THEMES OF DEATH, SORROW, AND WIDOWHOOD IN MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA’S CHANSONNIER, BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE MS 228: SOCIAL CONTEXTS AND PUBLIC IDENTITY

By

ERIC MICHAEL LUBARSKY

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF MUSIC

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2010
To my family and friends for their unlimited and unconditional support
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While I am grateful to countless people who gave me their time, effort, ideas, and support that allowed me to complete this document, I must thank a few specific individuals whose contributions guided my direction and shaped the outcome most dramatically. This project spurred my introduction to several scholars from the field whose help and guidance along the way was invaluable. First, many foundational aspects of this project began after a working with the microfilms at the University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies, where Dr. Herbert Kellman was my gracious host and guide. While my project changed dramatically since that visit, his wise suggestions guided many of my initial inquiries, and our conversations were extremely prophetic of the outcome of my work. To him, I am grateful. I would also like to thank Dr. Barabara Haggh, who in a few brief conversations redirected my thinking and my arguments. I am also indebted to Dr. Honey Meconi for sharing her forthcoming article with me prior to publication as well as previous versions and read papers.

Along with these distinguished members of the field, I am indebted to nearly all members of the faculty of the University Of Florida School Of Music in one way or another as well as the library staff for constant their constant patience and help. After nearly a decade of study at the university, the many influences from the faculty and staff are impossible to distinguish. However, I must specifically recognize the constant support of Mitchell Estrin, who provided encouragement and fostered my ambitions even as I chose to leave the world of clarinet performance for the realm of musicology. I thank Dr. Silvio dos Santos for selflessly sitting on my defense and providing very thoughtful critiques of my thinking and approach. Thanks goes to Dr. Alex Reed for his
helpful input and his goodhearted attitude while reading a rather long thesis that has very little to do with musical theory. To Dr. Margaret Butler goes great appreciation for her support and encouragement in the earliest stages of this project, which grew out of paper prepared for one of her seminars. Her questions and critique of the final document were extremely valuable as well.

My final thanks and greatest appreciation goes to Dr. Jennifer Thomas who has provided the foundation for all my musicological inquiries and interests for the last six years. Her visceral passion for the material and subject inspired my interests in Renaissance music specifically and my curiosities in the discipline of musicology more broadly. Her scholarship provided my introduction this manuscript and court as well. In the process of creating this document, our hours of discussion have been invaluable to me. I cannot thank her enough for reading far too many drafts of these chapters, and still always providing new, thoughtful suggestions and guidance. I am both appreciative of and inspired by her intuitive ability to know when to criticize and when to praise. I am humbled by her knowledge, her thinking, her imagination, her work ethic, her selflessness, and her commitment in matters both related and unrelated to the field of musicology. I am grateful for her investments in me.

Thank you all so much.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................. 4

LIST OF TABLES ....................................................................... 7

ABSTRACT ............................................................................. 8

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 10

Marguerite of Austria’s Chansonnier: Provenance, Persona, and Problems ........ 14
The Methods of Interpretation.......................................................... 24
The Network of Discourses............................................................. 32

2 THE CONSOLATION OF DEATH IN MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA’S
CHANSONNIER ............................................................................. 39

Mourning Rituals .......................................................................... 41
The Consolation of Death .............................................................. 48
The Struggles of Life and the Afterlife ........................................... 51
Job and Lazarus as the Virtuous Heroes ........................................ 53
Conclusion: The Residuals of Collecting ...................................... 60

3 THE AFFECTS AND EMOTIONS OF MARGUERITE’S CHANSONNIER ......... 63

Divine Emotions ......................................................................... 64
Compassionate Sorrow ................................................................. 74
The Affects of Love ..................................................................... 81

4 Widowhood in Marguerite of Austria’s Chansonnier ......................... 98

The Widow’s Choice ................................................................... 99
The Widow’s Behavior ................................................................. 103
The Mourning Widow ................................................................. 108
Conclusion: The Widow’s Power .................................................. 117

5 CONCLUSIONS: MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA’S CHANSONNIER AS A
MEDIUM OF SOCIAL DISCOURSE .............................................. 122

The Chansonnier as a Cultural Record .......................................... 123
Knowing Marguerite Through Her Chansonnier ............................ 128

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................. 134

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH .......................................................... 144
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-1</td>
<td>Thematic Analysis of Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>Works Citing Mourning Rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-2</td>
<td>Works Inviting Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>Works Describing Suffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>Use of Song of Songs in <em>Officium des Septem Doloribus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>Use of Seven Sorrows Texts in MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3</td>
<td>Use of Song of Songs 5:6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>Work Displaying Compassionate Sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>Christ References in Tous noble cueurs qui mes regretz voyez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>Works Portraying Brides of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-7</td>
<td>Works describing Languor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-1</td>
<td>Acquiescing to the Difficulties of Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-2</td>
<td>Works Mourning Deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-1</td>
<td>Composers Represented and Regional Employment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The large chansonnier, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 228, that belonged to Marguerite of Austria (1480-1530) collects musical works reflecting both its owner’s tastes and the values of the world from which it sprang. Martin Picker’s 1965 monograph *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* describes the overwhelming mood of melancholy in this manuscript. He establishes the multiple ties between the content of the book to Marguerite’s court and her biography. The chansonnier incorporates works that mourn specific deaths from the regent’s life along with multiple symbols of her patronage. As well, it includes some works with texts written by Marguerite herself. Honey Meconi’s more recent evaluation suggests that some works hint at Marguerite’s intimate affairs complicating the assertion that Marguerite’s life was defined by sorrow. These previous studies focus on aspects that imply Marguerite’s personal connections to her chansonnier; however, this view neglects the broader significance of the works themselves.

Analysis of the complete text of the manuscript reveals several recurring themes associated with the ideas of death, sorrow, and widowhood within the manuscript. The
works illuminate the networks of values related to these topics that circulated in different media from Marguerite's court. The similarities of the content of manuscript to other commissions from the court demonstrate Marguerite's specific interests. However, the relationship of the themes of the manuscript to popular texts and well known rituals indicates the broader significance of the music beyond the personal meanings for Marguerite.

The major themes of the manuscript focus on aspects of personal virtue and piety. Several works negotiate the network of prescriptions concerning death that view mortality as the initiation of union with God in heaven and fulfillment of the promise of paradise. Other works describe sorrowful affects demonstrating the virtue of compassion and reflecting the popular religious practices of the laity. These works then reinforce and reflect onto Marguerite virtues associated with widowhood, supporting her elevated status within her society. The works collected in the manuscript satisfy the tastes of its owner while simultaneously reflecting and negotiating the values of its culture.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When she commissioned her large, elaborately decorated chansonnier – Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 228 (hereafter BrussBR 228\(^1\)) – Marguerite of Austria (1480-1530) collected music that reflected her somber tastes. Because some texts were written by Marguerite herself and others commemorated specific events from her life, the music of the chansonnier has intimate connections to its owner beyond the norms of other manuscripts. For example, the text of the chanson *Me fauldra il*, which she wrote, seems to present Marguerite’s most private thoughts, as she inquires, “Must I always languish like this? / Must I, in the end, die like this? / No one notices my sad state of mind.”\(^2\) This work appears to invite the audience, both modern and contemporary, into Marguerite’s private feelings. The handful of works that specifically originated from Marguerite\(^3\) and the elements of the manuscript that symbolize her patronage implicate a similar intimacy for the remaining 51 works in the chansonnier. When other works present narrators who lament tragedies and describe sorrow, these scenarios hint at Marguerite’s feelings even though the text and music was not written by her. Because the book collects music for Marguerite, the music represents her in some way.

---


\(^2\) Unless otherwise noted all translations are mine. Textual transcriptions of the works come from the edition by Marcel Françon, *Albums Poétiques de Marguerite d’Autriche* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1934). (Hereafter noted: Françon, XX.) This work comes from Françon, 236. “Me faudra il toujours ainsi languir? / Me faudra il enfin ainsi morir? / Nul n’ara il de mon mal congnoissance?”

\(^3\) The three works *Se je souspire / Ecce iterum, Proch dolor / Pie ihesu, and Ceurs desolez / Dies illa* all mourn specific deaths from Marguerite’s life. Marguerite likely wrote the texts of the two chansons *Me fauldra il* and *Ce n’est pas jue*. And Josquin’s famous *Plus nulz regretz* commemorates the 1509 treaty enacted by Marguerite.
The intimacy of the music in Marguerite’s chansonnier provides the audience with an imagined view of the Regent’s personality. The texts display what appear as Marguerite’s most private thoughts. But what is the reality of this imagined persona and what is the effect? Access to Marguerite comes only through the most mediated formats of text, music, and images that the dimension of time pushes further and further away.4 Because these formats cannot account for the internal subjectivity of Marguerite as an individual, they do not provide insight into Marguerite’s actual personality.5 Rather than presenting an authentic view of Marguerite, the chansonnier presents a media identity for her. To her contemporaries, this distinction may or may not have been made. The image of Marguerite and her feelings expressed through her music likely were considered authentic portrayals. However, for our modern perspectives, the differentiation illuminates the controlling influence of social prescriptions by demonstrating how Marguerite’s identity fulfilled and subverted expectations. Even though Marguerite controlled many aspects of her media image, the common beliefs of her time – most especially those relating to her gender and noble status – limited the range of possibility for her identity.6 These beliefs also frame the contemporary


6 This idea is originally from Michel Foucault but repeated by Judith Butler in Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (New York: Routledge, 1999), 4. Foucault asserts that power structures actually manifest the groups of individuals they ultimately attempt to regulate by creating the institutions through which individuals define themselves. Butler takes up this stance suggesting that gender follows the same principles. She writes, “The limits of the discursive analysis of gender presuppose and preempt
perception of the identity she presented as a result. The music of the chansonnier presents to both a modern and contemporary audience an imaginary representation of Marguerite, but that image is contingent upon her situation within her society. The interaction of the music of the chansonnier within the belief systems of her time then illuminates the significance within a social framework.

Because both Marguerite and her chansonnier are entwined within the culture, the book provides insight into the influence and prominence of specific values and beliefs from her era and land. The music of the chansonnier encodes cultural assumptions related to the works' content. The theological framework for death, struggle, and emotion controls the language and associations used in the texts of the chansons. The chansonnier not only reflects Marguerite’s specific struggles with its somber mood, but also it documents the cultural values by which she understood her experience. Her appropriation of and interaction with these values framed her media identity presented in her chansonnier. By identifying as a widow, Marguerite gained an elevated social status supported by the prescriptions of her society. As a record of contemporary values from Marguerite’s specific land and era, the chansonnier provides modern scholars with window into her culture. As a result of the greater understanding of the cultural assumptions of her time, Marguerite’s complex relationship with the institutional beliefs and practices becomes apparent.

the possibilities of imaginable and realizable gender configurations within a culture. This is not to say that any and all gendered possibilities are open, but that the boundaries of analysis suggest the limits of a discursively conditioned experience. These limits are always set within the terms of a hegemonic cultural discourse predicated on binary structures that appear as the language of universal rationality. Constraint is thus built into what that language constitutes as the imaginable domain of gender (p. 13)." The importance here for considerations of Marguerite is this: while Marguerite exercised personal agency to a degree beyond even the norms of other elite noble women, she was still subject to a hegemonic system that defined her as much by her assimilation to as by her subversion of it.
In order to understand culturally significant aspects of Marguerite’s chansonnier, I will discuss the manuscript in relation to several contemporary discourses from her court that focus on similar ideas. A thematic analysis of the complete texts of the manuscript reveals the most prominent ideas contained within the chansonnier. These recurring topics suggest Marguerite’s taste, and they were likely the motivating factor for inclusion of these specific works in the manuscript. The similarity of these specific themes to top-down and bottom-up discourses from her court illuminates the significance of these works for a larger audience than just Marguerite. Because the chansonnier represents a courtly commission that Marguerite controlled, independent and bottom-up discourses that also circulated in her court illustrate the popularly adopted values and beliefs from her land. On the other hand, artifacts originating from Marguerite’s court that show relationships to the manuscript evidence trends and tastes specific to her. Viewing the chansonnier in relationship to both commonly held values and Marguerite’s specific interests illustrates the manner by which her patronage interacted with the cultural institutions of her time. In the process of comparing the individual to the group – the singular within the genre – I illustrate the perspectives of individuals as they negotiate the network of values and beliefs held at large.

Marguerite of Austria’s Chansonnier: Provenance, Persona, and Problems

The sumptuous chansonnier BrusBR 228 originated in the scribal workshop of Petrus Alamire under the patronage of Marguerite of Austria. The manuscript belongs to a group of sources originating from the Habsburg-Burgundian court and this scribal workshop, known as the Netherlands court complex. These music books promulgated the Habsburg-Burgundian repertoire throughout the continent and exemplify the beauty of renaissance musical manuscripts as art objects. BrusBR 228 collects 58 different works, mostly chansons – though like many chansonniers, the manuscript also includes other small- and medium-scale genres like motets, chanson-motets, and one vernacular song. The foundational study of this manuscript, as well as the other surviving chansonnier from Marguerite’s library is Martin Picker’s 1965

---


9 This musical manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS 11239, which also originated in the scribal workshop of Petrus Alamire. While this manuscript did belong to Marguerite, it was likely made for or commissioned by her husband, and therefore I have not included it in my current study.

10 The distinction of “chansonnier with musical notation” is important, because as Meconi explains, what a modern audience would consider a poetry anthology was called a “chansonnier” in Marguerite’s era. Subsequently Marguerite owned approximately six “chansonniers” according to a contemporary inventory of her library. Not all of these “chansonniers” survived, see Honey Meconi, “Margaret of Austria, Visual Representation, and Brussels, Royal Library, MS 228,” unpublished article currently under review. Dr. Meconi generously shared this article with me prior to publication, for which I am greatly indebted. Meconi further discusses chansonniers with and without notation in, “A Cultural Theory of the Chansonnier,” in Uno Gentile et Subtile Ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Tour: Brepols, 2009), 649-58. For discussions of fifteenth-century poetic anthologies and their musical implications see, Kathleen Francis Sewright, “Poetic Anthologies of Fifteenth Century France and their Relationships to Collections of the French Secular Polyphonic Chanson” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008). In addition to these discussions of chansonniers with and without notation, Kate van Orden reminds us of the important role of the oral tradition of vernacular song throughout the Renaissance. Her ideas further suggest that the written text of chansons with or without notation should be considered a record of the musical cultures. For some discussion of oral repertoire and vernacular song see, Kate van Orden, “Female Complaintes: Laments of Venus, Queens, and City Women in Late Sixteenth-Century France,” Renaissance Quarterly 54 (2001): 806-812, as well as “Cheap Print and the Street Song Following the
monograph, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria*.¹¹ Picker describes the provenance and content of these two manuscripts, and he correlates them with the musical activity of Marguerite’s court. His book includes composer attributions for the works through concordances with other manuscripts and some stylistic discussions of the texts and music of the manuscripts. He describes the overall melancholy mood of BrussBR 228 and relates it to the multiple tragedies in Marguerite’s life.

Marguerite’s life was fraught with personal struggles, which much of her patronage recognizes and documents. She was betrothed to the French dauphine at age 2 and spent her childhood in the French royal court. After a political dealings between her Father, Emperor Maximilian I of Austria and the French king fell apart, her betrothal was dissolved. At the time, Marguerite was 11 and she soon returned to the court of her family. After being jilted at such an early age, Marguerite married Juan of Castile in 1496 when she was 16. Juan died after only six months of marriage. Marguerite was pregnant when her husband died, but tragically her daughter was stillborn. In 1501, Marguerite married Philibert II, Duke of Savoy. The couple enjoyed three happy years of marriage until Philibert also died in 1504. Going against the wishes of her father and her court advisers, Marguerite chose not to remarry a third time. With the death of her brother Philip in 1507, who ruled the Burgundian Netherlands, she became the caretaker of his son Charles. While Charles was too young to rule, Marguerite lead the

¹¹ Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965). Picker’s work provides the foundation for any subsequent study of this manuscript. Much of this work maintains vitality more than four decades after publication.
In 1515, the minority of Charles ended and Marguerite lost her power over the region. But with the 1519 death of her father, Charles rose to level of emperor and Marguerite petitioned and won back her position as Regent. She maintained this position until 1528, when she chose to dedicated her life to God. She died in 1530.

While the exact date of the manuscript’s creation is unknown, the chansonnier sprang from her term as Regent or the tumultuous time when Charles ran the Netherlands. Since Picker’s publication, the dating of BrussBr 228 and the layers of its production have come into question. In an unpublished paper, Flynn Warmington dates the manuscript based on the chronology of an unknown scribe referred to as scribe “X.” She argues that the main portion of the manuscript was created prior to March 1516 because that is when scribe X stopped working. The inclusion of the chanson *Plus nulz regretz*, which was written to commemorate a 1508 treaty, provides the *terminus post quem.* This date range delimits the creation of the main layer of the book.

---

12 For biography on Marguerite, see Christopher Hare, *The High and Puissant Princess Marguerite of Austria: Princess Dowager of Spain, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, Regent of the Netherlands* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907). Hare integrates ample letters and other primary sources into his narrative providing the most useful material. Other biographies include, Eleanor E. Tremayne, *The First Governess of the Netherlands: Margaret of Austria* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908), which provides transcriptions of some letters in an appendix; see also Jane de Iongh, *Margaret of Austria: Regent of the Netherlands*, trans. M.D. Herter Norton (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1953). Iongh’s biography is the most readable and attempts to reconstruct Marguerite’s personality, but it provides no citations and only a short bibliography. It does provide texts and translations for ten of Marguerite’s poems. Modern editions of the correspondence between Marguerite and members of her family are available, see M. Le Glay, ed., *Correspondence de l’Empereur Maximilien ler et de Marguerite d’Autriche de 1506 à 1519* (Paris: J. Renouard et cie, 1839).

13 Flynn Warmington, “A Master Calligrapher in Alamire’s Workshop: Towards a Chronology of his Works” (paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, 1982). This paper is not currently available to me. This citation and description comes from Honey Meconi, “Style and Authenticity in the Secular Music of Pierre de La Rue” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1986), 9. See also Flynn Warmington, “A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts,” in *Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535*, ed. Herbert Kellman (Amsterdam: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1999), 41-46.
chanson *Proch Dolor/ Pie Jhesu* specifically mourns the 1519 death of Marguerite’s father and confirms that other music was added to the manuscript after this date range. The single-leaf folio bearing part of this work was likely sewn into the manuscript at this later date to create more space to copy the work.

Discussion of the initial fascicle of the manuscript also poses questions about the chronology of the manuscript’s layers of production. This bifolio displays Pierre de la Rue’s *Ave Sanctissima Maria*, a six-voice, canonic motet, along with a diptych of Marguerite praying to an image of the Virgin and Child *in sole.*

Picker argues that this initial folio is an insert from as late as 1523, but Honey Meconi argues that there is no ground for this assumption. She points out that this initial folio would have been created simultaneously with the other pages, but the elaborate artwork on this page would have required it to be completed prior to the assembly.

Meconi’s assessment follows the guidelines of scribal practice described by Jane Alden, who explains that more detailed

---


15 Honey Meconi, “Margaret of Austria, Visual Representation, and Brussels, Royal Library, MS 228.” Picker does not explain his assessment, but the manuscript’s construction is suggestive. The majority of the manuscript consists of fascicles of six or eight folios. There are only deviations from this. The first is the single-leaf folio added after construction to make space for *Proch Dolor/ Pie Jhesu*. The other exception is the opening bifolio in question. It seems logical that Picker would conclude this opening bifolio, which differs from the norms of the overall manuscript, was likely a later addition similar to the single folio added to make space. However, Jane Alden’s more recent scholarship clarifies this oddity. In addition, the scribal style for the opening bifolio follows the norms of the manuscript, whereas that of *Proch Dolor/ Pie Jhesu* markedly differs in orientation on the page and general layout.
pages of manuscripts were completed flat before being folded and sewn into the books.¹⁶

Picker and Meconi both suggest that the manuscript reflected the personal life and feelings of Marguerite. Along with the portrait of Marguerite in the opening folio, numerous elements of the manuscript point to her patronage that Picker discusses. Decorative daisies and pearls painted in the margins, both of which are marguerites in French, indicate her ownership. In addition, first person texts that refer to events and figures from her life suggest she was the author and possible composer of some works. With these aspects of the manuscript evidencing her role as patron, Picker argues that the melancholy aspects of many of the works relate to the multiple tragedies of Marguerite’s life. More recently, Meconi suggests that the opening ten chansons, nine of which have been attributed to Pierre de la Rue, relate to Marguerite’s intimate relationships with two different men, Antoine de Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraten, and Lord Charles Brandon.¹⁷

While both these scholars emphasize the personal meaning of the manuscript, others suggest the prominent role of specific works for Marguerite’s court image. Catherine Lamarre argues for an intentional construction of identity by Marguerite. Lamarre links the texts Dulces Exuviae to Marguerite’s image as a widow and discusses the relationship of two chansons, one with text by Marguerite, Me fauldra il, and the

---


¹⁷ Meconi, “Margaret of Austria, Visual Representation, and Brussels, Royal Library, MS 228.”
response text from a courtier, *Il me fait mal.*\(^{18}\) Michael Zywietz also suggests the motet settings of the Virgil text *Dulces exuviae* related to Margeurite’s political image.\(^{19}\)

Several studies discuss the multifaceted role of music manuscripts in social spheres throughout the renaissance, suggesting the possibility that Marguerite used her chansonnier to reinforce her public identity. In her essay, “A Cultural Theory of Chansonniers,” Meconi suggests that chansonniers had functions beyond musical performance, arguing that they transmitted social values and provided opportunity for individual expression.\(^{20}\) In his discussions of the Laborde chansonnier, Clemens Goldberg suggests the content of this book were organized into sections, which he describes as chapters. His view emphasizes the strong narrative implications of the organization of the works.\(^{21}\) Both of these authors suggest the important role of reading chansonnier texts and the social implications of these readings.

Along with these discussions of manuscripts as cultural artifacts, discussions of the social practices of viewing and interpreting the contents of these books also inform the hypothesis that Marguerite projected meaning through her chansonnier. Herbert Kellman has shown that musical manuscripts were publically displayed for view on

\(^{18}\) Catherine Lammare, “A Study of Brussels 228 Chansonnier and Patronage in Margaret of Austria’s Court” (master’s thesis, University of Ottowa, 2005), 46-68. I independently associated Marguerite’s identity as a widow with her manuscript prior to finding Lammare’s thesis. However, she does provide some useful insights into specific works which I discuss later.

\(^{19}\) Michael Zywietz, “‘Dulces Exuviae’ – Die Vergil- Vertonungen des Josquin des Prez,” *Archiv für Musizwissenschaft* 61, no. 4 (2004): 245-254. He relates the abandonment of Dido by Aeneis to Margeurite’s life after the deaths of her husbands. Zywietz does mention that both Dido and Margeurite were also widows.


occasion. Focusing on the social use of chansonniers, Jane Alden demonstrates the dichotomy between public reading, or aural performance, and private, silent reading. She explains that private, silent reading by individuals was a growing practice, but reading chansonniers frequently involved an aural social practice that could include the patron, or owner of the chansonnier, as well as courtiers, servants, and anyone else around. These scholars demonstrate three different modes of consumption for these manuscripts further validating the idea that Marguerite’s personal chansonnier had public significance.

A clearly identifiable audience for Marguerite’s chansonnier and its possible meanings are not apparent, but other studies suggest the use of musical manuscripts to communicate meaning for specific audiences. Manuscripts given as gifts implicate specific audiences who would have interpreted meaning from the books. Timothy Shephard suggests the role of identity construction within the Medici Codex, because it was itself a gift from Pope Leo X to his nephew Lorenzo II de Medici to celebrate his marriage to Madeleine de la Tour d’Auvergne. Jennifer Thomas argues that Marguerite’s gift to the Tudor court of the motet manuscript London Royal 8 G.vii may also have been imbued with personal meaning for the specific audience of Katherine of Aragon, expressing compassionate sentiments for Katherine’s struggles.

---


Because these two manuscripts were gifts, they have clearly identifiable audiences. However, Marguerite’s chansonnier would have had domestic viewers in addition to the Regent herself. With the public nature of court life, a ruler’s commissions and possessions had important implications as signifiers to a wide public audience. Jeanice Brookes investigation of the *air de cour*, a genre whose name implies its courtly sensibilities, also acknowledges the wide public audience of courtiers, nobles, and servants constantly surrounding the rulers of late sixteenth century France. Honey Meconi’s discussion of the magnitude of Marguerite’s chansonnier in comparison to other chansonniers and other Habsburg-Burgundian court sources explains that the size and scope of this manuscript was unique for a chansonnier. She views this as an indication of Marguerite’s prominence demonstrated through her patronage. Because of this manuscript’s size and ornate preparation, Meconi suggests it was ripe for public consumption while maintaining its role as personal book. Music and musical manuscripts occupied a prominent social position in the courtly societies of Marguerite’s era supporting the assertion that Marguerite’s chansonnier held both personal and public significance.

While Marguerite’s role as a musical patron has garnered only a few studies, her patronage of art and architecture has inspired an extensive bibliography that suggest

---


the importance of social interpretations to her patronage. The most prominent author on Marguerite’s artistic patronage is Dagmar Eichberger. Her essay, “A Renaissance Princess Named Marguerite,” supports the ideas of Marguerite’s identity construction by describing the various relationships linking her patronage and her identity. Eichberger suggests that early in her life, Marguerite’s identity as a princess was created for her, whereas she controlled her later image in the portraiture. As she gained control and continued to rule the Netherlands, Marguerite’s portraits often depict her as a widow or as an allegorical figure of a specific virtue. In her effigy, a memorial for her second husband, Marguerite was depicted as a devoted wife promoting the virtue of her constant longing, which is a theme of the chansonnier. Marguerite’s patronage in other media shows her interest controlling and promoting a flexible personal identity through her artwork suggesting a possible role for her music and her chansonnier as well.

Focusing on the personal meanings within the chansonnier, as exemplified in the previous scholarship, presents problems because it neglects the implications of the act of collecting. The book represents an assembly of specific works chosen from a

hypothetically larger musical universe of available works. As studies of the Netherland Court complex of manuscripts show, the repertoire contained in these elaborate music books did not necessarily originate in the region of the manuscript’s provenance. The music of Josquin des Prez, as the most prominent example, appears throughout these manuscripts though his association with the Burgundian court was largely tangential. The separation between the origins of the works and the origins of the sources complicates attributions to Josquin and others. In Marguerite’s manuscript, only one work displays a composer attribution – Josquin’s name appears in a banner drawn

29 Jane Alden discusses the importance of the scribe as an editor during the process of repertoire selection further complicating Marguerite’s authorial control. See Jane Alden “The Scribe’s Role…,” 52-54.


across the initial P of Plus nulz regretz. Because the remaining works are unattributed in the source, scholars must identify composers and the origin of the music from concordances with other sources and stylistic analysis of the works. These studies of attribution suggest that much of the music collected in Marguerite’s manuscript has ambiguous or unknown (perhaps even unknowable) origins, but the apparent trend of the scribal workshop was to collect music from a widely circulating repertoire. The act of collecting suggests the limitations of Marguerite’s authorial control. As works were transplanted from original contexts into Marguerite’s chansonnier, they brought with them inherent cultural signifiers. While these signifiers influenced the process of repertoire selection, they also situate the content of Marguerite’s manuscript within the broader stream of ideas of the era.

The Methods of Interpretation

Interpretation of Marguerite’s manuscript must recognize the cultural contingencies of the book’s origins, not only to understand broader significance of the music but also to perceive Marguerite’s individual perspective. Looking only for works that contain personal significance for the Regent undervalues her participation in and subscription to popular social values of her time. The social values of the time influenced Marguerite’s understanding of the works included in her chansonnier as much as her personal life experiences.

Several studies argue for the importance of interpreting the music of this era through the lens of the common, contemporary philosophical and religious values. Rob C. Wegman emphasizes the importance of the “interpretive community” in describing significance in the Busnoys motet *Anthoni usque limina*. He emphasizes the broader social meanings within this specific motet. While he maintains that any modern
interpretation of these signifiers would be inauthentic to medieval thinking about "meaning" in music, he suggests that the work nonetheless demonstrates many aspects of the medieval world view for us. "One of the truly remarkable features of Anthoni usque limina is that the fabric of signifiers in which it is interwoven extends far beyond musical belief alone: ultimately . . . it covers all the essentials of the medieval outlook on life and the world." Bonnie J. Blackburn also demonstrates the importance of community belief in her discussion of the opening motet from Marguerite's chansonnier, Ave sanctissima Maria, and its accompanying illumination. By investigating the social beliefs about indulgences, special provisions from the church granting a soul reduced time in purgatory, Blackburn suggests the importance for Marguerite and others of reciting and singing the prayer text of this motet to secure safety in heaven.

By compiling a collection of personal chansons, Marguerite situates individual authorial intent in proximity to social values, just as Wegman suggests for Busnoys's compositional intent. The manuscript reflects Marguerite's personal taste. But the cultural assumptions of her time influenced her values and tastes. When considered from the perspective of the community of interpreters, the texts of Marguerite's manuscript present topics and ideas that were significant to a broader audience. The works include references to popular ideas that a contemporary audience would understand. These values then reflect on Marguerite specifically in the context of this


35 Wegman, 133.
manuscript, because of her involvement in its creation. Understanding Marguerite’s chansonnier through a community of interpreters does not neglect Marguerite’s personal perspective, but rather implicates her individual interpretation while examining that of the community to which she belonged.

To understand the music from a contemporary perspective, primary documents that discuss the major themes of the manuscript illustrate the contemporary assumptions and associations. These writings and artworks provide a window into the intellectual currents of the time and form the foundation of my archeology of thought. Gary Tomlinson’s work on the role of music within the occult philosophies of the renaissance exemplifies the value of this type of archaeology by demonstrating the impact of contemporary values on musical perception.36 Placing the musical works in relation to the philosophical, theological and social values of Marguerite’s time highlights the influence and ideological constraints of the time that are largely lost to modern sensibilities.

In his work, Tomlinson aims to describe “music in the context of magical culture more than magic in musical culture.”37 As a result, he complicates the modern musicological historiographies of the renaissance that overlook the importance of occult philosophies. To accomplish this goal, his analysis privileges the views of the occult philosophers in interpreting specific repertoires from the era. He emphasizes the

36 Gary Tomlinson, Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993). For investigations of musical texts as others and the influence of the social philosophies on those texts; see, “Approaching Others (Thoughts before writing),” 1-44, and “Believing Others (Thoughts upon writing),” 247-252. In addition, for discussion of an individual’s role vis-a-vis the broad social beliefs and the negotiations this subjectivity through music see “Archaeology and Music: Apropos of Monteverdi’s Musical Magic,” 229-246.

37 Tomlinson, Music in Renaissance Magic, xiii.
prominence of these philosophers to suggest that their thinking would have influenced the perception of music for the contemporary audience. For Tomlinson, the way in which the occult philosophers describe their magic in musical terminology and use music in their magical practices indicates that a contemporary musical audience would have understood music as a magical media.

Rather than privileging music over culture or culture over music, my work relates the music to other contemporary artifacts that transmit similar discourses. These correlations demonstrate the complex network of ideas surrounding a common topic from one place and time. Each artifact constitutes a separate perspective with individual intentions and implications. The synthesis of these distinct views provides the ideological episteme concerning a specific topic. Common assumptions and frequent associations become apparent. At the same time, comparing similar but unique discourses within a complex of texts also suggests the negotiations of an individual author (whether musical, philosophical, or artistic) in relation to the broader social trends. The comparison demonstrates the interplay of individuals within the counterpoint of beliefs from the era.

While my work has used Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam as a key witness of the social and cultural values of the era, the dissonance among the works of chansonnier with the ideas of Erasmian pietas demonstrate authors’ negotiations of the values of their time, including Erasmus. Ultimately, the complex of works from Marguerite’s court presents no single moralistic or theological intent. Instead, individual perspectives and approaches to universal concerns of the human condition manifest themselves as recurring topics for discussion among the authors of the various texts.
Investigating the texts of the works in Marguerite’s collection establishes the prominent ideas of the manuscript. Leeman Perkins suggests articulating chanson *topoi* in order to describe a generic typology for the Renaissance chanson.\(^{38}\) His work looks across the genre and through the era to establish certain norms of content and subject, which he suggests would establish the social milieu from which comparisons would establish finer understanding of a work’s nuances. Many of the works of the chansonnier are of the *complaint* genre, in which a lover discusses the anguishes of love.\(^{39}\) Very often in this manuscript, the cause of the narrator’s suffering is not named, instead the works emphasize struggle itself.

With Perkins’s discussion as a model, thematic analysis of the texts of the chansonnier illuminates common recurring themes throughout the music book. However, my work takes a synchronic approach looking strictly as the texts of Marguerite’s chansonnier. The recurring language motifs are not necessarily indicative of the norms of the chanson genre at large. While I show that the overwhelming mood of melancholy in the manuscript that Picker describes is not necessarily unique to Marguerite, it is probably best described as a minority thread within the broader trends of the chanson genre.

An example of this method of thematic analysis appears in Table 1-1. It shows recurring themes and their appearances throughout the manuscript. The columns of the

---


39 Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1999) 292-293. Kate van Orden also discusses clarifies different threads within this genre in “Female *Complaintes*: Laments of Venus, Queens, and City Women in Late Sixteenth-Century France,” see my footnote 8. Her work discusses the texts written in the voice of a female narrator. Perkins mentions that most *complaintes* have a masculine voice. In most works from the chansonnier, the gender and identity of the narrator is not clear, and throughout my analysis I attempt not to prescribe gender in my language.
table denote recurring thematic ideas. The recurring themes are either common linguistic motifs or a common scenario the narrator of the text encounters or discusses. Identifying thematic recurrence is interpretive and also flexible. Works marked with a “1” clearly demonstrate the theme of that column. Works with “.01” show questionable or limited relationship to that theme. The totals quantify the recurrences of an idea throughout the chansonnier as well as suggest underlying threads not readily obvious. For example, the theme of “Languish” has four texts that use this word representing a linguistic motif. Two additional texts describe circumstances similar to the idea of languishing and are marked as well.

Noting the works that show limited or marginal relationships promotes further investigation in the analytic process. When several works seem marginally related, the clustering suggests reexamination for more subtle distinction of nuance. Investigating contextual evidence, such as philosophical writing or artworks, presented new themes or clarified some of the marginally related items. In the process of reading and rereading the texts, documenting both the explicit relationships and the loose connections provides new material for investigation and inquiry.

The work Pourquoy non exemplifies an instance in which the scenario of desiring death appears in a chanson. The narrator of the text rhetorically asks about the propriety of seeking death, “Why should I not want to die? / Why should I not seek / the end of my sad life, / When I love one who does not love me, / And I serve without reward.”

In this text, the narrator describes the torments of unrequited love, but uses

---

the idea of desiring death to emphasize the difficulties of his or her life. While this work does not explicitly promote desiring death as a positive attitude, the narrator still invokes this common prescription to elaborate on the difficulties of his or her scenario.

Reading up and down the columns of the table highlights ideas that pervade the manuscript as a whole, while reading the rows left and right illustrates the varied integration of different themes within a single work. For example, the work *Dueil et ennuy / Quoniam tribulatio* demonstrates four different themes that appear throughout the manuscript. The internal relationships within a work present illustrate important norms for the texts themselves. First, they illustrate the profound constraints of genre on the content. The generic aspects of chanson texts are often discussed in relation to the ideas of courtly love,\(^41\) in which the same scenarios and idiomatic expressions appear in different texts. The reuse of common phrases and ideas suggests that the text was not necessarily meant to espouse a unique philosophical perspective, but rather to emphasize the expressive delivery of the ideas themselves – what I describe as the sentiment of the voice. Second, the internal correspondences of themes within a single work suggested contemporary associations among these different ideas. These relationships highlight episteme for the authors especially in cases in which seemingly disparate ideas, such as poverty and death, show contextual relationships. The theme of abandonment, for example, showed strong relationships with texts that contained Marian perspectives. This then suggested investigating the idea of abandonment in the narratives of Mary’s life. The internal relationships of the manuscript provided starting

points for investigation; all else grew from this initial investigation of the manuscript texts.

Pipelare’s chanson *Fors seulement* demonstrates several recurring themes within one work. Pipelare chose to set the first five lines of a longer rondeau text popularized by Ockeghem. The narrator of the text describes his or her torments from love: “Except only the expectation that I will die, / in my weary heart, no hope resides, / Because my pain too strongly torments me, / That there is no pain that for you I do not feel / Because I am quite certain to lose you.” In the first two lines, the text describes the expectation of death as the narrator’s last remaining hope, echoing the theological interpretation of death as the initiation to heaven. In the final two lines, the narrator describes the experience of feeling empathetic pain for another person, which is reminiscent of the discussions of compassion. Both of these sentiments appear in several works of the manuscript, subsequently they are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

In addition to demonstrating the possibility of multiple themes within one work, *Fors seulement* also suggests the influence of the socially prominent ideas in varied circumstance by incorporating several common ideas. Ostensibly, the work discusses the challenges and struggles of love. The narrator describes the results of love in terms of torments and desire. However, in this description, the text integrates commonly circulating values (possibly morals) to reiterate the point. The work is not necessarily

---

42 For translation and discussion, see Martin Picker, *Fors Seulement: Thirty Compositions for Three to Five Voices or Instruments from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Madison: A-R Editions, inc., 1981), xxviii. Edition: Françon, 213. “Fors seulement l’actente que je meure, / En mon las cuer nul espoir ne demeure, / Car mon maleur si tresfort me tourmente, / Qu’il n’est douleur que pour vous je ne sente / Pource que suis de vous perdre bien sceure.”
about wanting death or the virtue of compassion, but rather uses these widely accepted ideas to reinforce the idea of the negative results of being in love.

Analyzing the texts of the chansonnier reveals several recurring topics and linguistic motifs. The recurrences of these ideas implicate their broader social currency. Situating these ideas among both top-down and bottom-up discourses from Marguerite’s region reveals how the music collected within her chansonnier reflects the array of values and beliefs from her era and her culture.

**The Network of Discourses**

Viewing the manuscript within a broader context helps distinguish the individual aspects of Marguerite’s chansonnier from the broader social values common to the culture. Evidence from widely circulating, popular sources provides insight to the contemporary social values. The correspondence of commonly recurring themes of the chansonnier texts with those appearing in other objects and writing from the era reveals the currency of these topics within Marguerite’s era. On the other hand, the similarities of content among the disparate works of the manuscript and other top-down commissions from Marguerite’s court demonstrates trends specific to her. While Marguerite’s chansonner itself is a courtly commission from the elite sectors of society, the source of much of the musical content is unknown. The majority of cultural artifacts from the Renaissance have elite provenance, but the investigation of widely disseminated writings and artifacts helps to clarify the boundaries between the agendas of Marguerite and her court and the values adopted within the region.

The writing of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam provides a witness for some of the philosophical, theological, and spiritual beliefs of this era generally as well as for Marguerite’s court specifically. Erasmus has many close ties to Marguerite and her
family. She supposedly recruited the humanist philosopher to tutor her nephew, the future Emperor Charles V. While he did not become Charles’s tutor, Erasmus dedicated his treatise, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, to him. Once Charles became Emperor in 1519, Erasmus did become one of his advisors. Within that same year, Erasmus visited Marguerite’s library.\(^{43}\) After these connections were established, Erasmus dedicated his treatise, *The Christian Widow*, to Mary of Hungary, a sister of Charles also raised by Marguerite after the death of their father Philip.\(^{44}\) These connections show interest in Erasmus’s ideas within Marguerite’s court.

In addition to his position of influence within Marguerite’s social sphere, the writings of Erasmus provide useful guidelines for understanding spirituality and religion on the continent in general. In his writings on various topics of *pietas* (a slippery term used by Erasmus to describe spirituality, Christian living, piety, and holiness), Erasmus maintains and describes traditional values of his time. His printed treatises circulated widely and were popular primers for everyday living. The intentions of his writings were to correct and reform some excesses of the spiritual life of the religious in a flexible and moderate way that focused on learning, erudition, and tradition. In his introductory essay on the prayers, liturgies, and spiritual treatises, John O’Malley, editor of the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, discusses Erasmus’s relationship to tradition:

Erasmian *pietas* is conditioned by the author’s wide grasp of the central intellectual and religious traditions of his culture, which he possessed in an extraordinarily eminent degree. In that sense his *pietas* was radically traditional. The more Erasmus is studied, the more apparent becomes the breadth of his vision and the firmness of his understanding of the culture.


\(^{44}\) Tremayne, 64-69.
whose heir he viewed himself to be. . . .As was later said, and probably with less reason, of Lord Acton, he ‘knew everyone worth knowing, read everything worth reading.’ His pietas was not culturally isolated or parochial. It was related to culture in a way and to a degree that the writings of Catherine of Siena, Catherine of Genoa, Luís de León, and even Ignatius Loyola are not.45

In her introduction to Erasmus on Women, Erika Rummel, a member of the editorial board of the Collected Works of Erasmus, further suggests that the intention of Erasmus’s treatises was to provide eloquent arguments that reinforce or restate popular beliefs, rather than to invent new doctrine.46 She emphasizes the utility of Erasmus’s treatises for cultural historians as documentation of common values while simultaneously disassociating their content from Erasmus’s personal beliefs. Rummel’s caveat restates the common view of treatises as held by musicologists. Just as we understand that neither Tinctoris nor Zarlino invented counterpoint, we can be certain that Erasmus did not invent the theological framework of his writings. Instead he codified common ideas, taking some personal stances but largely maintaining and elaborating popular perspectives.

45 John W. O’Malley, “Introduction,” in vol. 66 of Collected Works of Erasmus, ed. John W. O’Malley (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1988), xvi. On O’Malley’s last point, I would suggest the addition of Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, whose famous work dedicated to Marguerite Declaration on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex, was very subversive and largely outside the norms of the contemporary beliefs. Due to its sectarian views, this work was not part of my study. For some discussion of the historiography of interpretation of Agrippa’s work, see Albert Rabil, Jr., “Agrippa and the Feminist Tradition,” in Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, Declaration on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex, ed. and trans. Albert Rabil, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 29-31.

46 Erika Rummel, “Introduction,” in Erasmus on Women, ed. Erika Rummel (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 4-5. Rummel’s discussion in some ways attempts to disassociate Erasmus from the misogynistic values of his time. She deliberately tries to separate the values Erasmus describes in his treatises from his personal beliefs. She notes his tendency to qualify arguments to specific circumstances rather than argue unilateral dogmatic positions as evidence for this. O’Malley’s “Introduction,” in vol. 66 CWE, also discusses the contemptuous debates among scholars about calling Erasmus a “theologian.” Earlier scholars believed his writings were strictly didactic or moralistic, though some of these ideas have been revised to recognize the thoughtful care of Erasmus’s writings.
While the writing of Erasmus provide broad philosophical context, the artworks from the workshop of Bernard Van Orley visually document prominent themes common in Marguerite’s court. The famous painter and tapestry designer is best remembered for bringing the realism of Raphael and the high Italian style to northern Europe. He was Marguerite’s official court painter leading the workshop that produced several works she commissioned, including *La virtue de pacience* and the series of portraits depicting the Regent as a widow. Unlike the broadly circulating writings of Erasmus, Bernard Van Orley’s output provides visual evidence of the theological beliefs and social values adopted specifically in Marguerite’s court. The thematic correspondences between Marguerite’s chansonnier and these artworks illustrate common tastes within Marguerite’s commissions as well as locate specific ideas to this court.

Along with the artifacts from Bernard Van Orley’s workshop, the religious rituals of the Habsburg-Burgundian courts demonstrate the influence of theological beliefs within the musical culture. Barbara Haggh’s writing on liturgies of the Habsburg rulers demonstrates the prominent role of music in the rituals associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece and the liturgies of the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of Mary.

---


These ceremonies had prominent spiritual implications within Marguerite’s era. The importance of ceremony and ritual in Marguerite’s court specifically as well as the Habsburg-Burgundian courts in general suggests Marguerite and the courtiers had strong awareness of these musical practices and their role within the religious beliefs of the time. The liturgical practices of Marguerite’s court and their specific musical aspects provide further evidence of the contemporary beliefs adopted specifically in this region.

A large swath of top-down and bottom-up discourses circulating in Marguerite’s immediate sphere delineates the broader social discourses recorded in BrussBR 228. While the music of this collection does reflect Marguerite and her personal tastes, it also illustrates aspects of the value systems through which she understood her world. In chapters Two and Three, I illustrate the wide currency of specific ideas that pervade the texts of Marguerite’s musical collection. Chapter Two describes the relationship between the chanson texts and the commonly circulating theological values on death from Marguerite’s land and era. Chapter Three contextualizes the recurring theme of sorrow in the manuscript with beliefs associated with affective meditation emphasizing especially the Seven Sorrows of Mary. While these two chapters focus on the broad significance of many works and values contained in the chansonnier, Chapter Four suggests the manner in which these values reflected on Marguerite. Specifically I discuss Marguerite’s use of music to reinforce her publically constructed identity as a virtuous widow. While the music collected in the chansonnier undoubtedly held strong personal implications for Marguerite, it also provides a tool for understanding her position in relation to her world.

---

When she commissioned her personal chansonnier, Marguerite of Austria collected music for herself that reflected her tastes and interests. Some of the music expresses her personal feelings with texts from her own hand. The frequent recurrence of individual topics within the texts of the music suggests the intentional collection and meaningful assembly of different works for their semantic content. These somber topics of death, sorrow, struggle, and mourning implicate the tragedies of Marguerite’s life as the source of inspiration for the collection. While all of these aspects provide material by which to understand Marguerite, they also offer a glimpse into the intellectual trends of the time. In collecting separate works on specific topics, the chansonnier captures a wide panorama of her experience offering not only her personal sentiments but also a sample of the perspectives and opinions that informed her.
Table 1-1. Thematic Analysis of Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Consolation of death</th>
<th>Fortune</th>
<th>Abandonment</th>
<th>Languor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1. Ave sanctissima maria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2. Tous les regretz</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3. De l'oeil de la fille du roy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>4. C'est ne pas jeu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>5. Secretz regretz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6. Dueil et ennuy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>7. Trop plus secret</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>8. Autent en emport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>9. Il est bien heuer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>10. Pourqoy non</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>11. C'est me tout ung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>12. Pour ce que je</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>13. Quant il survient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>14. Je n'ay deuil que je ne suis morte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>15. Mijn hert altijt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>16. Fors seulement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>17. Du tout plongiet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>18. Revenez tous/ Quis det ut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>19. Je n'ay deuil que de vous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>20. Deuil et ennuy / Quoniam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>21. Maria Mater</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>22. Dulces exuviae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>4.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: M=motet; C=chanson motet; VS=vernacular song (in a language other than French); CM= chanson motet.

---

This table is not exhaustive. It is intended to exemplify the process and some possible implications of this type of analysis. For the sake of simplicity, I have considered any work combining both French and Latin texts as chanson motets, though more specific genre titles have been suggested. For example, Ce povre mediant / Pauper sum ego has been described as a cantus-firmus chanson because the Latin incipit indicates a borrowed melody from liturgical use. In comparison, Revenez-tous, regretz / Quis det ut veniat does not use a chant melody and would be considered a proper chanson motet.
CHAPTER 2
THE CONSOLATION OF DEATH IN MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA’S CHANSONNIER

“Of all terrifying things the most terrifying is death’: so says a philosopher of great repute, but he had not heard that heavenly philosopher, who taught us as much by clear example as by his words that we do not perish when the body dies.”

This opening sentence from Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam’s popular treatise *Preparing For Death* captures the main premise of medieval thinking on mortality. With his sacrifice, Christ, the heavenly philosopher, rewrote the contract between man and God so that through death the human soul could enter paradise. The popularity of the treatise of Erasmus illustrates the broad interest in contemplating mortality across the continent. At the same time, the contemporary attitudes toward death that were documented in the treatise and common in Marguerite of Austria’s land appeared throughout her personal chansonnier, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS 228.

Like Erasmus’s writing, the large triptych *La virtue de pacience* by Marguerite’s court painter Bernard Van Orley also demonstrates prominent themes concerning death, and like the chansonnier, Marguerite commissioned the work. When closed, *La virtue de pacience* depicts the parable of Lazarus the pauper and Dives from Luke 16:19-31. On the bottom left, Lazarus begs for crumbs from the rich man’s table. When Lazarus dies, his soul ascends to heaven on the top left. At the top right, Lazarus, joined with Abraham in heaven, looks down on the rich man in his deathbed. A doctor and the soon-to-be widow attend to the rich man and initiate mourning rituals. On the bottom right, the rich man’s soul appears tortured in purgatory due to his selfish

---

attachment in his human life. When open, the work illustrates scenes from the Book of
Job. On the left, Job loses his livestock, while Satan and God discuss his fate in the
background. In the center, demons of Satan destroy the house of Job’s children, killing
all of them. On the right, Job looks skyward in praise of God after triumphing through his
struggles and regaining his lost wealth twofold.\textsuperscript{51}

Together the triptych and treatise represent poles on a continuum of discourses
concerning life, death, and struggle. The treatise is a popular booklet that demonstrates
widely circulating values and ideas. On the hand, the triptych is an individual court
commission originating from Marguerite’s provenance. Seating Marguerite’s
chansonnier within this continuum of individual and social concerns illuminates the
conceptual matrix upon which even the most personal of her music draws.

The complete texts of the chansonnier contain recurring themes and linguistic
motives relating to death and suffering. Three works cite texts used in the public
mourning rituals. The relationship between these works and the death liturgies have not
been recognized in previous scholarship on the manuscript. Many other works
exemplify theological attitudes toward death, common in Burgundy and transmitted in
the treatise of Erasmus. While the collection of texts focused on life, death, suffering
and struggle show obvious ties to the tragedies of Marguerite’s biography, as observed

\textsuperscript{51} John David Farmer, ”Bernard van Orley of Brussels,” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981), 125 -
126. For images, see, Bernard Van Orley, \textit{La Virtue de Paciencia}, 1521, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts,
Brussels, in ”Triptych of Virtue of Patience - Bernaert Van Orley Gallery - Religious Painting Art,”
June 6 2010).
by Picker, her chansonnier also records the network of ideas associated with mortality in her land. 52

**Mourning Rituals**

In Marguerite’s era, the interest in contemplating death spurred much discourse. The popularity of cheap primers describing the proper way to die, collectively referred to as the *Ars moriendi*, suggests the currency of many of these ideas. These manuals contained, in addition to written instructions, several woodblock illustrations that mitigated the requirement of literacy by illustrating the prominent ideas. The earliest sources of these woodblock prints appear in the Netherlands in the middle of the fifteenth century. 53 In addition, the treatise of Erasmus, which follows in this tradition, also was widely popular and survives in several printings. 54 Along with these treatises that specifically focused on death, nearly all Books of Hours, which were the most

52 While in other contexts, some of these death-themed works may present sexual double meanings common to later secular music, the incorporation of religious signifiers, the propriety of maintaining Marguerite’s personal reputation, and the preponderance of texts in the manuscript focused on other serious topics such as sorrow and mourning suggest these texts were collected for their literal discussions of death. I am not suggesting that Marguerite or her contemporaries were unaware of the double entendre. Instead, my aim in this paper is to show that the literal readings of these texts reinforce commonly circulating discourses about death and dying. Many works describe desires for death, which to a modern reader might seem like poetic hyperbole; however, I demonstrate these that attitudes reflect theological prescriptions on death. I believe the literal readings of these texts often present more than exaggerated dramatics for the sake of poetry, but rather virtuous narrators exemplifying common prescriptions.

53 Martin S. Cohen, “The Novel in Woodcuts: A Handbook,” *Journal of Modern Literature* 6, 2 (April, 1977): 171-173. The term *Ars moriendi* actually refers to two different texts that were popular in Marguerite’s era and the half century prior. The earlier text is the *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* from the early part of the fifteenth century. The second text was the popular block-book *Ars moriendi* discussed above that abbreviated the longer text of the *Tractatus* for the laity.

54 The treatise of Erasmus expands the tradition in some ways. The *Ars moriendi* themselves focused specifically on the hour right before death, describing the proper behaviors for the dying and explaining proper rituals and prayers. The writing of Erasmus does discuss the coming death, but he ironically suggests living the entirety of one’s life as preparation for death. His treatise emphasizes moral and personal virtue throughout one’s whole life and not just when death is near. For additional discussion of Erasmus’s prominence within the *Ars moriendi* tradition, see John O’Malley, “Introduction,” in vol. 70 *CWE*, xxvi – xxx.
commonly owned book of the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, included a complete text for the Office of the Dead. In general, these personal devotional books abbreviated the liturgical texts of the breviary used by clergy and the cloistered. In the specific case of this Office, however, the liturgical text was exactly reproduced. The prominence and proliferation of this liturgical text indicates the public awareness of this specific ritual, despite the general trend of the Offices as material familiar only to the religious elite. These popular, personal books all illustrate the availability and prominence of the ideas surrounding death and death rituals through many layers of society in Marguerite’s era and her land.

These personal books of various genres served a noble purpose for the public because they provided prayers and practices to aid the departed soul’s swift arrival in heaven. The prayers in the Books of Hours and the *Ars moriendi* contained indulgences – special provisions from church officials for specific prayers or rituals that reduced the time in purgatory of the dying or departed person’s soul. Unlike most indulged texts, these prayers were said for the benefit of others rather than oneself. The treatise of Erasmus as well as the discussions in the *Ars moriendi* demonstrated and described proper behavior to assure entrance to heaven. The mourning practices would both secure salvation for the departed soul and act as a reminder to the public of the reality

---


of human mortality. An individual’s ability to effect change in the afterlife, with the ultimate hope of obviating purgatory, explains the general preoccupation with death.57

Along with the printed material, the performance of the mourning rituals emphasized participation and witnessing from the citizenry, which would act as a reminder of the inevitability of death. The ringing of church bells notified the public of a prominent death. The body moved in procession, witnessed by the public, to the church to celebrate mass, and in another procession to the burial grounds.58 Members of the laity could read along from their Books of Hours during the performance of the Office of the Dead.59 Because of the importance of public participation in and witness to the mourning rituals, the texts and melodies of the mourning rituals became fertile signifiers for a broad audience.

While the rituals functioned to steer the soul quickly to heaven, their focus was on the transition of the soul from its earthly prison, the human body, to its final peace joined with God in heaven. The death rituals began when death was imminent and continued long after burial. At his or her deathbed, a person heard readings, chant, and litanies of the saints. Upon death, clergy or cloistered performed the hours of the Office of the


Dead at the church. The Office of the Dead was an essential element in medieval funeral services, consisting of Vespers, Vigils (Matins), and Lauds. 60 Nocturnes also were transmitted in the Office of the Dead, but their role in mourning rituals is unclear.61 The night before a medieval funeral, a hired monk or clergyman would recite the Vespers for the dead. The next morning, Matins and Lauds would follow. Once the body arrived in procession at the church, everyone celebrated the Mass for the Dead. Then the body was moved to the burial grounds again in procession to receive chant and readings. After burial, the Office of the Dead, the Mass for the Dead, and other prayers commemorated anniversaries and other liturgical holidays for the departed soul.

Within Marguerite’s chansonnier, three works quote texts and/or melodies from the Office of the Dead ritual illustrating the incorporation of these religious signifiers into other contexts (See Table 2-1). In *L’eure est venue / Circundederunt me*, two voices set a French text while the lowest voice sets a Latin text from Psalm 114:3. This is the first psalm performed during Vespers in the Office of the Dead. In *Cueurs desolez / Dies illa*, Picker identified the source of the Latin text as verse three of the responsory *Libera me*,62 and Barbara Haggh’s more recent work on medieval funeral liturgies establishes this responsory’s role during the Absolution of the soul following the procession to the

---


61 Many Books of Hours, including the book owned by Marguerite’s mother Mary of Burgundy, transmit the texts for three separate Nocturnes specific to different days of the week, see The Hours of Mary of Burgundy, Codex Vindobonensis 1857, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Comentary by Eric Inglis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995). The Office of the Dead appears between folio 146v-146r. Neither Haggh nor Wieck mention their role in the celebration of the Office of the Dead or in the funeral rituals. Haggh specifically follows the rituals described in Ordo Romanus 49. Investigating this ordo, especially after Peter Jeffrey’s new translation is available, might clarify this incongruity.

62 Picker, Chanson Albums . . .,136.
church and the Mass for the Dead. In Josquin’s work *Ce povre mediant / Pauper sum ego*, the source for the Latin text and melody come from Psalm 24:16, which is performed during the second Nocturne of the Office of the Dead. The quotations of texts from the Office of the Dead in musical genres associated with courtly contexts illustrate the wide prominence of this material beyond ritual practices and religious services.

In addition to the quotations, the works describe either aspects common to the mourning rituals as practiced in general or elements of specific ritual under Marguerite’s control. In the cantus-firmus chanson by Agricola, the Latin text reminds the audience of the possible scenario of the afterlife describing the sorrows of purgatory. The opening line of the French text, “The hour has come of my moaning,” suggests the imminent death of the narrator while making a pun on hours of the Office of the Dead. This work demonstrates a general reference to the ritual suggesting the social currency of the ideas associated with it.

The two other works show specific references from Marguerite’s court and ritual practices. The anonymous deploration *Ceuers desolez / Dies illa* mourns the death of

---


64 Picker previously misidentified the source because he looked for the quoted text “Pauper sum ego” at the beginning of the psalm verse. He suggests Psalm 87:16 as the source: “Pauper sum ego, et in laboribus a juventute mea; exaltatus autem, humiliatus sum et conturbatus.” The borrowed melody used in the bassus of *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*, indicates that the text actually comes from the end of a psalm verse. Psalm 24:16 is more likely the correct source for the text incipit because the verse ends with the quoted text: “Respice in me et miserere mei quia unicus et *pauper sum ego.*” (Italics mine)

65 Unless otherwise noted, all original texts of the manuscript come from the modern transcription: Marcel Françon, *Albums Poétiques de Marguerite d’Autriche* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934). (Hereafter noted as: Françon, #). For this text, see Françon, 251. “L’eure est venue de me plaindre.”
Jean de Ville, who is identified by an acrostic. The French text describes the saddened hearts across the nation, reminiscent of the public participation for prominent deaths. This work also locates the common use of this material for a specific death of a close acquaintance of Marguerite. Finally, in Ce povre medient / Pauper sum ego, the psalm verse petitions God for mercy and identifies the narrator as poor and alone. In the French text, the narrator describes the strife of a pauper. In the funeral Marguerite organized for the death of her brother Philip the Fair in 1507, poor men were invited as witnesses to the Vespers services. According to the accounts, Philip’s maitre d’hôtel led a large number of paupers dressed in mourning clothes into the church. They sat on either side of the nave during the service. The inclusion of these men at the funeral illustrates the contemporary association between death and poverty, which will be more fully explored later. More importantly, it evidences the poor’s public participation in the mourning rituals.

Along with the references contained in these three works, both Cueurs desolez / Dies illa and Ce Pouvre medient / Pauper sum ego make musical references as well. As Picker identified, Cueurs desolez / Dies illa uses verse three of the responsory Libera me as a cantus firmus. The melody used is the same as transmitted in the Liber Usualis, while the remaining voices are free composed. Ce povre mediant / Pauper sum ego uses a borrowed melody for the sogetto structure of the piece. The Bassus

66 Picker, Chanson Albums . . ., 56-57.
68 Picker, Chanson Albums . . ., 36. Picker identifies this using from the Burial Service of Liber Usualis (pg. 1767), but Haggh’s more recent work shows this the importance of this text in the religious practices of Marguerite’s time. I currently do not have access to any contemporary chant books that would verify that the tradition recorded in the Liber is the same as that performed in Marguerite’s era.
voice repeats the ending phrase from Psalm Formula 8⁶⁹ six times on descending scale degrees. The repetition of this melodic phrase with this specific text signals the intentional integration of a musical element from the performance of the Office. Both of these works feature musical elements used in mourning rituals bringing the sacred material into a new context and suggesting the pervasive nature of the theologies and practices associated with death.⁷⁰

Both the public participation in the mourning rituals and the general interest in death topics establish the wide familiarity of the texts and melodies associated with these practices. The references to the Office of the Dead within Marguerite’s chansonnier show the prominence of these signifiers in courtly musical genres and outside the rituals themselves. The invocation and description of this Office in courtly music provides evidence that the pervasive topic of death and dying, common to Books of Hours and written treatises, also influenced the creation of this manuscript. While these three works use specific citation to religious practices to invoke contemplation of mortality, many other works within Marguerite’s chanson collection describe other values, concepts, characters and narratives associated with death and dying.

⁶⁹ Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown, eds, Secular Works for Three Voices, vol. 27 of New Josquin Edition (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), 33. Picker also identifies this borrowed melody using the Liber Usualis. However, the NJE suggests Gaffurius as a contemporary example of this practice in use during Josquin’s era. The example of Gaffurius also demonstrates the contemporary practice of text underlay suggesting the quoted text in BrussBR 228, “Pauper sum ego,” should come from the end of the psalm verse, see note 16.

⁷⁰ To compare a contemporary psalm singing tradition with the music from Ce Povre Mediant / Pauper sum ego see, Franchinus Gaffurius, Practica Musicae, Clement A. Miller, trans. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968). No foliation is available for the facsimile edition, but the pertinent section appears on pg. 63 of the accompanying translation. For Ce povre mediant / Pauper sum ego see, Album de Marguerite d’Autriche: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 228 woord vooraf, Martin Picker (Peer, Belgium: Facsimile Musica Alamire, 1986).
The Consolation of Death

By focusing on the soul’s transition into heaven, the mourning rituals and the popular literature on death emphasized the proper behaviors that would ensure easy passage. As the *Ars Moriendi* discuss, at death the soul experiences five temptations, which must be overcome by the five inspirations. The temptations were: loss of faith, despair over sins, impatience, vainglory, and avarice. To overcome these temptations, the dying person must confirm faith, hope for mercy, maintain charity and patience in suffering, demonstrate humility, and relinquish material desires. These virtues required individuals to welcome death without remorse or fear as a sign of their acceptance of the will of God.71

Bravery and acceptance facing death are the first topics Erasmus addresses in *Preparing for Death*. Rather than commanding people to be brave, he instead assuages fear through consolation and edification. As Erasmus explains, belief in Christ should remove all fear of the afterlife because death initiates the union between the soul and God:

‘Of all terrifying things the most terrifying is death’: so says a philosopher of great repute, but he had not heard that heavenly philosopher, who taught us as much by clear example as by his words that we do not perish when the body dies but that our parts are separated: the soul is drawn out as if from the most oppressive of prisons into blessed rest; the body likewise will live again at some time and join the soul in glory. He had not heard that adage of the Spirit, ‘Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.’ He had not heard Paul lamenting with a deep sigh, ‘I wish to be released and to be with Christ,’ and ‘To me to live is Christ, to die is gain.’ Yet it is not surprising if those who believe that every part of us perishes in death and do not have the hope that faith alone in Christ offers us bewail the death of others and even shudder at the thought of their own death and curse it. What is more surprising is that there are so many people like me; although they have

71 Donald F. Duclow, “Dying Well: the *Ars moriendi* and the dormition of the Virgin,” 381.
learned and profess the complete Christian philosophy, they are nevertheless terrified of death.\textsuperscript{72}

Erasmus argues against fear of death by reminding the reader of the covenant offered with Christ’s sacrifice. Death initiates the soul’s entrance to heaven and union with God; therefore, death should be welcomed and embraced.

Mirroring the beliefs of Erasmus, nine works throughout Marguerite’s chansonnier demonstrate narrators embracing death (See Table 2-2). Some works present desires for death as the end of suffering in the flesh. Other works exemplify bravery by welcoming death. All of these pieces show the positive view of death suggested by Erasmus and emphasized in the prescriptions for a good death.

The two settings of Dido’s final speech from the Aeneid, \textit{Dulces exuviae}, and the chanson-motet \textit{L’eure est venue / Circundederunt mea} present narrators who face death bravely. In Dido’s speech, the jilted queen’s former rage has melted, and she shows uncharacteristic clarity and reserve by accepting her fortune and asking for her spirit to be received. Discussing these settings of Dido’s speech, Leofranc Holford-Strevens clarifies the affect of the musical settings of \textit{Dulces exuviae}: “Indeed, there is more to these verses than grief and despair; there is a noble pride.”\textsuperscript{73} Dido addresses the sword and armor of Aeneas, the man who abandons her proclaiming, “Spoils that were so sweet once, while fate and its god gave permission, / Take to yourselves this soul. Cut me loose from all of this anguish. / Fortune assigned me a course. I have run it. My life is accomplished / And now the image of me that will pass beneath earth has


\textsuperscript{73} Holford-Strevens, 382.
its greatness."\textsuperscript{74} Perhaps what is most fascinating is that the Pagan, first-century B.C.E. poet so eloquently describes what would become the theological ideal of the sixteenth century after Christ. In \textit{L’eure est venue / Circundedrunt mea}, the French text announces that the hour of death has arrived and voices the proper sentiments for embracing death. The narrator describes sorrow as inappropriate and seeks to serve and honor without feigning. In these two works, the narrators present virtuous examples of characters that face death without fear or sorrow, accepting their roles in the divine plan.

Along with the works that show characters bravely facing death, other pieces within the manuscript embrace death as the end of suffering. In Pierre de La Rue's chanson \textit{Pourquay non}, the narrator explains that unrequited love causes his or her suffering. “Why should I not wish to die / Why would I not seek / the end to my sad life / When I love whom does not love me / And I serve without reward?”\textsuperscript{75} Similar sentiments appear in \textit{Je n’ay dueil que je ne suis mort} when the text expresses, “I have sorrow that I am not dead / Should I not wish to die?”\textsuperscript{76} The opening of the widely popular and frequently set text \textit{Fors seulement} describes death as the narrator’s only remaining happiness, “Except waiting for death [to come], / in my weary heart, no hope


\textsuperscript{75} Translation: Honey Meconi, “Style and Authenticity in the Secular Music of Pierre de la Rue,” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1986), 234. Françon, 209. “Pourquoi non ne veuill je morir? / Pourquoy non ne doy je querir / La fin de ma doulente vie, / Quant j’aime qui ne m’aime mye / Et sers sans guerdon acquérir?”

\textsuperscript{76} Françon, 212. “Je n’ay dueil que je ne suis morte / Ne doy-je pas vouloir morir?”
resides.”77 These works all show narrators who seek death as an end to their suffering, resembling the theological view that promotes death as beginning of the transition to paradise.

The positive attitudes toward death expressed in the texts of Marguerite's manuscript reinforce the proper view of death disseminated in theological discussions. Some works demonstrate bravery in the face of imminent death, while others suggest welcoming death as the end of a life of suffering. The frequent recurrence of these themes in Marguerite's manuscript highlights the popular currency of the theological values that reframe death in a positive light and suggest the importance of these ideas in her own life.

The Struggles of Life and the Afterlife

The struggles of the soul on the path to paradise play a prominent role in the contemplation of death. Struggle, pain and temporality define the condition of the soul on earth in comparison to its divine state upon entering heaven. Death initiates the entrance to heaven and represents the end of struggle clarifying the logic of these associations. However, struggle itself has other theological implications. The difficulties of human life are a result of Satan's torments and enduring these difficulties helps to ensure later reward. Death initiates the ultimate promise of paradise, but at the same time, maintaining patience through struggle was virtuous and reduced the time spent in purgatory later.

---

In his treatise, Erasmus frames thinking on the difficulties of existence as opportunity to express admiration for the Lord. Struggle provided the chance to demonstrate virtue by accepting the divine will of God showing patient endurance of life's difficulties:

What does Satan achieve when he ceaselessly attacks the members of Christ? Nothing, except that he increases their rewards and lights up their crowns. In fact, even those misfortunes that along with our mortality we share with the righteous and the wicked alike have been turned to our profit by the clemency of our Redeemer, or they can help to cure us, which is also to our profit. These misfortunes become profit if, free of sins, we bear them with endurance, 'giving thanks to the Lord for all'; they become medicine if anything resides in us that has to be purged either by surgery or cautery or by bitter drugs.78

In this world view, the struggles of life are turned into profit and ultimate redemption. However, this can only be achieved by maintaining humbled submission to the God and demonstrating proper restraint through patience and steadfastness.

Within Marguerite’s chansonnier, twelve works portray narrators who negotiate the struggles of the earthly realm, referred to as regretz (See Table 2-3). The texts restate the ideas of Erasmus recommending a similar attitude toward struggle, or they demonstrate those same prescriptions in the voice and opinion of the narrator.

Some texts reinforce the reframing of discomfort as virtue. In Il est bien heuruex for example, the text proposes, “He is happy indeed who is rid / of the affliction of contrary fortune. / But alas, I cannot rid myself of it, / and I must find contentment in regretz.”79 Or in two textually related chansons, Quant il advient and Quant il survient, the texts suggest finding patience to suffer through conflict. Quant il survient prescribes

78 Erasmus, “Preparing for Death,” 409-10.

79 Translation: Meconi, 220. François, 209. “Il est bien heureux qui est quitte / Du grief de fortune contrare, / Mais, las, je ne m’en puis deffaire / Et fault qu’en regretz me delitte.”
restraint from weeping and reminds the listener that “one must turn vice into virtue / to reach heavenly things.”\textsuperscript{80} These works suggest reversing the connotations of suffering in order to accept struggle.

In other works, the narrator expresses desires for \textit{regretz}. For example, the narrator of \textit{Duel et ennuy} explains, “Pain and suffering persecute me greatly, that my mind stretches itself to include all \textit{regretz} one knows to think.”\textsuperscript{81} The narrator of \textit{Tous les regretz qui les cueurs tourmentez} invites \textit{regretz} to his heart in order to “cut short what’s left of my life / Because I have lost the one who was overflowing / with good things and perfect kindesses.”\textsuperscript{82} The reframing of \textit{regretz} from a negative to a positive in these works exemplifies Erasmus’s suggestions about pleasures and torments. They illustrate the detachment from the temporary joys and difficulties of the earthly realm and suggest these difficulties are actually virtuous.

The works within Marguerite’s chansonnier that describe suffering and torment in life mirror the associations between death and struggle in the theological traditions of time. The works show narrators who either accept struggle with patient endurance or who embrace torment outright. These viewpoints reinforce the idea that enduring struggle garners God’s favor leading to ultimate reward.

\textbf{Job and Lazarus as the Virtuous Heroes}

The stories of Job and Lazarus the pauper exemplify the prominent themes of struggle, death, and triumph. Job and Lazarus represent similar characters who suffer in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{80} Françon, 211. “Il fault de vice vertuz, fair / Pour aux cele(r)e[s] advenir.”
\item \textsuperscript{81} Françon, 207. “Deuil et ennuy me persecutent tant / Que mon esprit a comporter s’estent / Tous les regretz que l’on scoroit pense,”
\item \textsuperscript{82} Translation Meconi, “Style and Authenticity …,” 240. Françon, 204. “Pour abregier le surplus de ma vie, / Car j’ay perdu celle qui assouvie / Estoit en meurs et parfaicte en bontez.”
\end{itemize}
life, both specifically dealing with poverty, but gain ultimate reward for their noble patience. Job loses his children and his money, but regains his wealth twofold and has several other children after enduring his struggles. Lazarus lives as a humble beggar and, though he is denied crumbs from the rich man’s table, upon death his soul joins Abraham in heaven. In both cases, the steadfast heroes receive reward.

Job and Lazarus are frequently associated with the Office of the Dead. The most characteristic aspects of the Office of the Dead are the nine Lessons that quote passages from the Book of Job. In the Lessons, Job speaks in first person describing his torments and petitioning God directly. In addition to quoting his words, many Books of Hours depict scenes from Job’s life as subjects of illuminations accompanying the Office. 83 While the parable of Lazarus and Dives from Luke is not quoted in the Office of the Dead, the third Nocturne uses several texts that describe poor men. In the famous Spinola Hours, which Marguerite owned, the illumination accompanying the Office of the Dead depicts the story of Lazarus. 84 These references demonstrate the contemporary association between death and stories of these two biblical heroes.

Linking these narratives with the Office of the Dead focused on the theological concerns about suffering and death. In the depiction of Lazarus in the Spinola Hours, a large banner quotes Abraham’s words as he speaks to the Dives who suffers in purgatory, “Son, remember that in your lifetime, you received your good things, while Lazarus received bad things, but now he is comforted here and you are in agony.”

Abraham’s words imply that struggle on earth supplemented the tortures of purgatory.

The large triptych of Bernard Van Orley creates a visual comparison between the struggles of Lazarus as a pauper and the rich man’s tortures in purgatory by placing these scenes side by side and similarly contorting the bodies of the men. In the Lessons from the Office of the Dead, Job expresses his sorrow and suffering. Petitioning God directly, Job questions the cause of his suffering but always recognizes his own subordinate position to the will of God. In the second Lesson from Job 10, he displays his forthright attitude, denying the assumptions of men that God was punishing him for sinful behavior. At the same time, Job maintains his submission to the Lord.

My soul is weary of my life, I will leave my complaint upon myself. I will speak in the bitterness of my soul: I will say to God, Do not condemn me. Show me wherefore thou contdest with me? Is it good unto thee, that thou should oppress, that thou should despise the work of thine hands, and shine upon the counsel of the wicked? Hast thou eyes of flesh: or seesthest thou as man seeth? Are thy days as the days of a man, and are thy years as man’s days, that thou inquirest after mine iniquity, and search after my sin? Thou knowest that I am not wicked, and there is none that can deliver out of thy hand.85

The first person narration obscures the identity of the narrator, and these moving passages become the words of a tortured soul in purgatory.86 It is the sentiment of the voice rather than the narrator himself that plays the key role, voicing the torments of human flesh but always maintaining obedience to God’s divine plan. These examples demonstrate that the key aspect of the stories of Job and Lazarus. The endurance, or

85 Job 10: 1-7 KJV

86 Wieck, “The Death Desired,” 432-33. Barbara Haggh also describes the words of Job as the words of a tortured soul. Neither cite where they gain this knowledge, but I assume it comes from contemporary commentaries or possibly Ordo Romanus 49. The psalms are the most common example of this obscured narrator speaking in first person. In this form, the texts become scripts for the reader to voice affective sentiments, creating the so-called “impassioned I.”
patience, they showed through their trials of the flesh culminated in their ultimate reward.

In addition to the idea of reward for struggle, the texts also prescribe charity for the less fortunate. The struggles of Lazarus and Job through poverty ensure their entrance to heaven for the paupers, but the rich man's disregard for the struggles of others causes his own torture. This appears in the texts from third Nocturne from the Office of the Dead. The responsory *Et animas pauperum* requests of God, “And in the end forget not the souls of the poor.” This responsory follows shortly after the reading of Psalm 40, which begins with the reminder, “Blessed is the man that understandeth concerning the needy, and poor: in the evil day the Lord will deliver him.” These texts remind the reader of God’s special relationship with the poor, rewarding empathy from the more privileged or requesting salvation for their souls.

Two works within the manuscript highlight the connection between struggle and death while invoking aspects of Job’s story. The narrators in *Duel et ennuy / Quoniam Tribulatio* and *Revenez tout, regretz / Quis det ut veniat* voice the sentiments of Job and reinforce theological attitudes associated with dying. The works eloquently synthesize the network of ideas and values concerning mortality.

The chanson-motet *Duel et ennuy / Quoniam tribulatio* juxtaposes a narrator whose struggles resemble those of Job with a reference to the Tribulation. The French text describes pain and anguish that haunt the narrator every day, echoing the sentiments of Job. The narrator exhorts, “Refuse the way of fortune for my fate / I have no belief that joy will return to me / My musings are full of sorrow / For at every hour

---

87 Glenn Gunhouse, “A Hypertext Book of Hours.”
presented before me are / Struggle and weariness, concern, regret and pain."88 A later stanza describes the decaying flesh, another reminder of Job’s struggles with the line, “For there is not blood, bones, nerves, nor sinews that do not smell (feel) coarse and strong.”89 The accompanying Latin text declares, “Since tribulation is near and there is no one who can help,”90 capturing the loneliness of the soul bound for purgatory. The Latin text intimates the human condition of a soul’s journey through purgatory, while the French text recognizes the propriety of suffering and mirrors the sentiments of Job’s heroic example.

While Duel et ennuy / Quoniam tribulatio portrays a narrator whose struggles are similar to those of Job, the work Revenez-tout, regretz / Quis det ut veniat quotes Job directly. The Latin text from Job 6:8 asks, “Oh that God would have my request / that God would grant what I ask for.”91 What he requests from God, as explained in surrounding scripture, is his own death in order to end his suffering. The French text of Revenez-tout, regretz / Quis det ut veniat calls regretz to return to the narrator. The final stanza makes reference to the sentiments of Job saying, “I have no more esteem for my life / My poor path diverts itself with every blow / Among the men who do not know what I bear. / Because I enjoy having no hope, / may grief enslave my body.”92

---

88 Françon, 218-19. “Veez la comment fortune me pour maine / Je n’ay pensée qui joie me ramaine; / Ma fantasie est de desplaisirs plaine, / Car a totte heure devant moy se presente / Dueil et ennui, soussy, regret et paine.”

89 Françon, 219. “Puis qu’il n’y a sang, char, otz, nerf ny vaine, / Qui redement et tresfort ne s’en sente.”

90Françon, 220. “Quoniam tribulation proxima est et non est qui adjuvet.” Psalm 21:12.

91 Françon, 216. “Quis de tut veniat petition mea et quod / expect tribuat mihi dominus?”

92 Françon, 215. “Je ne fay plus extime de ma vie / Mon povre sens a tous coupz se devie / Entre les gens ne scay ma contenance / De m’esjoyr n’ay jamais esperance, / Puis qu’a deul est ma personne asservie.”
discussion of ignorant men may refer to the friends of Job who ask him to deny God and admit his own fault for his struggles. But this narrator accepts torment willingly and calls all *regretz* to return. The two texts of this work illustrate a meditation on accepting torment juxtaposed with a petition to God for death, reinforcing the idea of triumph over struggle through death.

In addition to invoking the sentiments of Job within the texts, some illuminated initials on the manuscript verify the source of suffering. The initials for *Revenez-tout*, *regretz / Quis det ut veniat, Duel et ennuy / Quoniam Tribulatio*, and *Sordez, Regretz* all feature dragons (See Figure 3.4). Dragons typically represent Satan and are the cause of human suffering or struggle on earth. 93 Van Orley’s triptych also uses dragons to depict demons of Satan corroborating this interpretation. All three works present narrators suffering from constant torments. In the image accompanying *Duel et ennuy / Quoniam Tribulatio*, the dragon tortures a man while another turns away. These character’s interactions are also reminiscent of Job’s story. These dragon initials suggest Satan’s role in tortured lives of the narrators of these works.94

While discussions of general struggle appear throughout the manuscript, some instances specifically focus on the torments of poverty. Josquin’s *Ce povre mediant /

---

93 Anne Walters Robertson, “The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the Caput Masses and Motets,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59, 3 (Fall, 2006): 537-630. Robertson links some dragon imagery in Netherland’s court complex manuscripts to discussions of Satan in the form of a dragon. In addition, this specific figure might be a reference to the Lord’s discussion of Leviathan in the final chapters of the Book of Job. The description of Leviathan references the creature’s scales, fiery breath and smoke from its nostrils. The last verse describes Leviathan as the king of the children of pride. For discussion of Leviathan’s features see Job 41: 15-20. For discussion of Leviathan’s domain as ruler of the prideful see Job 41: 26-34. As a point of note, in the scriptural text of Job, Satan is never actually identified but exegetic traditions suggest he is the other figure bargaining with God at the beginning; see Farmer, 124-27.

94 For images see, Album de Marguerite d’Autriche: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 228 woord vooraf, Martin Picker, Fol. 19v; Fol. 22v; and Fol. 54v.
Pauper sum ego and Brumel’s contrafact Du tout plongiet both use paupers as their subject. Since the narratives of both Job and Lazarus focus on the difficulty surviving poverty, these works also fit within the network of ideas associated with death and dying.

In Josquin’s Ce povre medient / Pauper sum ego, the two texts illustrate different perspectives on poverty. The Latin text states, “I am poor,” in which the narrator describes personal experience. The French text set the words, “This poor beggar of God / has neither benefice nor office / which is worth anything or is favorable / to him except only for the clothes he is wearing.”95 Here the narrator views the pauper and describes his sad state. Considering the prescriptions and practices associated with mourning rituals, the work suggests both the privileged position of enduring poverty to gain God’s favor and the charitable recognition of other’s struggle.

Brumel’s work Du tout plongiet shows an intertextual synthesis of many of these prominent themes. The work uses the Ockeghem’s popular chanson Fors seulement as a cantus-firmus, as identified in incipit text of the tenor voice of the manuscript. The text Du tout plongiet laments difficult circumstances describing the condition of being “plunged into the lake of despair.” Further in the text, the narrator shows that poverty causes his or her troubles, pondering: “If I had known how to foresee the future, / And long ago provide for my situation / by amassing a little money / For the present it would not have been my fortune / that I must remain where I am.”96 As mentioned earlier, the

95Translation: Jap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown, eds, Secular Works for Three Voices, 34. Françon, 247. “Ce povre mendiant pour Dieu / Qui n’a benefice ne office / Qui ne luy vault ou soit propice / Autant porte que sur le lieu.”

opening of *For seulement* describes awaiting the arrival of death as the last remaining hope. The correlation of these two texts mirrors the idea of death as the end of suffering caused by poverty.

**Conclusion: The Residuals of Collecting**

The images of Job and Lazarus as presented in Bernard van Orley’s triptych visually demonstrate the network of linked ideas concerning death, life, suffering and struggle that also appear in Marguerite’s chansonnier. These stories may seem like a juxtaposition of ideas to our modern eyes, but seated in the contemporary values of Marguerite’s court, they represent closely related parables with similar moral prescriptions. The same theological traditions and religious rituals concerning death that illuminate the logic of Bernard van Orley’s triptych also clarify internal relationships among the separate works of the chansonnier. The book represents a collection, perhaps even a collage, of separate pieces, loosely joined.\(^{97}\)

The preponderance of works focused on death and struggle within Marguerite’s manuscript highlight the deliberate choice to collect works based on these topics. Three works incorporate quotations from common death rituals, suggesting the pervasive role of these religious signifiers in other contexts. Many works demonstrate contemporary attitudes or exemplify common prescriptions concerning suffering and mortality. This recurring theme of death within the chansonnier was very likely inspired by the recurring theme of death in the Regent’s life. However, in the process of collecting these works, Marguerite’s chansonnier also incorporated an array of theological, philosophical and social traditions by which she would have attempted to understand death and struggle.

Rather than simply reflecting the tragic events of Marguerite’s life, the somber works of her chansonnier negotiate the broader intellectual traditions of contemplating mortality. The works themselves represent individual perspectives on universal concerns about death and the trials of life. By collecting these works into her chansonnier, the ensemble of opinions becomes most apparent, but some accords stand out. Through a series of inverted connotations that assuage fear and regret, the works in Marguerite’s chansonnier remind the audience that suffering is virtuous as a sign of noble patience, and death is but a consolation for the difficult existence as it is the beginning of the promise of paradise.

Table 2-1. Works Citing Mourning Rituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Latin Text source</th>
<th>Position in ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td><em>Cueurs desolez / Dies illa</em></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Responsory Liberam me</td>
<td>Absolution of the Soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td><em>Ce povre mediant / Pauper sum ego</em></td>
<td>Josquin des Prez</td>
<td>Psalm 24:16</td>
<td>Third Nocturne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td><em>L’eure est venue / Circundederunt me</em></td>
<td>Alexander Agricola</td>
<td>Psalm 114:3</td>
<td>First Vespers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98 Titles, attributions, and order in source are taken primarily from the most recently published manuscript index in Herbert Kellman, ed., The Treasury of Petrus Alamire; Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500 – 1535 (Amsterdam: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1999). Issues of attribution have not been a focus of my work, so I have accepted attributions at face value. Exception for my correction of *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*, Picker provides incipit sources in Chanson Albums…. Identifying the texts’ role in the mourning rituals themselves come from my own analysis of the Office of the Dead texts using Glenn Gunhous, “A Hypertext Book of Hours,” <http://www.medievalist.net/hourstxt/home.htm> (accessed 8/25/2009) in addition to Barbara Haggh, “Singing for the Most Noble Souls . . ..”
Table 2-2. Works Inviting Death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pourquoi non</td>
<td>Pierre de la Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Je n’ay dueil que je ne suis morte</td>
<td>Johannes Ockeghem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fors seulement</td>
<td>Matthaeus Pipelare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Du tout plongiet / Fors seulement</td>
<td>Antoine Brumel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Revenez tous, regretz / Quis det ut veniat</td>
<td>Alexander Agricola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dulces exuviae</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dulces exuviae</td>
<td>Marbriano de Orto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Pour ung jamais</td>
<td>Pierre de la Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Plaine d’ennuy / Anima mea liquefacta est</td>
<td>Loyset Compere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2-3. Works Describing Suffering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tous les regretz qui les cueurs tourmentez</td>
<td>Pierre de la Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ce n’est pas jeu</td>
<td>Pierre de la Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Secretz regretz de nature ennemis</td>
<td>Pierre de la Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dueil et ennuy</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Il est bien heureux qui est quitte</td>
<td>Pierre de la Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Quant il survient</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Du tout plongiet / Fors seulement</td>
<td>Antoine Brumel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Revenez tous, regretz / Quis det ut veniat</td>
<td>Alexander Agricola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dueil et ennuy / Quoniam tribulation</td>
<td>Johannes Prioris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Quant il advient</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sourdez, regret</td>
<td>Loyset Compere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Va t’ens, regret</td>
<td>Loyset Compere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3
THE AFFECTS AND EMOTIONS OF MARGUERITE’S CHANSONNIER

Bernard van Orley’s altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary represents a common type of devotional image dedicated to the Virgin’s suffering (See Figure 3.1). In the center of the work, Mary mourns at the sight of Christ’s body hanging on the cross. The so-called “sword of compassion”\(^9\) stabs her heart, drawing a parallel between Mary’s emotional suffering and Christ’s physical sacrifice. Surrounding the crucifixion scene are six circular amulets depicting the additional scenes that comprise the Seven Sorrows of Mary.\(^{10}\) In the bottom left circle, Mary laments Simeon’s prophesy in the temple from Luke 2:34-35, “Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against; yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also.” This also provides a source for the sword motif. The middle left circle portrays Mary fleeing with her son into Egypt to escape Herod’s massacre of the innocent children of Jerusalem. In the top left circle, Mary languishes when the twelve-year-old Jesus disappears for three days, only to be found preaching in the Temple of Jerusalem. In the top right circle, she sorrows for Christ’s burden as he carries the cross. The middle right circle shows Mary mourning over Christ’s dead body at the foot of the cross. Finally in the bottom right, Mary observes in sorrow as the apostles entomb

---


\(^{10}\) The most common tradition held that Mary suffered seven sorrows during her life. She sorrowed during Prophecy in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the Preaching in the Temple of Jerusalem, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition from the Cross, and finally the Entombment of Christ’s body. However, the number of sorrows and specific subjects differed throughout the era and across the continent. The Confraternity founded in Burgundy in Marguerite’s time promulgated these specific seven sorrows, and so they are what I refer to when I collectively describe the Seven Sorrows.
the body of Christ. The central crucifixion scene provides the key of this devotional belief by analogizing the Passion of Christ with Mary’s compassionate sorrow, correlating his physical pain and her emotional response. As the devout viewed this work and other similar devotional images, the emotional potency of the images inspired feelings of sorrow from the viewer offering an experiential means of contemplating the Passion similar to Mary’s experience.

As Bernard Van Orley’s altarpiece illustrates, the affects of the divine and the devout, most especially those relating to sorrow, had great significance within Marguerite’s court. Analysis of the complete texts of her chansonnier reveals that many works discuss extreme emotional responses, placing a special emphasis on sorrow. Popular religious practices of the laity illuminate the significance of these recurring themes. Five works use texts associated with the devotion to Mary’s sorrows. Other pieces exemplify and elucidate the key values and beliefs concerning emotion and affect that circulated throughout Burgundy during Marguerite’s rule. The descriptions of affect within Marguerite’s chansonnier not only reflect the influence of popular religious trends of her time, but also demonstrate the synthesis of theology, symbolism, and devotion for expressive, aesthetic, and spiritual purposes.

**Divine Emotions**

As early as the twelfth century, a tradition of devotional practice developed that focused on personal emotional responses to sacred images and narratives. In modern parlance, this type of devotion is called affective meditation.\(^{101}\) Affective meditation is...
refers specifically to the emotions experienced during prayer by the religious, for example feeling sorrowful during contemplation. The external display of emotions, the performative aspects that signified internal feelings, often received the most attention. The general idea was that the truly pious would become filled with sadness when contemplating Christ’s sacrifice. Sometimes impassioned experiences inspired mystical visions during meditation as well. The landmark writing was the pseudo-Bonaventurian work *Meditationes de Vita Christi* (c. 1300), which provided readers with descriptions of scenes from the life of Christ in order elicit strong emotional reactions. This writing established a long thread in medieval and early modern theology that continued through the sixteenth century. While the emphasis on strong emotional responses remained constant, the subjects and materials associated with specific devotional practices changed throughout the centuries. Contemporary institutions from Marguerite’s era supported the role of affective meditation in popular devotion.

Two confraternities for the laity, the Brotherhood of the Rose and the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, illustrate the prominence of affect in contemporary devotional practices from Marguerite’s court. They emphasized

---

contemplation of narratives from the lives of Christ and Mary with specific attention to the emotions of the divine figures. In the interpretation of the divine narratives, both confraternities appropriated the language of the Song of Songs to describe the relationship, feelings, and actions of Mary and Christ.

These two confraternities had a great prominence within this region. Marguerite and her brother Philip the Fair, who ruled Burgundy before her, were both members of these groups. The two confraternities were extremely popular in the region because, unlike most confraternities, they included women and did not require dues for membership. They also provided cheap printed texts and images for use by the laity during prayer. Their popularity from the masses and patronage of the rulers suggests the wide influence of these religious practices in many aspects of Burgundian culture.

As demonstrated through their patronage and sponsorship, both Marguerite and Philip were strong supporter of these confraternities, suggesting personal significance as well as popular reception. The Brotherhood of the Rose developed in German lands in the 1470s. Its membership quickly spread throughout the continent becoming the most popular confraternity of its era. For membership, the Brotherhood only required devout prayer using the rosary as a guide.\(^{103}\) Both Marguerite and Philip were members of this confraternity. Further indicating the importance of the practice and the influence of the confraternity for her, Marguerite depicts herself praying with her strand of rosary beads.

---

103 Before the rise of this confraternity, rosary beads were used for prayer sporadically and mostly by the cloistered. After the formation of this organization, they became ubiquitous and commonly adopted by the laity.
beads.\textsuperscript{104} Inspired by the ubiquitous popularity of the Brotherhood of the Rose, Jean de Coudenberg, personal secretary to Philip, established a confraternity dedicated to the Seven Sorrows of Mary around 1492. Philip was a strong patron of the confraternity. In 1495, he sponsored a competition for composers to write chant melodies for the newly written office texts by Petrus Verhoeven alias De Manso. The winner of the contest was Petrus Duwez, a former singer of the Burgundian-Habsburg court, provost of the Church of Our Lady of Condé, and an associate of Josquin des Prez.\textsuperscript{105} Following her brother’s example, Marguerite founded a convent in Bruges dedicated to Mary’s sorrows, indicating the importance of this practice for her as well. The strong support of these confraternities by both Marguerite and Philip suggests their personal interests in private devotion.

While their specific materials and interests differed, the confraternities both focused on the contemplation of emotions indicating the role of affective meditation. The rosary prayers of the Brotherhood of the Rose focused on repetitive recitation of 150 Aves in which one Ave to Mary was interjected after every nine said for Christ. The

\textsuperscript{104} Paul Mathews, \textit{Women of Distinction: Margaret of York Margaret of Austria}, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Leuven: Brepols Publishers), 83. Marguerite and Philip were not the only Burgundian rulers to support the Brotherhood of the Rose. In her portrait from her personal Book of Hours, their mother Mary of Burgundy depicts herself surrounded by her devotional objects including her rosary, see Eric Inglis, “Public and Private Devotion,” in \textit{The Hours of Mary of Burgundy: Codex Vindobonensis 1857, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, commentary by Eric Inglis} (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995), 5-8.

Aves were divided into three groups, 50 for the sorrows of Christ, 50 for the joys, and 50 for the glorious mysteries. While the Brotherhood of the Rose focused mainly on the Christological narrative, the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of Mary venerated the Virgin’s emotions. Mary’s sorrow at the sight of Christ’s struggle was both an example for affective meditation and a tool of devotion.\(^{106}\) Mary provided a model for the laity, who mimicked her emotions with their own sorrowful contemplations of Christ’s Passion. At the same time, Mary’s responses were also interpreted as sign of her own virtue. Both confraternities emphasized contemplation of the most emotional aspects from the narratives of Christ and Mary, providing the religious with ample material to elicit affective responses.

The language of the Song of Songs framed the relationship of Mary and Christ for both confraternities. This erotic love poetry from the Old Testament describes the relationship of a Bride and her royal Bridegroom. The Bridegroom is possibly Solomon, but the bride lacks a clear identity. These poems were interpreted as an allegory of the divine love between man and God, God and the church, and in this case Mary and Jesus.\(^{107}\) The Brotherhood of the Rose took the metaphor of the rose as well as the descriptions of the lovers in a garden directly from the Song of Songs. In the Office of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, multiple quotations from Song of Songs become the words

\(^{106}\) Schuler, 4-6.

of Mary and Christ describing their love (See Table 3-1).\textsuperscript{108} In this office, the Song of Song texts establish impassioned love between mother and son. Their loving relationship magnifies the sorrows experienced by Mary during Christ’s sacrifice. The relationship between Mary and Christ subsumed the interpretation of the Song of Songs, illuminating theological associations among Mary, Christ, sorrow, love, longing, and languor.

To guide the spiritual life of the laity, both confraternities disseminated cheap printed materials, which often included illustrations to accompany texts and prayers, as devotional material for personal use. While strands of rosary beads were the most common tool for the Brotherhood of the Rose, printed texts of the prayers with images of Christ, Mary, and garlands of roses also were widely used. Counting the roses in the garlands supplemented the physical strand of beads. As well, images of Mary and Christ in rose gardens proliferated. Bernard van Orley’s altarpiece represents a large-scale version of the type of devotional material dedicated to the Seven Sorrows. However, many small prints depicted the scenes of the narrative or presented an image of Mary with seven swords stabbing her heart. These devotions used illustrations and repetitive practice to mediate the requirements of literacy and disseminate specific theological values to the masses in Burgundy.

The influence of these two confraternities in the musical culture appeared in two other manuscripts from the same scribal workshop that produced Marguerite’s

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{108} My work utilizes an index of the Officium des Septem Doloribus included by Barbara Haggh in “Charles le Clerc, Seigneur de Boubewercke, and Two Manuscripts: Brussels Biblioteque Royale de Belgique, MS 215-216, and Naples, Biblioteca Nationale, MS VI E 40,” pp. 189-90. Currently I do not have access to either of the manuscripts that transmit the melodies; nor do I have access to the Latin primer by the Dominican theologian Michel Francois Quodlibetica decisio that also transmits the text by Petrus Verhoeven alias De Manso.
chansonnier. The manuscript Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek MS 22 (hereafter JenaU 22; ca. 1498-1508) records Obrecht’s *Missa Sicut Spina rosam.*

The opening folio includes an image of Mary holding the Christ child surrounded by a garland of red and white roses, echoing the images disseminated by the Brotherhood of the Rose. In addition to JenaU 22, the manuscript Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 215-16 (hereafter BrussBR 215-16; ca. 1512-1516) contains chants for the Office of the Seven Sorrows, which are probably the competition-winning melodies of Duwez. This manuscript also includes two different settings for *Missae de Septem doloribus beatissime Marie,* a Stabat mater setting by Josquin, and the motet *Memorare mater / Nunquam fuit pena maior* by Pipelare. The opening folio of Pipelare’s motet contains an illumination depicting Mary with seven swords stabbing her. The seven voices of the motet are labeled as individual *Dolors* in the manuscript. The correlation of these manuscripts in date range and location to Marguerite’s chansonnier suggests that the devotional practices that inspired their content also would have influenced the musical discourses contained in her chansonnier.

Within Marguerite’s manuscript, five works use texts also quoted in the Office of the Seven Sorrows (See Table 3-2). Citations to three different scripture passages associated with the Seven Sorrows appear in these works. David’s lament from Kings 1:26 appears as an Offertory for the Mass Proper. In the text, David mourns the death of Jonathan, “I grieve for thee, my brother Jonathan, exceedingly beautiful, and amiable

---


110 Haggh, “Charles le Clerc, Seigneur de Boubewercke, and Two Manuscripts; Belgique, MS 215-16, and Napels, Biblioteca Nationale, MS VI E 40,” 188-89.

to me above the love of women. As the mother loveth her only son, so did I love thee. How are the valiant fallen and the weapons of war perished.” David compares his love for Jonathan to a maternal love, and in this context, it becomes prophecy of the divine love of Mary and Christ. The Bride’s address to the Daughter of Jerusalem from Song of Songs 5:8 is used as a Magnificat Antiphon. Her plea requests, “Tell my beloved that I languish with love.” Her words become the words of Mary who longs for her son. Finally, Jeremiah’s words from Lamentations 1:12 are used as a tract within the Stabat Mater prayer. 112 His words declare, “All ye who pass this way, attend and see if there is sorrow like my sorrow.” These texts all emphasize descriptions of the narrator’s emotions. These affective descriptions reflect the importance of emotional displays within the religious practices. The stylistic manipulation of the scriptural texts in each work indicates the influence of these beliefs.

The use of the Song of Songs texts in Loyset Compère’s Plaine d’ennuy / Anima mea and Gaspar van Weerbeke’s Anima mea liquefacta est demonstrates the interest in affective statements. Both texts use portions of the Song of Songs starting with the phrase Anima mea liquefacta est and ending with the line used in the Office of the Seven Sorrows. The texts open with a description of the Bride’s feelings as she hears her Bridegroom speak, announcing, “My soul melted when my beloved spoke.” In the line used in the Office, she describes the languor she feels as a result of her desire. While Weerbeke sets a larger portion of the scripture text, Compère contracts the text

112 Carl Marbach, ed., Carmina Scripturarum (Strassburg: Druck und Verlag von F.X. Le Roux & Co., 1907), 341. Marbach associates this prayer with the Office of the Seven Sorrows. However, the exact role of this prayer in the devotional practices and ritual is not clear. The Stabat mater is a sequence describing Mary’s lament for her son’s death. The inclusion of Josquin’s setting of the Stabat mater in BrussBR 215-216 indicates the propriety of this prayer to the Seven Sorrows devotion.
using only the affective statements and omitting the rest (See Table 3-3). In choosing and editing the texts to set, both composers demonstrate their interests in statements of affect. Weerbeke expands the passage beyond the section used in the Office to include the affective statement, “My soul melted.” Compère edits the text to only affective statements.

The French text of Compère’s work further verifies the influence of the hermeneutic traditions associated with Mary’s sorrow. The narrator desires death to end the torments of life. The final stanza laments, “Without God, I cannot become honorable / Thus I pray in painful grief / that I may not see myself in difficult circumstances / I remain always of a dark stain.” In the Song of Songs 1:5, which is used as an Antiphon in the first Vespers of the Office, the Bride describes herself as having dark skin as a result of the sun. Medieval mysticism and exegesis on this passage explains that Mary’s skin darkened as a result of her suffering. The narrator then suffers in life, becoming dark like Mary, in order to avoid difficult conditions later. Compère’s polytextual work suggests the role of theological hermeneutics in the selection of texts. The Latin text quotes scripture in which the bride laments her struggles, and the French text paraphrases and expands upon these sentiments.

The work with texts by Marguerite, Se je souspire / Ecce iterum, demonstrates her appropriation of scriptural citations associated with the Seven Sorrows highlighting

113 Françon, 244. “Sans Dieu ne puis venir a on attainte, / Auquel je fais pryere doloureuse / De non me voir en forme rigoureuse / Se je demeure a tousjours de noir tainte.”

114 Zlatohlávek, 96. Zlatohlávek discusses the common Eastern European tradition of portraying Mary as black. He quotes Honorius of Autun from the 12th century who writes from the point of view of the Virgin saying “If you want to follow me, you will have to go through many trials, as I have done… now being black in the body for the suffering, but beautiful inside.” This language is also a gloss of the Song of Songs passage.
her own sorrow. In this work, Marguerite mourns the death of her brother Philip in first-person narration. She invokes the language of the sorrows of Mary by quoting the line, “Doleo super te, frater mi,” but changes the name from Jonathan to, “Philippe, rex optime.” Quoting the text from Lamentations 1:12, she invites others to witness her own sorrow, mirroring the perspective of the devout that bear witness to Mary’s sorrow. The change in name suggests the significance of this text to Marguerite and Philip. Considering his strong support for the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows, Philip’s interest in these devotions may have spurred this choice. In the deploration, Marguerite’s poem uses specific lines from Seven Sorrows devotion to inflect her words with divine character and expand their significance.

The work O devotz ceurs / O vos omnes juxtaposes two texts from the perspective of Mary. In the French text, Mary addresses her beloved and describes the reason for her sorrow, “O devoted heart, to a lover of a fervent love / Consider that I have been sorrowful / That this is the reason: I am the only mother / who lost her only son and her father / and her lover due to excellent love.”¹¹⁵ The conflation of Christ as both son and father to Mary is a common trope in Marian antiphons. In this text, Mary specifies her unique sadness due to the three-fold impact of Christ’s death. Also discussing the unique nature of Mary’s sorrow, the Latin quotation from Lamentations inquires of others, “All ye who pass this way, attend and see if there is sorrow like unto my sorrow.” The Latin text associated with the devotional practices indicates the special status of Mary’s suffering while the French text specifies the causes.

¹¹⁵ Françon, 248. “O devotz ceurs, amans d’amour fervent, / Considerez se j’ay esté dolente / Que c’est raison : je suis la seule mere / Quis a perdu son seul filz et son pere / Et son amy par amour excellente.”
The citations of texts associated with the Seven Sorrows in the previous works emend the passages to influence their significance, but Pierre de la Rue’s motet *Doleo super te* represents the only exact reproduction of the text used in the ritual that appears in the manuscript. The specificity of this citation indicates the importance of this passage, and role of the text within the Office of the Seven Sorrows illuminates its significance. Since both Marguerite and Philip were strong sponsors of the confraternity, one of them may have commissioned La Rue, their most prominent composer, to set this particular text. Marguerite’s incorporation of this passage in her own text mourning her brother’s death indicates its significance for her certainly, but also points to significance for Philip.

The citation of texts specifically associated with the Seven Sorrows of Mary indicates the influence of the popular lay confraternities on the music of Marguerite’s chansonnier. The emendations of text focus on the narrator’s affects, demonstrating the concern for emotional displays and descriptions of sorrow. The importance of these affects in the theological beliefs held of the masses emphasizes the significance of sorrow in Marguerite’s chansonnier. The practice of affective meditation explains the significance of sorrow as a sign of devout piety and personal connection to the divine. The works focusing on sorrow contained in the chansonnier simultaneously reflect Marguerite’s tastes as well as the popular interests and values of her land. This demonstrates the influence of widely circulating discourses on Marguerite’s manuscript.

**Compassionate Sorrow**

In order to elicit strong emotional responses to the divine, affective meditation often exploited emotionally potent subjects, commonly choosing Passion narratives and imagery. Graphic descriptions and depictions of the Passion conjured emotions of
sorrow from the devout through the virtue of compassion. The religious were not sorrowful for themselves, but for the sacrifice of Christ. The word compassion itself literally comes from Latin meaning “with the Passion.” Mary embodies the ideal of compassionate sorrow because her sorrow stems from her role as a witness to the suffering of Christ rather than her own experience. She held a special role in the Passion narrative and affective mediation because she becomes sorrowful at the sight of Christ's anguish. The emotional experiences associated with affective meditation demonstrated this same virtue in the devout, their sorrow mirrored Mary’s and evidenced their compassion.

Contemplation of the Seven Sorrows of Mary served a dual role in the practice of affective mediation. Mary herself exemplified the emotional response of the devout who view Christ’s passion. Her model of the impassioned expression of emotion illustrated an appropriate manner for the devout to contemplate the Passion. At the same time, her sorrow itself became the object of devotion. Those who viewed Mary’s sorrow would become sorrowful themselves displaying their own compassion for Mary and her strife. In his *Prayer of Supplication to Mary*, Erasmus reiterates the divine nature of Mary’s sorrows and venerates her emotions specifically:

I invoke the sad steps you are said to have taken as he carried that shameful tree on his shoulders, you, a mother accompanying your only son to see his shameful punishment; the wound in your maternal breast when you saw your only son being raised between two thieves. . . . I invoke the emotions you felt in your heart as a mother, known to you alone, when, addressing you as “Woman” from the cross, he entrusted you to his disciples and his disciple to you, a virgin to a virgin; the feelings in your heart at the moment when your son freely accepted death and with a great cry entrusted his precious soul into his Father’s hands; the holy mystery that you watched with your own eyes when that fount thrice worthy of

---

116 Schuler, 4.
adoration flowed from his side as he slept in death, the water a pledge to cleanse us and the blood a pledge to give us life; the cruel sword of sorrow (which the old seer had prophesied to you soon after you gave birth) that pierced a mother’s body with the most terrible wounds as your only son suffered each torment.  

In this passage, Erasmus invokes Mary’s emotional responses in three of her sorrows, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, and Simeon’s prophecy. He explains that Mary’s sorrow at the passion has special significance because it is simultaneously rooted in her love for Christ as his mother as well as her compassion for the Savior. In his prayer, Erasmus invokes Mary’s sorrows, demonstrating his compassion for her sorrow by recognizing that it is unique. Among the compassionate, feelings of sorrow spread from one person to the next. Mary shows compassion with her sorrow for Christ’s anguish, and the devout show compassion with their sorrow for Mary’s sorrow.

In this theology, Mary is both a subject and an object, exemplifying and inspiring compassionate sorrow.

Eight works within Marguerite’s chansonnier demonstrate the virtue of compassionate sorrow (See Table 3-4). These works present individuals who are sorrowful for the struggles of others rather than for their own difficulties. They show the importance placed on the act of witnessing the sorrows of others. These texts imply courtly contexts in which displays of emotion were publically witnessed and discussed. However, the beliefs associated with affective meditation and Mary’s sorrows suggest the virtuous reverence for witnessing the struggles of others and becoming sorrowful as

\[117\] Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Prayer of Supplication to Mary*, trans. John N. Grant, in vol. 69 of *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Buffalo: Toronto University Press, 1999): 50–51. Prior to this excerpt, Erasmus also invokes Mary’s dutiful anxiety during the Flight into Egypt and her maternal anxiety upon loosing Jesus at the Temple of Jerusalem. In a later section he invokes Mary’s sorrows after Christ’s death, suggesting the entombment, hence making reference to the most of the Seven Sorrows.
a result. These works reinforce those same values by exemplifying the virtue of compassion.

Many of the works that display the idea of compassion make references to religious themes, divine figures, or spiritual values. One work suggest the sentiments of Mary or a Marian figure sorrowfully mourning a Christ figure. Other works emphasize compassion while referencing altruistic death indicating the example of Christ. With their use of emotionally potent material and their descriptions of mimetic responses to suffering, these works indicate the influence of popular devotional practices concerning sorrow, mourning, and virtue within the chansonnier.

The work *Tous noble cueurs qui mes regretz voyez* demands, “All noble hearts who see my sorrows / Gather grief and store it up / To help me mourn the one who is / completely perfect in everything, who is the matchless one / and the reward of those who have strayed.”118 The abundance of virtues used to describe the deceased implicates Christ as the object of sorrow (See Table 3-5). In this context, the narrator of *Tous noble cueurs qui mes regretz voyez* becomes a Marian figure. The words echo the perspective of Mary as she mourns Christ, recognizing her role as the object of compassion and encouraging others to join her in compassionate sorrow. With its religious references, the work encourages emotional responses to the sacrifice of Christ, reproducing the practice of affective meditation.

While the previous work presents a specific Marian perspective mourning a Christ figure, other works present generic narrators who demonstrate the virtue of

---

compassionate sorrow. They describe their changing affects at the sight of another person’s strife. The pieces with this type of narrator suggest not only the reflexive quality of compassion, but also the importance of the social negotiation of sorrow through witnesses.

The work *Triste suis* illustrates the reflexive dialectic of compassion, in which the sight of another person’s suffering changes the viewer. The narrator observes the languishing of another person and feels compassion as a result. The opening lines emphasize the affective characteristics of the narrator and the object of his or her gaze declaring: “I am sad from your languor / And that you suffer such great pain / That you seem to be nearing death / From this, I feel so much sorrow / That I often change color.”119 The final line of this section draws attention to the narrator’s physical change of affect, which also has divine implications because both Christ and Mary reportedly changed color as a result of their suffering or love.120

The two related chansons *Me fauldra il* and *Il me fait mal* also demonstrate the reflexive dialectic of compassionate sorrow. In *Me fauldra il*, the first-person text, written by Marguerite herself, describes languishing and desires for fortitude. The text of *Il me fait mal* responds to this work through linguistic references and topical relationships.

119 Françon, 255. “Triste suis de vostre langheur / Et que souffrez sy grant douleur / Qu’il samble qu’aprouchez la mort. / Dont j’ay si tresgrant desconfort / Que souvent j’en change couleur.”

120 Anne Walters Robertson, “The Man with the Pale Face, the Relic, and Du Fay’s Missa Se La face Aye Pale,” (paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 6-9, 2008). Anne Walters Robertson’s recent work on Dufay’s *Missa Se le face aye pale* demonstrates that the pale faced man is likely a Christ figure, and as the chanson suggests, the cause of his affect is love. This interpretation is corroborated in the language of Erasmus in which he describes Christ turning pale. Robertson’s work explains the belief that Christ’s face turned pale during the Crucifixion. In the writing of Erasmus, the description of the change of color appears in an essay on his suffering in the Garden of Gethsemane. In both cases, Christ’s pale face is an indicator of his humanity, and the beliefs on when his face turned pale may have changed in the course of three decades between Du Fay and Erasmus. In this work, the color change is not clearly identified though, and as discussed earlier Mary turned black as a result of her suffering. This chanson could refer to either of these scenarios.
which Picker identifies and Lamarre further develops. Lamarre interprets the language of the text as an indication that the narrator of this work is an anonymous male courtier. She suggests the words *lessier morir*, meaning “to allow to die,” indicate a masculine perspective, because a woman would not likely have that kind of control over a man. While this does not identify the gender or identity of the narrator precisely, the nature of the text as a lover’s response to Marguerite’s text supports the assumption of a male narrator for *Il me fait mal*.

The unidentified narrator of *Il me fail mal* witnesses Marguerite’s suffering and experiences empathetic pain for her languishing. The opening line of the work shows the reflexive quality of compassion with the narrator announcing, “It hurts me to see you languish / and would hurt a hundred times more to let you die.” The narrator goes on to invoke the sentiments of Christ, recommending self-sacrifice rather than allow the torments of others saying, “If it is possible to give you the ordinance / I would die for you in great suffering / … / Think how it is written in the law / that love does much, and the greatest charity / is to die for another, in confidence / that I know well that I must die one time.” The final sentiment about dying one time implicates the importance of Christ’s singular death for the salvation of many. The discussion of the “law” in this work indicates the prophetic authority of scripture. The following line that espouses altruistic death as the greatest charity glosses the ideas of John 15:13, “Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” The discussions of scripture and

---


122 Translation: Lamarre, 48. Françon, 237. “Il me fait mal de vous voir languir, / Et cent fois plus de vous lessier morir. / Si possible est vous donner ordonnance, / Morir je veuxx pour vous en grant souffrances. / … / Pensez comment est escript en la loy / Qu’amour fat moult, et charité immense / Est de morir pour aultre, en confidence / Que je scay bien qu’une fois morir doy.”
references to altruism as a sign of love paired with the narrator’s compassionate subjectivity elucidate the religious implications of this text. The work responds to Marguerite’s text, offering compassion for her suffering and spiritual guidance to overcome it.

As in many of the texts, the narrator of Il me fait mal is unidentified. Because the work responds to Marguerite’s text, the author likely had a close relationship to the Regent. However, the author’s relationship does not necessarily indicate the identity of the work’s narrator. The language offering altruistic death and espousing theological prescriptions invokes the sentiments and voice of a martyr certainly, and possibly Christ. As a stylistic device in this work, the first-person perspective veils the identity of the narrator and creates a deliberately multivalent texts, allowing the speaker to be both human and divine, courtier and savior.

The final example of compassionate sorrow appears in the deploration for the death of Jean de Luxembourg, Cueurs desolez / Dies illa. The importance of sharing compassion within a community is made explicit in this work. The work describes a nation mourning the death of Luxembourg, who is identified by an acrostic. The narrator, who experiences sadness for the death of a great man, commands, “Come to me through a thousand armies / spread my sadness to millions / The noble and good who no one can slander / The support of all without dispute / is dead; alas, such a curse!”123 Speaking as a voice from within the community, the narrator encourages the spread of sorrow through the masses by invoking the compassion of the citizenry.

---

123 Françon, 232. “Venez a moy par mille legions / Infondez moy douleurs par millions. / Le noble et bon dont on ne peut mal dire / Le soustenal de tous sans contredire / Est mort; helas, quelz maledictions.”
These works all display the virtue of compassionate suffering for the struggles of another. The explicit and implicit references to divine figures and sacred texts incorporate theological beliefs on sorrow and compassion in genres not associated with religious practices. These works reinforce the idea of affective meditation by showing narrators who experience virtuous emotional reactions or by providing material that garners strong affective responses from the audience. With their compassionate sensibilities, the works espouse the virtue and spiritual potency incurred by experiencing sorrow for the sorrows of another.

**The Affects of Love**

While the contemplation of Christ’s anguish and Mary’s sorrows stirred compassionate feelings for the devout, other emotional responses were valued as well. Desire for and separation from a beloved also caused extreme affects of both sorrow and “languor” exploited in affective meditation. Invoking the character of the Bride from the Song of Songs, devout women dedicated their lives to Christ, their celestial Bridegroom, and in their prayers and writings described their impassioned states as they longed for their ultimate union in heaven. The marriages of these Brides of Christ were not valid until they joined their spouse in heaven; therefore, they lived ascetic lives to demonstrate their dedication and obedience to their beloved as they awaited their marriage in heaven.¹²⁴ The torrent of emotion resulting from desire heightened the devotional experience for the religious elevating their personal piety and influencing their understanding of the divine.

¹²⁴ McNamer, “Compassion and the Making of a True Sponsa Christi,” in Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion, 25-58; see most especially 29-40 for cultural and legal implications of life as a Bride of Christ.
Mary’s love, as interpreted through the Bride of the Song of Songs, exemplified the fervent emotions that characterized the experiences of the Brides of Christ. While the lamenting words of the Bride describing her longing for her Bridegroom were applied to the sorrows of Mary, the interpretation of the Mary-Christ relationship through the Song of Songs also emphasized the mutual love of the mother and son. While Mary’s sorrow exemplifies her unique compassion, it simultaneously results from her longing for Christ’s love and his ultimate return. Just as the Bride of the Song of Songs searches for her missing beloved, Mary continues to search and desire Christ’s love after his death. According to the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, Mary lived with John and the disciples for at least a decade after Christ’s death. During this time, she visited the holy places of her son’s life, waiting for their ultimate reunion, indicating her own dedication to Christ. The interpretation of the Song of Songs frames the ideas of the love between Mary and Christ so that the affects of sorrow and languor identify the separated lovers as the Bride and her Bridegroom, Mary and Christ. The Brides of Christ adopted these parallels, modeling their own lives after the example of Mary and the Bride.

In Marguerite’s era, the relationship between Mary and Christ subsumed the ideas and language of the Song of Songs, correlating the experiences of human love of the Bride and Bridegroom to the divine love of Mary and Christ. As the devotion of the Brotherhood of the Rose developed, contemplation on the Joys focused on the love of Mary and Christ, which was promoted through images depicting Mary in a rose

---

Bernard van Orley’s image of Mary and Christ in a Garden Surrounded by Angels visually shows the correlation of the ideas. Mary holds the infant Christ in an enclosed garden, borrowing the language of Song of Songs 4:12 “My sister, my spouse is a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed.” They lean towards each other on the verge of a kiss, recalling the opening of Song of Songs 1:2, “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth; for your love is more delightful than wine.” Christ’s left hand appearing under Mary’s chin depicts Song of Songs 8:3, “His left hand is under my head, his right hand supports me.” Angels in the background read from scripture indicating the prophecy of Mary and Christ’s reunion in heaven. In the sky, two lovers unite indicating fulfillment. While the subject of Christ and Mary in a love garden is a common genre for this era, this version by Bernard Van Orley locates these specific ideas and interpretations within Marguerite’s social sphere. In addition, the work uses images of physical affection in the earthly realm to represent the divine love of Mary and Christ in heaven.

Like Van Orley’s artwork, Erasmus also reproduces these comparisons in Paean in Honor of the Virgin. He states the bride and Mary are one and the same. Addressing the Virgin, Erasmus writes:

You are bride, concubine, beloved, unique dove. You are love, you are fire, you are the special delight of the one who is the fairest of the sons of men. You are the precious lover uniquely desired by the Son of God. So passionate that you fainted [languished] with love for the one you desired,

---


so beautiful that the luster of your eyes caused the Word of God to fly from the bosom of his Father into your own womb.128

In this passage, Erasmus describes the relationship between Mary and Christ in the language of the Song of Songs. He then paraphrases the text “quia amore langeo” (Song of Songs 5:8) as a reference to the extreme emotional response of Mary as she desires Christ. In Latin, langeo can mean both to faint and to languish. In this example, the final words of the bride’s lament from Anima mea liquefacta est become the words of Mary, who is overcome as a result of her love and desire for Christ.

Using the language of love and desire, seven works incorporate the ideas, sentiments, and values associated with the devotions of the Brides of Christ (Table 3-6). While the four chansons and one Dutch text present somewhat typical themes of love and longing common in the vernacular genres, the specific discussion of dedication, obedience, and destiny indicate the sacred implications of the lovers of Christ. The impassioned language of these works describing specific emotional responses indicates the influence of affective meditation and the virtues associated with the affects of love for Christ.

Four works within Marguerite’s chansonnier present impassioned narrators discussing their love. The narrator’s dedication to their beloved indicates the

---

128 Erasmus of Rotterdam, Paean in Honour of the Virgin, trans. Stephen Ryle, in vol. 69 of the Collected Works of Erasmus (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 33. See notes 110-116 for specifics references. Describing Mary as the lover of Christ comes from the Song of Songs. The specific discussion of her fainting cites Song of Solomon 2:5 and 5:8, in Latin “Quia amore langeo,” which was a phrase commonly inserted into vernacular love poetry as early as the fourteenth century. Images of Mary actually fainting in Crucifixions or Depositions are common (see Schuler, 4). Also, as a point of note, Erasmus argues in Liturgy of Loreto that Mary suffered through her son, but maintained restraint from crying through the strength of her spirit. He declares the pictures of Mary crying as an insult and says she did not faint at the cross. The liturgy was written as late as the 1520s (printed in 1523) whereas Paean and Prayer of Supplication were both written in 1499, according to a letter by Erasmus. Schuler describes the changing theological opinions associated with Mary’s affect as a shift from extreme sorrow that included crying and fainting to a sorrowful acceptance and obedience to God’s will. The varying opinions of Erasmus mirror these changing values.
perspectives of a Bride of Christ. The frequent correlation of sorrow and passion characterizes the sentiments of the Brides of Christ who experienced extreme emotional responses in their devotions to their beloved. These discussions of love indicate the influence of the theological synthesis of love for Christ and the experience of human love.

The impassioned first-person narration of Se je vous eslonger suggests the perspective of a devout Bride of Christ longing for her beloved. The work opens with a narrator observing the beloved and describing the impossibility of being together at the moment. Describing the suffering caused by her dedication, the narrator sighs, “Alas, for you I am required to moan / When you have wanted to surround / my heart and I always loved you / I know nothing that requires fear / But I await nothing pleasant (in the future) / except to be with you without criticism.” By announcing she has no fears and optimistically awaiting union with her beloved, the narrator recalls the covenant of the Brides of Christ that who wait to join their Bridegroom in heaven. The narrator elaborates this idea describing her circumstances and her emotions, “I see myself as sad and full of sorrow / When fortune wants, through her pride, / for me to replace that which I love and cherish / I find myself conflicted (suspended) / for which I do not know what to do.” These discussions of sorrow and moaning as a result of devoted love reproduce the perspective of a Bride of Christ who lived her life awaiting ultimate union

---

129 Françon, 250. “Helas, de vous me doy complaindre, / Quant vous avez voulu constraindre / Mon cœur et moy vous tant aymer. / Je ne scay riens que deusse craindre, / Mais a nul bien ne quis attainder / Fors d’estre a vous sans me blasmer.”

130 Françon, 250. “Je me voi triste et plaine de duiel / Quant fortune veult par son orgoel / M’eslonger ce que j’aime et prise / Je me treouve sy fort surprise / Que je ne scay que faire voeil.”
with her beloved. Her impassioned emotions demonstrated the conviction of her desire for Christ and implicate the practices of affective meditation.

The sentiments of *Ce n’est pas jeu* present a narrator filled with fervent emotion for her beloved that maintains obedience to the will of God. The work begins by indicating the difficulties of separation from the beloved while recognizing her role in a larger plan. She explains, “It is not pleasant (fair) to be so fortunate / As to have to replace that which one loves so much. / And thus I am certain it is not his fault / but a consequence of my great destiny.”\(^{131}\) In the next lines she describes her impassioned emotions exclaiming, “You say therefore that I am wild (I ramble) / When I see myself separated from my love / It’s not fair to be so fortunate ....”\(^{132}\) Finally she concludes that her only comfort and ultimate reward is the thought of her beloved, “I know the counter arguments to all of my thoughts / and since I have nothing that comforts me or makes me return / but the thought of him, whom I would never forget, / It’s not fair to be so fortunate ....”\(^{133}\) The narrator’s passionate love spurs intense emotional reactions due to her separation from her beloved. She ultimately recognizes her destiny finding comfort in her temporary circumstances as she contemplates her beloved.

The work *Mijn hert altijt heft verhlangen* also presents an impassioned text. The narrator describes a constant love despite the couple’s inability to be together: “My

\(^{131}\) Translation: Meconi, “Style and Authenticity…,” 208. Françon, 206. “Ce n’est pas jeu d’estre sy fortunée / Qu’eslonger fault ce que l’on aime bien; Et sy suis sceure que pas de luy ne vient, / Mais me procede de ma grant destinée.”

\(^{132}\) Translation: Meconi, “Style and Authenticity…,” 208. Françon, 206. “Dictes vous donc que je suis esgaree / Quant je me voy separee de mon bien / Ce n’est pas jeu ....”

\(^{133}\) Translation: Meconi, “Style and Authenticity…,” 208. Françon, 206. “J’ay la rebours de tout ma pensee / Et sy n’ay nul que me conforte en rien; / Mais que de luy je ne soye oblyee / Ce n’est pas jeu ....”
heart has always longed / for you my dearest / I want to be yours. / Before all the world / whomever sees or hears us / you alone have my heart / therefore I give myself to love."134 Echoing the ascetic vows of the Brides of Christ, this narrator pledges dedication to the beloved before the whole world. More than simply describing consistent desire, the selfless abandon of the final line highlights the narrator’s complete and total dedication to love.

These three works present impassioned narrators negotiating the difficulties of love. Their heated emotional states reproduce the ideas of affective meditation specifically associated with the Brides of Christ. The narrators long for their beloved, and their unfulfilled love spurs intense feelings of sorrow and longing. As musical works, these chanson provide material for the performative expression of these sentiments. The virtuous nature of the passionate emotions described in the works suggests the correlation of these works to the ideas of affective meditation.

While these three works all display the characteristic emotions of the Brides of Christ, two other works also reinforce theological assumptions concerning the divine love of Christ. First, the Marian text of O devotz cuers / O vos omens presents similar perspectives as the other impassioned works. Mary, as the narrator, addresses her devoted lover Christ in heaven and describes their fervent love. She then recognizes her sorrowful feelings that resulted from his loving sacrifice for humanity. Mary, who was the first and model Bride of Christ, reproduces the characteristic sentiments associated

with these devout women, but also recognizes her unique relationships with Christ elevating her above all his other brides.

The description of kissing in the work *Autent emporte le vent* also reinforces theological ideas associated with the love for Christ. Describing a woman in need of true love’s kiss, the work explains, “So much is carried in the wind / that she does not possess a single kiss / in the manner given from the mouth, / if the heart does not give its touch / and there make its consent.” ¹³⁵ The text recalls the language of the Song of Songs in which Christ as the Bridegroom displays his love in a kiss. Emphasizing the importance of affection imbued with love from the heart, the lady here accepts only the kisses of her truest love. The metaphysical divide between the feelings of the heart and actions displaying affection reproduce the values associated with the divine love described in the Song of Songs. The ascetic lives of the Brides of Christ signified their internal virtue and their true love for Christ indicating the importance of this concept.

The narrative and character of Dido from Virgil’s *Aeneid* shows many similarities to the values and ideas associated with the Brides of Christ. Her character often exhibited impassioned emotional displays. Before Aeneis arrived in her land and ruined her reputation, Dido was a chaste widow who spent her time lamenting her dead husband. Like the Bride of the Song of Songs, her lover abandons her. She experiences fervent emotions as a result and wishes for the end of her life. In the two settings of *Dulces exuviae*, the final lines emphasize her acceptance of her fate, reproducing the common sentiments of the impassioned Brides of Christ. She declares, “Fortune

---

¹³⁵ Translation: Meconi, “Style and Authenticity …,” 206. Françon, 208. “Autant en emporte le vent / Qu’il n’a qu’un baiser seulement, / Combien qu’il soit donné de bouche, / Se le cœur ne donne la touche / Et y met son consentment.”
assigned me a course. I have run it. My life is accomplished / And now the image of me that will pass beneath earth has its greatness.”\textsuperscript{136} With her impassioned character and these specific sentiments, Dido may have represented a prototype Bride of Christ suggesting the motivation for these settings and their inclusion in the manuscript.

These seven works all reproduce values and ideas associated with the devout love for Christ. Three works present impassioned texts that emphasize obedient acceptance of the will of God and extreme dedication to an absent beloved. These works reproduce the sentiments associated with the Brides of Christ who spent their lives vying for the favor of the Lord through their displays of piety and virtue.

In addition to the works that describe love and longing, the nine works referring to the specific affect of “languor” verify the associations of the lovers of the Song of Songs (See Table 3-7). These works use the Latin word \textit{langeo} or the French \textit{languir} or \textit{langheuer}. “Languor” as described in the chansonnier’s texts, refers to a sustained mood of sadness or depression that diminished the person’s wellbeing. The languishing person may be the narrator or someone observed by the narrator. Because languishing can also mean to physically faint or lose consciousness temporarily, the polysemy of the word links the emotional state with weakened physical health.

In most cases the cause of languor is not named; instead the character’s affect garners the emphasis. However, in some works, either longing for an absent lover or desire for the end of suffering cause a person to languish. The Bride’s search in the \textit{Anima mea texts} is an example of languor caused by longing for a beloved. In the

chanson *Aprez regretz*, the narrator describes his lady who languished for a “good long time” and doubted the return of her beloved. Upon his return, both the narrator and the lady live in permanent joy with no more thoughts of suffering. In this case, separation from the beloved causes languor while reunion cures these ills. The lovers themselves are not identified, allowing multivalent interpretations in which their sorrow resembles both the experience of earthly, erotic love and the divine love of Mary and Christ.

While the languor described in *Aprez regretz* dissipates after reunion with the beloved, more often languor culminates in death. The compassionate narrator in *Triste suis* announces, “I sorrow for your languor / and that you suffer so great a pain / that you seem to be nearing death.”\(^{137}\) The narrator here demonstrates compassion by witnessing the specific affect of languor that is associated with both Mary and the Bride. In the beginning of *Pour ung jamais*, the narrator experiencing regrets, “Which, without stopping, night and day, at all hours / All torment me that I wish very much to die / because my life exists only to languish alone.”\(^{138}\) In the text she wrote for *Me fauldra il*, Marguerite rhetorically asks whether her suffering must be permanent and wonders if her patience can maintain her. “Must I always languish like this / Must I, in the end, die like this / No one notices my sad state of mind.”\(^{139}\) In these examples, the languishing characters appear trapped in a permanent state of sorrow that can only culminate in death.

\(^{137}\) Françon, 255. “Triste suis de vostre langheur / Et que souffrez sy grant douleur / Qu’il samble qu’aprouchez la mort.”

\(^{138}\) Translation: Meconi, 236. Françon, 240. “Qui, sans cesser, nuyt et jour, a toute heure / Tant me tourmente que bien vouldroie morir, / Car ma vie est fors seulement languir.”

\(^{139}\) Françon, 236. “Me faudra il tousjours ainsi languir? / Me faudra il enfin ainsi morir? / Nul n’ara il de mon mal congoissance?”
While these works emphasize death as the end of languor, they also show that languishing alone represents the greatest kind of suffering. In *Pour ung jamais*, the narrator wishes for death because rather than languish alone. Marguerite’s work describes her lonely languor as she inquires if anyone will ever notice her feelings. Even the Bride from Song of Songs commands the daughters of Jerusalem to witness her languor and deliver the message to the Bridegroom. These works correlate isolation to languor; while not a causal relationship, the synthesis of the two represents a fate worse than death.

Many iterations of languor appear throughout Marguerite’s chansonnier. The specificity of the word and its associations to the Song of Songs and Mary-Christ relationship ties it to the larger intellectual and spiritual traditions concerning emotional affects. The causes and conditions of languor within the manuscript prescribe the dominant theological attitudes associated with the sorrows of love. Languor is often caused by separation from a beloved, and is heightened by isolation. Others may offer compassion as consolation, but death and reunion with the beloved are the only cures.

For the pieces whose narrators describe their emotions in first person, the social setting of musical importance holds great implication. These works imply performative expression of emotion most likely for an audience of courtier surrounding and including Marguerite. Within the chanson texts, the expression of these sorrowful affects garnered compassionate consolation from others. The musical audiences for the works with passionate narrators were likely meant to issue the same compassionate responses. Under the theological beliefs of compassion, these works then inspired, disseminated,
and nurtured virtue throughout the community as aesthetic material to expand personal piety.

In the works that describe the sorrows of love in Marguerite’s chansonnier, the spiritual beliefs associated with human and divine love influence the language, attitudes, and scenarios of the texts. The works emphasizing specific lovers invoke the theological synthesis of the relationships of Bride and Bridegroom and Mary and Christ. The specific discussions of languor reinforce the religious beliefs while showing the diversity of conditions and causes surrounding a single emotion. Through their spiritual implications and divine inspiration, these impassioned feelings of love provided a means for a human conceptualization of the divine.

**Conclusion: The Synthesis of Sacred and Profane**

Affective meditation satisfied conflicting values in the medieval and early modern belief systems that simultaneously advanced the ideas of personal piety and public ritual. The use of indulged texts and repetitious rituals emphasized public and performative traditions for spiritual gain. At the same time, the concerns of piety emphasized internal feelings and personal behavior as indicators of virtue. The affective mediation practices mediated this internal-external binary by offering ritualistic devotion that inspired strong emotional responses.\(^{140}\) Consistency of religious practice demonstrated obedience and dedication, while the affective response rooted the devout with an experiential spirituality.

The performative aspect of music offered a similar opportunity for musician performers and the courtly audience. Performing works that describe or present

---

sorrowful narrators created aesthetic emotional displays. The musicians and performers at court then might fulfill the expectations of affective meditation through their emotive performances of the works, especially those that invoke divine figures in the texts. At the same time, musical performance invites the audience to participate as witnesses to affective displays. The music could then garner appropriate emotional responses from the audience of nobles, servants, clergy, and statesmen attending court. Many musical treatises from the renaissance explicitly describe the affective power of music on an audience, specifically in their discussions of musical mode. Within these intellectual frameworks, music and musical performance become tools of affective meditation practices as both the object of contemplation, like the images of the Sorrows of Mary, or as means to display strong emotional responses and signify virtue.\(^{141}\)

The correspondence of textual themes in the chansonnier with specific beliefs from Marguerite’s land shows the influence of popular spiritual practices in the musical culture. Five works incorporate texts used for devotion to the Sorrows of Mary. Other works describe or demonstrate the principles of compassionate sorrow while making references to the divine figures and narratives. Finally, several works integrate the themes of impassioned desire associated with the love for Christ embodied in the Bride, Mary, and the Brides of Christ. The influence of the religious belief and practice on the discourses contained in the chansonnier indicates the ubiquity of religious thinking in

---

\(^{141}\) Here Tomlinson’s caveat about believing others bears consideration. He would remind us that we cannot ask how a mystical experience worked, because that forces the understanding of reality experienced by historical actors to fit into our thinking. At best we can only accept that the affective power of music was real for them without being able to comprehend fully this power. See Gary Tomlinson, “Believing Others, (Thoughts Upon Writing),” in *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 247.
many layers and contexts from Marguerite’s land, complicating the assertion of sacred-
secular divisions in the culture.

The mixture of sacred and profane, divine and human, in the hermeneutic
traditions of the Song of Songs mirrors the implications of the religious language in the
vernacular works specifically. Just as aspects of divine can be found in the erotic
language of the Old Testament poetry, sacred ideas abound in the chansons texts. The
chansons that invoke divine sentiments or describe spiritual virtues demonstrate the
fluidity of religious ideas in non-religious contexts. The abundance of religious
prescriptions within these works highlighting sorrowful affects complicates the
interpretation of the sorrowful texts of the chansonnier as a reflection of Marguerite’s
personal emotions. Instead, the works demonstrate a rich synthesis of aesthetic and
theological values appropriate to Marguerite and meaningful to her contemporaries.
While the affects and emotions described in Marguerite of Austria’s chansonnier may
reflect Marguerite experience of her world, they indicate a manner for her and her
community to understand the divine.
Table 3-1. Use of Song of Songs in *Officium des Septem Doloribus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use in office</th>
<th>Text source</th>
<th>Douay-Rheims translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antiphon 3</td>
<td>1:5</td>
<td>Do not consider me that I am brown, because the sun hath altered my color.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiphon 4</td>
<td>1:12</td>
<td>A bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me, he shall abide between my breasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiphon 5</td>
<td>2:5</td>
<td>Stay me up with flowers, compass me about with apples: because I languish with love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versicle</td>
<td>8:6</td>
<td>Put me as a seal upon thy heart, as a seal upon thy arm, for love is strong as death, jealousy as hard as hell, the lamps thereof are fire and flames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnificat Antiphon</td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if you find my beloved, that you tell him that I languish with love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia Verse for Mass</td>
<td>2:12-13</td>
<td>The voice of the turtle is heard in our land: the fig tree hath put for their green figs: the vines in flower yield their sweet smell. Arise, my love, my beautiful one, and come.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-2. Use of Seven Sorrows Texts in MS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture text cited</th>
<th>Role in devotion</th>
<th>Work citing text in MS*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kings 1:26</td>
<td>Offertory for Mass Proper</td>
<td>35. <em>Doleo Super Te</em> 50. <em>Se je souspire / Ecce iterum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song of Songs 5:8</td>
<td>Magnificat Antiphon</td>
<td>42. <em>Anima mea liquefacta est</em> 49. <em>Plaine d’ennuy / Anima mea</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations 1:12</td>
<td>Tract from <em>Stabat Mater</em> sequence</td>
<td>50. <em>Se je souspire / Ecce iterum</em> 52. <em>O devotz ceurs / O vos omnes</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Numbers indicate order in MS*
Table 3-3. Use of Song of Songs 5:6-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Douay-Rheims translation(^{142})</th>
<th>Weerbeke text(^{143})</th>
<th>Compère text</th>
<th>Quoted text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:6</td>
<td>My soul melted when my beloved spoke: I sought (prayed to) him and found him not I called and he did not answer</td>
<td>Anima mea liquefacta est ut dilectus meus locustus est: Quesivi illum et non inveni: vocavi, et non respondit mihi.</td>
<td>Anima mea Liquefacta est</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:7</td>
<td>Citizenship guards found me and struck me and wounded me took my veil the city keepers</td>
<td>Invennerunt me custodes civitatis et percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me; tulerunt pallium meum custodes murorum.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>Daughters of Jerusalem, tell my beloved that I languish with (faint from) love.</td>
<td>Filie Jherusalem nunciate dilecto meo, quia amore langueo.</td>
<td>Filie Jherusalem nunciate dilecto meo, quia amore langueo.</td>
<td>Adiuro vos, Filie Jherusalem, nunciate dilecto meo, quia amore langueo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{142}\) The words in parenthesis are mine with the intention to show the polysemy of some of the Latin language.

\(^{143}\) All textual transcriptions from the manuscript come from the edition by Marcel Françon, *Albums Poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1934). (Hereafter noted as Françon, XX.) These texts appear in Françon, 238 and 244. Neither Weerbeke’s nor Compère’s text matches the Vulgate Latin precisely, but Weerbeke omits only a few words and small phrases.
Table 3-4. Work Displaying Compassionate Sorrow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Revenez tous regretz / Quis det ut veniat</td>
<td>Agricola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Vexilla Regis / Passio domine</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Helas, fault il</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Doleo super te</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Me fauldra il</td>
<td>Anonymous (Text: Marguerite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Il me fait mal</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Tous noble cueurs qui mes</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Triste suis</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-5. Christ References in Tous noble cueurs qui mes regretz voyez

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Virtue</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The one who is completely perfect</td>
<td>Christ as free of Original Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The matchless one</td>
<td>Christ as only son of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The reward of those who have strayed</td>
<td>Christ as Savior of humanity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-6. Works Portraying Brides of Christ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ce n’est pas jeu</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Autent en emporte le vent</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mijn hert altijt heeft verlangen</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dulces exuviae</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dulces exuviae</td>
<td>De Orto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>O devotz ceurs / O vos omnes</td>
<td>Anonymous (Text by Marguerite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Se je vous eslonger</td>
<td>Agricola / van Ghizeghem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-7. Works describing Languor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in Source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dueil et ennoy / Quoniam Tribulatio</td>
<td>Prioris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Aprez Regretz</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Me fauldra il</td>
<td>Anonymous (Text by Marguerite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Il me fait mal</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Anima mea liquefacta est</td>
<td>Weerbeke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Pour ung jamais</td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sourdez, regretz</td>
<td>Compère</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Plaine d’ennuy / anima mea</td>
<td>Compère</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Triste suis</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4
WIDOWHOOD IN MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA’S CHANSONNIER

The most famous portrait of Marguerite of Austria, from the workshop of Bernard Van Orley, depicts the regent wearing plain black clothes, a white head covering, and a translucent hood around her neck. Her hood, also called widow’s weeds, showed that she was a widow, and in this portrait, Marguerite grasps the article of clothing further emphasizing this aspect of her identity. The portrait became a model for many other depictions of Marguerite through which she advanced her persona as a member of this virtuous class of women.144

In her lyrics for the work Se je souspire / Ecce iterum, Marguerite also identified herself as a widow. As she laments the death of her brother in the Latin text, she describes her fate: “Behold, again a new sorrow comes! It was not enough for the most unfortunate daughter of the Emperor to have lost her dearest husband, bitter death must steal even her only brother.”145 In the French text, she narrates the sounds of her sadness for her brother’s death describing her sighs. With the line, “My songs are full of sorrow,” she uses her music to characterize her emotional state. As this line implies, the content of her music reflected her identity. Many aspects of the texts of Marguerite’s manuscript correspond to contemporary social beliefs associated with widowhood.


These correspondences suggest that Marguerite created a musical collection that reinforced her chosen identity as a widow, reflecting on her the virtues and status of this esteemed state.

**The Widow’s Choice**

When Marguerite identified herself as a widow through her music, attire, and portraiture, she became subject to a world of beliefs and prescriptions. In early modern society, widows held high social status. Due to the breadth of their experiences, they were granted the privilege to counsel others, especially virgins and wives. However, this status also accompanied weighty requirements for behavior and appearance. The treatise of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam *The Christian Widow* and the obituary he wrote for a contemporary noble woman *Berta Heyen: An Obituary for a Christian Widow* evidence the societal reverence for widows as well as provide discussions of the recommendations and expectations associated with widowhood. These documents suggest the framework through which to understand Marguerite’s identification as a widow.

As the writings of Erasmus illustrate, a widow was a woman of extreme piety who lived her life with the Lord at its center. The biblical Judith exemplified the virtuous widow, as Erasmus explains. Through her behavior and her attire, Judith focused her life on heaven and the Lord rather than her earthly existence. After her husband’s death, Judith wore drab clothing and fasted regularly. When called upon to seduce the evil Holofernes, Judith adorned beautiful clothes. After defeating the villain, Judith made a large offering to God of all his wealth, returned to her home and her plain clothes, and never remarried. In his obituary for Berta Heyen, Erasmus emphasizes Berta’s ascetic lifestyle. He explains that even as a virgin, Berta lived as a Bride of Christ and “chose
the rough rigors of the Christian life before the blazing vanity of the world.”146 During her marriage and after her husband’s death, Berta maintained her humble lifestyle.147 In these discussions of widowhood, Erasmus articulates the opinion that a widow should remain piously devoted to the Lord above all other things.

As the writings of Erasmus emphasize, the essential characteristic of a widow was her piety rather than husband’s death. Recognizing this paradox of definitions, Erasmus explains how a woman could be both a widow and a wife simultaneously:

If you ask how it can be that the same person is at the same time both a widow and a wife, I will explain this easily. The woman who loves her mortal husband in such a way that because of her love for him she neglects those things that pertain to piety – this woman has but one spouse, and that a mortal one, whom she nonetheless loves as if he were immortal. And as long as she enjoys this spouse, she is no widow, nor is she worthy of Christ as a spouse. But the widow who, according to the teaching of Paul, has a husband in such a way as if she did not, and stations the garrison of her happiness not in a man, who is mortal and perchance a sinner, but rather in God, to whom she is joined in her mind by faith and even more holy – this sort of woman is desolate and a widow even while she is married.148

This example demonstrates that a widow’s husband could be very much alive, but that she decided to live her life dedicated to the Lord. Widowhood was a not a condition of circumstance. Instead, it represented a deliberate choice when a woman focused her life on the Lord above all other aspects of the earthly realm.

Marguerite chose to become a widow. In modern parlance, she was widowed twice. Her first marriage to Juan of Aragon-Castile in 1497 lasted six months. When Juan died, she was pregnant with a daughter who lived only a few days. She married


Philibert II, the Duke of Savoy, four years later. In the interim between her marriages, Marguerite wore widow’s garb.\textsuperscript{149} Her second marriage ended after three years when Philibert died in 1504. Despite the recommendation of her father and other high ranking officials, Marguerite decided not to remarry after her second marriage. At this point, she cemented her choice to live as a widow.

Choosing widowhood afforded Marguerite opportunities outside the normal realm for women. As Erasmus explains, one of a widow’s responsibilities was to raise orphans, either her own children (because children who lost their father would be considered orphans) or the children of others. Along with raising children, widows’ life experience allowed them to counsel others, specifically virgins and wives. With her status as a widow, Marguerite gained the authority to raise the orphaned Charles, soon-to-be emperor Charles V. During his minority, she acted as Regent of the Netherlands. As well, she was a member of Maximilian’s private council, advising her father the Emperor on some matters. She could only hold these positions as a widow, because if she were married, her husband would rule. Even though the governing systems of the era focused on male leadership, the esteemed status of widowhood subverted the patriarchy enough to grant Marguerite the unusual opportunity to rule.

Upon choosing widowhood and gaining higher authority as a result, Marguerite used her patronage to intentionally identify herself as a widow substantiating and legitimizing her position as Regent. Her first portraits as a widow did not appear until 1509, once she officially had become the regent of the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{150} When Charles

\textsuperscript{149} Welzel, 108.

\textsuperscript{150} Welzel, 108. Earlier depictions would have emphasized her beauty as a means to attract a new husband. Depicting herself as a widow signified that Marguerite did not intend to remarry.
became old enough to rule in 1515, Marguerite lost her position. He then became emperor in 1519 with the death of Maximilian, and Marguerite petitioned her nephew to regain her position as regent of the Netherlands. As Honey Meconi points out, Marguerite commissioned her chansonnier, *terminus ante quem* 1516, as well as many other works of art, especially portraiture, during the tumultuous era in which Charles ran the Netherlands.\(^{151}\) After regaining her position as Regent, Marguerite shifted her portrayed identity slightly. She incorporated her portrait into allegorical figures of mercy or compassion accompanying crucifixion scenes to suggest the divine inspiration of her rule.\(^{152}\) The chronology of Marguerite’s patronage shows she intentionally identified herself as a widow in the era in which she first gained control of the Burgundian Netherlands and as she regained power after Charles’s minority.

In her portrait from her chansonnier, Marguerite also identified herself as a widow and shows herself in a position of piety.\(^{153}\) In the manuscript, Marguerite kneels in prayer facing an image of the Virgin *in Sole*\(^ {154}\) on the opposite page. While Marguerite’s pose is common for donor portraits, the intention to portray her supplicating the divine should not be underestimated. Marguerite’s portrait in her manuscript demonstrates the intentional incorporation of her identity as a widow into her personal chansonnier and illustrates the virtues of that identity she sought to highlight.

---

\(^{151}\) Honey Meconi, “Margaret of Austria, Visual Representation, and Brussels, Royal Library, Ms. 228,” unpublished article currently under review.


\(^{153}\) For image see, *Album de Marguerite d’Autriche: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 228 woord vooraf*, Martin Picker (Peer, Belgium: Facsimile Musica Alamire, 1986), Fol. 1v-2r.

The Widow’s Behavior

Although widowhood afforded early modern women, and Marguerite specifically, opportunities for authority, this status had stringent requirements on behavior that emphasized personal restraint. In his treatise, Erasmus reminds widows to maintain grace and humility. Overt mourning or perpetual emotional outbursts would suggest condemnation of the will of the Lord rather than submission. The widow must acquiesce to her condition, accepting both the good and the bad. She embodied the ascetic life of a bride of Christ, who longed for her own death in order to reunite with her eternal spouse. At the same time, she must maintain restraint and grace throughout her suffering until death arrived. Above all, the widow must maintain her reputation, which gossip and lascivious speech easily could tarnish. These prescriptions for widowhood appear in many works from Marguerite’s chansonnier.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the ideas of longing for death, patience through suffering, and longing for an absent lover are prominent themes throughout Marguerite’s musical collection. While the trends of the manuscript reinforce these general themes, a few examples have close relationships to the ideas prescribed for widows. In addition to these, the recommendations for proper speech also appear in the works of the chansonnier. Consideration of these specific cases and the broad themes of the chansonnier suggests Marguerite’s collection advanced her identity as a virtuous widow.

155 Erasmus, “The Christian Widow,” 206. The theme of humility, in many ways a rejection of self, does not exist only for women. In The Education of a Christian Prince, Erasmus repeatedly argues that the young prince, or any state ruler, should remain humbled and deny self interests for the good of his people. The contrasting opinion on state politics more commonly known comes from Machiavelli’s The Prince published three years later. Both circulated widely.
The two settings of the Dido’s final speech from the Aeneid, *Dulces exuviae*, present a widow welcoming her own death. Mirroring Marguerite’s biography, Dido was a chaste widow and revered queen who ruled her country after the death of her husband. In the epic, she loses her reputation when Aeneas abandons her. But early in the reception history dating back to the first century BCE writings of the poet Ovid, Dido was portrayed as a heroine restoring her reputation, according to Leofranc Holford-Strevens.\(^{156}\) In Erasmus’s obituary for Berta Heyen, he makes several references to Virgil’s *Aeneid*, but he compares Berta’s fortitude in the face of difficulty to the virtuous reserve of Aeneis. However, Dido’s speech displays similar characteristics as she bravely faced her own death and welcomed the end of her difficult life, though Erasmus does not discuss Dido’s virtue explicitly. These settings portray a widow welcoming her own death, and thus fulfilling the sixteenth century recommendations for widowhood.

Like the two settings of *Dulces exuviae*, the two works that set the Song of Songs text *Anima mea liquefacta est* also fulfill prescriptions associated with widowhood. As Erasmus explains, widows lived their lives as Brides of Christ and longed for their absent spouse. The Song of Song text *Anima mea liquefacta est* portrays the unidentified Bride who longed for her absent Bridegroom and became the model for the Bride of Christ. The absent lover for whom a widow longs can be either her dead husband or Christ. In her effigy, Marguerite’s portrait atop her tomb depicts her as a bride emphasizing her devotion to her dead husband.\(^{157}\) The incorporation of these two

---


\(^{157}\) Eichberger, “Renaissance Princess Named Margaret,” 6-7.
motets into her chansonnier suggests similar motivations to depict Marguerite as devoted to her absent spouse.

Along with these prescriptions relating to longing for death and an absent lover, the importance of maintaining humility to God’s divine plan required widows to show reserved emotions at all times. While these ideas appeared in discourses concerning Job, the acceptance of death, and proper speech, the prescriptions for widowhood held even more stringent standards disciplining not only language but emotional affects as well. Extreme emotional outbursts or condemnations of God or Fortune did not demonstrate humility to the will of the Lord. Therefore a widow was expected to suffer and long for death, but maintain a disciplined personal demeanor. Within Marguerite’s chansonnier, five works reinforce the idea of submitting to the will of the Lord (See Table 4-1).

The most common prescription within these works deals with propriety of speech. The texts repeatedly discourage speaking against the conditions of life. The work *Je ne dis mot* for example suggests, “I do not say a word, I must endure, / and my heart wants enduring hope. / Hated I am, alas, and my honor / in all places incurs my poor adventure.”

Though this work does not name an audience for the narrator’s thoughts, *Je ne scay plus* explicitly discusses not speaking against Fortune. “I do not know [any] more what I am to say / Except not to curse Fortune / Who is always contrary and diverse / When good happens, all quickly reverses; / In order to not enrage her

---

158 Françon, 253. “Je ne dis mot, il convient que j’endure, / Et endurant espoir veura mon cœur. / Haye je suis, helas, et mon honneur / A toute place a ma povre aventure [sens].”
anger.”\textsuperscript{159} These works demonstrate the importance of proper speech in the display of personal humility.

Other works emphasize acceptance of the difficulties of circumstance. Rather than describing inappropriate behavior, \textit{Il est bien heureaux qui est quitte} suggests finding comfort in \textit{regretz} because no one can escape misfortune. In Josquin’s \textit{Plaine de duel}, the narrator surrenders to an unnamed person to relieve the difficulties of love. The musical form of this work highlights the narrator’s changing perspective. The lines, “I am forced, in order to make it simple, / to surrender to you for the rest of my life,” are set to the B music of the rondeau, and the text and music are repeated exactly once. Then in the third iteration of this musical material, the text changes slightly, now reading, “Therefore I speak in words of a clear heart / That to you I surrender the rest of my life.”\textsuperscript{160} As the work unfolds, the narrator ultimately accepts circumstances and embraces them. These narrators all show proper subordination to the circumstances outside of their control, reinforcing the suggestions for humility and obedience to the will of the Lord.

In addition to demonstrating acceptance for the circumstances of life, \textit{Ce n’est pas jeu} also questions the propriety of emotions explicitly. The narrator describes the unfair conditions of life, and questions the social interpretation of his or her emotional reaction. After asking, “Would you say then that I am overwrought?”\textsuperscript{161} the narrator decides to

\textsuperscript{159} Françon, 253. “Je ne scay plus que je doy dire, / Sinon de fortune mauldire / Qui tant m’est contreire et diverse / Quant ung bien vient, tantost reverse; / N’essee pas pour esragier d’ire?”

\textsuperscript{160} Françon, 239. “Constrandre suis pour reconforter / Me rendre’a toy le surplus de ma vie,” and later “Parquoy je dis en parlant de cuer cler / Qu’a vous me rens la reste de ma vie.”

bear life’s torments with grace and proceed with his or her great destiny. In this chanson, the narrator’s concern about displays of emotion suggests the importance of maintaining demeanor.

These five chansons show varied responses to the idea of personal agency in relation to the will of the God. They denounce speaking against misfortune, advocating instead acceptance of the difficulties of life with grace and emotional restraint. As Erasmus’s explains, widows exemplified these characteristics because they focused on the promise of heaven rather than the rigors of the earthly realm. The widow may long for death because it would unite her with the celestial spouse and also end her suffering. She must do so while remaining humbled to the will of the Lord and respecting his authority, which would include his decision to cause her to suffer. The pious widow maintained her humility, relinquishing emotional reactions to the torments of her life and instead focusing on reaching heaven instead.

Marguerite’s text for *Me fauldra il* synthesizes many of the prescriptions for widowhood. In the opening lines she presents herself as constantly languishing and longing for her own death. After establishing her sorrowful affect, she immediately mitigates her emotional state pleading, “I pray to God that he will grant me temperance.” After this petition, she recognizes the social impropriety of emotional outbursts with the next lines, “The priest knows it, I will take it on faith / that my own good is often near to me / But for the men I must make good countenance.” Finally she implies that in private her sorrow cannot be consoled, “Why conclude, alone and by myself, / that I must use patience / Alas, for me it is too great a penance.” In this work, Marguerite seamlessly
depicts herself as languishing constantly while maintaining emotional reticence in the public sphere.

Throughout Marguerite’s chansonnier, the works collected reinforce the values and virtues prescribed for widows. They show examples of wishing for death, exercising restraint, and longing for an absent spouse. The act of collecting these works suggests echoes Marguerite’s intentional self-identification as a widow in her portraits from the same era, suggesting similar motivations for the commissions. The societal reverence for widows reflected on Marguerite’s reputation and elevated her position. While these works demonstrate the virtues of widowhood and reflect on Marguerite, other works from the chansonnier depict her fulfilling specific social roles associated with this class of women.

**The Mourning Widow**

The recommendations for widows contain conflicting values because they emphasize emotional restraint and while simultaneously suggesting that widows spent their lives weeping. According to Erasmus, a widow might weep for her own troubles, or she might weep as she longed for eternal spouse. But she also might mourn for the troubles of others, demonstrating a virtuous kind of empathetic mourning. For widows, the pious nature of their tears subverted the requirement of reticence.

While this perpetual state of mourning seems to contradict the appropriate emotional reserve, Erasmus mentions the special relationship between God and the lamenting woman. The mourning sentiments of a widow held a special spiritual potency because God answered her prayers and comforted her. This special status with God renegotiated the requirement of emotional restraint. Erasmus’s discussion of why widows weep illustrates the selfless nature of their tears:
Whence therefore flow widows’ tears? They are lamenting their own faults – or if they lack them (as no one does), they lament the faults of others. They weep for the weariness of this, their exile. They weep out of their longing for the heavenly Spouse, with whom they desire to be coupled in complete and eternal union. Those who mourn in this way will hear along with the apostles that ‘women who mourn are blessed, for they will receive solace.’

Describing the source of the widow’s tears, Erasmus shows that weeping too had requirements of propriety. Weeping in the proper way and for the right reasons did not display excessive pride but rather garnered the favor of the Lord.

The proper affect for a widow then represents a balancing act between two extremes – weeping and emotional reticence. More specifically, however, the special spiritual potency of a widow’s tears created expectations that widows must mourn because it pleased God. Marguerite’s writing and her conversations with her father demonstrate her socially required role as a public mourner as well as her personal negotiations of those expectations. These documents suggest the active role Marguerite took in the mourning processes.

Maximilian’s letter concerning the death of his wife Bianca Maria evidences the expected social requirements for Marguerite in the mourning process. In his letter, Maximilian informs Marguerite of the death of her stepmother and offers comfort in anticipation of her expected emotional response. He then asks Marguerite to initiate mourning rituals in her court including wearing appropriate clothing and praying for the Bianca Maria’s soul:

> In any case, we have the consolation that we firmly believe, according to her [Bianca-Maria’s] virtuous, holy life, that she is with the blessed in the kingdom of Paradise. Which thing, to our great distress, we have wished to signify to our good daughter; for we know that, as you rejoice in our good

---

prosperity, you will be distressed at the loss of our good and virtuous companion, whose soul, as of your good stepmother, we recommend to you, that you may cause prayers for the same to be made in all churches and monasteries of “par dela.” We wish that you cause mourning to be worn for her by our beloved children and the knights of our order (of the Golden Fleece), and such of the principals of our Privy Council only who accompany them to the offering, according to your advice, and also to hold solemn obsequies, as are meet and customary for such a Princess. 163

In her response, Marguerite shows her active participation in the mourning rituals as well as her role as spiritual advisor. At the beginning of the letter, she shows empathy for her father’s sadness, illustrating that her sadness comes from her compassion for his loss rather than her own sorrow for Bianca Maria’s death. Next, she reminds her father to humble himself to the will of the Lord. She demonstrates the propriety of her mourning for her stepmother while she gently admonishes his distress. In her closing lines, she articulates the ideas of humility requiring acceptance of the difficulties of life because they are part of God’s plan:

Monseigneur, by your letters of the 3rd of this month which it has pleased you to write to me, I have heard your pitiful and lamentable news of the death of Madame my late stepmother, which has been most distressing to me for the sadness which I know you have endured and for the great affection which you had for her, who was a princess so virtuous and esteemed that I know no heart of stone so inhuman as would not feel regret and distress. In any case, Monseigneur, seeing and considering that this distress can in no way help, but may rather produce incurable evils and sickness, and that it is so natural a thing to pay the tribute of nature that none, be he great or small, can escape there from, it becomes us to have the virtue of patience, and in putting on this bodily mourning, to attain to celestial consolation, remembering the beautiful and holy life which she led even to the hour of her death, and the adorable grace bestowed upon her by our Lord to have received all his sacraments, in such beautiful knowledge and repentance of her sins, at the hour of her death, that we firmly believe her soul will be raised to the kingdom of Paradise, and to arrive there sooner, only remains to have prayers and orisons to remedy the same. In which, Monseigneur, I will acquit myself of my part as a good

163 Emperor Maximilian I quoted in Christopher Hare, The High and Puissant Princess Marguerite of Austria (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907), 168-169.
and obedient daughter, and will accomplish certainly that which you have bidden me, begging you to take away all regrets from your heart and to conform yourself to the Divine Will and thank our Lord for that which it has pleased Him to do, considering that He does all things for the best.\textsuperscript{164}

Marguerite’s mourning maintains propriety based on her status as a widow, but Maximillian’s emotions do not. Therefore she recommends he end his tears, because she will supplement them.

In addition, her own poetry, some of which was set to music in her chansonnier, depict her as mourning the losses of others. Marguerite composed a poem in the \textit{complainte} genre\textsuperscript{165} lamenting her father’s death: \textit{La complainte que fit la fille unique de Maximilian, empereur, depuis son dolereux trespass}. In various sections of the poem, Marguerite identifies herself as a proper widow, invoking the language and sentiments required of her position. After establishing her authority as a widow, she petitions God to grant her father a special place in heaven. In the poem, Marguerite lends weight to her plea by identifying herself as a widow and a lamenting woman.

The long poem begins with Marguerite showing characteristic humility, submitting to God and the conditions of existence in lines 1 through 9. She rejects the idea of speaking against God for the misfortunes brought upon her. She demonstrates her own humility and her subservient position to the will of God.

\textsuperscript{164} Marguerite of Austria quoted in Christopher Hare, \textit{The High and Puissant Princess Marguerite of Austria}, 171-172.

\textsuperscript{165} Kate van Orden, “Female Complaintes: Laments of Venus, Queens, and City Women in Late Sixteenth-Century France,” \textit{Renaissance Quarterly} 54, 3 (Autumn, 2001): 801-845. Van Orden surveys this popular sixteenth century musical genre, in which a female narrator laments her suffering and describes the ills of her circumstances. These works were most commonly transmitted in text only, and van Orden suggests many of these works were sung but the melodies were transmitted through an oral tradition.
This is the Complaint of the Only Daughter of Maximilian, Emperor, after His Sad Death
166
If it were possible, Celestial King,
For me to blame Thy deeds and sinless be,
My mouth is ready and my grief consents,
As his sole daughter and his only child.
But none may dare to murmur against Thee
Till he have lost alike all hope and faith,
From which God guard me and His patience give,
As from my childhood He was ever wont.

After this opening, she describes the sad deaths of four great men in her life in lines 10 through 33. She recognizes the deaths of her two husbands first, then that of her brother, and finally that of her father Maximilian. By recounting these past tragedies, Marguerite identifies herself as both a widow and sorrowful woman subsequently incurring God’s favor.

O Atropos! From thee is no defense,
With thy fell dart to ashes hast consumed
The four great Princes whom I loved the best.
Yea, thou hast murdered them before mine eyes.
Two noble husbands were the first to pass,
Whom mighty nations mourned with sorrowing heart.
The Prince of Spain, the Duke of fair Savoy,
Than whom the world has seen no goodlier man.
Still that the outrage might more deadly be,
Both Princes in the flower of their age
Were taken from me – one was scarce nineteen
When death remorseless pierced his youthful heart.
Then Savoy’s Duke though didst conspire to slay,
At three-and-twenty all his days were told.
My only brother was the third to die,
King of the Spanish realms and Naples’ Lord.
Alas! To smite him with so cruel a blow;
Thou sparest neither Prince nor Duke nor King.

166 Marguerite of Austria, “La complainte que fit la fille unique de Maximilian, empereur, depuis son dolereux trespass,” in Christopher Hare, The High and Puissant Princess, 256 – 258. No musical notation survives for this text. However, as Van Orden’s work shows, musical performance of this type of poem was typical.
While for the fourth, O most outrageous Death!
Thou has put out the flower of chivalry
And vanquished him who first had conquered all,
Great Maximilian, Emperor most high,
To whom in goodness none may be compared.
Caesar! My father and my only lord;
But Thou has Left him in too sad a state
Entombed within his Castle Nieustadt.
O sacred Majesty, imperial lord!167

In lines 37 through 43, Marguerite demonstrates her sorrow, further establishing her position with God. She longs for the end of her suffering.

If in me there be any filial love,
Why doth my heart not break and rend in twain
No more to suffer pain and evil fate!
Did ever a lady on this earth of ours
Of such misfortunes meet the fierce onslaught
As I have borne, ah me! Unfortunate.
Too heavy for endurance is my fate.168

In the final section of the poem, Marguerite petitions God for clemency toward her house and her people. She ends with a prayer from the bottom of her heart in the form of a lament that her father’s soul will find a place near God’s throne in heaven.

Throughout the poem, Marguerite acquires greater status with the Lord because of her life of suffering. She then used that status to pray for mercy for herself, her people, and the soul of her father.

Of every creature, Thou Creator, Lord,
I pray Thee guard my noble house and race
And me forlorn, who thus laments to Thee;
For I no longer can the burden bear
If Thy great clemency and goodness infinite
Preserve me not the rest of all my life!
I pray thee from the Bottom of my heart,
My God and my Redeemer, that the soul

---

167 Hare, 256-257.
168 Hare, 257.
Of him who was imperial here below
May find a place near Thy celestial throne;
And that his fair fame never more grow dim
Nor be extinguished, nor by out made less,
But after death in high renown may live,
And his great virtues in his children shine.169

In this personal *complainte*, Marguerite demonstrates her role as a mourning widow and uses her identity to gain comfort and solace from the Lord for herself and her loved ones.

In these two letters and one poem, Marguerite demonstrates her role as a public mourner as her family grieves for significant deaths. The documents suggest not only the social requirements Marguerite sustained but also her active participation in the value system that required her to mourn. These writings show Marguerite actively performing the duties associated with her persona as a pious widow.

The music collected within her chansonnier also presents similar demonstrations of Marguerite acting as a public mourner. The three chanson-motets that mourn specific losses from her life show the most explicit examples. However, several chansons invoke topoi that reinforce the idea of public and performative mourning. These works would reflect also on Marguerite and aid the promulgation of her identity as a widow.

Widows’ tears for the troubles of others represented a special kind of piety imbued with the virtue of compassion. As discussed in the Chapter 3, the idea of compassionate sorrow appears throughout Marguerite’s chansonnier. These works subvert the requirement for reserve with empathy, since they illustrate situations in which a narrator becomes sorrowful for the suffering of another. They reinforce her position as a widow allowing her to express compassion and sorrow through her music.

169 Hare, 258.
The work *Tous noble cueurs* presents a specific case in which the text demonstrates the ideas of public mourning associated with widowhood. The narrator of the chanson commands, “all noble hearts who see my sorrow / gather grief and store it up / to help me mourn the one who is / Completely perfect in everything, the matchless one / and the reward of those who strayed.” Assuming the implied narrator of this work was Marguerite, who would have controlled its performance at court and possibly performed it herself, the chanson presents her calling the *regretz* of others to her. In addition, the work itself suggests the courtly setting in which the narrator calls a wide social circle of noble hearts to aid in the grieving process. Controlling the performance of the works that show compassionate sorrow suggests a manner of performative mourning within Marguerite’s court. If the music of her chansonnier is considered as a record of the sonic environment of her court, then the performances of her music could stand as the required display of sorrow expected for a widow without Marguerite shedding a tear.

While the works depicting compassionate mourning reinforce the widow’s requirement to piously weep, the three motet-chansons that mourn specific losses from Marguerite’s life plead with God for mercy and safety for the departed (See Table 4-2). The first person narration of *Se je souspire / Ecce iterum*, with its references to the tragedies of Marguerite’s life, suggests she authored the texts. In the work, she mourns

170 Translation: Meconi, “Style and Authenticity . . . ,” 240. Françon, 241. “Tous nobles cue[u]rs qui mes regretz voyez, / Amassez deuil et vous en pourvoyez / Pour moy ayder a regretter la toutte / Parfaicte en bien[s], qui est la passeroute / Et le guidon de tous le fourvoyez.”

171 By describing her mourning as “performative,” I do not intend to suggest that Marguerite’s feelings as expressed in her writing or through repertoire selection in her chansonnier were inauthentic. Rather, I am suggesting the social constraints under which she lived required specific social activities that included public displays of mourning.
for her brother Philippe describing her affect, Even though Marguerite herself was not
the author of the other works, both *Cueurs desolez / dies illa* and *Proch dolor / Pie Jhesu* illustrate characteristics appropriate to mourning as they commemorate deaths of
the statesman Jean de Luxembourg and Marguerite’s father Maximilian. The four works
all petition the Lord to grant the soul of the departed peace and safety on the journey to heaven.

The texts by Marguerite in *Se je souspire / Ecce iterum* have similar scenarios as
Marguerite’s *complainte* on the death of her Father. She identifies herself as a
lamenting woman and qualifies the source of her suffering. In both, she also petitions
God for mercy. In the Latin text of *Se je souspire / Ecce iterum*, Marguerite identifies
herself not only as the daughter of the Emperor but also as a widow, referring to the sad
loss of her husband. She integrates into her text the passages from scripture, “Doleo
super te,” a phrase uttered by David mourning the death of his brother Jonathan in
Samuel 1:26, and “O vos omnes,” from Lamentations 1:12, which requests others to
witness her suffering. In the French text, she describes herself as a sorrowful woman,
characterizing her emotional state through her sad songs and asking for pity for her
suffering. In this work, Marguerite invokes her status as a widow and a public mourner
as she prays to God for clemency for her brother on his journey to heaven.

The two other deplorations, *Ceuers desolez / Dies illa* and *Proch dolor / Pie Jhesu*,
present similar prayers to God for the souls of the deceased. In *Proch dolor / Pie Jhesu*,
the French text describes the sorrowful state throughout the land as a result of the
death of Maximilian.¹⁷² The accompanying Latin text asks Jesus to grant everlasting

¹⁷² Picker, *Chanson Albums...*, 56-57.
rest, presumably to the soul of the emperor. *Cueurs desolez / Dies illa* also describes an entire nation lamenting for the death of an important statesman. In a similar manner to some of the previously discussed chansons, the French text of *Cueurs desolez* calls suffering to the narrator in order to mourn for the death of Jean de Luxembourg. The narrator recognizes the subordinate position of humanity to the power of death. The Latin text from this work quotes the responsory *Libera mea* which appears in the office of the dead, describing the Day of Judgment. These works emphasize the importance of public mourning and participation in the death rituals for significant heads of state. They also petition the Lord for comfort and solace for the soul of the departed. By collecting these works in her manuscript, Marguerite demonstrates not only her association with these men, but also her role in the rituals for mourning their deaths.

Within Marguerite’s chansonnier, the works that describe mourning for the loss of another or petitioning God on behalf of the dead reinforce Marguerite’s status as a widow. She could use these works to mourn publicly for the suffering and deaths of others, as she was expected to do. In the texts she wrote, she uses her position as a lamenting woman and a widow to bolster her pleas to God to protect her, her people, and the souls of her loved ones. Marguerite’s status as widow and her social obligations as a public mourner deriving from that status demonstrate the larger role the music of her chansonnier within her social sphere.

**Conclusion: The Widow’s Power**

Despite the general patriarchy, the esteemed status of widowhood created a means for women’s opinions to gain social power and spiritual potency. According to Erasmus, widows should be revered for their virtue and respected for their opinions. This prominence stemmed from the relationship of widowhood to the other two life
stages of the virtuous woman: virginity and marriage. Erasmus explains that the widow shows both the virgin’s virtue of personal restraint for the sake of chastity and the wife’s virtue of rearing and raising children. This breadth of experience afforded widows the ability to raise orphans and counsel both virgins and wives.\textsuperscript{173}

In other studies of widowhood and the musical cultures of the sixteenth century, both Kate van Orden and Jeanice Brooks emphasize the widow’s respected opinion as a source of power in the sixteenth century. They demonstrate this through separate examples of individuals invoking the widow’s status for personal means. In analyzing the popular \textit{complainte} genre of the late sixteenth century, van Orden shows that male composers, or poets, would write in the feminine voice of a widow as a means to espouse political and religious opinion.\textsuperscript{174} Her work shows the deliberate control of the social reverence associated with the concept of widowhood. Brooks argues that by depicting herself as perpetually mourning her dead husband, Catherine de Medici maintained her political relevance, using the \textit{air de cour} to reinforce these ideas.\textsuperscript{175} Both of these examples illustrate examples of the widow’s authority and the power of her opinion.

While widowhood as a concept did imbue a woman’s opinion with power, describing Marguerite as empowered does not sufficiently address her circumstances. Marguerite gained a greater authority in her society by identifying herself as a widow; but she did so within the confines of the value systems she lived. In discussing early


\textsuperscript{174} Kate Van Orden, “Female Complaintes ....,” 818-819.

modern women patrons, art historian Sally McKee differentiates power from agency in situations similar to Marguerite’s:

The ability to manipulate one’s environment and the people in it does not always lead to empowerment – implying change – but it does embody ‘agency,’ meaning, at least to me, the capacity to act for oneself and by oneself. To argue that people in subordinated positions are ‘empowered’ when they act on, or respond to people, cultural artifacts, and institutions around them, without their subordinated positions fundamentally having changed, mitigates our valuation what the experience of subordination is like.\(^{176}\)

As Erasmus’s discussion of the brides and widows demonstrated, becoming a widow represented a choice, not just a condition of life. Marguerite displayed personal agency choosing to identify as a widow and gaining elevated social status as a result. Upon gaining her elevated status, Marguerite used her music, writing, and patronage to entice the Lord to favor her house, her family, and her concerns. Ultimately she gained a powerful position aided by the status of her persona as a widow, but she accomplished this while working within the social institutions of her environment and not by toppling them.

Describing Marguerite as empowered does soften our evaluation of her subordinated position, but more importantly, it subordinates her own interests for our own. Her writing, music, and art suggest Marguerite sought to her virtue and piety. While it is true that her society did not offer many examples of powerful women to emulate, Marguerite’s output nonetheless consistently reinforces the idea of her humility and submission to the Lord rather than authority. From her obedience and dedication in

her difficult existence, Marguerite garnered God’s favor gaining her greatest source of power – divine privilege.

Through the texts, images, and music from her court, Marguerite of Austria identified herself as a widow. Under the belief systems of her time, widowhood afforded her an elevated status. Many works within her chansonnier reinforce common values associated with this class of women, reflecting these virtues onto Marguerite. Her collection provides examples of submission to God, desire for the end of suffering, yearning for the celestial spouse, and compassion for the struggles of others. Other works and writing illustrate her participation the prescriptions for widowhood regarding mourning. Some of these works also illustrate Marguerite employing her status with God in order to secure safety for herself, her people, and the souls of her loved ones. While Marguerite used her chansonnier to express her personal interests, it also illuminates the complex relationships between her and her world.
### Table 4-1. Acquiescing to the Difficulties of Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in source</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Ce n’est pas jeu</em></td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>Il est bien heureaux qui est quitte</em></td>
<td>La Rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td><em>Plaine de duel</em></td>
<td>Josquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td><em>Je ne scay plus</em></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td><em>Je ne dis mot</em></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4-2. Works Mourning Deaths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in MS</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Departed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td><em>Proch dolor / Pie Jhesu</em></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Maximilian, father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td><em>Ceuers desolez / Dies illa</em></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Jean de Luxembourg, statesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>Se je souspire / Ecce iterum</em></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Philippe, brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within the works collected in Marguerite’s chansonnier, commonly adopted social values abound, appearing as recurring themes in the texts. The recurrence of specific ideas and scenarios suggests not only the importance of these themes for Marguerite personally, but also the significance of these ideas within her culture. The manuscript itself becomes a medium to view the contemporary values of Marguerite’s culture. Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate the role of prominent philosophical values and religious practices within the semantic content of the manuscript’s texts. The correspondence between the recurring themes of the chansonnier and popular perspectives from independent media in Marguerite’s land demonstrates the chansonnier’s entwinement in the culture. The content of the manuscript reflects and reinforces the values of the time as well as indicate specific ideas that were important for Marguerite. Chapter 4 illustrates how Marguerite’s appropriation of prescriptions and beliefs from her society supported her status as a widow. This illustrates Marguerite’s engagement with the social discourses of her time while also suggesting the importance of these values in the interpretation of the manuscript’s content. The manuscript only reinforces Marguerite’s identity as a widow when viewed through the contemporary values associated with widowhood. In this way, the manuscript participates in social discourse concerning widowhood while framing the interpretation of its content. The social significance of the ideas perpetuated in Marguerite’s chansonnier suggests the importance of the music book as an object for public consumption. As a social medium of discourse, Marguerite’s chansonnier asserts an important but limited role in disseminating values to her contemporaries and to a modern audience.
The Chansonnier as a Cultural Record

The recurring topics that appear in the texts of Marguerite’s chansonnier indicate careful reportorial choices based on semantic content. The relationship of these topics to the themes of other court commissions illustrates her tastes, and her biography verifies the significance of the ideas of death, sorrow, and widowhood for her personally. The chansonnier is a meaningful assembly of individual works meant to satisfy Marguerite’s interests. However, as a result of collecting, Marguerite’s music book recorded aspects of the prominent intellectual trends from contexts beyond her court as well. When works moved from their places of origin into the chansonnier, they acquired new significance specific to Marguerite but also maintained their connections to the traditions from which they sprang. The chansonnier captured not only Marguerite’s tastes but also the cultural associations, assumptions, and attitudes informing her specific interests.

Viewing Marguerite’s chansonnier as a collection emphasizes two aspects of the repertoire. First, the contents of the manuscript are necessarily diverse. They are distinct works from individual composers. Second, their relationship to each other within the manuscript represents intentional selection. The association of the works within the manuscript does not necessarily indicate associations among their origins. Instead their association reflects the thinking, tastes, and interests of the creator of the collection.177

Collecting influences perception of the individual works within the manuscript emphasizing unity among diversity. The recurring themes in the chansonnier texts

create the overwhelming mood that Martin Picker describes. The prominence of specific ideas frames perception of the individual works. Since so many works discuss death and sorrow, these prominent attitudes shape the interpretation of the individual work’s significance. Individually the works themselves are often negotiations of the difficulties of love, but in this context they become about sorrow, death, and struggle.

The composers represented in the manuscript articulate the diversity of the content of the music book (See Table 5-1). The manuscript includes works from composers whose deaths are spread over thirty years. The 1508 post quem establishes that the works by Ockeghem, van Ghezeghem, Obrecht, Agricola, and Gheselin originated prior to the creation of the manuscript. Many composers have some relationship to Burgundy suggesting the possibility of Marguerite’s influence. However, other composers represented were not active in Marguerite’s land. Marguerite did not influence, inspire, or commission all of the works included in the chansonnier; some reflect independent perspectives that she appreciated and adopted. The employment activity of the composers represented in Marguerite’s chansonnier delimit her range of influence over the compositions she collected.

By collecting multiple works from different composers, generations, and locations, the chansonnier includes a diverse representation of different perspectives. The correspondence of themes in the manuscript to themes appearing in popular media from Marguerite’s era verify the currency of these specific ideas. As works were chosen for selection in the manuscript, they brought with them inherent cultural implications. These implications likely were the motivating factor for choosing the work. This process
of choosing and appropriating connects the chansonnier to the broader contexts of its origins.

The relationship with the intellectual trends of the time also influences perception of the content. This is certainly the case in Martin Picker’s assessment of the mood of the manuscript, but also the same mood would have been apparent to a contemporary audience as well. However, contemporary associations that were widely adopted relating to death, struggle, and patience clarify the relationships of individual texts within an intellectual framework. Devotional practices displaying and focusing on emotion indicate the significance of the affective discourses in the music. Prescriptions for widowhood articulate the propriety of these ideas to Marguerite. While the works reflect and incorporate common social values, those values simultaneously frame the perception and significance of the works themselves.

The dominant role of religious institutions in Marguerite’s land suggests the cause for the pervasive religious values within the texts. The opportunity for crossover of theological belief and religious practices into the musical realm were manifold. Leeman Perkins suggests that the liturgical needs of court chapels and ecclesiastical institutions along with the practices of popular confraternities created ample demand for musical composition and performance.178 While the chanson is not the genre readily associated with such circumstances, Perkins explains that prominent chanson composers often held the most coveted musical appointments in the court chapels. They were included less frequently in the court documents recording performers and instrumentalists strictly associated with the music of the chamber. Perkins argues for a greater fluidity of

performers in various contexts than archival records indicate.\textsuperscript{179} Due to their positions in
court chapels and ecclesiastical institutions, the composers themselves easily could
have incorporated religious signifiers and theological beliefs into their courtly music.
Perkins also argues that the newly developing chanson style at the turning century
sprang from the musical style of the motet, supporting the assertion for mixed sacred
and secular influences.\textsuperscript{180}

The appearance of religious values in the vernacular texts indicates that the
chanson was a genre for popular dissemination of ideas. Because education was
available mostly to elite classes including the clergy, cloistered, and nobility, issues of
literacy complicated the spread of specific theology to the masses. The performance of
Mass and other liturgical rituals in Latin rather than the vernacular languages also
restricted access to the high intellectual traditions of the church to these same elite
classes. However, the popularity of private devotional items and lay confraternities
illustrates the popular interest in these ideas. Aspects of the popular media, such as
easily-understood vernacular language and visual illustrations, expanded their usage
among the population. The incorporation of specific theological discourses in the
chanson texts presents an additional avenue to disseminate religious values. The
language of the texts could be intentionally didactic; it could reflect the assumptions and
associations of the culture. The integration of theological beliefs in the chansonnier texts
not only indicates the dominance of religious institutions in Marguerite’s era, but also
suggests the chansonnier as a medium through which these values were promulgated.

\textsuperscript{179} Perkins, 117.

\textsuperscript{180} Perkins, 607-608.
The language and logic of the chanson texts encode the values of their era, disseminating and reinforcing the institutional beliefs. In her theorizing on chansonniers, Honey Meconi suggests these music books could function as social guidebooks to train courtiers and nobles, indicating their role in social indoctrination. Meconi’s view describes the functional use of chansonniers to teach social values, but the chansonniers would maintain this function with or without didactic use. Some works simply state their moral prescriptions, such as Quant il advient and Quant il survient; both encourage patience to overcome struggle. These works assert their value for others to consider. However, many works present virtuous narrators who reinforce social prescriptions by presenting imaginary examples. In Je n’ay dueil que je ne suis morte, the narrator advocates death to end his or her suffering. While the work does not explicitly state that death will end suffering by allowing the soul to enter heaven, the positive view of death described in the text reinforces this assumption for the religious. As a result, the virtuous narrators enforce the system of belief that defines and supports their virtuous status. By acting within the intellectual framework of contemporary discourse, the chanson texts implicitly reinforce and reconstitute institutional beliefs.

As a result of the collecting process, Marguerite’s chansonnier is both a record and a conduit of commonly circulating social values. The influence of religious beliefs on the whole collection reflects the trends of her surroundings. Popular devotional practices and religious beliefs manifested in individual works collected in her manuscript. As these works negotiated the values and eras of the time, their language encoded the

---

institutional beliefs. The works themselves recreate and transmit the assumptions of their places of origin. Through its close ties to the discourses of her land and era, Marguerite’s chansonnier preserves and perpetuates the ideologies that brought about its creation.

Marguerite’s chansonnier represents both a record and conduit of social discourse. The works reflect the values, attitudes, and assumption of Marguerite’s culture. The logic of their texts also reinforces institutional beliefs. Collecting music for inclusion in the manuscript intimately situates the contents of the book within the philosophical and religious values of the era. While Marguerite’s collection of works satisfies her specific tastes and interests, the diversity of material indicates her role as consumer rather originator of the works. Her chansonnier draws together separate strands from her diverse world to create a meaningful, unified counterpoint of individual voices that illuminates not only her tastes but also her world.

**Knowing Marguerite Through Her Chansonnier**

While the close connections to the intellectual currents of its time indicate the chansonnier’s significance and implication for a wide audience, its significance for Marguerite herself cannot be denied or overlooked. The texts she authored and had set to music establish her personal connection to the collection. Her lament for her brother in *Se je souspire / Ecce iterum* or her descriptions of her languor in *Il me fait mal* present themselves as real indicators of her internal world. These works appear to penetrate Marguerite’s personality granting accurate knowledge of her experience. However, expressing these specific emotions supported her elevated status by satisfying social expectations for widowhood. The spiritual and social profitability incurred through these somber emotions raises questions as to the authenticity of the
feelings expressed in her chansonnier. This skepticism indicates the epistemological limits of understanding her personality. While it prevents knowing Marguerite’s feelings, philosophical definitions of personality broaden our understanding of Marguerite’s existence asserting her individuality and her complexity.

Any consideration of Marguerite’s personality necessarily falls short because discursive analysis cannot grant access to her internal world. As Thomas D. Williams and Jan Olof Bengtsson explain, defining personality must emphasize the essential, internal element of an individual’s experience:

In the human person, a thoroughly unique dimension presents itself, a dimension not found in the rest of reality. Human persons experience themselves first of all not as objects but as subjects, not from the outside but from the inside, and thus they are present to themselves in a way that no other reality can be present to them. But here the influence and value of the phenomenological method, as well as of aspects of the earlier idealistic tradition, often makes itself especially felt in personalism and adds to the classical-realist analysis. The essence of the person is explored as an intuition from the inside, rather than as a deduction from a system of thought or through empirical observation in the ordinary sense. ¹⁸²

Because of the external media by which we view her, Marguerite’s personality remains definitively out of sight. At the same time, Marguerite’s experience as a subject rather than an object emphasizes her relationship to the people and things around her. A guiding principle of this thinking is that a personality cannot exist alone. As a contingency of her subjectivity, this view posits and validates Marguerite’s individual interpretations, feelings, and perspectives as she interacts with the people and things around her, including her chansonnier.

While this definition of personality comes from later philosophies, Renaissance humanists, and Erasmus especially, recognized the inherent subjectivity of individuals in their theorizing on interpreting texts. Erasmus argued that scripture was complex, difficult to understand, and easily misread by individuals. His humanist methodologies advocated contextual reading to glean meaning from specific passages, while also promoting erudite study of earlier theology, doctrine, and exegesis. He ultimately believed a reader should adopt the interpretations held by the whole of Christian thinking rather than accept any individual interpretation of a text.\(^\text{183}\) In addition, Erasmus recognizes the subjective nature of reading and interpreting in his public arguments with John Colet concerning the sorrow of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane. Mediating the tension of their dissenting opinions, Erasmus politely writes, "Nothing prevents us from extracting different meanings from Holy Writ, which is a miracle of fertility, and from reading a single text in more than a single way. I have learned from that Holy man Job that the word of the Lord is manifold; I know that manna did not taste the same to every palate."\(^\text{184}\) This recognition of multivalent texts and individual interpretations posits the subjectivity of an individual. Erasmus’s contemporary perspective grants Marguerite her own subjectivity as she interprets and reacts to the contents of her chansonnier.

\(^{183}\) Erasmus argued these points to oppose the position of Martin Luther. Luther thought that a true believer who recognized the redemptive quality of Christ’s sacrifice would be able to understand the meaning of any scripture passage. This line of thinking also inspired Luther’s assertions for vernacular translations of the Bible. See Charles Nauert, “Desiderius Erasmus; 6. Free Will: The Conflict with Luther,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/erasmus/#FreWilConLut (accessed 4 June 2010).

With the recognition of Marguerite’s subjectivity, the artifacts that document her actions and feelings become objects with which she interacts. Hypothesizing about Marguerite’s relationship to the work Se je souspire / Ecce iterum illuminates the contingencies of this line of thought. As the author of the text, which expresses her feelings concerning the death of her brother, the work suggests access to Marguerite’s inner world. But as soon as Marguerite writes down the words, the thoughts stop being internal to her and become an object available for her consideration. If and when she heard the work performed at different times in her life, her new knowledge and awareness would inform her interpretation. Because she authored the text, the work offers the additional possibility of self-reflection by comparing her past feelings to her current perspectives. As self-reflection expands her understanding of herself, Marguerite’s interaction with Se je souspire / Ecce iterum informs her experience and thus changes her personality. As a result of this reflexive relationship, the objects that document her feelings become less and less indicative of her personality over time, because they do not represent the sum total of her experience. Instead, they only present mediated images of Marguerite.

The distinction between Marguerite’s personality and her mediated persona further delineates our conceptualization of Marguerite’s personality. Considering how her mediated identity supported her social status raises questions of the similarity of her persona compared to her personality. The concerns becomes, “How much does the image reflect the person?” and, “To what degree are the person and the persona congruent?” This view does not imply duplicity because any evaluation of her personality can only produce false judgments by definition. However, this view implies
that Marguerite was capable of presenting one identity for herself while being something else. In Marguerite’s case, this recognition offers hopeful possibilities. Perhaps, Marguerite’s life was not “full of sorrow” as her image so consistently asserts, but that she also experienced some joy, pleasure, and contentment as well.

Affirming Marguerite’s subjectivity emphasizes her relationship to her society. While she was free to interact and form her own opinions, she was not autonomous. She was an individual within the group. In her interactions with the institutions of her time, she both asserted her individuality while acquiescing to her condition. Her situation mirrors the concept of her chansonnier as a collection. The manuscript emphasizes the community of opinions and the individual perspective of its contents simultaneously. As a result, the music book maintains its own relationship with the intellectual and theological trends of its era. It is both reflective and conductive of the values of its culture. Marguerite and her chansonnier were both influenced and influential; they both reinforced and renegotiated cultural assumptions. Triangulating Marguerite, her chansonnier, and her culture reveals the intimate connections and relationships between individuals and their society.
Table 5-1. Composers Represented and Regional Employment\textsuperscript{185}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Main Regions of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td>French Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghizeghem</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td>Burgundy under French Rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obrecht</td>
<td>1505</td>
<td>Burgundian churches; intermittent employment with court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricola</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>Early career in low countries, French court, died working for Burgundian Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghiselin</td>
<td>1507</td>
<td>French court, Burgundian Court, Ferrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prioris</td>
<td>1512</td>
<td>French Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brumel</td>
<td>1512/13</td>
<td>Early Career French Churches; Later Career Ferrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipelare</td>
<td>1515</td>
<td>Netherlands Ecclesiastical institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weerbeke</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>Early italian career, court of Philip, work in Bruges, return to Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Rue</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>Burgundian Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compère</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>Mostly French court and French institutions, interim in Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josquin</td>
<td>1521</td>
<td>French Court and Italian Court, tangential associations with Burgundy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouton</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>French Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Orto</td>
<td>1529</td>
<td>Early training in Rome, Ended career in Burgundy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Crook, Larry. “My Brazilian Brazil, Land of Samba and Pandeiro: Nationalizing the Pandiero in Brazil, 1930s-1950s.” Paper read at the University of Florida Musicology Colloquium Fall 2009, November 4, Gainesville, FL.


Meconi, Honey. “Margaret of Austria, Visual Representation, and Brussels, Royal Library, MS 228.” Unpublished article currently under review.


Robertson, Anne Walters. “The Man with the Pale Face, the Relic, and Du Fay’s Missa Se La face Ay Pale.” Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 6–9, 2008.


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

With this document, Eric Michael Lubarsky completed his master's degree in historical musicology from the University of Florida in 2010. He continued his education at the Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester pursuing a Ph.D. in historical musicology. His previous research interests have focused on renaissance chanson and motets, eighteenth century prints of Corelli’s opus 5, and the relationship of Thaw-era, political rhetoric on the music of Dmitri Shostakovic. He has dual bachelor’s degrees in clarinet performance and journalism from the University of Florida. He is a native of Jacksonville, FL where his family lives. Beyond his scholarly pursuits, he enjoys coffee and candy.