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Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music
an Archival Study

by

Stephen Bonime

March 1975

Submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	iv
LIST OF <u>SIGLA</u> FOR MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS	v
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. MUSICIANS OF ANNE'S FIRST REIGN (1491-98)	6
Singers	
Instrumentalists	
<u>Etrennes and Entrées</u>	
Music Manuscripts	
II. <u>THE CHAPELLE ROYALE</u> OF CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII	27
Maîtres de Chapelle	
Chantres: Charles VIII	
Chantres: Louis XII	
III. MUSICIANS OF THE <u>CHAMBRE</u> OF CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII	40
Evrard de La Chappelle	
Antoine de Hée	
La Ville, Morel, Delaire	
Riet, Bonnet	
Verjust (Estienne Guillot)	
Fresneau	
IV. MUSICIANS OF THE <u>ECURIE</u> OF CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII	51
Trumpets	
Tabourins Suisses	
<u>Sacqueboutes</u> and <u>Haulxboys</u>	

Chapter	Page
V. ANNE'S MUSIC AND MUSICIANS, 1499-1514	66
Mouton: 1500-03	
1502-05: Mouton, Josquin; La Rue, Agricola	
Agricola: <u>Transit Anna timor</u> (1503-05?)	
1507-10: New Chapel Singers and Masters	
Mouton: <u>Non nobis Domine</u> (1510)	
Mouton: <u>Caeleste beneficium</u> (1510?)	
Other Motets for Anne (?)	
VI. THE ROYAL <u>ENTREE</u> IN PARIS, 1467-1517	77
Notre-Dame Organists	
Charlotte (1467) and Marguerite (1483)	
Anne de Bretagne, 1492	
Anne de Bretagne, 1504	
Mary Tudor, 1514	
Claude de France, 1517	
VII. THE FUNERAL OF ANNE DE BRETAGNE	95
Funeral Motets and Contemporary accounts	
Services at Blois and en route to Paris	
Services at Notre-Dame and St-Denis	
NOTES	105
APPENDIXES	
A. Pietrequin Bonnel's contract as Chantre in the Savoy Chapel (October 1488 - September 1489)	163
B. The Works of Pietrequin Bonnel and Fresneau, with their Sources	164
C. Judgment by Parlement granting Evrard de La Chappelle all benefits due him as Treasurer of St-Martin de Tours--which mentions the date of Ockeghem's death (Paris: Arch. nat., <u>X 1A.1505</u> , fol. 239)	165
D. Jean d'Auton, <u>Cronicque</u> of 1502, Ch. xxii: "D'ung nommé maistre Evrard . . ."	166
E. Letters by Anne de Bretagne concerning Prégent de Jagu.	168
F. Notre-Dame's record of Anne's funeral services in Paris (Arch. nat., <u>LL.132 bis</u> , fols. 102-03)	169
G. Compositions for Anne de Bretagne: Original Sources and Modern editions	172
BIBLIOGRAPHY	174

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Manuscripts Containing Records of the Personnel and Expenses of Anne de Bretagne	5
2. Musicians Employed by Anne de Bretagne	26
3. Manuscripts Containing Records of the Royal <u>Ecurie</u> , 1487-1509	64
4. Musicians of the Royal <u>Ecurie</u> , 1487-1509	65
5. Musical <u>Mystères</u> in Paris <u>Entrées</u> , 1484-1517	94

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts and their repositories

Arch. comm.: Archives communales (AC)
Arch. dépt.: Archives départementales (AD)
Arch. nat.: Archives nationales (AN)
Bibl. mun.: Bibliothèque municipale (BM)
Bibl. nat.: Bibliothèque nationale (BN)
Ms(s). fr.: Manuscrit(s) français
Nouv. acq. fr.: Nouvelle(s) acquisition(s) française(s)

Publications

JAMS: Journal of the American Musicological Society
MGG: Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
MQ: Musical Quarterly

French currency

L.t.: livres tournois
s.t.: sols tournois
d.t.: deniers tournois
L.p.: livres parisis e.: écus d'or
s.p.: sols parisis
d.p.: deniers parisis

Miscellaneous

d.S.: dudit Seigneur
N.S.: New Style
O.S.: Old Style

LIST OF SIGLA FOR MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS

- Bologna Q.17
Bologna: Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q.17
- Bologna Q.19
Bologna: Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q.19
- Bologna R.142
Bologna: Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. R.142
(Tenor part-book only)
- Copenhagen 1848
Copenhagen: Kongelige Bibl., Ms. Ny. Kgl. Samling 1848-2^o
- Florence, Magl.XIX,59
Florence: Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX,59
(now Ms. Banco Rari 229)
- Florence, Magl.XIX,178
Florence: Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX,178
- Florence, Ricc.2356
Florence: Bibl. Riccardiana, Ms. 2356
- Florence, Ricc.2794
Florence: Bibl. Riccardiana, Ms. 2794
- [Florence,] Medici Codex of 1518
Florence: Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Acquisti e doni 666
- London, Add.35087
London: British Museum, Additional Ms. 35087
- London, Royal 20.A.xvi
London: British Museum, Royal Ms. 20.A.xvi
- [London,] Ms. Harley 5242
London: British Museum, Ms. Harley 5242
- Medici Codex of 1518: see under "[Florence]"
- Munich 328-331
Munich: Universitätsbibl., Mss. 328-331
- Paris 1597
Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 1597
- Paris 2245
Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 2245
- Paris 12744
Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 12744
- Paris, Nivelles
Paris: Bibl. G. Thibault, Nivelles de la Chaussée Chansonnier
- Rome, CG XIII.27
Rome: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia Ms. XIII.27
- Rome, CS 23
Rome: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 23

Rome, Pal. Lat. 1976-1979

Rome: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. Palatini Latini 1976-1979

Rome, Cas.2856

Rome: Bibl. Casanatense, Ms. 2856

Vienna 15491

Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibl., Cod. 15491

Vienna 18810

Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibl., Cod. 18810

Wash. D.C., Laborde

Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Ms. M2.1 L25 Case
(Laborde chansonnier)

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

*music manuscripts

I. France

A. Paris

1. Bibliothèque Nationale (Bibl. nat. or BN)
 - a. Manuscripts français (Mss. fr.): *1597, *2245, 2914, 2915, 2926, 2927, 2930, 3087, 3132, 4339, 5094-5101, 5750, 7335, 7856, 10376, *12744, 18537, 20685, 21449-21451, 23936, 24052, 25158, 32511
 - b. Nouvelles acquisitions françaises (Nouv. acc. fr.): 24, 3243, 21163
 - c. Blancs Manteaux 49
 - d. VC Colbert 54
 2. Archives Nationales (Arch. nat. or AN)
 - a. Series J: 910
 - b. Series K: 5306
 - c. Series KK: 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 82-89, 100, 240, 333, 416
 - d. Series LL: 132 bis, 622, 623
 - e. Series MM: 859
 - f. Series X 1A: 1499, 1505,
 3. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: Ms. 5224
 4. Petit Palais: Ms. B.665
 5. Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: Ms. 3036
 6. Bibliothèque G. Thibault: *Nivelle de la Chaussée
- B. Chambéry: Arch. dépt. de Savoie, Fonds rétrocedés de Turin, Inv. 124, SA. 3619, Supplément au compte (1 oct. 1498 - 1 oct. 1489)
- C. Grenoble: Arch. dépt. de l'Isère, G.447
- D. Lyon: Arch. comm., BB.24, CC.556
- E. Nantes
1. Arch. dépt. de la Loire-Atlantique, E.208, E.210
 2. Bibl. mun., Mss. 1335 (fr. 1174), 1337 (fr. 1176)
- F. Pontoise: Arch. mun., AA.1
- G. Tours: Arch. dépt. d'Indre-et-Loire, G.418, G.422, G.423

II. England

A. London

1. British Museum
 - a. *Additional Ms. 35087
 - b. *Royal Ms. 20.A.xvi
 - c. *Ms. Harley 5242
 - d. Cottonian Ms. Vespasian II

B. Cambridge: Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Ms. 1791

III. Austria

A. Vienna

1. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
 - a. Ms. 3410 (in 1841)
 - b. *Cod. 15491
 - c. *Cod. 18310

N.B. for music manuscripts in other countries, consult list of their sigla (pp. v-vi)

INTRODUCTION

Anne de Bretagne, the duchess of Brittany for a quarter of a century and twice-crowned queen of France, generously patronized musicians and other artists throughout her thirty-seven years. In return she was honored musically by at least eight compositions that refer to her, quote her motto, or praise her directly. Besides rewarding outside performers, Anne employed a contingent of instrumentalists and maintained her own musical chapel--which included the composer, Pietrequin Bonnel; the organist, Pierre Mouton; and was directed in 1510 by Jean Mouton. This study focuses on the musicians of Anne's household and those of her successive husbands, Charles VIII (1491-98) and Louis XII (1499-1514); on music and manuscripts written for Anne de Bretagne; and on musical performances for her three ceremonial passages through Paris--both coronation entrées and her state funeral.

La Laurencie's article on music at the court of Brittany¹ paved the way for further research in this area. Though it contains several slight inaccuracies of detail, it clearly conveys the importance music held for Anne de Bretagne and her ducal predecessors. And through his extensive documentation, La Laurencie leads anyone interested to the essential sources of information. The other major secondary source is Le Roux de Lincy's biography of Anne de Bretagne.² He devotes two of the four volumes solely to letters by Anne and her contemporaries, excerpts from her account-books, and other relevant documents.

In the eighteenth century Dom Lobineau³ and Dom Morice⁴ published documentary histories of Brittany. Both reproduce or excerpt several official lists--most of which have since disappeared--of Anne de Bretagne's employees. Unfortunately the extracts from her second reign, for which no accounts remain, omit the members of her chapel. Godefroy's Histoire de Charles VIII (Paris 1684), which includes the first printed compilation of the queen's personnel lists, partially complements Lobineau, Morice and the few extant original records. (See Table 1 for original documents.)

Four months of archival research in France led me to valuable unpublished information about royal French music and musicians during the two reigns of Anne de Bretagne. Most of it lies in account-books and payrolls preserved in the Archives nationales and Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Work in the departmental and municipal archives and libraries of Nantes, Tours, and Lyon, also proved fruitful. And I had the opportunity to study several music manuscripts in Paris, London and Cambridge--some of which may have been commissioned by or for the French court--containing examples of the chanson and motet repertory from around 1500.

While I discovered no previously unknown musicians of Anne's household, I unearthed new details about the lives and royal service of those cited by La Laurencie and Le Roux de Lincy, which enabled me to clarify old uncertainties and correct errors in their studies (Chs. i and v). Concerning the kings' musical establishments, I found information about

many Chapel-singers and Chamber-players never mentioned in the literature, as well as evidence proving that the band of outdoor musicians attached to the royal Ecurie (the Stable)--hitherto believed to have been organized by François I--was already highly developed under Louis and Charles (Chs. ii-iv).

Contemporary narrations of royal entrées into Paris from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the next reveal the evolution of a standard type of allegorical mystère that the French capital presented along the parade route from St-Denis to Notre-Dame. In every entrée musicians participated in at least one mystère. The performers were usually choirboys, often dressed as angels, until the reign of Charles and Anne. Under them the Paris entrée became musically secularized as singing "shepherds," minstrels, and sometimes both, replaced the choirboys (Ch. vi). Anne's greatest "entrée" came at her death. For thirty-seven days the French court, church, and people mourned her with funeral services and a procession from Blois to Notre-Dame de Paris and finally to St-Denis, where she was laid to rest. The solemnity continued another month, until her heart was buried in her parents' tomb in Nantes (Ch. vii). Many official records of Anne's funeral, her coronation entrées, and those of her predecessors and successors, are printed in various periodicals and monographs. From them and the numerous unpublished documents, I have extensively quoted the musical description of the ceremonies.

In transcribing manuscripts and prints from around 1500, I have spelled out abbreviations (and rendered '&' as 'et'); modernized the use of the letters i, j, u, and v; supplied or eliminated, where necessary, capitalization of initial letters; and added virtually all punctuation (except slashes in prose passages) and emphasis. All quoted dates are rendered in New Style and Arabic numerals, enclosed in brackets. Modern publications of documentary material are quoted exactly.⁵ The use of accents varies accordingly: none in original sources; wherever present in secondary sources; always present in modern usage. (I have added them to people's names.

Payment sums are also converted to Arabic numerals. Contemporary currency values are abbreviated in the following manner: livres, sols, and deniers tournois appear as L.t.,⁶ s.t., and d.t.; livres, sols and deniers parisis are L.p., s.p., and d.p.; an écu d'or is abbreviated e. If one is familiar with the old British monetary system, it is relatively easy to work with French livres (pounds), which consist of twenty sols (shillings), each of which is worth twelve deniers (pence). The écu is usually worth 35 s.t. (or 1 L. 15 s.t.), which works out to 7 L.t. for every 4 e. Most payments that are not in whole livres can thus be converted to whole écus.

TABLE 1

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING RECORDS OF THE
PERSONNEL AND EXPENSES OF ANNE DE BRETAGNE

(All note references
are to Chapter 1)

Date	(Personnel) Gages des Officiers de l'Ostel	Tresorerie (Expenses)	Special
1-9/ 1492	<u>KK.82</u> , fols. 1-98 Jacques de Beaune, #1 (Chapter 1, n. 1) (AN)		<u>K.530⁶</u> : (n. 3) <u>Extraordinaire de</u> <u>l'Argenterie</u> Victor Gaudin (AN)
10/92 -9/93	<u>KK.82</u> , fols. 102 ff. Jacques de Beaune, #2 (n. 2) (AN)	<u>KK.83</u> Jacques de Beaune, #2 (n. 17) (AN)	
10/93 -9/94		<u>KK.84</u> Jacques de Beaune, #3 (n. 18) (AN)	
10/94 -9/95	-----	-----	-----
10/95 -9/96		<u>KK.85</u> Jacques de Beaune, #5 (n. 19) (AN)	
"1496 -98"	Ms. fr. 21451, fols. 329'-30 copied from Jacques de Beaune le jeune, #1-3? (n. 7) (BN)		
10/97 -9/98	<u>VC Colbert 54</u> , fols. 332-35 "1498": copied from Jacques de Beaune le jeune, #3? (n. 7) (BN)	Nantes: <u>BM, Ms. 1335</u> Jacques de Beaune le jeune, #3 (n. 6)	Ms. fr. <u>10376</u> <u>Deuil et Beguin de la</u> <u>Royne for Charles VIII</u> April-June 1498 (n. 8) (BN)
10/98 -9/99	Nantes: <u>AD, E.210</u> , No. 19 Jacques de Beaune le jeune, #4 (n. 9)		

CHAPTER I

MUSICIANS OF ANNE'S FIRST REIGN (1491-98)

Singers

When Anne de Bretagne married Charles VIII and became queen of France, she established--or retained from her ducal court in Brittany--her own musical chapel, distinct from the Chapelle Royale. It included two chantres, Prégent (de) JAGU and Yvon LE BRUN, both of whom received 100 livres tournois per year (hereafter, "L.t./y."). These singers are the last persons listed under the heading "Aumosniers, chappellains et officiers de la chappelle de ladite Dame" for the first nine months of 1492.¹ For the year October 1492 - September 1493 the two chantres end the subheading of Anne's chapel personnel entitled Clercs de chappelle--separated this time from the Aumosniers et Chappellains.²

The other three clercs de chappelle--designated specifically as such, rather than as chantres -- drew the same 100-pound salary as Jagu and Le Brun the second year, a slight increase over their 90 L.t./y. for the previous nine months. Each of the chappellains received 120 L.t./y. both years; the tresorier had his salary reduced from 200 to 160 L.t./y.; Anne's confesseur received 200 L.t./y. both years, as did the lowest-paid of her conseillers and aumosniers, the rest of whom earned 300 or 400 L.t./y. Maistre Guillaume de Guéguen, "vichancellier de Bretagne, conseiller de ladite Dame," who does not appear in the first chapel list, heads

the one for 1492-93 at a salary of 900 L.t. (KK.82, fol. 148). I have found few documents that might indicate which of Anne's chapel members--besides Jagu and Le Brun--also sang. (See Ch. vii, n. 29.) During Anne's first twenty-one months as queen, therefore, the record of her Ostel shows the presence of just these two full-time singers. They remained with her at the same annual salary of 100 L.t. until at least the end of 1498--throughout her seven years as Charles VIII's wife and widow.

An "extraordinary account" of Anne's first nine months as queen of France³ includes the payment to Guillaume LE BORGNE, chantre of Notre-Dame de Nantes, of 87 L. 10 s.t. (in 50 écus d'or) to buy material of silk and fur "so that he might maintain himself more decently."⁴ Such a large payment--more than Anne paid during that period to either of the chantres of her chapel--is somewhat difficult to explain. One clue can be found in the account of the Beguain for Duke François II, upon his burial in the Carmelite church of Nantes 13 September 1488. It lists the personnel of the late duke and of his two daughters. Among François's officiers is a category entitled Extraordinaire, headed by "Le chantre de Nostre Dame de Nantes, conseiller."⁵ He is left unnamed; but it could very well be Guillaume Le Borgne. Perhaps whoever was le chantre at this church always received an "extraordinary" stipend from the ducal treasury. In any case, Le Borgne does not reappear in any known record of Anne's

expenses.⁶

Before the end of her first royal reign Anne de Bretagne acquired two more chantres: Maistre Pierre TOUPPE and Pietrequin BONNEL. They appear in seventeenth-century compilations of her personnel for the years 1496-98,⁷ in the account of her Deuil et Beguin for Charles VIII (April-June 1498),⁸ and in the only original salary list from later than 1493--the one for the year ending September 1499, written in Nantes 12 December 1498.⁹ Before joining Anne's chapel Bonnel, from Picardy, sang in Savoy and Florence. The available documents relating to his service in the ducal chapel of Savoy include the original contract by which Duke Charles I hired him in October 1488. Bonnel stayed there one year.¹⁰

In Florence, Bonnel sang at the cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore and at the Santissima Annunziata convent between April 1490 and March 1493, with an absence of one year in the middle (July 1491 - June 1492).¹¹ Piero de' Medici chose him, along with Charles de Launoy and Isaac, to accompany him on his trip to Rome in September 1492 "to congratulate the newly elected Pope Alexander VI." Piero provided all three musicians with a new robe, beret, tunic, and hat. Each outfit cost 32.5 florins, almost equal to Bonnel's combined annual salary from the cathedral and the convent.¹²

While nothing is known about Pierre Touppe, Bonnel is the only musician of Anne's first reign who is known to have been a composer. His chansons, numbering at least six, are

found mainly in Italian (especially Florentine) chansonniers from around 1500.¹³ His most frequently copied pieces are Mais que ce fut secretement and Adieu Florence la jolye.

Both appear in two manuscripts of the Biblioteca nazionale in Florence--Magl.XIX, 59 and 178. While Adieu Florence is also in Vienna 18810 and Munich 328-31, Mais que ce fut appears in at least five other manuscripts, the Odhecaton (attributed to Compère), and as anonymous text in the Jardin de Plaisance.¹⁴

Of Anne's first two singers, Prégent Jagu seems to be the more important musician. This is true even though Le Brun heads the list of chantres "for the year 1498" (see n. 7) and the year ending September 1499 (see n. 9); and Jagu does not even appear in the 1498 list, nor in the enumeration of Anne's officiers who received black cloth for Charles VIII's funeral in April of that year (see n. 8). Jagu's apparent diminution in status and disappearance from Anne's chapel list may stem from the fact that he became varlet de chambre to the duke of Orléans, sometime before the latter's coronation as Louis XII (27 May 1498), at an annual pension of 180 L.t.¹⁵ Furthermore, a payment to Jagu of 100 L.t. "for his wages and maintenance during this present year," recorded in the account of Anne's Trésorerie for the year ending September 1498,¹⁶ rectifies the omission of Jagu's name from that year's list of her personnel. For their étrennes on New Year's Day 1493, Jagu and Le Brun shared 70 s.t. (probably one écu d'or [hereafter, "e."] apiece).¹⁷ But ten to thirteen months later the queen gave only Jagu a bonus of 25 L. 7 s. 6 d.t.

(14.5 e.) "to help him eleyate, attire, and more decently maintain himself in her service--oyer and above his ordinary wages and other benefits that he gets and may get from this Lady."¹⁸

The only special mention of Le Brun appears in the Voiages section of Anne's 1495-96 Trésorerie account.¹⁹ He received ten pounds for helping Pierre de Bois-Guéméné, the queen's escuier de cuisine, to take a certain "damoiselle de Guéméné" from Lyon to Touraine to meet her brother.²⁰ In the personnel list for 1505-06 Yvon Le Brun appears as one of Anne's huissiers de chambre.²¹

Contemporary writers give evidence of Jagu's importance both as a musician and as a royal servant. Jean d'Auton mentions Prégent de Jagu in his Chroniques de Louis XII as a "varlet de chambre du Roy" who helped fight the Turks in October 1501.²² In battle on the island of Mytilene (Lesbos) he was wounded by two "coups de trect" (II, 183). Several nights during the seige of the Turkish fort there, the musicians among the allied French, Genoese, and Venetian forces would go up to the walls and sing motets and chansons. The defenders did nothing to repulse them and gladly listened to their music. Jagu was no doubt one of these singers, and he may also have served as a negotiator. D'Auton relates that on the Turkish side was a native of Brittany, who asked if there was a compatriot in "the Christian army" with whom he could speak. The one who came forward may have been Jagu.²³

On Christmas Eve 1503 Louis de Luxembourg, count of

Ligny, died in Lyon. Jean Lemaire de Belges wrote a poem calling upon Josquin, Agricola, Hilaire, Evrard, Conrad, and Prégent to sing a "complaincte louable" for the occasion.²⁴ La Laurencie (p. 11) considers it more likely that Le Maire meant Jehan Prégent, organist from Tours,²⁵ rather than Prégent Jagu. However, d'Auton's description of the count's funeral (III, 307-12) strengthens the possibility that Le Maire was referring to Jagu after all. Since the French court was in Lyon when the count--"a close relative of the king and his loyal servant"--died,²⁶ Louis XII was able to mount a great funeral for him. One of the three masses at St-Jehan was said by René de Prie, the king's maître de chapelle; Anthoine du Four, later Louis's and Anne's confessor, delivered the sermon; and Guillaume Guégen, who headed Anne's chapel personnel, was also present. Since the royal couple attached such importance to the funeral, and Jagu held respectable positions in both their households, why would not Le Maire have called upon this singer who was quite possibly present--rather than a distant organist--to sing a "praiseworthy lament"?

During Louis XII's reign Anne made Prégent de Jagu one of her almoners and obtained for him several prebends. When he was already archdeacon of Dinan, the queen wrote "to the singers, canons, and chapter" of the Tréguier cathedral--one of the most important in Brittany--asking them to provide Jagu with the first prebend that became vacant. The addressees evidently failed to comply with her wish; for, in a letter

dated seven weeks later, she informed them that at her and the king's request, "le cardinal Saint-Georges" had obtained for Jagu the "prebendes de Tréguier et cure de Pedernech"--in spite of the church's obstruction--and that the appointment was soon to receive papal confirmation.²⁷

Instrumentalists

At the beginning of her first reign as queen, Anne had on her regular payroll three instrumentalists: Jacques LORIGUIÈRE, keyboards; Pietre YVERT, lute; and Jehannot DU BOIS, rebec. Since the accounts for the first two years designate Loriguière as joueur du manicordion (or manucorde), we can observe that Anne began with an instrumental ensemble--if they played together--of struck, plucked, and bowed strings. By 1496 the rebec-player is absent from the accounts; from 1498 Loriguière appears as Anne's organiste, Yvert remains her lutenist, and Petit Jehan CHARGANE, joueur de tabourin, fills the gap left by Du Bois. Therefore, while retaining two of her initial three full-time players, Anne began her second reign with a much more diverse-sounding group of instruments--one stringed, one 'wind' (organ), and one percussion.²⁸

On Christmas Day 1492 Anne gave Guillaume LE CLERC, Hervé RIOU, and Jehan JOSSES, "menestrelz des pays de Bretagne," 18 L.t. to divide equally, "to help them live and maintain [themselves] in her service."²⁹ The paucity of surviving accounts makes it difficult to know how long these musicians served the queen, and in what official capacity.

Riou and Josses never reappear in the other available accounts. We can speculate as to whether this Guillaume Le Clerc is the one listed for the year beginning October 1492 under the heading "Officiers responsible for driving pack-animals and carts," who received 130 L.t. "for his wages and maintenance."³⁰ The next list of the queen's personnel, for the years 1496-98, lists a Guillaume Le Clerc last among four clercs de chappelle. His salary that year was 150 L.t. --fifty pounds more than that of the other three.³¹ He must be the animal-driver of the 1492-93 account, because for the year ending September 1499, while the same three clercs de chappelle still received 100 L.t., Le Clerc got 180 L.t. "for his wages, as well as for the maintenance of the chapel's pack-horse."³² The account of Anne's mourning for Charles VIII lists Le Clerc among the "clercs des officiers d'ostel de ladite Dame," ahead of the miscellaneous grouping that includes varlets de chambre, chantres, and clercs de chappelle.³³ If he is also the Breton minstrel to whom Anne paid six pounds for Christmas in 1492, perhaps his higher chapel salary and responsibilities reflect the queen's added compensation for his musical talent.

To complete the picture of Anne's early royal musical establishment, it should be noted that Petit Jehan Chargane, the drummer mentioned in three 1498 documents, probably played for the queen before 1493. Although Chargane does not appear in the salary lists for 1492-93 (nn. 1-2) or 1496-98

(n. 7), Anne's treasurer records a payment of 70 s.t. (2 e.) to a "Petit Jehan, thabourin de la dite Dame," for his estrennes on 1 January 1493.³⁴ Whoever this Petit Jehan may be, his substantial New Year's gift attests his importance to the queen. By comparison, her two chantres had to divide the same amount between them (see n. 17); and she allotted a total of only 75 s.t. to the three regular "joueurs d'instrumens de la Royne."³⁵

In the above-mentioned Deuil et Beguin account of 1498, the final allotment of black cloth recorded is a separate entry for "Charganne, tabourin."³⁶ Listed as "Petit Jehan Chargaigne, taborin" for the year ending September 1499,³⁷ and as "Petit Jean Chargane, dit Sardagne, joueur de tabourin" the previous year,³⁸ Anne's drummer appears last among the singers, earning 120 L.t. both years. His inclusion under the heading Chantres does not prove that he also sang; but a combined vocal and instrumental facility might explain why his salary was unsurpassed by any of the queen's musicians.

Loriguière

The musician with the highest social status at Anne de Bretagne's first royal court was Jacques Loriguière. From January through September 1492 he drew 75 L.t. (100 L.t./y.) as the queen's joueur du manicordion.³⁹ His salary was reduced to 75 L.t. for the next twelve months;⁴⁰ however, in the first trimester of the following year (beginning October 1493), Anne gave him the remaining 25 L.t., "in recompense for several

great services that he has done, does, and continues to do each day for her, personally, and in several other ways; also in order that he might have more of what he needs to maintain himself more decently in her service...."⁴¹ The remainder of the entry repeats the formula used on the previous folio for Jagu's bonus, which indicates that it is a supplement to his regular salary (see n. 18).

The Tresorerie de la Royne for the year ending September 1493 first refers to Loriguière as Anne's varlet de chambre as well as her keyboard player. He appears with this new title beginning in February, when the queen paid him 70 L.t. for having traveled to Barcelona to buy her "several handiworks (beatilles) and other wares."⁴² In September she reimbursed him 52 L. 10 s.t. (30 e.) that he had lent her since January.⁴³ All subsequent documents continue to list Loriguière among the varlets de chambre.

The record of Anne's expenses (Trésorerie) for the year October 1493 - September 1494 gives us a sense of her predilection for keyboard instruments. At some point during the first three months of the account she reimbursed Loriguière the 105 s.t. (3 e.) he had given to a "faiseur d'eschiquiers" named Lucas for repairing two of the queen's eschiquiers.⁴⁴ If these instruments did not include the manucorde (or manicordion) that we know Loriguière already played, then he would have had at least three instruments at his disposal by the end of January 1494.⁴⁵ In the next

trimester she paid a carpenter, 114 s. 2 d.t. for materials he furnished to an organist, who was a monk, "to build an organ in the château of Amboise for the pleasure of", Anne de Bretagne.⁴⁶

Between 1496 and September 1499 the queen's Ostel accounts include no separate category for instrumentalists. During these years Loriguière is listed second among the varlets de chambre, at a raised salary of 120 L.t. "For the year 1498" he is designated as "Jacques Loriguiere, dit l'organiste";⁴⁷ and for the year ending September 1499, simply "Jacques l'organiste."⁴⁸ An inventory of the armory of the Amboise château, dated 23 September 1499, mentions an organ that had been brought from Naples (probably by Charles VIII, returning from his Italian expedition of 1494-95).⁴⁹ The scribe notes at the end that he "wanted to give it to Jacques l'organiste several times, because the queen ordered me to do it."⁵⁰ We should be safe, therefore, in assuming that once Anne de Bretagne had an organ at her royal residence, Jacques Loriguière devoted the greater part of his musicianship to playing that instrument. A final indication of the queen's love of organ music is that Loriguière's successor was Pierre Mouton (see Ch. ii, pp. 38-39).

Yvert and Du Bois

Until Anne made Loriguière varlet de chambre, she may have favored her lute and rebec players, Pietre Yvert and Jehannot Du Bois. They precede him in the list of Joueurs

d'instrumens for the first nine months of 1492.⁵¹ They appear also, while he does not, in the extant fragments of the Compte Extraordinaire for the same period.⁵² The latter account is extended through the month of October in order to include the birth of Charles and Anne's first child, the short-lived dauphin Charles-Orland.⁵³ One entry begins:⁵⁴

To Pierre Yver and Jehannot Du Bois, instrumentalists, the sum of 70 L.t. (which is to each 35 L.t. [20 e.]), that the said Lady gave them the last day of . . .

At this point some bookbinder, short of parchment and historical foresight, sliced the folio horizontally. We can, however, hypothesize the date and reason for the payment by inference from the preceding entry. It records the payment of 14 L.t. (8 e.) to four tapisseurs,⁵⁵

to whom the said Lady made a gift of it, the last day of this said month [10/1492], by equal portion . . . , to make clothing for them so that they might more decently maintain themselves in the service of the said Lady--in consideration of several services they performed for her during her lying-in.

It is quite possible that the entry for Yvert and Du Bois concluded similarly and, therefore, applied to musical services they performed for her while she recuperated from her first childbirth.⁵⁶

For the fiscal year ending September 1493 Du Bois is omitted from the list of salaried instrumentalists; however, the account of monthly expenses records the payment of 50 L.t. to him in September "for several services he has rendered her during this present year, for which he has had no wages or

other benefits."⁵⁷ Perhaps this was Du Bois's last year in the queen's employ. His name does not appear in any other remaining records either of Anne's Ostel, 1496 through September 1499, (nn. 7-9) or of her Trésorerie for the years ending in September of 1494, 1496, and 1498 (nn. 16, 18, 19).

Pietre Yvert continued as Anne's lutenist, at an annual salary of 100 L.t., until at least December 1498. Seventeenth-century compilations of the queen's personnel from 1496 to 1498 list him under the heading Chantres--following the four non-instrumentalists--as joueur de luz.⁵⁸ In the account of Anne's early widowhood he appears, after three singers, simply as "Pietre du luz."⁵⁹ Finally, in the salary list for the year beginning October 1498 (written in December), Yvert appears under the last heading, Pencionnaires, as "Pierre Joueur du luz."⁶⁰ We may surmise that he is also the "Pietres" who is listed in 1488 as one of Anne's father's two joueurs d'instruments.⁶¹ (Table 2 lists Anne's first-reign musicians.)

Etrennes and Entrées

The queen's Trésorerie account for the year ending September 1493 contains forty-two payments on January 1 (or shortly thereafter) for estrennes.⁶² Most went to her own employees, many were to those of her husband, and several gifts went to people not in the royal service. Each category included at least five musicians. Already mentioned are the 70 s.t. she gave Jagu and Le Brun to share (n. 17), the 75 s.t. for her three joueurs d'instrumens (n. 35), and the 70 s.t. for "Petit Jehan, thabourin" (n. 34). In addition to this total of 10 L. 15 s. for her own musicians, Anne

gaye 17 L. 10 s. (10 e.) to Charles's players; 70 s.t. (2 e.) "to the trumpets of my lord of Orléans";⁶³ 35 s.t. (1 e.) for the choirboys of Notre-Dame de Melun to share;⁶⁴ and the same amount "to Gentil garson tabourin."⁶⁵

The king's musicians paid by Anne were his drummer, cornettist, and trumpet-players. The first two each received 50 s.t.⁶⁶ The total payment to the trumpets, 12 L. 10 s.t.,⁶⁷ is easily divisible into five payments of 50 s.t.--a strong indication that Charles employed five trumpets at the beginning of 1493.⁶⁸

In account books for the years ending September 1491 and 1499 there appears a drummer named Jehan Morel, who could be the "Petit Jehan, tabourin du Roy" Anne paid on New Year's Day 1493. A less likely possibility is Petit Jehan Speet, listed in monthly and yearly accounts of the Ecurie between October 1494 and September 1508 as one of the royal tabourins souysses (see Ch. iv, p.60). Although his name includes the designation "Petit"--while Jehan Morel's does not--and he could have been at Charles's court as early as 1493, Speet was always one of two, three, or four tabourins souysses and never listed first. Jehan Morel, on the other hand, is the only musician identified as "tabourin du Roy" in 1490-91 and "tabourin ordinaire du Roy" in the salary list for 1498-99 (Ch. iii, nn. 30, 32).

In both documents the man listed as "joueur du cornet du Roy" is Jehan Delaire (Ch. iii, nn. 26, 32). The earlier

account pays "Jehan Angelin, joueur du cornet," 20 L.t. toward a trip to Germany "to see his father and mother."⁶⁹ Since Angelin neither carries the designation "du Roy" nor reappears in the later document, he probably was not the cornet-player who benefited from Anne's generosity. Whoever held the position of "joueur du cornet du Roy" in January 1493, Angelin or Delaire, he also received 72 s. 6 d.t. from the queen a month earlier for having played before her at the château of Plessis-lès-Tours.⁷⁰

On New Year's Day 1493 the duke of Orléans probably employed two trumpet players. In that case each would have received one escu d'or from the queen (see n. 63), as did both of her chantres. If there were any more than two (for instance, four), their individual allotment would have been less than that of any of the musicians Anne paid except Yvert, Du Bois and Loriguière, and the choirboys who shared an escu. The other evidence indicating that Louis had only two trumpets in January 1493 lies in documents showing that while Charles employed eight in October 1494, he had ten banners made in July for the war trumpets in the duke's company (Ch. iv. nn. 15-16).

Immediately preceding the payment to Louis's trumpets is one to Jehan de Grigneaulx, Anne's Maistre d'Ostel, reimbursing him the 4 L. 7 s. 6 d.t. he had given, at the queen's direction "to five menestriers from the city of Paris who had played before her."⁷¹ This averages out to

17 s. 6 d.t.--exactly one-half escu d'or--per minstrel.

Between payments dated 22 and 25 December 1492 there appears another reimbursement to Grigneaulx--10 L. 10 s.t. "to the menestrelz of the queen of Sicily [Jeanne de Laval, widow of René d'Anjou], which she had given them for their wine for having played before her." This may refer to two months earlier when Jeanne attended the baptism of Charles-Orland. Her minstrels were paid "in six écus d'or"-- perhaps one écu apiece to six players.⁷²

Anne de Bretagne also patronized a theatrical group (or groups) called the Gallans sans soucy.⁷³ On 1 January 1493 she gave one such company 12 L. 10 s.t. for their estrennes.⁷⁴ This may have been the Parisian Gallans sans soucy, whom the queen paid 35 L.t. on March 18, in Paris, "for their wine for having performed before her several moralities, farces, and entertainments."⁷⁵ One may imagine that there were five players, each of whom received fifty sols for New Year's and seven pounds eleven weeks later for their Parisian productions. Anne may have been familiar with this troupe from her early childhood. Her father's accounts for December 1485--when she was not yet nine years old--mention the payment of twenty pounds "to three compagnons called the Galans sans souci, for having performed a farce before the duke."⁷⁶

Kitchen servants of the French nobility also provided entertainment for the queen and king--especially for Mardi Gras. On 26 February 1493 Anne gave two écus d'or soleil

"to the errand-boys (galopins) of Monsieur de Bourbon's kitchen . . . for having performed a farce before her on Mardi Gras."⁷⁷ Two years earlier Charles VIII had paid one écu d'or apiece to three galopins of the same kitchen, and to three more from the kitchen of his resident fiancée, Marguerite d'Autriche, "for having danced" before him at Montils-les-Tours.⁷⁸ Anne also had dancers of higher station come from abroad to perform for her. In May 1493, while visiting Senlis (near Paris), she paid François de Nicolo of Florence 35 L.t. (20 e.) "to feed and maintain Luccresse, his niece, whom he has brought from the city of Florence toward the [queen] to dance and perform several entertainments before her."⁷⁹

On the way to Senlis Anne made royal entrées into Luzarches and Compiègne. At the former she gave 70 s.t. (2 e.) to the choirboys of the church of St-Cosme and St-Damien;⁸⁰ in Compiègne she gave Loys Linatz and Girardin Ligier, tabourins, 10 L. 10 s.t., or three écus d'or apiece.⁸¹ In June 1493, back in Paris, Anne gave two lutenists, Maistre Paul and Hérosme, ten écus each (totaling 35 L.t.) "to help them support themselves."⁸²

Payments to church singers in 1498 are the only other ones recorded that were made by Anne to musicians not employed by her. For the service held in St-Florentin d'Amboise May 17 for the soul of the deceased Charles VIII, his widow gave ten sols to five vicars of the church and five sols to

the choirboys.⁸³ Four months later, on her way from Paris to Nantes, Anne made entrées into the churches of St-Julien in Le Mans and St-Tugal in Laval. She spent 21 L.t., giving the choirboys of each church six écus d'or.⁸⁴

Music Manuscripts

Sometime before October 1496 Louis II of Orléans had Jehan Crespières (called Crespinet), a singer in his chapel, notate three chansonniers. The duke kept one for himself, gave one to the Florentine ambassadors, and gave the other to Anne de Bretagne.⁸⁵ A strong indication that Paris 2245 is the one her future husband kept is the shield of the house of Orléans painted at the bottom of fol. 1'. And upon seeing the two illuminated pages of the British Museum's Royal 20.A.xvi, I was tempted to believe I had discovered Anne's chansonnier.

Above the second miniature in the London manuscript, along the top border of the page and halfway down the left side, are eight pairs of the initial A, painted yellow on a red background--the royal colors. Another larger A begins the anonymous chanson, A la mignonne de fortune. At the left of the miniature itself an angel stands behind a seated woman, who appears to be playing a square keyboard instrument (an eschiquier?). At the right stands a man facing her, holding a heart. The background is a hilly landscape with castles.

The first miniature of Royal 20.A.xvi shows a man

sleeping on a bed inside a tent. A sheep and shepherd's staff lie on the ground in front of him, on the drapery of the bed. The tent is in vertical gold and black stripes, as is the man's clothing; the drapery is black with rows of gold wings, as is the border of the page. The lack of any symbols I knew to be associated with Louis (for example, a porcupine) caused me to doubt that he had anything to do with the miniature or the manuscript--until I learned that wings (ailles = L's) were one of Louis's emblems.⁸⁶

With hindsight the play on word-and-letter is obvious: of the three voice-parts of the chanson L'heure est venue--by Agricola, but anonymous here--the only one missing the initial letter L is the part copied on the page with the ailles. There are two other indications that Royal 20.A.xvi might be the duke's gift to Anne in 1496: while most of the pieces are anonymous, the song on fols. 28'-29 (A l'heure que premier vous vis) is ascribed to "Bouuel"--undoubtedly Pietrequin Bonnel; and the following one (Sire, je vous ne pourvoyez) is signed "Crespieres."

A manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale contains a more explicit indication that it might have belonged to Queen Anne de Bretagne. It is the famous monophonic chansonnier Ms. fr. 12744. On its last numbered page (fol. 102) are written the partially obscured words:

Ce livre appartient a la t[res ames nostre (?)]
souverayne dame &

followed by a monogram. Below it is written, upside down:

Ave Maria

Further down (right-side-up) are the following sentences:

Vive le Roy et vyve la Roygne et Tous ceulx
qui ont de quoy Etc.
Vive le Roy & laroygne aussi

followed by apparently random pen-strokes.

Since the volume contains a song that mentions the battle of Fornovo on 5 July 1495 (Et que feront povres gendarmes), then unless it was copied after 9 February 1514, "la Roygne" must have been Anne de Bretagne. Fifteen chansons in Paris 12744 appear in three-voice versions in the British Museum's Ms. Harley 5242. Chaillon has demonstrated that the latter manuscript was compiled for Françoise de Foix, Anne's cousin.⁸⁷ Among the remaining sixteen chansons are two anonymous settings of Non mudera ma constance et firmesse, the text of which is based on the queen's motto-- "Non mudera."⁸⁸

<p>KK.82 (Chap. i, nn. 1-2) 1-9/92; 10/92-9/93</p> <p><u>Chantres de chanelle:</u> Prégent Jagu Yvon Le Brun</p> <p>(Chapelains: Antoine de Saint- Moriz, <u>tresorier</u> Geoffroy Le Picard Jehan Aymery Jehan Coguerel Martin Duhamel^a Jehan Sauvalge Germain de La Halle^b Remy Laurens^b</p> <p><u>Clercs de chanelle:</u> Jehan Cochetel Pierre Tremeneuc Guillaume Bailly Jehan Roy, <u>conduc- teur du sommier</u>)^a</p> <p><u>Joueurs d'instrumens:</u></p> <p>Pierre Yver,^c <u>joueur du luzc;</u></p> <p>Jehannot Du Boys,^c <u>joueur de rebecq;</u></p> <p>Jaques Loriguière, <u>J. du manicordion</u></p> <p>^a only 1-9/92 ^b only 10/92-9/93 ^c also K.5306</p>	<p>KK.83 (n. 17) 10/92-9/93</p> <p><u>Chantres:</u> Prégent Jagu^d Yvon Le Brun^e</p> <p>Petit Jehan [Chargane]. <u>thabourln</u></p> <p><u>Menestrelz des pays de Bretagne:</u></p> <p>Guillaume Le Clerc Hervé Riou Jehan Josses</p> <p><u>Joueurs d'instrumens:</u></p> <p>Pierre Yver</p> <p>Jehannot Du Boys, <u>joueur de rebec</u></p> <p>Jacques Loriguière,^d <u>varlet de chambre & J. du manucorde</u></p> <p>^d also KK.84 (n. 18) ^e also KK.85 (n. 19)</p>	<p>Ms. fr. 21451 (n. 7) 1496-98</p> <p><u>Chantres:</u> Prégent Jagu^f Yvon Le Brun^{g,h} M^r. Pierre Tounne^{g,h} Pierrequin Bonnel^{g,h} Pietre Yvert, <u>joueur de luz^{g,h}</u></p> <p>(Chapelains: Antoine de Saint Moris, <u>tresorier</u> Geoffroy le Bicart Jean Cochetel Jean Coquerel Jean Sauvage Germain de La Halle Remy Laurans</p> <p><u>Clercs de Chapelle:</u> Pierre Tremereuc Guillaume Bailly, <u>sommelier</u> Jean Le Maistre Guillaume Le Clerc)</p> <p><u>Valllets de Chambre:</u> Jaques Loriguière^{g,h}</p> <p>^f also Nantes 1335 10/97-9/98 (n.16) ^g also Colb.54 (n.7) ^h also fr. 10376 (n.8)</p>	<p>Nantes: E.210/19 (n. 9) 10/98-9/99</p> <p><u>Chantres:</u> Yvon Le Brun Maistre Pierre Touppe Pietrequin Bonnel Préjan Petit Jehan Char- gaigne, <u>taborin^{g,h}</u></p> <p>(Chapelains: Antoine de Saint- Moriz, <u>tresorier</u> Geffroy Le Picart Jehan Cochetel Jehan Cocquerel Germain de La Halle</p> <p><u>Clercs de Chapelle:</u> Pierre Tremereuc Guillaume Bailly Jehan Le Maistre Guillaume Le Clerc, <u>entretienement du somier de la chap.)</u></p> <p><u>Varletz de Chambre:</u> Jacques l'organiste</p> <p><u>Pencionnaires:</u> Pietre, <u>joueur du luz</u></p>
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CHAPTER II

THE CHAPELLE ROYALE OF CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

Maîtres de chapelle

At the royal court of France for over twenty years, Anne de Bretagne had ample opportunity to hear the musicians who served Charles VIII and Louis XII. During their reigns, while the music of the royal Chambre (Ch. iii) and Ecurie (Ch. iv) was growing in importance, the major musical establishment remained the Chapelle Royale. When Charles's father, Louis XI, died in 1483, the premier chapelain and maître de chapelle was Johannes OCKEGHEM. Having served in the duke of Bourbon's chapel in 1446-48, Ockeghem had been in the Royal Chapel since at least 1452. He continued to direct it until he died, 6 February 1497, fourteen months before the death of Charles VIII.¹

As abbots of St-Martin de Tours, the kings of France appointed the church's two highest dignitaries: the dean and treasurer.² Chosen by Louis XI's predecessor, Charles VII, Ockeghem was treasurer of St-Martin as early as 1459. His successor to that office was Charles VIII's singer and organist: EVRARD de la Chappelle (see Ch. iii). We do not know, however, who was the master of the Royal Chapel during the last year of Charles's reign and the first few of Louis XII's. In December 1502 Jean d'Auton identifies Evrard still as treasurer of St-Martin and royal organist, while René de PRYE, bishop of Bayeux, is the "maistre de la chappelle du Roy." Since documents of St-Martin dated 6 July 1511 and 17

June 1520 list Gilles PONTBRIANT as treasurer,³ and the latest information concerning Evrard is from 1510, it seems likely that Evrard died in office in 1510 or 1511.

During Louis XII's fourth Italian expedition, April-July 1507, Auton mentions two different chapel-masters: "Maistre René, cardinal de pryé, maistre de ladite chappelle" (IV, 365), and "PRIORIS, maistre de la chappelle" (IV, 244). Perhaps Prye was only the ecclesiastical maître while Prioris (and Evrard before him) directed the music of the Chapel. Otherwise, probably one of them was maitre de chapelle whenever d'Auton wrote the 1506-7 Chroniques, and the other during the time of the events described. If that is the case, then in the spring of 1507 the chapel-master must have been Prye, since he is so designated in a chapter devoted solely to the enumeration of the officiers who served Louis XII during the expedition.⁴ It is unlikely that Prioris preceded Prye in the position, since d'Auton refers to Prye as "maistre de la chappelle du Roy" in 1502, and since Crétin writes of "Nostre bon pere et maistre Prioris" after the death of Braconnier and Févin nine years later.⁵ At the funeral of Louis XII in Paris, 10-11 January 1515, "le maistre de la chappelle" of the late king was named CONRARD--no doubt the Conrad mentioned eleven years earlier in Le Maire's lament for Louis de Luxembourg.⁶

Chantres: Charles VIII

According to Thoinan, at the beginning of Charles VIII's

reign (in 1484) the Royal Chapel had only five singers: "three chapelains chantres at 120 livres tournois ... and two clercs at 110 livres. The number of these musicians continually rose and reached six in 1486, eight in 1490, and eleven in 1497."⁷ If these numbers are correct, we might wonder what happened to the thirteen chapelains ordinaires and two sommeliers who served in Louis XI's Chapel under Ockeghem in 1475. Perhaps most of them had joined the chapel of Duke Pierre II of Bourbon, who was married to the regent--Charles's sister, Anne de Beaujeu. In any case, four of these chapelains--Jehan FRESNEAU, Jehan POISSON, Jehan de MODENE, and Jehan LE CLERC--reappear in records of Charles VIII's household.⁸

Of the four, Jehan Fresneau (see Ch. iii) is the only known composer. In addition to him and Ockeghem, Charles employed at least two others: in 1486 Loyset COMPERE is "traceable in February as 'chantre ordinaire du roy' (Charles VIII) in Paris";⁹ and sometime before the duchess of Brittany became queen of France, Alexander AGRICOLA was one of the king's chantres. Picker demonstrates that Agricola must have been at Charles's court before 25 April 1492. That date can be pushed back seven months, thanks to D'Accone, who finds that Agricola was in Florence from 1 October 1491 until 1 June 1492.¹⁰ Estienne GUILLOT (also called VERJUST) may be the composer of a chanson in Paris 2245. No direct evidence proves that either he or Fresneau sang in the Chapelle Royale under Charles. It

seems a safe supposition, however, since Fresneau was in Louis XI's Chapel, Verjust was in that of Louis XII, and both were musical members of Charles's Maison in 1490 (see n. 15 and Ch. iii).

Among the non-composing singers in the Royal Chapel under Charles VIII, three were members of the institution in 1475. Jehan Le Clerc (or Clerici), according to Durand, sang also for Louis XI and Charles VII, after belonging to the papal chapel in 1450.¹¹ Jehan Poisson (or Piscis) was in the Chapelle Royale as early as 1473 and in 1492. Crétin mentions him five years later, at the death of Ockeghem.¹² In 1491 Maistre Jehan de Modène was the garde of Charles VIII's handball court at Montilz-les-Tours, as well as a chantre in his Chapel. Both these titles are applied to him in the account of the king's "menuz plaisirs et privez affaires de la Chambre" for the year ending that September.¹³ In his study of the artists of Touraine, Giraudet states that Modène appeared in subsequent royal menuz plaisirs accounts--which are now lost--until 1506, the year of his death.¹⁴

The extant account of Charles VIII's menuz plaisirs (October 1490 - September 1491) mentions several other chantres, at least two of whom belonged to the Chapelle Royale. One was Jehan TOLVARE, also the king's varlet de chambre. Since only one payment designates him a chapel-singer, while three others do not,¹⁵ we can see that the

absence of the designation does not necessarily exclude a given singer from the Royal Chapel. This strengthens the likelihood that Verjust and Fresneau were members under Charles VIII.

The other definitely-identified "chantre de la chappelle" he paid out of this account was Bertrand JAMET. Around New Year's Day 1491 (see Ch. iii, n. 22) the royal paymaster advanced him some money "until the [king] has given him his salary." In the spring Jamet received another payment for a horse.¹⁶ There is a strong possibility that Jamet is the Beltramo di Giannot who sang in Florence, both before and after the year covered by the account of Charles VIII's menuz plaisirs. D'Accone identifies Giannot also as Bertrandus Jannet, a "Northerner," whose presence at Santa Maria del Fiore "is recorded for the first time on November 18," 1488 (JAMS, 14, 341). He was there until at least the end of 1490, after which there is a six-month gap in the cathedral accounts; on those for the last half of 1491 Jannet does not appear. He returned sometime before July 1492 and stayed until March 1493 (pp. 342-44). We might, therefore, hypothesize that Jannet (Jamet) left Florence for the Royal Chapel of Charles VIII at the beginning of 1491 and returned after less than eighteen months there.

The remaining singers who received special payments from Charles between October 1490 and September 1491 are Antoine de HEE and Jehan CARRECTE. The latter, designated

simply as "chantre" (not necessarily Charles's), got 10 L. 10 s.t. for a robe (Ch. iii, n. 27). Hée is always identified as "singer and lutenist in the Chambre" of the king. But a list of the Chapel personnel "for the year 1490"-- that does not include the chantres--includes Hée as an ayde.¹⁷

The account of the king's "offerings, alms and devotions" for the year ending September 1498 (KK.77)¹⁸ mentions three singers, at least two of whom (see below) belonged to the Chapelle Royale six days after the death of Charles VIII. The third is Anthoine SILLON, chantre, whom Charles gave four pounds in November at Moulins "to help him on his way."¹⁹ There is not enough evidence to determine who employed this singer. Since the king made his offering in the chapel of the chateau at Moulins that day, it is not unlikely that Sillon was a singer for Charles's brother-in-law, the duke of Bourbon.

Chantres: Louis XII

On Good Friday 1498 (April 13) Louis XII gave Maistres Jehan THIÈRE and Jehan PROUTEAU, "chantres et chappellains ordinaires de la chappelle dudit seigneur," thirteen écus d'or to offer at the foot of the cross in the church of St-Sauveur de Blois.²⁰ Thièrre is undoubtedly the Maistre Jehan Thierry who is found in the account of Louis's funeral (KK.89)²¹ among the twenty-three "chantres de la chappelle dudit feu seigneur" (fol. 88):²²

Le maistre de la chappelle Conrad / Michau, Allard / Albi, Guillaume ? Cousin / Claudin / Mouton / Maistre Jehan Thierry / Le Vigoureux / Porchi / Carimont, Perroton de Mancourt, Georges de Reverdi / Jacques ? Baudet / Maupin / Noel / Barbisseur / Noly / Maistre Anthoine Le Riche / Maistre Pierre Mouton, Maistre Jacques Favière et Maistre Pierre DeSray--qui sont vingt-trois personnes.

If he already belonged to the Royal Chapel during Charles VIII's reign, Thiere would be the only singer besides Verjust and Eyrard known to have served both of Anne's husbands. On the other hand, Thiere and Prouteau might have sung in Louis's ducal chapel instead.

We know of at least three other singers who were on the payroll of the duke of Orléans before his coronation 27 May 1498 as Louis XII. And a fourth, Louis ORMEAU (called BONTEMPS) received ten écus in 1493 for notating a chant book for his chapel.²³ We have already seen that Jehan CRESPIERES, one of the duke's chapel-singers, made three chansonniers in 1496 and gave one to Anne (Ch. i, n. 85). Pregent Jagu is listed among Louis's valletz de chambre "before his accession to the crown" (Ch. i, n. 15). In the same list, three names below, we find the following entry: "LONGUEVAL, chantre--240 L." This extends Longueval's known service to Louis XII at least nine years.²⁴

The most important musician at Louis XII's royal court was, of course, JOSQUIN Desprez. His position there has yet to be determined. We do know, however, that he was present in December 1501 (in Blois) and April 1503 (in Lyon),

during both of Philippe le Beau's stays at the French court (see Ch. v. n. 8). According to the same source we know that VERBONNET (Johannes GHISELIN) was present at the same time, as a singer in the Chapelle Royale (Osthoff, I, 45, 53). Nevertheless it is for "ung chantre nomme Verjus" that an anonymous chronicler of Philippe's voyage reserves his praise, comparing him to the archduke's singer, Alexander Agricola (Ch. iii, n. 40).

On 13 December 1501 a peace treaty between Louis and Maximilian was signed at Blois. It was celebrated that morning by a festive mass in the church of the château (St. Calais), sung by the chapels of Louis XII and Philippe le Beau. Lalaing states merely that "the chantres of the king sang on one side, and those of Monsigneur [the archduke] on the other. After mass they sang the Te Deum together."²⁵ But the anonymous account describes in great detail how the two chapels alternated singing each section of the mass.²⁶

When Philippe le Beau died, 25 September 1506, some of the singers of his chapel remained--in the service of his sister, Marguerite d'Autriche--while others dispersed. At least two, Anthoine LE RICHE and Jehan BRACONNIER, eventually joined the Chapelle Royale of Louis XII. Le Riche (Divitis) belonged by the time of Louis's death and remained in the service of François I as a soloist and varlet de chambre. The accounts from 1516 through 1525 always identify him as "Anthoine Le Riche, dict Le Chantre."²⁷ From Philippe le

Beau's two crossings of France, Louis XII had known Braconnier since 1501. The singer may have joined the French Royal Chapel shortly after his master died. Crétin laments the deaths of Braconnier and his fellow French court musician, FEVIN, near the end of 1511--when Prioris was probably maître de chapelle (see n. 5).

Anthoine de Févin had apparently been a favorite of Louis XII. During his Italian expedition of 1507, the king wrote from Asti on April 18 to his friend Guillaume de Montmorency, asking him to send portraits by Jehan de Paris and a chancon "faicte par Fevyn," to show to the local ladies.²⁸ Perhaps the chancon the king awaited was Gaude Francorum regis corona, printed in Attaignant's eleventh book of motets. If d'Auton is correct, that Louis brought "all the chappellains and chantres of his Chapel with him" (see n. 4), then perhaps Févin was not a member of it, but more exclusively a composer. By June, Louis was master of northern Italy. At the end of the month he received King Ferdinand the Catholic and his wife, Germaine de Foix (Louis's niece), in Savona. In the Duomo June 29 the two royal chapels sang mass polyphonically for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.²⁹ Two days before, Louis had taken the time to write to Florence, requesting that the composer Alexander COPPINI, who had been arrested, be released. The reasons he gave were that Coppini was a faithful monk and a good musician.³⁰

Florence was not the only Italian city that maintained musical relations with the courts of Charles VIII and Louis XII. In 1503 Josquin went from Lyon to Ferrara. And before coming to France he had served in Milan and Rome. Another composer, Elzéar GENET (CARPENTRAS), sang in the Chapelle Royale "sometime between 1508 and 1513." In both those years he is traceable in the papal chapel. And while Leo X was pope (1513-21) Carpentras was maestro di cappella.³¹

The Chapelle Royale may have begun to employ choirboys during the reign of Louis XII. A letter from Leo X to François I informs us that Louis XII had sent to Rome a choirboy named "Jean CUNSEL (CONSEIL), Parisiensis."³² Pirro's reference does not specify whether Conseil was a member of Louis's Chapel. But at his death it included six choirboys.³³ Records of the Ecurie show that between October 1508 and November 1509 Louis employed three "petits chantres de la chappelle": Mathurin DOREAU, Jehan ROUX, and René (de) BOIREAU. The accounts record the clothing they were allotted, which was identical to that of the king's forty-four (later forty-seven) pages.³⁴

An entry in the records of the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais Royal in Paris shows that Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne, and Charles de Bourbon despoiled the chapel of its chantres in 1508. Dated November 22, it orders one of the

chappellains to go to several French cities north and east of Paris,³⁵

in order to seek out and bring back the best and most excellent singers that can be found to serve in the said Sainte-Chapelle, because the King, the Queen, and my lord of Bourbon have taken into their service those who were there and brought them away.

CLAUDIN de Sermisy, "who had served briefly in 1508" at the Sainte-Chapelle and "who was in 1508 appointed a singer in the Royal Chapel of Louis XII" (Reese, p. 291), may have been the most important example of the royal plunder. A colleague of Claudin during his composing years. Pierre SANDRIN may also have had early ties to Louis's court. In 1506 the king gave someone with that name three pounds "to help support his studies."³⁶ And perhaps the ALBI of Louis's funeral account was Hervé Albi, who in 1496 was a clerc of the Sainte-Chapelle.³⁷

Louis may also have acquired Mathurin DUBUISSON directly from the chapel of the Palais Royal. In 1503 and 1504, as "maistres des enffens de la Sainte Chapelle du Palais a Paris," he and Nicolas BODIN divided 400 L.t. from the king for the maintenance of the choirboys.³⁸ According to Thoinan (n. 7), Dubuisson sang in Louis's Chapel until the maîtrise of Rouen enticed him with 20 écus d'or and the promise--soon honored--of a benefice. Thoinan also identifies Jehan LE BRUN and BARDEMONT as "chantres en voix basse" of the Chapelle Royale under Louis XII. Guillaume LEROI replaced Bardemont and later followed Dubuisson to Rouen.

He may be the composer of a five-voice motet, O Oriens (Thoinan, Les Origines, pp. 83-84).

Three musicians who sang in Louis's Chapel at the end of his life may have had some connection with St-André de Grenoble. One is Jean MAUPAIN who was listed as clerico and tenoriste of the church choir on 6 September 1499.³⁹ The other two are considerably more important--Pierre and Jean MOUTON. At St-André on 22 April 1509 Pierre Mouton was a witness to the act by which Jean Mouton was made a canon of the church. At the time, Jean was one of Anne's chapel-singers, and Pierre was her organist (Ch. v, n. 3). By the end of 1514--probably following the queen's funeral in February--both had passed into the Chapelle Royale.

By February 1514 Pierre Mouton was a canon of Notre-Dame de Paris (see Ch. vii, n. 35). Since he still held this title in 1532 (when the chapter of the St-Pierre de Beauvais called on him to inspect the new cathedral organ)⁴⁰ Mouton probably remained a canon of Notre-Dame until he died, 11 May 1534.⁴¹ His expertise as an organist was already well-established by the time of Louis XII's death. When Pierre Tonnelier was installed as organist of St-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris (6 February 1515) he insisted that improvements be made on his instrument. In this instance, and also for the transformation of the Sainte-Chapelle organ that year, Pierre Mouton's approval was required (Raugel, pp. 82, 114). It was on his recommendation, too, that Jehan Regnault succeeded

Jehan Peu as organist of Notre-Dame 10 October 1515. Not until over a decade later, however, (14 March 1527) did Mouton become the cathedral's organist. He remained until the chapter allowed Regnault to return to his post, 6 August 1529 (see Ch. vi, n. 4.).

Perhaps Pierre Mouton's finest hour was in 1520 when he played for the Chapelle Royale during mass on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Having served Anne de Bretagne, Louis XII and François I, Pierre Mouton appeared in 1526 as a pensionnaire of the one person who united all three-- Claude de France.⁴² Since we know that both Moutons served Anne in 1509 and sang in Louis's chapel in 1514, we might surmise that the king 'adopted' all the other singers of the queen's chapel as well. This would help explain the presence, at Louis's death, of no less than twenty-three "chantres de la chappelle dudit feu seigneur."

MUSICIANS OF THE CHAMBRE OF CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

In his excellent study of "La Musique de la Chambre et de l'Ecurie sous le règne de François I^{er}: 1516-1547,"¹ Henri Prunières implied that François was the first to establish musical organizations in the French royal Chamber and Stable. Account books of his predecessors show, however, that Charles VIII employed musicians "en la Chambre" as early as 1490, and that under him and Louis XII the Ecurie included a growing musical contingent.

The account of Charles VIII's menuz plaisirs et privez affaires de la chambre for the year beginning October 1490 (Arch. nat., KK.76)² lists several special payments to EVRARD de La Chappelle, "chantre et joueur d'orgues en la chambre dudit seigneur," and to Anthoine de HEE, "chantre et joueur du ludz en la chambre dudit seigneur." Lutenists, of course, regularly performed alone--especially those, such as Anthoine de Hée, who were singers as well. It was less common for organists to sing to their own accompaniment; Evrard de La Chappelle was famous for doing it.³ Since these two are the only Chamber musicians so specified in the 1490-91 account, it is questionable whether Charles yet had a Chamber ensemble.

At the same time the king did employ at least three other instrumentalists (not counting the trumpets of the Stable) -- Jehan de LA VILLE, "harpeur dudit seigneur"; Jehan MOREL, "tabourin du Roy"; and Jehan DELAIRE, "joueur du cornet dudit seigneur." Of the five other singers mentioned in the account three belonged to the Royal Chapel; one is

listed simply as "Jehan CARRECTE, chantre"; and the last is "Estienne GUILLOT, dit BERGEUST [VERJUST], chantre et varlet de chambre dudit seigneur." If we could add Guillot and the three players to Hée and Evrard, then Charles VIII's "Musique de la Chambre" in 1490-91 would have included six musicians--a vocal trio, accompanied by organ, lute, harp, cornet, and drum.

Evrard de La Chappelle

The most important of these musicians by far is Evrard de La Chappelle, who succeeded Ockeghem as treasurer of the royal abbey church of St-Martin de Tours.⁴ Evrard first appears at the French court in a personnel account of Charles VIII's Maison "for the year 1490," compiled 27 June and 27 December 1490.⁵ He is found among the Varlets de Chambre at a salary of 360 L.t. (fol. 326'.) The account of the king's menuz plaisirs for the year beginning that October includes four payments to the singing organist. "In order to maintain himself more decently in the service of" the king, he received 70 L.t. and 30 L.t. over his regular wages. He also got 25 L.t. once, and 35 L.t. another time, "to have a horse."⁶ For the year ending September 1491, therefore, Evrard received 460 L.t., plus 60 L.t. for horses--which averages out to ten pounds a week.

On 9 February 1497, three days after the death of Ockeghem (see note 9), Charles VIII presented Evrard to the chapter of St-Martin de Tours to fill the church's vacant post of treasurer. The chapter instead instituted legal proceedings against Evrard, claiming that he was ineligible for the position

because he was not "born of a legitimate marriage." For nearly two years Evrard was unable to enjoy "the fruits of the said treasury." He obtained royal letters, signed 9 November 1498 (by Louis XII), ordering the tax collector of Touraine to pay him the unexpended balance of the St-Martin account.⁷ That year Evrard had to defend his appointment in a suit brought against him by Jehan du Moulin and Jacques de Sainte Feyre, two other claimants to the office.⁸ It took a parliamentary decree (20 July 1499) and adjudication ("prononcé le VIIe septembre" (1499 or 1500?) for Evrard to receive all the benefits due him as treasurer.⁹ These he enumerated in an aveu to the king, dated 28 September 1500.¹⁰

Evrard did not, apparently, fill the position of premier chapelain or maistre de la chappelle, also left vacant by Ockeghem's death. These titles are not applied to him in the litigation over his appointment to the St-Martin treasury. It is possible, though unlikely, that he did not even belong to Charles VIII's chapel. Under Louis XII, however, he appears in the personnel lists under the heading, Chappelle. In the one for the year beginning October 1498 (KK. 87),¹¹ under the subheading, Sommeliers de Chappelle, we find "Maistre Everard delachappelle, Tresorier de Saint Martin de Tours, organiste dudit seigneur."¹² Jean d'Auton, Louis's official chronicler applies the same titles to Evrard in a chapter concerning an event that happened around Christmas 1502.¹³ This chapter also mentions "maist. René de Prye, evesque de Bayeux et maistre de la Chapelle du Roy" (III,96). It is possible, nevertheless,

that Evrard was the musical director of the Chapel while Prye was its ecclesiastical maistre.

While contemporary accounts and account-books describe Evrard as the king's organist and St-Martin's treasurer, he is never referred to as organist of St-Martin. Brenet has interpreted the passage in Crétin's Déploration for Ockeghem that urges Evrard, upon his succession to the treasury, to "Have an organ built . . ./And every day . . ./Play some motet . . ./For the deceased," as an indication that the church had no organ yet.¹⁴ Rokseth, however, has found reference to one as early as 1436.¹⁵ Coelier refers to an inventory of St-Martin, ordered by Charles VIII in 1493, which includes an organ.¹⁶ And Giraudet states that the famous organ-maker, Ponthus Jousseau repaired the St-Martin organ at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁷

According to Jean d'Auton, Evrard's loyalty to Louis XII improperly exceeded his religious devotion. This is the point of the above-mentioned chapter in his Cronicque of 1502. Around Christmas Evrard was at Cléry, where he was a canon of the collegiate church of Notre-Dame. He was about to visit the king at Loches when someone reminded him that he owed a pilgrimage to Saint-Mathurin de Larchant--approximately the same distance from Cléry, but in the opposite direction--and that his duty to God and the saints transcended that owed to "princes and other human beings." Evrard asserted the contrary, claiming that Saint Mathurin was not in such a hurry to be visited by him. He was completely mistaken: the saint

was offended and taught him a lesson by striking him on the head with "such a blow that sense failed him, spirits troubled him, reason fled." He became enraged and guarded his door with sword and dagger, threatening all who approached. It took the captain of the hundred bowmen of the king's guard, aided by the half-dozen of his men who were with him in Cléry and one of Evrard's own servants, whom he almost stabbed, to capture him. He was bound and brought to Larchant, where he did his novena so well that "the good saint forgot the misdeed,"¹⁸ and he was cured.

One year later, after the death of Louis de Luxembourg, Jean Le Maire de Belges mentions Evrard among the great living musicians.¹⁹ The latest reference to him that I have found dates from 1510. Evrard gave an organ that was built that year to Notre-Dame de Cléry.²⁰

Antoine de Hée

In the personnel list "for the year 1490" under the heading, Chappelle, there is a listing for "Antoine du Hée, ayde--60 L.t."²¹ If the account ran until September 30, we might suppose that Charles VIII recognized Hée's vocal and instrumental talent after that date. He is identified as the king's Chamber singer and lutenist, rather than a Chapel singer, in all thirteen special payments to him from the menuz plaisirs account for the year beginning October 1490. The second of these, probably from November, is for Hée "to have a lute";²² ten are for him "to maintain himself more decently";²³

and three (including one of those for maintenance) are for travel or horse expenses.²⁴

All the payments are in multiples of 35 s.t., which equaled an écu d'or. For maintenance the first five are 10 L. 10 s.t. (6 e.), and there are two each of 17 L. 10 s.t. (10 e.) and 21 L.t. (12 e.) The thirty-five pounds for a horse and maintenance may have been divided equally. If so, the total for Hée's extra maintenance is 84 écus (147 L.t.), which amounts to exactly 7 écus (12 L. 5 s.t.) per month. If his regular salary was still 60 L.t. this brought his year's wages and benefits to a more respectable (for a musician) 207 L.t., in addition to almost 90 L.t. for travel expenses. Four years later Hée appears as a valet de chambre of the dauphin, Charles-Orland, at a salary of 180 L.t.²⁵

La Ville, Morel, Delaire

The four musicians who may have belonged to Charles VIII's Chamber in 1490-91 all appear in the personnel list of his Maison "for the year 1490," under the miscellaneous heading: "Autres gens et officiers appointes en l'hostel du Roy" (Colb. 54, fol. 328'). His harpist, Jean de La Ville, and drummer, Jehan Morel, both earned salaries of 140 L.t. (80 e.). And "Petit Jean Tolaire--135 L.t." is probably the king's cornettist, Jehan Delaire, who received 105 s.t. (3 e.) from the menuz plaisirs account "to have a robe."²⁶ The three chapel singers mentioned in the latter document do not appear in the personnel list. Neither does "Jehan Carrecte, chantre," who received twice as much as Delaire for a robe.²⁷

The other singer, Guillot, does appear as "Estienne Guillaume, dit Verjust--270 L.t."

After Evrard and Hée, Jehan de La Ville was probably Charles's most favored instrumentalist. He received one payment of 21 L.t. (12 e.) "to maintain himself more decently," and another one of 262 L. 10 s.t. (150 e.) for the same as well as for services rendered "every day."²⁸ He also divided ten pounds with Jehan Morel for their estraynes of New Year's Day 1491.²⁹ Thus his total remuneration for the year ending that September amounts to 428 L. 10 s.t. The king paid Morel 175 L.t. for "more decent" maintenance and 35 L.t. for a horse.³⁰ Counting his estraynes but not the horse allowance, his year's wages total 360 L.t., which equals Evrard's regular salary.

Jehan Morel and Jehan Delaire are probably the two musicians of Charles's Maison whom Anne de Bretagne paid on New Year's Day 1493 and shortly before. Her account refers to "Petit Jehan, tabourin du Roy" and the "joueur du cornet du Roy."³¹ Louis XII retained them (as well as Evrard) in royal service. The account of his Hostel for the year ending September 1499 lists both players under the heading Tabourins; however, Delaire is correctly described as the king's cornettist. He paid each of them 120 L.t. for their year's salary.³²

On his expedition into Italy (September 1494 - October 1495) Charles VIII brought his entire staff including the musicians of his Chapel, Chamber, and Stable. A

contemporary record of his "conquest"³³ specifies that he brought "drummers, harpists and cornet-players, and those who had bodies fit for doing leaps and soupplesses."³⁴ This accords exactly (except for the pluralization of each instrument)³⁵ with the miscellaneous personnel listed for Charles's Maison in 1490. There, in addition to Morel, La Ville and Delaire ("Tolaire"), we even find "Laurent Restore et Jacques Blaise, "joueurs de souppesse" and "Pappin Antoine compagnon desdits joueurs" (Colb. 54, fol. 328').

Riet, Bonnet

Charles may have employed at least one other Chamber instrumentalist--Jean RIET, varlet de chambre. "For the year 1490" he earned 360 L.t. (n. 5). In May 1488 he paid 36 L.t. for "un eschiquier ou manicordion," for which the king reimbursed him the following month.³⁶ It is possible, of course, that the instrument was intended for the use of Evrard. Riet appears later as premier valet de chambre of Charles-Orland during the year his father was in Italy. While four other valets de chambre--including Hée--earned 180 L.t., Jean Riet's salary was 300 L.t.³⁷

One other instrumentalist, Bonnet de BONNET, while not officially a member of Charles VIII's household in 1490-91, seems to have enjoyed the king's favor and played for him frequently. He played several instruments and must have been a virtuoso on the bagpipe (cornemuse), for he was called "le seigneur de la corne." He received 40 L.t. for his playing from February until 20 July 1491--a rate of almost 100 pounds

a year. About nine months earlier he and two other instrumentalists divided 105 L.t. (35 L.t., or 20 e. apiece) for having played several times before the king.³⁸

Verjust (Etienne Guillot)

At the time of his marriage to Anne de Bretagne, Charles's preferred non-instrumentalist singer was perhaps Estienne Guillot, also called Verjust. In addition to a 1490 salary of 270 L.t., Guillot received payments in 1491 of 40 L.t. for improved maintenance (around March) and 52 L. 10 s.t. (30 e.) for the same and for a horse (around June).³⁹ If the horse allowance was 35 L.t. Guillot was still left with over 325 L.t. in wages and benefits.

Guillot remained in royal favor for at least fifteen years. An anonymous account of Philippe le Beau's journey across France in 1501 speaks of a member of the Royal Chapel at Blois in December "named Verjus, who is the second master Alexander [Agricola] and is highly appreciated (fort aymé) by the king and by everyone."⁴⁰ Records of Louis XII's "Offerings, Alms and Devotions" for the year 1506-07 (KK. 88)⁴¹ indicate that an Estienne Guillot, called "Verjus," was the cure of St-Nicolas de Blois. To this parish belonged one of the three chapels of the royal château--"la chappelle du chasteau du jardin de Blais" [sic].⁴² During his eleven-week stay in Blois from 9 November 1506 until 26 January 1507 the king heard mass in this garden-chapel thirty-one times, chanted by Guillot (fols. 27, 45, 64).

The 1510 budget for the duchy of Milan, then under the French crown, includes a crossed out payment to Estienne Guyot as chastelain of the Porta Fodesta in Piacenza. The position provided a minimal income supplement--if he ever received it-- of 16 L. 13 s. 4 d.t. Although the name Verjust does not appear, this could easily be the parish priest of St-Nicolas and former valet de chambre and singer for Charles VIII.⁴³

Jean Cornuel, a singer and contemporary of Estienne Guillot, was also called Verjust. Droz and Pirro have documented his life at Cambrai, where he died in 1499, and at St. Peter's, the ducal chapel of Milan in 1474, Cologne, and the Hungarian chapel of Matthias Corvinus.⁴⁴ Apparently unaware of Guillot, they attribute to Cornuel the chanson, Au hault de la roue de fortune, copied under the name "Verjeust," in Paris 2245. Pirro also assumes that Cornuel is the Verjust whom--with Prévost, Piscis, and Prospère--Cretin summons to sing what might be a lamentation by Fresneau on the death of Ockeghem.⁴⁵ If Prévost and Prospère could be traced at the French Court--Piscis (Poisson) can--⁴⁶ then the likelihood would be great that Cretin's Verjust is Estienne Guillot.

Fresneau

In 1490 at least two other musicians were listed among the miscellaneous personnel of the king's Maison: "Maistres Jean et Charles Frenauds, freres et musiciens--400 L.t." (Colb. 54, fol. 328'). The first could well be the Jehan FRESNEAU who joined Louis XI's Chapelle Royale in 1468 or 1469 and was still there in 1475.⁴⁷ "Jehannequin Fresneau,"

appearing next to "Jehan de Hokeghem" on a list of "Dons et recompensations" in 1474, received 500 pounds "pour entretenir son estat."⁴⁸ By 1494 he had moved to Chartres but remained connected to the royal court as an official of St-Martin de Tours. Lesure outlines his career from 1494 to 1505:⁴⁹

The presence of Fresneau in the choir school of the cathedral of Chartres in 1494 has been briefly noted by Pirro. The musician was acting that year as procurator of the canonships of St-Martin of Tours with the title of "canon and provost of Mayet in the church of said S. Martin." On 9 February 1500 he was still in Chartres as "notary and procurator in the church's court"; and in February 1505 he was acting there as executor of a canonship of the town.

Jehan (or Charles) Fresneau's six three-voiced chansons appear in nine manuscripts from around 1500, many of which transmit the works of Pietrequin Bonnel (see Appendix B).

Rome, CS 23 preserves Fresneau's Missa Quarti toni.

CHAPTER IV

MUSICIANS OF THE ECURIE OF CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

While it is difficult to determine precisely what level of development "La Musique de la Chambre" had attained at the courts of Charles VIII and Louis XII, the Ecurie before François I presents no problem. The Archives Nationales possess an annual account of the royal Stable for the reigns of each of François's two predecessors. For the year 1487-88 (KK.73)¹ Charles spent 804 L.t. for the salaries of four trumpets; twenty years later Louis spent over twice the amount for at least three trumpets, two tabourins souysses, and five sacqueboutes et joueurs de haulx boys. (KK.86)² Several of them continued in the service of the French court under François I.

Four manuscript volumes at the Bibliothèque Nationale preserve many of the monthly Ecurie payrolls from October 1494 through September 1503.³ They indicate an average expense of about 160 L.t. per month (nearly 2000 L.t. annually) for the musicians of the royal Stable. They also show that three months following Charles's death (7 April 1498), Louis still retained the four trumpets, four "Swiss drums," and one sackbut employed at least since January by his predecessor.⁴ The high point comes at the beginning of Charles's invasion of Italy: in October 1494 and February 1495 he spent 142 L.t. for eight trumpets and 30 L.t. for three tabourins souysses; but that was during his successes. After his army barely survived the battle of Fornovo and

escaped back to France in October 1495, he reduced his budget for these instruments by over twenty per cent. From then until the following May he allotted only 97 L.t. to his six remaining trumpets and 40 L.t. to four tabourins souysses, the lowest monthly amount recorded in the documents covering the nine-year period.

The payrolls also tell us when the royal Ecurie hired its first sackbut: in June or July 1496, while Charles and Anne were in Lyon. Probably Italian, he is listed as Pierre de Modène (or Modaine) at a monthly wage of 20 L.t., or 240 L.t. per year, equaled only by the king's best-paid trumpets. He was the sole sackbut for at least two years. He does not reappear after July 1498, unless he is the Perrin de Modène mentioned in a payment dated November 1509 (see nn. 32-33).

Whereas Charles VIII hired the French court's first sackbut, Louis XII expanded the contingent to such an extent that they rivaled the trumpets in their share of the Stable payroll. By 1502 he had hired six Milanese sackbut-and-shawm players. The first two still headed François I's list of Italian haulxboys almost three decades later. These instrumentalists will be discussed more fully after considering the trumpets, of whom twice as many served the royal Ecurie between 1487 and 1508. (See Tables 3 and 4.)

Trumpets

Of the four trumpets in 1487-88 two, Jehan d'Amboise

(paid 180 L.t./y) and Charles de l'Aigle (144 L.t./y), never reappear in the extant accounts. On the other hand Grant Jehan Tabolat, listed first with a salary of 240 L.t., remained a member of the Stable during most of Charles VIII's reign. He and Nicodemus Baudegon, also paid 240 L.t., continue to appear in the Ecurie's monthly payrolls, at the same annual salary, through at least September 1496.⁵

The copied list of the king's personnel "for the year 1490" includes a varlet de chambre whose name is transcribed as "Jean Triboullart" (Colb. 54, p. 326). Since his salary is 240 L.t., and he immediately precedes Evrard, this is very likely Charles's first trumpet. Furthermore, since later payrolls spell his name "Taboullart," it seems possible that the copyist misread the second letter. The account of Charles's menuz plaisirs in 1490-91 includes a payment to Grant Jehan of 105 L.t. (60 e.) for a horse and "to maintain himself more decently."⁶ Added to his regular salary of 240 L.t., and allowing 35 L.t. for the horse, this would bring his wages for the year ending September 1491 to 310 L.t. Jehan Francisque first appears in this account. The fact that he received 21 L.t. (12 e.) around February 1491 "to have a trumpet" may indicate that he had recently been hired.⁷

While absent from the first two payrolls of 1498, "Jehan Taboulart, dit Grand Jehan, trompette" and Jehan Francisque, "aussi trompette" appear among Louis XII's

huissiers de chambre in the list of his chambellans "before his accession to the crown."⁸ A hole in the page partially obliterates their salaries. But since the last part of both figures is "xl," it would not be hazardous to assume that Louis retained them at their original salary of 240 L.t. They both received that amount for the year beginning October 1498, again listed among the king's huissiers de salle et d'armes.⁹

The New Year's Day 1491 étrennes payment to Charles's trumpets suggests that he employed five at the time. He gave 17 L. 10 s.t. (10 e.) "to Nycodemus de Bourdegnon and Pierre de Moulins and their fellows,"¹⁰ which could be two écus apiece to five trumpets. We know that two of the others were Taboulart and Francisque. The fifth might have been either Charles de l'Aigle or Jehan d'Amboise (from the 1487-88 Ecurie account), or Marian de Cassat, the marquis of Montferrat's trumpet-player, whom Charles gave 87 L. 10 s.t. (50 e.) that summer to return to his master.¹¹ It is also possible that the king already employed seven trumpets, each of whom would have gotten 50 s.t. for New Year's. In that case all the players suggested could have been recipients. But considering that two years later Anne allotted her husband's trumpets 12 L. 10 s.t.--evenly divisible only by two, five, and ten--the first hypothesis seems more reasonable.¹²

As stated above, Charles brought all of his

personnel with him to Italy. Of all the Ecurie payrolls I have seen, those for October 1494 and February 1495 show the greatest outlay for instrumentalists. In addition to Taboullart, Baudegon, and Francisque, who were each paid at the rate of 240. L.t. per year, there were five newer trumpets: Jehan Dominico (240 L.t.), Bernard de Verceil, "Savoyard, who serves in the band of Monseigneur the Vidame" (144 L.t.),¹³ and Guillaume de Janzac, "who serves in the band of Monseigneur de Myolans" (180 L.t.).¹⁴

Since no monthly payrolls are available before October 1491, it is impossible to determine whether all (or any) of the latter five trumpets belonged to the royal Stable before Charles left France or if he hired them in September or October. An account of his crown's expenses for military decoration, established by letters patent dated 25 July 1494 (KK. 333),¹⁵ contains payments for "ten trumpet-banners to be used by the ten war-trumpets who will go to be in the company of [Duke Louis] d'Orléans."¹⁶ This might apply to the eight from the October and February payrolls plus two trumpets who served Louis. But it could mean ten different trumpets altogether.

Whenever Charles acquired his expeditionary trumpets there are three places from which they are likely to have come--Casale, Verceil (Vercelli), and the duchy of Milan. The first two are midway between Turin (which Charles entered September 5) and Milan. There he could have hired

"Bernard de Verseil, Savoyisien"¹⁷ and "Jaques de Cazal." And since Casale was the capital of the marquisate of Montferrat, it is worth remembering that one of the marquis's trumpets was at Charles's court before the summer of 1491. Milan, which in 1499 or 1502 provided Louis XII with six sackbut-and-shawm players (including Georges de Cazal), could have been a source of trumpets as well. From there also might have come Jehan Dominico and--four years earlier--Jehan Francisque, whom the October 1494 payroll identifies as "ytalien." An account of Louis's plaisirs et menuz affaires de sa chambre for July through September 1504¹⁸ may confirm half of this hypothesis: it includes a payment to "Jehan Francisque de Palme,"¹⁹ a common French misspelling of Parma, which belonged to the duchy of Milan.

Two of Charles VIII's war trumpets, Bernard de Verceil and Jehan Pussetoye, forever disappear from the Ecurie payrolls before the French army returns home. Of the remaining three who first appear in October 1494, Jacques de Cazal may have remained the shortest time. Having received 15 L.t. (180 L.t./y.) then and four months later, he drew an annual salary of 144 L.t. from October 1495 until at least September 1503. He does not appear in the next available account dated 8 October 1508, which records the unpaid remainders (restes deues) of Ecurie salaries for the year ending the previous month. (see n.2). This indicates either that he no longer belonged to the Stable,

or else that by the date of the account he had already been paid in full.

Guillaume de Janzac, absent from the Ecurie between October 1495 and July 1498, reappears in October 1502. Then and eleven months later he received 12 L.t. (144 L.t./y.), three pounds less than his wartime wages (180 L.t./y.). The 1508 restes deues account indicates that his salary was 150 L.t. (KK.86, fois. 9-10). But since this is the only one among scores of annual Ecurie salaries not divisible by twelve, I would guess that three "x's" have been left off what should have been 180 (clxxx) L.t.--the salary of the other two trumpets listed. In 1547, at the death of François I, one of the Stable's seven trumpets is listed as Guillaume de Zanzac.²⁰

Retained by four French kings, Jehan Dominico (or Dominique) appears to have stayed on the royal payroll longer than any other instrumentalist. By the end of Charles's Italian campaign his salary had been reduced from 240 to 180 L.t., where it remained for at least thirteen years (October 1495 - September 1508). Sometime between 1516 and 1531 he replaced Jehan Francisque as huissier de salle and regained his original salary. He retired at full pay in 1531²¹ and was one of the two trumpets who marched with two cornets and flutes in François I's funeral procession.²² In 1550, under Henri II, Dominico received 260 L.t. as a "former officier of the

late king."²³

While three of Charles VIII's eight war trumpets were absent from the October 1495 Ecurie payroll, there was one replacement--Guillaume Musnier. Hired at 180 L.t. per year, he received the same salary for at least eight years. During his first twelve months he completed a contingent of six trumpets headed by Taboulat, Baudegon, Francisque, and Cazal, with Dominico at the end. Musnier does not appear in the restes deues account of 1508.

Sometime between September 1496 and January 1498 (perhaps to replace Baudegon), Charles hired a new trumpet, Pietrequin de Tombelle (or Tumbelli). He heads a list of four trumpets in January, February and--under Louis XII--July, 1498. That year Tombelle, Dominico, and Musnier received 180 L.t., while Cazal got only 144 L.t. Meanwhile--from before 28 May 1498 until September 1499--Taboula and Francisque served Louis as huissiers de salle at their Ecurie salaries of 240 L.t. (see n. 9).

Tombelle heads the trumpet lists again in October 1502 and September 1503, still receiving 180 L.t. These payrolls include a new trumpet, Anthoine Gallant, at only ten pounds a month, and Guillaume de Janzac, absent since the February 1495 payroll. Neither Tombelle nor Gallant appears in the 1508 restes deues account; but, once again, this does not prove their absence from the Ecurie. Actually Tumbelli, as first trumpet, was one of the Stable musicians

most likely to have been paid in full by the end of the fiscal year--which would have precluded his appearance in this remainder account. The account of Louis's "Offerings, Alms, and Devotions" for the year ending September 1507 increases the likelihood that Tombelle still served Louis that year. On July 3 the king ordered a payment of three pounds "to Pierre la trompecte . . . to help cure him of the fever he has."²⁴

At least one other trumpet joined the royal Ecurie during the reign of Louis XII--Augustin l'Escarperie. For the year beginning October 1507 he earned 180 L.t.²⁵ He may have been hired less than a year earlier, following the death of Philippe le Beau (25 September 1506), whom he served during the archduke's trip across France at the end of 1501.²⁶ He is probably the Augustin de l'Escarplan who received an appropriately elegant suit of clothes in August 1533 for the meeting in Marseilles October 12 between François I and Pope Clement VII (Prunières, p. 246, n. 3).

Tabourins Suisses

In the account-books for Charles VIII's reign the tabourin suisse²⁷ first appears in 1491. Three players, Pierre Mausifer, Angelin Cornet, and Jehan Pourry, performed for the king that February at Montilz-lès-Tours and Amboise. For this they received 35 L.t., and for playing "several times" before him Charles gave them another 30 L.t.²⁸

The first mention of tabourins suisses in the extant

Ecurie records occurs in the payroll for October 1494, the second month of Charles's Italian invasion. It lists three other players, Michel Rouef, Paule Philfre (Filfre) and Petit Jehan Speet. By a year later Lyenard Frite had joined them. Every account lists the four at ten pounds apiece each month. Louis kept them all at least until September 1498.²⁹ By October 1502, with Rouef gone, there were again three. Philfre and Speet, but not Frite, appear in the restes deues account of 1508 (KK. 86, fol. 10).

Sacqueboutes and Haulxboys

Five years before he hired his own first sackbut Charles VIII contributed 175 L.t. to help pay off a debt incurred by François de Malle, "sacqueboute de Monseigneur de Bourbon." The payment probably dates from around the beginning of 1491, when the court was in Moulins, the capital of Bourbon. Since there is no indication that Malle played for the king, the subsidy was probably given as a favor to Charles's sister Anne, the duchess of Bourbon.³⁰ About a month earlier Jehan Rousset, joueur du hault bois--along with tabourin and rebec players--had performed for Charles VIII at his first entrée into Grenoble. He gave them 21 L.t. (12 e.) to share.³¹

As stated earlier, we can be quite sure that Pierre de Modène, the first sackbut employed by the royal Ecurie, was hired in June or July 1496. Monthly payrolls are available for October 1494; February, October, December

1495; and for 1496, January, March, April, May, July, August and September. Pierre de Modène first appears in the July 1496 payroll, between the four "tabourins allemans" and Jacques Robinet, who normally followed them.³² He reappears only the following two months and in the next three extant payrolls--January, February and July 1498--always at 240 L.t. He could also be the Perrin de Modène mentioned in a payment for sackbut banners dated November 1509.³³

Sometime during his first four years as king, Louis XII hired six sackbut-and-shawm players from Milan--Berthé-
 lemy de Fleurance (Florence), Pietre Pagan, Philippe de
 Cosme (Como, in the duchy of Milan), Benedit de Millan,
 Jehan Ozel, and Georges de Cazal--at 120 L.t. apiece per
 year. They all appear at this salary in the Ecurie payrolls
 for October 1502 and September 1503,³⁴ the only complete
 ones of Louis's reign that I have found besides the July
 1498 payroll. It is likely that he acquired them during
 his stay in Milan from 28 July to 8 August 1502; although
 it is conceivable that they joined the Stable during the
 king's previous visit from 6 October to 7 November 1499.³⁵
 Since the paymaster still designates them as "venuz de
 Millan" as late as September 1503, it may be more reasonable
 to assume that the six players had been hired in 1502 rather
 than 1499. Of course it is possible that Louis summoned
 them to the court while he was in France.

The 1508 restes deues account includes four of the six--Pietre Pagan, Philippe de Cosme, Jehan Ozel, Georges de Cazal--and Jacques Darobio (KK. 86, fol \dot{s} . 15-16). By then they all received 180 L.t. a year, equal to the highest salary of the Ecurie trumpets listed in the account. Except for Ozel, "aussi sacqueboute d.S." all of them played "instrumens de haulx boys" as well. Berthélemy de Fleurance, who a year later heads a list of three players receiving sackbut banners (and who headed the 1502-03 sackbuts), does not appear in the 1508 account. By October 8, when it was written, he probably had been already paid for the year ending that September. If Louis always kept the number of sackbut-shawmists at six, then we could surmise that Jacques Darobio was a replacement for Bénédit de Millan, the other sackbut omitted from the remainder account.

Darobio served Louis XII and François I for over twelve years; the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses the receipt for the full payment of his 180 L.t. salary for the year ending October 1519.³⁶ Prunières has published some interesting documents concerning two other players who served both kings. He attests that "Pietro Pagano died in 1535" (p.243, n. 4), having served the Ecurie until then. At least twenty-six years after Louis hired them, Berthélemy de Fleurance and Pietre Pagan still headed the lists of François's Italian haulxboys. The eight of them shared more than one payment of 41 L.t., for improved maintenance,

from the account of the king's menus plaisirs from December 1528 through December 1529.³⁷ This document also reveals that Berthélemy and another royal haulxboys divided 20 L. 10 s. "to defray the expense of a trip they made in July by order of the [king], with their fellows, toward Madame [Louise de Savoie, the king's] mother, then in Cambrai, to play at the feast held there by [her]."³⁸

Prunières also uncovered independent confirmation of facts that Louis's Ecurie payrolls reveal: Berthélemy de Fleurance's letters of naturalisation, granted in November 1528, state that by that time he had resided in France for about thirty years, and that he was originally from (natif de) Milan (p. 240, n. 3). This evidence further justifies us in sometimes considering the last names of the French court's Italian personnel as their family names, even when they are names of Italian towns.

With this in mind we can appreciate how many possible examples of kinship exist among musicians of the royal Ecurie between 1494 and 1547. We have already seen Jacques (the trumpet) and Georges (the sackbut) de CAZAL--to whom we might add the marquis of Montferrat's trumpet, if "Marian de Cassat" is a mistranscription (see n. 11). In 1510 the six trumpets of the city of Milan included Julien and Charles de CORREGIO.³⁹ François I's haulxboys of 1529 included Christofle and Sanxon de PLAISANCE (PIACENZA). At his death two of the seven trumpets were Guillaume and Edmé de ZANZAC; another pair were François and Gerard de RIVET; and François MEUNIER, who heads that list, could have been related to Guillaume MUSNIER.⁴⁰

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING RECORDS
OF THE ROYAL ECURIE, 1487-1509

Bibl. nat.

Date	<u>Ms. fr.</u> 2914	<u>Ms. fr.</u> 2925	<u>Ms. fr.</u> 2927	<u>Ms. fr.</u> 3087	Arch. nat.
10/87 -9/88					<u>KK.73</u> , fol.174
10/90 -9/91					<u>KK.76</u> (nn.6,7,10,11)
10/94			fol.193		
2/95				fol.96'	
10/95		fol.78'			
1/96			fol.8'		
3/96			fol.104		
4/96	fol.24				
5/96			fol.84'		
7/96			fol.125'		
8/96			fol.207'		
9/96	fol.42				
1/98		fol.84'			
2/98		fol.93			
3/98					<u>KK.74</u> , fol.165'
pre- 6/98			fol.29'		
7/98			fol.157'		
9/98					<u>KK.74</u> , fol.172
10/98 -9/99					<u>KK.87</u> , fol.71
10/02		fol.67			
9/03			fol.67'		
10/07 -9/08					<u>KK.86</u> , fol.9
11/09:	Bibl. nat., <u>Nouv. acc. fr.</u> 21163, fol.1				

N.B. the folios listed indicate where the musicians are first mentioned.

TABLE 4

MUSICIANS OF THE ROYAL ECURIE, 1487-1509

TROMPETTES	10/87 -9/88	10/90 -9/91	10/94 +2/95	10/95 -5/96	7/96- 9/96	1/98- 7/98	10/98 -9/99	10/02 +9/03	10/07 -9/08	11/09
Grant Jehan Taboullart	240	240	240	240	240		240			
Nicodemus Baudegon	240	240	240	240	240					
Jehan d'Amboise	180									
Charles de l'Aigle	144									
Pierre de Moulins		?								
Jehan Francisque		?	240	180	180		240			
Jehan Dominico			240	180	180	180		180	180	
Jehan Pussetoye			240							
Jacques de Cazal			180	144	144	144		144		
Bernard de Verseil			144							
Guillaume de Janzac			180	X	X	X		144	150(180?)	
Guillaume Musnier				180	180	180		180		
Pietrequin de Tumbelli						180		180	(180?)	
Anthoine Gallant								120		
Augustin de l'Escarperie										180

TABOURINS SOUYSSSES

Michel Rouef	120	120	120	120					
Paule Philfre	120	120	120	120				120	
Petit Jehan Speet	120	120	120	120				120	
Lyenard Frite		120	120	120				120	

SACQUEBOUTES & JOUEURS D'INSTRUMENS DE HAULX BOYS

N.B. numbers following players' names indicate annual salaries; " ? " means player, but not his salary, is listed.	Pierre de Modène	240	240				(Perrin:)	<u>banner</u>
	Berthélemy de Fleurance					120	(180?)	<u>banner</u>
	Pietre Pagan					120	180	<u>banner</u>
	Philippes de Cosme					120	180	
	Bénédit de Millan					120		
	Jehan Ozel					120	180	
	Georges de Cazal					120	180	
Jacques Darobio							180	

CHAPTER V

ANNE'S MUSIC AND MUSICIANS, 1499-1514

Although all the account-books of Anne's household and expenses written during her second reign have disappeared,¹ many municipal, ecclesiastical and musical records from the period demonstrate the increased importance of music at her sixteenth-century court. At least six motets--by four French, Flemish and Italian composers--were written between 1503 and 1514 in honor of the queen. And she expanded her musical establishment significantly. Jean Mouton, who wrote several motets addressed or alluding to Anne de Bretagne, sang in and later directed her chapel. Pierre Mouton became her organist. And she acquired other singers, including choirboys and choir-masters, from the maîtrises of the cathedrals at Angers and Chartres and from the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris.

Anne also hired several instrumentalists, who probably served in her Ecurie. By the time of her second entrée into Paris in November 1504 the queen employed at least two trumpets and tabourins (see Ch. vi, p. 82). Four years later, when Anne entered Pontoise (28 October 1508), the town gave an écu d'or to each of her six players: two clarions, two trumpets, and two haulz-bois.²

Mouton: 1500-03

The two most illustrious musicians of Anne's second royal court were Pierre and Jean Mouton. In 1500 Jean was maître des enffans at the cathedral of Amiens. In 1501-02

he held a similar position at the collegiate church of St-André de Grenoble. By 22 April 1509 he was a singer in Anne's chapel, while Pierre Mouton was her organist. And a year later (10 May 1510) Jean Mouton was the queen's maître de chapelle.³ At her death both musicians passed into the service of Louis XII and then François I (see Ch. ii, p. 38).

There is a strong possibility that Jean Mouton joined Anne's chapel as early as 1502. Documents of St-André de Grenoble reveal that the chapter hired him 17 September 1501 to teach the choirboys to sing plainchant and polyphony. It initially assigned him a clerical salary of two "scuta auri" (écus d'or) per month, equaling 42 L.t. a year. On 1 April 1502, pleased with Mouton's work (which included the composition of motets for church feasts), the canons gave him the salary of a recently deceased priest. Less than four months later (27 July 1502) they had to fill the vacant post of choirmaster. Chapter minutes of October 26 indicate that Mouton had left the church without permission. His disappearance from St-André sometime between April 1 and July 27 may be explained by the presence of Anne de Bretagne and Louis XII in Grenoble during the last half of June 1502.

Jean d'Auton reports that Louis stayed in Grenoble about two weeks--on his way to Italy for the third time--sometime between June 8 (when the court arrived in Lyon) and July 3 (when Louis reached Saluzzo).⁴ A contemporary letter states that the king departed from Grenoble June 27, leaving

the queen behind.⁵ Therefore, Anne should have been in Grenoble from about June 12 until at least June 27,⁶ during which time she could have enticed Jean Mouton away from his job at St-André.

At some point during the summer Anne went back to Lyon where she awaited word of her husband's return to France. In mid-September he arrived in a little town about five miles outside of Grenoble, where the queen and her court were waiting. Before returning to Lyon together they spent eight more days in Grenoble (d'Auton, III, 88-90). Since all original accounts of Anne's second reign are destroyed or lost--and the published excerpts of those for the years ending in September of the years 1506-09 do not include the members of her chapel⁷--the hypothesis that the queen hired Jean Mouton in late June or July 1502 remains uncorroborated, but likely.

1502-05: Mouton, Josquin; La Rue, Agricola

If Mouton was in Anne's chapel by the summer of 1502, he would certainly have met Josquin, whom Osthoff documents at the French court 13 December 1501 (at Blois) and 13 April 1503 (at Lyon).⁸ In that case Mouton could have been for several months Josquin's direct disciple. It would also mean that on 31 March 1503, when Anne de Bretagne made one of her numerous entrees into Lyon, Mouton probably met Pierre de La Rue and Alexander Agricola, who had arrived with Philippe le Beau nine days earlier. With Josquin there

since March 29 (the date of Louis XII's entrée), what a quartet this may have been!⁹

On Sunday, 2 April 1503, high mass at St-Jean de Lyon was sung by Philippe's and Louis's (and Anne's?) chantres.¹⁰ The following day the king and archduke signed a peace treaty according to which their children (Claude de France and the future Emperor Charles V) would marry and thus unite the rival claims of France and Spain to the kingdom of Naples (d'Auton, III, 153-56). That evening there were fireworks and a banquet to celebrate the accord. In addition to whatever music the two courts provided, the city of Lyon spent 3 L. 10 s.t. (2 e.) on four local musicians who played at the banquet. They were an organist, lutenist, rebec-player, and tabarin¹¹ --the same combination of instrumentalists Anne employed in 1493. On Palm Sunday (April 9), the day before Philippe le Beau left Lyon, he heard vespers and compline at St-Jean with Louis and Anne.¹² Lalaing does not mention who sang this service, but it could have been the same forces that performed high mass a week earlier.

Agricola: Transit Anna timor (1503-05?)

About the time Philippe was in Lyon, Louis XII developed one of his several illnesses which plagued him over the next two years.¹³ This may have been the one for which Agricola wrote a motet praising Anne for the care she took of her sick husband--Transit Anna timor:¹⁴

Transit Anna timor niveos regina perartus asscripta est
 cordis dira favilla tui marcida, dum regis prospectas
 ora mariti, vitae intersitio mortis, et haesit amor
 gallica neu remis variis pertusa fatiscat viribus et
 remis. Rex redivive vales. Que distinxti labiis per-
 plexa voluntans vota Deo superum solve benigna tibi.

Regia sed soboles Francae spes Claudia gentis, fortunae
 refugas disce puella vices, auspice qui Christo censeris,
 nomine Christo, numine sub trino. Rex Ludovico vale.
 Sospite te, salva est respublica, maxime regum, justiti-
 aiae robur, et religionis honos.

Another possible occasion for the motet was the Treaty of Blois between Louis, Philippe, and Maximilian, signed 22 September 1504, after Louis had spent the summer in and around Blois in bad health.

Perhaps the most likely inspiration for Agricola's composition was Anne's comportment during her husband's severe illness in the spring of 1505. D'Auton describes how "night and day" she did her utmost to care for him, always showing him a happy face, but out of his sight broke into tears. And she sent frequent requests to the pope to grant indulgences to those who prayed for Louis.¹⁵ Contrary to what Edward Lerner says in his commentary on Transit Anna timor,¹⁶ in April 1505 Louis XII was on good enough terms with the Hapsburgs to receive imperial investiture as duke of Milan. The diploma granting it was given to Georges d'Amboise--in return for 100,000 French pounds--in Hagenau, 5 April 1505.¹⁷ While his father was selling the title to Milan to the king of France, Philippe le Beau would hardly have disallowed Agricola to write a motet praising the queen. (See Appendix G for a list of all the known motets for Anne, with their original sources and modern editions.)

1507-10: New Chapel Singers and Masters

At some point before 23 February 1507 Anne heard the cathedral St-Maurice d'Angers' maître de psalette sing. She must have informed the canons of the church how much their maître's voice pleased her ("quia eum videre et audire cantare plurimum affectabat"); for on the above date they relinquished him to the queen. In return, influenced by one of her almoners (Guy Le Clerc, abbot of La Roue, in Anjou) and Cardinal Philippe de Luxembourg (bishop of Le Mans) she helped finance the restoration of the cathedral organ, which had been destroyed by lightning in 1451. To Angers she sent Ponthus Joussaume, the organ-maker of Tours who had recently constructed organs for the churches of Notre-Dame de Cléry and St-Sauveur de Blois and repaired the one at St-Martin de Tours. While the chapter of St-Maurice provided him bread, lodging and materials, Anne paid the labor charge of 400 écus d'or a la couronne, worth 700 livres tournois. In the woodwork of the organ, finished shortly before the queen's death, were portraits of Louis XII and--in characteristic ermine--Anne de Bretagne.¹⁸

Anne took part in the musical "pillage" of the Sainte-Chapelle in November 1508 (see Ch. ii, n. 35). We know that she, Louis, and Charles III of Bourbon divided the chapel's chantres, but not which singers were taken by whom. Nor is there any evidence that Anne provided compensation to the Sainte-Chapelle. In 1510 the queen asked the canons

of Chartres cathedral to let her take into her service a young choirboy, Jean Lefebvre, whose voice had "ravished" her. She is supposed to have thanked them by saying: "You have given me a little voice; and I want to give you a big one"--which she did by providing the funds for a church bell, that was called "la cloche Anne." Lefebvre eventually became a canon of the cathedral and a priest, and he died¹⁹ in 1575.

As we have seen in the case of Prégent Jagu and the cathedral of Tréguier (see p. 11), Anne not only took singers away from churches, but used her influence to provide them with ecclesiastical positions and revenues. While in Grenoble 22 April 1509 the queen obtained a canonship at St-André for Jean Mouton, who was by then a singer in her chapel. She also saw to it that the church reserved for him the next available prebend, which he received 10 May 1510. In the intervening year Mouton had become Anne's maître de chapelle (see n. 3).

Mouton: Non nobis Domine (1510)

At Blois 25 October 1510 Anne gave birth to her second daughter, Renée de France. Jean Mouton celebrated the event in his motet Non nobis Domine:²⁰

Non nobis domine, non nobis
sed nomini tuo da gloriam

[1] qui reginam fecundasti
et in partu praeservasti
tante prolis gratia

[Refrain] Ergo clamemus in coelum:
"Vivat Rex in aeternum,
vivat Rex et Regina."

[2] O Francia quantum potes
tantum gaude nam filia
datur Annae Regique.

Refrain

[3] Lauda deum, O Renata,
per Renati preces nata.
Et nos pari foedere

Refrain

[4] O Renate, parens regni,
audi preces Ludovici:
da filium nobilem.

Refrain

Musically, the refrains to stanzas 1 and 3 resemble each other; the other two are identical--with the last line of the piece repeated--and paraphrase the first and third refrains in triple meter. The first two lines of the text are from Psalm 113. The remainder, freely composed, praises the Lord for the queen's pregnancy and safe delivery (st. 1); asks France to rejoice in the gift of a daughter to Anne and the king (st. 2); calls on Renée, born through St. René's prayers, to praise God (st. 3); and finally implores St. René to give Louis a son (st. 4).

The cult of St. René--"the patron of those who desire a son,"²¹ whose feast is celebrated November 12--was particularly strong at Angers. St-Maurice was the seat of the confrérie of St. René, the most important one in the city.²² On 31 March 1510, when Anne must have been about

two months pregnant with Renée, she came to the cathedral to pray before the altar of St. René (Farcy, IV, 174). According to Farcy, the queen and king had made a similar pilgrimage on 18 August 1506 or 1508, in fulfillment of a vow to thank the saint for sending them a dauphin.²³ I am not aware, however, that Louis XII ever produced a son that survived childbirth. Perhaps Anne's pregnancy of 1507 (see below), resulted in a stillborn son, for which they felt, nevertheless, indebted to St. René.

Mouton: Caeleste beneficium (1510?)

By October 1510 Louis XII must have been extremely impatient to have a son. After almost eleven years with Anne de Bretagne--preceded by a sterile marriage with Jeanne de France (Charles VIII's other sister)--he had one daughter: Claude, born 15 October 1499 (exactly forty weeks after his second wedding). On 21 January 1502 Anne had a stillborn son.²⁴ In June 1507, while Louis was in Savona with King Ferdinand the Catholic, Anne sent him word from Grenoble that she was pregnant and urged him to return to France. On June 29 Louis received the news enthusiastically. He had it announced in all the territories of northern Italy under his control, which celebrated the news with fireworks.²⁵ Two weeks later Louis reached Anne in Grenoble,²⁶ and they proceeded to Lyon. When the queen left for Blois July 27 she was (according to d'Auton, IV, 385), "very noticeably pregnant" (bien fort enseincte). I do not know the outcome,

unless it led to a royal pilgrimage the following year to the altar of St. René in the cathedral of Angers (see above).

Perhaps while Anne was carrying Renée (in utero), Mouton composed Caeleste beneficium introivit in Annam:²⁷

Caeleste beneficium introivit in Annam,
per quam nata est Maria virgo.
Anna, nos cum filia,
Christo reconcilia.
Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
Quis non confitebitur tibi?
Orat, plorat et exorat Anna tibi.
Orantes deprecamur,
fac ut cito adjuvemur
per tuam clementiam.
O Renate, tam beate, Ludovicus clamat ad te:
audi, quaeso, vocem nostram.

The beginning of the text is from the sequence for the feast of St. Anne--mother of the Virgin Mary and patroness of motherhood--celebrated July 26. Like Non nobis Domine, which may be a sequel, it ends with "an invocation by the congregation to Saint Renée [sic]in behalf of Louis XII, who seems to be praying for an heir" (Shine, III, 163). It remains possible that Caeleste beneficium was written for a pregnancy following the birth of Renée. (Anne had another stillborn son 23 January 1512.) It seems somewhat less likely, however, since it does not express as explicitly as Non nobis the persisting supplication for a son.

Other Motets for Anne (?)

Two more motets by Mouton express the royal desire for the birth of a son. One of them, Christe Redemptor, contains the prayer: "sit regi felicitas, reginae fecunditas."

But since Mouton served Louis XII after Anne died, and François I after Louis, the queen in question might just as easily be Mary Tudor or Claude de France. The other motet, Puer natus est nobis, may commemorate the birth of Henri II, François's son and successor. However, it could be an example of 'wishful composing' during one of Anne's numerous pregnancies.

Mouton wrote three motets based on the liturgy from the Office of the Dead--Miseremini mei saltem vos, Nolite confidere in principibus, and Peccantem me quotidie. Any of them may have been sung at funeral ceremonies for members of the high clergy and nobility--especially for Anne de Bretagne. Three other motets--by Mouton, Festa, and Moulu (see Ch. vii)--specifically mourn the death of France's twice-crowned queen.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROYAL ENTREE IN PARIS 1467-1517

During her two reigns as queen of France, Anne de Bretagne made several entrées into the major cities of the realm. Most important were those into Paris following her two coronations at Saint-Denis. Several contemporary documents, manuscript and printed, record details of the preparations made by the French capital and of the ceremonial pageantry that accompanied Anne's Paris entrées. Some include payments to royal and municipal musicians; others mention musical aspects of the coronation rite, of the theatrical performances along the route of the entrée (see Table 5), and of the banquet that completed it.

On 8 February 1492, Anne was first crowned queen in the abbey church of Saint-Denis. She made her first entrée into Paris the following day. The route was the same one followed by Charles VIII in 1484, by her again in 1504, and by their successors throughout the sixteenth century. It also served for the entrées of Archduke Philippe le Beau and the legate Georges d'Amboise in the winter of 1501-02. The route leads south along the Rue St-Denis from the Porte St-Denis to the Palais Royal (on the Cité)--with stops for mystères at both places and in between--at the Ponceau, the Trinité, the Porte aux Peintres, the Innocents and the Châtelet. From the Palais Royal it turns east and ends in the cathedral of Notre-Dame, where a Te Deum, always accompanied by the organ and ringing of the church bells, is solemnly sung.

Information published by Félix Raugel tells us who most likely played the Te Deum on the Notre-Dame organ for both of Anne's and many other entrées.¹ From 1477 until the end of 1503 the organist was Jehan MAUGENDRE, called HANYN. He probably played for her first entrée, as well as for those of Marguerite d'Autriche (2 June 1483), Charles VIII (8 July 1484), Louis XII (2 July 1498), Philippe le Beau (25 November 1501), and Georges d'Amboise (17 February 1502).²

Hanyyn was succeeded by Jehan PEU 13 January 1504, ten months before Anne's second entrée. He played at Notre-Dame until his death in September 1515. Anne probably heard him again, therefore, 11 June 1513, when she attended vespers in the cathedral. Her funeral procession from Blois to St-Denis reached Notre-Dame de Paris 14 February 1514, and Peu may have accompanied the services sung there the next day.³ Two more royal entrées took place during his tenure: those of Louis's new queen, Mary Tudor (6 November 1514), and his successor, François I (15 February 1515).

Jehan REGNAULT was the Notre-Dame organist during the entrées of both of François's queens: Claude, elder daughter of Anne and Louis (12 May 1517); and Eléonor d'Autriche, sister of Emperor Charles V (16 March 1531). He obtained the post 10 October 1515, on the recommendation of the king's--formerly Anne's--organist, Pierre Mouton, and

held it for over twenty years. However, his conflicting responsibilities as beneficiary subdeacon of St-Denys-du-Pas and difficulties with the canons of the cathedral--who accused him of changing the tones of the Psalm antiphons--caused his temporary replacement, from 14 March 1527 until 6 August 1529, by Pierre Mouton.⁴

Marguerite d'Autriche, Philippe le Beau's sister, was raised at the French court from age three to thirteen as the future queen, until Charles replaced her with Anne. Her entrée into Paris in 1483 may have inaugurated the route described above that was followed for a century. Jean de Roye's Chronique Scandaleuse notes that she entered Paris by the Porte St-Denis, at which there was a mystère on a three-stage scaffold, with personnages representing Louis XI, his children and their spouses, and allegorical characters.⁵ There were other mystères wherever else Marguerite went. Unfortunately, Roye does not detail the route, nor does he mention music at this entrée.

In 1467 Louis XI's queen, Charlotte de Savoye, entered Paris by boat and stopped on what is now the Ile-St-Louis. There she was greeted by royal and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Before she returned to her boat to enter Paris proper, luxurious boats arrived full of city officials. They also carried the Ste-Chapelle choirboys singing "virelais, chansons et autres bergerettes," and a multitude of instruments, who began playing as Charlotte

entered her boat.⁶ The account of Marguerite's entrée, so different from the previous one, sufficiently resembles that of Charles VIII the following year for us to surmise that it set the example for the Paris entrée--its form and route--until well into the sixteenth century.

The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a short incunabulum⁷ entitled:

S'ensuit le Sacre de la tres crestienne Royne de France, lequel fut fait a Saint-Denis, avecques le couronnement d'icelle et aussi l'entree de la dicte dame en la bonne ville de Paris.

It describes the events of 8 and 9 February 1492 in language almost identical to the library's Ms. fr. 24052, a history of France "jusques au renvoy de Madame Margherite d'Aultriche et de la paix quy alors fut faicte," written by Jean Nicolai.⁸ His account appears on folios 418-25 (revised foliation), in the chapter entitled: S'ensieult le couronnement et entree de la Royne de France en la ville de Paris [etc.].⁹

The musical presentation for Anne's first entrée took place at the Fontaine du Ponceau, which stood, according to the author, "a good steel-bow shot inside Paris from the Porte [St-Denis]." At the fountain stood a scaffold supporting several allegorical characters. In front of it was "a lily on a stone," next to which stood a smaller scaffold with shepherds on it.¹⁰ One of the actors, playing Paris, recited a speech for the new queen. The shepherds took his last lines, "Pour la venue souveraine / De nostre

tres-noble princesse," as a cue to begin singing chansons. Following is a line-by-line comparison of the two texts' treatment of this scene (with the manuscript version above the printed one):¹¹

Lors estoient sups un aultre petit escaffault
Lors estoient sur ung aultre petit escharffault

ou coste dud litz bregiers, lesquelx, apres ce qu'ils
a coste dudict lis bergiers, qui, appres que ilz

eulrent oyt prononchier Paris les mots devant ditz,
eurent ouy Paris pnoncer les motz devat dictz,

comencerent a chanter mellodieusement canchons
comētecēt [sic] a chanter melodiesement chansons

de plaisance, la noble Royne estant devant led escaffault.
a plaisance, la noble Royne estnāt [sic] l'escharffault.

It appears as though:the printer simply reproduced Nicolai's account after removing the Picard locutions and spellings--and replacing them with typographical errors.

At the beginning of the year 1502 the municipal and royal officials of Paris expected Anne to make a new entrée into the capital as Louis XII's queen. The délibérations of the Bureau de la Ville¹² for 13 January 1502 include the city's decision to devise new entertainment--Paris had welcomed Philippe le Beau seven weeks before--and to have people from the University of Paris write rhymed French verse to be recited by someone sumptuously dressed. As usual the Bouchers and the Passion players would also be asked to perform.¹³

The Prévôté of Paris gave Pierre Gringore and Jean Marchand 50 livres parisis (L.p.) for their work in

preparing a mystère for Anne's expected entrée and for the completion of it when she felt like coming.¹⁴ When she finally did, almost two years later (20 November 1504), Gringore and Marchand received another 100 L.p. from the royal officials of the Châtelet for their mystère there.¹⁵

Two other governmental records shed light on the musical aspects of Anne's second Paris entrée. Accounts of royal subsidies to the city of Paris include expenses authorized by the latter for the entrée.¹⁶ One payment reads:¹⁷

To 8 chantres who were chanteurs the day of the entrée . . . and the day before rehearsing their chansons, the sum of 68 s.p.

Hôtel de Ville accounts for the same occasion show a total expenditure of over 8,000 L.p.¹⁸

for the mistaires the day of the entrée at the Porte St-Denis, Fontaine due Ponceau, Porte au Pintres, at the end of the Pont au Munier, near the clock of the Palais, at the end of the Marche Palu: to the carpenter, ironsmith, costume renters, for the actors who played in the mistaires, musicians, instrumentalists, tapestry-worker, canopies (? : pouelles) and others.

Included in this must be the following payments:¹⁹

Aux trompettes de la Reine:	5 L. 12 s. p.
Aux heraulx d'armes de la Reine:	5 L. 12 s. p.
Aux Roys d'armes de la Reine:	5 L. 12 s. p.
· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Aux tabourins de la Reine:	2 L. 16 s. p.
Au trompette de Madame de Bourbon:	14 s. p.

Not only does this inform us about the musicians present for Anne's 1504 entrée; we also learn more about her own instrumentalists. Throughout her first reign she had one drummer and no trumpets; six years later she has at least

two of each. And considering Madame de Bourbon's high rank--Charles VIII's sister and at one time Regent--the payment of exactly eight times as much to the queen's trumpets as to her single one, may indicate that the queen employed more than two--perhaps four--trumpet players the day of her second entrée into Paris.²⁰

Godefroy published a detailed account of this entrée based on Bureau de la Ville records.²¹ But the most complete description is by Anne's secretary, André de La Vigne.²² It appears in Ms. 3036 of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. The introduction (or title) reads:

Comment la Royne à Saint Denys sacrée
Fut dignement en grand solempnité;
Pareillement comme estoit acoustrée,
Quant à Paris elle fit son entrée
J'ay tout escript en ce petit traicté

Except for this beginning, and the ending, the work is in prose. La Vigne also finishes the last sentence with four rhymed lines followed by the word "Amen." He then adds a nine-line acrostic of his name, in which he addresses the work to the queen alone.²³

The narration begins with Anne's arrival at the church of St-Denis on Saturday, November 16, to say her prayers and make her devotions. She then returned to her lodgings, where she stayed until Monday.²⁴ On the 18th she re-entered the church "to the sound of the great bells, trumpets, clarions, flutes, drums and bedons de Suisses."²⁵

La Vigne mentions only the trumpets and clarions in the procession from the church back to her lodging. But during the sumptuous dinner there, which was followed by dancing and other entertainment, they were joined by drummers and loud and soft minstrels.²⁶ The high mass for Anne's coronation was "solemnly sung in honor and reverence to God, Our Lady, and Saint Denis" by the legate, Georges d'Amboise--with René de Prie, Bishop of Bayeux and Louis XII's maître de chapelle, as deacon and Estienne Ponchier, Bishop of Paris, subdeacon--and by the singers and organists of the king and queen.²⁷

On Wednesday morning, 20 November 1504, at ten o'clock, the procession of Paris officials left the Hôtel de Ville and met Anne at La Chapelle St-Denis (between St-Denis and the city limits of Paris). At about eleven the queen entered her litter and arrived at the Porte St-Denis around noon.²⁸ In the royal procession, between the nobility of royal blood and Anne's grand escuyer, marched "the king's and queen's trumpets and clarions."²⁹

The one musical mystère, according to La Vigne's account, was at the Châtelet. It had "shepherds and shepherdesses in peace and unity in the Park of France, singing melodiously."³⁰ This is the mystère for which Pierre Gringore and Jean Marchand received 100 L.p.³¹ One might suppose that it is the one in which eight singers, hired by the city under a subsidy from the king, sang chansons.³² The Châtelet, however, was directly a

royal--not municipal--responsibility. It seems more likely, therefore, that these singers performed in one of the other mystères listed in the Hôtel de Ville accounts.³³

If there was music for another mystère, it was most probably at the Porte aux Peintres, where musical mystères are documented in 1498 (Louis XII), 1501 (Philippe le Beau), 1514 (Mary Tudor), and 1517 (Claude de France). The subject of the 1504 mystère was the five Annes of the old testament, plus Anne de Bretagne. The payment immediately following the one to the eight singers is to Jehan Perrier for several performances of the mystère at the Porte aux Peintres.³⁴

At about six in the evening, after the Te Deum at Notre-Dame, Anne arrived in the courtyard of the Palais Royal, went into the Great Hall, which was covered with tapestries, and sat down at the Great Marble Table for the ceremonial supper.³⁵ Anne's and Louis's chantres and "all the good minstrels of Paris"³⁶ performed high on a scaffold to her right. At the arrival of each course of the meal trumpets and clarions blared. Anne rewarded them and the heralds present with four large pots of gilded silver imprinted with her arms. They responded, according to custom, by marching three times around the hall, shouting: "Largesse!" With these diversions, the supper lasted "trois ou quatre grosses heures."³⁷ At the end the city officials brought her a gift: a ship made of gold worth about eight or nine thousand francs. Afterwards the tables

and benches were pushed against the walls, and all the instruments mentioned for the dinner at St-Denis following the coronation played "chansons and other things." Then the lords and ladies began to dance, and the rest of the evening was spent in courtly entertainment.³⁸

Josèphe Chartrou states flatly that Anne's entrée into Paris in 1504 was the last royal entrée to present "religious subjects."³⁹ Evidently she refers to subjects from the New Testament, such as those in the mystères of the Transfiguration, presented by the Confrérie de la Passion, and the Adoration of the Magi, by the Fripiers. She continues: "After 1504, the mystère disappears from the royal entrée. The word remains; it becomes synonymous with theatrical representation."⁴⁰ Charles Read Baskervill observes, however, that in Pierre Gringore's pageantry for the entrées of Anne's two successors, he preserved some religious elements of "the old guild mystères": from them "came the heaven used for the biblical or allegorical scenes in pageantry, with God, angels, virtues, and sometimes a symbolic cloud. . . . Gringore used it twice in 1514 and again in 1517, but always in subordination to the purposes of his allegory."⁴¹

This brings us to Henry VIII's sister and Louis XII's third bride, Mary Tudor. HerS was the most musical entrée into Paris between 1483 and 1531. Pierre Gringore's own narration, published by Baskervill,⁴² mentions the

presence of performing musicians in three of the mystères: at the Porte St-Denis, Porte aux Peintres and Palais Royal. According to the contemporary accounts, the entrées of Charles VIII and Louis XII and both of Anne's⁴³ involved music in only one mystère. Philippe le Beau in 1501 was the first to witness two musical presentations: minstrels at the Porte aux Peintres (as in the previous entrée of Louis); and singing shepherds at the Châtelet (repeated for Anne three years later). There were two also for François I's two queens. I have not located accounts of the pageantry for the entrées of François himself, nor of Georges d'Amboise, that include descriptions of the mystères. One might safely assume that if any entrées equaled or surpassed Mary Tudor's in musical (or other) extravagance, they would be those for François I.⁴⁴

Another, printed, relation of the entrée closely parallels Gringore's account.⁴⁵ Mine will incorporate both texts, the relevant portions of which appear in the footnotes. The first mystère was at the entrance to the city, on the drawbridge of the Porte St-Denis. On a scaffold draped with tapestry was a large silver ship with sailors on the ropes singing the following "Chansson":⁴⁶

Noble dame bien soyés venue en France.
 Par toy vivons en plaisir et en joye.
 Francoys, Angloys vivent a leur plaisance,
 Louange a Dieu du bien qu'il nous envoie.

At the bottom of the Porte aux Peintres scaffold there were five young women elegantly attired. Two of them,

France and England, were seated at opposite ends of the platform; between them stood Peace, Friendship, and Confederation. Minstrels behind them played (according to Gringore) and/or the women sang (according to the print).⁴⁷

The final mystère was on a scaffold in front of one of the gates to the Palais Royal. At the top were a King and a Queen, with Justice on the right and Truth on the left. At the bottom was a garden full of lilies, called the Orchard of France, where several shepherds and shepherdesses sang.⁴⁸

For Mary's entrée the royal accounts of the Prévôté of Paris seem to indicate a fourth musical mystère at the Châtelet; but the reference is ambiguous. It is a payment to Gringore and Marchand for having, among other things, "paid the chantres, menestriers, and other persons for serving in the mystères . . . in front of the portal of the Châtelet . . . ; which mystère was well and decently done. . . ." ⁴⁹ The Prévôté was responsible for the Palais Royal as well as the Châtelet; therefore, if the payment is for more than one mystère, then perhaps the singers and minstrels mentioned are from the one Gringore describes at the Palais Royal.

The printed description of the Soupper in the Great Hall of the Palais resembles very closely La Vigne's account of the one for Anne ten years before. For Mary there were several scaffolds supporting trumpets, clarions

and shawms. After a "joust" between a cock and a hare, the new queen gave the heralds and the trumpets and clarions a silver boat, for which they all shouted: "Largesse."⁵⁰

For the period 1483-1531 the Paris entrée best documented--from the standpoint of eye-witness descriptions rather than financial records--is the one of 12 May 1517 for Claude de France, daughter of Anne and Louis, and first wife of François I. The Bibliothèque Nationale owns a printed account of Claude's entrée and banquet, published by Jehan Boissier,⁵¹ and an illustrated manuscript of her coronation and entrée. The latter, Ms. fr. 5750, is actually a poorer copy of Ms. 1791 in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College in Cambridge.⁵² Pierre Gringore's own official narration,⁵³ dated 1517 and preserved in Ms. 1337 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Nantes, includes a detailed explanation of the symbolism he used in each of the mystères. In his rhymed dedication to the queen, he criticizes the inaccuracy of accounts written earlier, pointing out that since he was the producer of the entrée and author of the texts, his is the true story.⁵⁴

Claude arrived at the church of St. Denis on Saturday, May 9. After the clergymen who greeted her at the doorway had administered the holy water, they chanted "several beautiful hymns, prayers and devout things." Once she had made her devotions inside one of the choirs, they began singing vespers.⁵⁵

The next day Claude returned to the church for her coronation. She arrived in the company of heralds, trumpets and clarions carrying the coats of arms of their lords and ladies. She was met in the doorway by the legate, Cardinal Philippe de Luxembourg,⁵⁶ "with the whole cardinal and episcopal triumph." They bowed; then the gens d'eglise began singing the Te Deum.⁵⁷

High mass was intoned by the legate and answered polyphonically (implied by Gringore) by Francois I's and Claude's chantres.⁵⁸ The Paris and Cambridge manuscripts mention only the singers of the king's chapel, but add that "at every pause the trumpets and clarions sounded."⁵⁹ After the new queen took communion, there was a silence, the legate chanted "several beautiful prayers and devout things," and blessed everyone present. Then Claude was taken to her lodging. At the dinner there was dancing, and singers and instrumentalists performed.⁶⁰

On Tuesday, May 12, Claude made her entrée into Paris. As usual the city officials met the queen at La Chapelle St-Denis, one league north of the Porte St-Denis. The Paris contingent, which included the city's banner-carrying trumpets and clarions, then led the way back, followed immediately by a large number of trumpets and clarions with banners emblazoned with the arms of the king, queen and constable of France.⁶¹

The mystère at the Porte aux Paintres involved six

women: at the top of the scaffold was Charity inside a large sun, reaching to heaven; at the bottom was Faith--bearing a standard with a shield portraying the arms of God, the Pope and the King--in the middle of four goddesses.⁶² "One was named Amadriade, goddess of the forests . . . ; the second was named Oréade, nymph and goddess of the mountains . . . ; the third was Nayade, goddess of the fountains; the fourth was named Nappée, nymph of the flowers. . . ." They sang the following "Chancon":⁶³

Tres noble dame, esperance aux Francoys,
Ton franc voulloir soullas plaisir nous donne.
Le peuple voy qui a toy s'abandonne
Et te recoit d'humble cueur tres courtoys.

The scaffold at the entrance to the Palais Royal supported actors representing Blanche of Castille, St. Louis, and Justice. While Gringore does not, the other manuscripts do mention the presence there of chantres singing polyphonic pieces.⁶⁴ Perhaps their texts were not by Gringore, and for that reason he omitted the singers--by accident or design--from his narration of the entrée. Or else might this be an example of the inaccuracies of earlier accounts that Gringore claims to correct?⁶⁵

The illustrated manuscripts describe Claude's arrival at Notre-Dame and entry into the cathedral, telling in detail which ecclesiastical dignitaries greeted her and sang the Te Deum: the bishop of Paris and other bishops, abbots, and prelates, with the dean, chapter members, canons, and choirboys of Notre-Dame.⁶⁶ The Boissier print

is most valuable for its coverage of the supper at the Palais Royal. Differing slightly from the manuscript version in its details about the entertainment--Gringore's work ends before the banquet--the print carries the events beyond the cries of "Largesse." The manuscripts, however, describe that ceremony in greater detail than anywhere else.

To begin with, the print states that instruments filled both scaffolds in the Great Hall; according to the manuscripts the one on the right held lords and ladies, while the other one supported instruments. The lists of instruments also differ, but to a lesser extent in translation. The print enumerates "trumpets and clarions, bucines, loud minstrels, shawms and several other instruments"; in the manuscript version, the left scaffold held "some of the trumpets [including clarions and bucines?] hacquebustiers, shawms and other tympaneurs d'honneur."⁶⁷

Only the manuscripts mention that at each course "the trumpets and clarions played, with banners unfurled," and the heralds accompanied the service. They state that at the third service the queen "ordered that the roys d'armes, heralds and trumpets be given two large pots of gilded silver, for largesses, which were big and piled high and may well have been worth a thousand francs." Claude's roy d'armes, Brittany, and Normandy each carried a pot. After they bowed, while kneeling, before her, Brittany got up and proclaimed three times: "Largesse a la tres crestienne

royne et duchesse, nostre souveraine dame et maistresse. Largesse, largesse, largesse." Then, while circling the hall, the other roys d'armes and heralds shouted "Largesse," while the trumpets and clarions sounded.⁶⁸

According to the print, the queen gave a pot of silver "to the trumpets and clarions and to the other minstrels for their tip (pour leur vin[= pourboire]." While they circled the hall, they shouted "Largesse, largesse, largesse; Dieu doit bonne vie a nostre maistresse." The banquet ended with morisques and other entertainment for the queen's enjoyment. The print concludes with versified praise in honor of Claude, ending with a prayer to Jesus to send her a son.⁶⁹

TABLE 5

MUSICAL MYSTERES IN PARIS ENTREES, 1484-1517

Entrée	Porte St-Denis	Font. du Ponceau	Pt. aux Peintres	Châtelet	Palais Royal
Charles VIII 8 July 1484		"Bergiers bien chantans...chan- son nouvelle"			
Anne de Bretagne 9 February 1492		"bregiers" chan- tant "canchons de plaisance"			
Louis XII 2 July 1498			"menestrelz qui jouoient"		
Philippe le Beau 25 November 1501			"menestriers; "David touchant sa harpe"	4 "chantres ("bergiers"); 4 "menestriers"	
Anne de Bretagne 20 November 1504			8 "chantres qui estoient chan- teurs" (?)	"bergiers & bergieres chantans"	
Mary Tudor 6 November 1514	"mariniers ("matelotz") chantant"		"menestriers"; personnages "chantoyent" (?)	"chantres, menestriers" (?)	"bergiers & bergieres qui chantoient"
François I : ? 15 February 1515					
Claude de France 12 May 1517			4 "deesses ... chantoient"		"chantres qu'ilz chantoient chosses faictes"

CHAPTER VII

THE FUNERAL OF ANNE DE BRETAGNE

On Monday, 9 January 1514, two-and-a-half weeks before her thirty-seventh birthday, Anne de Bretagne died at Blois. Her funeral ceremonies were probably the most lavish that France had yet seen.¹ The Délibérations of Paris's Bureau de la Ville indicate the reason such great importance was attached to her funeral. They point out that for over a century no French queen had died before her husband, been such a great landowner (the duchy of Brittany), and married two consecutive French kings.² The ceremonies lasted thirty-seven days (perhaps intentionally), until Anne's body was buried in the church of St-Denis 15 February 1514. The following month, again with great pomp, her heart was buried near her parents in the Carmelite church of Nantes.

Three composers wrote motets lamenting the death of the queen. Quis dabit oculis, set by Mouton and Festa, is based on the funeral orations by the king's confessor (see below). The tenor of the other motet, Fiere Attropos, sings the antiphon Anxiatus est in me. Anonymous in the Medici Codex of 1518, it is identified in Bologna R. 142 as Pierre Moulu's "Lamento della Regina di Franza."³ (See Appendix G).

The full text follows:

Fiere Attropos, mauldicte et inhumaine,
Grant ennemye de toute vie humaine,
Tu nous as mis en grant perplecite
Quant per envye as en tes pletz cite
Nostre maistresse et dame souveraine.

[Tenor:] Anxiatus est in me spiritus meus in me turbatum est
cor meum.

[Secunda pars (same tenor):]
Que te nuysoit en ce siecle et demaine
La noble dame dont France grant deul maine
Comme prive de sa felicite.

Following the precedent established by Anne at the death of Charles VIII, Louis ordered that mourning garb and emblems be black.⁴ For several weeks he prohibited all entertainment throughout France. Because of his profound grief (according to Fouché), he took part only in the ceremonies at Blois (p. 268). He also asked the bishop of Paris and chapter of Notre-Dame to celebrate "unum obitum solemnem pro remedio anime defuncte domine Anne Britanie," which they did after vespers on Sunday, January 22, and the following day.⁵

As heir presumptive to the French throne, François de Valois--who would have been Anne's son-in-law if she had not delayed his marriage to Claude--was officially the chief mourner (Fouché, p. 254). His expenses for black mourning cloth for the participants in the funeral amounted to over five thousand pounds.⁶ This included cloth for a special service he had performed for Anne at St-Florentin d'Amboise.⁷ Claude founded another obitus at Notre-Dame de Paris 24-25 September 1514 (Le Grand, p. 114, n. 3).

Contemporary accounts of the queen's funeral ceremonies give much attention to the incessant performance of the Office of the Dead and four high masses daily by monks, high ecclesiastics and the chantres of Louis's and Anne's chapels.

The most famous description, commissioned by Louis XII, is the Commemoracion et advertissement de la mort de ... madame Anne deux foiz royne de France, duchesse de Bretagne [etc.]⁸. The author, Pierre Choque, was called Bretagne because he was the herald of Brittany. He includes several elegies by André de La Vigne. More than twenty copies, illustrated by Jehan Perréal (Jehan de Paris), still exist. Each is dedicated to a member of the high nobility (Claude de France, Charles de Bourbon, Louise de Savoie, etc.) or to a political body (e.g., the Chambre des Comptes of Rennes).⁹

Le Trepas de l'Hermine regrettee is the title of an anonymous account of Anne's funeral, preserved in the illustrated manuscript B 665 of the Petit Palais in Paris. The Bibliothèque nationale possesses two other anonymous accounts: Ms. fr. 5099, which closely resembles Choque's version; and an eight-folio print, entitled L'ordre qui fut tenue a l'obsequie et funeraille de ... princesse Anne (Rés. Lb 29.44). The past three centuries have seen the publication of the official reports by three Parisian institutions: the Parlement,¹⁰ the Bureau de la Ville,¹¹ and the chapter of Notre-Dame.¹² The last is particularly useful for its detailed description of the liturgical aspect of the funeral and enumeration of the persons who performed the services at Notre-Dame on February 14 and 15. Finally, the Archives départementales at Nantes possess a partial record of the payments for the numerous religious services performed during the thirty-seven-day vigil.¹³

Anne's body lay in state in her room at Blois from January 9 to 14. Then it was brought down to the great hall of the château's "Louis XII wing" and placed in a coffin. It was surmounted by a life-sized effigy, made from molds of the queen's face and hands, and painted by Jehan Perréal (Fouché, p. 252). On February 3, with François de Valois leading the procession, the bier was brought to the collegiate church of St-Sauveur, which stood at what is now No. 2, Place du Château.¹⁴ After the sermon there the following day, began the long march to Paris and St-Denis. The procession stopped at St-Dye, St-Laurent, Cléry, Orléans, Artenay, Janville, Angerville, Etampes, Montlhery, and reached Notre-Dame-des-Champs (then a suburb of Paris) on Sunday, February 12. Two days later the body was brought to Notre-Dame de Paris. It was finally laid to rest the next day at St-Denis.

On February 4 Guillaume Petit, called Parvy,¹⁵ began his funeral oration at St-Sauveur. It was so long that it had to be divided into three sermons. The last two he delivered February 15 at Notre-Dame and St-Denis. At Blois his "theme" was Defecit gaudium cordis nostri; at Notre-Dame, Conversus est in luctum chorus noster; and at St-Denis, Cecidit corona capitis nostri.¹⁶ These three texts, preceded by the words Heu nobis, Domine, constitute the full text of the secunda pars¹⁷ of Mouton's and Festa's three-part funeral motets for Anne. No evidence has been found to indicate whether the themes of Parvy's sermons were available in advance to either composer.

If they were, the motets might have been written in time to be sung during the services of February 15. The texts of the first and last sections are:

[1] Quis dabit oculis nostris fontem lachrimarum,
 et plorabimus die ac nocte coram Domino?
 Britannia, quid ploras?
 Musica, cur siles?
 Francia, cur inducta lugubri veste,
 moerore consumeris?

[3] Ergo eiulate pueri,
 Plorate sacerdotes,
 Ululate senes,
 Lugete cantores,
 Plangite nobiles, et dicite;
 Anna, requiescat in pace.

The prima pars begins with an undisguised paraphrase of the first stanza of Poliziano's lament for Lorenzo de' Medici--
Quis dabit capiti meo aquam. The following text of that stanza reads:

Quis oculis meis fontem lachrimarum dabit,
 ut nocte fleam, ut luce fleam?

Services at Blois and en route to Paris

From January 9 through February 4 there were four high masses and scores of low masses every day in honor of Anne de Bretagne. The first of the daily high masses was of the Holy Spirit, performed by the Cordeliers (Franciscans); the second was of Our Lady, by the Jacobins (Dominicans); the third was a Requiem, by the Royal Chapel; the last was also a Requiem, dicte by Guillaume Le Clerc--abbot of La Roue (Anjou) and one of Anne's almoners---and respondue by the singers of her chapel.¹⁸ During these twenty-seven days the Cordeliers and Jacobins of Blois each received 40 L. 12 s. 6 s.t. for their

daily high masses and vigils of the dead and their five daily low masses. Twenty-seven high masses and processions at St-Sauveur (perhaps by the Royal Chapel) cost one écu d'or apiece, while 176 low masses each cost three sols (totaling 73 L. 13 s.t.). The other high masses "a diacre et soubzdiacre" and processions (perhaps by Anne's chapel) cost 12 s. 6 d.t. apiece. 315 L. 10 s.t. was spent for 2104 low masses in St-Calais and in the chapel in the great hall of the château.¹⁹

While the queen's body was in Blois members of the parishes, abbeys, convents, collegiate and other churches came in procession every day to chant the Libera me responsory and other prayers.²⁰ On February 3, just before and during Anne's transfer to St-Sauveur, the ecclesiastics who officiated there the next day--including René de Prie and Guy Le Clerc--also chanted the Libera over her body.²¹

From Anne's death until her burial the four mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinians) and other churchmen maintained a constant vigil.²² According to Choque, LeClerc officiated at mass, vespers, and vigils from her death until the funeral procession reached Paris, except at Orléans, where the local bishop replaced him. At Etampes February 10 and 11, the services probably were particularly beautiful.²³ This could have been because Anne was also countess of Etampes. The routine of four daily high masses, begun in Blois, was apparently maintained on the road. And the last one, sung by Anne's chantres, seems to have been

the most sumptuous. At Etampes it is singled out by the Bibliothèque nationale's anonymous manuscript account of the funeral.²⁴

Services at Notre-Dame and St-Denis

On February 14, after high mass at Notre-Dame de Paris, vespers were sung at 11:00 A.M. At noon the clergy went in procession to Notre-Dame-des-Champs to bring the queen's body to the cathedral. On the way the deacon intoned the psalm De profundis, which was sung by the choir.²⁵ When the procession returned to Notre-Dame de Paris it was met at the portal by the cardinal (Philippe de Luxembourg, bishop of Le Mans), "other prelates, the dean and chapter of the church, singing Libera all the way to the middle of the choir."²⁶ Vigils were chanted quickly as night fell.²⁷

Each of the nine lessons was recited by a different bishop or archbishop, the last one by the cardinal. The capitular records name all nine, as well as the twenty-eight canons and beneficiaries of Notre-Dame who sang the responses (see Appendix F). After the first response by four choirboys, the remaining seven were sung by two canons and two beneficiaries at a time. They included Louis van Pullaer (who directed music at the cathedral from 1507 to 1527), Johannes Pur (Jehan Peu [?], organist there from 1504 to 1515, and Stephanus Farcilly ("mentioned as organist in 1477");²⁸ magister Prévost (from Crétin's Déploration?--see Ch.3, n. 45); and Johannes Aymery (one of Anne's chapelains in 1492-93, but no longer in 1498).²⁹

At high mass February 15 the cardinal officiated with two orders of deacons and subdeacons. The secondary sub-deacon, Guy Le Clerc, held the Epistle for the subdeacon.³⁰ The bishop of Viviers (another one of Anne's almoners)³¹ and the archbishop of Dol-de-Bretagne joined (or led) the choir "with all the singers of the noble deceased."³² The capitular records are more specific: the bishops of Viviers and Dol chorum tenuerunt, assisted by two beneficiaries of the church, Laurencius Fermanel and Johannes Pur; by order of the dauphin (François), the queen's cantores sang mass.³³ The tract was sung by four bishops (Lodeve [Anne's grant aumosnier],³⁴ Beauvais, Constance and Limoges), the Cantor and archdeacon of Notre-Dame, and two of its canons--Johannes Joly and Petrus Mouton.³⁵

Choque's description of Parvy's sermon at Notre-Dame gives us reason to believe that the royal confessor depicted Paris that day as a musical four-voiced lamentation. In Choque's words,

His theme was: Conversus est in luctum chorus noster. He divided the choir of Paris in four parts: the church, which is towards the altar; justice, in the doorway; the university at the right; the people of Paris at the left. And he turned (or brought) all four members of this choir to tears because of the death of the noble queen.³⁶

It is uncertain whether he meant a vocal or architectural choir. Misquoting Choque, La Laurencie emphasizes the former interpretation by saying that Parvy "cast an allusion to music by comparing the city of Paris 'to a four-part musical choir.'"³⁷ In this sermon Parvy also praised Anne de Bretagne

for haying Jews pursued, baptised and then supported.³⁸ This activity of hers is documented as early as 24 June 1493, in a payment to Robert de Gaguin for the maintenance of Charles de Creil, previously a Jew, "whom she had baptised and led back to the Christian faith."³⁹

After the early lunch which followed mass at Notre Dame, vespers were sung at noon. Then the funeral cortège reformed and proceeded to St-Denis.⁴⁰ One of the high masses there was sung by the "singers and canons of the church of St-Paul in the church of St-Denis." They received ten pounds for this and for chanting "vigils of the dead and other prayers . . . for the salvation and repose of [Anne's] soul."⁴¹ Ms. fr. 5099 indicates that the final high mass at St-Denis, like the one at Notre-Dame, was sung by the queen's chantres (fol. 37). Afterwards the clergy chanted the Libera and other prayers three times: when they reached her body in the middle of the choir; when they brought it to the doorway of the choir; and when they reached the opening of the vault in which she was first buried.⁴² At the very end of the ceremony the cardinal "threw a little earth on the coffin while chanting very woefully--with tears in his eyes--Requiescat in pace."⁴³

On New Year's Day 1515 Louis XII died in Paris. Five days later the Bureau de la Ville decided to observe the customary royal funeral ceremonies---as they had been for Anne--and to make them "even better" only because the king had

died in Paris and because François I "and the princes and princesses of the kingdom" were there.⁴⁴ When Catherine de' Medici lay in state at Blois seventy-five years after Anne de Bretagne, her body was "dressed in the same royal clothing that [Anne] had, which had not been used since her death by any others but her, and was carried afterward into the church of the château with the same pomp and solemnity as the aforesaid Queen Anne."⁴⁵

INTRODUCTION

1. Lionel de la Laurencie, "La Musique à la cour des ducs de Bretagne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," Revue de Musicologie, 14 (1933), 1-15.
2. A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy, Vie de la reine Anne de Bretagne (4 vols.; Paris, 1859-61). See also his Détails sur la vie privée d'Anne de Bretagne (Paris, 1850; also published in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, sér. 3, t. 1.
3. Guy-Alexis Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, composée sur les titres & les auteurs originaux (2 vols.; Paris, 1707).
4. Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne (3 vols.; Paris, 1742-46).
5. In quotations from Godefroy's Cérémonial François (Ch. vi, nn. 5-6, 11) and from Baskervill's transcriptions (Ch. vi, nn. 42, 45-50), I have applied the editorial practice used for original sources, while retaining their accents.
6. In Ch. i, p. 6, I have used an additional abbreviation, "L.t./y" to indicate the prorated yearly salaries of Anne's chapel members paid out of a nine-month account (January-September 1492).

I: FIRST REIGN

1. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.82, fols. 1-98'.

Fol. 1: "Jacques de Beaune.

"Compte des gaiges des officiers de l'Ostel de la Royne pour neuf moys, commensans le [1 janvier 1492] et finissant le [30 septembre 1492]."

Fol. 10: "Compte premier de Jaques de Beaune, conseiller du Roy nostre sire, tresorier et receveur general de toutes les finances de la Royne [etc.]."

Fol. 60 (-64): "Aumosniers, chappellains et officiers de la chappelle de ladite Dame."

Fol. 63': "A Prégent Jagu, chantre de la dicte Dame, la somme de 75 L.t. pour ses gaiges et entretenement ou service de ladite Dame durant le temps de ce compte--qui est au feur de 8 L. 6 s. 8 d.t. par chacun d'iceulx moys, et de 100 L.t. par an [etc.]."

Fols. 63'-64: "A Yvon Le Brun, aussi chantre de la dicte Dame, la somme de 75 L.t. ... qui est au feur de 8 L. 6 s. 8 d.t. par an [sic] [etc.]."

2. Ibid., fols. 102 [olim 1] ff.

Fol. 102: "Compte deuxiesme de sire Jaques de Beaune ... des gaiges des officiers de l'Ostel de ladite Dame ... pour ung an entier, commancant les [1 octobre 1492] et finissant le [30 septembre 1493]."

Fols. 151'-152' [olim 49'-50]: "Clercs de chappelle."

Fol. 152 [olim 50]: "A Prégent Jagu, chantre de ladite chappelle, la somme de 100 L.t. pour ses gaiges et entretenement ou service de ladite Dame durant ceste presente annee.

"A Yvon Le Brun, aussi chantre de ladite chappelle, la somme de 100 L.t. pour ses gaiges et entretenement ou service de ladite Dame durant cestedite annee entiere."

3. Paris: Arch. nat., K.530⁶, No. 16 [fol. 1]: "Compte extraordinaire de Victor Gaudin, argentier de la Royne, de la recepte et despense par lui faicte a cause de l'extraordinaire de ladite argenterie durant neuf mois entiers, commencant le [1 janvier 1492] et finissant le [30 septembre 1492]."

4. Ibid., No. 17: "A Maistre Guillaume Le Borgne, chantre de l'eglise Nostre Dame de Nantes, la somme de 87 L. 10 s.t. pour 50 escus d'or que ladite Dame lui a donne le [7 fevrier 1492] pour avoir et acheter des draps de soye, pannes, et fourreures, a ce qu'il se puisse plus honneste[ment] entretenir a vivre."

I: FIRST REIGN

5. Arthur de La Borderie, "Le Béguin de François II, dernier duc de Bretagne," Archives de Bretagne, 2 (1884), p. 86. The account begins: "Delaracion [sic] des habillemens de beguin de feu le duc Francoys" (p. 79); it includes (pp. 101-04) the "Memoire des gentilzhommes, archiers et officiers de la Duchesse" (Anne de Bretagne).

6. In 1461 Pope Pius II elevated one of the canons of the collegiate church of Notre-Dame de Nantes to the dignity of chantre. The first to hold the position was Pierre L'Epervier; Guillaume Le Borgne--in some documents called Strabo, the Latin translation of his name--succeeded him. See Stéphane de La Nicollière[-Teijeiro], "Eglise royale et collégiale de Notre-Dame de Nantes," Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Nantes et du Département de la Loire-Inférieure, 3 (1863), 51.

According to Chancellerie documents excerpted by Lobineau (see Intro., n. 3), "Guillaume Le Bourgne" was instituted as second president of Brittany's Chambre des Comptes 13 September 1489 (II, 1524).

7. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 21451, fols. 329'-30': "Roole et Estat ... pour les années 1496 . 97 . et 98 fait.

"Extrait des comptes de Jacques de Beaune le jeune, tresorier general des finances de la Roynie."

Since Beaune le jeune's third account of Anne's Trésorerie covers the fiscal year October 1497 - September 1498 (see n. 16) then the accounts used to compile Ms. fr. 21451 are probably the three from October 1495 to September 1498. In his Histoire de Charles VIII (Paris, 1684), Théodore Godefroy published a similar--but not identical--compilation of Anne's officiers for 1496-98 (pp. 706-09).

Another manuscript in the library--V^C Colbert 54, fols. 332-35--lists the queen's personnel "for the year 1498":

"Estat des officiers de la Maison de la Roynie Anne ... pour l'année 1498.

"Extrait du Compte rendu par Jaques de Beaune le jeune."

8. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 10376: "Deuil et Beguin de la Roynie pour les mois d'avril commençant 1497 [1498] avant Pasques, finissans 1498 may et juing ensuivans oudit an."

9. Nantes: Arch. dept., E.210, No. 19: "Estat de la Maison de la Reine Anne pour l'année commencée le premier d'Octobre 1498" (after Morice [Intro., n. 4], III, 801).

10. Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, "La Cappella Musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1450 al 1500," Rivista Italiana di Musicologia, 3 (1968), 247-48. On these pages Bouquet published the entire contract, which I have reproduced in Appendix A.

I: FIRST REIGN

11. Frank D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," JAMS, 14 (Fall 1961), 342-46; also his "Some Neglected Composers in the Florentine chapels," ca. 1475-1525," Viator, 1 (1970), 272-73.
12. D'Accone, Viator, p.273, n. 39: "Spese per vestire la famiglia del Magnifico Piero per la gita di Roma.... A' tre chantori, cice Arigho, Charletto, Petrachino, a ciaschuno uno robone.... e uno beretto.... una robetta.... uno chapello.... somma Fl. 32 larghi e 1/2 per ciaschuno."
13. See Appendix B for works by him and Fresneau, and their sources.
14. Concordances for Mais que ce fut are provided by Helen Hewitt in her edition of Petrucchi's Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 165-66.
15. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 2927, fols. 27-33' [olim 66-72']:
"Chambellans du Roy avant son avenement a la couronne qui ont este mis en pension." (En pension does not mean retired.)
Fol. 28': "Valletz de Chambre": including "Prégent Jagu--180 L."
- The account of Louis XII's personnel for the year ending September 1499 (KK.87 [see Ch. iii, n. 11]) contains a special payment for Jagu's maintenance, under the heading "Deniers paieez par mandement du Roy nostre sire":
Fols. 146'-47: "A Prégent Jagu, varlet de chambre ordinaire dudit seigneur, la somme de 112 L.t. a lui ordonnee par icellui seigneur et par ses lettres patentes signes de sa main, donnees aux Montilz soubz Bloys le [22 may 1499], pour son entretenement en son service durant ceste dite annee--a icelle avoir et prendre sur une partie couchee en l'estat des officiers dudit seigneur, cy devant rendu ou nom de maistre [blank: Jacques] Buyne, frere de maistre Gabriel, medecin, puisnagueres alle de vie a trepas--lesquelles lettres ont este expediees ... le [15 juin 1499]."
16. Nantes: Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1335 (fr. 1174).
Fol. 11: Compte III^e de Jacques de Beaune le jeune, tresorier general des finances de la Royne, pour ung an entier, commençant le [1 octobre 1497] et finissant le [30 septembre 1498], des recepte et despense faicte a cause de ladite tresorerie, durant ledit temps, par sire Pierre Morin, conseiller du Roy nostre sire."
Fol. 26: "A Prégent Jagu, chantre de ladite dame, la somme de 100 L.t. a lui aussi ordonnee par ladite dame pour ses gaiges et entretenement en son service durant ceste dite presente annee."

17. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.83: "Tresorerie de la Roynne pour l'an fini au derrenier jour de septembre [1493]."

Fol. 2: "Compte deuxiesme de sire Jaques de beaune, conseillier du Roy, tresorier et receveur general des finances de la Roynne, des recepte et despence par luy faictes a cause de la tresorerie et recepte generale, pour ung an entier [1 octobre 1492 - 30 septembre 1493],"

This volume, which contains the queen's expenses in several categories month-by-month, is incomplete. After covering general expenses, and Offrendes et aumosnes, it cuts off in the middle of the Orfaverie outlays for July 1493. It leaves out, therefore (Cf. the next year's account, KK.84), Achaps de draps, Voyages, Escurie, and miscellaneous expenses. For October 1492 the entry reads: "Neant, pource que la despence faicte par credit tresorier durant ledit moys d'octobre est comprinse ou Roolle de la couche et gesine de ladicte Dame" (fols. 31 [general]; 92' [Offrendes]). This may be a reference to the mutilated compte extraordinaire, K.530⁶ (see n. 3).

Fol. 41': "A Prégent Jagu et Yvon Le Brun, chantres de ladite Dame, la somme de 70 s.t. ... pour leurs estrennes audit premier jour de l'an."

Etrennes are presents exchanged on New Year's Day; even when the calendar year began on or near Easter, "le premier jour de l'an" always meant January 1.

18. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.84: "Tresorerie de la Roynne pour l'annee finissant [30 septembre 1494]."

Fol. 2: "Compte troisisme de sire Jacques de Beaune ... pour ung an entier [1 octobre 1493 - 30 septembre 1494]."

Fol. 24 (October 1493 - January 1494): "A Prégent Jagu, chantre de ladicte dame, la somme de 25 L. 7 s. 6 d.t. ... pour luy ayder a soy monter, acoustrer, et plus honnestement entretenir en son service--Oultres et par dessus ses gaiges ordinaires et autres bienffaiz qu'il a et peult avoir d'icelle Dame."

19. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.85: "Tresorerie de la Roynne" (October 1495 - September 1496--Beaune's fifth account).

20. KK.85, Fol. 76' (May 1496 [?]): "A Yvon Le Brun, chantre de ladicte Dame, la somme de 10 L.t. a lui semblablement ordonee pour pareillement avoir este conduire ladite damoiselle de Guéméné et s'en retourner audit Lyon." (Paid 1 December 1496; Pierre de Bois-Guéméné paid in previous entry.)

21. Lobineau (see Intro., n.³), II, 1593-95: "Autre estat de la Maison de la Reine Anne, tire d'un premier compte de Maistre Rene Hurault, Notaire et Secretaire du Roy, Tresorier et Receveur general des finances de l'Hostel de ladite Reine, pour un an commence au premier Octobre 1505."

22. Chroniques de Louis XII par Jean d'Auton, ed. R. de Maulde La Clavière (4 vols.; Paris, 1889-95), II, 150, 171, 183, 189.

23. D'Auton, II, 180: "Les crestiens, qui lors estoient du guect, alloient souvant la nuyt contre leurs murailles, et, la, aucuns d'iceulx, qui musicyens estoient, disrent plusieurs bon motez et doulces chancons, ce que les Turcz escouterent voluntiers et laissoyent toute oeuvre pour ouyr la doulceur de l'armoye, sans faire semblant de vouloir mal faire aus-dits chantres par gectz de pierres ou coups de trectz ne leur chanterie empescher. La dedans fut ung Breton bretonnant natif de Quimperlé, lequel demanda si avecques l'armée crestienne avoit point quelque autre Breton pour parler a luy; auquel fut dit que si avoit, et a luy présenté ung pour savoir qu'il vouloit dire; ..."

24. Jean Lemaire de Belges, La plainte du désiré, ed. D. Yabsley (Paris, 1932), pp. 81-82. The fourteen lines of "Rhétorique," st. XII, are devoted to Josquin; st. XIII begins:

Bien fineray pour ung tel chant produire
 D'Agricola dont musique fait luire
 Le nom pluscler cent foys que fin argent.
 J'auray aussi, pour le mieulx faire bruire,
 Hilaire, Eyrart, qui bien s'y voudront duire:
 Conrad, Prégent, n'auront vouloir de fuire
 Ny autre maint qui chante par art gent.

Jean Lemaire had entered the count of Ligny's service less than three months before, at the death of the duke of Bourbon, his previous master. The poet had dedicated his first major work--Le Temple d'honneur, lamenting the duke's death--to the count, which may have helped him enter the count's service. Lemaire dedicated the original manuscript of La plainte du désiré to Anne de Bretagne. This should be the deciding argument that the Pregent he means is Jagu, the queen's first chantre. (See text, p.11, following this note.)

25. According to Eugene Giraudet--Les Artistes tourangeaux (Tours, 1885), pp. 339-40--Jehan Pregent is mentioned in a municipal document of 1489 as maistre organiste. Giraudet assumes that he is the son of Lancelot Pregent, another master organist and organ-maker, who swore an oath of fealty to Louis XI in 1471 and, two years before, was called upon to repair the organ of the Angers cathedral. This must be a reference to the 1469 account of the church's fabrique, which includes the following payment: "Die ultima Octobris tradidit bursarius Durocher Anatolo Pregent, pro reparatione magnorum organorum, XXII l." (quoted by Farcy [see Ch. v, n. 18], II, 73). A week later the cathedral had another Prégent--Pierre--tune the organ: "Die VIIa mensis novembris tradidit bursarius Johanni Millier, qui vacavit cum Petro Prégent pro flando ad intonationem dictorum organorum ... XXVII s. III d." (Loc. cit.).

26. D'Auton, III, 308: "proche parent du Roy et son loyal serviteur."

27. The letters are quoted by Le Roux de Lincy (III, 5-8 [letters 1 and 2]) and reproduced in Appendix E. He assigns them the year 1493, which cannot be correct, since Anne did not make her first entrée into Lyon until 1494 and probably did not write letters from Blois before 1499, when she married Louis XII.

The cardinal in question was Raphael Riario, whose uncle, Pope Sixtus IV, had named him in 1481 to succeed the previous bishop of Tréguier. His full title was "Cardinal-diacre Saint Georges au Voile d'Or."

28. For documentation see below, where the musicians are discussed individually.

29. KK.83 (see n. 17), fols. 35'-36: "A Guillaume Le Clerc, Hervé Riou, et Jehan Josses, menestrelz des pays de Bretagne, la somme de huit [sic] L.t. ... a deppartir entr'eulx par egal porcion pour leur ayder a vivre et entretenir en son service." The continuation of this entry corrects the amount to 18 L.t. and also proves that there were three players--not four, as several secondary sources indicate: "Et laquelle somme de xviii L. a esté payee, baillee, et delivree par dedit tresorier comptant ausdits Le Clerc, Riou et Josses ... ledit xxv^e jour dudit moys de decembre." The notation in the margin (fol. 36) of "xviii B" corroborates this. Most sources also write Rion; however, Riou is a typically Breton name.

30. KK.82, (see n. 2) (fols. 157-159' (olim 55-57')): "Officiers ordonnez pour la conduite des somniers et charriots."

Fol. 159: "A Guillaume Le Clerc, la somme de 130 L.t. pour ses gaiges et entretenement."

31. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 21451 (see n. 7), fol. 330'.

32. Nantes: Arch. dépt., E.210, No. 19 (see n. 9), fol. 8: "Guillaume Le Clerc--tant pour ses gages que pour l'entretenement du somier de la chapelle--180 L.t."

Morice, III, 803 and Lobineau, II, 1588 transcribe "somier" as "sonner."

33. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 10376 (see n. 8), fol. 94.

34. KK.83 (see n. 17), fol. 44': "A Petit Jehan, thabourin de la dite Dame, la somme de soixante[-dix] s.t. ... pour ses estrennes du premier jour de l'an."

The correct amount--lxx s.t.--appears later in the entry and in the margin in roman numerals (see n. 29, for a similar mistake).

35. KK.83, fol. 42: "A Pierre Yver, Jehannot Du Boys, et Jacques Loriguière, joueurs d'instrumens de la Royne, la somme de [soixante-]quinze s.t. a eulx pareillement ordonnee par icelle Dame pour leurs estrennes dudit premier jour de l'an."

Once again the scribe omits part of the amount when writing it in words, and the correct amount--lxxv s.t.--appears later and in the margin. Perhaps the confluence of these similar scribal errors around Christmas and New Year's Day comes from too much celebrating.

36. Ms. fr. 10376 (n. 8), fol. 99: "trois aulnes demye drap noir ... livre a Charganne, tabourin, pour luy faire robe et chapperon de deuil."

37. Nantes: Arch. dept., E.210, No. 19 (see n. 9), fol. 8'.

38. Paris: Bibl. nat., V^C Colbert 54, fol. 333' (see n. 7, ¶4).

39. KK.82, fol. 66' (see n. 1): "A Jaques Loriguière, pareillement joueur du manicordion, la somme de 75 L.t. pour ses gaiges et entretenement" (for January - September 1492, etc.--see payment to Jagu quoted in n. 1).

He is listed third of three Joueurs d'instrumens, following the lutenist and rebec-player. In the documents it is impossible to determine whether the g in his name is followed by an n or a u. But since Anne's account of Charles's funeral (see n. 8) spells his name Lorigore, it seems more likely that the usual spelling had a u, making the preceding g hard.

40. KK.82, fol. 154' (olim 52' [see n. 2]): "A Jaques Loriguière, aussi joueur d'instrument, la somme de 75 L.t. pour ses gaiges et entretenement ou service de ladite Dame durant ladite annee entiere" (October 1492 - September 1493).

I: FIRST REIGN

41. KK.84 (see n. 18), fol. 25: "A Jacques Loriguière, varlet de chambre, la somme de 25 L.[t.] pour le recompen[ser] de plusieurs grans services qu'il luy a faiz, fait, et continue a [faire] chacun jour a l'entour de sa personne et aultrement en plusieurs manieres; affin aussi qu'il ait mieulx de quoy soy plus honnestement entretenir en son service--Oultre [etc]."
42. KK.83 (n. 17), fols. 53'-54: "A Jacques Loriguière, varlet de chambre et joueur du manucorde de ladite Dame, la somme de 70 L.t. ... pour l'aichapt de plusieurs bea-tilles et autres drogues qu'il a amenees et fait venir de Barcelone ... aussi pour le recompenser de partie des fraiz et despens au'il a faiz en son voyage." (Cf. his title on 1 January 1493 [n. 35].)
43. KK.83, fol. 91: "A Jacques Loriguière, varlet de chambre de ladite Dame, la somme de 52 L. 10 s.t. ... pour le rembourser de pareille somme qu'il luy avoit prestee comptant et mise en ses mains des le moys de janvier derrenier passe pour [employer] en son plaisir et volente--qui payee luy a este par dedit tresorier en trente escuz d'or."
44. KK.84, fol. 85: "A Jacques Loriguière, varlet de chambre de ladite Dame, la somme 105 s.t. ... qu'il avoit de son ordonnance baillee a ung nomme Lucas, faiseur d'eschiquiers, pour ses peines et sallaires d'avoir rabille et mis appoint de deux eschiquiers de ladite Dame."
45. The word eschiquier can mean at least two kinds of keyboard instruments: a manicordion (see Ch. iii, n. 36); and a portative organ. The latter meaning is demonstrated by Savoy accounts which mention "les petites orgues, dit exchaquiers" that were brought from Chambéry to Geneva for Christmas 1485 (quoted by Bouquet [see n. 10], p. 243).
46. KK.84, fols. 90'-91 (February-May 1494): "A icelluy [Jehan Chassenay, menuyser] la somme de 114 s. 2 d.t. ... pour plusieurs pieces de boys et aultres choses par lui baillees et livrees a [sic] par le commandement et ordonnance de ladite Dame a ung religieulx, organiste, pour faire des orgues ou chastel d'Amboise pour le plaisir de ladite Dame." (Following this are over two pages itemizing the materials used by the organ-builder.)
47. Paris: Bibl. nat., V^C Colbert 54, fol. 333 (see n. 7). This listing should confirm La Laurencie's supposition (p. 10) that the "Jacques l'organiste" of two 1499 documents (see nn. 48 and 50 of this chapter) is Jacques Loriguière.
48. Nantes: Arch. dépt., E.210, No. 19 (see n. 9), fol. 6'.

I: FIRST REIGN

49. Charles had many artists and artisans "venir de son Royaume de Sicille, pour ouvrir de leur mestier, a l'usage et mode d'Ytallie." Included in the account of their salaries for the year beginning January 1498 was a priest and organ-maker, named Johanne de Granna, who earned 240 L.t. The account was published by Anatole de Montaiglon, "Etat des gages des ouvriers italiens employés par Charles VIII," Archives de l'Art Français, sér. 1, t. I (1851), 94-131.

P. 111: "'A Domino Johanne de granna, prebstre, faiseur d'orgues, a la raison de L.t. par moys, vallent. II^Cxl L.t.'" See also p. 121.

The inclusion in this account of "Jérosme Passerot, ouvrier de maçonnerie" (pp. 109, 119) should make us at least consider whether "Passereau" could be the gallicized name of an Italian composer of French chansons.

50. Le Roux de Lincy, "Inventaire des vieilles armes conservées au château d'Amboise du temps de Louis XII (septembre 1499)," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, ser. 2, t. 4 (1847-48), p. 422; "Et en la fin du dit inventaire y a escript en deux articles ce qui s'ensuit:

'Nota. Que j'ay les belles testes de cerf apportez de Meun. ...

'Et aussi les orgues apportez de Naples, que j'ay voulu bailler a Jacques l'organiste par plusieurs foiz, pource que la Royne le m'avoit commande.'" (Le Roux de Lincy quotes from a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale, Blancs Manteaux 49.)

51. KK.82, fol 66 (n. 1): "A Pierre Yver, joueur du lucz de ladite Dame, la somme 75 L.t. [etc.].

"A Jehannot Du Boys, joueur de rebecq, la somme de 75 L.t."

52. Paris: Arch. nat., K.530⁶ (see n. 3).

53. Born 10 October 1492; baptised 13 October. The dukes of Bourbon and Orléans were his godfathers; his godmother was Jeanne de Laval (see below, n. 72). The official account of the baptism, which took place in the royal chapel of the chateau of Plessis-lès-Tours, is published in Théodore Godefroy's Histoire de Charles VIII (Paris, 1684), p. 627. The dauphin's body was buried in the church of St-Martin de Tours 2 January 1496. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.229 preserves the account of his last year and funeral.

I: FIRST REIGN

54. K.530⁶, No. 11: "A Pierre Yver et Jehannot du Bois, joueurs d'instrumens, la somme de soixante-dix livres tournois, qui es a chacun xxxv Lt que ladite Dame leur a donnee le derrenier jour de"

The last two lines were hidden in the stitches binding this fragment to another. I owe thanks to the directors of the Archives nationales for unsewing them. (For this transcription I have underlined the letters that were omitted by abbreviation.)

55. K.530⁶, No. 11: "...Auxquelz ladite Dame en a fait don le derrenier jour de cedit mois [octobre 1492], par egal porcion ... a leur faire habillement a ce que plus honnestement se puissent entretenir ou service de ladite Dame--En faveur de plusieurs services que lui ont faiz durant sa gesine.

56. Although Loriguière's name does not appear in the remains of this mutilated account, missing sections might have recorded payment to him of comparable or greater sums.

57. KK.83 (n. 17), fol. 89: "A Jehannot Du Boys, joueur de rebec de ladite Dame, la somme de 50 L.t. ... pour plusieurs services qu'il luy a faiz durant ceste dite presente annee, dont il n'a eu aucuns gaiges ne autres bienffaiz."

58. Ms. fr. 21451, fol. 330'; V^C Colbert 54, fol. 333' (n. 7). In the latter he is listed as "joueur de Luts"; in both, the letter t appears in his names. Le Roux de Lincy, La Laurencie and others always misspell his name "Pierre Yvon." Cf. n. 51, above. The entry is the same for the year ending September 1493 until the amount--100 L.t. (KK.82, fol. 154' [olim 52']).

59. Ms. fr. 10376 (n. 8), fol. 95 (last name on the page).

60. Nantes: Arch. dépt., E.210, No. 19 (n. 9), fol. 13'.

61. La Borderie, "Béguin" (see n. 5), p. 94. The other instrumentalist is Jehan Platel.

62. KK.83 (n. 17), fols. 36'-54'. La Laurencie, p. 8, says, mistakenly, that these payments were made in 1498.

63. KK.83, fols. 48'-49: "Aux trompettes de Monseigneur d'Orléans la somme de 70 s.t. ... pour leurs estrenes."

64. KK.83, fol. 44: "Aux enffans de cueur de Nostre-Dame de Melun la somme de 35 s.t. ... pour leurs estrenes."

I: FIRST REIGN

65. KK.83, fol. 51: "A Gentil garson tabourin, la somme de 35 s.t. en ung escu d'or, que ladicte Dame avoit ordonne des le premier jour de l'an luy estre baille pour ses estrennes ... payee, baillee, et delivree le huitiesme jour dudit moys de fevrier oudit an [1493]."

This mysteriously-named drummer probably served the duke of Orléans, whose mother, Marie de Clèves, employed "un tabourin qu'elle appelait gracieusement Gentil-Garcon" (Eugène d'Auriac, "La corporation des ménétriers et le roi des violons," Revue des Etudes Historiques, sér. 3, t. 50 [sep-oct 1879], p. 310).

66. KK.83, fol. 54: "A Petit Jehan, tabourin du Roy, la somme de 50 s.t. ... pour ses estrennes. ..."

"Au joueur du cornet du Roy seigneur la somme de 50 s.t. ... pour ses estrennes."

67. KK.83, fol. 46': "Aux trompettes d'icelluy seigneur [du Roy] la somme de 12 L. 10 s.t. ... pour leurs estrennes."

68. Charles VIII employed four trumpets in 1487-88, probably five in 1491 and eight at the beginning of his invasion of Italy in September 1494 (see Ch. iv).

69. See Ch. iii, n. 35. It is not inconceivable that this is a mistaken identification of "Angelin Cornet ... tabourin du pays de Suisse," who played the fife-and-drum (tabourin de Suisse) for Charles in 1491 (see Ch. iv, n. 28). The terms "suisse" and "alleman" were interchangeable; therefore, Angelin Cornet's parents probably lived "ou pays d'almaigne." If he and Jehan Angelin are the same person, the scribe might have mistakenly assumed that he played the cornet.

70. KK.83, fol. 32': "Au joueur du cornet du Roy la somme de .72 s. 6 d.t. ... pour ses peines d'avoir joue devant elle au Plessis du Parc les Tours" (dated 6 December 1492).

71. KK.83, fol. 48: "A Jehan, seigneur de Grigneaulx, conseiller et premier maistre d'ostel de ladite Dame, la somme de 4 L. 7 s. 6 d.t. ... pour le recompenser de pareille somme qu'il avoit du commandemen et ordonnance d'icelle Dame baillee a cinq menestriers de la ville de Paris qui avoient joue devant elle."

72. KK.83, fol. 35: "A Messire Jehan, seigneur de Grigneaulx et premier maistre d'ostel de la dite Dame, la somme de 10 L. 10 s.t. ... pour le rambourser de pareille somme qu'il avoit du commandement d'icelle Dame baillee aux menestrelz de la Royne de Cécille, qu'elle leur avoit donne pour leur vin d'avoir joue devant elle." (In the phrase "pour leur vin" we see the origin of the French word for tip: "pourboire").

73. They were also called Enfans sans souci--more often than Gallans in the sixteenth century--as well as Compagnons or Facécieux gens sans soucy. Provincial troupes existed in Rouen, Lyon, Grenoble, and Poitiers. See Walter Dittmann, "Pierre Gringore als Dramatiker," Romanische Studien, Heft 21 (1923), pp. 259-62; also Howard Brown, Music in the French Secular Theater (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963).

74. KK.83, fol. 49: "Aux Gallans sans soucy la somme de 12 L. 10 s.t. pour leurs estrennes."

75. KK.83, fol. 59': "Aux Gallans sans soucy la somme de 35 L.t que ladite Dame leur a donnée et ordonnée pour leur vin d'avoir joué devant elle plusieurs moralitez, farces et esbatemens" (paid 18 March 1493).

76. "A trois compagnons nommés les Galans sans souci, pour avoir joué une farce devant le Duc, 20 liv. Decembre;
"Chambre des Comptes de Nantes." (Excerpted by Morice [see Intro., n. 4], III, 463, from the Compte "pour quinze mois commencés le 1. octobre 1485.")

77. KK.83, fol. 56: "Aux galopins de la cuisine de Monseigneur de Bourbon la somme de 72 s. 6 d.t. ... pour avoir joué une farse devant elle le jour de karesme prenant" (paid 26 February 1493).

78. KK.76 (see Ch. iii, n. 2), fol. 159': "A Pierre le Chanteur, Petit Jehan Biedare, et Pierre Camus, gallopins de la cuisine de Monseigneur de Bourbon, la somme de 105 s.t. ... pour avoir dance devant ledit seigneur le jour de karesme prenant aux moultiz.

[Fol. 160:] "A Robert Advéniat, Anne Coillon, et Loys Loys, gallopins de la cuisine de la Roïne [Marguerite d'Autriche], la somme de 105 s.t. ... pour avoir dance devant ledit seigneur ledit jour de karesme prenant ausdits Moultilz."

79. KK.83, fols. 67'-68: "A François de Nicolo, de la ville de Florence, la somme de 35 L.t. que ladite Dame luy a donnez pour nourrir et entretenir Luccresse, sa niepce, qu'il a amenee de ladite ville de Florence devers ladite Dame pour dancier et faire plusieurs esbatemens devant elle" (paid 3 May 1493).

Following his reference to this payment, La Laurencie (p. 9) cites Mellinet--La Musique à Nantes (1837)--who claims that Anne de Bretagne accompanied herself on the mandora. He also says that Josquin was at her second wedding in Nantes, 8 (or 6?) January 1499, to Louis XII. In Paris François Lesure told me that anything in Mellinet could have been fabricated, and that Thoinan (Ch. ii, n. 7), who cites him, is also unreliable. In the absence of documentary confirmation we can only speculate about Anne's musical capabilities.

I: FIRST REIGN

80. KK.83, fol. 64: "A Guillaume Bailly, cleric de chappelle de ladite Dame, la somme de 70 s.t. ... pour le recompenser qu'il avoit de son commandement baillee aux enffans de cueur de l'eglise Saint Cosme et Saint Damien de Lusarches, qu'elle leur a donnez a sa premiere entree en icelle" (paid 18 April 1493).

81. KK.83, fol. 63: "A Loys Linatz et Girardin Ligier, tabourins, la somme de 10 L. 10 s.t. que ladite Dame leur a donnee a sa premiere et nouvelle entree en la ville de Compiègne" (paid 9 April 1493).

Anne's predilection for drummers is further documented by a payment she made during her first trip to Lyon in late winter 1494: (KK.84, fol. 98) "A ung povre fol juant du tabourin 5 s.t."

82. KK.83, fol. 72: "A Maistre Paul et Hérosme, joueurs de lucz, la somme de 35 L.t. ... pour leur aider a eulx entretenir" (paid 8 June 1493).

83. Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 10376 (see n. 8), fols. 143'-44: "... C'est assavoir: X s.t. a V viccaires collegiez en ladite eglise St-Fleurentin qui ont tenu le cueur durant ledit service; cinq s.t. aux enfans dudit cueur d'icelle eglise; ..."

Fol. 136 begins: "Pour l'obsecque.
"May.

"Aud. Maurice Briant [etc.] de l'eglise Saint Fleurentin d'Amboise, en laquelle ladit Dame fist faire, au bout des premiers quarente jours de son deuil, ung service solempnel pour l'ame dudit feu seigneur."

84. Nantes, Bibl. mun., Ms. 1335 (see n. 16), fol. 36: "A lui [Maistre Jehan Coquerel, chappellain de ladite Dame] encores la somme de 21 L.t. en 12 escuz d'or ... pour le rembourser ... C'est assavoir: 6 escuz d'or aux enffans de cueur de l'eglise Monseigneur Saint Julien du Mans, qu'elle leur a donne pour sa nouvelle entree en ladite eglise; et pareille somme a ceulx d'eglise Saint Tugal de Laval pour semblable cause."

85. "'A Jehan Crespieres, dit Crespinet, chantre de la chapelle de mon dit s^r, la somme de XXI l.t. à lui ordonnée par icelui s^r pour sa peine et vacacion d'avoir fait trois livres de chansons faictes par lui, notez, escripiz et fourny de parchemin, dont le dit s^r a donné l'un à la royne, l'autre aux ambaxadeurs de Fleurance, et l'autre a retenu, qui est pour chacun des dits livres IIII escuz d'or, vallant la somme de XXI l.t.' (Rôle de la trésorerie du duc d'Orléans, en juil.-sept. 1496, au Cab. des titres, 2^e série des orig. au mot Orléans." (Léopold Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits, I (Paris, 1868), 121, n. 6.) Delisle also mentions an antiphony of Anne's "dont quelques fragments sont dispersés dans divers cabinets de Paris" (I, 124, No. 2).

I: FIRST REIGN

86. See Georges Ritter and J. Lafond, Manuscrits à peintures de l'Ecole de Rouen (Rouen, 1913), p. 18.

87. Paule Chaillon, "Le chansonnier de Françoise," Revue de Musicologie (1953), pp. 1-21.

88. Ibid., pp. 1-2, r, 20. Both versions are for three voices. The first is incomplete: the beginning appears on fols. 9'-10; fols. 10'-11 are blank. In Eugenie Droz and G. Thibault, Poetes et musiciens du XV^e siecle (Paris, 1924), the second version is transcribed and discussed on pp. 84-85. (See Appendix G.)

II: CHAPELLE ROYALE

1. Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], Musique et Musiciens de la vieille France (Paris, 1911), pp. 21-82, remains the essential study of Ockeghem and his forty-five years of service to the French courts of Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VIII. It is updated--especially concerning the date of Ockeghem's death--in Johannes Ockeghem en zijn Tijd (see Ch. iii, nn. 9, 47), published in 1970.

2. Brenet, p. 32. For music at St-Martin see pp. 49-50. For the responsibilities and benefits of the office of treasurer see Vaccaro in Johannes Ockeghem en zijn Tijd.

3. Tours: Arch. dept. d'Indre-et-Loire, G.423, fol. 24 (Liasse A, cote 4, No. 2); fol. 35 (Liasse A, cote 9, No. 3).

4. D'Auton, IV, 364 (Ch. xxxix): "Des noms d'aucuns des officiers de la maison du Roy, lesquelz se trouverent et servirent a ce voyage."

(p. 365): "Premierement, de la chapelle du Roy.

"Maistre René, cardinal de Prye, maistre de ladite chappelle; ... avecques tous les chappellains et chantres de sadite chappelle."

5. Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier, dit Lourdault, chantre, printed in Oeuvres poétiques de Guillaume Cretin, ed. Kathleen Chesney (Paris, 1932), poem xliiii (pp. 210-16).

The poet calls on Prioris and three other composers to write only sad music. To Josquin he devotes three lines; Longueval and Mouton share two. But to Prioris he gives the initial instruction (lines 151-56):

Nostre bon pere et maistre Prioris,
Prenez l'ardoyze et de vostre faczon
Composez cy ung "ne recorderis"
En chant qui n'ait ung seul record de ris
Mais ung remors de lamentable son.

6. See Ch. i, n. 24. For the list of Louis XII's Chapel at his death, see below, p. 33.

7. Ernest Thoinan [Antoine-Ernest Roquet], Les Origines de la Chapelle-musique des souverains de France (Paris 1864), p. 75. He says that these figures come from Estats des officiers domestiques (1484-98), which give no names.

8. The other chapelains were: David de Lannoy, Jehan de Fontenay, Robert Caulier, Estienne de Rouille, Andre Vielz, Geoffroy Chiron or Cheron, Guillaume Gigart, Escatefer (dit Cousin), and Louis Collebert; the sommeliers were Jehan Du Buisson and Guillaume Grossin. (See Vaccaro [Ch. iii, nn. 9, 47], pp. 64-65.

II: CHAPELLE ROYALE

9. Ludwig Finscher, Loyset Compère (c. 1450-1518): Life and Works (n.p.; American Institute of Musicology, 1964), p. 17.

10. D'Accone, JAMS, 14 (see Ch. i, n. 11) pp. 344-45; Martin Picker, "A Letter of Charles VIII of France concerning Alexander Agricola," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), pp. 538-44.

11. Georges Durand, "La Musique de la cathédrale d'Amiens avant la Révolution," Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 29 (1920-22), pp. 452-53. This article (pp. 406-08) is the 'original' secondary source of information concerning Mouton at Amiens in 1500 (see Ch. v, n. 3).

12. See Brenet (n. 1), pp. 56, 62. She also provides information on Fresneau (pp. 38-42). See also below, Ch. iii, nn. 45-47.

13. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.76 (Ch. iii, n. 2), fols. 35'-126: "Deniers baillez par l'ordonnance du Roy nostre sire."

Fol. 101: "A Maistre Jehan de Modene, chantre de la chappelle dudit seigneur et garde de son jeu de paulme des Montilz-lez-Tours, la somme de 43 L. 15 s.t. pour 14 grosses et 7 douzaines d'esteufs (handballs) qu'il a prins de luy a plusieurs foiz pour jouer et soy esbatre au jeu de paulme depuis le [12 mai] jusques au [2 juillet 1491]."

Fols. 118'-19: "4 L. 5 s.t. pour 17 douzaines d'esteufz qu'il a baillez et delivrez audit seigneur a deux foiz durant ledit mois [aout] pour soy esbatre au jeu de paulme avecques Monseigneur de Myolans."

14. Eugène Giraudet, Les Artistes tourangeaux (Tours, 1885), p. 119. All the later accounts have disappeared.

15. KK. 76 (see Ch. iii, n. 6):

Fol. 173; "A Jehan Tolvare, chantre de la chappelle d'icelluy seigneur, la somme de 25 L.t. ... pour luy ayder a soy entretenir plus honnestement ou service dudit seigneur."

Fol. 188': "... chantre et varlet de chambre d'icelluy seigneur, la somme de 30 L.t." (for same).

Fol. 143': "A Jehan Tolvane, varlet de chambre d'icelluy seigneur, la somme de 30 L.t. pour avoir un cheval."

Fol. 197': "A Jehan Tolvare la somme de 30 L.t. pour soy entretenir plus honnestement en son service--Et ce outre ses gaiges et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra avoir cy apres dudit seigneur."

(The singer's name could be Tolnare.)

16. KK.76, fol. 148: "A Bertrand Jamet, chantre de la chappelle d'icelluy seigneur, la somme de dix-sept [blank] sept sols tournois [perhaps 17 L. 10 s.t. (= 10 e.)] ... jusques

II: CHAPELLE ROYALE

a ce que ledit seigneur lui ait baille son appointement."

Fol. 179': "A Bertrand Jamet, chantre de la chappelle dudit seigneur, la somme de 17 L. 10 s.t. ... pour avoir ung cheval."

17. See Ch. iii, under the heading "Antoine de Hée."

18. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.77, fol. 2: "Compte XV^e de Denis Marcel ... commis a tenir le compte et faire distribuer la somme de 6000 L.t. que le Roy nostre sire a ordonne estre employee chacun an en ses offrandes, aumosnes, et devociens ... pour ung an entier, commançant [1 octobre 1497] et finissant [30 septembre 1498]."

(Cf. KK.86 [Ch. iii, n. 41])

19. KK. 77, fol. 23: "A Anthoine Sillon, chantre, ledit jour [7 novembre 1497] pour luy ayder a passer son chemin, la somme de 4 L.t."

20. KK.77, fols. 96'-97: "A Maistres Jehan Thiere et Jehan Prouteau, chantres et chappellains ordinaires de la chappelle dudit seigneur, le XIII^e jour dudit moys [avril 1498], la somme de 22 L. 15 s.t. en treze escuz d'or que ledit seigneur a offers au pie de la croiz le jourd'uy, jour du vendredy adore en l'eglise Monseigneur Saint-Sauveur de Bloys."

Charles VIII died April 7; Easter was April 15.

21. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.89, (fol. 1): "Obseques et funeraillies de feu le Roy Loys douziesme, qui deceda le premier jour de janvier, l'an mil cinq cens quatorze [1515]."

22. All punctuation, except slashes, is editorial. Either "Guillaume ? Cousin" or "Jacques ? Baudet" must be two singers. Fétis (according to Thoinan, pp. 91-92 [see n. 7]) treats both as single persons, and has the following alternate readings: George T. Reverdi, Furbisseur (in the manuscript the first letter looks like this: b), Pierre Monton, Jacques Favieres, and Pierre De Fray.

23. "Le 20 mars 1493, Louis Ormeau, dit Bontemps, reçut 'la somme de dix escuz d'or de don pour avoir escript et noté ung livre de chant pour la chappelle de nonseigneur.' (Quittance au Cabinet des titres, 2^e série des orig. au mot Ormeau.)" (Delisle [see Ch. i, n. 85], I, 121, n. 5).

24. Albert Smijers says Longueval was a singer in the Royal Chapel under Louis XII and François I from 1507 until 1523. See "Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck," in his Algemeene Muziek-geschiedenis (Utrecht, 1938), p. 122. Paule Chaillon, "Les musiciens du Nord à la cour de Louis XII," La Renaissance dans les provinces du Nord (Paris, 1956), p. 67, cites Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 7856 as the source for Longueval's presence in 1507.

II: CHAPELLE ROYALE

25. "Les chantres du roy chanterent à ung coste, et ceulx de Monsigneur à l'aultre. Apres la messe chantèrent le Te Deum tous ensamble" (Relation [see Ch. iv, n. 26], p. 140).

26. "Le Lundy (sic) xiiij^e jour de decembre fut faite une grande (Fol. 11.) solempnité a leglise du chasteau Car la paix y a este publiee et fait une tres noble messe present le Roy monseigneur La Royne et madame, et tous les nobles que a merveille. ... La messe fut chantee par ung evesque a diacre et soubzdiacre des chantres du Roy et des chantres de monseigneur assavoir a deux estapleux Les chantres du Roy chanterent lintroite jusques a gloria [patri] en contrepoint et les chantres de monseigneur le gloria et apres lintroite les chantres du Roy le Kyrieleison et ceulx de monseigneur et in terra Ceulx du Roy le patrem ceulx de monseigneur le sanctus et langnus ceulx du Roy quy fut fort joyeux et fort bien chante et regardoit le Roy dessus les chantres et monseigneur avecques et en eurent grant plaisir a les oyr et cestes cestoit triumphe."

Quoted by Chmel, (see Ch. iii, n. 40) II, 570).

Perhaps "Lundy" is correct, and "xiiij" should be "xiiij".

27. Prunières (Ch. iii, n. 1), p. 226, after Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 21449.

28. "Et quant la chançon sera faicte par Fenyn [sic] et vos visaiges pourtrai[tz] par Jehan de Paris, ferez bien de les m'envoyer pour monstrier aux dames de par deça, car il n'en y a point de pareilz."

Transcribed by R. de Maulde[-La-Clavière], "Jean Perréal et Pierre de Févin [sic], a propos d'une lettre de Louis XII. (1507)," Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français, sér. 3, t. II--also called Revue de l'Art Français Ancien et Moderne, 3^e année--(1886), p. 9, after Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 2915, fol. 17; quoted by Kahmann, "Fevin," MGG, IV (1955), col. 144.

29. D'Auton, IV, 348-49: "Le cardinal Sainte Praxede ... delibera le lendemain, jour de la feste saint Pierre et saint Pol, de chanter messe en note au grant domme de Savonne."

Pp. 350-51: "Les Roys furent en leurs chaires, et la messe comaincée par les chantres du Roy d'Arragon et aucuns de ceulx du Roy, qui la n'avoit mené tous les chantres de sa chappelle, pour la presse."

30. "Nous avons esté advertiz que ung nommé maistre Alexandre Copin, religieux de Nostre-Dame des Sers, est détenu à Fleurance. Et pour ce que nous avons ledit maistre Alexandre en singulière recommandation, tant pour l'onneur de ladite Dame dont il est religieux, que aussi pour le vertu et sciencez de musicque qui sont en sa personne, nous

II: CHAPELLE ROYALE

avons bien voulu nous en escrire vous priant très-à certes que pour amour de nous vous veuillez faire mectre ledit maistre Alexandre à plaine délivrance, [etc.]."

Quoted by J.J. Champollion-Figeac, Documents historiques inédits, I (Paris, 1841), 676.

31. Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance (2nd ed.; New York: Norton, 1959), p. 285.

32. Andre Pirro, "Pour l'Histoire de la Musique," Acta Musicologica, 3 (1931), 52.

33. KK.89 (see n. 21), fol. 88: "Aux enffans de la chappelle dudit feu seigneur, c'est assavoir: a Robert, Michelet / Conrart, Symon, Loys, et Nicoll[as]--qui sont six."

34. KK.86 (see Ch. iv, n. 2), fols. 153-175': "Mises pour les paiges et varletz de pye" (October 1508 through beginning of March 1509; the rest of the account is missing).

Fol. 153': "46 chapperons a barbute pour 44 paiges dudit seigneur et pour deux petitz chantres de la chappelle dicellui seigneur, desquelz les noms s'ensuivent ... [154] ... et les deux petitz chantres, nommez l'un Mathurin Doreau et l'autre Jehan Roux."

Fol. 170: "3 robbes ... pour Pierre de La Chesnaye et Jaspert de Perane, paiges dudit seigneur, et pour ung petit chantre de la chappelle d'icellui seigneur, nomme Rene de Boireau." See also fols. 171-72).

Paris: Bibl. nat., Nouv. acc. fr. 21163, fol. 1: "Parties de draps de soye et de layne fournies et livrees sur le fait de l'escuirye du Roy ... durant le moys de [novembre 1509]."

No. 3: "50 chapperons a barbute pour les 47 paiges dudit seigneur et troys petitz chantres de la chappelle d'icelluy seigneur ... nommez Mathurin Doreau, Jehan Roux et René Boireau."

35. "MM... ont ordonné et conclus que M^e Henry Forin, ayant gaiges de chappellain en lad. eglise, yroit à Soissons, Noyon, Saint-Quentin, Laon, Reims, Sedan et Arras pour chercher, quérir et amener les meilleurs et plus excellens chantres qui pourra trouver pour servir en lad. Sainte-Chapelle pour ce que le Roy, la Royne et Mons^r de Bourbon ont prins en leurs services ceux qui estoient et les ont amenez."

Transcribed by Michel Brenet, Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais (Paris, 1910), p. 49, from Paris: Arch. nat., LL.623, fol. 50.

36. KK.88 (Ch. iii, n. 41), fol. 56: "A Pierre Sandrin ledit jour [16 decembre 1506] pour aider a entretenir aux estudes, 60 s.t."

II: CHAPELLE ROYALE

37. Brenet, Ste-Chapelle (after LL.622, fol. 56), p. 42.
38. Paris: Bibl. nat., Mss. fr. 2927, fol. 12 (January-December 1503); 2930, fol. 120' (January-December 1504).
39. Royer (see Ch. v, n. 3), pp. 239, 245, and especially 258, No. 10: "1499, 6 septembre.-- Le chapitre accorde la livre clericale 'Johanni Maupain clerico dicte ecclesie cantori, tenoriste chori dicte ecclesie.'"
40. Gustave Desjardins, Histoire de la cathédrale de Beauvais, (Beauvais, 1865), pp. 73-74.
41. Félix Raugel, Les Grandes Orgues des églises de Paris et du département de la Seine (Paris, 1927), p. 82, n. 3.
42. Michel Brenet, "Jean Mouton," Tribune de St. Gervais, 5 (1899), 334.

III: CHAMBRE

1. L'Année Musicale, I (1911), pp. 215-51.
2. KK. 76: Thomas Bohier's first "compte de tous les deniers qui lui seront ordonnez et baillez pour convertir et emploiez aux menuz plaisirs et privez affaires de la chambre d'icellui seigneur [Charles VIII]" (fol. 5), from 1 October 1490 to 30 September 1491.
3. André Pirro, in "L'art des organistes," Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire, 2^e partie, t. 2 (Paris, 1926), 1181-1374, mentions several organists from Mouton's time "qui chantaient en jouant." Concerning Evrard he cites the following passage in Guillaume Crétin's Chroniques:
De nostre temps avons naguères sceu
Telle science estre expérimentée,
Renouvelée et très fort augmentée
Par ung flameng appelé maistre Evrard
Sur aultres tous fort exquis en tel art,
Introduysant ceste nouvelle mode
Que ores on tient, et eut voix si commode
Et accordante aux orgues qu'en chantz telz
Les auditeurs rendoit près enchantez.
4. But not as maître de chapelle; see Ch. ii.
5. Paris: Bibl. nat., V^c Colbert 54, fols. 326-28' (hereafter cited as Colb. 54): "Roole et Estat des officiers de la maison du Roy Charles VIII pour l'annee 1490 fait au Plessis du parc [lès-Tours] le 27 juin 1490 et à Moulins le 27 decembre ensuivant."
"Extrait du Compte de M^{re} Martin Berthelot." This excerpted personnel list might refer to the year Oct. 1489-Sept. 1490.
6. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 76, fols. 127-208': "Dons faiz par ledit seigneur": Fol. 172': "A Evrard delachappelle, chantre et joueur d'orgues en la chambre dudit seigneur, la somme de 70 L.t. ... pour soy entretenir plus honnestement ou service dudit seigneur--Oultre les autres dons et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra avoir." Fol. 198' "Audit Evrard delachappelle la somme de 30 L.t. pour semblable cause" [i.e., "pour soy entretenir plus honnestement ou service d'icelluy Seigneur"].
Fol. 133 "A Evrard delachappelle, varlet de chambre et joueur d'orgues dudit seigneur, la somme de 25 L.t. ... pour avoir un cheval."
Fols. 175'-76. 35 L.t. "pour avoir ung cheval."
7. According to an inventaire compiled 1780, of treasury documents now lost (Tours, Arch. dept. d'Indre-et-Loire G. 422, p. 292 [Liasse B, No. 4]):
"Presentation faite par Charles VIII, au Chapitre de S. Martin de la personne d'Evrard de la Chapelle officiarium nostrum domesticum (Organiste) pour remplir la Trezorerie de St. Martin vacante par le deceds de M^r de Okeughem."

III: CHAMBRE

"Joint à ces lettres toutes les pieces de la procedure contre ledit Evrard de la Chapelle à la requête de M^{rs} de Saint Martin qui refusoient de le recevoir à ladite Trezorerie, comme n'etant point né en legitime mariage; ledit Evrard a cependant obtenu des lettres royaux adressées le 9. 9bre 1498 au Receveur general du Domaine de la Touraine, pour qu'il eut a payer sous les simple quittances dudit Evrard le reliquat du Compte des fruits de la ditte Trezorerie."

8. Michel Brenet, Musique et Musiciens, p. 58, n. 4. (Paris: Arch. nat., X 1A. 4839, fol. 247'.)

9. Paris: Arch. nat. X 1A. 1505, fol. 239'. This document reveals the date of Ockeghem's death. It was discovered by Bernard Chevalier of the Tours Faculté des Lettres and published in the catalogue of the Ockeghem exposition held in the Stadhuis of Dendermonde from 14 November to 6 December 1970: Johannes Ockeghem en zijn Tijd, Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Dendermonde, Buitengewone uitgaven - No. 24, pp. 279-80. Quoted in full in Appendix C.

10. Tours: Arch. dépt. d'Indre-et-Loire G. 418 (Liasse B. No. 2), fol. [1] of 8 unnumbered sheets:

"Extraict d'ung aultre extraict faict en la chambre des Comptes du Roy nostre sire [en 1624] d'ung adveu du desnombrement de la baronnie de Chateauneuf, seant tant en la ville de Tours que dehors."

Fols. [1-2]: "'Evrard delachapelle tresorier en l'eglise Monsieur Saint Martin de Tours tient et advoue tenir du Roy nostre sire a foy et hommage a cause du benefice de ladite tresorerie les choses qui se suivent'"

Fol. [2']: "'Le vingthuictiesme jour de septembre l'an de grace Mil cinq cens ainsy signes delachapelle.'"

11. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.87 , fol. 7: "Compte premier de maistre Jacques des Moulins, conseiller du Roy nostre sire, maistre de sa chambre aux deniers, et par lui commis a tenir le compte et faire le payement des gaiges des officiers de son hostel ... durant ung an entier, Commencant le [1 Octobre 1498] et finissant le [30 septembre 1499].

12. Fols. 21'-22: "A Maistre Everard ... la somme de 370 L.t. ... pour ses gaiges."

13. Jean d'Auton, Chroniques de Louis XII, ed. R. Maulde La Clavière, III (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1893), 94-97. This is Ch. xxii of the 1502 (O.S.) chronicle, entitled: "D'ung nommé maistre Evrard, organiste du Roy, et commant en ce temps fu transporté de son sens et mené a Saint Mathurin de Larchant." See Appendix D for full text.

III: CHAMBRE

14. Brenet, Musique et Musiciens, p. 58, after Ernest Thoinan's edition, Déploration de Guillaume Crétin sur le trépas de J. Ockeghem (Paris, 1865), p. 41.

Hé, maistre Evrard, vous estes successeur
D'ung excellent docteur, bien le sçavez.
Je vous requiers, quand serez possesseur,
Faictes bastir orgues de grant douceur,
Il m'est advis que faire le debvez;
Et tous les jours, si l'aisement avez
Quelque motet sonnez qui à Dieu plaise,
Pour le deffunct, il en sera bien aise.

15. Yvonne Rokseth, La Musique d'orgue du XV^e siècle et au début du XVI^e (Paris, 1930), pp. 36-37.

16. Charles Coelier, "Documents sur l'art musicale en Touraine," Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-arts des Départements, 32^e session (Paris, 1908), p. 283.

17. Giraudet (see Ch. ii, n. 14), p. 228.

18. Quoted in full in Appendix D.

19. 24 December 1503. See above, Ch. i, n. 24.

20. Brenet, Musique et Musiciens, p. 59, n. 1.

21. Colb. 54, fol. 328 (see n. 5).

22. Fol. 137 "A Anthoine de Hée, chantre et joueur du ludz en la chambre d'icelluy Seigneur, la somme de 17 L. 10 s.t. pour avoir ung ludz." (By dividing the number of folios in this section by twelve months, one can interpolate in what month the entries--all undated--were recorded. The placement of the New Year's Day payments validates the system.)

23. Folios 134, 140', 147', 157', 161, 165, 168. 180', 187, and 201 bis.

24. Fol. 181' 35 L.t. "pour ayder a supporter la despence qu'il luy convient faire faire en une voyaige ou il a envoie guerir [querir?] son pere par l'ordonnance et commandement dudit seigneur pour venir devant luy quelque part qu'il soit.";

Fol. 187: "35 L.t. pour avoir ung cheval et soy entretenir plus honnestement.";

Fol. 196'-97: "36 L. 15 s.t. [21 e.] pour avoir ung cheval at subvenir a ses necessitez--Aussi outre ses gaiges et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra cy apres avoir dudit seigneur."

III: CHAMBRE

25. According to Nicole Briçonnet's Compte of the dauphin's personnel for the year October 1494 - September 1495, dated 24 January 1495 in Rome, published by Théodore Godefroy in his compiled Histoire de Charles VIII. Roy de France (Paris: Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1684), p. 703.

26. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 76, fol. 135': "A Jehan Delaire, joueur du cornet dudit seigneur la somme de 105 s.t. ... pour avoir ungue Robe."

27. Fol. 153': "A Jehan Carrecte, chantre, pour avoir une robe, la somme de 10 L. 10 s.t. [6 e]."

28. Fol. 145': "A Jehan de La Ville, joueur de la harpe, la somme de 21 L.t. pour soy entretenir plus honnestement en service dudit seigneur."

Fol. 201r-v: 262 L.10 s.t. "en faveur des services qu'il a fait par cy devant et fait encore chacun jour a l'entour de la personne d'icelluy Sr; Et en recompense des fraiz et despences qu'il a faiz et fait encore a l'entour pour soy entretenir plus honnestement en son service--Et ce oultre ses gaiges et autres dons et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra cy apres avoir dudit seigneur."

29. Fol. 149': "A Jehan Morel, tabourin, et Jehan de La Ville, harpeur dudit seigneur, la somme de 10 L.t. ... pour leurs estraynes du premier jour de janvier [1491]."

30. Fol. 129: "A Jehan Morel, tabourin du Roy nostredit seigneur la somme de 175 L.t. ;;; pour soy entretenir plus honnestement en son service."

Fol. 201bis: 35 L.t. "pour avoir ung cheval."

31. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 83, fols. 32', 54r-v. See above Ch. i, pp. 19-20.

32. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.87 (see n. 11), fol. 85: "Tabourins: "A Jehan Morel, tabourin ordinaire du Roy nostredit Sr, la somme de 120 L.t. ... pour ses gaiges par lui desserviz durant cestedite presente annee.

"A Jehan Delaire, joueur de cornet ordinaire dudit seigneur, la somme de 120 L.t. ... pour ses gaiges."

33. La très curieuse et chevaleresque hystoyre de la conquete de Naples par Charles VIII, originally published in 1506 by François Regnault in Paris as part of the second volume of La Mer des histoires, fol. 153-58; modern edition by P.M. Gonon (Lyon: Savy, 1842).

34. Ibid., pp. 17'-18: "Ceulx qui servirent le roy en armes de corps et de biens pour ceste cause:

"non de l'ordre [du roy]: tabourineurs, harpeurs et joueurs de cornets et ceulx qui avoient bon corps pour faire saulx et souplesses."

III: CHAMBRE

35. During the year ending September 1491 Charles paid--in addition to his own players--"Jehan Angelin, joueur du cornet, la somme de 20 L.t. ... pour aller ou pays d'Almaigne pour veoir ses pere et mere" (KK. 76, fol. 174); "Roger des Marestz, joueur de harpe du Roy de Napples, la somme de 35 L.t. ...pour s'en retourner devers le Roy de Napples, son maistre" (fol. 207'); and substantial sums to several tabourins (see, e.g., n. 38). Any of them could have accompanied the expedition. Or perhaps the king had expanded his musical establishment in the three intervening years.

36. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.70, fol. 324:

"A Jehan Ryet, varlet de chambre du Roy nostredit sire, la somme de 36 L.t. ... le [8 juin 1488] ... qu'il a mise et employee du sien ou mois de may derrenier passe en l'achapt d'un eschiquier ou manicordion, lequel il a pris et achapte ... pour en faire le plaisir d'icellui seigneur."

Fols. 317-50 constitute the "Compte extraordinaire de maistre Pierre Briconnet, notaire et secretaire du Roy nostre sire et son argentier, DE LA RECEPTE et despense par luy faicte du fait extraordinaire d'icelle argenterie durant l'anne de ce present compte [1 octobre 1487 - 30 septembre 1488]."

37. Théodore Godefroy, Histoire de Charles VIII, p. 703 (see n. 25).

38. Arch. nat., KK. 76, fol. 193: "A Bonnet de Bonnet, dit le seigneur de la corne, la somme de 40 L.t. ... en faveur de ce qu'il a joue de plusieurs instrumens a plusieurs foiz devant le Roy nostre dit seigneur depuis le dit mois de fevrier jusques au xxme jour du mois de juillet."

Fol. 134': "A Bonnet de Bonnet, joueur de cornemuse; Guillaume de La Pierre, joueur du tabourin; et Jehan Pierre, joueur de la torte [torce?, trite?], la somme de 105 L.t. ... pour ce cy plusieurs foiz ilz ont joue devant ledit seigneur."

39. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.76, fol. 162': "A Estienne Guillot, dit Bergeust, chantre et varlet de chambre dudit seigneur, la somme de 52 L. 10 s.t. ... pour avoir ung cheval et soy entretenir plus honnestement en son service."

Fol. 182': 40 L.t. "pour soy entretenir plus honnestement ou service dudit seigneur--Oultre les autres gaiges, dons et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra cy apres avoir dudit seigneur."

III: CHAMBRE

40. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 3410 (in 1841), fol. 9;
"Le viij^e jour de Decembre Monseigneur sejourna en la
ville de Blais, jour de nostre dame, et fut le Roy a la messe
acompaingne de Monseigneur et la Royne accompaingnie de Madame
et de chacun son estat, qui fut une moult belle chose a veoir
tant de noblesse; et chanterent et firent le service les
chantres du Roy, qui est fort somptueuse chappelle de belle
voix tant comme dessus, et y est ung chantre nomme Verjus
qui est le second maistre Alixandre et est fort ayme du Roy
et d'un chacun."

Quoted by Joseph Chmel, Die Handschriften der k.k.
Hofbibliothek in Wien (Vienna, 1841), II, 568.

41. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.88, fol. 2: "Compte sixiesme de
maistre Jacques Acarie, notaire et secretaire du Roy nostre
Sire, et par lui commis a tenir le compte et distribuer la
somme de 6000 L.t. que ledit seigneur a ordonnee estre employee
chacun an en ses offrandes, aumosnes et devocions, ... pour
ung ang entier commençant [1 octobre 1506] et finissant [30
septembre 1507]."

42. The building is now called the Pavillon d'Anne de
Bretagne and houses the town's tourist bureau. Inside is
preserved a closet-sized oratory. See Joseph de Croÿ,
Nouveaux documents pour l'histoire de la création des
résidences royales des bords de la Loire (Paris and Blois,
1894), pp. 116-17.

43. Paris: Arch. nat., J.910, No. 1 (Ch. iv, n. 39), entry 250.

44. Eugénie Droz, "Notes sur M^e Jean Cornuel, dit Verjus,
petit vicaire de Cambrai," Revue de Musicologie, 7 (1926),
173-89; André Pirro, "Jean Cornuel, vicaire à Cambrai,"
ibid., pp. 190-203.

45. After Brenet, Musique et Musiciens, p. 56

Prevost Verjust, tant que Piscis prospere,
Prenez Fresneau pour vos chantz accorder,
La perte est grande et digne à recorder.

(Brenet again quotes Thoinan's edition--see n. 14.)

46. He is listed among Louis XI's chapel singers in 1473 (ibid.,
p. 62), and 1475 (Vaccaro n. 47), p. 65) as Jehan Poisson.
Charles VIII refers to him in a letter of 1492, in which he
recommends the chantre for a St-Martin de Tours prebend, as
Jehan Piscis. See Lettres de Charles VIII, ed. P. Pélicier, III, 277

III: CHAMBRE

47. Brenet, Musique et Musiciens, pp. 38-40, traces him at the Royal Chapel from 1469-70--the previous year's records are missing--through 1472-73, earning 180 L.t. (Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. Fr. 32511, fols. 317', 329, 351; Ms. Fr. 20685, fols. 492-93, 569, 575.) His inclusion on the list of chapelains in 1475 (Cabinet de Titres, vol. 1685, fol. 329) is cited by Jean Vaccaro in his chapter, "Jean de Ockeghem, trésorier de l'église Saint Martin de Tours de 1459 (?) à 1497," in Johannes Ockeghem en zijn Tijd (see n. 9), pp. 64-65.

48. Nanie Bridgman, "Fresneau," MGG, IV (1955).

49. François Lesure, "Some Minor French Composers of the 16th Century," in Jan LaRue (ed), Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York: Norton, 1966), pp. 540-41.

N.B. "Dudit Seigneur" (or abbreviations of it) will be transcribed "d.S."

1. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 73, fol. 2: "Compte vii^{me} de Rene de Nouveau, commis ... a tenir le compte et faire les paiemens des choses necessaires pour le fait de l'escuierie d.S.--De la Recepte & Despense ... durant l'annee commençant le [1 octobre 1487] et finissant le [30 septembre 1488]." Fols. 172 ff.: "Pensions, gaiges, & ordonnan[ces]."

2. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.86, fol. "(2)" [olim i]: "Copie de certaines lettres patentes du Roy nostre sire donnees a Rouen le [8 octobre 1508] ... par lesquelles ... icellui seigneur a commis Michel Le Clerc, a present receveur de l'escuyrie du Roy nostre sire, a tenir le compte et faire le payment des restes deues par Adam Remy, nagueres receveur de ladite escuyrie, aux officiers, [etc.] en icelle escuyrie--Et ce tant a cause de leurs gaiges que des parties de marchandises de leurs mestiers qu'ilz ont faictes, fournyes, et livrees sur le fait d'icelle escuyrie durant l'annee finye le [30 septembre 1508]."

KK. 86, fols. 33-175, contain the beginning of the account of the "Escuierie du Roy pour l'annee finie le [30 septembre 1509]." It cuts off at the first page of "Mises pour les paiges et varletz de pye" for March 1509--well before the section listing salaries. As of early 1974 fols. xxxiii-xxxviii, the lettres patentes for the 1508-09 account, were bound in the middle of those for the restes deues account of the previous year, between fols. ii and iii. The confusion was compounded by the fact that fol. ii is labeled "(3)" and fol. xxxiii is "(4)."

3. Paris: Bibl. nat., Mss. fr. 2927 (8 months), 2926 (4 months), 2914 (2 months) and 3087 (1 month). Table 3, p. 64, shows the sources of the fifteen payrolls, listed in chronological order. They will not, therefore, be cited in the text.

4. In addition to the separate payrolls for January, February, and July 1498 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, an account of the Ecurie for the 14-month period from October 1497 through November 1498 is preserved in the Archives Nationales' account-book KK.74: (fol. 5) "Compte dixhuitiesme et derrenier de Rene de Nouveau, commis ... a tenir le compte et faire les payemens des choses necessaires pour le fait de l'escuierie." It also covers "le fait du sacre du Roy nostredit seigneur, nouvelles entrees es villes de Reims et Paris, ... les habillemens de lui, ses paiges et chevaulx, [etc.] qui luy ont servy esdites entrees durant une annee et deux mois." The volume includes monthly expenses (which mention the four tabourins souysses twice) but no salary list.

An account of Louis XII's funeral (10-11 January 1515 in Paris) indicates that the king employed a dozen trumpets at the end of his reign--unless the players carried more than one estandard apiece: "Après marchoient les trompettes dudit deffunt, chascun son estandard, jusques au nombre de douze, semes de fleurs de lys" (from L'Obsequie et enterrement du Roy, published by L. Cimber in Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, sér. 1, t. 2 [Paris, 1835], 61-70).

5. KK.73 (n. 1), fols. 174'-175': "A Grant Jehan Tabolat, trompette d.S., la somme de 240 L.t. ... pour ses gaiges et entretenement en son service durant l'annee de ce present compte ... qui est au feur de 20 L.t. par mois.

"A Nicodemus Baudegon, aussi trompette d.S., la somme de 240 L.t. [etc.] . .

"A Jehan d'Amboise, aussi trompette d'icellui seigneur, la somme de 180 L.t. [etc.] (15 L.t. par mois).

"A Charles de l'Aigle, aussi trompette d.S., la somme de 144 L.t. ... pour ses gaiges par lui desserviz [etc.] ."

Because it is uncertain whether last names of many Ecurie players (especially the Italians) indicate their provenance or family names, I have not capitalized the first appearance of these names.

6. KK.76 (Ch. iii, n. 2), fol. 201 bis^{r-v}: "A Grant Jehan Taboula, trompette d.S., la somme de 105 L.t. ... pour avoir ung cheval et soy entretenir plus honnestement en son service--Et outre ses gaiges et autres dons dons [sic] et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra cy apres avoir d.S."

7. KK.76, fol. 156: "A Jehan Francisque, trompette d.S., la somme de 21 L.t. ... pour avoir une trompette."

8. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 2927, fols. 27-33' (see Ch. i, n. 15).

9. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 87, fol. 71: "A Jehan Taboulas, trompette ordinaire d.S., la somme de 240 L.t. ... pour ses gaiges."
Fol. 72': "A Jehan Francisque, trompette ordinaire d.S., la somme de 240 L.t."

10. Paris. Arch. nat., KK. 76, fol. 149': "A Nycodemus de Bourdegnon et Pierre de Moulins, trompectes d.S., la somme de 17 L. 10 s.t. a eulx et leurs compaignons ordonnee pour leur estraynes du premier jour de janvier [1491]."

11. KK.76, fol. 194': "A Marian de Cassat, trompecte du marquis de Montferre, la somme de 87 L. 10 s.t. pour soy en retourner devers ledit marcquis, son maistre." ("Cassat" is very possibly a scribal [or transcribal] error for Casale, the capital of Montferrat; see below for Ecurie players named Cazal, often spelled "Cazar.")

12. See Ch. i, p. 19, n. 67.

13. October 1494: "A Bernard de Verseil [February 1495: "Virsel"], Savoysien, qui sert en la bande de MonSr le vidame, aussi trompette d.S., ... au feur de 144 L.t. par an--12 L."

14. (Description in February 1495 only): "A Guillaume de Janzac, aussi trompette d.S., qui sert en la bands de MonSr de Myolans [etc.]--15 L."

15. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 333: "Compte de certains estandars, bannieres, bannerolles, et autre parement d'une nef, ordonne pour le port de Monseigneur d'Orleans, Lieutenant-General du Roy nostre dit seigneur, en l'armee qu'il envoya au recouvrement du Royaume de Napples. Et aussi de l'achapt des coctes d'armes de heraulx, bannieres de trompectes, et autres choses necessaires aux officiers d'armes que menoit avecque lui."

16. KK.333, fol. 18: "dix bannieres de trompettes ... pour servir aux trompettes de guerre qui yront et seront en la compagnie de mondit Seigneur d'Orleans." (The total expense for these banners was over 260 L.t.)
17. David Boyden--The History of Violin Playing from its origins to 1761 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 22-23--cites a payment of six scudi from the Savoy treasury, dated 17 December 1523, for "trompettes et vyollons de Verceil."
18. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 2927, fols. 70-77' (olim 8-15'): "Roolle des parties es sommes de deniers payees, baillies et delivrees par maistre Henry Bohier, conseiller du Roy nostre sire, receveur general de ses finances et par luy commis a tenir le compte et faire le paiement des deniers de ses plaisirs et menuz affaires de sa chambre ... durant les moys de juillet, aout, et septembre 1504 ."
19. Ms. fr. 2927, fol. 77 (olim 15): "A Jehan Francisque de Palme, serviteur du conte de Murot, la somme de 30 escuz d'or soleil vallent 54 L. 7 s. 6 d.t. [36 s. 3 d.t. per escu] ... En faveur de ce qu'il a apporte a icelluy seigneur deux sacres sors [red falcons] et presentez par sondit maistre."
20. Prunières, p. 246 (after Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 7856, p. 994).
21. Prunières, p. 235 (after Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 21450, fol. 207').
22. Ibid. (after Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 7856, p. 956).
23. Ibid. (after Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 3132, fol. 67: "ancien officier du feu roi."

24. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 88 (see Ch. iii, n. 41), fol. 176: "A Pierre la trompette, le [3 juillet 1507], pour luy aider a soy faire penser des fievres qu'il a--60 s.t."

25. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.86, fol. 9. He is the second employee and first musician of the Ecurie listed in the restes deues account.

26. He appears as Augustin de Scarparye, at a wage of "xii sols par jour," or 218 pounds a year--the same as all the other trumpets and chapel singers. Louis Prosper Gachard published the list of Philippe le Beau's personnel as Appendix B (pp. 345-72) to his edition of Antoine Lalaing's contemporary Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne (pp. 121-340) in Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas, I (Bruxelles: F. Hayez, 1874). The singers are listed on pp. 345-46 and the trumpets on p. 366.

27. Keith Polk says this "must have been the grouping of transverse flute and field drums." (Personal letter, 29 December 1974.)

28. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 76, fol. 162: "A Pierre Mausifer, Angelin Cornet, et Jehan Pourry, tabourins du pays de Souysse, pour avoir joue devant ledit seigneur du tabourin de Suysse durant ledit mois de fevrier aux Moultilz [sic] lez Tours et a Amboise, la somme de 35 L.t."

Fol. 162': "A P.M., A.C., J.P., tabourins du pays de Suysse, la somme de 30 L.t. ... en faveur de ce qu'ilz ont joue par plusieurs fois devant ledit seigneur."

29. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.74 (see n. 4), fol. 172, includes a September 1498 payment of 7 L.t. (4.e.) for four pairs of shoes--one shoe red, the other yellow--one pair for each of the above-mentioned tabourins souyssees d.S. For March there is a detailed description of their robes (fols. 165-66).

30. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 76, fols. 146'-47: "A Francoys de Malle, sacqueboute de Monseigneur de Bourbon, la somme de 175 L.t. pour soy acquicter de plus grant some qu'il doit a aucuns ses creanciers et recouvrer partie de ses biens qu'ilz luy ont fait prandre par deffault de paiement."

31. Paris: Arch. nat., KK. 76, fol. 139: "A. Anry Paston, joueur de tabourin, Jehan Rousset, joueur du haut bois, Raymonnet de Beauvoysin, joueur de rebec, la somme de 21 L.t. ... en faveur de ce que ilz ont joue de leurs instrumins a sa premiere et nouvelle entree en la ville de Grenoble."

32. (7/1496) "A Pierre de Modène, sacqueboute d.S., pour [ses gaiges ordinaires de cedit moys] et au feur de ij^cxLt [sic] par an, monte pour cedit moys--xxLt." (The annual rate should have been written "ij^cxlLt," as it is in all subsequent payrolls, to accord with a monthly wage of "xxLt.")

33. Paris: Bibl. nat., Nouv.acq.fr.21163, fol.1, No. 4: "la somme de 10 L. 2 s. 6 d.t. pour quatre aulnes et demie taffetas bleu ... pour faire troys bannieres comme bannieres de trompetes pour servir a troys des sacqueboutes d.S., nommez Berthélemy de Fleurance, Perrin de Modène, et Pietre Pagan." (See Ch. ii, n. 34.)

34. October 1502: "A Berthélemy de Florence, Pietre Pagay, a Philippe de Cosme, Bénédit de Millan, Jehan Ozel, et Georges de Cazal, sacquebutes et joueurs d'instrumens de haulx bois venuz de Millan, pour leurs gaiges de ce present moys au feur de 120 L.t. l'an a chacun d'eulx, monte cy pour ledit moys--60 L.t." Maulde La Clavière cites this payment in his edition of the Chroniques de Jean d'Auton, III, 90, n.6. It eventually led me to all the payrolls cited in this chapter. In my text I have used the spellings of the September 1503 payment, which are the most common.

35. Jean d'Auton describes both entrées. In 1499 Louis's way from the Duomo to the château was "accompaigné avecques sons et clangueurs de trompettes, bucynes, cors et tabourins" (I, 107). In 1502 "trompetes, clairons et tabours de Suyces retentissoyent" (III, 24-25).

36. Paris: Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 7835, No. 4: "En la presence de moy, notaire et secretaire du Roy nostre sire, Jaques Darobio, sacqueboute et joueur d'instrumens de haulx boys d.S., confesse avoir eu et receu de Edmond Brethe, receveur et paieur du fait de l'escuirie d.S., la somme de 180 L.t. pour ses gaiges d'une annee entiere commancee le [1 octobre 1518] et finye le [30 septembre] ensuyvant aussi derrenier passe." (Dated 27 fevrier 1520.)

37. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.100 (olim K.343): similar excerpts are quoted by Prunieres, p. 241, and Bernhard, IV, 536, n. 3 (see Ch. vi, n. 36).

38. Prunieres, p. 242, n. 1: "Barthélemy de Florence et Marchant de Milan reçurent 20 livres 10 sols pour 'subvenir a la despence d'ung voyage qu'ils ont fait durant ledit mois de juillet de l'ordre dudit seigneur, avec leurs compagnons devers Madame Mere d'iceluy seigneur, estant a Cambrai, pour servir au festin fait audit lieu par ladite dame.'" (After KK. 100, fols. 74-75.)
The feast must have been to celebrate the Treaty of Cambrai (the "Paix des Dames"), arranged by Louise de Savoie and Marguerite d'Autriche for the king and emperor, which was signed 3 August 1529.

39. Paris: Arch. nat., J.910, No. 1: "Estat de Millan pour l'année finissant mil V^c dix." Quoted by Maulde La Clavière, ed., Chroniques de Jean d'Auton (see Ch. ii, n. 22), II, 347-389 ("Pièces Annexes, III"). Entry 407: "Plus, sera payé aux six trompettes qui vont dehors pour les affaires du Roy quand il est besoing, iiiij^c xx l. : c'est assavoir, André Grison, de Bramalle, Anthoine de Postreme, Domat Beaulfilz, Julien de Corregio, Pourcien de Septimo et Charles de Corregio, tous trompettes de Millan." (P. 383.)

40. Guillaume was a trumpeter of the Stable between October 1495 and September 1503. See p. 58 (following n. 23).

V: SECOND REIGN

1. Morice and Lobineau (Intro., nn. 3, 4) published excerpts that do not include musicians.

2. Pontoise, Arch. mun., AA.1: "Cy est l'estat et mise faicte pour la venue du roy nostre seigneur et l'entree de la royne faicte en la ville de Pontoise."

.....
"Item, aux clerons, trompectes et haulz-bois de la royne, qui sont trois couples, a chascune desquelles a este baille deux escus d'or, ensemble six escus, cy--10 L. 10 s. tourn."
(Quoted by Joseph Depoin, "Entrée de Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne à Pontoise en 1508," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, 2 [1875], p. 166.)

3. This information, from Grenoble: Arch. dept., G.447, is provided by Louis Royer, "Les musiciens et la musique à l'ancienne collégiale Saint-André de Grenoble du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle," Humanisme et Renaissance, 4 (1937), 240-44, based on capitular documents published on pp. 258-67. It has been reproduced in dissertations on Mouton's works: Josephine Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," New York Univ. 1955, III, 9-20; Paul Kast, "Studien zu den Messen des Jean Mouton," Frankfurt Univ. 1955.

4. Chroniques (see Ch. i, n. 22), II, 243: "Le VIII^e jour du moys de juyng fut a Lyon. Et de la s'en alla a Grenoble, au Dauphiné, auquel lieu fut par l'espace de XV jours, ou environ...Le III^e jour du moys de juillet fut dedans Salluces."
In the king's presence at Grenoble, Duke Philibert de Savoie had an unpleasant encounter with the bastard René de Savoie, whom he had recently exiled from his duchy.

5. "Le lendemayn ... xxvii^e jour de juyng, se partist le roy de Grenoble à deux heres du matin, et là laissa la royne."
Quoted by J. J. Champollion-Figeac, ed., Lettres de rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre, II. (Paris, 1847), 532.

6. Royer (p. 243) citing A. Prudhomme, Histoire de Grenoble (Grenoble, 1888), p. 296 says that Anne and Louis were in Grenoble from June 23 to 28. Since these dates amount to only a third of the time indicated by d'Auton, and since another contemporary document--published by Cimber, Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, I, pp. 204-07--shows that Anne was in Grenoble with Charles VIII from August 23 to 28, it seems probable that Royer's dates are incorrect.

7. Lobineau, II, 1593; Morice, III, 876. Royer (p. 243, n. 7) fails to mention that these published salary lists are incomplete and do not include Anne's chapel personnel.

V: SECOND REIGN

8. Helmut Osthoff, Josquin Desprez, I (Tutzing. 1962), pp. 51, 53. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was at the French court at both these times. This lends weight to Lowinsky's theory (Josquin Festival-Conference, New York City, 1971) that Josquin was still in the cardinal's employ while in France. The dates correspond to both of Philippe le Beau's visits to the French court. See Lalaing (Ch. iv. n. 26), p. 140 (where Ascanio is designated "l'évesque ... de Novariensis), and p. 283. The cardinal accompanied the French court from Blois to Lyon, May-June 1502 (d'Auton, II, 242).
9. Lalaing's dates, confirmed by Lyon: Arch. comm., BB. 24, fol. 400.
10. Lalaing, p. 283: "Le dimence, deuzime jour d'apvril, le roy, la royne et Monsigneur [Philippe] ouyrent messe, laquèle chantèrent les chantres du roy et de Monsigneur à Saint Jehan, là où estoient le légat, cardinal de Roen, le cardinal Escaigne, [etc]."
11. Lyon, Arch. comm., CC. 556, No. 2: "Papier de la despences faicte pour l'entree de Monseigneur l'archiduc / Ensemble du banquet et du feu de joye fait pour la paix."
Fol. 11' (last payment): "Aux instrumens, c'est assavoir: Jehan de La Senaz, taborin; Guillaume, joueur du rebec; Jehan Burete, joueur du lut; Poncet, joueur des orgues, qui jouerent audit banquet, par taxation de messeigneurs les conseillers deux escuz d'or vallant 3 L. 10 s.t."
This source's and Lalaing's date of April 3 should outweigh d'Auton's (and Maulde La Clavière's) of April 5.
12. Lalaing, p. 284: "Le dimence [9 avril] Monsigneur ouy messe et disna à son logis, et puis le roy et la royne et Monsigneur allèrent ensamble ouyr le sermon, vespres et complies à l'église Saint-Jehan."
13. D'Auton, III, 190, n.2. The other illnesses mentioned by the Chroniques--or the notes to it--occurred in September 1503 (III, 217, n. 2); January-February 1504 (III, 313-14); summer 1504 (III, 348, n. 2); February-March 1505 (III, 359-60); April-May 1505 (IV, 1-9).
14. Unique source: Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Mss. Pal. Lat. 1976-1979, "Alexander Agricola."
Modern edition: Edward R. Lerner, ed., Alexander Agricola: Collected Works, IV (American Institute of Musicology, 1966), 41-46. See Appendix G for editions and original sources of all known motets for Anne de Bretagne.

V: SECOND REIGN

15. D'Auton, IV, 1-2: "La Royne, qui plus en son mal se sentoit interessée et qui l'amoit comme soy mesmes, estoit nuyt et jour en place pour le servir de ce qu'elle pouvoit et le secourir de ce que mestier luy estoit, et, pour le rejouyr, devant luy monstroit visage riant, et luy usoit de joyeuses parolles; mais, a part, toute couverte de larmes, se douloit si tres amerement que nul la veoyoit qui de pitié ne plorast."

Pp. 4-5: "La Royne transmist hastives postes devers le Pere Saint pour avoir pardons et indulgences a tous ceulx qui devotement vouldroyent prier Dieu pour sa guerison et prosperité."

Julius II granted her request by a bull dated 17 May 1505 and ordered processions of the Blessed Sacrament for July 15 (p. 5) and/or June 26 (p. 5, n. 2).

16. Lerner, ed. (see n. 14), xiii: "It was more likely the earlier recovery [winter of 1503-1504] that was celebrated because Agricola's employer, Philip of Hapsburg, was no longer on the same good terms with the French in 1505 as in 1504."

17. On the way back to Blois, Georges d'Amboise stopped at Cléry to pray for Louis; "et puy s'en revint devers le Roy, qui tousjours estoit au lit. La Royne ne cessoit de prier Dieu et les saintz et faire votes et promesses pour sa santé" (d'Auton, IV, 7-8).

18. Louis Farcy, Monographie de la cathédrale d'Angers, II (Angers, 1905), pp. 73-75. Rokseth (see Ch. 3, n. 15), p. 100, quotes Farcy's account, and La Laurencie, pp. 10-11, refers to her. Unaware that Joussaume's contract was dated 4 July 1507 (Farcy, II, 74), La Laurencie considers Rokseth's statement that the organ-restoration was quid pro quo for the maître de psallete only a likely hypothesis. He states (erroneously) that the cathedral hired Joussaume in 1511, based only on Anne's advice rather than her subsidy, and that he charged 450 écus.

19. La Laurencie, p. 13, quotes V. Sablon, Histoire de l'auguste et vénérable église de Chartres (1683): Anne, "ravie de la voix d'un nomme Le Fève, qui estoit enfant de choeur, le demanda a Messieurs du Chapitre qui le lui accorderent; en les remerciant, elle leur dit: 'Vous m'avez donne une petite voix, mais moy, je veux vous en donner une grosse.'" Abbot Bulteau--Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres, I (2nd ed. rev; Chartres, 1887), 161--prints a similar account, which refers to the choirboy as Jean Lefebvre (or Fabri, the latinized form of his name).

See also E. de Lepinois and Lucien Merlet, Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres, III: Necrologium (Chartres, 1865), pp. 94-95: "XII Kalendas Maii (20 avril) 1575.

"9.--Obiit Johannes Fabri, canonicus presbiter, qui cum fuisset a teneris annis puer chori in hac ecclesia, gratiam serenissime Anne, regine de Britannia, promeruit, largissima munera illius liberalitale consecutus est et campanum que Anna dicitur abilla obtinuit."

V: SECOND REIGN

He may also be the "Fabry / qui de long temps y [à Chartres] a prins abry," who identifies himself thusly at the end of his narration of the entree of "Alenor de Portugal" (François I's second wife) into Chartres 21 March 1532: L'entree de la royne de France en la ville & cite de Chartres (Paris: Bibl. nat., Rés. Ye.805).

20. Non nobis appears in Rome, Pal. Lat. 1976-1979--with Transit Anna (n. 14) and Caeleste beneficium (n. 27)--and Motetti de la Corona, II (1519). In his eleventh book of motets Attaignant printed Non nobis with words praising François I (after the psalm quotation) and attribution to Gascongne (Paris, 1535 N.S.).

21. Shine (n. 3), III, 163.

22. Farcy, IV (written in collaboration with T.L. Houdebine; Angers, 1926), 172. The cathedral also had particular importance for natives of Brittany. While the "nations" of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, Poitou, and France--that is the groups of university students from each of these provinces--celebrated the feasts of their patrons in various churches in Angers, "La nation de Bretagne, seule, célébraît en notre église cathédrale la fête de son patron, Monsieur St. Yves" (p. 169).

23. Ibid., p. 85 ("1508"); p. 174 ("1506, 18 août").

24. This is probably the reason she cancelled her originally-scheduled second coronation and Paris entrée. On January 5 Louis had informed the Bureau de la Ville of her intended entrée, for which the city was well into the planning stages on January 14. See Ch. vi, nn. 12-14.

25. D'Auton, IV, 355: "Nouvelles vindrent lors au Roy que la Royne estoit grosse; ... et fist publier les nouvelles par tous ses pays de dela les mons; dont furent faictz partout les feuz de joye."

That day, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, Louis's singers joined forces with Ferdinand's to sing mass polyphonically in the Duomo of Savona.

26. The town paid 4 s. "a quatre trompettes qui allerent au devant du Roi." (Grenoble: Arch. comm., CC. 589, according to Auguste Prudhomme, Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures a 1790, ville de Grenoble, II [Grenoble, 1889], 89.)

27. Printed by Petrucci in Motetti de la Corona, I (1514); also in Vienna 15491 and Rome, Pal. Lat. 1976-1979.

VI: PARIS ENTREES

1. Félix Raugel, Les Grandes Orgues des églises de Paris et du département de la Seine (Paris, 1927), pp. 82, 95--the source of all the facts in this and the two succeeding paragraphs concerning Notre-Dame organists.
2. Antoine Brumel directed the Notre-Dame choirboys from January 1498 until 16 November 1500. (André Pirro, Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e [Paris, 1940], p. 233). Louis and Anne were together in Paris in July 1498.
3. The music director at Notre-Dame from 1507 to 1527 was Louis van Pullaer. He is known for only one composition: Missa Christus resurgens. (Pirro, p. 237.)
4. "Son jeu déroutait les chanoines qui l'accusaient de changer le ton des antiennes du psautier." (Raugel, p. 82.)
5. "Et entrèrent à ladite heure [5 PM] audit lieu de Paris par la porte S. Denys, ou estoient preparez pour sa venuë trois beaux echaffauts; en l'un desquels tout en haut estoit un personnage representant le Roy comme souverain. Au second estoient deux beaux enfans, un fils & une fille, vestus de damas blanc, faisans & represantans Monseigneur le Dauphin, & madite Damoiselle de Flandres. Et au tiers estage au dessous estoient deux autres personnages de mondit Seigneur de Beaujeu & de Madame sa femme;... De plus il y avoit quatre personnages; c'est à sçavoir l'un de Labour, l'autre de Clergé, l'autre de Marchandise, & l'autre de Noblesse, qui tous dirent un couplet à icelle Entrée.
"... & furent encore faits par cy par la plusieurs beaux personnages...." (Théodore Godefroy, Cérémonial François, [Paris, 1649] I, 674.) French kings used this route throughout the 15th century. See Intro, n. 5 for editorial practice.
6. She was met "ou Terrain de Nostre-Dame" by "tous les Presidens & Conseillers de ladite Cour de Parlement, l'Evesque de Paris & plusieurs autres gens de façon." (Ibid., p. 671.)
"Et si est à scavoir que avant que ladite Reyne se mit esdits bateaux pour venir à Paris, furent au devant d'elle & pour la recevoir les Conseillers & Bourgeois de ladite ville en grand & notable nombre, aussi tous en bateaux, qui estoient tous richement couverts de belle tapisserie & draps de soye. Et dedans iceux estoient les petits enfans de Choeur de la Sainte Chapelle, qui là disoient de beaux virelais, chansons, & autres bergerettes moult melodieusement: & si y avoit autre grand nombre de clarons, trompettes, chantes-hauts[?], & bas instruments de diverses sortes, qui tous ensemble jouyoient chacun en droit soy [?] moult melodieusement à l'heure que ladite Reyne, ses Dames & Damoiselles entrèrent en leur bateau...." (Ibid.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

Godefroy's transcription, "chantes-hauts, & bas instruments," should probably read: "chantres, hauts & bas instruments."

7. 8 folios. in-4^o, gothic, n.p., n.d. (Call No.: Rés. Lb. 28.13). Hereafter, Print: Anne.

The last page fol. [b 4'] has a woodcut with lions holding flowers and a rope connecting the printer's initials, I. (or J) T., The lions may indicate publication at Lyon. In the four sides of the frame, starting clockwise from the top, are the words EN PROVOCANT / TR GRANT MISERICORDE / OCTROYE NOUS / CHARITE ET CONCORDE.

8. Published in Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France (no ed. or vol.; 1845-46), 111-20; followed (p. 121) by a short paragraph concerning Nicolai and this manuscript (olim 1489, Sorbonne). The transcription differs widely from mine. The last page of the manuscript (fol. 439') indicates the scribe and the date it was copied: "sur escript de la main Jehan Blampain, l'an quinze cens et sept. Finy le viii^e d'april avant pasques audit an." i.e., 8 April 1508 (N.S.).

9. In Cérémonial François, I, 469, and in Histoire de Charles VIII (1684), p. 625, Théodore Godefroy has published the Parlement's decision of 3 February 1492 to greet Anne at her entrée. It is preserved at the Archives Nationales in the Registres du Parlement, Conseil: X LA. 1499, fol. 65 r-v.

In his Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la Ville de Paris (3 v.; Paris: Charles Moette and Jacques Chardon, 1724), Henri Sauval has published the yearly accounts of the Prévôté of Paris. For the year 1492 they include the following entry: "Philippes Dufour, Examineur au Chastelet, commis à faire faire le mystere qui a été fait audit Chastelet à l'entrée de la Reine, la somme de cent livres parisis." (P. 503 [fol. 469].)

10. "Item environ une bonne portee d'arbalestre de la porte devandicte [St-Denis] dedens la ville y avoit ung escharffault en ung lieu nomme le Poncheau; devant lequel escharffault avoit ung lis sur une pierre...." (Print: Anne, fol. a 4.)

11. Ms. fr. 24052, fol. 421'; Print: Anne, fol. [b 1].

The previous entrée, that of Charles VIII 8 July 1484, had music in the same place (also called "la Fontaine de la Reine"). "Ainsi qu'elle se trouve naïfvement descrite en vieilles Rimes par un Poëte de ce temps-là" (Godefroy, Cérémonial, I, 208):

Y avoit Bergieres bien chantans,
qui disoient chanson nouvelle
De melodieux, & doux chans. (p. 214)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

12. François Bonnardot, ed., Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, Vol. I (Paris, 1883).

13. "Et pour plus joyeusement la recevoir, on fera aux portes esbatemens honnestes & nouveaulx; et pour ce faire on mandera gens de l'Universite de Paris habilles pour trouver quelque bonne invention, & la diter en ryme en françois; et sera prononcé led. dité par ung personnage richement habillé Et oultre seront mandez les Bouchers et Maistres de la Passion, pour leur prier qu'ilz facent chascun en son esgard quelque chose honneste, comme ilz ont accoustume faire." (Ibid., p. 65.)

14. "A eux la somme de cinquante livres parisis, pour accomplir le mystere qui se devoit faire à l'entrée de la Reine de France lesquels ont fait & préparé la plus grande partie du mystere, pour parfaire et accomplir quand le bon plaisir sera à ladite Dame faire ladite entrée; ainsi que lesdits Marchand et Gringoire se sont obligés pardevant deux Notaires." (Sauval, [see n. 9 ¶ 2], III, 534.)

15. "Mes Jean Marchand et Pierre Gregoire cent livres, pour par eux avoir fait les eschafaux, & fait faire le mistere sur la porte dudit Chastelet de Paris à l'entrée de Madame la Reine, qui fut par elle fait en cette Ville de Paris, quis et livré par eux les habillemens et autres choses necessaires appartenantes pour ledit mistere." (Ibid., p. 537.)

16. Archives Nationales, KK. 416, fol. 85ff: 18th-century copies of "Comptes des subsides accordées à la Ville de Paris par le Roi." Section beginning: "Autre despense faite par ordonnance des Prevost des marchands et eschevins de la ville de Paris . . . a cause de la venue et nouvelle entree de la Royne notre souveraine dame. . . ." Published by Charles Oulmont in his chapter, "Pierre Gringore et l'entrée de la Reine Anne en 1504," in Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot (Paris: Librairie Damascène Morgand, 1913), II, 385-92.)

17. "A 8 chantres qui estoient chanteurs ledit jour de l'entrée . . . et paravant le jour de lad. entrée en recordant leurs chansons la somme de 68 s. p." (Ibid., p. 391.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

18. Paris: Bibl. nat., Nouv. acq. fr. 3243, fols. 43-47:
"Dépence de l'entrée de la Reine faite le 20 novembre 1504,
se monte a 8331 livres 6 sous 8 deniers parisis."
"Sçavoir pour les mistaires faits pour le jour de ladite
entrée à la porte St Denis, fontaine du Ponceau, porte au
Pintres, au bout due pont au Munier, près l'orloge du Palais,
au bout du Marché Palu, au charpentier, serurier, loueurs
d'habist, pour les personnages qui ont joué ausdits mistaires,
muziciens, joueurs d'instruments, tapissier, pouelles et
autres."
Published by Henri Stein in his article, "Le Sacre d'Anne de
Bretagne et son entrée à Paris en 1504," in Mémoires de la
Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 29 (1902), 268-304.
The Hôtel de Ville accounts appear on pp. 301-04.
19. Ibid., p. 303, appearing under the subheading: "Depence du
don de la Reine & de ses gens."
20. Between October 1495 and September 1503 (at least),
Charles VIII and Louis XII employed six trumpets. See Chapter iv.
21. Bonnardot (n. 12), pp. 95-97; Godefroy, Cérémonial, I, 690.
22. Published by Stein, (n. 18), pp. 269-300.
23. Dame d'onneur, Royne par excellence
Et duchesse de grant magnificence
La plus digne qui fut onc en noblesse,
A vous je viens soubz toute Reverence
Vous apporter l'euvre qu'en vostre absence
J'ay faite ainsi selon ma petitesse.
Gardez-la bien : car à vous je l'adresse
Non à aultre : pour plaisir volontaire
Et n'oubliez vostre humble secretaire. (Ibid., p. 300.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

24. "... les oraisons et dévotions faictes, fut conduite à son logis, auquel pour ce jour et le lendemain qui fut dimanche se reposa jusques au lundy ensuyvant...." (Ibid., p. 270.) Anne came to St-Denis from the Bois de Vincennes on the 16th ("du Bois de Vincennes alla à Saint Denys en France," [ibid.]), where she had arrived November 8 or shortly before ("y estoit nouvellement arrivée," Oulmont, [n. 16], p. 391[.])
25. "En si très noble compagnie par l'ordonnance que dict a esté et au son des grosses cloches, trompettes, clerons, fleustes, tabourins et bedons de Suisses pour la jubilation de ce joyeux advènement, la très souveraine dame entra en l'église" (Stein [La Vigne], p. 276.)
26. ". . . durant le disner qui fut grant, magnifique et sumptueux, trompettes, clairons, tabourins, menestriers de hauts et bas instrumens firent merveilles, et apres le disner furent les dances passetemps, joyeusetez et esbatemens ainsi qu'il est de coustume" (Ibid., p. 280.)
27. ". . . ce disoit la grand Messe, laquelle fut solempnellement chantée en l'honneur et reverence de Dieu, de Nostre Dame et de Monsieur Saint Denys par lesdictz très révérendz père en Dieu Mons^r le Legat, Mons^r de Bayeux diacre, et Mons^r de Paris soubdiacre, le surplus par les chantres et organistes du Roy et de ladicte dame, qui estoit singulière chose à voir et oyr." (Ibid., p. 279.)
28. "Et le mercredi ensuyvant, vingtiesme jour dud. mois de Nov., a dix heures de matin mess^{rs} les Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins [etc.] partirent de l'Ostel de lad. Ville [pour] lad. Chapelle près Paris où la trouverent lad. Dame....
"Et environ unze heures lad. Dame monta en sa litiere, et arriva à lad. porte Saint Denis, environ midi." (Bonnardot, [n. 12], pp. 95-96.)
29. "Puis marchaient les seigneurs du sang royal . . . ; et après eulx les trompettes et clairons du Roy et de la Royne, avecques les heraultz d'armes." (Stein [La Vigne], p. 289.) See city payment to Anne's trumpets, quoted above, p82, n. 19.
30. "Item devant le Chastelet avoit ung aultre grant et sumptueux mistère, ouquel estoit plusieurs personnages comme bergers et bergières en paix et union au parc de France, chantans mélodieusement, et plusieurs autres choses de grande conséquence" (Ibid., p. 295.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

31. See above, p. 82, n. 15.

32. See above, p. 82, n. 17.

33. See above, p. 81, n. 13.

34. "A M. Jehan Perrier lequel dit et exposa par plusieurs fois aux passans le mistere à la porte aux peintres, pour sa vacation, la somme de 16 s.p.

"Item en depence faite auxd. porte Saint-Denis et porte aux Paintres pour les joueurs des mistaires led. jour de l'entrée ... la somme de 43 s.p." (Oulmont, see nn. 16-17). Bonnardot (n. 12), p. 96: "Item, à la vieille porte Saint Denis [aux Peintres] y avoit unq autre mistere des Cinq Annes qui sont trouvez en l'Ancien Testament, avec lesquelles on adjoustoit Anne, noble royne de France, pour les vertus et biens qui sont en elle. Et y avoit unq personnage pour declerer les choses dessusd., qui disoit en substance ce qui s'ensuit:

Cinq Dames sont au Saint Escrip^t trouvées:
Nommées ANNE, très justes esprouvés;

.
Avec elles la sixiesme on adjouste:
C'est dame Anne, noble royne de France,
Qui son peuple preserve de souffrance."

Stein (La Vigne [n. 18]), pp. 294-95: "Item à la porte au Paintre avoit unq aultre beau mistere ouquel estoit cinq personnages représentant les cinq Annes qui en la sainte Escri^ture sont trouvées, avecq lesquelles on adjoustoit 'Anne' noble Royne de France, pour les singulières vertus qui sont en elle et les grands biens qui par son moyen au Royaulme de France sont venus; aussy pour déclarer la signification de l'histoire avoit un acteur qui disoit ce que s'ensuit: 'Au temps passe de Anne eurent le nom cinq nobles femmes, non plus. [etc.]'"

See Table 5 for musical mystères at the Porte aux Peintres.

35. "... et estoit six heures ou environ quant elle arriva en la cour dudict Pallais, près la pierre de Marbre, duquel lieu monta en la grande salle qui estoit tendue et richement tapissée pour le soupper.

"Commant au soupper la Royne estoit à la Grand table de Marbre....."

(Ibid., p. 296.)

36. Concerning these minstrels and their corporation, see B. Bernhard, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménétriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes: 3 (1841-42), pp. 377-404; 4 (1842-43), 525-48; 5 (1843-44), 254-84, 339-72, especially the chapter in Vol. 4. (See next note for original quote.)

37. "... pour icelle resjouir et principalement pour le plaisir de ladicte souveraine dame les Chantres du Roy et d'elle estoient hault sur ung eschaffault à main dextre, et semblablement tous les bons menestriers de Paris lesquelz firent et dirent merveilles.

"Et ne fault oublier les trompettes et clerons, car à chacun mectz de viande que on apportoit, ilz souffloient de si grand roydeur que tout retentissoit par là dedans, et tellement firent leur devoir que à eulx et aux héraulx qui là estoient ladicte dame donna quatre grandz potz d'argent doré gaulderonnez et arroyez de sesdictes armes, par lesquelles héraulx, trompettes et clérons faisant trois tours autour de ladicte salle, ensuivant les bonnes et antiennes coustumes fut joyeusement et par plusieurs fois a haulte voix crie: Largesse! Largesse!" (Stein [La Vigne], p. 299.)

38. "Quant la très excellante dame eust souppé, on osta nattes et tables et bancs de tous costez, lors derechef trompettes et clerons, flustes, tabourins, haul et bas instrumens se parforcèrent de dire chansons et aultres choses si très armonieuses et plaines de mélodies qu'il n'estoit homme ne femme là dedans par récréation consolative qui n'eust en son coeur ung soulas et plaisir merveilleux, sur quoy commancèrent les seigneurs et dames à dancer et parachever le surplus du jour en devis plaisans, joyeusetez et esbatemens, ..."

(Ibid., p. 300.)

39. "La dernière Entrée qui nous offre des sujets religieux, est celle d'Anne de Bretagne à Paris, en 1504." Josèphe Chartrou is the pseudonym of Mme Charbonnel. The quote is from her published thesis: Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance (1484-1551) (Paris, 1928), p. 21.

40. "Passé 1504, le mystère disparaît de l'entrée royale. Le mot reste; il devient synonyme de représentation théâtrale." (Ibid., p. 22.)

41. Charles Read Baskerville, Pierre Gringore's Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris (Chicago: University Press, 1934), pp. xxv-xxvi.

42. London: British Museum, Cottonian Ms. Vespasian B.II, fols. 3-15, beginning: "Treshaulte magnanime vertueuse illustrissime dame et princesse Marie dangleterre royne de france. Pierre Gringore vostre subgiect [etc]."
Hereafter, Gringore. (Ibid., pp. 1-15.) See Intro., n. 5.

43. There may have been two musical mystères for Anne's second entrée. See above, pp. 84-85.

44. Ten weeks before his own entrée as king, François, still the Count of Angoulême, contributed 38,392 L. 10s. 4d. t. for the tourney which followed Mary Tudor's entrée. This included over 500 pounds to costume 36 tabourins et phifres. Paris: Arch. nat. KK.240, fols. 45, 52'-54', 100.

45. Lentree de tresexcellente Princesse / dame marie dangleterre Royne de france ... Hereafter, Print: Mary. (Baskervill, Appendix A, pp. 19-31.) See Intro., n. 5.

46. "A la porte Saint Denis sur le pont levis estoit un eschaffault tendu de riche tappisserie, dessus lequel avoit un navire grant et spacieulx . . . au cordaige duquel estoient mariniers chantans musicalement ce qui s'ensuit."
(Baskervill [Gringore, fol. 3'], p. 6);

"¶ Item, a l'entree de ladictte ville avoit un grant eschaffault sur lequel avoyt une grande navire d'argent . . . et dedans ladictte navire estoient matelotz et aultres personnages: lesquelz chantoient melodieusement."
(Ibid. [Print: Mary, fols. a 3'-4], p. 23-24.)

47. ". . . a la Porte aux Paintres ou y avoit un eschaffault richement prepare. . . . Sur le bas de l'eschaffault estoient cinq dames accoustrees de la bonne sorte. C'est assavoir France et Angleterre assises en deux chaises aux deux boutz dudit eschaffault. Entre elles assistoient debout troys troys dames nommees / Paix / Amytie / Confederation. Derriere lesquelles estoient menestriers qui jouoyent de leurs instrumens en grande melodie" (Ibid. [Gringore, fols. 7' -8], pp. 6-7.)

"¶Item, a la Porte aux Paintres avoit un grant eschaffault . . . et au dessoubz estoient cinq jeunes pucelles: c'est assavoir France : Paix : Amytie : Confederation : et Angleterre : Lesquelles chantoient melodieusement."
(Ibid. [Print: Mary, fol. a iv], p. 25.)

48. "Ladictte dame se transporta dudict lieu [Chastellet] devant le pallais royal ou devant l'une desdictes portes estoit un eschaffault Au bas dudit eschaffault avoit un jardin nommé le jardin [vergier] de France ou florissoient plusieurs liz; et au-dessus dudit jardin assistoient un roy et une royne. A la dextre desquelz estoit Justice tenant une espee en sa main; et a senestre estoit Verité tenant une paix; et dedans l'enclos dudit vergier estoient plusieurs bergiers et bergieres qui chantoient musicalement."
(Ibid. [Gringore, fol. 14r-v], p. 14.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

"¶ Item, a la Porte Royale due Palais avoit ung grant eschauffault. . . . Et au bas dudit eschauffault avoit ung beau jardin nommé le vergier de France semé de pluseurs beaulx lyz et dedans ledit jardin estoyent pluseurs bergiers et bergieres, lesquelz chantoyent melodieusement"

(Ibid. [Print: Mary, fol. a 5r-v], pp. 26-27.)

49. "A Jean Marchand, Charpentier, et Pierre Gregoire, Historien et Facteur . . . la somme de 115 Livres parisis . . . pour avoir . . . fait faire les échafaux, composé les mysteres, habits de personnages, loué tapisseries et salarié les Chantres, Menestriers et autres personnes pour servir aux mysteres qu'il a convenu faire a l'entrée de la Reine . . . au devant du portail du Chastelet de Paris . . . ; lequel mystere a ete bien et honnestement fait"

(Sauval [n. 9], III, 593-94.) Emphasis added.

50.

"¶Item, en ladicte Grant Salle avoit pluseurs eschauffaulx, sur lesquelz estoyent trompetes clerons et haulx boys, lesquelz faisoyt si bon [beau] ouyr que ce sembloit ung petit paradis que d'estre en ladicte salle."

¶Item, ung aultre entremetz: c'est assavoir ung coq et ung lievre en une lice, qui joustoyent l'ung contre l'aultre.

"¶Item, ce fait, ladicte dame donna a messeigneurs les heraulx d'armes et aux joueurs de trompetes et clerons une navire d'argent, Lesquelz crioyent tous: 'Largesse, largesse.'"

(Baskervill [Print: Mary, fol. a 7r-v], pp. 29-30.)

51. L'entree de la royne de France a Paris faicte le mardy xii. jour du moys de may. L'an de grace. mil cinq cens & xvii.

(Call No.: Rés. Lb30.29). Hereafter, Print: Claude.

52. Le sacre, couronnement, tryumphe et entree de la tres crestienne royne et duchesse, ma souveraine dame et maistresse, madame Claude . . . Hereafter, Pepys.

53. Le coronnement, sacre et entree de la Roynne a Paris (fol. 2). Hereafter, Gringore: Claude.

VI: PARIS ENTREES

54. "Rememorant que aucuns, escripts ont faitz/de ton entrée, ignorans les effectz /ditz et raisons contenuz en icelle--/ que soubz telz gens la vérité se celle,/cuidant sayoir la pensée de l'acteur/(qui de ce cas a esté inventeur)--et ont voutu si noble entrée extraire/non pas au vray, mais du tout au contraire: par quoy je en vueil faire narration/ selon ledit interpretation/de je, qui suis nommé Pierre Gringoire,/comme verras par ditz et vraye histoire./ Présent t'en fais, princesse de hault pris;/car j'ay de faire ung tel cas entrepris./ De par la ville on m'a charge donné/que du tout fust a mon vueil ordonnée./[Etc.]" (fol. 1').

I have attempted to make the meaning clearer by 'de-versifying' the poetry and supplying accents as well as punctuation. Baskervill (n. 41), p. xvii, prints the entire dedication.

55. "A son arrivee a l'eglise a l'entree de la porte trouva Mess^rs les eclesiastes, evesques, abbes et aultres en grant nombre, qu'ilz la recepverent honorablement, luy donnerent l'eaue benoiste, puy ce prindrent a chanter plussieurs belles hypnes, oraisons et chosses devoctes.

"Ainsi fut conduite jusques dedans l'un des cueurs de l'eglise, ou elle dist ses devotions: chascun ce prinst a resjouir; gens d'eglise a chanter vespres." (Pepys, fols. 3'-4

56. Bishop of Le Mans. He made his Paris entrée just three-and-a-half months before, on January 23.

57. "... force trompettes et clerons, roys d'armes, heraulx a cottes d'armes desployes armoyes de leurs princes et princesses y estoient a grant nombre.

"Ainsi entra ladite dame a l'eglise, a l'entree de laquelle vindrent au devant d'elle hors la recepvoier a la porte de l'eglise Mess^rs les legat et cardinaux avec toute la triumphe cardinale et episcopalle, qu'ilz luy firent la reverence; puis se misdrent des gens d'eglise a chanter Te deum laudamus. Et dit ledit legat ce qui s'ensuit:

[in red] "A Desto Domine supplicationibus nostris" (Pepys, fols. 12'-13.)

58. "... la messe fut ditte par mondit S^r le legat, et y assistoient les chantres du roy et de laditte dame, qui n'espargnerent la musique; l'epistre fut chantee par mon^r l'evesque de Beauvais / et l'evangille par l'archevesque de Tours." (Gringore: Claude, fol. 3'.)

59. "¶Puis commença la messe Mons^r le legat, qu'elle fut respondue par les chantres de la chappelle du Roy, et moult sumptueusement fut dicte en grant triumphe; et a chascune pose sonnoient trompettes et clerons." (Pepys, fol. 16'.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

60. "¶Ce fait, (i.e. la communion de Claude) l'on fist belle silence: mondit S^r le legat ce print a chanter et plussieurs belles oraisons et chozes devotes et la donna benediction a la Royne et a tous les assistans; ainsi fut conduite ladite dame et menee a son logis." (Ibid., fol. 19.)
 "... puis allerent disner, ou se fist mainte bonne chere: dances eurent lieu et joueulx [sic] d'instrumens, chantres et musiciens firent bien leur devoir. Il sembloit, par forme de parler, que c'estoit un paradis." (Ibid., fol. 19'.)
61. "Premier vindrent au devant d'elle jucques a un lieu nomme La Chappelle Saint Denis a une lieue de Paris mess^{rs} de la ville;...les trompettes et clerons de ladite ville, ayans banyeres armoyees [aux armes de la ville] en belle et honorable ordonnance." (Ibid., fols. 19'-20.)
 "¶Puis se detournerent et commencerent a marcher droit a Paris en tel ordre qu'ilz estoient venuz.
 "¶Puis marchoient grant nombre de trompettes et clero[n]s, ayans banieres armoyees aux armes du roy notre Sire et de ladicte dame; aultres aux armes de mons^r et de mons^r le connestable." (Ibid., fols. 25'-26.)
62. "¶Plus avant marcha ladite dame jusques a la Porte aux Paintres ou elle trouva un eschaffault, et au plus hault d'icelluy avoit un grant soleil d'or. Et dedans estoit une jeune dame, vestue de blanc et maiens eslevees droit au ciel, nomme dame Charite. Et audessous estoient quatre deesses; et au meillieu d'icelles estoit Foy ten[ant] un estandart ou avoit un escu ouquel estoient protraictes les armes de Dieu, du pape et du roy; et a destre et a senestre estoient lesdites quatre deesses, qui chantoient muzicallement." (Pepys, fol. 33.)
63. "L'une estoit nommee Amadriade, deesse des forestz ...; la seconde estoit nommee Oreade, nymphe et deesse des montaignes ...; la iiij^e estoit Nayade, deesse des fontaines ...; la iiiij^e estoit nommee Nappee, nymphe des fleurs ... lesquelles deesses chantoient melodieusement en musique ce qui s'ensuit." (Gringore: Claude, fol. 11; the "Chancon" text is on fol. 11'.) The names of the goddesses appear in the illustration on fol. 34' of Pepys.
64. "... et plusieurs chantres qu'ilz chantoient de chosses faictes moult melodieusement." (Pepys, fol. 40.)
65. See note 54.

VI: PARIS ENTREES

66. "¶Au devant celle eglise estoient reuerend pere en Dieu Mons^r l'evesqz [sic] de Paris en pontifical et estat de prelat. Et grant nombre d'autres euesques, abbez et prelatz, avecques Mess^{rs} les doyen, chappitre, chanoynes et enfans de cuer de la dicte eglise.

"Celle belle et noble eglise de Notre Dame estoit fermee; quant la noble dame y arriva l'on ouvrit les portes et elle entra dedans; lors lesdits prelatz, chanoines et aultres gens d'eglise commencerent a chanter a haulte voix et en grant sollempnite Te Deum laudamus, a sonner les grosses cloches, a jouer des orgues" (Ibid., fol. 38.)

67. "¶Item en ladite grant sale avoit deux eschaffaulx, auxquelz estoient trompettes & clerons / bucines / haulx menestriers / haulzbois / et plusieurs autres instrumens, lesquelz faisoit si bel ouyr que ce sembloit ung petit paradis que d'estre en ladite sale."
(Print: Claude, fol. [b 4].) The cliché about being in paradise appears almost verbatim in the printed accounts of Mary Tudor's (see n. 50; ¶1) and Louis XII's Paris banquets. See also Gringore's more self-conscious use of it to describe the dinner music following Claude's coronation (n. 60).

"En celle salle y eut deux chaffaulx: en l'un estoient plusieurs seigneurs et dames qu'estoit a dextre; l'autre pour mettre partie des trompectes, hacquebusiers [Paris; Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 5750: "hacqbustiers"], haulx boys et aultres tympaneurs d'honneur." (Pepys, fol. 42'.)

68. "A chascun service que l'on servoit sur table sonnoient trompettes et clerons a banieres desployees. Puy venoient les roys d'armes et heraulx, ayans riches costes d'armes vestues, acompaignant le service en fait royal.

"Quant vint au tiers service la noble royne, qui avoit ordonne que l'on donnast aulx roys d'armes, heraulx et trompectes deux grans potz d'argent dore pour les largesses, qu'estoient moult haulx et grans, et bien pouvoient valloir mil frans vindre faire la reverence a ladite dame Et portoient iceulx deux potz Bretagne, roy d'armes de ladite dame, en portant l'un et Normendye l'autre.

"Quand ilz eurent fait celle reverence, ayans les genoulx a terre, celluy Bretagne ... ce leva et ce print a dyre a haulte voix et par troys foys ce qui ensuit: 'Largesse [etc.]'

"Puis ce prindrent les autres roys d'armes et heraulxtz a crier 'Largesse'; trompectes, clerons a sonner--ainsi firent le tour de la salle." (Pepys, fols. 45'-46.)

VI: PARIS ENTREES

69. "¶ ... Item apres ladite dame donna aux heraulx d'armes /
aux trompettes et clerons et aux autres menestriers pour
leur vin ung grant pot d'argent, lesquelz ensemble, en faisant
plusieurs tours par ladite sale, crioient: 'Largesse, [etc.]'.
Itez [sic] apres toutes les choses cy dessus declairees
furent faictes plusieurs joyeusetez, morisques et esbatemens
pour resjouyr ladite dame / apres ce fait et conclus
ladite dame print congie

"¶ Louenge a la Royne Claude:

"¶ Chante dame de toutes vertus,
Louenges rendons au grant roy Jesus

¶ Nous prierons le roy de gloire
¶ Envoyer a la Royne ung beau filz.

Amen."

(Print: Claude, fol. [b 4r-v].)

VII: FUNERAL

1. The most comprehensive modern account, based on contemporary documents but blemished by several errors, is Madeleine Fouché's "Les grandioses funérailles de la reine Anne de Bretagne," Revue des Etudes Historiques, 104 (1937), 249-68.

2. "Cent ans a et plus ne trespasa royne de France avant les roys, ne qui fut si grosse terrienne et eust subsécutivement espousé deux rois de France comme ladicte Dame" (Quoted by Fouché, p. 259).

The Registres of Parlement (see n. 10) indicate that the unprecedented pomp was in respect of Anne's character: "Laquelle dame a esté réputée la plus sage & magnanime, la plus liberalle, courtoise, charitable & vertueuse princesse qui ait regné de son temps en toute la Cristienté, tellement a acquis le renom sur toutes les autres" (pp. 627-28).

3. See Edward Lowinsky, ed., The Medici Codex of 1518, Monuments of Renaissance Music, III (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1968), 68-72. (See also Appendix G.)

4. Fouche, p. 268. Previous royal French widows, who wore white, were called "la Reine Blanche."

5. Léon Le Grand, "Un registre capitulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris [Paris: Arch. nat., LL.132 bis]" Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, 52^e année (1925), p. 112, nn. 3-4. This article (pp. 105-24) includes the publication of the entire capitular record of the funeral services at Notre-Dame February 14-15 (pp. 120-24), which I have reproduced in Appendix F..

6. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.240, fol. 61: "A Leon Barre, Jehan Mareschal, et Jehan Le Large ... la somme de 5,215 L. 10 s. 10 d. ... pour porter le deul de la Royne."

7. Ibid., fol. 67: "le service que mondit seigneur fit fere a St-Florentin de la feue Royne."

8. Théodore Godefroy first published an abridged version in 1649 (Cérémonial François, II, 96-132). The modern edition is by L. Merlet and Max de Gombert, Récit des funérailles d'Anne de Bretagne ... par Bretagne, son heraut d'armes (Paris: Aubry, 1858; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine reprints, 1970), cited hereafter as Choque.

9. The Bibliothèque nationale has eleven copies (Mss. fr. 5094-5098, 5100, 5101, 18537, 23936, 25158; nouv. acq. fr. 74). There is one each in the Archives nationales (MM. 859), the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Ms. 5224), and in the municipal libraries of Lyon, Chartres, Le Mans, Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes. Several copies are in private collections and one was in the imperial library of St. Petersburg (Leningrad).

10. Published by Michel Félibien and Guy-Alexis Lobineau in Histoire de la Ville de Paris, Vol. IV: 2nd vol. of Preuves et Pièces Justificatives. (Paris: Desprez and Desessartz, 1725), pp. 627-30.
11. Bonnardot (see Ch. vi, n. 12), pp. 208-10.
12. See Léon Le Grand, "Relation des obsèques d'Anne de Bretagne, reine de France" (see n.5); reproduced in Appendix F..
13. Nantes: Arch. dept., E. 208, No. 2: "Rolle des parties et sommes de deniers payees baillées et delivrees ... pour partie de ses obseques et funerailles." This is a "rolle" in the literal sense of the word--a scroll, composed of nine meter-long folios glued together end to end. The last folios are missing.
14. Fouché, p. 254. Joan of Arc prayed here.
15. Confessor to Louis XII and later François I, Parvy was a Dominican (Jacobin) and a humanist--a friend of Guillaume Budé and correspondent of Erasmus (Fouché, p. 255).
16. Choque, pp. 50, 80, 83; Ms. fr. 5099, fols. 14, 35', 37'.
17. Mouton's version was printed by Petrucci in Motetti della Corona, III (1519), and by Montanus and Neuber in Novum et insigne opus musicum (1558); Festa's appears in the 1518 manuscript Bologna Q. 19 and--attributed to Senfl, with references to Anne changed to Maximilian--in Ott's Secundus tomus novi operis musici (1538). See Alexander Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," MQ, 48 (1962), 173-89 and Appendix G.
18. "Mais tous les jours y eut quatre grans messes à diacres et soubz diacres, sans les messes en basse voix.
 "La premiere messe estoit du Saint-Esprit que disoient les Cordeliers: et les aornemens de damas rouge, bien enrichiz d'orfraiz, aux armes de la dicte dame et à sa devise.
 "La seconde estoit de Notre-Dame que disoient les Jacobins : et estoient les aornemens de damas blanc, enrichiz comme devant est dit.
 "La tierce estoit de Requiem, dicte et respondue par les chantres de la chappelle du roy : et estoient les aornemens de velours noir, enrichiz d'ymages et des armes et devise de la dicte dame.
 "La quarte grant messe, semblablement de Requiem, dicte par Monseigneur l'abbé de la Roue, aumosnier de la dicte dame, en pontificat de prélat, ayant crosse et mytre qui bien lui advenoient; icelle messe respondue par les chantres de la chappelle de la dicte dame", (Choque, pp. 34-35).
 The description of the last mass in Ms. fr. 5099 (fol. 6') is almost identical : "La quatriesme grande messe fut aussi de Requiem avec les mesmes aornemens, dicte par Monsieur l'abbe de La Roe, aulmosnier de la dicte dame, en pontificat avec croce et mitre, et respondue par les chantres de sa chappelle."

VII: FUNERAL

19. This information comes from the beginning of the "account-scroll" in Nantes (see n. 13).
20. "Depuis le trespas de ladite dame pendant qu'elle estoit a Blois sont venuz tous les jours en procession les parroisses, abbayes, couvens, eglises collegiales, et aultres eglises en grant nombre, atout leurs croix, torches, et cierges armoiez aux armes de ladite dame, dire le Libera et autres belles oraisons sur ladite dame, et jour et nuyt y a eu prieres" (Paris: Bibl., nat., Ms. fr. 5096, fol. 18 [Choque, pp. 35-36]).
21. "Devant que partir de la salle vint Monseigneur le cardinal de Bayeux acompaigne de messieurs les evesques de Paris, de Lymoges, l'abbe de La Roue, et autre grant nombre de gens d'eglise atout la croix, qui dirent le Libera et plusieurs oraisons sur le corps" (Ibid., fol. 22 [p. 43]).
"Puis marcha mondit seigneur le cardinal et aultres gens d'eglise devant le corps, chantans Libera et aultres oraisons" (Ibid., fol. 23' [p. 46]).
22. "Les Cordeliers, Jacopins, Carmes, et Augustins et autres gens d'eglise l'ont tous jours veillee depuis sa mort jusques a Saint-Denis en France" (Ibid., fol. 17' [p. 35]).
23. "Et fist tousjours l'office ledit abbe depuis sa mort jusques a Paris, tant a la messe que a vigilles, fors a Orleans, ou se trouva l'evesque d'icelluy lieu" (Loc. cit.).
"Et quant venait au soir et au matin l'on disoit vespres et vigilles, et au matin la grant messe a diacre et soubz-diacre et messes donnees a tous venans, et tousjours ledit prelat en pontificat" (Ibid., fol. 29' [p. 56]).
- "Les vigilles et service du soir et du matin fut beau, et officia ledit abbe de La Roue" (Ibid., fol. 33 [p. 64]).
24. "Et sabmedi au matin, unziesme jour dudit moys de febvrier, furent dictes les troys grandes messes comme es autres eglises, et la derreniere par Monseigneur l'abbe de La Roe, respondue par les chantres de la feu noble dame, ou assisterent tous messeigneurs et dames du sang avec toute leur suyte d'officiers, gentilz hommes, dames, et damoyelles" (Ms. fr. 5099, fol. 22').
25. "Dominus Decanus amictus stolla, in absentia domini episcopi et nomine ecclesie, psalmum De Profundis incepit, quo per chorum decantato et dictis per eum orationibus" (Le Grand [Arch. nat., LL.132 bis], p. 121; see n. 5).
26. "Fut conduit le corps jusques a la porte de l'eglise Nostre-Dame de Paris, la ou il fut receu par Monseigneur le cardinal et autresprelatz, les doyen et chapitre de Paris, chantant Libera jusques au milieu du cueur" (Ms. fr. 5099, fol. 32).

VII: FUNERAL

27. "mox yigillie mortuorum per chorum in pulpito satis succincte quia jam nox apropinquabat, decantate fuerant, dicto domino cardinali officium faciente" (Le Grand, p. 121).

28. See Ch. vi. p.78, nn. 1-3. Raugel, p. 81, speaks of an "Etienne Farcilly mentionne comme organiste en 1477."

29. Paris: Arch. nat., KK.82, fols. 61', 149'; KK.83, fol. 94'. See Table 2.

30. "Le lendemain, pareillement officia ledict cardinal, et fut servy de diacres et soubz-diacres. Premier fut Monseigneur l'arcevesque de Lyon, primat de France, nommé [Francois] de Rohan, qui servit de diacre. Monseigneur l'arcevesque de Sens fist le soubz-diacre.

"Le second ordre des diacres et soubz-diacres furent deux abbez, savoir : Monseigneur de Sainte-Genevieve et Monseigneur de la Roue.

"Les évesques qui tenoient le corps en chappes : Messigneurs de Viviers et l'arcevesque de Dol.

"L'espitre fut dicte par Monseigneur de Sens, et porta le livre Monseigneur de la Roue" (Choque, p. 80).

31. Claude de Tournon, her conseiller et premier aumosnier in 1494 (Arch. nat., KK.84, fol. 38'), in 1505 (Lobineau, II, 1594), and perhaps until her death. He was the illegitimate half-brother of Anne's chevalier d'honneur, Jacques de Tournon, whose wife (Jeanne de Polignac) raised Claude de France, and whose son (François) was the official maître de chapelle of François I.

32. "Monseigneur l'archevesque de Dol et Monseigneur l'evesque de Viviers tenoient le cuer en chappes avec tous les chantres de la noble deffuncte" (Ms. fr. 5099, fol. 35).

The phrase tenir le cuer also occurs in contemporary accounts of two funeral services in 1498 for Charles VIII.

Anne paid 10 s.t. "a V viccaires collegiez en ladite eglise St-Fleurentin qui ont tenu le cuer durant ledit service" (Bibl. nat., Ms. fr. 10376, fols. 143'-44);

At St-Denis May 1, "chanta la messe le Cardinal du Mans. Les evesques d'Angers et de Beauvais faisoient les diacre et soubzdiacre. Les evesques de Cornouaille et d'Angoulesme tenoient le coeur. Les evesques chanterent les lecons" (Ibid., Ms. fr. 4339, fol. 14 [olim 4]). Note how closely this ceremony was followed sixteen years later for Anne de Bretagne.

33. "Officiancium vero talis fuit ordo: Dominus reverendissimus cardinalis servicium faciebat; Vivariensis et Dolensis episcopi chorum tenuerunt, assistantibus eis magistris Johanne Pur et Laurencio Fermanel, beneficiatis ecclesie, cum capis panni lanei nigri propter hoc eisdem concessis" (Le Grand, p. 122). Cf. n. 30, ¶3, and 32: this passage appears to correct the edition of Choque, which says that the bishops "tenoient le corps," (Emphasis added.)

"... missam que fuit per cantores defuncte Regine ex precepto domini Delphini decantata" (Le Grand, p. 123).

34. The bishop of Lodève was Guillaume Briçonnet (the younger), Anne's conseiller et grand aumosnier when she first became queen (Arch. nat., KK.82, fol. 60), and still the latter in 1505 (Lobineau, II, 1594). Choque (p. 67) refers to him as the officiant at Notre-Dame-des-Champs 14 February 1514: "Le mardi, vint officier Monseigneur de Lodeve, premier aumosnier de la dicte dame, et pour tout le jour fist le service." At Notre-Dame de Paris he recited the sixth lesson of vigils (Le Grand, p. 122).
35. "Ad tractum fuerunt domini episcopi Lodovensius, Belvacensis, Constanciensis et Lemovicensis, in medio quorum erant domini Cantor, archidiaconus Parisiensis, Johannes Joly et Petrus Mouton, canonici" (Le Grand, p. 123)
36. "Et son tesme fut: Conversus est in luctum chorus noster. Il divisa le cueur de Paris en quatre parties, savoir : l'église qui est vers l'aullier, la justice en la porte, l'université au dextre, le peuple de Paris à la senestre. Et convertit tous les quatre membres de ce cueur tout en larmes et pleurs, à cause de la mort de la noble royne" (Choque, pp. 80-81).
37. "Il lançait une allusion à la musique en comparant la ville de Paris 'à un choeur de musique à quatre parties, l'Eglise, la Justice, l'Université et le Peuple,' dans chacune desquelles la douleur seule se faisait entendre" (La Laurencie [see Intro., n.1], pp. 12-13). Page 105 of Choque, from which this quote is supposedly taken, has nothing to do with Parvy's sermon nor the service at Notre-Dame. Fouché (p. 255) gives the same description--while not claiming to quote Choque--for the sermon at Blois. However, her statements that the "chantres du roi" sang at Notre-Dame--she never mentions Anne's chapel---and that Mouton was the "premier chantre du roi" (pp. 263-64) cast doubt on her reliability.
38. "Et qui plus estoit, après avoir esté l'occasion de faire chasser les Juifs, en faire baptiser, les nourrir et leur donner pencion" (Choque, p. 81).
39. Arch. nat., KK.83, fol. 74: "A Frere Robert de Gaguin, conseiller du Roy nostre sire et maistre des Maturins de Paris, la somme de 30 L.t. pour partie de la somme de 70 L.t. a luy pareillement ordonnez par ladite dame pour l'entretènement, nourriture, et alimentacion d'un homme Charles de Creil, nagueres Juif, lequel elle a fait baptiser et reduire a la foy chrestienne, dont elle luy a baille le gouvernement, regime, administracion pour ung an commence le premier jour d'avril derrenier passe [1493]."
40. "Finito autem servicio funeris in ecclesia, sumptum est prandium, quo pendante, pulsate sunt vespere que hora duodecima cantate fuerunt; quibus finitis, quia corpus defuncte Regine delaturum erat in Sancto Dionisio" (Le Grand, p. 123).

41. Nantes, Arch. dept., E.208, No. 2 (see n. 13), near the end: "Aux chantres et chanoines de l'eglise Saint Paoul en ladite eglise de Saint Denis en France la somme de 10 L.t. a eulx ordonnee pour une grant messe sollempnelle, vigilles des mors, et autres prieres par eulx faictes en leur dite eglise et pour le salut et repos de l'ame de ladite feue dame ledit jour de son enterrement," According to the Registres of Parlement (Félibien, IV, 529 [see n. 10]), the burial service was held the next day--February 16.

42. "Marcha le bon cardinal accompaigne de tous messeigneurs les autres prelates ... depuys le grand autel jusques au millieu du cueur pour aller querir le corps de sa bonne dame et la dirent ung Libera avant que le mouvoir / Puys quant il fut charge et porte a la porte dudit cueur fut dit ung autre Libera avecques plusieurs oraisons jusques devant l'ouverture de la volte, ou estoit estably son derrenier et perpetuel manoir, quant au corps fut did ung autre Libera avec plusieurs preces et souffraiges" (Ms. fr. 5099, fol. 38').

By order of the king Jehan Juste had built the vault, with its marble statue of the Virgin Mary, a few years earlier. It was replaced by the mausoleum which Juste completed in 1527 and still stands in the church of St-Denis (Fouche, p. 266).

43. "Après toutes les oraisons et preces achevees, mondit seigneur le cardinal, avec le baston de la croix, gecta ung peu de terre sur le cercueil / en disant moult piteusement-- la larme a l'oeil--Requiescat in pace" (Ms. fr. 5099. fol.40).

44. "Si fut advisé et conclud que l'on y feroit ainsi qu'il estoit acoustumé en tel cas, et que fait avoit esté es obseques et funerailles de la feue Royne, Anne de Bretagne, derreniere trespassee, et mieulx ancores qui pourroit, attendu qu'il estoit trespassee en ceste ville; aussi que le Roy, nostre sire à present regnant, François de Valois, premier de ce nom, y estoit, et les princes et princesses de ce Royaume" (Bonnardot [see Ch. vi. n. 12], p. 220).

45. "Elle fut mise en son lit de parade, ainsy que j'ay ouy dire à une de ses dames, ny plus ny moins que la reyne Anne, ... et vestue des mesmes habits royaux qu'avoit ladicte reyne, qui n'avoient servy depuis sa mort à autres qu'à elle; et fut portée après dans l'eglise du chasteau, en mesme pompe et solemnité que ladicte reyne Anne" (Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, "Catherine de Medicis," Vies des Dames Illustres [1665-66; included within numerous editions of his complete works]).

APPENDIX A

PIETREQUIN BONNEL'S CONTRACT AS CHANTRE IN THE
SAVOY CHAPEL (OCTOBER 1488 - SEPTEMBER 1489)

(Chambery: Arch. dept. de Savoie, Fonds retrocedes de Turin, Inv. 124, SA. 3619, Supplement au compte [1 octobre 1488 - 1 octobre 1489].) (Quoted from Bouquet, pp. 247-48.)

Charles, par la grace de Dieu duc de Savoye, [etc.] ; à tous ceulx qui ceste verront salut.

Savoir faisons que Nous par consideration des sens, science prudence, diligence et aultre plusieurs vertus qui sont en la personne de notre bien amé Petrequin Bonnel, natif des pars de Picardie, mesmement l'experience, ensamble la théorique voix convenable et a Nous agreable qu'il a en l'art et melodie de musique, icelluy suppliant et humblement acceptant à Nous retenu et retenons par ces presentes, chantre de Notre chapelle. Et Voulons que désormais il soit nommé et réputé du nombre de nos bons serviteurs en semble chantres d'icelle. C'est assavoir tandis qu'il fera bien et Notre bon plaisir sera.

Subs les gages ordinaires de deux cent florins pp. [= petit poids] pour chacun an entier qu'il Nous servira, en commençant le premier jour d'octobre dernier passé de l'année presente subscripte et à semblable jour chescune année rendue finissant; avec toutes aultres prehemminences, prerogatives, honneurs, prouffits et charges appartenans audict office, et par les aultres nos dicts chantres usités et accoustumés en tel cas de percevoir et supporter.

Cy mandons au maistre de notre dite chapelle que receu par ly du dit Petrequin le serment [dehu] et en tel cas appartenant, il le recepve et admette à l'exercice dudict office, sans delation ou contradictions quelconques. Et au surplus le fait joyr et user des prehemminences, prouffits et prerogatives susdictes. Et semblent mandons au tresourier par Nous depute en la dicte chapelle, present et advenir, que désormais, chescun an aux termes dechus et accoustumes, il paye et satisfait entierement ledict Petrequin de ses dits gages; c'est assavoir tandis qu'il Nous servira et sera de la retenue de Notre dite chapelle.

Et en prenant à luy pour la premiere fois et premier payement avec la copie de cestes Nos lettres [dehument] tabellionnées. Et aux aultres payemens et suivans quittance opportune tant seulement.

Voulons et commandons expressement que les dicts gages et payemens soyent par Nos cher et bien amés féaulx conseillers, les president et maistre de la chambre de Nos comptes, et livrées audict tresourier sans delation ou excusation aucune.

Et sans actandre sur ce aultre plus expres mandement devons

Donne a Thurin - Le [1 novembre 1488] -

Bochay

Ceste presente copie extraicte per moy
notayre subsigné du propre original
faicte collation - Faure -

APPENDIX B

THE WORKS OF PIETREQUIN BONNEL
AND FRESNEAU, WITH THEIR SOURCES

All chansons for three voices, except n. 2; mass for 4 voices.	Bonnel						Fresneau						
	Mais que ce fust	Adieu Florence	En desirant	Sans y penser	Mes douleurs	Qu'en dictez vous	A l'heure que	De vous servir	Nuyt et jour	C'est vous seulle	Notre assouement	Ha qu'il m'ennuie	Missa Quarti Toni
Florence Ricc.2794			X	X	X	X		X	X	X			
Copenhagen 1848								X ¹	X ¹			X ¹	
Rome CG XIII.27	X ²							X ³	X ¹		X		
Wash. D.C. Laborde	X ¹							X ¹	X ¹				
Flo., Magl. XIX,59	X ¹	X									X ⁴	X ¹	
Flo., Magl. XIX,178	X	X										X ⁴	
Bologna Q.17	X							X ³					
Lond., Roy. 20.A.xvi							X		X ¹				
London Add.35087	X ¹												
Rome Cas.2856	X ¹												
Florence Ricc.2356								X ¹					
Vienna 18810		X ⁵											
Munich 328-331		X ¹											
Paris 2245												X	
Paris 1597												X ¹	
Paris Nivelle												X ¹	
Rome CS 23													X
Odhecaton	X ⁶												

1. Anonymous
2. Donzella no men culpeys (a 4)
3. Attributed to Hayne

4. Attr. to Agricola
5. Attr. to La Rue
6. Attr. to Compère

APPENDIX C

JUDGMENT BY PARLEMENT GRANTING EVRARD DE LA CHAPPELLE ALL BENEFITS DUE HIM AS TREASURER OF ST-MARTIN DE TOURS-- WHICH MENTIONS THE DATE OF OCKEGHEM'S DEATH

(Paris: Arch. nat., X 1A.1505, fol. 239'.) (Quoted from
Johannes Ockeghem en zijn Tijd.)

Entre maistre Evrard de la Chapelle, tresorier de l'eglise Saint-Martin de Tours demandeur et reguerant l'execucion de certain arrest donne a son prouffit le X^{ke} de juillet mil IIIIc IIII xx XIX et en ce faisant que les doien et chappitre d'icelle eglise feussent condamnez a lui rendre paier et restituer les gros fruitz et autres qui lui appartiennent a cause d'icelle tresorerie qu'il eust prins et perceuz ou peu prendre et percevoir depuis le trespas de feu Me Jehan de Obkeghan en son vivant tresorier d'icelle eglise qui fut le VI^e jour de fevrier mil IIIIc IIIIxx XVI a tout le moins depuis la presentation fecte par le roy ausdis defendeurs de la personne dudit demandeur et reffuz par eulx fait de l'instituter et lui bailler collacion d'icelle tresorerie a la presentation dudit seigneur d'une part et lesdiz doien et chapitre d'icelle eglise de Saint-Martin de Tours defendeurs oudit cas d'autre part, veu par la court ledit arrest les advertissemens, addicions et responses desdites parties et tout ce que icelles parties ont mis et produit par devers l'executeur dud. arrest. oy son rapport et tout considere.

Il sera dit que lesdiz defendeurs en ensuivant l'offre par eulx fecte en leur advertissement bailleront audit demandeur les gros fruitz d'une annee sans prejudice des droiz et proces desdites parties et touchant le residu, ladite court a ordonne et ordonne que ce present incident sera joint avec le proces principal d'entre lesdites parties, les despens de de cette instance reservez en deffinitive.

In the margin: prononcé le VII^e septembre

APPENDIX D

JEAN D'AUTON, CRONICQUE OF 1502, CH. XXII:

"D'UNG NOMMÉ MAISTRE EVRARD, ORGANISTE DU ROY, ET COMMIANT EN CE TEMPS FU TRANSPORTÉ DE SON SENS ET MENÉ A SAINT MATHURIN DE LARCHANT."

Pour faire incident sur cas de nouvelleté advenu en ce temps, est vray que ung nommé maistre Evrard, tresorier de Saint Martin de Tours et organiste du Roy, estoit lors a Clery; lequel s'en voulut aller devers le Roy son maistre, et comme il fut prest a desloger, ung de ses gens luy dist que a Saint Mathurin de Larchant devoit ung voyage; par quoy, veu qu'il en estoit assez pres, seroit son prouffict et s'aquiteroit d'aller audit lieu de Saint Mathurin, premier que aller en court devers le Roy et que obeissance estoit premiere duee a Dieu et es saintz que es princes et autres humains, dont luy donnoit, par l'advys de ce conseil, ouverture du chemin de son voyage. A quoy ne s'aresta celuy maistre Evrard, mais dist que une autre fois accompliroit bien son veu, et que saint Mathurin n'avoit pour lors si grant haste d'estre de luy visité, comme il avoit besoing de veoir le Roy, a cui estoit plus tenu que a saint de Paradis. Dont le benoist saint, comme est a pëncer, mal content de ce parler improveu et vollage propos, pour luy monstrier ung tour du baston de quoy il frappe les foux, luy donna sur la teste soubdain, et tel coup, que sens luy faillit, esprit luy troublèrent, raison luy fuyt, savoir oublya, et mode ne sceut. Quoy plus? de tous pointz fut aux champs, si loings a l'escart, que, pour retourner en propos raciz, ne pouvoit trouver adresse, et, avecques ses parolles plaines de risée et resverye nayve, devint tant furyeux que homme ne l'osoit approcher. Il estoit a son logys, et la, dedans une chambre, tout en pourpoint, avoit en une main ung espieu, et en l'autre une dague courte pour garder la porte, et ainsi que depuys, moy estant a Lyon sur le Rosne, au logis de maistre René de Prye, evesque de Bayeux et maistre de la chapelle du Roy, en la presence de celuy de Prye et de plusieurs, je sceu, par messire Gabriel de La Chastre, capitaine de cent archiers de la garde du Roy, qui, luy comme il disoit, estoit lors a Cléry avecques cinc ou six de ses archiers, lequel, sachant le cas inconvenient, s'en alla avecques ses gens au logis de celuy maistre Evrard, et la le trouva en l'estat que j'ay dit, dont fut esbahy et compacient de son piteux affaire. La voulut parler a luy de sens, mais ce fut pour nyent, car il n'entendoit a ce; ainsi, tout alteré en regard, estoit au devant de l'uys, et la vouloit jouer de main mise au premier qui de luy se voudroit approcher; dont celuy de La Chastre fist signe a quelquon de ceulx qui au dedans de la chambre estoient, qu'il le saisist par derriere, ce qu'il fist, et en le prenant, ledit maistre Evrard faillit a luy donner de la courte dague. Toutesfoys, les archiers, avecques leurs hallebardes en main, entrerent, et le capitaine avecques eulx, lesquelz le prindrent

et saisirent, et lierent bien a point. Ce faict, fut mene tout enferre a son voyage a Saint. Mathurin, et la fist sa neuvieme, si a point, que le bon saint oublya le neffaict du deffaillant, et envers Dieu grace impetra de guerison pour le percuz, son mal recognoissant, et ainsi reccut don de santé, celui qui, par langage mal advisé, avoit Dieu offensé, a qui ne se doit en nulle maniere homme jouer; car troys choses sont, qui l'atouchment de jeu ne pevent souffrir : c'est assavoir, Dieu, l'ueil et la renommée.

(Quoted from Maulde La Claviere's edition, III, 94-96.)

APPENDIX E

LETTERS BY ANNE DE BRETAGNE CONCERNING
PREGENT DE JAGU

Chers et bien amez,

Pour ce que notre ame & feal ausmonier [sic] Prégent de Jagu, archidiacre de Dinan, nous dit & remonstre n'etre pas encore pourveu de maison prebendalle en votre Eglise, ni charges aucunes; que pour sur vacquer a cette cause & que desirant qu'il soit bien & favorablement traicte en ses affaires, en recompense des bons, agreables & nombreux services qu'il a faiz & rendu a monseigneur & a Nous; Nous vous prions que pour amour de Nous, le veuillez pourvoir de la premiere maison prebendale qui vacquera en votre Eglise & le preferer a tous autres, a ce que cognoissons que dessus (sic) nous obeyr & complaire & vous nous ferez service tres agreable dont vous en saurons tres bon gre. Donné a Bloys, le xiiij^e jour d'octobre.

ANNE.

De Treguery

On the back is written: A nos chers & bien amez les Chanoines & Chapitres de Treguier.

Chers et bien amez,

Ja pieça a la requeste de Monseigneur & de Moy, le cardinal Saint-Georges pourveut notre cher & bien amez Prégent Jagu, valet..... ordinaire de mon dit seigneur, des prebendes de Treguier & cure de Pederneec; & sur ce lui envoya ses lettres de collacion ou nomination, auquel vous lui gardez la possession; mon dit seigneur & Moy en escripvons de suite audit cardinal que incontinent il parface & en obtienne les lettres a ce necessaires, en maniere que le dit Prégent en demeure paisible possesseur, si vous prions que de votre part, pour amour de Nous, vous fassiez de bien en mieux tenir la main a ce que le dit Prégent soit mis es possessions & jouissance desdits benefices ne que rien s'y oppose, car Nous esperons que de brief il aura de Cour de Rome les bulles & provisions apostoliques qui lui en seront necessaires, & en vous y toujours tres bien emploiant, Nous ferez service bien fort agreable, dont vous saurons bien fort bon gre, & en aurons vous & les affaires de votre Eglise en plus grand & singuliere recommandacion. Donné a Lyon, le dernier jour de novembre.

ANNE.

Garin.

On the back is written: A nos chers & bien amez les Chantres, Chanoines & Chappitre de l'Eglise de Treguier.

(Quoted from Le Roux de Lincy, Vie de la reine, III, 5-8.)

APPENDIX F

NOTRE-DAME'S RECORD OF ANNE'S FUNERAL SERVICES IN PARIS

(Paris: Arch. nat., Reg. capitulaire LL.132 bis, fols. 102-03)

De funeralibus Regine Francie:

Cum die lune nona novissime lapsi mensis januarii excellentissima domina Anna, regina Francie, pro cuius incolumitate die dominica immediate precedente, cum gravi tunc laboraret infirmitate, facte fuissent processiones generales per circuitum civitatis, diem suum clausisset extremam apud villam Blesensem ejusque corpus delatum fuisset die dominica ultimo preterita duodecima hujus mensis february ad ecclesiam Nostre Domine de Campis prope Parisius in qua quievisset usque ad diem hesternam, quo tempore durante, quia funeralium ipsius defuncte in ecclesia Parisiensi at alibi fiebant, servicium diurnum ecclesie celebratum est in capella seu ecclesia Sancti Johannis Rotundi. Adveniente die hesterna decima quarta february, facto mane servicio in choro ecclesie Parisiensis exopto quod missa major fuit celebrata ad altare capelle Sancti Crispini, pulsate fuerunt vespere hora undecima, quibus decantatis, hora duodecima processio ecclesie, cruce et aqua benedicta precedentibus, exivit ipsam ecclesiam et processit usque dictam ecclesiam Nostre Domine de Campis, ad quam cum pervenit, dominus Decanus amictus stolla, in absentia domini episcopi et nomine ecclesie, psalmum De Profundis incepit, quo per chorum decantato et dictis per cum orationibus ac projecta aqua benedicta super corpus predictum quod erat sub porticu ipsius ecclesie, stollam quam gestabat reverendissimo domino cardinalo Cenomanensi ibidem existenti, ob illius reverentiam et quia servicium funeralium erat facturum, tradidit, qui illam desuper suam capam cardinalatus violetam portavit usque ad ecclesiam Parisiensem.

Progrediente autem processione ecclesie ab eadem ecclesia Nostre Domine de Campis, altercacio magna suborta est inter prelatos conductui assistentes et nobiles super modo incedendi. Sed tandem prelati capis sericeis nigris et mittris albis induti, sine cambucis excepto domino cardinali, immediate ante corpus defuncte Regine, durante conductu usque ad ecclesiam Parisiensem, unus post alium incesserunt, nobilibus ante prelatos incedentibus.

Cum autem perventum est ad ecclesiam Parisiensem que undique in choro superius in claris viis et inferius super capitellis cathedrarum et in facie chori, panno nigro et desuper panno de veluto nigro circumamicta, eciam ad galerias superiores totius ecclesie ab intra panno laneo nigro circumcepta erat, ac luminarium seorsum et deorsum fulgore tota micabat, mox vigilie mortuorum per chorum in pulpito satis succinte, quia jam nox apropinquabat, decantate fuerant, dicto domino cardinali officium facienti. Ordo autem assistentium tam in vigiliis quam in missa talis fuit: dominus cardinalis officium faciens medium altaris tenebat; domini vero archiepiscopi et episcopi latus dextrum altaris, inter

conclave altaris et cathedram sacerdotis, in sedibus ibidem preparatis, occupabant. Illustrissime domine Borbonii, Angolismensis, Alenconii et Vindociniensis ad latus sinistrum altaris subtus campanilam sedebant et consequenter omnes alie domine usque ad hostium chori; nec aperiebatur prima janua chori ab ipso latere propter tapeta et preparaturas nigras que a dorso dominarum pendebant. Stabat autem dominus Angolismensis, alias delphinus, in cathedra episcopi et subsequenter dominus de Alenconio, tribus cathedris vacuis intermediis, deinde dominus Vindociniensis post duas cathedras vacuas. Post quem, aliquibus sedibus etiam vacuis intermediis, stabant nobiles Francie et Britanie. In sinistro autem latere dominus Primus Presidens domini Cantoris cathedram occupabat, consequenter vero alii presidentes et consiliarii Parlamenti in vestimentis rubeis omnes cathedras ilius lateris, sex vel septem demptis in quibus stabant in bassis cathedris utriusque lateris durantibus vigiliis duntaxat, quia in missa aliter provisum est et occupaverunt ab utroque latere octo cathedras altas ad minus scilicet ex dextro latere, inter nobiles, et ex sinistro, inter consiliarios.

Officiantium vero talis fuit ordo : Dominus reverendissimus cardinalis servitium faciebat; Vivariensis et Dolensis episcopi chorum tenuerunt, assistantibus eis magistris Johanne Pur et Laurencio Fermanel, beneficiatis ecclesie, cum capis panni lanci nigri propter hoc eisdem concessis. Ad lectiones vigiliarum fuerunt domini archiepiscopi et episcopi sequentes, videlicet : dominus Lemovicensis primam, dominus Constantiensis secundam, dominus Redonsensis terciam, dominus Rossensis quartam, dominus Belvacensis quintam, dominus Lodovensis sextam, dominus Senonensis septimam, dominus Lugdunensis octavam, et dominus reverendissimus Cenomanensis nonam. Quatuor pueri chori primum responsorium decantaverunt, Egigius Desmoulin, Johannes Defosse, canonici, Claudius Pinterel, Nicolaus Dunesme, beneficiati de choro, secundum responsorium dixerunt; Johannes Basin, Guillelmus Hue canonici, Thoussanus Argenteil et Nicolaus Jourdain, beneficiati de choro tertium; Petrus Tappereau, G. Capel, canonici, Nicolaus Maucousteaux, Ludovicus Vaupulaer, beneficiati, quartum; Jacobus Louet, Petrus Chasteaupers, canonici, Stephanus Farcilly et Simon Quentin beneficiati, quintum; magister Prevost, Jacobus Menart, canonici, Johannes Pur et Laurencius Fermanel, beneficiati, sextum; Johannes de Louviers, Johannes Aymery, canonici, Egidius Brossier et Johannes Jouyn, beneficiati, septimum; Cancelarius, Penitentiarius, Johannes Nicolay et Reginaldus Lamoureux, beneficiati, octavum. Ad Libera episcopi Belvacensis, Rossensis, Constantiensis et Lemovicensis cum archiacono de Josayo, succentore, Johanne Joly et Guillelmo Hector, canonicis. Omnes vero antiphone incepte fuerunt per dignitates et canonicos sine observantia antiquitatis. In missa, quam decantavit reverendissimus dominus Cenomanensis, archiepiscopus Lugdunensis evangelium facit, cui assistebant abbas Sancte Genovefe et Guillelmus Hector, canonicus; epistolam vero do-

minus Senonensis, cui assistebant abbas de Roca, portans librum et Thomas du Prat, canonicus, cui eum precedebat. Ad tractum fuerunt domini episcopi Lodovensis, Belvacensis, Constanciensis et Lemovicensis, in medio quorum erant domini Cantor, archidiaconus Parisiensis, Johannes Joly et Petrus Mouton, canonici. Sermonem fecit in choro frater Johannes Parvi, ordinis Predicatorum, confessor regius. Non fuerunt dicte commendaciones mortuorum, nec septem psalmi post missam que fuit per cantores defuncte Regine ex precepto domini Delphini decantata.

(Quoted from Le Grand, 120-24.)

APPENDIX G

COMPOSITIONS FOR ANNE DE BRETAGNE:
ORIGINAL SOURCES AND MODERN EDITIONS

Alexander Agricola: Transit Anna timor

Ms.: Rome, Pal. Lat. 1976-1979.

Mod. ed.: Lerner. (See Bibliography for all editions.)

Constanzo Festa: Quis dabit oculis

Ms.: Bologna Q.19 (1518).

Pt.: Ott, Secundus tomus novi operis musici (1538):
attributed to Senfl; text for Maximilian.

Mod. eds.: Dagnino; Gerstenberg (Senfl); Schering (Senfl).

Pierre Moulu: Fiere Attronos

Mss.: Bologna R.142 (Tenor part-book only).
Medici Codex of 1518 (anon.)

Mod. ed.: Lowinsky.

Jean Mouton: Caeleste beneficium

Mss.: Vienna 15491.

Rome, Pal. Lat. 1976-1979.

Pt.: Petrucchi, Motetti de la Corona, I (1514).

Mod. ed.: Shine, I.

Jean Mouton: Non nobis Domine

Ms.: Rome, Pal. Lat. 1976-1979.

Pts.: Petrucchi, Motetti de la Corona, II (1519).

Attaignant, Liber undecimus xxvi. musicales (1535):
attributed to Gascongne; text for François I.

Mod. eds.: Kast, Jean Mouton; Merrit, XI; Shine, II.

Jean Mouton: Quis dabit oculis

Pts.: Petrucchi, Motetti de la Corona, III (1519).

Montanus and Neuber, Novum et insigne opus musicum (1558).

Mod. ed.: Dagnino.

Anonymous: Non mudera (two versions)

Ms.: London, Ms. Harley 5242.

Mod. ed.: Droz and Thibault (2nd version).

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VITA

I was born in New York City 12 November 1944.

I attended Haverford College from September 1962 through May 1966. As a Political Science major at Haverford, I spent my junior year in France at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of the University of Paris.

I have attended Bryn Mawr College since September 1970: as a special student in the Music Department until January 1971; since then as a graduate student in the department. I earned my M.A. in May 1972.

In 1972-73 I held the Bryn Mawr College Fellowship in the Department of Music;
in 1973-74 I held an Alliance Française de New York Scholarship for dissertation research;
in 1974-75 I held a Whiting Fellowship in the Humanities for the final dissertation year.

In September 1963 I co-founded the Renaissance Choir of Bryn Mawr and Haverford Colleges, sponsored since 1972 by the Bryn Mawr College Music Department. While a student on both campuses I have been the choir's singer-director. Between graduation from Haverford and entrance at Bryn Mawr (1965-70) I held the following positions:

French interpreter-escort for Fulbright visitors to U.S.;
teacher and tutor of French, Math, and Reading in NYC schools;
chorus director and counsellor at summer camps;
countertenor in church- and concert-choirs;
psychiatric social worker, Rockland State Hospital, N.Y.
At Bryn Mawr (until January 1974) I continued to sing in church choirs, and held the following positions:
music librarian and cataloguer, Bryn Mawr Coll. (1970-73);
music therapist, Haverford State Hospital (summer 1972);
music teacher, Haverford Friends School (January 1973);
French teacher, Waldron Academy (fall 1973).

My graduate work at Bryn Mawr has been directed primarily by Isabelle Cazeaux. I have taken courses also with Robert Goodale, Edward Lippman, and Charlotte Roederer, who directed my Master's thesis.

My preliminary exams were in January 1974; final in April 1975.

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