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DIAMM FACSIMILE SERIES

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The
ANNE BOLEYN
MUSIC BOOK
(Royal College of Music MS 1070)

Facsimile
with introduction

BY
THOMAS SCHMIDT and DAVID SKINNER
with KATJA AIRAKSINEN-MONIER

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FACSIMILE

Preface

The Royal College of Music (RCM) holds one of the largest special collections of any conservatoire, including manuscript and printed music, historic instruments, pictures, programmes and personal archives.

The origins of the College and its collections are to be found in a scheme initiated by Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's Consort, after the 1851 Great Exhibition, to establish a centre for science, technology and the arts in South Kensington in London. The impetus for a new conservatoire grew from the concern that the country was failing to provide adequate training for would-be professional musicians. Firm planning for the RCM was initiated by the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII, at a meeting in 1882, at which he spoke of his wish that a new college should 'be to England what the Berlin Conservatoire is to Germany, what the Paris Conservatoire is to France, or the Vienna Conservatoire to Austria – the recognised centre and head of the musical world.'

Two pre-existing collections – the libraries of the Concerts of Ancient Music, presented by Queen Victoria, and of the Sacred Harmonic Society, purchased by a group of benefactors on the society's dissolution in 1882 – formed the nucleus of the RCM's library. Further individual donations when the RCM moved to its present building in 1894 brought some prized possessions, including the clavicytherium from c.1480, the harpsichord by Alessandro Trasuntino, the virginals by Giovanni Celestini and the autograph manuscript of Mozart's Piano Concerto in C minor K491. Since then the RCM collections have been augmented by many further gifts, most notably from staff and students associated with the College. The catalogue of portraits has grown into the most comprehensive of its kind in the UK, including paintings of musicians, drawings, engravings, photographs and busts. At the same time, the RCM has assembled a very large collection of concert programmes, amounting to some 700,000 items covering all types of classical music.

Most recently the Royal College of Music has published facsimile editions of a number of manuscripts and a large selection of illustrative postcards. These initiatives have helped support the College's current position at the forefront of developing and promoting a subtle blend of education and training in which the context for performance has become an all-important part of the student experience. This activity has coincided with a broader revolution in performance practice driven by the use of historical instruments, a greater understanding of style and a more informed approach to the study of source material. Such developments have brought new recognition of the value of the RCM special collections to today's performing musicians.

Few are aware that the Royal College of Music inherited from the Sacred Harmonic Society a volume of music that is thought to have been owned and possibly used by Anne Boleyn. One of the most significant manuscripts of early sixteenth-century music in Britain, it is also one of the College's greatest treasures, and certainly its most historic. The book is modest in dimensions, beautifully hand-written, and it contains vocal music by some of Europe's most celebrated composers. The pages of the manuscript have recently been disassembled and appropriately rebound to enable it to be available for study by future generations of scholars. In collaboration with the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) the RCM is now able to present the book in the form of a facsimile edition. Every page has been photographed in high resolution, and we have commissioned three of the world's leading experts to write a detailed study of the book's history and contents. It is a privilege and a delight to make widely available for the first time 'The Anne Boleyn Music Book', RCM MS 1070.

The Editors wish to thank the following staff of the Royal College of Music for their help in the preparation of this volume: Lily Harriss (Director of Development and Alumni Relations), Deborah Meyer, Kayleigh Glasper, Peter Linnitt (Librarian), and Sonja Schwoll (conservator). Thanks are also due to Julia Craig-McFeely and Matthias Range, who most ably saw the manuscript through to publication.

Prof. Colin Lawson CBE
Director, Royal College of Music

INTRODUCTION

Context and Earlier Ownership

David Skinner

In this age of technology and digitisation, the arrival of another lavish facsimile of an important early musical source is always welcome. This project, however, is somewhat special and the impetus behind its industry unique. Here is offered a full-colour reproduction of Royal College of Music MS 1070 (hereafter RCM 1070), complete with historical introduction, a detailed manuscript study and extensive inventory, although the manuscript is not particularly noteworthy in terms of its physical beauty. It is roughly the size of an A4 notebook, the music entirely copied on paper and, until only recently, long preserved in a rather unattractive, scuffed and tired Victorian binding. It is certainly not the product of a professional scriptorium, and the various sections range from being reasonably well organised to works left incomplete or skeletal at best.

However, two major things can be claimed for RCM 1070: firstly, it is one of three important manuscript collections of early sixteenth-century French motets now on English soil; secondly, and perhaps of greater curiosity to many, it contains the inscription 'M^{res} A Bolleyne / Nowe thus' which seems to suggest that it once belonged to Henry VIII's ill-fated second queen, Anne Boleyn (c.1501–1536).¹ Of the 42 compositions preserved in RCM 1070 (including three French chansons) only seven are *unica*, so the large majority of the pieces may be found in other sources. Josquin Desprez, who was at this time a fully 'international' composer whose fame was widespread, is represented by 10 works, while most of the other known composers, who were more narrowly defined by their association with the French court in the early 1500s, are represented by far fewer works: these composers include Jean Mouton, Antoine de Févin, Loyset Compère, Antoine Brumel, Pierrequin de Therache, and Mathieu

Gascongne, as well as Claudin de Sermisy who rose to fame some 20 years later. There is also a single odd addition by the Flemish composer Jacob Obrecht, who is at least known to have travelled through France in 1492.² While RCM 1070 does carry some considerable authority for the repertory it contains, what intrigues us most about the manuscript is not necessarily the music or composers represented, but its possible connection with this most notorious queen of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII's impassioned pursuit of Anne Boleyn was to have major consequences for the political and religious life of England in Reformation Europe. Henry wanted a son and heir; for Anne, Henry was willing to divorce his first queen of 24 years (at least 15 of them spent in a happy marriage), break with Rome and make himself Head of the Church in England, and destroy those near and dear to him who dared to stand in his way, most notably Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Sir Thomas More. Yet having achieved his ambitions, and after the birth of a healthy daughter, Elizabeth, who was to become the greatest Tudor monarch of his issue, Henry had Anne executed after only three years of marriage on multiple charges of adultery. The five accused included her brother, George Viscount Rochford, and her music tutor and lutenist Mark Smeaton. Was she guilty? We will probably never know. The circumstances that led to Anne's death have long been the subject of debate and speculation. The same may be said for her seeming connection to RCM 1070. Anne's upbringing, however, would certainly have nurtured an interest in the arts, and especially music.

Anne is thought to have been born in c.1501, not in her family home at Hever Castle as many assume, but in Norfolk, probably in Blickling.³ In the spring of 1513 she became a maid in honour in the household of Margaret of Austria (daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I), who was famous for her patronage of musicians and who is known to have possessed important

RISM sigla are used for manuscript references throughout.

¹ For the inscription see below. Contemporaneous with RCM 1070 is Cambridge, Magdalen College Pepys MS 1760, while slightly later is the exquisitely produced choirbook from the Habsburg-Burgundian workshop of Petrus Alamire and given to Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in the late 1510s, London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G vii. See Herbert Kellman (ed.), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, incl. essays by Wim Blockmans, Eric Jas, Herbert Kellman, Jacobijn Kiel, Honey Meconi, Eugene Scheurs, Dagmar Thoss and Flynn Warmington (Ghent/Amsterdam, 1999), 110.

² Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: the Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford, 1994), 310. See complete inventory below, 43.

³ The most authoritative biography of Anne Boleyn is by Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 2004). Anne is thought to have been born in either c.1501 or c.1507, but the former date is now generally accepted as most probable. For an alternative view of the events surrounding her death, see George W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attraction* (New Haven, 2010).

music books. In the following year, 1514, Anne's father arranged her transfer to the French court where she was to attend Henry VIII's sister, Mary, who was to marry Louis XII. Anne was later to serve under Mary's step-daughter, Queen Claude, with whom she stayed until being called home to England late in 1521. It was in France, however, during seven formative years, that Anne developed her interests in music, illuminated manuscripts, poetry, dance, and the game of love.⁴ There is little doubt that Anne Boleyn would have been exposed to the finest music of the age while in France, including the work of composers represented in RCM 1070, but it does not necessarily follow that she would have taken a particular interest in performing or even collecting the music of her youth. The only evidence for this is RCM 1070 itself, and scholars have long approached this manuscript with some trepidation and scepticism.

The most extensive musicological studies of RCM 1070 were undertaken by Edward Lowinsky in the early 1970s, and by Lisa Urkevich more than 20 years later.⁵ Joshua Rifkin was first to make sense of the manuscript's gathering structure and scribal layers, as well as to offer some sound observations on dating.⁶ Lowinsky's study was unfortunately flawed from the start for he believed that the book was prepared for Anne Boleyn while Queen of England (1533–36); on this basis he advanced the theory that the music directly reflects Anne's situation at that time, and even posited that the probable scribe was none other than her lutenist and accused lover, Mark Smeaton. Urkevich argues that much of the book dates from the early years of the sixteenth century, long before Anne was in France, so could not have been prepared for her. She proposes, however, that RCM 1070 was given to the young Anne Boleyn 'most probably' by Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), who was variously Princess of France,

Queen of Navarre, and Duchess of Alençon and Berry. Urkevich goes further to suggest that it is a 'woman's song book', as the texts 'frequently invoke women'.⁷ While many works in RCM 1070 place some emphasis on female piety, marriage and childbirth, a greater number of works do not. Indeed one can come to a number of hypothetical conclusions based on the texts of individual motets. Most recently Michael O'Conner has made a connection between the opening motet *Forte si dulci Stigium boantem* and Anne of Brittany (1477–1514) who also features in Antoine de Févin's *Adiutorium nostrum* in the latter part of the music book.⁸ However, as the two works were copied by different scribes and in different sections of the music book, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions here.⁹

It is unwise to frame theories about ownership based on sections of texts in individual works; hypothesis built on hypothesis will inevitably lead to circular reasoning, often with a number of possible conclusions. What we do know for certain is that i) RCM 1070 is demonstrably a French production, probably begun in the early years of the sixteenth century, ii) the music is largely drawn from French courtly circles from around the last two decades of the fifteenth and the first decade of the sixteenth century, and iii) the curious inscription or signature referring to 'M^{rs} A Bolleyne', in an early sixteenth-century English hand, appears near the middle of the music book.

Nineteenth-Century Ownership

RCM 1070 has been part of the music collection at the Royal College of Music since its foundation in 1883. The book came to the college with nearly 5000 additional volumes which originated from the recently dissolved Sacred Harmonic Society.¹⁰ The Society was founded in 1832 for amateur choral enthusiasts who met weekly to explore exclusively sacred choral repertoire. It first met in the Gate Chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields, but in 1836 was granted use of the grand and expansive Exeter Hall, which stood on the north side of The Strand and had been erected in 1831 on the site of the former London

⁴ On Anne Boleyn's early education and her exposure to music and the arts, see Ives, 18–36.

⁵ Edward E. Lowinsky, 'MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 96 (1969–70), 1–28, and id., 'A Music Book for Anne Boleyn', in *Florilegium historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson*, eds J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale (Toronto, 1971), 161–235; repr. with an appendix in id., *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance* ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, 2 vols (Chicago, 1989), ii: 484–528 (Blackburn provides an inventory of RCM 1070, 511–20); and Lisa A. Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London' (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1997).

⁶ Joshua Rifkin, 'A Black Hole? Problems in the Motet around 1500', in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 21–82, at 71–76. Edward Nowacki, however, was first to highlight the French character of RCM 1070. See, Edward Nowacki, 'The Latin Psalm Motet 1500–1535', *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 11 (Tutzing, 1979), 159–84.

⁷ Urkevich further elaborates her theories on possible owners and donors of RCM 1070 in 'Music Books of Women: Private Treasures and Personal Revelations', *Early Modern Women* 4 (Tempe, Arizona, 2009), esp. 175–7.

⁸ Michael O'Conner, 'Anne Boleyn's Song Book: Where did it come from?', paper delivered on 11 February 2017 at the Society for Christian Scholarship in Music, Scripps College, Claremont, California.

⁹ I am grateful to Thomas Schmidt for this observation.

¹⁰ The collection was purchased for £3000, the large majority (£2000) contributed by Sir Augustus Adderley, while the remainder was raised by a number of lesser donations. See, William Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music in the Library of the Royal College of Music, London* (London, 1909), [i].

residence of the Earls of Exeter. In its heyday the Sacred Harmonic Society championed the major choral works of Spohr, Mendelssohn and especially Handel; in 1859 the choir is known to have numbered 2765.¹¹

From the outset the Society sought to collect sacred music from all periods, and relied on generous donations from its long list of benefactors. We know of the acquisition of RCM 1070 from a modern, typewritten note from the 1970s pasted in the front of the book stating that it was given to the Society 'in 1854 by Robert William Haynes a member of the Society and frequent benefactor'. The 21st Annual Report of the Society, published in 1854, lists the following five donations by a Mr R. W. Haynes. The first item refers to RCM 1070:

A Latin Antiphonary, beautifully written on vellum [*sic*] and illuminated.

A Dissertation on Irish Music, by William Beuford, A.M.
A neatly written unpublished MS., illustrated by coloured drawings.

Dubos' Reflections of Poetry, Painting and Music. 3 vols.

Maxwell's Essay upon Tune.

Marshall's Art of Reading Church Music.¹²

Haynes was admitted to the Society in the previous year, and is among the new members listed at Christmas 1853.¹³ The 'Latin Antiphonary' must have been a curious addition to the Society's collection. It was given a fuller description in the 1855 supplement to the 1853 catalogue of the Library that was printed at a time when the collection had been increasing rapidly. The librarian, William Husk, states in his preface that 'additions made to the Library during the past two years are equal to one third of its entire contents in January, 1853.' In the Supplement William Haynes is listed among the 110 donors, whose number included the great music publishers Vincent Novello and his son Joseph Alfred, as well as Prince Albert. RCM 1070 is described under item 133 as follows:

A Collection of Latin Hymns, Psalms, &c., for Three, Four, Five, and Six Voices (each part being written separately, but on the same folio). The only Composers' names given are those of Jacob Obrecht and Josquin des Pres, each of which is placed to one piece. The name "Mrs A. Bolleyne" is written on one leaf. Towards the end of the volume two or three French Songs are inserted. Some of the initial letters are coloured. Small folio. Written about the 16th century.

Presented to the Society by Mr. R. W. Haynes.¹⁴

¹¹ William H. Husk, 'Sacred Harmonic Society' in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Sir George Grove, 4 vols (London, 1898), iii: 209–11.

¹² *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London, 1854), 21. Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn, a Music Book' (p. 6) speculated only that RCM 1070 'may have been presented in 1854'.

¹³ *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society*, 71.

¹⁴ *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London, 1855), 27.

Robert William Haynes (1828–1879) was a well-known London publisher of law books who set up shop with Henry George Stevens at 13 Bell Yard, Temple Bar.¹⁵ Apart from donations to the Sacred Harmonic Society, his musical interests remain unknown. While it is clear that Haynes joined the Society at Christmas 1853 and donated the music book in the following year, any earlier ownership has remained open to speculation until now. The 1854 description of Haynes' gift states that the 'Latin Antiphonary' was written on vellum, although the book consists entirely of paper. The compilers of the Society's *Twenty-First Annual Report* seem simply to have taken their description of the book from the small printed clipping pasted inside its front cover. (See figure 1.)

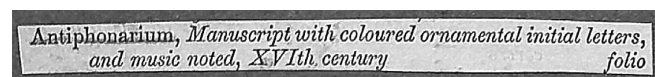


Figure 1: Clipping from William Pickering's auction catalogue (London, 1854), pasted onto the inside of the nineteenth-century front cover of RCM 1070

The information sheet dating from the 1970s and pasted opposite this clipping states that it 'is from an unknown sale catalogue prior to 1854'.¹⁶ This clipping has now been identified: it is from one of a series of catalogues made following the death of the great Victorian book collector William Pickering, whose private library and antiquarian stock were auctioned between March 1854 and January 1855.¹⁷ The sale on 12 December 1854 included 203 manuscripts to be sold by S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson at their house on 3 Wellington Street, Strand, 'at one o'clock precisely'. The 'Antiphonarium' was among the first items to be sold that Tuesday afternoon, and appears as lot 4.¹⁸ Robert William Haynes therefore clearly purchased the music book with the sole purpose of donating it immediately to the Sacred Harmonic Society; he presumably had little personal contact with the manuscript after its purchase from the Pickering sale. (See figure 2 overleaf)

¹⁵ Haynes' death is recorded in *The Law Times* 66 (London, 1879), 303.

¹⁶ The covers, from c.1854, were removed in 2016. According to the conservator, Sonja Schwoll, the book was rebound at some point in c.1900, though the original boards were kept; the clipping was removed and reattached to a new pastedown.

¹⁷ James Martin McDonnell, 'William Pickering, (1797–1894), Antiquarian Bookseller, Publisher, and Book Designer: A Study in the Early Nineteenth Century Book Trade', (Ph.D. diss., The Polytechnic of North London, 1983), 6.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of the Collection of Manuscripts and Autograph Letters formed by the late Mr. William Pickering of Piccadilly, Bookseller* (London, 1854), [1].

CATALOGUE
OF THE
COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS
FORMED BY THE LATE
MR. WILLIAM PICKERING,
OF PICCADILLY, BOOKSELLER.

- LOT
- 1 Abstract of the Receipts of the Public Revenue, Taxes and Loans from 5th Nov. 1688 to Lady Day, 1702.—Receipts and Accounts of the Exchequer from 1713 to 1714—Papers relative to Ireland.—Dr. McLaughlin, Bp. of Raphoe, Appeal drawn up by Counsellor Clinch.—D. Boyle's Appeal, &c. *very curious* a parcel
- 2 Alchymy. La metallique transmutation, trois traités anciens.—La Fontaine des amoureux de Science, par J. de la Fontaine, &c.—Traite des douzes Portes de G. Ripley, Chanoine et Filofose Anglois — The Vision of G. Ripley, and a Drawing delineating Sir G. Ripley's Wheel—Nine Tracts, Manuscript, dated Mars, 1694—Selection of Poetry, *red morocco, g. e. silver clasps (only partly filled up)* (2)
- 3 Andrews (L.) Preces privatae quotidianae, Lat. et Angl. a selection transcribed by G. S. 1795, *Manuscript, very distinct, morocco, gilt edges*—K. (H.) A Decade of contemplative meditations upon nyne the principall feasts, 1633, *Manuscript neatl ywritten in black and red, and 1 other 3 vol. 12mo.*
- 4 Antiphonarium, *Manuscript with coloured ornamental initial letters, and music noted, XVIIth century* folio
- 5 AQUINATIS (THOMÆ) Compendium theologie—Flores super Psalterium—Liber de regimine rusticorum, *Manuscript partly on vellum, partly on paper, the last treatise printed about 1470 by Ulric Zell* 8vo.
- *.* This book, which is in the finest preservation, consists of three parts; the two first are in manuscript, and are written on alternate folios of paper and parchment, the third is a contemporary printed tract.
- B

Figure 2: Catalogue clipping as it appears in Pickering's Catalogue

William Pickering (1796–1854) was one of the most prominent English booksellers and publishers from the first half of the nineteenth century. James Martin McDonnell explains that between 1820 and 1845 Pickering worked hard to become 'one of the leading rare book dealers in London', not only as an antiquarian but also as a publisher issuing new editions of classic and standard authors.¹⁹ His first shop was opened in June 1820 at 31 Lincoln's Inn Fields, in the heart of London's secondhand-book district. Four years later he moved to 57 Chancery Lane, where he remained until finally settling at 117 Piccadilly.²⁰

In terms of his tastes in collecting, Pickering tended to have a preference for books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with a particular fondness for sixteenth-century English books. The manuscript stock assembled after his death contained not only early bibles, Roman

breviaries, monastic and private deeds, but also (as lot 80) an account book of Henry VIII's Privy Purse expenses from November 1529 to December 1532 (a period, incidentally, when the king was courting Anne Boleyn). This item is one of which Pickering was particularly proud, doubtlessly thought of by the sellers as one of his most prized possessions, heading a list of eye-catching items on the title page of the auction catalogue. Pickering owned the Privy Purse accounts from at least as early as 19 November 1826, when he corresponded with Sir Walter Scott about a 'curious MS. Household Book of King Henry VIII', which he promised to show to the author when he next visited London.²¹ The following year, in 1827, the accounts were edited by Nicholas Harris Nicolas and published by Pickering.²² In his introduction, Nicolas was able to trace the account book back from its earliest known private owner, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper (1606–1674) to its acquisition by Pickering from 'the sale of an Undertaker and Broker, of the name of Gomme'.²³ A copy of the 1827 edition currently in the library of the University of Toronto contains a note claiming that the account book was purchased at the Gomme auction in 1821 'for for[ty?] shillings', and that 'it is at this time in the possession of Mr Pickering, Bookseller in Chancery Lane, who has fixed the Price of it at £100 guineas — September 1827'.²⁴ Pickering spent the remainder of his life unsuccessfully attempting to sell the original.

As Pickering had two related items in his collection — the privy purse expenses of Henry VIII during the king's courtship with Anne Boleyn, and a music manuscript containing the name of 'M^{res} A. Bolleyne' — it is tempting to suggest the remote possibility that they came into the bookseller's possession together, although the music book does not appear in later cat-

²¹ Ibid., 12. The correspondence is in the National Library of Scotland, MS 3903, f. 177.

²² Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.), *The Privy Purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth from November MDXXIX, to December MDXXXII* (London: 1827). The original manuscript is now London, British Library, Add. MS 20030.

²³ Nicolas, vii.

²⁴ Electronic copy available at <https://archive.org/details/henryprivypurse00nicouoft> (accessed 27 February 2017). Gomme is probably James Gomme, FSA (d. 1825), a cabinet and furniture maker who may have acted as a banker as there survives a token issued by him, dated 1811. A note in the catalogue states that 'Gomme collected works of art, which were sold by auction after his death in the Town Hall shown on the token'. See [https://www.dnw.co.uk/auction-archive/past-catalogues/prices-realised.php?auction_id=35&layout=detailed&offset=1040&limit=80,lot 1070](https://www.dnw.co.uk/auction-archive/past-catalogues/prices-realised.php?auction_id=35&layout=detailed&offset=1040&limit=80,lot%201070) (accessed 27 February 2017). I am most grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this information. Pickering's account book was again listed for sale in a catalogue of 1834, although for the greatly reduced price of £63. See [William Pickering], *Catalogue of Biblical Classical and Historical Manuscripts and of Rare and Curious Books* (London, 1834). Lot 19.

¹⁹ McDonnell, 3.

²⁰ Ibid., 10–11.

alogues during his lifetime. The only thing that can be said for certain is that Pickering acquired it at some point before 1854, but it seems very possible that, like a number of his volumes, it had been in his collection for several years if not decades.

Urkevich suggests that RCM 1070 was in England at least towards the end of the eighteenth century. On the back of the last page is a note in ink stating ‘This MSS. [sic] is about 250 y[ear]s old’, with an additional contemporaneous note in pencil below adding ‘that is in the year 1540’, so the inscriptions must have been made around 1790. Indeed, while the author(s) of these notes are unknown, at least the first one, in ink, is written in what looks like a late-eighteenth-century hand. Additionally, of the two sets of numbering throughout the book (page numbers at the top centre, and folio numbers in the top right page corners), the former have been identified by Joan Littlejohn, an assistant research librarian at the RCM until 1983, as being in the hand of John Stafford Smith (1750–1836). Smith was a noted singer, composer and editor, and was once a pupil of William Boyce as well as having transcribed works for Sir John Hawkins’s *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776). It would appear that at a much later date William Barclay Squire (1855–1927) added the folio numbers, also identified by Littlejohn.²⁵

The nineteenth-century trail of the book then goes cold, but it seems probable that the volume was in private ownership for some time before, if not indeed from the start. A re-examination of certain markings in RCM 1070 may suggest that the book was in England from a very early stage in its history.

RCM 1070 and Sixteenth-Century Evidence of English Ownership

i) ‘Mrs A Bolleyne / Nowe thus’

The curious and enigmatic inscription or signature ‘M^{res} A Bolleyne / Nowe thus’ buried in the middle of RCM 1070 alongside Loyset Compère’s *Paranympheus salut virginem* has puzzled scholars for decades. It is clearly in an early sixteenth-century English hand, and its appearance in a French production has generated much speculation. Is it evidence that RCM 1070 was dedicated or given to Anne Boleyn during her time in France? Could it have been written by someone close to her? Might the scribe be referring to Anne’s situation at any point during her adult years? Is it in fact Anne Boleyn’s signature? Does it have anything to do with her whatsoever? We will probably never know. However some thoughts may be put forward to place some of these questions in a clearer light. (See figure 3)

‘Nowe thus’ had been the motto of the Boleyn family since the time of Anne’s paternal great-grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, who made his fortune as a mercer

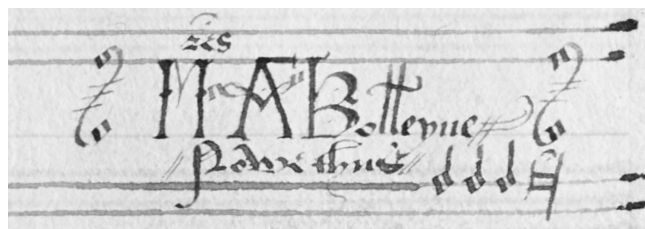


Figure 3: ‘Anne Boleyn’ inscription in RCM 1070, f. 79r (enlarged detail)

in London, served as an alderman and was elected Lord Mayor in 1457.²⁶ Anne’s father, Thomas, used the motto in his garter stall (he was invested in 1523). Thomas had two sisters, Anne Clere (1487–1538) and Anne Shelton (1475–1555), both of whom could conceivably have been styled ‘M^{res} A Bolleyne / Nowe thus’, but neither is known to have received formal education in France or to have had any interest in music. So, assuming that the inscription does indeed refer to *the* Anne Boleyn, and that she is styled as ‘Mistress’, one should be able to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription. Lowinsky asserts that the accompanying musical symbols may actually refer to Anne’s death, she that was ‘once so proud and upright, now had fallen into the dust’. He goes further to suggest that the three minims refer to her three years as Queen of England, and that they ‘were intended to say how fast they had passed by, whereas the *longa* with its stem downward was to be a sign of the end that had come in a catastrophic reversal of fate.’²⁷ Ives takes a similarly speculative view of the notation, suggesting that ‘the musical notes refer to time, so the three minims could be a code for the interval Anne and Henry knew was unavoidable before the *longa* of a happy conclusion’.²⁸ Urkevich counters that, as Queen of England, ‘she would not have been represented in a music book as Mistress Boleyn, particularly not with her father’s motto’. She goes on to make the valid point that after 1529 Anne would not have used ‘the lowly title “Mistress”’ after her father was elevated to the earldoms of Wiltshire and Ormond on 8 December 1529, although without specific corroborating examples.²⁹ Others have surmised that she would have continued to be known as Mistress Anne Boleyn until her creation as Marchioness of Pembroke on 1 September 1532.³⁰ However, as will be seen, Urkevich’s assumption is quite correct.

²⁶ Ives, 3. He was buried in St Lawrence Jewry, Cheap Ward, London, where ‘Now thus’ was ‘32 times dispersed in Brasse all over the Gravestone’. John Stow, *A Survey of London* (London, 1598; 4th edn by Munday and Dyson, 1633), 285.

²⁷ Lowinsky, ‘MS 1070’, 8. Such wild speculation is fuelled further by an accompanying footnote that ‘Sir Jack Westrup made the observation that the *longa* looked like an axe.’

²⁸ Ives, 258.

²⁹ Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn, a Music Book’, 105.

³⁰ This was the view of William J. Tighe of Muhlenberg College. Private communication via Nicholas Rogers.

²⁵ Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn, a Music Book’, 7–9.

The stylisation of the children of titled men in the sixteenth century can be less than straightforward. But, quite fortuitously, in the case of Anne Boleyn there is one document that provides a clear result, and that just happens to be Pickering's Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII, which, it will be remembered, cover the period November 1529 to December 1532. The following are the first two entries referring to Anne Boleyn (*italics mine*):

Item the same daye [23 November 1529] paied to Water Walshe for certeyne stuf by him prepared for *maistres Anne* of divers parsonnes As apperith by a bille — CCxvij li. ix. viij d.

Item the same daye [14 December 1529] paied to george taylor servant to *my lady Anne* for Cokkes the fote man — iij li. vij s. vj d.³¹

Anne is referred to as 'maistres' in the earlier account and from 14 December as 'my lady', a style that is used in the accounts thereafter. This neatly coincides with Thomas Boleyn's elevation to the earldom of Wiltshire and Ormond on 8 December.³²

Then there is the location and stylisation of the inscription. If it were meant as a dedication to Anne Boleyn, one would expect it to appear at the beginning of the book; if not on a preliminary flyleaf, then the first opening of music, whereas 'M^{res} Anne Bolleyne' is written, seemingly quite randomly, near the middle of the music book (f. 79) on the *recto* side of Compère's *Paranympus* following the tenor voice part. Intriguingly however, Thomas Schmidt's re-examination of the book's structure when unbound in 2016 has provided incontrovertible physical evidence that the signature appears on the first opening of what is considered to be one of the 'stage one' quires in the original copying process; he speculates whether 'this might have been the intended starting point of the original compilation by Scribe Ia'.³³ *Paranympus* is the first of three motets by Loyset Compère (c.1445–1518), who is the oldest composer in the book, and Schmidt further notes that as he was still prominent at the French court after his retirement in around 1500, this 'would have made for quite an effective opening statement', although he concedes that there are no 'material clues regarding the order in which Scribe Ia intended these gatherings to appear'.³⁴ In addition, no coloured initials

were executed in the Compère set like those in the gatherings at the beginning of the book, so we can only speculate on this point.

The inscription itself is clearly highly stylised, with calligraphic elaboration. The decorative words are surrounded by musical devices not only evident in the three minims and longa, but also in the diamond note heads in the decorations on either side of her name, with a sharp sign following 'Bolleyne', and what may be interpreted as a fermata or 'corona' over the abbreviated 'M^{res}'.³⁵ Eric Ives observes that the letter 'A' in the inscription very closely resembles that in the 'amat' monogram that can be found in Anne Boleyn's psalter, as well as carved in the organ screen at King's College, Cambridge. This leads him to conclude that 'the collection must belong to the period from 1527 when Henry and Anne were confidently looking forward to an early marriage and the arrival of children, precisely the themes of many of the compositions',³⁶ although these themes are found in many collections of early sixteenth-century motets.

If this were the name of a person with little or no fame there would probably be no difficulty in surmising that the inscribed name is more than likely to be that person's signature. As was common at the time, Anne Boleyn tended to change her handwriting according to the language in which she was writing, and also according to the formality of the occasion.³⁷ It is therefore impossible to link the highly decorative inscription in RCM 1070 with anything that survives from Anne Boleyn's hand. But as the *terminus ante quem* for the inscription has been established to be before December 1529, and given the observations concerning its position in the manuscript and its decorative nature, one logical conclusion is that this is a fanciful musical *signature*, and by one who had connections with this music book. That this might be a musical signature of Anne Boleyn in her youth, either at the French court or during the early years of her return to England, seems the most plausible conclusion at present. It would follow, therefore, that when Anne was summoned back to England at the end of 1521 the music book travelled with her, although there is not a shred of evidence to back up such a claim. The book, however, did indeed end up in England at some point prior to Pickering's ownership in the early- to mid-nineteenth century. Fortunately the book itself provides further clues as to its early history in England.

³¹ Nicholas, *The Privy Purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth*, 3, 10.

³² I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for drawing my attention to these account entries.

³³ See below, 17. Joshua Rifkin had already suspected that this was the case when examining the gathering structure based primarily on the presence or otherwise of watermarks to determine conjugate leaves, as the binding was then too tight to deploy the usual means for such investigation. Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 71.

³⁴ See Schmidt's chapter on the 'Physical Description' below, for the quotations p. 17.

³⁵ Certainly the expected 'tres' is the normal form for the ending of 'mistress' in the accounts and elsewhere. Lowinsky ('MS 1070') and Urkevich ('Anne Boleyn, a Music Book') use '-tris', although the 'i' seems clearly to be an 'e', as followed by Ives and here.

³⁶ Ives, 257.

³⁷ I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this information.

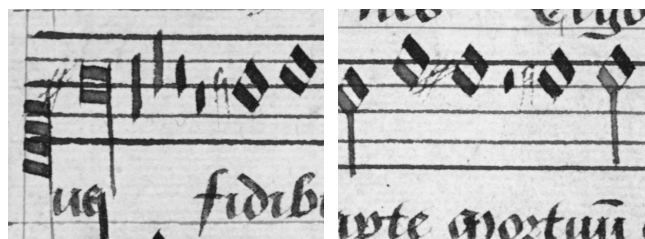


Figure 4: RCM 1070, ff. 1v–2r. Anonymous setting of *Forte si dulci Stigium boantem*

ii) English hands in RCM 1070

While RCM 1070 is a French production, largely or wholly copied in France during the early sixteenth century, there are at least two examples of where it was touched by English hands or, at the very least, by hands showing signs of English influence. The first instance is found in the opening motet, the enigmatic *Forte si dulci Stigium boantem*, an anonymous work which is set to a neo-Latin poem (also anonymous) linking the New Testament story of Lazarus with Olympus and the Greek gods. Here the main scribe demonstrates his consummate skills to the full: with neatly executed and finely spaced musical notation, clear text underlay, and coloured decorative initials.³⁸ (See figure 4)

It is clear that a contemporary English hand took to 'editing' the opening of the superius part by adding sharps, which on two occasions are cancelled by a specifically English letter-f form of the *fa* sign (see figures 5a and 5b). Theodor Dumitrescu was the first to report this important observation, explaining that English sources are 'considerably more liberal with marked sharps than are continental books', and that 1070 'provides a rare and important confirmation of use



Figures 5a and 5b: RCM 1070, f. 1v, details from the third and fifth staves

by musicians who were almost certainly not associated with the manuscript's original context – indeed one of the rare examples of added accidental performance marks of any sort in a choirbook of the period'.³⁹

These so-called 'letter cancellation signs', it must be emphasised, have thus far been found in only one Continental source. The exception is Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 9 (Jena 9), a choirbook from the famous Alamire scriptorium that was clearly prepared for Henry VIII but which never reached English shores. It is the only Alamire manuscript devoted to an English composer, and contains only two works: the mass *O bone Jesu* by Robert Fayrfax

³⁸ These decorative initials are considered more fully by Katia Airaksinen-Monier below.

³⁹ Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Ashford, 2007), 151–2.

(1464–1521) and a fragmentary motet. Flynn Warmington notes some ‘unique notational peculiarities’ in the manuscript and that ‘a few features of English music script are retained’, including cancellation signs and blackened clefs, both particularly English notational habits.⁴⁰ It would appear that either this unique specimen from the Alamire scriptorium was prepared with English singers in mind (particularly Henry VIII’s Chapel Royal), or the source used for the actual copying was an exemplar of English origin. Jena 9, however, contains one other English notational feature in the scribe’s rendering of the dots of addition.

In a recent collaborative study led by John Milsom, an intriguing pattern has emerged concerning the habits of English and Continental scribes when notating dots of addition when the note is placed on a staff-line (rather than in a space).⁴¹ The dot can be variously placed above, below, or on the line itself; there are five basic patterns that have emerged from the study’s examination of a large corpus of English and Continental manuscripts and prints. (See figures 6a–e.)

It is significant to note that of the 50-plus manuscripts from the Alamire scriptorium, dots of addition are invariably placed above the staff-line (A), while in Jena 9 they are placed below (B), and there has yet to be an English musical source identified post c.1500 that does not place the dot below the staff-line.⁴² In RCM 1070, the main scribe (Scribe I) is consistent in placing his dots on the staff-line as illustrated above (E), a practice that had moderate currency on the continent;⁴³ Scribe II, the ‘editor’ of the music book, places his dots according to the direction of melodic movement (D).⁴⁴ Intriguingly, four compositions in the music book, all of which were almost certainly added in the later stages of copying, follow the English practice of placing the dots below the staff-line (B). The anonymous drinking song *Gentilz galans*, published in 1520, is appended at the very end of

⁴⁰ Warmington in Kellman, 100. The anonymous motet is argued to be an elevation motet thematically tied to Fayrfax’s mass *O bone Jesu*. See David Skinner’s booklet text for *Robert Fayrfax: The Masses, The Cardinal’s Musick*, dir. Andrew Carwood, CD GAUX353 (ASV Records/Gaudeamus, 2003).

⁴¹ John Milsom (lead author), ‘Dots Before the Eyes: Regional Preferences for the Placement of Dots of Addition’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* (forthcoming); I am most grateful to John Milsom for sharing his article before publication. The dotting categories which follow are Milsom’s own formulations.

⁴² Milsom notes that dots below the lines have been found in two pre-1500 continental manuscripts: in the Mellon Chansonier (mid-1470s) and in a fascicle of Brussels 5557 (c.1470). Brussels contains music by English composers; Mellon does not. However, both were copied at a time when many English singers were working abroad.

⁴³ One example of this is the ‘L’homme armé’ codex Naples 40.

⁴⁴ See Thomas Schmidt’s analysis of the scribal hands below, 15–18.

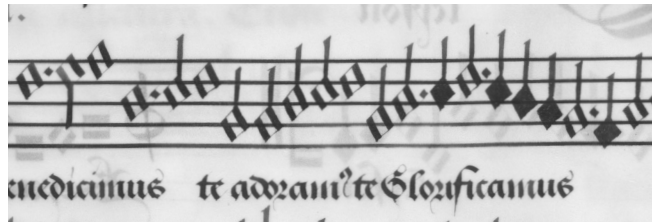


Figure 6a: A = Above: dots are placed above the staff-line. Continental manuscript sources in general from c.1500. Mechelen Choirbook, B-MEa-ms-ss, f. 97v

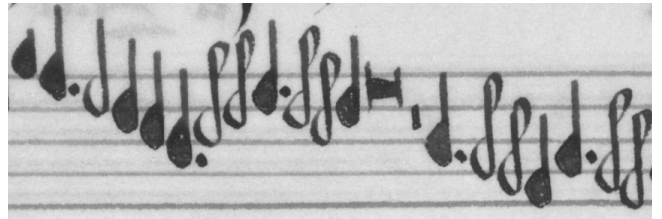


Figure 6b: B = Below: dots are placed below the staff-line. All English manuscript sources generally from c.1500. The Eton Choirbook, GB-Wrec, MS 178, f.50v

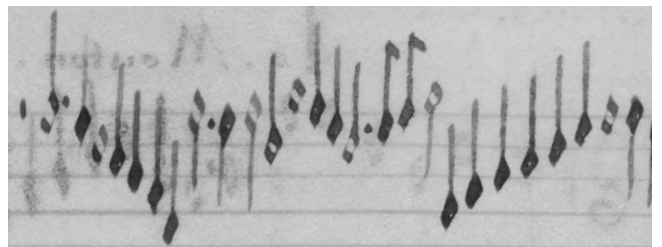


Figure 6c: C = Chaotic: no logic to the placing of dots, above or below the staff-line. Pepys Manuscript, CB-Cmc Pepys 1760, f.20r modern foliation (16r original foliation)

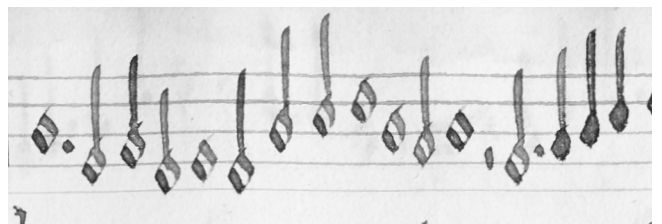


Figure 6d: D = Directional: dots follow the direction of the melodic movement. Some continental manuscripts and printed editions. RCM 1070, f. 108r



Figure 6e: E = Equivalent: dots are placed on the staff-line, equivalent to the note. Some continental manuscripts. RCM 1070, f.20v

the book (ff. 133v–134), while the short setting of *Sicut lilium* by Antoine Brumel (c.1460–1512/13) is simply copied on some blank pages earlier in the manuscript (ff. 92v–93); both are in the hand of Scribe III and are his only contributions. Scribe IV likewise is responsible only for two works, copied consecutively near the end of the music book (ff. 113v–115): *Jouyssance vous donneray* by Claudin de Sermisy (c.1490–1562) and the anonymous setting *Venes regrets, venes tous*, also on existing blank pages. Both were first published in 1528.

It is impossible to determine when these four additional songs were copied into RCM 1070, but given that all display this seemingly distinct English method of placing dots of addition below the staff-line, this may indicate that they were added after it reached England. The presence of Sermisy's *Jouyssance* is particularly interesting. All of the known composers in the music book were dead by 1522 apart from Sermisy, who would have been at the peak of his career in the 1520s. The text was composed by the French court poet Clément Marot (1496–1544), who provided the inspiration for at least 22 of Sermisy's works. Anne would certainly have had occasion to know both men: Marot was a rising star at court during Anne's time in France, while Sermisy was a favourite musician of Francis I who became a member of the king's chapel from around 1517.⁴⁵

Jouyssance was one of the most popular chansons of its day. Indeed, this is the music depicted in the famous painting *Three Ladies Making Music*, which survives in at least four (varied) versions, the most striking of which is perhaps that by the anonymous 'Master of the Female Half-Length Portraits' from c.1530–c.1560, now in the collection of the Counts Harrach at Castle Rohrau near Vienna.⁴⁶ The chanson is preserved in no fewer than 15 undated manuscript sources,⁴⁷ the earliest being MS Ny kgl. Samling 1848, 2° in the Royal Library at Copenhagen (Cop. 1848), which contains two different three-part versions,⁴⁸ while the four-part version with

an added 'altus' was first printed by Attaignant in 1528 (1528³ and 1528⁸), more than six years after Anne Boleyn's return to England from France; the collection was revised by Attaignant in 1531 (1531²). RCM 1070 is the only English source of this chanson.⁴⁹

The reading of the superius in RCM 1070 at first sight seems to follow in some details that of the second version in Cop. 1848, most notably at the start where the voice enters after a minim rest, whereas in 1528 it is on the beat with the typical Parisian chanson rhythm of a semibreve followed by two minims.⁵⁰ The 1528 print also has an added passing note at 'La ou prent vostre esperance' which does not occur in Cop. 1848 and RCM 1070, suggesting that the latter represents an early version of the four-part remake of the song. In 1531² the added passing note is omitted and the minim rest at the beginning is reinstated, and therefore in line with earliest melody as in Cop. 1848. Attaignant was Sermisy's most prolific publisher and the printer is known to have published different versions of the same chanson.⁵¹ Such is the case with *Jouyssance* in a print issued in February 1536, which most closely resembles the reading in RCM 1070: this includes repeating the entire chanson in full rather than indicating the repeat of the final section with a *signum congruentiae*, which is present in the other sources (Cop. 1848, 1528^{3&8} and 1531²),⁵² see Figures 7a–d overleaf, Superius of Claudin de Sermisy, *Jouyssance vous donneray*.

The version in RCM 1070 could, of course, equally have been copied from an unknown manuscript source, but it does seem to follow the reading in Attaignant 1536 more closely than any other source. Regardless of its origin, it would seem likely that *Jouyssance* and the anonymous *Venes regrets* were added to the music book well after Anne Boleyn's return to England. A number of earlier writers have attempted to link *Jouyssance* with Henry and Anne's situation while courting from 1526 until their marriage in 1533. Anne famously kept her distance from the king when it came to the most intimate forms of contact, and the text of *Jouyssance* seems to touch on this matter: 'I will give you pleasure, my dear, and thus I will ensure that what you hope for ends well ... but if it weighs you down, appease your hurting heart: everything will be good for those who wait.' Eric Ives goes further to suggest that there can be 'little doubt that Henry joined Anne to sing these and others like them'.⁵³ But this is all pure guesswork, and any connection between this chanson and Henry and Anne is

⁴⁵ At some point between 1533 and 1536 Anne received a presentation copy of *Le Pasteur évangélique* thought to be by Marot. In its introduction the author provides a flattering comparison between the English and French royal couples and adds a prophecy that Anne would provide Henry with a son who would grow strong. Anne would later offer Marot refuge from persecution for his religious beliefs. See James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives* (London, 2004), 125; Ives, 259, 273–4.

⁴⁶ Graf Harrach'sche Familiensammlung, Schloss Rohrau (Austria), W.F. 169 (oil on oak, 60x53 cm). For a brief study on the chanson in paintings see John Parkinson, 'A Chanson by Claudin de Sermisy', *Music & Letters* 39 (1958), 118–22.

⁴⁷ See the inventory below.

⁴⁸ Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century: Studies in the Music Collection of a Copyist of Lyons. The Manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2o in the Royal Library, Copenhagen*, 3 vols (Copenhagen, 1994); Christoffersen dates the three-part version of *Jouyssance* to around 1520 (see vol. 1, 96–7).

⁴⁹ Jane Bernstein, 'An Index of Polyphonic Chansons in English Manuscript Sources, c.1530–1640', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 21 (1988), 21–36.

⁵⁰ Christoffersen, vol. 3, xv.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 72.

⁵² In Attaignant 1536 only the superius begins with a minim rest, while the other parts begin on the semibreve.

⁵³ Ives, 259.

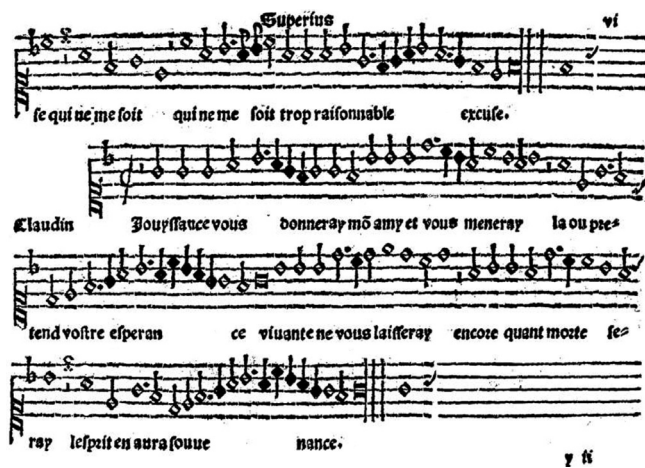
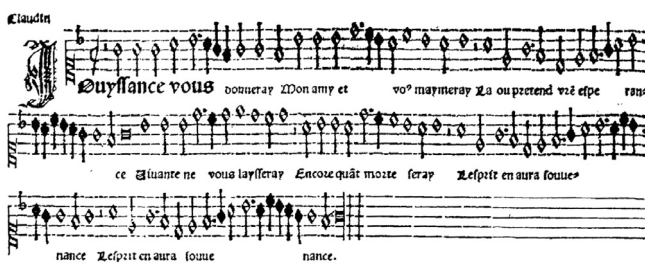
Figure 7a: Attaignant 1528⁸Figure 7b: Attaignant 1531²Figure 7c: Attaignant 1536²

Figure 7d: RCM 1070

wholly circumstantial, if not completely fanciful. In summary, we have a chanson composed by Clement Marot set to music by Claudin de Sermisy, both men well known to Anne Boleyn, and entered into a music book containing her name. It does not form any part of the main production of RCM 1070 but was clearly added at a later date. The first four-part version of *Jouissance* was published by Attaignant in 1528, in the middle of Henry and Anne's courtship, and a version more closely resembling that in RCM 1070 was issued by Attaignant in February 1536. Anne's swift downfall began two months later towards the end of April. On 2 May she was arrested and charged with adultery, and was locked in the Tower of London until her execution on Friday morning, 19 May. A tragic end to a dramatic life.

Finally, note should be taken of the Latin proverbs that immediately follow *Jouissance* and *Venes regrets* in RCM 1070. On f. 116v there appear three inscriptions: two lines from Erasmus's *Adagia*, and an unidentified scribble in a secretary hand which may or may not be English.

The *Adagia* is an annotated collection of Latin and Greek proverbs compiled by Desiderius Erasmus and first published in 1500. Erasmus continued to expand the collection until his death in 1536. For anyone interested in tracking down classical quotations in the sixteenth century, Erasmus's *Adagia* was the first port of call, rather than searching for the ancient authors themselves.⁵⁴ The quotations are Erasmus's own edited versions; the first is taken from Horace's *Epistles* (I.7.98), a poem about Voteius the Auctioneer, which concludes that every man should 'measure yourself by your own foot' ('Tuo te pede metire'), essentially saying that you are better off where you are than where you want to be. The following, beginning 'Nosce teipsum' ('Know thyself'), is from a line of Persius's *Satire* (4, line 52), a poem that ends in a similar vein. In the original, it reads 'Tecum habita, ut noris quam sit tibi curta supellex' ('Live with yourself that you may know how under-furnished you are'). Both quotations offer the same sentiment: don't get ideas above your station. Lowinsky claims that the warnings were addressed to Mark Smeaton, although it is impossible to determine when the Latin lines were added to the book or whether they have anything to do with anyone in particular.⁵⁵ The content of the unidentified scribble on the left, which so far has proved indecipherable, remains a mystery.

⁵⁴ I am most grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his comments on these inscriptions. A useful modern English edition may be found in Watson Barker (ed.), *The Adages of Erasmus* (Toronto, 2001).

⁵⁵ Lowinsky, 'A Music Book for Anne Boleyn', 509.

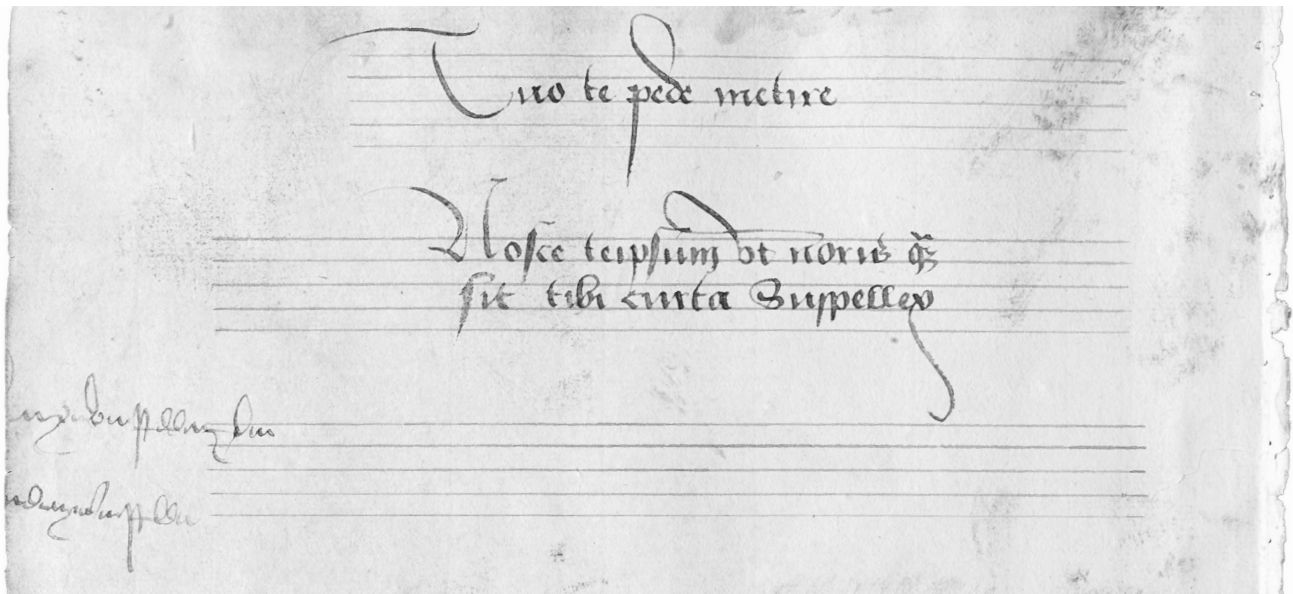


Figure 8: Latin proverbs in RCM 1070, f. 116v

‘Anne Boleyn’s Music Book’

Opinions about the early ownership of RCM 1070 vary widely. Facts have been few, and speculation rife. The pertinent question has always been whether Anne Boleyn or anyone in her circle ever came into contact with this book. It is impossible to claim her (or anybody else’s) direct ownership of RCM 1070 based on musical content alone, but we do have that contemporary musical inscription ‘M^{res} A Bolleyne / Nowe thus’, which, it may be argued, could only refer to *the* Anne Boleyn. Whether it is in her own hand, or written by someone connected with her, is of course another matter. However, we are at least able here to offer new observations about the book’s content and history, as well as a fresh perspective of its physical construction.

What do we really know? There is now generally universal consensus that RCM 1070 is of French origin and, apart from the later additions of music by Sermisy and others, contains music from French courtly circles from c.1480 to c.1510. The copying could have begun around the end of this timespan when the bulk of the repertoire would already have been composed.⁵⁶ It is impossible at this point to offer anything further regarding its origins or its earliest owners. What is certain, is that, within this French production, there are clear examples of the book having been in contact with early sixteenth-century English hands, and that the book indeed ended up in England and probably from a very early date. With the inscription ‘M^{res} A Bolleyne / Nowe thus’, which may date from Anne’s early years in France or after her return to England in 1521, the appearance of an early English

hand in the motet *Forte si dolci* (the opening work in the book) is perhaps most revealing as to its early history in England. To this we may add the evidence of Milsom’s ‘B-dotting’, a practice commonly exercised by English music scribes, found in four later additions to RCM 1070 (the three French chansons and Brumel’s *Sicut lilium*), suggesting that these works may have been added soon after the book reached English shores. Its subsequent history before ownership in the nineteenth century by the antiquarian William Pickering remains unknown.

In 2015, a commercial recording, *Anne Boleyn’s Songbook*, was released by the early music ensemble Alamire, and the fantasy surrounding Anne Boleyn’s possible ownership was played out both in performance and in the press.⁵⁷ Speculation as to her involvement with the book has been variously offered, from Anne having no connection whatsoever, to the possibility that the book might have passed through her hands at some point in its history, to, at the most extreme, the notion that she did indeed possess the book and even might have personally participated in its content. Hard evidence, however, must prevail and there is still very little to prove any direct ownership of RCM 1070 by any particular person before the nineteenth century. Still, while the weight of circumstantial evidence surrounding Anne Boleyn’s possible connection is extremely light, evidence that it had a post-French ‘English’ history is more substantial. Someone must have owned the book, and the inscription ‘M^{res} A Bolleyne / Nowe thus’ seems a good place to start. Should RCM 1070 require a label, the best we can offer at present remains ‘The Anne Boleyn Music Book’.

⁵⁶ As already suggested in Rifkin, ‘A Black Hole?’, 75.

⁵⁷ *Anne Boleyn’s Songbook, Music & Passions of a Tudor Queen*, Alamire, dir. David Skinner, CD 175 (Obsidian: 2015).

Physical Description and Genesis

Thomas Schmidt

RCM 1070 is a small folio volume of 134 paper leaves, with a (trimmed) page size of 287 x 190 mm. Like many books of polyphony from this period, it was not made in a single and consistent copying and collation process from start to finish, but was assembled in several stages; in fact, as we will see, it is not clear whether it was ever deemed ‘complete’. These stages and the underlying codicological structure were until recently obscured by a rebinding that dates from the late nineteenth century, which had altered the gathering disposition radically.¹ The dismantling of this binding in July 2016, however, revealed that a number of the original bifolia were still partially intact, and elsewhere traces of the original stitching of the gatherings confirmed these findings. Combined with other clues, such as the distribution of ruling patterns and scripts, the presence or absence of watermarks (of which every bifolium contains only one) and the presence of blank pages indicating gathering boundaries, this has made it possible to reconstruct with confidence the original structure of the book (see Appendix I).² From this, it transpires that the book consists almost in its entirety of gatherings of four bifolia, or quaternios, with some leaves removed from the book at a later stage. The single missing folios after ff. 6 and 17 – which also result in lacunae in the music – were perhaps later excised out of interest in the

illuminations rather than the content, as is the case in other books from the same period, although given the rather unassuming nature of the decoration in this particular book, greed or visual appeal seem questionable as possible motives.³ The two missing leaves after f. 116, on the other hand, almost certainly contained blank ruled staves only, given that the three pages preceding the lacuna are already blank and the scribe had apparently abandoned filling the gathering with music halfway through. Perhaps somebody was just looking for a few pieces of readily available manuscript paper. In any case, by the time John Stafford Smith added his pagination in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the book was already in the state we find it today since the sequence of numbers contains no gaps;⁴ the same of course applies to the 20th-century pencil foliation that will serve as the point of reference for this study.

With the exception of two leaves added at the very end at a later date, the entire book is copied on one and the same type of paper which is of medium thickness and of a high quality. It is exceptionally well preserved, with few signs of corrosion or decay; the only exception is some discolouration at the bottom outside corners from page-turning, as well as a degree of yellowing at the very beginning and end of the book and on some internal pages. Urkevich takes the thumbing traces on the corners as an indication that RCM 1070 was used in performance.⁵ While there is every possibility that this may have been the case, the staining may just as well point to other types of use: singing was not the only possible mode of reading a polyphonic book. Indeed, the fact that – as Urkevich herself points out – the discolouration is most pronounced on in the first three gatherings, which contain the decorated initials and miniatures, may indicate that the reason for their heavier

The observations made here draw on repeated viewing of the manuscript, but are also strongly indebted to the seminal study in Rifkin, ‘A Black Hole?’, at 71–6. The codicology of the book has also been studied in detail in Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn, a Music Book’, and ead., ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book, a Childhood Gift. The Question of the Original Owner of MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London, Revisited’, in *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l’interprétation du patrimoine musical à l’historiographie*, eds Barbara Hagg and Frédéric Billiet (Paris, 2011), 95–119. Urkevich, however, was led astray by the modern collation and binding, so her codicological findings have been superseded, as have those by Lowinsky, who was the first scholar to study the book in detail: see Lowinsky, ‘MS 1070’, and id., ‘A Music Book for Anne Boleyn’.

¹ The binding removed in 2016 was dated by Sonja Schwill, the conservator carrying out the work, to c.1900. This binding reused older covers made of brown leather over stiff pasteboard, apparently dating from the nineteenth century.

² This structure had already been deduced in its entirety by Rifkin (‘A Black Hole?’, 72–4) from the presence or absence of watermarks on individual leaves, changes of scribal hand, gaps in the music, and blank pages.

³ Other examples of polyphonic music books with illuminated pages removed are found in the ‘Alamire’ corpus, such as Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. Capp. Sist. 34, 36, and 160, or Jena, Thüringische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Chorbuch 7. For a more general discussion of leaves or miniatures excised from illuminated manuscripts and their fate in later collections, see for example Roger S. Wieck, ‘Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf’, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996), 233–54.

⁴ Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn, a Music Book’, 7–8.

⁵ Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book’, 97.

use is their visual appeal which would have attracted readers and beholders throughout the centuries. It is frequently observed that in illuminated manuscripts the prettiest pages are the ones showing the greatest amount of wear and tear. As to the discoloration of whole pages, the first page of the second codicological unit (f. 23r) is quite heavily stained which indicates that this unit – and possibly others – at some point existed separately before being bound together in a book. The same applies to f. 102v, the end of the first main section of the book; here, only the left-hand side of the page is discoloured which has led Urkevich to conclude that this part of the book must have been folded lengthwise and stored in this fashion at some point.⁶ There is, however, no trace of actual folding on this page or the rest of the gathering, and the edge of the discolouration is not straight and clean enough to support such a theory.

The watermarks found in the main body of the manuscript have the shape of an uncial ‘M’ outline shape, identified by Lowinsky and Urkevich as similar to nos 8416–8418 of Briquet’s *Filigranes*.⁷ Given the summative and selective nature of Briquet’s catalogue,⁸ it is not possible to determine a precise match. In any case, the marks in RCM 1070, while obviously of the same type, appear in a number of variants (see Figures 9a–d) inconsistently distributed across the entire book and are thus – even taking into account the presence of ‘twins’ and disregarding the ‘rogue’ bifolium 74–75 (see Figure 9e) which presents a clearly different ‘M’ shape – possibly from the same mill, but not from an identical batch.

But since all instances of these marks listed by Briquet are found in Northern France (except for one instance in the Low Countries) in the last two decades of the fifteenth and the first two decades of the sixteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that our paper was made in this region around the same time as well. The uniformity of the paper also suggests a single and coherent context of production, a book made over a short period of time in the same place. Nevertheless, the preparation and ruling of the text block and the copying of the text and music suggest two clearly distinct codicological sections, with three phases of copying and some additions at a later stage (this apart from the entirely different paper used for the last two leaves which were added later).

The first section encompasses folios 1–102, with all pages pre-ruled with a five-line rastrum for eleven staves. No pricking is visible, but the ruling is nevertheless even and neat, with only small irregularities in the



Figure 9a: RCM 1070, f. 1

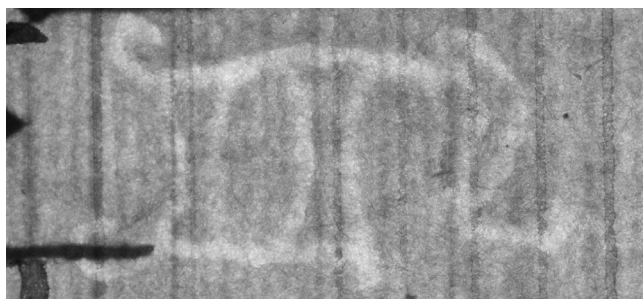


Figure 9b: RCM 1070, f. 30

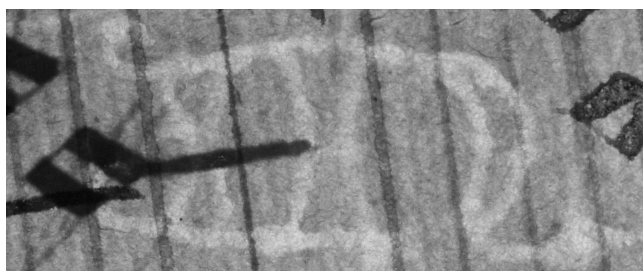


Figure 9c: RCM 1070, f. 54

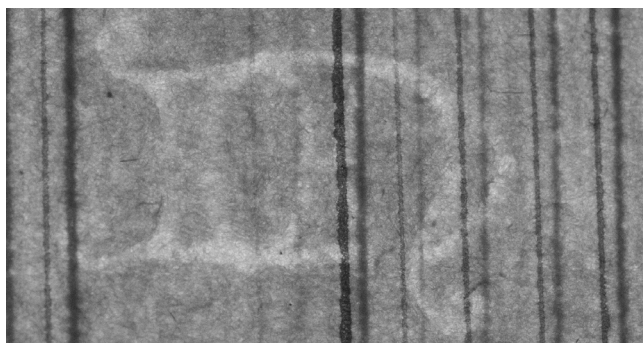


Figure 9d: RCM 1070, f. 77

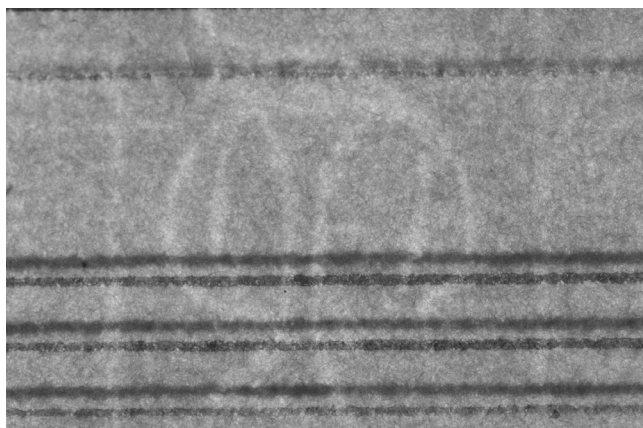


Figure 9e: RCM 1070, f. 74

⁶ Ibid., 98.

⁷ Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Geneva, 1907), iii: 453. Online at http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/BR.php (accessed on 20 June 2017).

⁸ The much more comprehensive watermark database based on Gerhard Piccard’s work in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (<https://www.piccard-online.de/start.php>) is strongly focused on Southern Germany and Northern Italy; ‘M’ watermarks of this type are not present in this resource at all.

size of the text block and the alignment of staves which indicate that the preparation was done with a good eye as the only guide. The preparation is entirely uniform, with no consideration for any specifics of the repertoire to be copied: it is designed to accommodate a standard four-part texture. Both on the verso and the facing recto, the first and seventh staves are indented by about 2–3 cm, providing space for an initial indicating the beginning of a new voice part. The ruling is consistent enough to contemplate the idea that the gatherings might have been bought pre-ruled from a stationer, but the somewhat variable darkness of the ink and the slight irregularities of preparation ultimately mitigate against that assumption, as does the fact that on at least one page (f. 67v), the lower indentation is on the eighth rather than the seventh staff.⁹

Within this first section, however, two clearly separate stages can be distinguished. In the majority of gatherings (that is, all except XI and XIII), the text block, measuring c.230–240 x 130–135 mm overall, is defined by a ruled frame in light red ink, with two vertical lines to the left and right across the entire page, and another frame line at the bottom, the latter ruled all the way across the page and bifolium (this is best seen on blank ruled pages, such as ff. 93v–94r). Between the two vertical bounding lines, eleven staves are ruled; the frame line at the bottom serves at the same time as the line for the underlaid text, and text lines in the same ink are also present for all other staves, regardless of whether any text is in fact added. The consistent presence of the text lines as well as their integration into the overall ruling of the text block in fact suggests that they were entered first, and the staves then inserted into that frame.¹⁰ In contrast to the staves which are almost always drawn very neatly between the vertical bounding lines, the text lines often overshoot into to the left- or right-hand margins. Slight variations – which, however, do not appear to affect the overall consistency of preparation and copying – are visible between gatherings I–III, VI, IX–X and XII, where the staves are ruled in a darker

brown ink with an 11-mm rastrum, while the staves in gatherings IV–V and VII–VIII are 11.5 mm in height in a lighter, reddish ink. Additionally, there are some instances where later changes were made to the collation. Folio 56 is clearly a replacement leaf, as evidenced by the stub of the leaf originally conjoined to f. 61 still visible in the gutter, and by a subtly different ruling, with the bottom frame-line on f. 56v ruled in hard point rather than ink. There is no visible break in scribal activity here – we are in the middle of Mouton's *In illo tempore* – which suggests that this is not a retrospective intervention but the rectification of some mishap during the original copying process.

Gatherings XI and XIII were prepared along similar lines (with the same number of staves and overall size of text block) which together with the identical paper type suggests a common parentage, but sufficiently different in detail to deduce a different stage of production. The ruled frame and text lines are in the same colour ink as (albeit a lighter shade than) the ruled staves, rather than in red, and the bottom line is drawn not across but only between the two vertical bounding lines; the rastrum itself is slightly smaller in size (10.5 mm). That a different implement was used to rule the pages of these two gatherings is also apparent from the way the ink is dispersed, with five small blobs of ink at the right end of each ruled staff where the rastrum would have been lifted off the page; this is clearly not the case in the other gatherings (see for example ff. 86v–87r with the end of gathering XI and the beginning of gathering XII).

Things get a bit more complicated in gathering XIII which obviously saw some later changes to its composition. The two inner bifolia (ff. 97–100) are ruled in the way just described, while the bifolium 96/101 (now separate, but clearly conjoined originally) has light red staves of 11.5 mm in height; at first glance it might seem that the preparation is identical to that of gatherings IV–V and VII–VIII, but the rastrum used is not identical and the bottom frame-line is not drawn all the way across the page. The outer bifolium (ff. 95/102) is irregular as well: while f. 102 is prepared identically to ff. 97–100, f. 95 is a replacement leaf like f. 56. This is apparent from the fact that the frame-lines and the ruling do not line up across the two leaves and that the ruling on f. 95 is again in lighter red ink with a rastrum of 11 mm (very similar but probably not identical to that found in gatherings I–III, VI, IX–X and XII).¹¹ Since the music on the outer leaves of the gathering is also copied in a lighter, more reddish ink (if still by the same hand), this is not a matter of slightly differently prepared pages being combined in one gathering before copying started, but must be an act of revision. The most plausible explanation seems to be that the beginning of the gathering originally contained a different piece, or the end of one that had started on a previous gathering. In order to replace this piece with Brumel's *Quae est ista quae processit*, the scribe removed the first leaf and the

⁹ Stationers plied a booming trade in Paris already from the 13th century (see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* (Turnhout, 2000)), but no evidence for commercially available ruled music paper from the French metropolis has thus far come to light. We know, however, that *carta rigata per musica* (both for chant and for polyphony) was sold by stationers in Florence since at least the late 15th century; see Thomas Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in *The Production and Reading of Music Sources. Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530*, eds Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (Turnhout, 2017).

¹⁰ Such consistent ruling of text lines is in fact rare in polyphonic music manuscripts from this period; in most instances, the ruling of the staves is primary, and text lines (where they are present at all) were added ad hoc by the copyist rather than the ruler.

¹¹ Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 74.

entire second bifolium, as a consequence having to recopy the first verso page of Josquin's *Liber generationis* (which starts on f. 96v) and the portion of that same piece contained on f. 101. Why the scribe removed the entire second bifolium and not merely the front half of it (as he had done for f. 95) is impossible to say, and somewhat weakens this hypothesis; but it is difficult to conceive of any other scenario that fits the evidence.

The second section, on folios 103–132, while on the same type of paper, is prepared very differently. The frame consists of only two vertical bounding lines in lead point to the left and right; there are only occasional lines for the underlaid text added ad hoc in hard point or pencil, and the number of ruled staves, now in a much lighter reddish-brown ink, goes down from eleven to nine. The rastrum is bigger (14 mm), as is the distance between staves, resulting in a very similar-sized overall text block (c.240–250 x 135–140 mm). The music and text are in a reddish-brown shade of ink very similar to that of the staff ruling.

Finally, the two added leaves are again ruled with 9 staves, but with a different rastrum (13 mm); the staves are drawn in a very irregular fashion, entirely unguided by bounding lines and with a variable overall text block that is much wider than any of the two main sections (up to 170 mm). The fact that the staves extend almost all the way to the outer edge of the page gives rise to the suspicion that the original paper was of a different size and had to be more severely trimmed to make it fit the book block.

Scribal hands

The different preparations also match the distribution of scribal hands. The first section is fundamentally the work of a single scribe (here referred to as Scribe I, following Rifkin) whose hand, however, manifests itself in two different forms (referred to as Ia and Ib).¹² Urkevich deemed these to be two different scribes,¹³ but the similarities outweigh the differences to such a degree that they really have to be considered variants of the same hand. The noteheads, stems, fusa flags and accidentals are virtually identical, and so is the c-clef with its slightly downward-sloping compartments and an elongated right descender. Additionally, the scribe in both forms consistently draws the stems of the notes as separate strokes from the noteheads, a practice not often found elsewhere. The clearest distinguishing feature between the two variants is the shape of the custos which in version Ia has a double hook indicating the note and a strongly curved ascender, while Ib favours a single hook with a straight line ascending diagonally upwards. Any sense, however, that this might be a truly separative variant between the two hands is dispelled by

the occasional presence of the 'Ia-type' custos in the context of Ib as well, most clearly seen on f. 24r where all custodes have this shape.

The text script, presumably written by the same person as the music, is also very similar in both Scribe I variants: it is the *bastarda* book hand typical for France (and the southern Low Countries) in the decades around 1500.¹⁴ The text hand is more elegant than that found in many other contemporary manuscripts of polyphonic music where – even in the more lavish books – often less care is taken over entering the words than entering the notes.¹⁵ Within that, Ia seems on the whole somewhat more diligent than Ib in writing both the words and the notes. The music notation is somewhat more calligraphic, with very regular and evenly spaced noteheads, but on occasion widening the spacing to accommodate the verbal text; it also includes occasional elongated and embellished final notes. The text script is also more calligraphic and ornate, with embellished *litterae notabiliores* as second letters (after the unexecuted initials) at the beginning of voices, as well as flamboyant ascenders on the letter *v* and descenders on the letter *g*. Hand Ib, on the other hand, writes some unusually elaborate capital letters, especially towards the beginning of the book. As for the music hand, there nevertheless seems no reason to doubt that these are two variants of the same hand given the similarity of the letter shapes – see especially the looped *d*, *h*, *l* and *v*, or the long *s* with its characteristic fat and slightly forward-leaning stem.

The production of Scribe II – who is responsible for the copying of the second, shorter section (ff. 103–132) – is by comparison less impressive calligraphically. His hand is not as regular and well-formed as that of Scribe I; there is less attention to making the noteheads or the text script even and of equal size, with especially the black noteheads (semiminims and fusae) smaller and more irregularly shaped; generally his strokes seem quicker and hastier, with stems at uneven angles and noteheads varying between more rounded and more rhomboid shapes. Only in the last two gatherings (from f. 117 onwards) does the writing become more careful and even, although obviously still in the same hand. The text is once more written in a standard French *bastarda*, in a type not dissimilar to that of Scribe I, but again more irregular in size, angle and alignment, often without great care in aligning words and notes. None of this indicates a lack of expertise; on the contrary, the work

¹⁴ See Albert Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), 157–60.

¹⁵ On the relative expertise of scribes of polyphonic music books in copying text and music see Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Über Quantität und Qualität von Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext*, eds Theodor Göllner and Bernhold Schmid (Munich, 2006), 191–211, at 203–11.

¹² Ibid., 71.

¹³ Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn, A Music Book', 21–3, 44–8.

of Scribe II is virtually without errors. This is apparently the work of a professional musician rather than that of a professional scribe: the correct and efficient communication of content was more important to him than the visual appeal. The status of Scribe II as an expert musician is further borne out by his role as the editor of the first section of the manuscript which allows us to reconstruct with great precision how RCM 1070 was put together as a book in a number of discreet stages.¹⁶ Since his interventions (described in greater detail below) consistently pervade the entire first section of the book, it is furthermore clear that all parts of it were already in existence when he started his work; he was the one responsible for combining them in the order we find them today.

The two gatherings prepared by Scribe Ia must have existed separately at first, probably before any other parts of the book were even started. Not only do they clearly contain the earliest repertoire (on which more below), but they were adapted and integrated into the book as pre-existent units. This is most apparent in gathering XI (ff. 79–86). Here, the first composition begins already on f. 78v, with discantus and tenor (re)copied on the final verso of the preceding gathering by the later Scribe II; the last composition likewise extends across the gathering boundary, with the concluding altus and bassus voice parts on f. 87r copied by Scribe Ib (music) and again Scribe II (text). There are three possible scenarios for the compilation process. First, gatherings XI and XIII could be the sole survivors a longer series of units all copied by Ia, subsequently integrated into the new structure by recopying the first and last pages. Second, Scribe Ia might have copied the gathering purposefully without the first and last pages, anticipating from the start its integration into a longer sequence of gatherings, the first and last pages to be copied onto the blank pages of the adjoining gatherings. Third, gathering XI could have started its existence as a quinternio, with the outer bifolium – with its empty outer pages – later discarded and the remainder inserted into a new sequence of gatherings by recopying the first and last pages.

Against the assumption of an original quinternio mitigates the fact that all other gatherings in this book are quaternios, and that the overwhelming majority of Franco-Flemish music codices from the period likewise use quaternios as their standard codicological unit. Then again, the recopying of single pages at the beginning or end of a gathering to achieve seamless transitions (rather than tolerating the blank openings which result from joining pre-existing booklets with their – given the nature of choirbook notation – necessarily blank outside pages) does occasionally occur. However, the purposeful omission of first and last pages to the same end is virtually unheard of, with the exception of a very few Cappella Sistina codices where Jeffrey Dean has argued that the scribe did indeed, if rarely, appear to have left

first and/or last pages of gatherings uncopied when he knew that the relevant booklet was intended to be integrated into a larger book.¹⁷ But the very large Cappella Sistina codices were combined into booklets from individual single leaves after copying which allows for a more flexible approach to compilation whereas no similar case of purposefully leaving pieces incomplete is known for codices put together from pre-existing booklets of real bifolia. As improbable as it might seem, given its internal consistency – with four complete pieces, at least three of which are by the same composer – it thus seems most likely that gathering XI is a survivor from a consecutively copied series of gatherings. Perhaps its self-contained nature (and indeed perhaps the ‘Anne Boleyn’ signature on f. 87r) ensured its survival. Whatever the original plan though, it is clear that it was at least partially abandoned. At the end, the same scribe did append the unit to his own gathering XII at a later stage, by copying the missing end onto f. 87r; but that gathering was itself left unfinished and without text which was left to be added by Scribe II for the recopied page. At the beginning, gathering XI was inserted after a series of blank openings where Scribe Ib had again interrupted or abandoned his compilation of repertoire, and it was again left to Scribe II to establish the connection.

The situation is again somewhat different for gathering XIII, the second surviving unit copied by Ia. It is clear that it was not originally isolated: f. 102v contains the beginning of Josquin’s genealogy motet *Factum est cum baptizaretur* which forms an obvious pair with the preceding sister work *Liber generationis* and surely must have followed in its entirety on a subsequent (now lost) gathering. However, the discolouration of the paper on that last page demonstrates that this additional gathering must have been removed at a relatively early stage and that Section 1 of the book (which ends on this page) must have existed separately for a while before section 2 was appended. At the beginning of the gathering, on the other hand, the situation is very similar to that of gathering XI; it begins on the first recto with the altus and bassus voices of the first piece, the discantus and tenor to be added on the facing verso of the preceding unit. But yet again, either the preceding gathering was discarded or Scribe I never got around to finishing the job and the gathering was eventually appended to gathering XII once more by Scribe II.

But we are getting ahead of ourselves in terms of Scribe I’s copying activities. After the creation of the two ‘Ia’ gatherings (and any other material from this first phase of copying now lost), that same copyist recommenced the compilation, with the obvious intention to create a much more substantial collection of motets. As already indicated, however, this second stage again unfolded in fits and starts even though the campaign starts in a very promising and purposeful fashion. The first three gatherings were obviously compiled as a unit:

¹⁶ See already Rifkin, ‘A Black Hole?’ 75, n. 184.

¹⁷ Jeffrey J. Dean, ‘The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501–1527’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984), 22–3, 80–3.

their copying extends across gathering boundaries, and in contrast to the rest of the book, even the initials are fully executed (see below). What is more, their content proves that they were specifically designed to be the beginning of the book as a whole, given the demonstrative opening with a humanistic motet in Sapphic stanzas, in praise of Orpheus and Christ: a fitting start for any book of motets and markedly set apart from the (para-)liturgical or devotional repertoire that dominates the rest of the book.

However, already this initial three-gathering unit ends inconclusively, with a blank opening followed by a final verso originally also blank (on which Scribe II later copied the beginning of the anonymous *O salve genitrix virgo dulcissima*, in another attempt to create a continuous sequence by joining an existing gathering or gatherings now lost). What follows are more single-gathering or two-gathering units created by Scribe Ib (IV–V, VI, VII–VIII, IX–X, XII), each marked out as separate by blank pages on the outsides; and as we will see below, their codicological consistency is matched by a consistency of repertoire. It seems reasonable to assume that all these units – all copied on the same paper and all motets – were created by Scribe Ib as part of a larger project, to be joined with the earlier ‘Ia gatherings’ eventually to form a complete book; but it is equally apparent that if there was a masterplan regarding repertoire and order of compilation, this was never realised. Not only is the opening unit incomplete at the end (surely with an idea to copy more repertoire to fill the blanks, perhaps hoping to find a piece or pieces that ‘fit’ into this particular space), but the copyist also abandoned the compilation of several others as well, in various stages of incompleteness. Gathering VI has a blank opening at the beginning rather than the end, presumably indicating either the addition of a short piece that would only fill one opening, or with the intention to join this unit to another one by adding a piece that would fill the end of a preceding gathering (we cannot know whether this would have been the current gathering V though) and its own beginning.

Twice, the copying of units is abandoned at an even more incomplete stage. The unit comprising gatherings IX–X contains only a single piece copied in its entirety – Josquin’s *Praeter rerum seriem* – which is followed by an incomplete rendition of the same composer’s *Virgo salu-tiferi genitrix intacta* (with no text provided except for the recto of the first opening, and with the canonic cantus firmus voice in the discantus missing from the first two openings, but strangely present on the last two) and a fragment of Jean Mouton’s *Gaude Barbara beata* (the first opening only, again without text and even more strangely with all notes lacking their stems). After this, the copying peters out completely and the remaining five openings of the unit are left blank. Similarly, gathering XII initially contained only Mouton’s untexted *Maria virgo semper laetare* and three blank openings. In both cases, the attempts by Scribes Ib and II to integrate

those units with the pre-existing products of Scribe Ia serve to highlight rather than rectify their fragmentary nature, as do the occasional pieces added later by different scribes.

The whole process thus emerges as follows. Scribe I began to copy motets into a series of isolated gatherings, but with the clear intention to join these gatherings with others to form more substantial units. There must have been more of these ‘Ia’ gatherings than are extant today, as indicated by the single page copied by Scribe II at the end of gathering III (f. 22v) which apparently served the purpose to attach a now-lost gathering, and the open-ended nature of gathering XIII which was followed by at least one other, lost gathering by the same scribe. Since the first opening of the first of these stage-one gatherings contains the ‘Anne Boleyn’ signature, it is tempting to consider whether this might have been the intended starting point of the original compilation by Scribe Ia. This suggestion seems corroborated by the fact that this gathering begins with three motets by Loyset Compère whose connections to the French court had remained strong even after he apparently retired from its formal employ around 1500;¹⁸ this would have made for quite an effective opening statement. But since there are no material clues regarding the order in which Scribe Ia intended these gatherings to appear, this notion must necessarily remain speculative; all we can say with certainty is that these two booklets represent the earliest stage of copying and indeed repertoire.

The same scribe then re-launched the process, drawing on the same type of repertoire and using the same paper, but otherwise virtually from scratch. At least initially, he took a more systematic and comprehensive approach than at the ‘Ia’ stage. A proper beginning is created both musically and codicologically, much more music is copied, and one of the new gatherings is provisionally attached to one of the pre-existing ones. Yet, this second initiative was once again abandoned, leaving the codicological units disjointed and in many cases obviously unfinished.

It was left to Scribe II to compile and shape what seems to have been at this point a loose stack of gatherings into a proper book. He joined together various units, and presumably put all of them in the order we find them today; and he also corrected a substantial number of copying errors by Scribe I. There is, however, no attempt on his part to fill the numerous blank openings with repertoire which would have been an obvious way to lend more coherence to the book. Instead, he added whatever new repertoire he thought worth adding in a separate (and differently prepared) section of his own, which itself is codicologically inconsistent in that it falls into two separate units (gatherings XIV–XV

¹⁸ See Joshua Rifkin et al., ‘Compère, Loyset’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press* (accessed on 10 March 2017). <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06205>>.

and XVI–XVII, respectively) the first of which again contains blank openings at the end. Maybe Scribe II had even begun collecting his own repertoire before he started collating and editing the first section; in any case, the fact that very similar paper is used for both sections indicates that the two scribes worked in close chronological and geographical proximity, rather than that Scribe II just picked up Scribe I's entirely unrelated productions at some later point.¹⁹

Such a shared context, however, cannot be assumed for the activities of the two copyists who added material later on, onto openings left blank by the two original scribes. Two such copyists can be distinguished: 'Scribe III' adding a short motet by Antoine Brumel on ff. 92v–93r and a chanson on the two added leaves at the end, and 'Scribe IV' entering two further chansons on ff. 113v–115r. These two hands, similar yet clearly not the same, display the same basic characteristics as Scribes I and II: white mensural notation and a French *bastarda* text script. The music in both is notated in a competent but not particularly regular or elegant fashion, with irregularly-shaped noteheads and variable spacing; the text script in both has some calligraphic pretensions, with many bold and ornate letter shapes. Scribe III also adds ornate cadel-type penwork initials on ff. 92v–93r while Scribe IV limits himself to a single discantus initial of a similar type (and indeed a similar motive) to those of Scribe III on f. 113v.²⁰ These pieces were clearly added later, after the book as such had been compiled and possibly even bound. This is evident not only from the fact that they were entered onto blank openings of the existing preparation which means their copying must have occurred after Scribes I and II had finished their business, but also (with the exception of the Brumel motet) that they belong to an entirely different genre – that of the 'Parisian Chanson' – whose dissemination from the 1520s onwards postdates the death of all composers responsible for the motets.

Both Scribe III and Scribe IV finally share the peculiarity (discussed above in more detail by David Skinner) of placing the dot of addition consistently below the line: a practice that is exceptionally rare on the continent, but on the other hand very consistently applied in Britain which allows us to consider the possibility that the later additions to the book were carried out by English copyists, or copyists who had learned to write music in England even though the repertoire they recorded still overwhelmingly points towards France. The codicology offers few further clues in this regard since three of the four pieces were added on blank openings of pre-existing gatherings and the remaining one on two added leaves, both of which could have happened anywhere and at any time after Scribes I and II had completed or abandoned their work and the book as such had been compiled. The white mensural

notation of the continental type had become common in Britain by this time, and likewise, the 'bastard secretary' as the most common cursive script in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries can be virtually indistinguishable from its continental models.²¹

This is not quite the end of the story: a small number of pages (after ff. 6, 7, and 116) and even some complete gatherings (after ff. 22 and 102) were removed from the compilation at some subsequent stage. As the original binding is lost, we cannot know with certainty when this happened, but it must have been before John Stafford Smith added his pagination in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.²²

Before we turn our attention to the illuminations and the repertoire, some comments are required on the nature and the amount of corrections made by Scribe II in Scribe I's work, and on the light these corrections shed on the latter's expertise as a copyist. As pointed out above, Scribe I is above reproach as a graphic artist: the musical notation is highly regular and beautifully shaped, and the text hand matches or indeed surpasses the music hand in its elegance. The care taken over the visual appearance, however, is not matched by an equal competency regarding the actual musical content. This is not to say that Scribe I was lacking totally in relevant expertise: the layout rules of polyphonic notation are largely maintained.²³ Line breaks occur at mensural *tactus* boundaries, even when this results in uneven line ends: sometimes the notation does not reach the end of the staff, sometimes (especially where the line ends with a series of smaller note values) it overshoots into the margin. Page breaks – in compositions or parts of compositions which extend across more than one opening – also largely coincide with cadences in such a way that the destination chord of the cadence is placed directly after the page turn at the beginning of the new opening. Thus, the singers would know through the progressions of their clausulae what to sing even if their reading of the notes on the page was momentarily obscured by the process of turning the page.

There are, however, a number of instances where the page turns are not synchronised between the four parts, an oversight which would have very seriously hampered the performance, or indeed any type of polyphonic reading of the music from the page. In one of these, in fact, the error seems to have been caused by a flawed application of the 'cadence rule' as outlined above: on f. 3v, the tenor breaks nine breves earlier than the other voices, but precisely at a point where the syncopated discant clausula

²¹ See M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969), xi–xii and plate 15; Derolez, 160–2.

²² Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn, a Music Book', 7–8.

²³ These are described in detail in Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books'; see also Stanley Boorman, 'Notational Spelling and Scribal Habit', in *Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Wiesbaden, 1983), 65–109.

¹⁹ See already Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 75 n. 184.

²⁰ Information kindly provided by Katja Monier.

would have suggested a page turn. Even more substantial intervention was necessary at the break between ff. 36v/37r and 37v/38r, where the tenor contains an entire phrase more than the other voices. In the process of correcting this, Scribe II additionally took the opportunity to move the page break to an appropriate place on a cadence, which led him to remove an additional breves' worth of music in the three other voices, all of which, of course, had to be laboriously added at the beginning of the next opening. Even more confused is the break between ff. 53v/54r and 54v/55r where Scribe I, possibly led astray by the voice-pair texture with long intermittent periods of rests, has the voices break at three different places in the music; his own realisation that something was amiss here already at the initial copying stage resulted in his deletion of four breves' worth of music in the discantus, but this does nothing to improve the situation. To fix this, Scribe II had to add five and a half breves in the tenor and altus, while deleting one and a half breves from the discantus and a semibreve from the bassus respectively in order to synchronise the voices and create a regular new beginning on the following opening (in this case not the destination chord of a cadence, but the start of a homophonic section).

Alongside these botched page-breaks (which occur with unusual frequency for a manuscript of this period), we find a number other errors within individual voices which range from missing notes or stems to short phrases where, for example through eye-skip, a repeated group of notes was notated only once (for example f. 13r; for a complete list of corrections see Appendix IV). A few of these were spotted and corrected by Scribe I straightaway, while the majority were left for Scribe II to amend. Finally, space is sometimes a real concern for Scribe I: especially in the two bottom parts which start at the indentation of stave 7 and thus have to fit on a maximum of five staves as opposed to the maximum six of the upper voices. Given the 'modern' homogeneous or imitative textures which tend to require similar amounts of space for all voices and a general attempt to fit motets or *partes* on no more than two openings, the copyist more than occasionally runs out of space, sometimes very seriously (see for example ff. 10v–11r, 13v–14r, or 41v–42r). This is not uncommon in polyphonic manuscripts of the time, but here adds somewhat to the impression of a scribe who was not in complete control. In any case, the overall number of errors and infelicities is substantial, and noticeably higher than in contemporary sources produced by professional scribes for musical institutions. This impression is brought home with some force by the fact that only a handful of these errors were noticed by Scribe I during the copying process itself, as opposed to the numerous errors spotted and corrections made by Scribe II which, like the sections copied entirely by that scribe, are much less concerned with visual appeal than to musical correctness.

A final aspect that casts some doubt on the expertise of Scribe I as a music copyist is the fragmentary and

incomplete nature of many pieces. The lack of text in some sections is less of an issue here: in this period and repertoire, the words were virtually always added after the notes, and in any compilation left in an incomplete state one would expect some text to be missing. Less easily explained is the partial absence of the canonic discantus/tenor part in Josquin's *Virgo salutiferi*: it is lacking in the *prima pars* (on ff. 68v–70r), thus leaving the polyphonic texture incomplete, but present in the *secunda* and *tertia pars*. It is hardly conceivable that the exemplar should have been lacking in this fashion; on the contrary, Scribe I must have known about the canonic voice and planned to enter it, having reserved the appropriate top-left quadrant of the opening, and having placed a *signum congruentiae* in the altus to indicate where the canonic part was to enter after 40 breves of rests. Could it be that the copyist was unsure how to split the canonic voice across the two openings, given that the break in the discantus would follow three breves after that in the tenor (an issue that does not arise in the *secunda* or *tertia pars* which completely fit on one opening), and that the copy was abandoned before a decision was made how to resolve that?

Another notational idiosyncrasy which affects musical content is Scribe I's habit of writing noteheads and stems separately. This is most apparent in the fragmentary copy of Mouton's *Gaude Barbara beata* on ff. 72v–73, which is stemless altogether; but on closer inspection it is clear that Scribe I added the stems to the noteheads in a separate stage throughout the entire book, as seen in the differences in stroke width and ink colour, as well as the occasional stem slightly offset from the tip of the notehead. Occasionally we can also see immediate corrections where notes were deleted before their stems were added, for example at the end of the contratenor voice on f. 88r where the last eight notes were cancelled by inserting a *custos*. This is worthy of note: in the quicker teardrop-shaped notation, the upstem is an extension of the notehead anyway, but even for rhomboid-shaped notation, the entire note is more commonly drawn entirely in two strokes, the stem either as an upwards extension of the broad upstroke at the upper right-hand side of the notehead or as a downward extension of the left-hand downstroke. Scribe II's hand is in fact a very good example of this practice. The way the notes are written by Scribe I, on the other hand, is quite error-prone, with the stems added in a completely separate process, after copying whole pages and openings of noteheads only. This would make it more difficult to gauge the mensural composition of the music and indeed the total amount of music in every voice. In this approach, the notes are treated almost as graphic shapes, to be written and arranged in a visually appealing fashion, than as conveyors of mensurally organised content. This may well have contributed to the large number of errors especially at page turns where rhythmic synchronisation was crucial, as well as to a number of wrong stems later erased.

The visual and material appearance of RCM 1070 thus presents a somewhat ambivalent picture. On the one hand, its individual parts (especially in the first section) were produced with considerable care and attention, as witnessed by the level of calligraphy as well as the illuminations on the first 21 folios; as we will see below, there is also a high degree of planning in terms of the choice and ordering of the repertoire. RCM 1070 is in that sense much more than a commonplace book, or a personal collection which grew serendipitously over time (such as the collections found in Central Germany at the same time; for example, the ‘Leopold’ or ‘Apel’ codices²⁴). This was an object of value to somebody, or indeed to several people in succession, if the activities of Scribe II are anything to go by. It does not, however, bear the traits of a presentation manuscript or a gift, contrary to what Lowinsky and Urkevich have argued.²⁵ Apart from the modest material (virtually all known presentation manuscripts of the period were copied on parchment rather than

paper), this is an unfinished object at multiple levels, and whatever plans were laid for the selection and ordering of repertoire were abandoned at multiple junctures; the activities of Scribe II in the first section are a salvaging job more than anything else, but one likely more intended to make the book usable in performance than to make it presentable²⁶ (and succeeding only partially even in that). A telling comparison is the so-called ‘Medici Codex’ (I-F1 666) which was repurposed from what was likely a private collection of pope Leo X’s favourite repertoire into a wedding gift by reusing and in part reordering pre-existing sections.²⁷ But whereas Medici, apart from its much more lavish material and calligraphic ambitions, was artfully turned from one coherent and meaningful object into a differently (but equally) coherent and meaningful object, by adding (or expanding) an acrostic and by judicious addition of relevant repertoire, RCM 1070 retained its work-in-progress character throughout all its different stages of production and possible use.

²⁴ D-Mbs Mus. ms. 3154; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1494.

²⁵ Lowinsky, ‘A Music Book’, 191–7; Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book’, 96–7. Theodor Dumitrescu already expressed similar reservations; see his *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot, 2007), 151.

²⁶ See already Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book’, 98–9.

²⁷ See Joshua Rifkin, ‘The Creation of the Medici Codex’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62 (2009), 517–70, at 562–7.

Decoration

Katja Airaksinen-Monier

The first twenty openings in RCM 1070, ff. 1v–21r (gathering I to the fifth leaf of gathering III), are decorated with initials beginning each of the four voice-parts.¹ When a composition continues from the previous opening, each voice-part is (unusually for manuscripts of polyphony) preceded by a small miniature of equivalent size, style and colouring to the initials. Thus on each opening there are four initials/miniatures, 80 in total, in the first three gatherings. They are executed in the order of the leaves (rather than by bifolio) until the sixth leaf of the third gathering. The initials here were presumably not entered by the scribe, unlike the initials drawn by Scribe III. Spaces were reserved for decoration of the voice-parts throughout the first section of the manuscript, corresponding to Scribe I, but were left unfinished after f. 21r. Scribe II also left spaces in most of the sections he copied; his intervention may have occurred after the interruption of the illuminator's work. Nothing in the style or iconography indicates more than an approximate dating, to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, which agrees with the dating of the writing.

The initials and miniatures were drawn in dark brown ink (fainter towards the end of the series) against blue and red backgrounds. They are composed essentially of French forms: acanthus leaves that are French in shape and movement, pruned tree trunks and branches, hybrids, masks, a siren. The tempered colouring, the eclectic montage of disparate forms, and their stylised, simplified aspect do not, however, lend themselves easily to any recognisable local style of French manuscript illumination, and beckon comparisons with initials in early printed books.

The palette and technique, as well as the interest in typographic repertoires in RCM 1070 find parallels in the Book of Hours illuminated around 1485 by Robinet Testard in Angoulême, in western France, for Charles d'Angoulême, the father of François I (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1173). Robinet Testard (active in 1471–1531), the count's official illuminator, drew inspiration for his initials and miniatures in this book of hours from woodcuts and engravings. He pasted in the manuscript engravings by Israël van Meckenem (based on designs by Master E. S. and Schongauer) which he then over-painted, he painted miniatures that were based on engravings, and he com-

posed a page spelling out *Ave Maria* using initials derived from Germanic and Rhine Valley woodcut alphabets from the 1460s.² In their initials, RCM 1070 and the Angoulême Hours share a number of forms and motifs, extending to the small details of three-petal flowers and groups of pearls placed in the corners of the backgrounds to the initials. Of regional interest is the bow of the letter *P* beginning *Porcio mea* on f. 7v in RCM 1070, which is faceted, like the initials from f. 74r onwards in the Angoulême Hours. This so-called *prismatic* initial originated in the 1450s in humanistic manuscripts made in Padua, and became known soon thereafter in western France (from books offered to René d'Anjou), where they were adopted by local artists in the early 1470s.³ In RCM 1070, initials are drawn directly on the paper and in the Angoulême Hours they are painted in monochrome; in both manuscripts, they are on backgrounds of muted tones of red and blue.

The character of the hatching in ink in our manuscript resembles early engraving techniques on wood and copper. The contours of the letters and motifs are sharp, as if chiselled, and the amount of ornament was kept to a minimum as in printed engraved images. RCM 1070 is not by an artist of Testard's standing, but the series of initials in RCM 1070 demonstrates how our artist, like his contemporary Testard, restlessly searched for new decorative and pictorial forms in both printed and manuscript books, constantly changing and recombining motifs, as if to proclaim the superior inventiveness of illuminators in the face of competition from printers.

The illuminator of our manuscript had neither guide-letters nor indications for miniatures to instruct his work. Consequently, in the beginning of Mouton's

¹ I am grateful to Patricia Stirnemann for numerous helpful observations.

² See Anne Matthews, 'The Use of Prints in the Hours of Charles d'Angoulême', *Print Quarterly* 3 (1986) 4–18, and François Avril in François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures 1440-1520* (Paris, 1993), no. 229, 404–6. Testard's patron, Charles d'Angoulême, was likewise fascinated by the technique of printing that was established in Angoulême as early as 1491. Out of the 72 books deemed important enough to be described individually in the inventory of his library at his death in 1496, as many as one third (24) were printed books. See Edmond Séménaud, *La bibliothèque de Charles d'Orléans comte d'Angoulême au château de Cognac en 1496* (Paris, 1861).

³ François Avril, in *Splendeur de l'enluminure: le roi René et les livres*, ed. Marc-Édouard Gautier (Angers, 2009), 344.

composition *In illo tempore accesserunt ad Jesum* on ff. 12v–13r, the artist mistakenly painted an initial *I* also for the bassus, although both tenor and bassus begin at *Accesserunt ad Jesum*. The confusion appears to have been caused by the scribe's leaving out the first letter *A* in the text; the artist then painted an *I* as for superius and altus.

Our artist chose not to repeat initials, foregoing a uniform formal harmony that had been traditional in Gothic manuscripts. Instead, with each initial he invented something new, drawing from numerous sources, as if compiling a repertory of forms. There are 22 initials and miniatures incorporating foliage, 4 with ribbons, 5 with branches, 33 with flowers, 3 with birds, 12 with other animals, monsters and hybrids, and 7 with human figures. A selection will be described in order to situate the artist, as far as possible, within the large array of his sources.

On the first opening, which begins with the anonymous composition *Forte si dulci stigium boantem*, the upright of the letter *F* in the superius is formed of a ribbon wound around a staff, while the two traverses at the head and the foot of the initial are abbreviated acanthus leaves. The artist's second initial *F* (in the tenor) is constructed of pruned branches, the third initial *F* (in the altus) is a vertical cylinder made out of serrated leaves and the fourth initial *F* (in the bassus) is a budding staff with a central traverse attached with a finial. The ribbon initial was particularly popular in French illumination from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Pruned branches, *branches écotées*, which were an emblem of King René d'Anjou⁴ and an Orléanist emblem, are found in the initials in the Hours of Charles d'Angoulême (and d'Orléans) of c.1485; the branch-initial was copied and disseminated by illuminators as a generic motif, particularly in Bourges, Tours and Paris.⁵ The cylindrical foliage initial is likewise found in the Angoulême Hours, but was also known in England, as demonstrated by the Macclesfield Alphabet book.⁶ Adding to the traditionally French forms of foliage, our artist incorporated the laurel wreath (composing vertical strokes of *P* on f. 7v and *L* on f. 11r), a motif known in French manuscripts at least by the early 1470s,⁷ and disseminated in the early sixteenth century by woodcut initials printed by Henri Estienne and Niccolini Sabbio.

A number of motifs may derive from books printed in Paris. The shape of the rose (f. 2v) and the siren

(known for its singing ability; f. 5r) are very close to those found in engravings in Philippe Pigouchet's book of hours printed in Paris in 1498. Similar animal forms and flowers are found in initials printed by Felix Baligault in Paris in 1494–1500. Certain motifs in RCM 1070 were particularly appropriate to music. In addition to the siren, our artist also included a merman (f. 7r), a mythical creature likewise known for its melodic voice. Like the onocentaurs depicted in the Montchenu Chansonnier painted in Savoy around 1475,⁸ the merman here is armed with a wooden stick and a foliage shield. The motifs chosen by our artist were not meant to illustrate the music, apart from one possible exception. The covered chalice illustrating Jean Mouton's Christmas motet *Queramus cum pastoribus* (f. 20v) may refer to the offerings made by the three Magi.⁹

Although certain motifs are depicted more than once, the artist never repeated an element or a composition exactly. In other words, he was constantly re-composing, freehand. The initials in the early openings are drawn in bold outlines, in the spirit of woodcuts. The artist often combined several motifs, which as a montage no longer make sense as a whole. Had he seen printers' or artists' alphabet books? Because of the patchwork nature of the initials, it is challenging to place our artist in any one geographic region. As the work progresses, however, his drawing relaxes. Towards the end of the series, with the depiction of human figures, his compositions become looser, the ink is fainter and the workmanship is less constructed and controlled. Does he reveal his origins? The strangest of all his pictures is the man shown facing the beholder, sticking out his tongue and exposing his teeth (f. 12r). Such a grimace, considered particularly vulgar in the Middle Ages, is unknown in late medieval French illumination, but appears in woodcut initials. An initial *D* used in 1499–1500 by Ambrosius Huber in Nuremberg shows a man facing the viewer spreading his mouth with his forefingers into a grimace and sticking out his tongue, while in Rouen in a copy of the *Propriétaire* printed by Jacques le Forestier, an initial *O* is filled by a face of a man exposing his teeth in a wide grimace. Might the Rouennais examples suggest that our artist worked in northern France? While it would be dubious to argue for an artist's origin based on models that circulated with ease, particularly when printed in large numbers, there are details in our artist's style that advocate placing him in the north. The upward-turned gloomy eyes of all the human figures depicted in the initials of RCM 1070 show a certain affinity with those by English manuscript painters.¹⁰

⁸ F-Pn Rothschild 2973.

⁹ A very similar object is found decorating the above-mentioned *Liber de temporibus*.

¹⁰ See for instance the initial *H* on f. 126r in a copy of *Fall of Princes* illuminated probably in London around 1465–1475 (Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum, ms. 439/16, reproduced in Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 2 vols (London, 1996), ii: ill. 440.)

⁴ See F-Pn latin 17732 (Hours of René d'Anjou, 1459–60).

⁵ As found, for instance in the Monypenny Breviary of c.1492–5 (private collection), the Hours of Frederick of Aragon of 1502 (F-Pn latin 10532), and still in 1526 in the Gospel Book made for the young prince Charles II d'Orléans, the son of François I (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Res. 51).

⁶ GB-Lbl Add. MS 88887.

⁷ As found for instance in the Italian initial added to the French translation of *Liber de temporibus* made in Provence for Jeanne de Laval before 1476 (current location unknown, see Avril in *Splendeur de l'enluminure*, 370–1).

Were our artist English, it would be no surprise that he looked in Continental printed books for sources: there was no native school of initial-cutters in England. Apart from a few letters acquired from Continental printers (De Worde from Covaert van Os, Julian Notary from André Bocard), or cut in France or from French models, the English printers of the period had no printed initials.¹¹

The reserve technique on painted ground was probably meant to give the appearance of a printed

book in vogue at the time. It might also reveal the artist's use of alphabet books as a model, in which groups of initials were found in such unfinished, unpainted state. RCM 1070 is certainly a testimonial of an artist's interest in the newly emerging technique of printing and engraved models, showing an amalgamation of sources and techniques from the period when the techniques of hand-painted and printed illustration were thriving side by side.

¹¹ Oscar Jennings, *Early Woodcut Initials* (London, 1908), 108b.

Repertoire

Thomas Schmidt

As has been pointed out in the past, the repertoire contained in RCM 1070 is demonstrably, indeed almost aggressively French.¹ This corresponds with the codicological and paleographical findings, and makes the book one of the most valuable extant sources for this repertoire. Given the degree to which polyphonic music was cultivated in French institutions, and given the important role the motet apparently played in ritual and devotional practice,² we must assume a rich written transmission; but hardly any sources have survived. The only other substantial contemporary collection which has survived from France itself is Cambridge, Magdalen College, Pepys MS 1760, which was made in the environment of the Royal Court around the years 1508–1514, thus almost exactly in the same timespan as RCM 1070. With 93 folios containing 24 motets and 27 chansons, it is slightly less voluminous than the latter, but a much more elaborate production (see Figure 10) whose original illumination – and, as we will see, its repertoire – clearly places it at the court itself rather than in its broader context. It is elegantly written on parchment and organised and compiled with a clear plan, ordered by number of voice-parts and consistently copied from beginning to end, with no blank pages or interruptions.³ Beyond that, we have to rely for this repertoire on contemporary or slightly later sources from other regions of Europe, such as the books from the ‘Alamire workshop’ at the Habsburg-Burgundian court⁴ or indeed



Figure 10: GB-Cmc 1760, f. 6r modern foliation
(2r original foliation)

¹ Lowinsky, ‘A Music Book for Anne Boleyn’, 161–2; Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book’, 95–6, 99; Rifkin, ‘A Black Hole?’, 75–6.

² See John T. Brobeck, ‘Some “Liturgical Motets” for the French Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet’, *Musica Disciplina* 47 (1993), 123–57; id., ‘Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515–1547)’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995), 187–239.

³ See Louise Litterick, ‘The Manuscript Royal 20.A.XVI of the British Library’ (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976), 46–56; John T. Brobeck, ‘A Music Book for Mary Tudor, Queen of France’, *Early Music History* 35 (2016), 1–93.

⁴ Following a handful of pieces in the manuscripts I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 and B-Br 9126, anthologies from the Alamire workshop focusing on motets include the book for Henry VIII (GB-Lbl Royal 8.g.viii), and the sets of part-books A-Wn Mus.15941 and I-Rvat Pal. lat 1976–9. It is in itself telling that the motet repertoire in these Habsburg-Burgundian sources is so French-dominated, in contrast to

from Italy⁵ where French motets were highly valued. Much relevant repertoire also survives in printed editions,

the largely homegrown character of the mass settings which form the bulk of the Alamire repertoire, with Pierre de La Rue figuring most prominently. Apparently the court had no substantial motet repertoire of its own to draw on; for example, only a handful of motets by the leading court composer La Rue himself survive.

⁵ For example the ‘Medici Codex’ (I-Fl 666), the motet books of the Papal Chapel (V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 26, 42, and 46), the Florentine anthology I-Fn II.I.232, or the choir-books from various Northern Italian churches and cathedrals (Bologna, Casale Monferrato, Modena, Padua).

first in publications by Ottaviano Petrucci and Andrea Antico,⁶ followed by the output of the Parisian printer Pierre Attaignant which culminated in his thirteen-volume motet anthology of 1534–1535 containing substantial amounts of retrospective repertoire composed around the turn of the century.

The high esteem in which the French-court motet was held and the degree to which it began ‘to sweep the rest Europe’ from the 1510s onwards,⁷ renders RCM 1070 even more important. It was produced where and when this genre originated; together with Cambridge 1760, it might provide us with us an idea of what constituted its ‘core repertoire’ in the time and place of its origin. Typically for locally produced repertoire, RCM 1070 also contains virtually no ascriptions (the very few that are there were added by a later hand); those for whom the book was made would not have had to be told who had composed the music. As pointed out in the codicological description, the repertoire was assembled not in a single campaign, but in fits and starts over several stages and apparently some time, incorporating previously separate items and with some pieces added considerably later. These stages are reflected not only in the physical compilation, but also in the repertoire which was clearly accumulated over time from separate components which grow to form a larger whole.

The overarching paradigm that binds together all these components to a greater or lesser degree (with the exception of the much later chansons, of course) is the structural model of the classic French-court motet. According to Joshua Rifkin’s by now equally classic description, this type

typically unfold[s] in a series of clauses initiated in each instance by a matching pair of duos and closing on a full-voiced cadence frequently overlapped with the beginning of the next clause, although rarely to the extent of obscuring the boundaries from one clause to another. The duos themselves, which now prevalingly couple superius with altus and tenor with bassus rather than the interlaced disposition formerly more common, proceed largely in imitation, as often as not at the fourth or fifth rather than the unison or octave. The opening will often feature particularly expansive duos; shorter duos, sometimes homophonic, become more frequent towards the end. Brief passages in full-voice homophony sometimes leaven the formal progress and occasionally even begin a composition; similarly brief episodes with short motives tossed in imitation through all the voices will make an occasional appearance as well.⁸

Further characteristics which could be added to this are that the compositions are most frequently in two *partes* of roughly equal length, and that the underlying mensuration is virtually invariably *tempus imperfectum cum*

prolatione minore (‘cut C’), often with a passage in triple mensuration shortly before the end of the *secunda pars*, creating a heightened sense of urgency and closure in a penultimate position. The texts are almost all in prose, either drawn from scripture or from the liturgy, but drawing on a potentially associated cantus firmus only unsystematically and without any sense that the settings are designed to replace the respective item in the actual rite of the mass or office. Given the paraliturgical or devotional nature of the repertoire, books that order motets according to liturgical use are rare, and RCM 1070 is far from even attempting such an approach.⁹ But the order and configuration of the repertoire is far from being haphazard, or merely pragmatic (for example by number of voices as is the case in a number of motet collections from the period). Instead, the compiler grouped the pieces in the codicological units according to repertorial subtype and composer.

To start with the two earliest units copied by Scribe Ia, gathering IX opens with three motets by the oldest composer in the entire collection, Loyset Compère (c.1445–1518), in the service of the French Royal court from at least 1486 to 1498.¹⁰ The selection seems, however, to be less an attempt to establish the style associated with that institution, but to demonstrate the breadth of approaches to motet composition by that composer. The opening piece of the gathering, *Paranymphus salutat*, is a short setting for low voices apparently without reference to a cantus firmus, unusual in itself within the composer’s output. It does employ the ‘modern’ device of voice pairs, but more frequently in octave and unison than in fifth and fourths, and in interleaved rather than top-vs.-bottom pairs. Particularly striking is the beginning: ‘modern’ in that it employs full imitation, but ‘archaic’ in that all voices start on the same pitch.

Where *Paranymphus* is about density, supported by the closely woven texture as well as the richly complex rhythms and counterpoint, *Profitentes unitatem* is much more lucid and spacious in every respect, not only by being more than twice as long. In many ways, it obviously conforms to the new French court style, with widely spaced pairs of upper vs. lower voices, judicious use of homophony, and generally a very clear sense of a musical structure matching the strophic layout and declamation of the text. The principal difference to the

⁹ The most obvious example of a motet book broadly ordered by liturgical function is I-Rvat Capp. Sist. 42; see Helmut Hucke, ‘Die Musik in der sixtinischen Kapelle bis zur Zeit Leos X.’, in *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen. Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen 1984*, eds Joerg O. Fichte, Karl Heinz Göller and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Berlin/New York 1986), 154–67, at 161–2.

¹⁰ The literature on Compère remains sparse. Beyond the *New Grove* entry on ‘Compère’ by Rifkin et al., the seminal study remains Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c. 1450–1518). Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents 12 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964).

⁶ French repertoire is most prominent in Petrucci’s four volumes of *Motetti de la corona* (1514–1519) and Antico’s three volumes of *Motetti novi* (1520).

⁷ Rifkin, ‘A Black Hole?’, 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

‘classical’ manifestation of that style as embodied by the slightly younger Jean Mouton is the greater rhythmical and melodic liveliness of the individual lines.

Whereas these two compositions, as different as they are, can be more easily associated with Compère’s later years, and thus the time in which RCM was compiled,¹¹ the third stems from an entirely different tradition: *O genitrix gloriosa / Ave virgo gloriosa* is first transmitted as two separate pieces in the *Libroni* of Milan Cathedral, thus placing the composition into the composer’s tenure at the Sforza court in the mid-1470s. This motet does not form an actual part of the tradition of the *motetti missales* (which replaced the movements of the mass ordinary with short motet settings), but is very much part of that style: with homophonic declamation and the alternation of duple and triple metre not as a climactic effect towards the end, but as a basic structural principle. Only the fully imitative beginning looks forward to the ‘new style’ of the French motet, at an unusually early point in time.¹² The fascinating diversity of styles in Compère’s motet output assembled in this gathering finally allows us to ask the question of whether the last composition, *O virgo virginum* might not be by the same composer.¹³ Although its relentlessly imitative texture sets it apart from Compère’s securely attested motets, its structural use of voice pairs and occasional homophony, but especially the rhythmically and melodically complex lines emerging from the chant model place it in at least credible proximity to *Paranymphus* and *Profitentes*. Given Compère’s long career and the diversity of his output, we would do well not to discount the notion that this might be a late twist of Compère’s compositional journey.

In the second ‘Ia’ gathering, the two genealogy settings by Josquin form a distinct pair that is clearly associated with the French court; indeed, if Jeremy Noble and David Fallows are correct in placing them in the period of the composer’s employment at the court of Louis XI (probably in 1480 and 1481),¹⁴ this would

place them amongst the earliest extant works both in Josquin’s oeuvre and in RCM 1070, while at the same time further strengthening the French connections of the book. The long and extremely linear texts (‘patently anti-musical’ according to Fallows), along the lines of ‘x genuit y’, lend themselves very easily to the kind of textual *varietas* espoused by the French motet – voice-pairs or trios in various configurations alternating with fully imitative and occasionally homophonic passages, without being able to put them to use in the text-generated formal trajectories which were to become such a trademark of the style in later decades. Brumel’s *Quae est ista quae processit* which opens the gathering is less easily situated, if indeed it was originally meant to open the gathering at all, given the codicological question marks discussed above. His geographical and institutional links to France are much more tenuous, beyond a brief tenure as *maître de chapelle* at Notre-Dame in Paris between 1498 and 1500; there is virtually no secure evidence to date any of his works; and his idiosyncratic style defies easy stylistic categorisation. Given its passages of text-generated homophonic declamation, Hudson assumed a late date for *Quae es ista* and others of its type, postulating an Italian origin for this style and thus associating it with Brumel’s move to Ferrara in 1506.¹⁵ Since, however, it has by now been amply demonstrated that declamatory homophony is by no means a uniquely ‘southern’ trait,¹⁶ the archaic sonorities and the combination of chant paraphrase with dense non-imitative counterpoint that characterises the non-homophonic passages of the motet make a much earlier date, corresponding to that of Josquin’s two genealogies, seem entirely plausible.

The second production and compilation stage (‘Ib’) is much more substantial (or much more fully preserved), but remains faithful to the principle of assembling repertoire in gatherings or groups of gatherings by repertoire type. This principle was not always followed through to the last; as we have seen, there are several places where the copying was abandoned, and occasionally pieces seem to have been added at the ends of units because there was room left, but the emerging pattern

¹¹ Being unaware of the existence and date of RCM 1070, Finscher (*Loyset Compère*, 201) even proposes a date as late as 1510–12 for *Paranymphus*.

¹² As Rifkin has pointed out, the two parts already appear together in I-Fn Ricc. 2794 (Joshua Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s Ave Maria ... virgo serena’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 239–350, at 262–3, 309). The piece had thus reached the French court by the 1480s, possibly brought there by the composer himself; by this time it had emancipated itself from the Milanese tradition and had become a proper ‘motet’.

¹³ This possibility is already raised in Rifkin, ‘A Black Hole?’, 29, albeit with a degree of scepticism.

¹⁴ See Jeremy Noble, ‘The Genealogies of Christ and Their Musical Settings’, in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Hagg (Paris, 2001), 197–208; David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout, 2009), 94–99. But see also the scepticism voiced in Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a

Marian Motet’, 330–32.

¹⁵ See Antoine Brumel, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5: *Motetta*, ed. Barton Hudson, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 5/5 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), pp. xiv–xv.

¹⁶ See Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *Textdeklamation in der Motette des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout, 2003), *passim*. The text-generated nature of the French motet around and after 1500 (often including declamatory homophony) has also been commented upon by John T. Brobeck, ‘Antoine de Févin and the Origins of the “Parisian Motet”’, in *The Motet around 1500. On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout, 2012), 311–24, and most recently (regarding Brumel specifically) by Matthew J. Hall, ‘Brumel’s *Laudate Dominum de caelis* and the “French-Court Motet”’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 8 (2016), 33–54.

is clear enough. The repertorial units (which, incidentally, line up almost perfectly with the different ruling patterns identified above) can be identified as follows:

1. French court motets (nos 1–6, gatherings I–III)
2. Sequence settings by Josquin (nos 8–10, gatherings IV–V)
3. Shorter, homophonic settings (nos 11–13, remainder of gathering V)
4. French court motets (nos 15–20, gatherings VI–VIII)
5. Late tenor motets by Josquin (nos 21–22, gatherings IX–X)
6. French court motets (no. 28, gathering XII)

The most straightforward and characteristic repertoire category is of course the French-court motet, whose general characteristics as described by Rifkin have been cited above. The composer who dominates this category in RCM 1070 is its classic and historically most influential representative, Jean Mouton, with five of the thirteen relevant compositions – possibly six depending on whether *In illo tempore* is by him or by Pierre Moulu. No other composer is represented with more than one work in the relevant gatherings. Mouton's compositions here are like a 'best of' anthology of the French-court style, in four voices, in two *partes*, and fully syntactic. RCM 1070, in addition, is one of the earliest sources to transmit Mouton motets at all although the composer was born in the 1450s and was thus decidedly middle-aged by the early years of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Still, there is no indication that any of the repertoire in the 'French-court' sections of RCM 1070 is older than a few years, with the possible exception of *Sancti dei omnes* (no. 17) whose dating has been the source of some controversy.¹⁸ Whatever its date, *Sancti dei omnes* represents a somewhat less than fully developed version of the French-court style, lacking the balanced phrasing and sense of pace of the mature Mouton;¹⁹ non-matching voice pairs (that tend towards the rambling) alternate with more than usually extended passages of homophony.

The contrast with another motet in this group could not be greater: *Memor esto verbi tui* (no. 2), famously written by Josquin (according to Henricus Glareanus) to remind King Louis XII of France (r. 1499–1512) of a benefice he had promised him ('Remember the word unto thy servant'). Indeed, David Fallows has controversially argued that Glarean errs in placing the composition with Louis XII, but that the addressee was in fact Louis XI (r. 1461–1483) which would result in the composition having to be dated as far back as 1480–1.²⁰

If true, this would make it a contemporary of the two genealogy motets transmitted in the older layer of RCM 1070 (if indeed they themselves are as early as Fallows has argued), and as such, one of the earliest examples of the French-court style in existence, as well as one of the earliest psalm motets (in the sense of a non-liturgical setting) ever written. In any case, it is a composition of astonishing thematic and structural tightness, with extended interplay of matching voice pairs in *stretto fuga* imitation, often still at the more 'old-fashioned' distance of unison and octave, but increasingly in fourths and fifths as well.²¹ It is indeed only the extremely tight and typically Josquinian motivic coherence, culminating in the return of the opening motive (with the opening words) in diminution, that saves the composition – roughly twice the length of a normal Mouton or Févin motet and taking far longer to reach its climaxes, with only few passages in full four-voice homophony – from becoming tedious. Still, Scribe Ib granted it pride of place right behind the opening motet: it was obviously seen as a telling specimen of the French-court style in the first years of the sixteenth century, regardless of whether it was written for the previous or for the current King Louis.

More generally, though, Mouton predominates in this slice of the repertoire, to the point that one is tempted to speculate whether one or two of the anonymous works might not also have come from his pen (remembering that all ascriptions for the repertoire found in RCM 1070 comes from concordant sources). This concerns in particular *Maria Magdalena et altera Maria* (no. 15): the supple and elegant melodic lines, starting with syllabic declamation and opening motifs containing leaps of a fourth or fifth which are then balanced and rounded off by descending melismas, are as characteristic of Mouton as the paired duos in transposed imitation.²² Finally, there is the typical unerring sense of pace and structural climax, here culminating in the repeated words 'Iesum quem quaeritis non est his' ('Jesus whom you seek is not here'), with Mouton's trademark homophonic acclamation with one voice rhythmically offset, and the concluding multiple 'Alleluias'. The latter are directly reminiscent of the repeated 'Noel' shouts of the Christmas motet

¹⁷ Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 36.

¹⁸ See the discussion in *ibid.*, 34–43. Rifkin himself (43) proposes a date of *c.*1500 or slightly before.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See Fallows, *Josquin*, 91–3. Rifkin, however, voices scepticism against such an early dating ('A Black Hole?', 48–50); the arguments against it are more comprehensively summarised in Richard Sherr, 'Laudat autem David: Fallows on Josquin', *Music & Letters* 92 (2011), 437–61, at 449–55.

²¹ See John Milsom, 'Josquin des Prez and the Combinative Impulse', in *The Motet around 1500. On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout, 2012), 211–46, at 221–2: Josquin's 'melodic lines tend to be underlaid syllabically, and they often draw on a narrow selection of intervals, arranged into short patterns that are repeated obsessively or sequentially.' On Josquin's 'Obsessive Compositional Personality', see also Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome. Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York, 2012), 41–94.

²² See Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 38. Urkevich judges this composition to be 'somewhat amateurish' ('Anne Boleyn, a Music Book', 278), but without explaining why. I fail to discover any less than fully accomplished traits in it.

Quaeramus cum pastoribus (no. 6) which is even more compact and declamatory than usual in Mouton, very possibly because of its seasonal association with the French *noel*.²³ This contrasts with the equally text-driven lavish melismas in *Maria Magdalena* on ‘Angelus domini descendit de caelis’ (‘The angel of the Lord descended from the heavens’) and shortly after ‘surrexit’ (‘he has risen’), but does not detract from the general stylistic proximity. These fingerprints diverge subtly yet noticeably from those of the other protagonist of the French-court motet, Antoine de Févin, whose settings are less tightly structured, tending to display a greater contrast between longer, sometimes slightly less focused melismas on the one hand and more frequent full-voice declamatory homophony on the other, as can be seen for example in *Tempus meum est ut revertar* (no. 16).

The equally unasccribed setting of Psalm 116, *Laudate dominum* (no. 3), is less squarely situated within the French-court style, given its shortness and overall greater simplicity of texture. The matching voice pairs are there, and so are the elegantly shaped motives and the rousing climax towards the closing doxology; but the stylistic markers are not sufficiently developed to suggest an attribution with confidence. Such uncertainty is even much greater for the antiphon setting *Regina celi letare* (no. 20), paraphrasing the chant in all four voice-parts in often highly rhythmically active, melismatic lines. This is entirely commonplace for such settings around this time (and in subsequent decades), but not specific to any one composer.

Forte si dulci is a special case. Edward Lowinsky speculated that it is, as the composition opening the book and as a setting of contemporary humanist poetry in Sapphic metre, an occasional piece providing evidence regarding the receiver of the book as a gift. According to this now-discredited theory, the motet is addressed to Anne Boleyn herself, on occasion of her wedding in 1533.²⁴ Urkevich, on the other hand, places it at the French court, addressed to Louise of Savoy or Marguerite d’Angoulême as possible first owners.²⁵ Since the text does not provide specific clues to a living person or persons, such identifications must necessarily be speculative, and it is not this author’s intention to add further such speculations; but in any case, the piece was obviously intended to open the book (in its second stage; see above). Its solemn humanistic verses typically combining classical and sacred imagery must have been newly composed to mark some occasion, their meaning intended to be obvious only to the participants. As one might expect, this affects the musical setting as well. The

basic setup is that of the French-court motet, with syntactic phrases and well-shaped melodies, matching voice-pairs and gradual climaxes; but there is a stronger sense of the ponderous, a certain stop-and-go quality perhaps more reminiscent of Févin’s style than of Mouton’s. Then again, the frequent homophonic acclamations and the steady pace may have to do with the celebratory text and possible function, so seeing a setting that is slightly out of the ordinary in terms of texture and presentation of the text should not come as a big surprise or carry too much weight in attribution.

Of the subgroups within the book that form a contrast to the French-court core, the most intriguing is perhaps the small cluster of compositions which concludes gathering V. All three are short and largely homophonic settings of Marian antiphons, two of them for low voices, either elaborating on a pre-existing chant (like *Fer pietatis* and *Sub tuum praesidium*) or at least adopting a style that makes it look as though they do (like Mouton’s *Tota pulchra es*, where no model is known). They are too elaborate to form part of the straightforward traditions of chant harmonisations which flourish throughout the period, best preserved in sources from Italy such as the Montecassino (I-MC 871) or Grey (ZA-Cp Grey 3.b.12) codices, but almost too simple to be classed with the fully-fledged motets in RCM 1070 or elsewhere. One only needs to compare Mouton’s *Tota pulchra es* with his other compositions in the book to see this. It is most strongly reminiscent of the *cantus fractus* technique of creating polyphonic settings whereby a note-against-note chant harmonisation is broken up either in the accompanying voices only or indeed in all voices to create the aural impression of polyphony (often including pseudo-imitation) without deviating from the underlying scaffold.²⁶ This has led David Skinner to speculate that *Fer pietatis* might even be English given its sonorous proximity to the antiphons setting in the Eton Choirbook and its cognates.²⁷ But the personal connections of RCM 1070 with England notwithstanding, there is no hint anywhere in the book that any of its repertoire might be English. This seems more a case of a late survival of a compositional technique that had gone out of fashion on the continent by the late fifteenth century but survived gloriously and very persistently in England.²⁸

By comparison, the Josquin motets preserved in two distinct clusters are much more elaborate; but they are

²³ On the tradition of song-inspired Christmas motets, see Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ‘Psallite noe! Christmas Carols, the Devotio Moderna and the Renaissance Motet’, in *Das Erzbistum Köln in der Musikgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 172, ed. Klaus Pietschmann (Kassel, 2008), 213–31.

²⁴ Lowinsky, ‘A Music Book for Anne Boleyn’, 172–6.

²⁵ Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn’s French Motet Book’, 103–12.

²⁶ See Rob C. Wegman, ‘Compositional Process in the Fifteenth-Century Motet’, in *The Motet around 1500. On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout, 2012), 175–95.

²⁷ ‘While based on chant from a Parisian antiphoner, the music appears English in style with its full, open texture, short bursts of undeveloped imitative passages and cadential formulae’. David Skinner, booklet text for *Anne Boleyn’s Songbook, Music & Passions of a Tudor Queen*, Alamire, dir. David Skinner, CD 175 (Obsidian: 2015).

²⁸ Wegman, ‘Compositional Process’, 193–5.

also much less clearly associated with the French court. The first group is united insofar as their texts (but only partly their melodies) are drawn from sequences, their strophic structure lending itself very naturally to be highlighted by the principle of textural contrast inherent in the young genre. But beyond that, they could hardly be more different. The four-voice *Mittit ad virginem* (no. 9) is a relatively strict setting of the sequence chant with many of the traits of the French-court style. Here, a Josquinian penchant for close imitation is combined with less typical free counterpoint against the chant model and a less pronounced sense of structural direction than found elsewhere in his oeuvre; the sense is more that of a set of variations on the sequence melody.²⁹ Although RCM 1070 is again one of its earliest sources, *Mittit ad virginem* certainly sounds old within it, as does of course the famous *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*, another precursor to the French-court style, even more so if Fallows' controversial hypothesis of a Northern origin and a date of c.1475 is correct.³⁰ The *Stabat mater* (no. 8), finally, comes as a complete surprise, as a totally differently-paced five-voice tenor motet with its uniquely unrelenting chanson cantus firmus in which the (often homophonic) voice pairs play a very different structural role, a stylistic outlier within the book for these and a number of other reasons.³¹

The same applies to the pair of Josquin motets in gatherings IX–X. Again the standard four-voice texture for which the book was planned and ruled is expanded, to five, and in *Praeter rerum seriem* (no. 21) even to six voices. While *Praeter rerum* (composed apparently after Josquin had returned to Condé) sets a Parisian sequence going back at least to the thirteenth century and extant in the Notre-Dame repertory³² and thus has a French connection at least through its chant model, the five-voice *Virgo salutiferi* that follows it was demonstrably written in Ferrara for the Este

court in 1503/4, on a text by the Italian humanist Ercole Strozzi, with the canonic *Ave Maria gratia plena* cantus firmus treated 'isorhythmically' in diminution and little of the clarity and economy that characterises the French-court style.³³

None of the five Josquin motets in these two groups is linked more than indirectly to the French court, whether stylistically or biographically. The conclusion is inescapable that the compiler chose them not on the basis of their close association to current norms of local style or practice, but was rather aiming for an anthology of the most impressive and interesting products in the genre, by a composer whose oeuvre was clearly still valued greatly and who retained links to the French court at least up to 1504. It is surely not an accident that of the five, all except *Mittit ad virginem* were at the time and have remained amongst the composer's most highly valued contributions to the genre.

The overall dominance of the French-court repertoire in the 'Scribe I' section of RCM 1070 is confirmed by the pieces apparently added by Scribe Ib after the copying of the repertoire-specific groups was complete, possibly because there was no more repertoire of a given type available. Pierrequin Therache's *Verbum bonum et suave* (no. 14), although completing the 'cantus fractus' gathering V, is another French-court motet, albeit in a far less elegant manifestation compared to Mouton and others (with a great deal of foursquare declamation of the sequence text and melody);³⁴ the same applies to the fragmentary rendition of Mouton's own *Gaude Barbara beata* (no. 23) following on from the Josquin tenor motets in gathering X. There is not enough left of the anonymous *O Salve genitrix* (no. 7) – two voices of the *prima pars* – to get a comprehensive sense of the piece, but it is clearly another specimen of the French-court style, with alternation of homophony and imitation in voice pairs. It is, however, not constructed tightly enough either in terms of motivicity or in terms of contrapuntal structure (see the rambling non-imitative contrapuntal lines in bars 35–48) to be considered as the work of one of the leading French masters.

Scribe II, in his role as editor and compiler, seems to pick up where Scribe I left off, almost in a conscious effort to fill gaps left by Scribe I, to include types of repertoire and composers previously neglected. This unfolds once again partly in distinct codicological units: gatherings XIV and XV contain three-voice repertoire (thus far not included at all), again leaving the latter gathering incomplete, possibly with the intention to add more

²⁹ The stylistic anomalies may mean that the ascription to Pierrequin de Therache in Henricus Glareanus' exemplar of Petrucci's *Motetti C* (1504/1) may deserve further consideration (see the discussion in *New Josquin Edition* 24, Critical Commentary, 97–8). Given its placement within RCM 1070, however, Scribe I clearly considered the motet to be Josquin's.

³⁰ Fallows, *Josquin*, 60–5. Against that, see Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet'.

³¹ See John Milsom, 'Motets for Five or More Voices', in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (New York, 2000), 281–320, at 300: 'Yet the simplicity, solemnity, "whiteness" of the music is startling, and strikingly appropriate for the context. Again it is a one-off work; Josquin wrote nothing else that remotely resembles it.' See also Fallows, *Josquin*, 213–15; Agnese Pavanello, 'Stabat Mater / Vidi Speciosam. Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 60 (2010), 3–19, at 16–7.

³² Fallows, *Josquin*, 286–9.

³³ *Ibid.*, 248–51. See also John Milsom, 'Josquin des Prez and the Combinative Impulse', at 214–31.

³⁴ Lowinsky, never hesitant to pass judgment, calls Therache a 'sturdy craftsman' (*The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 3–5, vol. 3: *Historical Introduction and Commentary* (Chicago and London, 1968), 146).

pieces of the same type, but eventually for somebody else to add two chansons. Gatherings XVI–XVII contain a more mixed bag of compositions, but with another two five-voice settings by Josquin paired together in the middle. Stylistically, the repertoire is much more heterogeneous as well, and not nearly as clearly associated with the French-court motet, which is determinedly for four voices anyway, a texture rare here. Only the two final settings, Févin's (or Mouton's) *Adiutorium nostrum* (no. 40) and *Sancta trinitas unus deus* again by Févin (no. 41),³⁵ conform clearly to this paradigm. *Sancta trinitas*, although its transmission history is long and varied enough to become ascribed to no fewer than five other composers, is vintage Févin. The short single-part composition is syntactically articulated by full textures at the beginning on 'Sancta trinitas', in the middle again on 'trinitas' and at the end on multiple repeats of 'et usque in saeculum'; in between are lengthy (and mostly non-matching) dialogues between top and bottom voice pair, sometimes themselves homophonic and sometimes breaking into the trademark rampant melismas. *Adiutorium nostrum* is harder to pin down, unsurprisingly given that it is transmitted both as a free-standing motet ascribed to Févin and as the *secunda pars* of Mouton's *Caeleste beneficium*.³⁶ Slightly more ponderously paced than many of the latter's compositions, it is nevertheless a specimen so typical for the French-court motet that a decision on who wrote it seems difficult to make on style alone. The two Josquin motets, *Huc me sydereo* and *Homo quidam fecit*, finally link back to the compositions by the same composer in the first section (gatherings X and XI): large-scale tenor motets full of canonic (*Homo quidam*) or isorhythmic (*Huc me sydereo*) artifice. *Homo quidam* in particular bears no resemblance to the French-court style nor links to that institution. *Huc me sydereo*, on the other hand, written though it seems during Josquin's sojourn at Ferrara, does look 'French' in its frequent alternation of non-interlacing voice-pairs. Indeed, as Jeffrey Dean has found, the text by the humanist poet Maffeo Vegio (1407–1458) appears in a prayer book belonging to Anne of Brittany. Still, the pairing points less to a direct stylistic or institutional link than again to works being valued for their intrinsic interest.³⁷

³⁵ *Sancta trinitas* is one of the more popular motets of the first half of the sixteenth century and ascribed to various other composers besides Févin, also surviving in a six-voice version with two added voices by Arnold von Bruck; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the original is by Févin.

³⁶ See Michael Alan Anderson, *St. Anne in Renaissance Music. Devotion and Politics* (Cambridge, 2014), 143–75.

³⁷ See Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 50–54, referring back to his own study 'Motivik – Konstruktion – Humanismus: Zur Motette *Huc me sydereo* von Josquin des Prez', in *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte*, eds Herbert Schneider and Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, *Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 5 (Mainz, 1992), 105–34. See also Jaap van Benthem, 'Josquins Motette *Huc me sydereo*, oder Konstruktivismus als Ausdruck humanistisch geprägter Andacht?', in *ibid.*, 135–64.

The two three-voice compositions are harder to place, the texture having become far less common in the years before 1500 in general (certainly as far as the motet is concerned). Where it does survive is in chant settings, whether liturgical or paraliturgical; and both compositions copied here are of this type. They are also not fundamentally dissimilar from each other in that they present the cantus firmus consistently in one voice and then create a contrapuntal texture partly based on the chant melody around it. Having said that, Obrecht's *Alma redemptoris mater* places the cantus firmus in the bassus and weaves dense counterpoint above it, with much imitation either between the two upper voices or in pre-empting the chant material in the bassus. On the other hand, *Gabrielem archangelum* (setting the verse of the Marian responsory *Gaude Maria*³⁸ and thus possibly the *secunda pars* of a motet of that title) is set – unusually for RCM 1070 – for high voices.³⁹ Here, the chant is in the middle voice, with the surrounding voices once again engaging in much pre-imitation of the chant, albeit in a texture that is more rhythmically active yet also simpler contrapuntally, with the outer voices frequently in parallel thirds with the chant or in parallel tenths between each other.⁴⁰ Both settings look and sound older than the surrounding repertoire, but that may be a function of genre rather than style; they could have been written in the 1480s as well as in the early 1500s. More importantly, they look and sound more Flemish than French;⁴¹ Obrecht, what is more, spent most of his life in Flanders (visiting France only once, in 1492) and is not known to have had any associations with the House of Valois.

This more tenuous connection with the French court is indicative of the second section of RCM 1070 more generally, corresponding to the non-French Josquin motets discussed above. But we may come full circle to France again with the intriguing *Popule meus*. This motet cycle – already as such unique in the con-

³⁸ According to the CANTUS database (<http://cantusdatabase.org/id/006759a>), the chant is used alternatively for the feasts of the Annunciation, Assumption and Purification.

³⁹ See already Urkevich, 'Anne Boleyn, a Music Book', 280.

⁴⁰ There is a very slim chance that the piece may be the lost setting of the same text by Antoine Busnoys mentioned in a letter of 1495 by the trombonist Alvise da Zorzi to Francesco II Gonzaga of Mantua; see Rodolfo Baroncini, "'Se canta dalli cantori overo se sona dalli sonadori": Voci e strumenti tra quattro e cinquecento', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 32 (1997), 327–65, at 348, 355–7. Zorzi does, however, specify that this setting is for 'quattro voxe' rather than three. Too little of Busnoys' liturgical music survives to allow any stylistic judgments as to the likelihood of this ascription, but one would on the whole expect a more imaginative setting from a composer of his stature.

⁴¹ The chants used point towards a Franco-Flemish origin, but the research required to narrow the source down further geographically (if indeed this is possible) would transcend the boundaries of this study.

text of RCM 1070 – is otherwise only transmitted in central European sources; its four (or five, if one counts the first *Ego eduxi* on ff. 117–118r separately) *partes* loosely paraphrase the chant of the improperia for Good Friday which is also the source of the text. The composition does display some features of the French-court style, with voice-pairs (albeit mostly interlaced) alternating with full-voice imitative polyphony and homophonic acclamation. However, given the tendency of the underlying chant to recite on one note, and the shortness of the individual *partes*, the overall effect is much more compact than that of most other motets of that type: climaxes are reached more quickly, and the text, again conforming to genre expectations, is often delivered rather than developed through the music. In all this, *Popule meus* is remarkably similar to other cycles from the period consisting of a sequence of short motets linked through a common liturgical and/or textual context.⁴²

A further clue that is as specific as it is intriguing is provided by the context in which *Popule meus* is transmitted in the Central European concordances: in all three of them, it follows directly after Loyset Compère's *Officium de Cruce* cycle (*In nomine Iesu omne genuflectatur*), also written for Holy Week. At this point, we have to start considering very seriously Compère's authorship of *Popule meus* as well, its placement in the late section of RCM 1070 notwithstanding. The two cycles share all hallmarks of his style as growing out and developing from its origins in the Milanese *motetti missales*: compact phrasing, a substantial amount of homophonic recitation (often lightly articulated by the delayed entry of one voice), interlaced voice pairs which are in themselves often homophonic rather than imitative, the occasional full point of imitation, shorts bursts of rhythmically highly active counterpoint to link the text phrases. Add to this the presence of the cycle in a book that is devoted to polyphony from the French court, and the notable role Compère played at this court (and consequently in the earlier layers of the collection), and we have a very strong case for his authorship indeed.

Even the later additions aside (see David Skinner, above, for the discussion of the place of the three chansons in the manuscript, added to which is Brumel's short song-motet *Sicut lilium*), the overall repertoire – while still placing the French-court style at its centre – is thus not quite as homogeneous as one might assume at first glance, particularly when taking into account Scribe II's contributions. The choices made are perhaps best understood in comparison with the other, virtually contemporary French collection, Cambridge 1760.⁴³ This much more obviously 'courtly' production shares

four motets with RCM 1070, which given the close geographic and chronological proximity of their genesis is in fact not a surprisingly large, but a surprisingly small number. This impression is reinforced by the fact that in the main body of RCM 1070 compiled by Scribe I (the more obviously 'French' section of the book) there is only one single concordance: *Verbum bonum* by the relatively peripheral Therache, possibly even added as an afterthought, as I have argued above. Scribe II adds two more; Brumel's *Sicut lilium*, finally, does not really figure since it was added later by a different scribe. Several Italian sources and even the much later compilation by the Swiss humanist Aegidius Tschudi share substantially more material with RCM 1070.⁴⁴

In that sense, the repertoires of RCM 1070 and Cambridge 1760 complement rather than overlap each other, the latter drawing rather differently on the French-court repertoire, not least in terms of preferred composers. In Cambridge 1760's motet section, Mouton is represented with a mere four compositions (out of a total of 26), and Josquin with but one, while relatively more room is given to Févin (six), Prioris (four) and Gascongne (three), all of whom are largely or entirely absent from RCM 1070. The chronology of compilation does not help in explaining this discrepancy since the two books were put together a few years apart at most.⁴⁵ At the time of compilation, Prioris (who thanks to Theodor Dumitrescu's research we now know to be Denis Prieur, *maître de chapelle* to Louis d'Orléans before and after his accession to the French throne as Louis XII in 1498⁴⁶) had enjoyed the longest connection to the court while Mouton plausibly joined the retinue of Queen Anne of Brittany as early as 1502.⁴⁷ Févin's association may date from as late as 1507, and Gascongne is not securely attested until 1517, but must surely have had links to the court from at least a decade earlier, if not more. Prioris is clearly the oldest composer

⁴⁴ I-Fn II.I.232 has seven concordances with RCM 1070 and V-CVbav Capp. Sist. 42 six, as does Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona* volume (RISM 1514/1). Further afield, even the 'Tschudi Liederbuch' (CH-SGs 463) also has six, seven if one counts the late addition of the chanson *Gentils galans compaignons*.

⁴⁵ For a summary of the dating of Cambridge 1760, see Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 45. Brobeck, 'A Music Book for Mary Tudor', proposes a new dedicatee for the book: Mary Tudor, who married King Louis XII in 1514. But this hypothesis, whatever its merits, would not change the hitherto proposed copying and compilation period of c.1508–1514 by more than a few months.

⁴⁶ See Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (2012), 5–65.

⁴⁷ Louis Royer, 'Les musiciens et la musique à l'ancienne collégiale Saint-André de Grenoble du XVe au XVIIIe siècle', *Humanisme et Renaissance* 4 (1937), 237–73, at 243. See also Rifkin, 'A Black Hole?', 33–4, drawing on further research by Dumitrescu.

⁴² On this repertoire, see the research project 'Motet Cycles (c. 1470–c.1510). Compositional Design, Performance, and Cultural Context' based at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (<http://www.motetcycles.com>).

⁴³ The most recent study of this book is Brobeck, 'A Music Book for Mary Tudor'.

in the group, with chansons transmitted in manuscripts dating back to the 1470s, and his motets likewise look and sound slightly more old-fashioned than those of the others (with the possible exception of the timelessly beautiful *Dulcis amica dei*). But the reason he takes pride of place in Cambridge 1760 is much more likely to do with the fact that this was an ‘official’ court production as witnessed by the heraldry displayed therein;⁴⁸ and Prioris, while of advanced age, was after all still *maître de chapelle* at the time its compilation was begun.

The compilers of RCM 1070 were under no such restrictions when choosing their repertoire, and may have deemed Prioris’ motets outdated by this point. Their

greater distance to the court, relatively speaking, is also reflected in their freedom to include more extraneous material. Yet again, the impression is reinforced that the book, while clearly made in the court’s orbit, is a collection based on personal choices and preferences, by two collectors who quite systematically sought out repertoire of their preferred genres and composers, with a clear predilection for Mouton and Josquin. That these should go on to become the most popular motet composers of the subsequent decades, and the enduring representatives of this genre more generally (something which for Mouton at least, cannot have been a foregone conclusion around 1505), is a testament to their discerning taste.

⁴⁸ As summarised by Brobeck, ‘A Music Book for Mary Tudor’, 9–12.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix II: Inventory

The spelling of the titles follows the discantus voice in the source (where text is present). Concordances exclude intabulations or quotations in theoretical treatises. For choirbooks, the position in the concordant source is given in folios; for sets of part-books and for unfoliated fragments, the position in numerical sequence in the source is provided. No attempt to provide a complete list of modern editions has been made; only the most reliable and/or most easily accessible editions are listed (for a resolution of the sigla used here, see Appendix III). For compositions unattributed in the source, ascriptions in square brackets are to the most commonly accepted composer; round brackets indicate alternative ascriptions.

- 1** **ff. 1v–5r** I-Ma Trotti 519, 23v–24v
Forte si dulci stigium boantem
 II: *Palas actea memoratur*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
 unicum
Modern Edition(s)
 Lowinsky 1969–1970, 20–28 (reprinted in Lowinsky
 1989, 521–28)
- 2** **ff. 5v–10r** [Josquin Desprez]
Memor esto verbi tui
 II: *Porcio mea domine*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
 Incomplete: 1 folio missing after f. 6.
Concordances
 CH-SGs 463, no. 88
 D-Kl 24, no. 21
 D-Mbs 19, 26v–37r
 D-Mu 322–5, no. 7
 I-Bc R142, 4v–7v
 I-Fn II.I.232, 176v–180r
 I-MOd 4, 98v–100r
 NL-Ar V A 1, no. 1
 US-BUu M/02/A3/p, no. 51
 V-CVbav CS 16, 165v–169r
 1514/1 (1526/1), no. 2
 1539/9, no. 18
 1559/2, no. 9
Modern Edition(s)
 NJE 17.14
- 3** **ff. 10v–12r**
Laudate dominum omnes gentes
 4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
 unicum
Modern Edition(s)
 Urkevich 1997, 285–90
- 4** **ff. 12v–15r** [Pierre Moulu]/
In illo tempore Accesserunt ad iesum [Jean Mouton]
 II: *[P]ropter hoc dimittet homo patrem*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
 A-Wn Mus. 15941, 86r–87r (Mouton)
 CH-SGs 463, 47v–48r (Moulu)
 D-Dl 1/D/6, fol. 33r–v (Mouton)
 D-Rp 940–1, no. 48
 D-Rtt 76, 72v–74r
 I-Bc Q19, 98v–100r (Moulu)
- 5** **ff. 15v–18r** [Jean Mouton]
Laudate deum in sanctis eius
 II: *Quia cum clamarem ad eum*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
 Incomplete: 1 folio missing after fol. 17.
Concordances
 A-Wn Mus. 15500, 279v–285r
 A-Wn Mus. 15941, 68v–70r
 I-Pc A17, 32v–34r
 1514/1 (1526/1), no. 7
 M4017 (1555), no. 12
Modern Edition(s)
 16CM 4, 42–52
- 6** **ff. 18v–21r** [Jean Mouton]
Queramus cum pastoribus
 II: *[U]bi pascas ubi cubes*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
 CH-SGs 463, no. 124
 D-Dl Grimma 51, no. 3
 D-Rp 786–837, no. 108
 D-Rp 838–43, 77v–81r
 D-Rp 878–82, no. 29
 GB-Lbl Add. 4911, no. 142
 I-Bc Q25, no. 16
 I-Bsp 38, 19v–21r
 I-CMac FM 4, 23v–25r
 I-Fd 11, 30v–34r
 I-MOd 3, 163v–166r
 I-MOd 11, 3v–5r
 I-Pc D27, 105v–108r
 S-Uu 76c, 74v–75r
 US-BLu 4, no. 9
 US-BLu 8, no. 37
 US-BLu 9a, nos 3 and 26
 US-BLu 9b, no. 10
 V-CVbav CS 46, 35v–37r
 V-CVbav CS 77, 4v–12r
 1521/3, no. 8
 [c.1521]/7, no. 11
 1529/1, no. 8

- 1553/2, no. 13
1559/2, no. 11
M4017 (1555), no. 6
Modern Edition(s)
Antico, 97–105
[NJE **26.11]
- 7**
[O] salve genitrix virgo dulcissima
[4]vv. Scribe II
Beginning of Superius and Tenor only
Concordances
unicum
Modern Edition(s)
Urkevich 1997, 291–4
- 8**
Stabat mater dolorosa
II: [E]ya mater fons amoris
5vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
B-Br 215–6, 39v–43r
B-Br 9126, 160v–164r
B-LVu 163, no. 2
CZ-HK II.A.26, no. 4
CZ-HK II.A.41, no. 2
CZ-RO 22, no. 69
D-B Bohn 11, no. 138
D-Mbs 12, 121v–132r
D-Mu 327, no. 8
D-Mu 401, nos 44–45
D-Rp 891–2, no. 32
D-Z 33.34, no. 9
DK-Kk 1872, no. 5
DK-Kk 1873, no. 35
E-Tc 10, 11v–21r
E-V 16, no. 6
E-V 17, no. 71
GB-Lbl Harley 4848, 88–85
I-Fn II.I.232, 22v–26r
I-Rmassimo 23–4, no. 45
NL-L 1442, 70v–74r
NL-Lml 1440, 258v–264r
S-Uu 76c, 60v–62r
V-CVbav Chigi C.VIII.234, 241v–245r
V-CVbav CG XII.4, 94v–98r
V-CVbav Vat.lat. 11953, 47v–51r
1519/2 (1526/3, 1527), no. 6
1520/4, 156v–165
1538/3, no. 10
1553/2, no. 5
1559/1, no. 1
J678 (1555), no. 8
Modern Edition(s)
NJE 25.9
- 9**
[M]ittit ad virginem
II: [A]ccede nuncia
4vv. Scribe Ib
Ascribed to ‘Petrus de Therache’ in Henricus Glareanus’
copy of 1504/1 (D-Mu 4° Liturg. 374)
- ff. 22v**
Concordances
V-CVbav CS 46, 130v–134r (Josquin)
1504/1, no. 40
J678 (1555), no. 6
Modern Edition(s)
NJE 24.6
- 10**
[A]ve Maria ... virgo serena
4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
CH-SGs 463, no. 130
CZ-HK II.A.7, pp. 64–67
D-B 40021, 51v–52r
D-GOI A98, 100v–103r
D-LEu 1494, 202v
D-Mbs 19, 38v–43r
D-Mbs 41, 226v–238r
D-Mbs 3154, 147v–148r
D-Mu 322–5, no. 1
D-Mu 326, no. 28
D-Ngm 83795, no. 91
D-Urch 237, no. 2
E-Bbc 454, 124v–126r
E-Boc 5, 56v–57r
E-SE s.s., 83v–85r
I-Fn II.I.232, 111v–113r
I-Fn Magl. XIX.164–7, no. 79
I-Md Librone 4, 118v–120r
I-MOD 9, 24v–26r
PL-Kj Berlin 40013, 170v–173r
PL-Wu 5892, 7v–8r
V-CVbav CS 42, 22v–24r
1502/1, no. 2
Modern Edition(s)
NJE 23.6
- 11**
[F]er pietatis opem miseris
4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
unicum
Modern Edition(s)
Urkevich 1997, 295–7
- 12**
[T]ota pulchra es amica mea
4vv. Scribe Ib
Concordances
[c.1521]/6, no. 15
Modern Edition(s)
Shine 1953, 832–3
- ff. 27v–31r**
[Josquin Desprez]
(Pierrequin de Therache?)
- ff. 31v–33r**
[Josquin Desprez]
- ff. 23v–27r**
[Josquin Desprez]
- ff. 33v–34r**
- ff. 34v–35r**
[Jean Mouton]

- 13** **ff. 35v–36r**
[S]ub tuum presidium confugimus [Antoine Brumel]
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 GB-Cmc 1760, 17v–19r
 I-Fn II.I.232, 88v–89r
 [c.1521]/6, no. 10
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Brumel OO 5, 111–12
- 14** **ff. 36v–38r**
[V]erbum bonum et suave [Pierrequin de Therache]
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 GB-Cmc 1760, 3v–5r
 GB-Lbl Royal 8.g.vii, 30v–32r
 I-Fl 666, 40v–41r
 1519/1 (1526/2), no. 1
 1521/5, no. 4
- Modern Edition(s)**
Medici, 95–99
- 15** **ff. 40v–42r**
Maria Magdalene et altera Maria [Jean Mouton?]
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 unicum
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Urkevich 1997, 298–303
- 16** **ff. 42v–46r**
[T]empus meum est ut revertar [Antoine de Févin]
 II: *[V]iri Galilei aspicientes in celum*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 A-Wn Mus. 18825, 23v–26r
 CZ-HK II.A.29, 636–638
 D-Rp 876, no. 4
 E-Tc 23, 179v–183r
 GB-Ob Lat. lit. a.8, no. 2
 I-MOd 9, 35v–37r
 V-CVbav CS 44, 87v–90r
 V-CVbav Pal.lat. 1976–9, no. 26
 1514/1 (1526/1), no. 20
 1555/10, no. 10
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Févin *Mor* 3, 119–26
 16CM 4, 101–11
- 17** **ff. 47v–51r**
[S]ancti dei omnes orate pro nobis [Jean Mouton]
 II: *[C]riste audi nos sancta trinitas* (Josquin)
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 E-Tc 13, 1v–10r (Josquin)
 I-Bsp 39, 112v–115r
 I-CFm 59, no. 28
 I-Md Librone 3, 176v–178r
 I-Sc K.I.2, 116v–120r
 I-VEcap 758, 32v–36r
 I-VEcap 760, 35v–39r
 V-CVbav CS 42, 11v–15r (Mouton)
 V-CVbav CS 76, 158v–164r (Mouton)
 1504/1, no. 24
 M4017 (1555), no. 7
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Josquin *Werken*, ‘Motetten’ 5, 27
 Chorwerk 76, 15–24
 [NJE **26.14]
- 18** **ff. 51v–55r**
[B]ona dies per orbem lucescit [Mathieu Gascongne]
 II: *[P]ax vobis ego sum alleluja*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 D-Z 81.2, no. 26
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Urkevich 1997, 304–14
- 19** **ff. 55v–58r**
[I]n illo tempore Maria Magdalene [Jean Mouton]
 II: *[D]ic nobis Maria quid vidisti*
 4vv. Scribe Ib
- Concordances**
 A-Wn Mus. 18825, no. 6
 B-Amp M18.13/2, no. 1
 D-Mbs 41, 238v–251r
 F-CA 125–8, no. 111
 GB-Lcm 2037, 37v–39r
 I-Bc Q19, 63v–66r
 I-BGc 1209, 85v–87r
 I-MOd 9, 31v–33r
 I-Pc A17, 51v–53r
 I-VEcap 760, 8v–9r
 1521/5, no. 6
 [c.1521]/7, no. 20
 1529/1, no. 6
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Antico, 365–74
 [NJE **26.6]

20

[R]egina celi letare alleluja
II: [R]esurrexit sicut dixit alleluja
4vv. Scribe Ib

Concordances

I-VEcap 760, 80v–82r

Modern Edition(s)

Urkevich 1997, 334–343

21

[P]reter rerum seriem
II: [V]irtus sancti spiritus
6vv. Scribe Ib

Concordances

B-LVu 163, no. 53
CH-SGs 463, no. 209
CH-SGs 464, no. 1
CZ-HK II.A.29, no. 185
CZ-RO 22, no. 53
D-B Bohn 11, no. 67
D-Dl Glashütte 5, no. 151
D-Dl Grimma 57, no. 19
D-Dl Pirna IV, 10v–18r
D-GOl A98, 10v–15r
D-Mu 401, nos 10–11
D-Rp 775–7, no. 53
D-Rp C120, pp. 148–153
D-Z 94.1, no. 25
DK-Kk 1872, nos 88–89
E-Sc 1, 33v–42r
E-Tc 23, 85v–89r
E-TZ 8, 50v–56r
H-Bn Bártfa 2, no. 6
I-Bc R142, 45v–47r
I-Fd 11, 39v–44r
I-Rmassimo 23–4, no. 44
NL-L 1442, 141v–147r
NL-Lml 1440, 252v–258r
PL-WRu 54, no. 35
S-Uu 76b, 117v–120r
V-CVbav CG XII.4, 115v–120r
V-CVbav CS 16, 160v–164r
V-CVbav SMM 26, 101v–106r
V-CVbav Vat.lat. 11953, no. 29
1519/2 (1526/3, 1527), no. 2
1520/4, 13v–22r
1537/1, no. 4
1558/4, no. 3
J678 (1555), no. 12

Modern Edition(s)

NJE 24.11

ff. 58v–62r

22

[V]irgo salutiferi genitrix intacta
II: [T]u potis es primae scelus
III: [Nunc caeli regina tuis pro gentibus]
5vv. Scribe Ib (II)

Canonic Superius voice missing in prima and secunda
pars; only f. 69r texted

Concordances

D-Mu 401, nos 37–39
I-Fl 666, 112v–116r
V-CVbav CS 16, 170v–174r
V-CVbav CS 42, 88v–92r
1534/6, no. 23
1559/1, no. 7
1519/2 (1526/3, 1527), no. 4

Modern Edition(s)

Medici, 297–310
NJE 25.13

23

[Gaude Barbara beata summe pollens] [Jean Mouton]
4vv. Scribe II

Prima pars only; noteheads without stems, untexted

Concordances

F-CA 125–8, no. 3
I-CFm 59, 61v–63r
I-CT 95–6 and F-Pn 1817, no. 53
I-Fn II.I.232, 163v–166r
S-Uu 76b, 120v–122r
V-CVbav Pal.lat. 1980–1, no. 11
1514/1 (1526/1), no. 1

Modern Edition(s)

Morales OO 6 (= MME 21), 131–41

24

[P]aranympheus salutatur virginem [Loyset Compère]
II: [E]cce virgo decora
4vv. Scribe Ia (78v: II)

Concordances

B-Bcx 27766, 69v–70r
CZ-HK II.A.21, no. 64
I-BGc 1209, 76v–78r
I-Pc A17, 112v–113r
1512/1, no. 47
[1521]/4, no. 12

Modern Edition(s)

Compère OO 4, 39–40

25

[P]rofitentes unitatem [Loyset Compère]
II: [D]igne loqui de personis
4vv. Scribe Ia

Concordances

I-CFm 59, 68v–70r
V-CVbav CS 42, 130v–132r
1504/1, no. 28

Modern Edition(s)

Compère OO 4, 41–4

ff. 68v–72r

[Josquin Desprez]

ff. 72v–73r

[Jean Mouton]

ff. 78v–80r

[Loyset Compère]

ff. 80v–83r

[Loyset Compère]

- 26** **ff. 83v–85r** **30** **ff. 94v–96r**
[O] genitrix gloriosa mater dei [Loyset Compère] *[Q]ue est ista que processit* [Antoine Brumel]
II: [A]ve virgo gloriosa
 4vv. Scribe Ia
II: [E]t sicut dies verni circundabant
 4vv. Scribe Ia (94v: II)
- Concordances**
 DK-Kk 1848, 286r–287r
 I-Fr 2794, 9v–11r
 I-Md Librone 1, 149v–150r (2a p.)
 I-Md Librone 2, 36v–37r (2a p.)
 I-Md Librone 3, 51v–52r (1a p.)
 I-Sc K.I.2, 182v–184r
 V-CVbav CS 46, 99v–101r
 1502/1, no. 3
- Modern Edition(s)**
 AMMM 13, 145–7 (2a p.), 148–50 (1a p.)
 Compère OO 4, 29–31
- 27** **ff. 85v–87r**
[O] virgo virginum quomodo fiet istud [Loyset Compère?]
II: [F]ilie Jerusalem quid me admiramini
 4vv. Scribe Ia (87r: Ib [music], II [text])
- Concordances**
 unicum
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Urkevich 1997, 315–20
- 28** **ff. 87v–91r**
[Maria virgo semper letare] [Jean Mouton]
II: [T]e laudant angeli (Gascongne)a
 4vv. Scribe Ib
 untexted
- Concordances**
 1519/1 (1526/2), no. 20
 1534/3, no. 10 (Gascongne)
- Modern Edition(s)**
 16CM 5, 95–107
- 29** **ff. 92v–93r**
Sicut lilium inter spinas [Antoine Brumel]
 4vv. Scribe III
 later addition on blank staves
- Concordances**
 CH-Sk 87–4, 11r–v
 D-HRD 9822–3, 4v
 D-LEu Thomaskirche 51, no. 46
 D-Mu 326, 13r–v
 D-Rp 940–1, no. 44
 I-Fl 666, 32v–33r
 1520/1, no. 12
 [c.1521]/6, no. 2
 1538/8, no. 2
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Brumel OO 5, 110
 Medici, 72–3
- 31** **ff. 96v–102r**
[L]iber generationis Iesu Christi [Josquin Desprez]
II: [S]alomon autem genuit Roboam
III: [E]t post transmirationem Babilonis
 4vv. Scribe Ia
- Concordances**
 D-Dl 1/D/505, pp. 416–421
 D-Mbs 10, 127v–145r
 E-Tc 23, IVv–7r
 I-CT 95–6 and F-Pn 1817, no. 38
 I-Fn II.I.232, 51v–57r
 I-Fn Magl. XIX.107bis, 23v–29r
 S-Uu 76c, 64v–67r
 V-CVbav CS 42, 41v–47r
 1504/1, no. 3
 1538/3, no. 37
 1559/2, no. 8
 J678 (1555), no. 1
- Modern Edition(s)**
 NJE 19.13
- 32** **ff. 102v**
[F]actum est autem cum baptizaretur [Josquin Desprez]
 [4]vv. Scribe Ia
 Beginning of Superius and Tenor only
- Concordances**
 1504/1, no. 4
- Modern Edition(s)**
 NJE 19.3
- 33** **ff. 103v–107r**
[G]abrielem archangelum
II: [G]loria patri et filio et spiritui
 3vv. Scribe II
- Concordances**
 unicum
- Modern Edition(s)**
 Urkevich 1997, 321–33

34

[A]lma redemptoris mater
 II: *[E]t stella maris*
 III: *Tu que genuisti*
 IV: *Virgo prius ac posterius*
 3vv. Scribe II

Concordances

1542/8, no. 27

Modern Edition(s)

NOE 15.1

35

Jouyssance vous donneray
 4vv. Scribe IV

later addition on blank staves

Concordances

A-Wn Mus. 18810, no. 66
 CH-Bu FX.17–20, no. 70
 CH-Bu FX.59–62, no. 19
 D-B 40194, no. 11
 D-HRD 9822–3, no. 38
 D-Mbs 1501, no. 7
 D-Mbs 1516, no. 125
 D-Rp 940–1, no. 287
 D-Rtt 3/I, no. 75
 DK-Kk 1848, no. 108–109, 130
 F-CA 125–8, no. 199
 I-Fn Magl. XIX.111, no. 2
 I-Fn Magl. XIX.112, no. 10
 PL-GD 4003, no. 56
 PL-Tm 29–32
 S-Uu 76c, 145r
 1528/3, no. 5
 [c.1528]/8, no. 12
 1536/3, no. 7

Modern Edition(s)

Claudin OO 3, 138–9

36

Venes regres

4vv. Scribe IV

later addition on blank staves

Concordances

[c.1528]/5, no. 16

Modern Edition(s)

Urkevich 1997, 344–6

ff. 107v–113r

Jac Obreth

ff. 113v–114r

[Claudin de Sermisy]

ff. 114v–115r

37

[P]opule meus quid feci tibi
 II: *Ego eduxi te de Egipto*
 III: *[E]go eduxi te mare rubrum*
 IV: *[E]go eduxi te per desertum*
 V: *[Q]uid ultra debui facere tibi*
 4vv. Scribe II

Concordances

D-Ngm 83795, no. 75
 PL-Kj Berlin 40013, 286v–291r
 PL-WRu 428, 219v–224r

Modern Edition(s)

Urkevich 1997, 347–60

38

[H]uc me sydereo
 II: *[F]elle sitim magni regis*
 5vv. Scribe II

Concordances

B-Br 9126, 172v–174r
 CH-SGs 463, no. 185
 CH-SGs 464, no. 2
 D-Rp 893, no. 43
 DK-Kk 1872, 75v–77r
 H-Bn Bártfa Mus. Pr. 6, no. 13
 I-Bc R142, 52v–54r
 NL-Lml 1440, 246v–252r
 V-CVbav CS 45, 181v–187r
 1519/2 (1526/3, 1527), no. 1
 1538/3, no. 1
 1558/4, no. 6
 J678 (1555), no. 13

Modern Edition(s)

NJE 21.5

39

Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam
 II: *[V]enite comedite panem meum*
 5vv. Scribe II

Concordances

V-CVbav CS 42, 137v–139r
 1508/1, no. 5

Modern Edition(s)

NJE 19.4

40

Adiutorium nostrum

4vv. Scribe II

Concordances

GB-Cmc 1760, 23v–25r (Févin)
 GB-Lbl Royal 8.g.vii, 4v–6r*
 GB-Ob Lat. lit. a.8, no. 1 (Févin)
 V-CVbav Pal.lat. 1976–9, no. 34
 1514/1 (1526/1), no. 22 (Mouton)*
 (* as secunda pars of *Caeleste beneficium*)

Modern Edition(s)

16CM 4, 118–23

ff. 117v–121r

[Loyset Compère?]

ff. 121v–125r

Josquin.

ff. 125v–128r

[Josquin Desprez]

ff. 128v–130r

[Antoine de Févin]
(Jean Mouton)

41 ff. 130v–132r
Sancta trinitas unus deus [Antoine de Févin]
 (Arnold de Bruck, Craen,
 Josquin Desprez, Costanzo Festa,
 Jean Mouton, Cristóbal de Morales)

4vv. Scribe II

Concordances

B-Tc A 58, 14v–15r
 CH-SGs 462, 51v–52r
 CZ-HK II.A.29, pp. 147–148 (6vv.)
 D-Bga 7, no. 55 (Craen)
 D-B Bohn 5, no. 155 (6vv.)
 D-DI Glashütte 5, no. 156 (6vv.)
 D-EIa s.s., 341v–343r (6vv.) (Josquin)
 D-ERu 473/4, 33v–39r (6vv.)
 D-LÜh Mus. A 203, no. 28 (6vv.)
 D-Mbs 1536/3, no. 99 (6vv.) (Févin)
 D-Rp 883–6, no. 33 (6vv.)
 D-Rp 940–1, no. 234 (6vv.)
 D-Rp C96, 99v–103r (6vv.)
 D-SI 25, 65v–72r (6vv.) (Févin)
 DK-Kk 1872, no. 108 (6vv.)
 DK-Kk 1873, no. 115 (6vv.)
 E-Bbc 454, 176v–177r (Févin)
 E-Tc 13, 25v–29r (Févin)
 E-Zac 34, 56v–57v (Morales)
 F-CA 125–8, no. 128
 GB-Cmc 1760, 19v–21r (Févin)
 GB-Lbl Royal 8.g.vii, 12v–14r
 I-Bc Q27(2), no. 7
 I-CFm 59, 85v–86r
 I-Fn Magl. XIX.117, 61v–63r
 I-MOd 9, 39v–40r (Févin)
 I-Pc A17, 83v–84r
 I-TVd 5, 31v–32r (Festa)
 I-VEcap 760, 50v–51r (Févin)
 S-Uu 76c, 71v–72r
 V-CVbav Chigi C.VIII.234, 87v–88r (Févin)
 1514/1 (1526/1), no. 13 (Févin)
 1537/1, no. 3 (6vv.)
 1555/11, no. 7 (6vv.)
 1558/4, no. 10

Modern Edition(s)

Févin OC 3, 114–19
 [NJE **26.13]

42 ff. 133v–134r

Gentils galans compaignons

3vv. Scribe III

later addition on added leaves

Concordances

CH-SGs 463, no. 26
 1520/6, no. 11
 1542/8, no. 67

Modern Edition(s)

Urkevich 1997, 361–2

Appendix III: Sources and Editions

A. List of Concordant Sources

1. Manuscripts

Siglum	Library and Shelfmark	no. in RCM 1070
A-Wn Mus. 15500	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 15500	5
A-Wn Mus. 15941	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 15941	4, 5
A-Wn Mus. 18810	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 18810	35
A-Wn Mus. 18825	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 18825	16, 19
B-Amp M18.13/2	Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Bibliotheek, MS M18.13 (fragment 2) (olim R43.13)	19
B-Bcx 27766	Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles / Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel, MS 27766	24
B-Br 215-6	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 215-216	8, 38
B-Br 9126	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 9126	8
B-LVu 163	Leuven, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 163 (destroyed in August 1914)	8, 21
B-Tc A58	Tournai, Chapitre de la Cathédrale, BCT A58	41
CH-Bu FX.17-20	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS FX.17-20	35
CH-Bu FX.59-62	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS FX.59-62	35
CH-SGs 462	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 462 (<i>Johannes Heer Liederbuch</i>)	41
CH-SGs 463	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 463 (<i>Aegidius Tschudi Liederbuch</i>)	2, 4, 6, 10, 21, 38, 42
CH-SGs 464	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 464	21, 38
CH-Sk 87-4	Sion, Archives du chapitre de la Cathédrale, MS 87-4	29
CZ-HKm II.A.7	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II.A.7 (<i>Codex Specialník</i>)	10
CZ-HKm II.A.21	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II.A.21	24
CZ-HKm II.A.26	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II.A.26	8
CZ-HKm II.A.29	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II.A.29	16, 21, 41
CZ-HKm II.A.41	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Knihovna, MS II.A.41	8
CZ-RO 22	Rokycany, Muzeum Dr. Bohuslava Horáka, MS 22	8, 21
D-B 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, MS Mus. 40021	10
D-B 40194	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, MS Mus. 40194	35
D-B Bohn 5	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sammlung Bohn Mus. MS 5	41
D-B Bohn 11	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sammlung Bohn Mus. MS 11	8, 21
D-Bga 7	Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS XX. HA StUB Königsberg Nr. 7	41
D-Dl 1/D/6	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1/D/6	4
D-Dl 1/D/505	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1/D/505 (<i>Annaberg Choirbook</i>)	31
D-Dl Glashütte 5	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Glashütte 5	21, 41
D-Dl Grimma 51	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Grimma 51	6

D-DI Grimma 57	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Grimma 57	21
D-DI Pirna IV	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Pirna IV	21
D-EIa s.s.	Eisenach, Stadtarchiv, Bibliothek, MS s.s. (<i>Eisenacher Kantorenbuch</i>)	41
D-ERu 473/4	Erlangen-Nürnberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 473/4	41
D-GOI A98	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, MS A98	10, 21
D-HRD 9822-3	Jagdschloss Herdringen, Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana, MS 9822-9823	29, 35
D-KI 24	Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, 4° Ms. Mus. 24	2
D-LEu 1494	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 (<i>Apel Codex</i>)	10
D-LEu Thomaskirche 51	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Thomaskirche 51	29
D-LÜh Mus. A 203	Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Musikabteilung, MS Mus. A 203	41
D-Mbs 10	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 10	31
D-Mbs 12	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 12	8
D-Mbs 19	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 19	2, 10
D-Mbs 41	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 41	10, 19
D-Mbs 1501	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 1501	35
D-Mbs 1516	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 1516	35
D-Mbs 1536/3	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 1536/3	41
D-Mbs 3154	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154 (<i>Leopold Codex</i>)	10
D-Mu 322-5	München, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 8° 322-325	2, 10
D-Mu 326	München, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 8° 326	10, 29
D-Mu 327	München, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 8° 327	8
D-Mu 401	München, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4° Art. 401	8, 21, 22
D-Ngm 83795	Nürnberg, Germanisches National-Museum, Bibliothek, MS 83795	10, 37
D-Rp 775-7	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 775-777	21
D-Rp 786-837	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 786-837	6
D-Rp 838-43	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 838-843	6
D-Rp 876	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 876	16
D-Rp 878-82	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 878-882	6
D-Rp 883-6	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 883-886	41
D-Rp 891-2	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 891-892	8
D-Rp 893	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 893	38
D-Rp 940-1	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS 940-941	4, 29, 35, 41
D-Rp C96	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS C96	41
D-Rp C120	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung, MS C120	21
D-Rtt 3/I	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek und Zentralbibliothek, MS Freie Künste Musik 3/I	35
D-Rtt 76	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek und Zentralbibliothek, MS Freie Künste Musik 76 Abth. II	4
D-Sl 25	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Musica folio I 25	41
D-Usch 237	Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Von Schermarsche Familienstiftung, MS 237	10
D-Z 33.34	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Mus.33.34	8

D-Z 81.2	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Mus.81.2	18
D-Z 94.1	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Mus.94.1	21
DK-Kk 1848	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1848, 2°	26, 35, 38
DK-Kk 1872	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4°	8, 21, 41
DK-Kk 1873	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1873, 4°	8, 41
E-Bbc 454	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, MS 454	10, 41
E-Boc 5	Barcelona, Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català, MS 5	10
E-Sc 1	Sevilla, Catedral de Sevilla, Archivo Musical, MS 1	21
E-SE s.s.	Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Segovia, MS s.s.	10
E-Tc 10	Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral, MS 10	8
E-Tc 13	Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral, MS 13	17, 41
E-Tc 23	Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral, MS Reservado 23	16, 21, 31
E-TZ 8	Tarazona, Archivo-Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral, MS 8	21
E-V 16	Valladolid, Archivo Musical de la Catedral, MS 16	8
E-V 17	Valladolid, Archivo Musical de la Catedral, MS 17	8
E-Zac 34	Zaragoza, Archivo de Música de las Catedrales, Armario B-2, MS 34	41
F-CA 125-8	Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, MS 125-128	19, 23, 35, 41
F-Pn 1817	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1817	17, 23, 31
GB-Cmc Pepys 1760	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 1760	13, 14, 40, 41
GB-Lbl Add. 4911	London, British Library, Add. MS 4911	6
GB-Lbl Harley 4848	London, British Library, MS Harley 4848	8
GB-Lbl Royal 8.g.vii	London, British Library, MS Royal 8.g.vii	14, 40, 41
GB-Lcm 2037	London, Royal College of Music, MS 2037	19
GB-Ob Lat. lit. a.8	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. lit. a.8	16, 40
H-Bn Bártfa 2	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), MS Bártfa 2	21
H-Bn Bártfa Mus. Pr. 6	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), MS Bártfa Mus. pr. 6	38
I-Bc Q19	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, MS Q.19	4, 19
I-Bc Q25	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, MS Q.25	6
I-Bc Q27(2)	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, MS Q.27(2)	41
I-Bc R.142	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, MS R.142	2, 21, 38
I-BGc 1209	Bergamo, Civica Biblioteca – Archivi storici Angelo Mai, MS 1209	19, 24
I-Bsp 38	Bologna, Archivio musicale della Basilica di San Petronio, MS 38	6
I-Bsp 39	Bologna, Archivio musicale della Basilica di San Petronio, MS 39	17
I-CFm 59	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Biblioteca, Cod. LIX	17, 23, 25, 41
I-CMac FM 4	Casale Monferrato, Archivio Capitolare, Fondo Musicale 4 (olim D(F))	6
I-CT 95-6	Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca, MS 95-6	17, 23, 31
I-Fd 11	Firenze, Opera di S Maria del Fiore. Archivio Musicale, MS 11	6, 21
I-Fl 666	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Acquisti e doni 666 (<i>Medici Codex</i>)	14, 22, 29
I-Fn II.I.232	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II.I.232	2, 8, 10, 13, 23, 30, 31
I-Fn Magl. XIX.107bis	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX.107bis	31
I-Fn Magl. XIX.111	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX.111	35
I-Fn Magl. XIX.112	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX.112	35
I-Fn Magl. XIX.117	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX.117	41
I-Fn Magl. XIX.164-7	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX.164-167	10

I-Fr 2794	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794	26
I-Ma Trotti 519	Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS Trotti 519	4
I-Md Librone 1	Milano, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 1 (MS 2269)	26
I-Md Librone 2	Milano, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 2 (MS 2268)	26
I-Md Librone 3	Milano, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 3 (MS 2267)	17, 26
I-Md Librone 4	Milano, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 4 (MS 2266)	10
I-MOd 3	Modena, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Modena-Nonantola, Mus. MS 3	6
I-MOd 4	Modena, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Modena-Nonantola, Mus. MS 4	2
I-MOd 9	Modena, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Modena-Nonantola, Mus. MS 9	10, 16, 19, 41
I-MOd 11	Modena, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Modena-Nonantola, Mus. MS 11	6
I-Pc A17	Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Curia Vescovile, MS A.17	5, 19, 24, 41
I-Pc D27	Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Curia Vescovile, MS D.27	6
I-Rmassimo 23–4	Roma, Biblioteca privata dei Principi Massimo, MS VI/C6/23–4	8, 21
I-Sc K.I.2	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS K.I.2	17, 26
I-TVd 5	Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo, MS 5	41
I-VEcap 758	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLVIII	17, 30
I-VEcap 760	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLX	17, 19, 20, 41
NL-Ar V A 1	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, MS V A 1	2
NL-L 1442	Leiden, Gemeentearchief; Archieven van de Kerken, MS 1442	8, 21
NL-Lml 1440	Leiden, Stedelijk Museum in de Lakenhal, MS 1440	8, 21, 38
PL-GD 4003	Gdańsk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS 4003	35
PL-Kj Berlin 40013	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Berlin MS Mus. 40013	10, 37
PL-Tm 29–32	Toruń, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska, MS J. 4° 29–32	35
PL-WRu 428	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I-F-428 (<i>Viadrina Codex</i>)	37
PL-WRu 54	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS Brieg. Musik. K.54	21
PL-Wu 5892	Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS 5892 (olim Mf 2016)	10
S-Uu 76b	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b	21, 23
S-Uu 76c	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76c	6, 8, 31, 35, 41
US-BLu 4	Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Music MS 4	6
US-BLu 8	Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Music MS 8	6
US-BLu 9a	Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Music MS 9a	6
US-BLu 9b	Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Music MS 9b	6
US-BUu M/02/A3/p	Buffalo, State University of New York, Music Library, M/02/A3/p	2, 30
V-CVbav CG XII.4	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Giulia XII.4	8, 21
V-CVbav Chigi C.VIII.234	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VIII.234 (<i>Chigi Codex</i>)	8, 41
V-CVbav CS 16	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 16	2, 21, 22
V-CVbav CS 42	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 42	10, 17, 22, 25, 31, 39
V-CVbav CS 44	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 44	16
V-CVbav CS 45	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 45	38
V-CVbav CS 46	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 46	6, 9, 26
V-CVbav CS 76	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 76	17
V-CVbav CS 77	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capp. Sist. 77	6
V-CVbav Pal.lat. 1976–9	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1976–1979	16, 40
V-CVbav Pal.lat. 1980–1	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1980–1981	23

V-CVbav SMM 26	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS S. Maria Maggiore 26	21
V-CVbav Vat.lat. 11953	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 11953	8, 21

2. Printed Editions

RISM Siglum	Title (following the orthography of the original)	no. in RCM 1070
1502/1	<i>Canti. B. numero Cinquanta</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1502)	10, 26
1504/1	<i>Motetti C</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504)	9, 17, 25, 31, 32
1508/1	<i>Motetti a cinque Libro primo</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508)	39
1512/1	<i>Aus sonderer kü[n]stlicher art und mit höchstem fleiss seind diss gesangkbüecher mit Tenor Discant Bass un[d] Alt Corgiert worden in d. Kayserlichen unnd dess hailigen reichs Stat Augspurg</i> (Augsburg: Erhard Öglin, 1512)	24
1514/1 (1526/1)	<i>Motetti de la Corona [Libro primo]</i> (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1514; repr. Rome: Giunta/Pasoti/Dorico, 1526)	2, 5, 16, 23, 40, 41
1519/1 (1526/2)	<i>Motetti de la Corona Libro secondo</i> (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1519; repr. Rome: Giunta/Pasoti/Dorico, 1526)	14, 28
1519/2 (1526/3, 1527)	<i>Motetti de la Corona Libro tertio</i> (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1519; repr. Rome: Giunta/Pasoti/Dorico, 1526 and 1527)	8, 21, 22, 38
1520/1	<i>Motetti novi libro secondo</i> (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1520)	29
1520/4	<i>Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant sex quinque & quatuor vocum.</i> (Augsburg: Grimm & Wyrung, 1520)	8, 21
1520/6	<i>Chansons a troys</i> (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1520)	42
1521/3	<i>Motetti libro primo</i> (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1521)	6
[1521]/4	[<i>Motetti libro secondo</i>] (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1521)	24
1521/5	<i>Motetti libro quarto</i> (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1521)	14, 19
[c.1521]/6	<i>Motetti e Canzone Libro Primo</i> (Rome: [printer unknown], c.1521)	12, 13, 29, 30
[c.1521]/7	[<i>Motetti et carmina gallica</i>] (Rome: [printer unknown], c.1521)	4, 6, 19
1528/3	<i>Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1528)	35
[c.1528]/5	<i>Trente et deux chansons musicales a quatre parties nouvellement et correctement imprimees</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1528)	36
[c.1528]/8	<i>Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties nouvellement et correctement imprimees</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1529)	35
1529/1	<i>XII. Motetz a quatre et cinq voix composez par les autheurs cy dessoubz escriptz</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1529)	6, 19
1534/3	<i>Liber primus quinque et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos complectitur</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1534)	28
1534/6	<i>Liber quartus. xxix. musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulos habet.</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1534)	22
1536/3	<i>Second livre contenant xxxi. chansons musicales esleves de plusieurs livres par cy devant imprimes</i> (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1536)	35
1537/1	<i>Novum Et Insigne Opus Musicum, Sex, Quinque, Et Quatuor Vocum,</i> (Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1537)	4, 21, 41
1538/3	<i>Secundus Tomus Novi Operis Musici, Sex, Quinque Et Quatuor Vocum,</i> (Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1537)	8, 38
1538/8	<i>Symphoniae Iucundae Atque Adeo Breves Quatuor Vocum</i> (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538)	29, 31
1539/9	<i>Tomus Secundus Psalmorum Selectorum Quatuor Et Quinque Vocum.</i> (Nürnberg: Johannes Petreius, 1539)	2
1540/4	<i>Excellentissimi Musici Moralis Hispani, Gomberti, Ac Jacheti Cum Quatuor Vocibus Missae</i> (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1540)	4
1542/8	<i>Tricinia. Tum Veterum Tum Recentiorum In Arte Musica Symphonistarum. Latina, Germanica, Brabantica & Gallica</i> (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542)	34, 42
1553/2	<i>Liber primus collectorum modulorum (qui moteta vulgo dicuntur) quae iam olim a praestantissimis et musicae peritissimis emissa</i> (Paris: Nicolas du Chemin & Claude Goudimel, 1553)	6, 8

1555/10	<i>Secundus tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex, et plurium vocum</i> (Nürnberg: Johannes Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1555)	16
1555/11	<i>Tertius tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex, et plurium vocum</i> (Nürnberg: Johannes Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1555)	41
1558/4	<i>Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum, cuius in Germania hactenus nihil simile usquam est editum</i> (Nürnberg: Johannes Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1558)	21, 38, 41
1559/1	<i>Secunda pars magni operis musici</i> (Nürnberg: Johannes Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1559)	8, 22
1559/2	<i>Tertia pars magni operis musici</i> (Nürnberg: Johannes Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1559)	2, 4, 6, 31
J678 (1555)	[Josquin Desprez], <i>Moduli, ex sacris literis dilecti et in 4, 5 et 6 voces distincti, liber primus</i> (Paris: Adrien Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1555)	8, 9, 21, 31, 38
M4017(1555)	[Jean Mouton], <i>Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6 & 8 vocum harmoniam distincti, liber primus</i> (Paris: Adrien Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1555)	4, 5, 6, 17

B. Modern Editions

16CM	<i>Sixteenth-Century Motet. Previously Unpublished Full Scores of Major Works from the Renaissance</i> , ed. Richard Sherr, 30 vols (New York/London, 1991–1999).
AMMM	<i>Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense</i> , 16 vols (Milano, 1958–1968).
Antico	<i>The Motet Books of Andrea Antico</i> , ed. Martin Picker. <i>Monuments of Renaissance Music</i> 8 (Chicago/London, 1987).
Brumel OO	Antoine Brumel, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , ed. Barton Hudson, 6 vols, <i>Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae</i> 5 (American Institute of Musicology, 1969–72).
Chorwerk 76	Jean Mouton, <i>Fünf Motetten zu 4 und 6 Stimmen</i> , ed. Paul Kast. <i>Das Chorwerk</i> 76 (Wolfenbüttel, 1959).
Claudin OO	Claudin de Sermisy, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , ed. Gaston Allaire and Isabelle Cazeaux, 7 vols, <i>Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae</i> 52 (American Institute of Musicology, 1970–2013).
Compère OO	Loyset Compère, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , ed. Ludwig Finscher, 5 vols, <i>Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae</i> 15 (American Institute of Musicology, 1958–72).
Févin OC	Antoine de Févin, <i>Les œuvres complètes</i> , ed. Edward Clinkscale, 4 vols (Henryville/Ottawa/Binningen, 1980–97).
Josquin <i>Werken</i>	Josquin des Prez, <i>Werken</i> , ed. A. Smijers, 12 vols (Amsterdam, 1921–69; repr. Amsterdam, 1973).
Lowinsky 1969–1970	Edward E. Lowinsky, ‘MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London’, <i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i> 96 (1969–70), 1–28.
Lowinsky 1989	Edward E. Lowinsky, ‘A Music Book for Anne Boleyn’, in <i>Florilegium historicale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson</i> , eds J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale (Toronto, 1971), 161–235; repr. with an appendix in id., <i>Music in the Culture of the Renaissance</i> , ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, 2 vols (Chicago, 1989), ii: 484–528.
<i>Medici</i>	<i>The Medici Codex of 1518. A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, Duke of Urbino</i> , ed. Edward E. Lowinsky. <i>Monuments of Renaissance Music</i> 3–5 (Chicago/London, 1968).
Morales OO	Cristobál de Morales, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , ed. Higinio Anglès, 8 vols, <i>Monumentos de la Música Española</i> : 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, and 34 (Rome, 1952–71).
NJE	Josquin Des Prez, <i>New Edition of the Collected Works</i> , ed. Willem Elders et al., 30 vols (Utrecht, 1987–2016) [‘New Josquin Edition’].
NOE	Jacob Obrecht, <i>Collected Works</i> , ed. Chris Maas et al., 18 vols (Utrecht, 1983–99) [‘New Obrecht Edition’].
Shine 1953	Josephine M. Shine, ‘The Motets of Jean Mouton’, 2 vols (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953).
Urkevich 1997	Lisa A. Urkevich, ‘Anne Boleyn, a Music Book, and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1997).

Appendix IV: Table of Corrections in Section I

Fols	Correction ¹	Scribe making correction
1v–2r	A, line 1: last 3 notes moved up a third	II
3v–4r	D, end: semibreve rest erased	II?
	A, line 6: fusae f'–e' corrected to e–d	II
	T, end: 9 breves' worth of music and text added	II
	B, line 5: erroneous repetition of semibreve erased	II?
4v–5r	A, line 6: fusae f–e erased	II?
6v–7r	B, line 4: penultimate breve added	II
7v–8r	A, line 3: erasures	II?
	A, end: 1 breve erased	II
8v–9r	D, A, B, end: 1 breve's worth of music and text added	II
9v–10r	D, A, B, beginning: 1 breve's worth of notes erased T correction in last line	II
12v–13r	D, end: semibreve and semibreve rest erased	II
	A, line 1: dotted semibreve (to become a minim, no stem yet) and coloured semibreve erased and replaced by coloured breve	I
	B, line 3: 3 1/2 breves' worth of music inserted by Scribe I at bottom (repeat of preceding phrase), later crossed out again (by Scribe II?). Passage of music actually missing here (bb. 26–28) not added.	I, II
13v–14r	D, beginning: semibreve and semibreve rest added	II
14v–15r	D, lines 3–4: text erased and corrected	II
18v–19r	T, line 1: 'bar-lines' added (apparently much later)	
20v–21r	D, line 1: g ₂ -clef erased and corrected to g ₃ -clef (music copied a third too high) D, A: 'bar lines' added (apparently much later)	?
23v–24r	B, line 3: f ₃ -clef corrected to f ₄ -clef.	II?
24v–25r	B, line 3: f ₃ -clef corrected to f ₄ -clef.	II?
25v–26r	B strongly stained (later addition?)	
26v–27r	D, line 4: one semibreve erased	?
	A, line 2: minim replaced	II
	B, line 4: coloured semibreve e corrected to f; one superfluous minim crossed out	II
27v–28r	D, line 3: semiminim c'' corrected to b'?; line 5: dotted semibreve – minim corrected to two semibreves A, end: entire line missing, added in right-hand margin T, line 4: semibreve a erased and replaced by semibreve c – minim b B, end: entire line missing, added on blank stave on facing verso below Tenor	II
28v–29r	A, B: first line and parts of second line crossed out	II
30v–31r	D, line 1: stem added; line 2: minim g' erased and corrected to f' T, line 3: stem erased	II?
31v–32r	A, line 2: stem erased	II?
32v–33r	A, line 4: beginning of phrase erased and corrected (skipped ahead) T, line 3: erroneous phrase beginning erased and corrected (skipped ahead one phrase) B, line 1: end of line erased and corrected line break issues in B	I

¹ D, A, T, B stand for the respective voice parts (Discantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus)

33v–34r	D, line 1: erroneous g ₂ -clef erased and corrected to c ₁ -clef; line 3: semibreve added at beginning	I?
34v–35r	B, lines 2–3: part of missing phrase (eye-skip) added through erasure and overwriting	probably I
36v–37r	D, A, B, end: 3 breves' worth of music crossed out T, end: 13 breves' worth of music crossed out	II
37v–38r	D, A, B, beginning: 3 breves' worth of music added T, beginning: 13 breves' worth of music added A, line 3: two semibreves erased and corrected	II
41v–42r	T, lines 3–4: 2 breves' worth of music erased (superfluous repetition of short phrase)	?
42v–43r	A, end: cue note and rest added after custos	II
43v–44r	A, line 2: stem erased	II?
44v–45r	D, end: 3 1/2 breves' worth of music erased (erroneous duplication of phrase, no correction on f. 45v) T, end: one semibreve erased	II
45v–46r	T, beginning: one semibreve added	II
50v–51r	D, line 2: one superfluous semibreve erased A, line 3: c ₂ -clef erased and replaced by c ₃ -clef	II?
52v–53r	B, line 1: c ₃ -clef replaced by f ₄ -clef	II?
53v–54r	D, end, two stages of correction: four breves' worth of notes erased at end at initial copying stage by I (no stems), then four more notes crossed out by II A, beginning: four wrong notes, erased at initial copying stage; line 2: c ₃ -clef erased and replaced by c ₄ -clef A, T, end: 5 1/2 breves' worth of music added by II B, end: last semibreve erased and text crossed out	I and II
54v–55r	D, beginning: four notes added by II A, T, beginning: 5 1/2 breves' worth of music crossed out T, line 3: one stem erased B, beginning: one dotted semibreve added	II
55v–56r	D, line 1: one stem erased A, line 4: one minim g' replaced by two minims a'	II
56v–57r	B, line 3: one minim d erased and corrected to e; line 4: breve d erased and corrected to semibreve	?
57v–58r	B line 2: one stem erased T, line 5: dotted semibreve–minim corrected to two semibreves	?
58v–59r	D, line 3: one semibreve erased B, line 5: one semiminim erased and corrected	?
61v–62r	D, line 1: slip of the pen, erased T, line 2: erroneous repetition of previous phrase erased and overwritten	I
63v–64r	T1, line 3: three notes crossed out, during initial copying process (no stems)	I
64v–65r	A, line 2: c ₂ -clef added T2, line 1: minim erased and replaced	I II
65v–66r	T2, line 3: custos corrected B1, line 1–2: omitted phrase repetition added (erroneous repetition of wrong phrase)	II I
66v–67r	D, line 2: 3 1/2 breves' worth of music crossed out and replaced B2, line 3: custos corrected	II
67v–68r	T1, line 2: semibreve a corrected to b flat	II
80v–81r	A, line 2: one note erased	?

82v–83r	T, line 4: one minim added	II
86v–87r	D, line 3: single note corrections	?
87v–88r	A, line 5: last 8 notes cancelled by erasing the first of them and adding new custos (deleted during initial copying stage, before stems were added)	I
90v–91r	A, line 3: dot of addition erased, during initial copying stage	?
95v–96r	D, line 2: c4-clef corrected to c3-clef	?
96v–97r	D, line 3: 5 notes erased (eye-skip to line above) and overwritten, during initial copying stage	I
97v–98r	D line 2: single note correction T, line 4: one stem erased	?
98v–99r	D line 4: one note corrected	?
100v–101r	A, line 3: custos on c' erased and corrected to d'; last line single note correction	I

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