’s *Que vous madame je le jure/In pace in idipsum*. There is thus a motet-chanson in each half of the book.⁷ Two pieces entered in section 2 are à 4: No. 18, Ockeghem’s *Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte* and No. 19, Agricola’s *Je n'ay dueil que de vois ne vienge*. These two works are musically related: the opening motive of Agricola’s virelai includes the incipit and bass motive of Ockeghem’s rondeau.⁸

Illuminated borders and miniatures appear only on the opening pages, which is not uncommon in commissioned music books of the period. Folio 1v (Figure 1) features the texted upper-voice part of the Agricola virelai/motet-chanson, *L'heure est venue*. The mournful text is significant to the initial provenance hypothesis. It opens as follows:

⁶ The staff ruling between the two sections varies slightly. Through fol. 24 (gathering 3) the verso pages usually contain six pre-ruled staves and recto pages eight staves, but from fol. 25 on, there tend to be eight staves on both recto and verso pages.

⁷ For more on the Josquin motet-chanson, see David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout, 2009), 43-45.

⁸ *Je n'ay dueil* is notable for being Agricola’s most widely distributed song and his only four-voice *forme-fixe* chanson. For concordant music sources and possible datings of some pieces see Litterick, ‘Manuscript Royal’. Over half of the texts found in LonBLR 20 A. XVI, that is, seventeen out of twenty-eight, are also located in the poem anthology Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 1719. Being bound between 1495-1501, the latter source provides a *terminus ante quem* for these works; see Françoise Fery-Hue, *Au Grey D'Amours: Pièces inédites du Manuscrit Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 1719* (Montréal, 1991).

L'heure est venue de me plaindre
 Veü que au[l]tremet ne puis contraindre
 Ne faire maindre
 La douleur qui tant me veult nuyre
 En riens plus ne me vueil deduire
 Fors a me deduire
 Toute ma vie a me complandre...

The hour has come to bemoan [my fate]
 Given that otherwise I cannot constrain
 Nor cause to diminish
 The sorrow that so desires to cause me harm;
 And of nothing else do I wish to speak
 Except to take solace
 All of my life in bemoaning [my lot]...



Figure 1. LonBLR 20 A. XVI, fol. 1v. Reproduced by permission

The song does not take up the entire page, but is positioned to the right and beneath an image that has been placed in a large box in the upper-left quarter of the page. Illustrated within the box is a hooded man, dressed in black and gold, reclining on a sofa in an open tent with his head supported by his hand in a melancholy gesture.⁹ On the ground

⁹ The hand on the cheek is a ubiquitous gesture of sorrow in the Middle Ages. Elias Wessen, *Schwedische Sprachgeschichte* (Berlin, 1970), vol. 1, 101.

in front of the male is a lamb. Resting next to the animal is a staff or hiking stick. The blue-black cloth draped over the sofa is adorned with golden tear-shaped drops. The drops and dark colour likewise fill the large border of the page that also bears many single gold illuminated wings. On fol. 2r (Figure 2) the two remaining, lower parts of the chanson are copied with text incipits within an almost identical border as that of fol. 1. The colours, however, are inverted: the wings and drops are dark while the background is illuminated in gold.

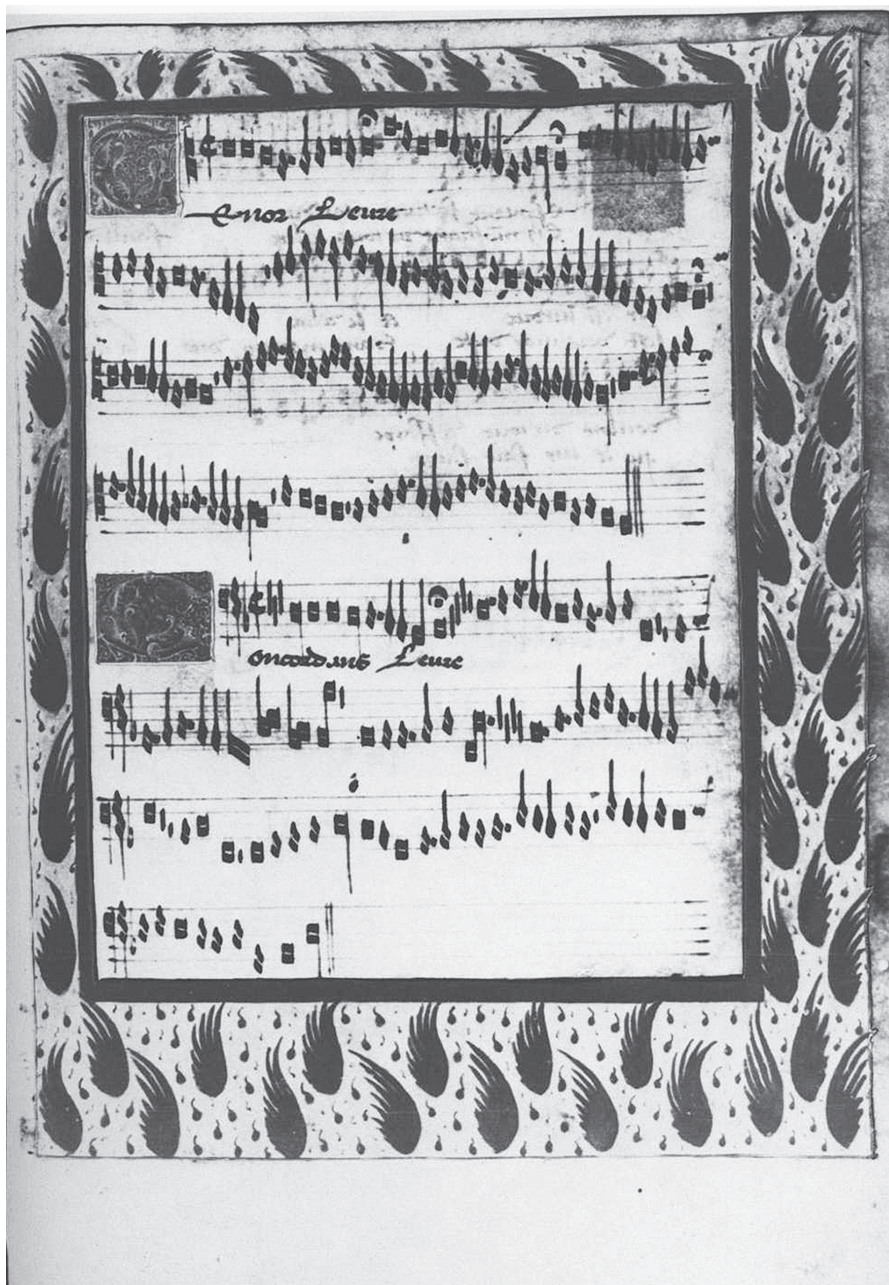


Figure 2. LonBLR 20 A. XVI, fol. 2r. Reproduced by permission

On the lower part of the next page, fol. 3v (Plate 4), is another intriguing illustration, of a woman seated on the ground playing a dulcimer. A female angel stands behind her. Before them is a man with an acorn cap, arms extended, holding a red heart in his right hand. The superius part of the chanson *A la mignonne de fortune*, also by Agricola, is placed on the upper half of this page above the miniature. The top and left-hand side of the page is framed with a red border containing gold miniscule letter ‘a’s, tied to majuscule ‘A’s. Here, along with the image, the text has an opposite sentiment from that of the opening piece. The male is no longer despondent but now joyful, praising Fortune, handing her his heart.

<p>A la mignonne de Fortune, Qu'on doibt loer devant chascune Sans craindre aucune, J'ay donné—donc sage me tien— Le cueur qui souloit estre mien, Qui sera sien Pour la servir plus que n'est une.</p>	<p>To Fortune's favorite, Whom one must praise above all others Fearlessly, I have given—in which I hold myself wise— The heart that used to be mine And which now will be hers, To serve her more than any other lady.</p>
<p>Car qui en voudroit une es lire Où il n'y eust rien que redire Chascun de tire Y courroit comme à la plus belle...</p>	<p>For if it were wished to find one In whom there should be nothing imperfect, Everyone would rush immediately to her, As to the most beautiful....</p>

Folio 3v was prepared in stages. In the preparatory phase of decorated manuscripts such as ours, borders and initials were planned along with the general layout, and then the scribe lightly ruled guidelines, followed by staves. Next the notes and text were entered—usually in that order—and finally an artist added artwork to the pre-established design.¹⁰ The upper half of fol. 3v, including the borders, initials, and text on the lower part of the page, all followed this plan. However, the scene on the bottom third of fol. 3v is not part of this initial layer, but is actually a second layer painted after the main material was completed. This is evidenced by the staff and words ‘Verte folium’ beneath the main chanson that have been cut off by the added illustration. Moreover, one can see that the text that is in the middle of the miniature was on the page before the latter was painted, and that a rectangular outline was placed around it when the new artwork was added. We can determine that the song above was original not only because of the general appearance, but also because its music and text are in the same hands as that seen on earlier folios, including fol. 3r—the other side of the same page.

These images at the beginning of LonBLR 20 A. XVI, along with the music, composer choices, texts, and overall presentation are all part of a multifaceted aesthetic experience. Chansonniers of the time were not just musical delights, but poem repositories and visual gems. Their appearance was often as significant as their content. These small music volumes were created as personal possessions, like books of hours, and in a similar fashion they were easy to carry or conceal in a pocket or a dress fold,

¹⁰ Since section 1 of LonBLR 20 A. XVI has one music scribe and two text hands whose copying is not completely sequential, it can be determined that the music was copied first. For more information on early manuscript production see Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto, 1992), and Perkins *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*, 185-88.

being readily available for private thought or aesthetic experience. They had a unique individual nature, unlike, say, religious music books, in that chansonniers were more flexible in their choice of illustrations, music, and text content. Moreover, they were under the control of the individual in regard to performance milieu and use. It was the owner who decided where, when, and who would sing or play from these songbooks. The volumes were thus personal and patrons wanted them to signal their identity.¹¹

In order to determine the owner of LonBLR 20 A. XVI, the lives of related individuals must be reviewed. Concordances clearly indicate that the music of both sections of LonBLR 20 A. XVI emanated from the French court in the late fifteenth century. From this time period, there are a handful of figures who might be considered as the possible dedicatees of such an appealing songbook. These individuals were part of the succession cluster following the death of Louis XI.

The French Succession After the Death of Louis XI

One of the most imposing figures of French royal circles was Anne de Beaujeu, also known as ‘Anne of France’, the brilliant daughter of Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy. Charlotte, who wed Louis in 1451 while he was dauphin, gave birth to eight children but only three survived infancy. The eldest was Anne, followed by her physically disabled sister Jeanne, and Charles, the future Charles VIII. By 1476 Jeanne had been married to Louis d’Orléans, via the manoeuvrings of her father, so that the young, ambitious duke could not strengthen his position through foreign matrimonial alliances.

Upon Louis XI’s death in 1483, thirteen-year old Charles acceded to the throne and Louis d’Orléans, the great-grandson of Charles V and second cousin of Louis XI, became the heir apparent. Because of Charles VIII’s youth, his small size, and perceived inabilities, he was to have a guardian and Louis d’Orléans believed he would assume this position. The king, however, immediately before his death, placed Charles’s guardianship in the hands of his daughter Anne and, to a lesser extent, her husband Pierre de Bourbon, whom she had wed in 1473. Anne was recognized for being like her father, domineering, shrewd, ambitious, at times vindictive and hypocritical. She was feared by many but well respected by her father the king who once gave her the dubious complement, ‘the least foolish woman I know’.¹²

Through the guardianship, Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon assumed political control and Anne became the de facto regent of France. During this time she encountered much dissent, especially from her sister’s husband, Louis d’Orléans, creating an antagonistic relationship between them. Indeed, in 1488 Louis joined forces with Francis II, duke of Brittany, to lead a noble uprising, the *Guerre Folle*, which was suppressed by Anne and her brother, Charles VIII. That same year, Anne employed her forceful machinations to assist Pierre in inheriting the Bourbon duchy, the last great fief of Europe.

¹¹ On reading chansonniers as a combination of elements and also on the intimacy of the readings, see Jane Alden, ‘Reading the Loire Valley Chansonniers’, in *Acta Musicologica* 89 (2007), 1-31; and eadem., *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (Oxford, 2010).

¹² Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Book of the Ladies*, trans. Katherine Prescott Wormeley (Boston, 1902), 216-17. John Bridge, *History of France from the Death of Louis XI to 1515*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1921-36), vol. 1, 29. Anne’s mother Charlotte died just a few months after her father in December 1483, which added to Anne’s sense of responsibility upon the ascension of her young brother.

Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre relinquished their regency in 1491, the year Charles VIII took control of his kingdom and married the young Anne of Brittany—the most eligible female in all of Europe.¹³ Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon left the court and now turned their attention to Bourbon and on celebrating the birth of their only surviving child, Suzanne. Seven years later, in 1498, when Charles VIII died childless, Louis d'Orléans became Louis XII and had his marriage to Jeanne dissolved so that he could marry Charles VIII's widow (thus Anne of Brittany was queen of France twice). This pair maintained a happy marriage until Anne of Brittany's death in 1514.

Early Hypothesis: The Commissioning of LonBLR 20 A. XVI

In her 1976 dissertation Louise Litterick proposed that LonBLR 20 A. XVI was commissioned by Louis d'Orléans, with section 1 being compiled in 1483 while he was still duke, and section 2 prepared approximately fifteen years later when he was betrothed to Anne of Brittany and crowned king. She suggests that the reclining male on fol. 1v represents Louis, the drop-like figures in the opening pages are teardrops, the position of the resting man indicates despondence, and these symbols, along with the cheerless text (*'Leure est venue de me plaindre'*) manifest Louis' saddened disposition upon the death of Louis XI and the subsequent loss of a regency he thought was his. This opening work is a motet-chanson without the Latin text: the missing words are from the introit for Septuagesima Sunday, *'Circumdederunt me gemitus mortus, dolores inferni circumdederunt me'* ('The sorrows of death surrounded me, the sorrows of hell encompassed me') and apply appropriately to a death or a dejected situation.

According to this hypothesis, the second section of the volume was added some fifteen years later, along with the illustration at the bottom of fol. 3v (Plate 4), which represents Louis d'Orléans and Anne of Brittany (here as Fortune, according to the text). Louis had apparently been enamoured with Anne for sometime, and following Charles' death, he would have been free to have his beloved depicted in the manuscript and then could have added music to the second part of the book. Litterick states that the two letter 'A's in the border represent Anne of Brittany's name, and that these letters are joined by a cord that was her symbol from at least 1492. She goes on to point out that the text on the page accompanying the added miniature (*'A la mignonne de fortune'*) fittingly has a sentiment opposite to that of the first piece. Here, Louis d'Orléans is no longer as miserable as he appears on fol. 1, for now he has his bride and crown.

I. Images

A closer evaluation of the data does not substantiate Litterick's hypothesis. For instance, she suggests that a fair amount of time may have elapsed between the painting of the two opening miniatures because of their dissimilar appearance, including the somewhat decomposed stated of the added painting on fol. 3v, which 'would seem to indicate that

¹³ Anne of Brittany inherited her father's great duchy upon his death in 1488.

the composition of the paint in the two miniatures. . . was not the same.¹⁴ However, as we will see, both illustrations (fols. 1r and 3v) come from the same atelier, and there is nothing regarding technique, design, or method to indicate that many years passed between their production. Moreover, the song and the lower-page text on fol. 3v, which peeps through the added image of the male with the heart and woman with the dulcimer, is part of the original layer and therefore was not added at the same time as the miniature to represent Louis' new betrothal sentiment. Likewise, the 'A' border is not a later addition: it is not related to the later-added fol. 3v illustration and fits perfectly with the original chanson. The border was no doubt planned even before the music was penned, as was common with borders.

II. Text Presentation

Litterick further suggests that the different text presentation in the two sections of the chansonnier—section 1 has text in only the top voice and section 2 has text in all voices—also suggests a significant time gap in their production. Chansonniers from the generation before this one tended to have text only in the upper part, while later chansonniers contain works with all parts texted. She mentions a few specific sources in relationship to LonBLR 20 A. XVI that primarily have only top-voice texts, including Florence 2794 (c. 1485);¹⁵ the Dijon Chansonnier (c. 1470-75);¹⁶ and the Laborde Chansonnier (1465-75).¹⁷ She then notes two manuscripts with text in all voices: Paris 1596 (c. 1495);¹⁸ and Paris 2245 (1490s).¹⁹ However, as one can see, dates of chansonniers with different text presentations can be rather close, as in the case of Florence 2794 and Paris 2245. In a later article Litterick herself notes that the turning point in *forme-fixe* chanson text presentation is around 1490,²⁰ and, as we will see, our chansonnier stems from exactly this transitional period, c. 1488-91. The change in text presentation within a lone manuscript like LonBLR 20 A. XVI likely indicates that the volume merely had a multifaceted function or perspective rather than a large production gap.²¹

Text in all parts of a piece implies that each line should be sung. Therefore, sacred music manuscripts that were copied for practical use regularly include text in all parts. Chansonniers were different: they were not primarily created as performance tools but were often meant as mementos replete with references, direct and indirect, to the dedicatee who was not necessarily a trained musician. As Jane Alden suggests, chansonniers served as commentary texts and aide-memoires. Patrons could engage

¹⁴ Litterick, 'Manuscript Royal', 10.

¹⁵ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794.

¹⁶ Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 517 (olim 295). The last three pieces in this chansonnier may have been added in the 1480s.

¹⁷ Washington, Library of Congress, Ms. M2.1.L25.

¹⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 1596, owned by a young 'Marguerite d'Orléans' (Marguerite d'Alençon), the grandniece of Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre, and daughter of their former ward, Louise of Savoy.

¹⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 2245. See Litterick, 'Manuscript Royal', 77-80.

²⁰ 'The sources suggest that until about 1490 they [*forme-fixe* chansons] were normally performed in these regions [France and Burgundy] with the highest [texted] voice sung and the lower two voices [that were untexted] played on instruments. . . .' Louise Litterick, 'Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century', in *Early Music* 8 (1980), 481.

²¹ In her later article, Litterick notes that there was a brief period of transition when both texting practices were used. Indeed, there had to be some overlapping period. Litterick, 'Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music', 474.

with these books even without musical performance, since the volumes were so tied to personal identity. One could easily be drawn in by the poems, visual aspects, and memories of the tunes.²²

Of course, patrons could also actually perform from their songbooks and our chansonnier clearly manifests both a performance and non-performance function. The first section of LonBLR 20 A. XVI is symbolic and fittingly signifies the individual aspect of the owner. Yet at the same time the slightly larger dimensions (see description above) and the clear layout of the parts that are visible to all performers when the book rests open show that even this section was likely used in real performance.²³

Section 2 undoubtedly manifests a performance element. The fact that the songs in this section were entered with all parts texted and include names of composers (but no decorated initials) simply means that the focus of this later section is on the music itself and its applied performance rather than the 'memento' element. There was no need to further feature the symbolic perspective of the patron here, as this had been done so well at the beginning of the volume. The owner, that is, an owner who was musically inclined, would understandably request that the second layer of chansons be more suited for performance by having all parts texted. Of course, time may have elapsed between the penning of the first and second sections, but it was probably negligible, and there is certainly no evidence indicating that some fifteen years passed. Since our manuscript, as we will see, dates from c. 1488 when both texting practices were in use, the change in text presentation is more a testament to the musicality of the patron rather than a large time gap.²⁴

III. Other Factors

As with the texting, the musical content does not support an argument for a substantial lapse in time between the sections. The chansons of both parts were mainly composed around the 1480s. The oldest composers, Fresneau and Ockeghem, who date from as far back as the era of Louis XI (r. 1461-83), appear in section 2. It would be somewhat odd for Anne of Brittany and Louis XII to request that their new marriage be represented by old pieces that were in vogue while they were both married to other people. Moreover, it simply was not common during the Renaissance to copy secular songs from past decades into contemporary chansonniers.

Under further scrutiny, other arguments used to associate the manuscript with Louise d'Orléans and Anne of Brittany are likewise thin. The black and gold colours worn by the male in the miniature, supposedly the colours of Louis d'Orléans, cannot

²² Jane Alden, 'Reading the Loire Valley Chansonniers', 28; and eadem, 'On the Aesthetics of 15th-Century Chansonniers', in *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 33 (2005), 17-30.

²³ Some assert that untexted parts were performed on instruments or wordlessly vocalized: see Litterick 'Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music'. It is also possible that the lower parts were sung with text from memory, which could be refreshed by reading the top-voice text provided in the chansonnier.

²⁴ Throughout the fifteenth century there are several instances of chansons with a lower line being untexted in one manuscript yet texted in another, suggesting that the addition of text was not only a scribal idea but also a performing initiative. See Dennis Slavin, 'In Support of "Heresy": Manuscript Evidence for the *a cappella* Performance of Early 15th-Century Songs', in *Early Music* 19 (1991), 178-90; Lawrence Earp, 'Texting in 15th-Century French Chansons: A Look Ahead from the 14th Century', in *Early Music* 19 (1991), 194-210.

be closely tied to him.²⁵ The wings in the borders, as we will see below, are not Louis d'Orléans' device. The cord that appears with the 'A's on fol. 3v does not look like Anne of Brittany's cord—she indeed had a cord symbol and even hosted a school of ladies called the 'Cordelier', but Anne's cord and that of LonBLR 20 A. XVI are not similar.²⁶ Therefore, the data must be re-examined in light of other possible owners.

Interpretation of the Evidence

I. Bourbon Wings

Without a doubt the boldest clue concerning the original owner pertains to the wings in the opening borders. Both Litterick and Steven Bonime, in his 1975 dissertation, suggest that wings are Louis d'Orléans' device. This is based on earlier research showing that another book in which wings are depicted, *Épistres d'Ovide* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 873), a translated volume by Octavian de Saint-Gelais, was prepared for Louis XII.²⁷ However, later research by French Renaissance manuscript specialist Myra Orth and historian Anne-Marie Lecoq indicates that Ms. fr. 873 belonged not to Louis but to Louise of Savoy, the niece and former ward of Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon.²⁸ The French word for wing—*aile*—is homonymous with the initial 'L' in this case for 'Louise' not 'Louis' (see Figure 3).

Louise of Savoy chose the wing emblem not just because of the play on her name, but because it represents her Bourbon heritage. Louise's mother was Marguerite de Bourbon, the sister of Pierre de Bourbon. Louise of Savoy's wings, which she and her son Francis I utilized regularly, are one of a series of Bourbon wings. The single wing and pair of wings were used repeatedly by other Bourbon nobles. They appear, for instance, in the decoration of the Sainte-chapelle in Champigny-sur-Veude, a church begun in 1508 by Louis de Bourbon, prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, and his wife and cousin, Louise de Bourbon, duchess of Montpensier (Figure 4). In addition, the winged stag carrying a ribbon with the Bourbon device is found in a music book, the so-called Bayeux Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9346), a source dating from around 1500 and containing over 100 chansons in monophonic form. The manuscript bears an acrostic with the name of Charles de Bourbon, for whom the book was compiled.²⁹ Significantly, Charles de Bourbon was the son-in-law of Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon: he married their daughter (and his own cousin) Suzanne

²⁵ Many figures in late fifteenth-century illustrations wear black and gold. For instance, the famous illustration of the composer Ockeghem depicts him wearing black and gold (along with dark glasses) while singing from a large manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 1537, fol. 58v). Also see, for example, a man and two women in black and gold in London, British Library, Harley Ms. 4425, fol. 14v. There is no evidence indicating that black and gold are affiliated with Louis d'Orléans.

²⁶ Anne of Brittany's cord can be seen surrounding her coat of arms in her famous Book of Hours. See plates in H. Winnett Orr, *Anne of Brittany* (Lincoln, NE, 1944).

²⁷ Bonime, 'Anne de Bretagne', 23 and 119, cites the position found in Georges Ritter and Jean Lafond, *Manuscrits à peintures de l'École de Rouen* (Rouen, 1913), 16.

²⁸ Personal correspondence with Myra Orth, 22 August 1996. Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire: Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1987), 470.

²⁹ Jay Rahn, 'Melodic and Textual Types in French Monophonic Song, ca. 1500' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978), 64. On the winged stag see p. 13 and also Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane: dictionnaire d'un langage perdu (1450-1600)* (Genève, 1997).



Figure 3. Winged border and Louise of Savoy, from Ovid's *Épistres* as translated by Octavien de Saint-Gelais; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 873. Reproduced by permission

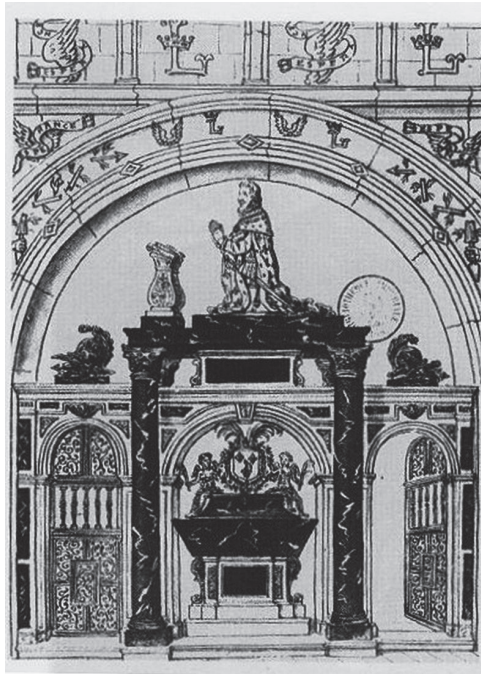


Figure 4. Bourbon emblems in the Sainte-chapelle in Champigny-sur-Veude; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des estampes. Reproduced by permission

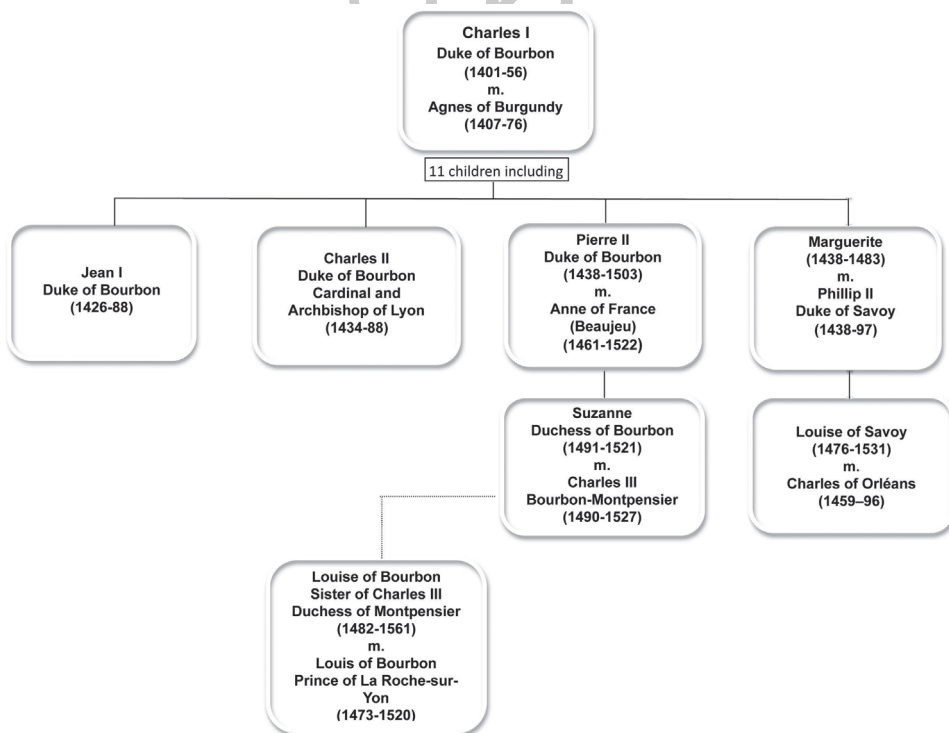


Figure 5. Bourbon genealogy chart

in 1505 (see Bourbon genealogy, Figure 5). But most importantly, the wing device was used by Pierre de Bourbon himself. For example, he had a coin minted depicting a deer with the Bourbon wings (Figure 6). It would thus be natural for wings to be present in a manuscript commissioned by or for Pierre de Bourbon and Anne de Beaujeu.



Figure 6. Pierre de Bourbon's coinage; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des médailles. Reproduced by permission

II. The Chansonnier Texts and the Bourbon Connection

The Bourbon connection is further attested to by the texts within the volume. The words to song No. 13, *Alez regret vuydes [vuidez] de ma presence*, were written by Pierre's brother, Duke Jean de Bourbon II.³⁰ Moreover, it seems apparent, as Françoise Fery-Hue suggests, that the texts of songs No. 9, *Pour faire l'arkymie d'amours* (composer unnamed), and No. 10, *C'est trop sur* (Agricola), are also by Jean. The lyrics of these two songs are the most unusual in the volume, with their references to alchemy. They are meant to be paired.³¹ The rondeau quatrain of No. 10 specifically mentions the duchy:

C'est trop sus amours entrepriz
De vouloir faire l'arkymye.
En **Bourbon** ne trouveres mye
Que qui l'entrepren n'y soit pris

L'en a pour fours alambicz priz

Par qui a veu à gré sa mye

C'est trop sus amours entrepriz
De vouloir faire l'arkymye.

It is too much of an undertaking
To attempt the alchemy of love.
In Bourbon you will not find anyone
Who will try it.

People have taken alembic for ovens [i.e., have got even the most elementary things wrong];
Because for anyone who does not serve willingly his beloved,

It is too much of an undertaking
To attempt the alchemy of love

³⁰ Fery-Hue, *Au Grey D'Amours*, 301.

³¹ This pairing suggestion was first made by Dragan Plamenac, "The "Second" Chansonnier of the Biblioteca Riccardiana (Codex 2356)", in *Annales musicologiques: Moyen-âge et renaissance* 2 (1954), 273; noted in David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford, 1999), 113. The two works are also found together in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 1719; see Fery-Hue, *Au Grey D'Amours*, 301.

Sans nature vient art de priz
Quand la vertu est endormye
Il n'y demeure que la mye [lye]³²
Se ceux qui el font sont repriz

Without nature, art comes to be neglected
When virtue is asleep
Only the sweetheart remains
If those who do it are caught in the act.

C'est trop sus amours entrepriz
De vouloir faire l'arkymye.
En Bourbon ne trouveres mye
Que qui l'entreprend n'y soit pris.

It is too much of an undertaking
To attempt the alchemy of love.
In Bourbon you will not find anyone
Who will try it.³³

Song No. 9, *Pour faire l'arkymie d'amours*, also invokes this 'chemistry' of romance, along with furnaces, alembics and coal. This is noteworthy, since Bourbon was famous for the quality of its forges and the skillfulness of its blacksmiths.³⁴ Therefore, although there is no specific mention of the duchy in song No. 9, Bourbon is clearly suggested, especially alongside its companion piece.³⁵

III. Additional Clues

Along with the Bourbon wings and Bourbon related text there are other clues that tie LonBLR 20 A. XVI with Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon. The atelier of the illustrations was that of Jean Colombe, the famous French illuminator and brother of the well-known sculptor Michel.³⁶ Colombe was known to be admired by Anne and frequently produced manuscripts for her mother Charlotte of Savoy (1443-83), a noted

³² In the book of poetry Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 1719 the word is 'lye' rather than 'mye.' Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), *A Florentine Chansonier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229*, Monuments of Renaissance Music 7 (Chicago, 1983), vol. 2, 233. An edition of the piece with variant readings is in vol. 1, 128-30.

³³ General translation based on Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier*, vol. 2, 233. Brown notes that there are some text differences between 'C'est trop sus' in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 1719 and our *chansonier*, and feels that 'neither version is entirely satisfactory, but the Paris version makes better sense than the London one, which is obviously corrupt'.

³⁴ See Fery-Hue, *Au Grey D'Amours*, 301.

³⁵ The complete text of No. 9:

Pour faire l'arkymie d'amours
Il est si peu d'ouvriez parfaiz.

Qu'on y fait trop peu de beaulxfaiz
Qui n'y scer bien trouver sez tours
Trop y fault alambicz et fours
Et du charbon plus de cent foyz

Pour faire...

Et trouve on souvent le rebours
Donc on cuide avoir lez biens imparfaitz
Brief oeux sont les plus imparfaitz
Qui cuide ester les mainz lourdz

Pour faire...

³⁶ Identified by Janet Backhouse of the British Library; Litterick, 'Manuscript Royal', 14. Thomas Tolley, 'Monarchy and Prestige in France', in *Viewing Renaissance Art*, ed. Carol M. Richardson, Angeliki Lymberopoulou, and Kim Woods (New Haven, CT, 2007), 151. Colombe was born c. 1435 and flourished in the 1470s and 1480s. He died before 1498, perhaps in 1493.



Figure 7. Anne of France [Beaujeu] and the angel Gabriel, *Hours of Anne of France*, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.677, fol. 42v. Reproduced by permission



Figure 8. Detail, Charles VIII and the Knights of St. Michael, *Statutes of the Order of St. Michael*, 1493, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 14363, fol. 3r. Reproduced by permission

bibliophile and one of Colombe's most significant patrons.³⁷ Queen Charlotte employed the artist extensively between 1469 and 1479, and it was she who recommended him to her daughter. Colombe no doubt met Anne while she was still a child, as it is believed that Charlotte commissioned him to make Anne's famous *Hours of Anne of France* (c. 1473), an extraordinary volume containing 107 full-page miniatures and considered one of the most exquisite products of Colombe's atelier (see Figure 7).³⁸ Anne was so passionate about Colombe's work that Louis de Laval bequeathed his own Book of Hours to her, with its several illustrations by Colombe.³⁹

In addition to Colombe's presence in LonBLR 20 A. XVI a number of images point to Anne and Pierre. The female figure with an arched back and exposed high forehead sitting before the angel is in the style of Anne's time and similar to the depiction Colombe provided of a young Anne in her Book of Hours (see Figure 7).⁴⁰ Likewise, the 'A's in the border of this page are entwined with a French court cord comparable to those found in French court manuscripts of Anne's era (rather than those of Anne of Brittany). In fact, a similar cord linking letters can be seen in a book from the 1490s belonging to her brother Charles VIII (Figure 8).⁴¹ Letters tied with another such cord are also found

³⁷ Janet Backhouse, 'Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*' in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, ed. Thomas Kren (New York, 1983), 157.

³⁸ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 677. See John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530* (New York, 1982), No. 70.

³⁹ Tolley, 'Monarchy and Prestige in France', 151.

⁴⁰ Plummer, *The Last Flowering*, No. 70.

⁴¹ Charles VIII and the Knights of St. Michael, *Statutes of the Order of St. Michael*, 1493, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 14363, fol. 3r. Reproduced in Abel Durand, *Anne de Bretagne et son temps* (Nantes, 1961), Plate 22.

in Anne's Book of Hours (letters 'A' and 'V' united) and other court manuscripts from the late fifteenth century.⁴²

Most remarkable though is the image of the man with the heart on fol. 3v. He bears a strong resemblance to Pierre, who, in other illustrations, is shown wearing the acorn cap (Plates 5 and 6). Especially striking is the distinctive hair of the figure in LonBLR 20 A. XVI since it is similar to that of Pierre as he is depicted in various illustrations. Pierre had very fine, light red, almost strawberry-blond hair. If portraits and miniatures have some accuracy, then we can assume that Louis d'Orléans had darker hair, and Charles VIII dark hair with a slightly reddish tint (Figure 8). Neither the colour nor thin texture of the hair of the man with the heart in the miniature match these, but on both counts, the resemblance with Pierre is clear.⁴³

Composers

An examination of the biography of the composers whose works appear in LonBLR 20 A. XVI reveals that most were at court during the era of Anne de Beaujeu or can otherwise be associated with her or Pierre during the late 1480s.

I. Alexander Agricola

With thirteen of the twenty-eight works, Alexander Agricola is the composer most represented in LonBLR 20 A. XVI. Although the details available about his life are sparse, it is known that he was at Cambrai cathedral in 1475-76 since he is listed as receiving a salary for his services as *petit vicaire*.⁴⁴ The payment registers for the chapel musicians are missing after this time; however, several years later, on 1 October 1491, Agricola is first recorded as a singer at Florence cathedral.⁴⁵ A letter from Charles VIII to Pietro de' Medici in Florence penned sometime after 8 April 1492 indicates that, before entering the cathedral, Agricola was at the French court. Charles writes: 'we particularly desire the return to our chapel of this Alexander [Agricola]... Thus we pray... you will urge them [Agricola and another musician, a lutenist] to leave as soon as possible.'⁴⁶ From this correspondence it is apparent that Agricola left the French court without Charles VIII's blessing.

⁴² *Hours of Anne of France* (1473); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.677. See Jean-Charles Varennes, *Anne de Bourbon: Roi de France* (Paris, 1978), centre plate.

⁴³ For either Pierre or Anne to represent themselves in art was not uncommon. For example, they are depicted with their daughter Suzanne on the cathedral of Moulins triptych (Figure 9). Having a chansonnier with depictions of themselves would not be out of place for them. As Tolley noted, 'The patronage of Anne and Pierre shows the value they placed on the visual arts in promoting their personal concerns'; Tolley, 'Monarchy and Prestige in France', 153.

⁴⁴ André Pirro, 'Jean Corneul Vicaire à Cambrai', in *Revue de musicologie* 10 (1926), 191.

⁴⁵ Frank D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1961), 344.

⁴⁶ The letter is dated 25 April with no year. However, as Martin Picker has explained, the year can be deduced since Charles mentions Lorenzo de' Medici's recent death, which occurred on 8 April 1492. Martin Picker, 'A Letter of Charles VIII of France Concerning Alexander Agricola', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1978), 666.

Since Agricola is not mentioned among the French royal chapel in an account of 1486, it can be deduced that his time in France was after this, that is, between 1486 and 1491. The dates are important, because they clearly indicate that he was at court during Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre's regency (1483-91). Additionally intriguing is the timing of his departure. From the tone of Charles VIII's 1492 letter, 'urging' Agricola to return, we can assume the composer had not been gone long. He obviously went to his Italian post directly from the French court in the autumn of 1491. This was just months before Anne of France relinquished her royal position and moved to the Bourbon duchy in early 1492. Therefore Agricola was undoubtedly at court during Anne's rule, but was gone by the time her brother Charles assumed full authority. That the composer stayed while Anne was at court, but later showed some disregard for Charles VIII's wish that he return, might indicate that Agricola had a more compelling association with Anne, the notoriously domineering 'Madame la Grande', than he had with Charles.⁴⁷

We can further tie Agricola to the French court during Anne's era through his long-standing musical association with Johannes Ockeghem (also represented in LonBLR 20 A. XVI), who was *premier chapelain* at the time. Agricola admired Ockeghem's work, as attested by his composing several pieces with borrowed material from the elder master. In fact, the two four-voice chansons in LonBLR 20 A. XVI, one by Ockeghem and the other by Agricola, are a related pair—the opening motive of Agricola's virelai *Je n'ay dueil que de vois ne vienge* includes the incipit and bass motive of Ockeghem's rondeau *Je n'ay dueil que je ne suis morte*.⁴⁸

II. Other Composers

The French court during Anne de Beaujeu's ruling era was at some point home to most of the other composers in LonBLR 20 A. XVI. Ockeghem was present during the reign of Anne's father Louis XI. Moreover, he was among those in attendance during a ritual in the presence of the Charles VIII on Maundy Thursday in April 1488.⁴⁹ We know that Jean Fresneau was active as *chapelain ordinaire* in the French royal chapel from 1469 to

⁴⁷ While at court, Agricola must have noticed Anne's supreme authority. Her young brother Charles was 'raised in great fear' of her. Indeed, his relationship with Anne caused Charles considerable anxiety; among other things, he would never play chess with her because he would always lose. After assuming full power, it took him many months, even years, to become comfortable with his independence from his sister. Thus, whether Agricola stayed at court during her de facto regency was likely as much Madame's decision as it was that of Agricola. Bourdelle, *Book of the Ladies*, 216-17. See also Pauline M. Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2001), 75; and Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII et son milieu* (Paris, 1975), 143.

⁴⁸ Agricola and Ockeghem are also placed together in poems of the time by Guillaume Crétin and Jean Lemaire. Agricola is the first musician called upon to compose a lament for their 'master and good father' in Crétin's *Déploration sur la mort d'Ockeghem*. In addition, in Jean Lemaire des Belges, *La concorde des deux langages* there is comment on the 'new angels with which the heavens are served...in the middle of the choir you can hear the interchanging broken phrases of Agricola, the expressive word-setting of Josquin, the very fine harmony of Ockeghem, the sweet language of Loyset Compère'—all composers whose works are presented in LonBLR Royal 20 A. XVI. Jean Lemaire des Belges, *La plainte du désiré*, ed. Dora Yabsley (Paris, 1932), 81. Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford, 1992), 17, 29.

⁴⁹ Ockeghem is listed as a member of the French royal chapel in 1486. See Leeman Perkins, 'Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 507-66 at 552.

1475⁵⁰. He remained in service during Anne's rule: a letter from the papal court of 28 July 1486 identifies Fresneau as *cantor-capellanus* of the king of France (Charles VIII) and canon at St. Martin, Tours.⁵¹ Song No. 22 is attributed to Pietrequin Bonnel, although some have interpreted the up-and-down waves of the two 'n's in *bâtard* script as a 'u' and 'v' (i.e., 'Bouvel').⁵² Bonnel was apparently at the French court in the 1480s as his hand is in another French manuscript of the time, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794 (which, one might posit, was also made during Anne's de facto regency).⁵³ As for Loyset Compère, a French court document of February 1486 lists him (as 'Ludovicus Compatis') as *chantre ordinaire* to Charles VIII. Moreover, he has an additional Bourbon connection as he set two poems by Pierre's brother, Jean II, duke of Bourbon.⁵⁴

Josquin des Prez, who apparently served Anne's father Louis XI for a short while, left French service in 1483, the year the king died and Anne assumed power.⁵⁵ He cannot be directly tied to Anne and Pierre, but as a child Anne certainly would have encountered this up-and-coming composer or known of his works. Jean Crespières (also known as Crespinet), represented by one piece in the *chansonier*, worked directly for the French court. Before 1498 it seems he compiled or produced French music manuscripts such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 2245.⁵⁶ Hayne van Ghizeghem's association with the French court has been established by way of other attributed sources from the late fifteenth century that have a French provenance: for instance, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 2245; Washington D.C., Library of Congress, M2.1.L25; and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794.

The Commissioning of the Chansonier

Marriages of nobles during the Renaissance were usually arranged, and understandably not all couples developed a deep bond. Certainly, many would never have commissioned a book of love songs, especially one with such personalized devoted images as we see in LonBLR 20 A. XVI. But for Anne and Pierre, a strongly committed pair, our *chansonier* is not out of place. Although they were opposites, they were congruous. Anne was recognized for her forceful demeanor and 'by nature he [Pierre] was kind and easy-going, with nothing of the severity of his wife...but his wife was the master and always

⁵⁰ See Leeman Perkins, 'Jean de Ockeghem', in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>> (accessed 8 June 2010).

⁵¹ Perkins, 'Musical Patronage', 552-54.

⁵² Steven Bonime first suggested that the lettering looked like 'Bouvel' but that it likely was intended to identify Pietrequin Bonnel; Bonime 'Anne de Bretagne', 24.

⁵³ Bonnel went to Savoy in 1488. He was probably at court prior to this date. Joshua Rifkin, 'Pietrequin Bonnel and Ms. 2794 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), 284-96. Fourteen of the twenty-eight works in LonBLR. Royal 20 A. XVI have concordances in Riccardiana 2794: Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 25, 26, and 27.

⁵⁴ These pieces with text by Jean II are *Faisons boutons, le beau temps est venu* and *Ne doibt on prendre quant on donne*.

⁵⁵ Patrick Macey, 'Josquin's "Misericordias Domini" and Louis XI', in *Early Music* 19 (1991), 173-74.

⁵⁶ See Litterick 'Manuscript Royal', 40-41; Herbert Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at The Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21-25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London, 1976), 205-6. For a list of the contents of Ms. fr. 2245, see Henri Omont et al., *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Manuscrits. Catalogue 1* (Paris, 1868), 390. See also Litterick, 'Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music', 474-85.

retained over him the authority of a king's daughter'.⁵⁷ The aging Pierre, who was forty-five years old when Anne's father died, while she was a mere twenty-two, relished his wife's prowess and relied upon her. Not only was she intelligent and physically capable (a skilled horsewoman and hunter), but by the late 1480s, she was the richest and arguably most powerful woman in Europe.⁵⁸

LonBLR 20 A. XVI, however, does not represent merely love or admiration, but also Bourbon. Bourbon is at the forefront of the songbook: the Bourbon wings are displayed so prominently on the opening pages, Jean de Bourbon contributed at least one of the texts, and songs within the volume invoke the Bourbonnais. There are two periods in the late fifteenth century when the duchy would have dominated Anne and Pierre's attention: in 1488 when they gained their positions as duke and duchess, and in late 1491 to early 1492 when they left the royal court to reside in their ducal territory. Both would have been fitting occasions for commissioning the chansonnier.

Their thoughts during the later time, 1491-92, were regularly focused on the birth of their only child, Suzanne, delivered on 10 May 1491 after years of a barren marriage and several miscarriages. Anne and Pierre spent their lives as committed and guiding parents and Suzanne was constantly a focal point. The Master of Moulins Jean Hey was commissioned to paint Suzanne when she was a mere infant, which was quite unusual—children were typically not painted from life until around the age of eleven, partially because of the difficulty in getting them to pose for such lengthy sittings.⁵⁹ Still, Anne had Suzanne painted yet again from life when she was approximately seven years old: Suzanne and her parents are depicted in brilliant portraits on the inside panels of a triptych in the cathedral of Moulins (see Figure 9). Anne also focused on Suzanne in her writings. The duchess, who prided herself in having supervised the education of many girls at the French court, including Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria, wrote a series of *enseignements* for Suzanne with advice for a female navigating the world of politics.⁶⁰ In this connection, Anne actively sought or produced works that involved her child. That said, LonBLR 20 A. XVI, a book of love songs, certainly does not pertain to Suzanne.



Figure 9. The Master of Moulins, *The Moulins Triptych*, panel showing Anne de Bourbon and her daughter Suzanne, detail (1498-99), Moulins cathedral

⁵⁷ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds fr. 15538, fols. 40-41, cited in Marc Chombart de Lauwe, *Anne de Beaujeu* (Paris, 1980), 397.

⁵⁸ See Bourdeille, *Book of the Ladies*, 216-17; Bridge, *History of France*, vol. 1, 29.

⁵⁹ Tolley, 'Monarchy and Prestige in France', 154.

⁶⁰ *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon* (Lyon, [1503-5]); modern ed. Alphonse Chazaud (Marseille, 1978).

It would seem more probable, that LonBLR 20 A. XVI was commissioned before the pregnancy to commemorate, in addition to their devotion, Anne and Pierre's inheritance of Bourbon. It is worth noting that this inheritance did not come without some difficulty. Pierre's brother Duke Jean II died on 1 April 1488, leaving another brother, Charles, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyon and a *bon vivant*, control of the duchy. This caused great distress to Pierre and Anne, who had longed to govern Bourbon and were considered much more fit rulers of this magnificent and demanding territory.⁶¹ Nine days after Jean's death Anne departed for the Bourbonnais accompanied by a military escort of the French king. Upon arriving she immediately had loyal troops from the region occupy significant territories and simultaneously sent skilled negotiators to meet with Cardinal-Archbishop Charles. He was compelled to renounce all claims to the duchy on 15 April in return for a financial settlement.⁶² This negotiation is considered one of the most historically important events in Anne's life. A music book calling to mind both Bourbon and Pierre's love for Anne would have fit well at this stage.⁶³

Of course, what specifically triggered the commissioning of the chansonnier, whether acquiring Bourbon, or moving to it, or perhaps some personal occurrence, may never be known. By and large, however, we can safely say that 1488-1491 were appropriate years in the lives of Anne and Pierre to order such a book. This time period fits with the general dating of the pieces, and it corresponds with the years most composers were at the French court as well as the active years of Colombe's atelier. Moreover, this time is in agreement with that brief period of transition when both texting practices found in our music manuscript—text in all parts and top-voice only texting—might appear in one source.



Conclusion

LonBLR 20 A. XVI is replete with signs pointing to the ownership of Anne de Beaujeu and Pierre de Bourbon: from the Bourbon wings, the strawberry-blond-haired man, the female figure in the fashion of Anne as she appears in her Book of Hours, to the text by Jean de Bourbon, the reference to 'Bourbon' in song lyrics, Anne's initials and French court cord, miniatures by Colombe who prepared Anne's own Book of Hours, and music by composers who were at court during Anne and Pierre's de facto regency. LonBLR 20 A. XVI was likely prepared between 1488-1491, this being when Bourbon would have been most in their thoughts before they left the French court, and a time that accords with the dating of the illustrations and the compilation. That the chansonnier, copied on expensive parchment, contains several pages of blank-lined staves is an indication that the couple may have left the French court, and its resources, before the volume was completely fleshed out.

This fresh connection that can now be made between Anne, her husband, and LonBLR 20 A. XVI might add to the general discussion concerning the nature of

⁶¹ For further information, see Varennes, *Anne de Bourbon*, 160-70.

⁶² The Cardinal-Archbishop died a few months later on 13 September 1488. See Varennes, *Anne de Bourbon*, 166.

⁶³ See Bourdeille, *Book of the Ladies*, 216-17; Bridge, *History of France*, vol. 1, 29; Matarasso, *Queen's Mate*, 75; Varennes, *Anne de Bourbon*, 160, as well as song texts above.

commissioned chansonniers, the interconnectedness of their diverse elements, and the personal ties these books have to their owners. The association also sheds some light on the lives of these major historical figures as well as on French Renaissance artistic court culture. In the area of women's music history, it opens up the notion that Anne de Beaujeu was more musically inclined than previously acknowledged. This is not just because she owned a chansonnier, but also because the second section of the book, with its lack of decorations yet inclusion of texts in all parts and the names of composers, indicates that the owner was thinking about music and performance rather than a memento element. Arguably Anne would have sung from or had others sing from the manuscript. Also of note, the woman on the fol. 3v miniature, who clearly resembles Anne, is depicted playing a dulcimer, a musical instrument that calls for some effort to master. Moreover, one must remember that Anne de Beaujeu was the guardian of noble girls who became some of the most musical women of the northern Renaissance courts. Her young ward Margaret of Austria developed into a great patron of music and owned a collection of many music books, and Beaujeu's niece, Louise of Savoy, whom she also raised, was apparently an avid dulcimer player and certainly a lover of music.⁶⁴ In the light of the present findings, it seems likely that Anne de Beaujeu had a role in exposing these females to music while they were under her tutelage.⁶⁵

Chansonniers like LonBLR 20 A. XVI can reveal much about their owners as social, artistic, and musical individuals. As we see with our volume, the contributions of composers, poets, illuminators, and scribes together can result in a complex and multidimensional reading with important cultural and historical insights. As is becoming ever more apparent, chansonniers are often more than mere text repositories or mnemonic musical devices and have a great deal to disclose in light of their personal connections.

Abstract

Through an examination of images, texts, artists, composers, and the lives of royal figures, the original owners of the chansonnier London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 A. XVI are determined in this study. Earlier scholarship suggested that the chansonnier was commissioned by Louis d'Orléans, and compiled in two parts, the first in 1483 while he was still duke, and the second approximately fifteen years later when he was betrothed to Anne of Brittany and crowned king. A fresh review of the evidence, including the pages of borders with wings (the symbol of Bourbon), indicates that the manuscript was prepared for Anne de Beaujeu (Anne of France) and her husband Pierre de Bourbon around 1488 when they gained their positions as duke and duchess of Bourbon.

⁶⁴ A miniature of Louise of Savoy playing the dulcimer among other musicians and singers can be seen in Robinet Testard, *Les échecs amoureux*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 143, reproduced in Dorothy Moulton Mayer, *The Great Regent: Louise of Savoy 1476-1531* (London, 1966), 19.

⁶⁵ For more on women and music of the northern Renaissance courts, see Lisa Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn's French Motet Book: A Childhood Gift', in *Ars musica septentrionalis*, ed. Frederic Billiet and Barbara Hagg-Huglo (Paris, 2010), 95-120; and eadem, 'Anne Boleyn, A Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts' (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1997).