

The Singers of the French Chapel at War (1494–1515)

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Introduction: Honorable Mentions

In his *Chroniques de Louis XII* Benedictine monk Jean d'Auton painstakingly detailed the military campaigns of his patron, some of which he joined himself as a member of the entourage.¹ He documented the progress of the campaigns, the minutiae of life on the road in Italy, and lengthy accounts of the royal entries and masses that peppered his journey. Towards the end of his account of the campaign against Genoa in 1507, d'Auton, by his own admission, took a moment in Savona, after Louis XII had retired to his chambers, to list the servants that accompanied the king on his journey. Among the enumeration of the *maison du Roy*, listed first is the *chappelle du Roy*, under which d'Auton names:

Maistre René, cardinal de Prye, maistre de ladite chappelle; l'evesque de Perigueulx, aumosnier du Roy; frere Anthoine de Furno, confesseur du Roy, avecques tous les chappellains et chantres de sadite chappelle.²

Maistre René, cardinal de Prie, master of the said chapel; the bishop of Périgueux, almoner of the king; brother Antoine de Furno, confessor of the king, with all the chaplains and singers of the said chapel.

It is not surprising that d'Auton's eye for detail and ceremony also included music, as did many chronicles and memoirs throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. d'Auton was also neither the only nor the first chronicler to express interest in the presence of singers in a military entourage. Glimpses of chapel singers performing masses at camp had been documented across the continent throughout the late-15th century. Andrés Bernáldez in his *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos* wrote, for instance, of the presence of "infinite music and singers" at camp during the siege of Málaga in 1487, which allowed for the observation of mass "as in a very big

¹ On the background of d'Auton and some of his involvement in Louis XII's military campaigns: Philippe Contamine, "Jean d'Auton, historien de Louis XII," *Louis XII en Milanais: XLI^e colloque international d'études humanistes 30 juin–3 juillet 1998*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jean Guillaume (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2003): 11–29.

² Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, ed. René de Maulde La Clavière (Paris: H. Laurens, 1895): 4:365.

town.”³ Yet, d’Auton’s list distinguishes itself through the manner in which singers are documented, not in the elaboration of ritual through performance but as people, as members of the entourage like any other. It reveals a perspective that valued the engagement of chapel singers not only for their distant commentary through musical composition, traditionally the approach of modern scholarship, or for their participation in field masses, traditionally the perspective of Renaissance chronicles, but for their physical presence in military campaigns. The relevance of this point to d’Auton and his contemporaries and the shift in ideals that led to this point have been lost in the modern scholarly landscape on Renaissance music and war. We know astonishingly little of what it meant for chapel singers to go to war, let alone the complex and dynamic nature of this practice when observed through a comprehensive lens. While scholarship has acknowledged a small subset of novelty works with military themes composed by members of court chapels, the lived military experiences of chapel singers, the rituals at war in which they participated, and the music actually sung and composed during the battle campaign, are rarely considered systematically. A holistic view of this subject sheds new light not only on musical repertoire but also on the greater cultural value of polyphonic music and its singers in Renaissance warfare.

Music and war in Renaissance theory

How this lacuna came to be can be attributed to a number of factors, the first being the fact that chapel music was rightfully never included under the umbrella of “military music,”

³ The full quotation is discussed in Chapter 2. Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Manuel Gómez-Moreno & Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962), 199; Translation by Tess Knighton. Tess Knighton, “Ritual and Regulations: The Organization of the Castilian Royal Chapel during the Reign of the Catholic Monarchs,” in *Institutions and Patronage in Renaissance Music*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 307.

which traditionally refers strictly to music produced by and for armies on the battlefield.⁴ This distinction was as present in the Renaissance as it is today. Military manuals and courtly and musical treatises of the period make it clear that music for war was understood as the use of trumpets, drums, and fifes on the battlefield for the communication of tactical information and, in some theoretical cases, the manipulation of emotion. As early as c. 1410 Christine of Pizan, drawing heavily on the Vegetius's ancient military text *De re militari*, praises ancient warfare for the effective use of clear battle signals through the use of trumpets and bugles.⁵ The notion of music providing clarity and efficiency on the battlefield remained a constant in military manuals throughout the century. In the military didactic work the *Jouvencel* (c. 1466–7), Jean de Bueil praises the use of the trumpet to deliver the call to ambush using a pre-determined signal.⁶ Philip of Cleves, who fought alongside Charles VIII and Louis XII during the Italian wars prescribed in his *Instruction de toutes manières de guerroyer* the use of trumpets and drums to signal the start of the day while fighting at sea.⁷

Musical treatises were slow to adopt the discussion of military music, in part as the practice of battlefield music long thrived without the need for musical notation. Nonetheless, towards the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, retrospective musical treatises began documenting the battlefield signals of trumpets and fife and drum ensembles in

⁴ Höfele et al., “Militärmusik,” *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, accessed September 20, 2024, <https://www.mgg-online.com>; Montagu et al., “Military Music,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed September 20, 2024, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

⁵ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. Sumner Willard, ed. Charity Cannon Willard (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 64.

⁶ Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, ed. Camille Favre and Léon Lecestre (Paris: Renouard, 1887), 1:135; Philippe Contamine, “The War Literature of the Late Middle Ages: The Treatises of Robert de Balsac and Béraud Stuart, Lord of Aubigny,” in *War, literature, and politics in the late Middle Ages*, ed. C.T. Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1976), 104.

⁷ Philippe de Clèves, *Instruction de toutes manieres de guerroyer* (Paris: Guillaume Morel, 1558), 147–8; David Potter, *Renaissance France at War: Armies, Culture and Society, c.1480–1560* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 191.

considerable detail.⁸ While many adopted an organological approach, of particular note is Thoinot Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (1589), in reality a dance treatise, in which the documentation of battlefield music, "la dance guerriere" as he calls it, is used as a precursor to the discussion of dance forms.⁹

Attitudes towards music and war were also receptive to humanistic influences, no story more popular in Renaissance treatises than that of Alexander the Great, moved to violence as the musician Timotheus played a Phrygian melody on the aulos, relaxing only when the player switched to a different tune.¹⁰ The influence this anecdote had on contemporary attitudes towards music and violence is hard to overstate, the objective of the story adapted to fit the goals of different authors. Baldassare Castiglione cites the story, among others, in his *Libro del cortegiano* as Lodovico da Canossa's means of refuting Gaspar Pallavicino's assertion that music would merely corrupt the character of men, thereby affirming the place of music in the life of well-mannered courtier.¹¹ Arbeau, in contrast, used the story as a form of historiography for the military flute, in his mind the ancient predecessor to the contemporary fife, whose music he subsequently discussed.¹² Furthermore, in his *Arte della guerra* (1521), Niccolò Machiavelli

⁸ Among the most important of these is Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie vniverselle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy; Pierre Ballard, 1636–7). For a discussion and comparison of 17th century trumpet treatises see Silke Wenzel, *Lieder, Lärmen, "l'homme Armé": Musik Und Krieg 1460–1600* (Neumünster: Von Bockel Verlag, 2018), 84–105.

⁹ Arbeau Thoinot, *Orchésographie* (Langres: Jehan des Preys, 1589), 6v. The relationship between war and dance is covered extensively in Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 81–124.

¹⁰ It must be noted that the text survived in different versions, some with a different aulos player and some without the specification that the melody played was phrygian. Oliver Strunk has noted that the version that appears to have been popularized in the Renaissance was that of St. Basil. Oliver Strunk, ed. *Sources Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), 282.

¹¹ "Per il che si scrive, Alessandro alcuna volta esser stato da quella così ardentemente incitato, che quasi contra sua voglia gli bisognava levarsi dai convivi, e correre all'arme; poi, mutando il musico la sorte del suono, mitigarsi e tornar dall'arme ai convivi." Baldassar Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1822), 115.

¹² Arbeau, *Orchésographie*, 18r.

adopted a more tactical approach to the story, praising music for its ability to offer commands on the battlefield and motivate soldiers, suggesting that the powerful Dorian and Phrygian modes should be rediscovered so as to impart steadfastness and fury in contemporary armies, citing Alexander the Great as the prime example of this.¹³

Renaissance music and war in modern scholarship

The vestiges of this historical understanding of music and war remain in modern scholarly attitudes, in which battles, their music, narration, and imitation continue to play a dominant role in our conceptualization of music for and about war. A few studies of music during Renaissance military campaigns have focused on the reconstruction of battle signals and the instruments that played them through written and archival sources. Focusing largely on the German speaking world, a comprehensive book by Silke Wenzel covers the performance practice of military ensembles in the late Middle Ages, relying on a broad range of musical and textual evidence.¹⁴ Some effort, mostly prosopographical, has also been dedicated to the French battle entourage. Robust archival documentation, studied first a century ago by Henry Prunières and later expanded by Stephen Bonime, has allowed for the reconstruction of the roster of musicians in the royal stable during the greater Italian wars.¹⁵ Attempts at understanding performance practice in these studies has relied on the cobbling together of evidence from treatises, military chronicles, and quotation of battle signals in musical composition.¹⁶

¹³ “Il suono dorico generava costanza, il frigio furia; donde che dicono che, essendo Alessandro a mensa e sonando uno il suono frigio, gli accese tanto l’animo che misse mano all’armi.” Niccolò Machiavelli, “L’arte della guerra,” in *Tutte le opere di Niccolò Machiavelli*, ed. Francesco Flora and Carlo Cordiè (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1949), 1:505–6, 535.

¹⁴ Wenzel, *Lieder, Lärmen, ‘l’homme Armé’*.

¹⁵ Henri Prunières, “La musique de la chambre et de l’écurie sous le règne de François 1er (1516–1547),” *L’Année musicale* 1 (1911): 215–251; Stephen Bonime, “The Musicians of the Royal Stable Under Charles VIII and Louis XII (1484–1514),” *Current Musicology* 25 (1978): 7–21.

¹⁶ For more on the latter see: Wenzel, *Lieder, Lärmen, ‘l’homme Armé’*, 138–9.

Contextualized information is generally scant. In a fascinating anecdote, Isabelle Cazeaux has noted that in Philippe de Commynes' account of the battle of Fornovo in 1495 a trumpet played a tune called *Faictes bon guet* for the king's departure, though details such as these are few and far in between.¹⁷

Secular and sacred compositions outside of battlefield ensembles have been studied in the context of war inasmuch as they address the subject of combat directly. The study of German language songs about war has generated a mountain of literature, captivating both musicologists and historians alike.¹⁸ This repertoire consists overwhelmingly of narrations of a single battle, written and disseminated as current news shortly after the events transpired, and of songs glorifying the soldiering life of the German *Landsknechte*. Outside of German-language compositions, which were received across diverse social strata, the study of compositions about war has gravitated towards a small corpus of unique compositions from courtly contexts and the place of these in a noble warrior culture.¹⁹ Countless essays on the *l'homme armé* melody have attempted to draw connections between the tune and the military self-styling of Renaissance

¹⁷ Isabelle Cazeaux, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 143; Philipp de Commynes, *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, ed. by B. De Mandrot, vol. 2, 1477–1497 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1903), 291.

¹⁸ Wenzel includes a lengthy discussion on war songs. Wenzel, *Lieder, Lärmen, 'l'homme Armé.'* See also Karina Kellermann, *Abschied vom 'historischen Volkslied'.* *Studien zu Funktion, Ästhetik und Publizität der Gattung historisch-politische Ereignisdichtung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000); Sonja Kerth, *Der landsfrid ist zerbrochen. Das Bild des Krieges in den politischen Ereignisdichtungen des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997); Pete Seibert, *Aufstandsbewegungen in Deutschland 1476–1517 in der zeitgenössischen Reimliteratur* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1978); Annemarie Firme and Ramona Hocker, eds., *Von Schlachthymnen und Protestsongs. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Verhältnisses von Musik und Krieg* (Bielefeld, Transcript, 2006); Sonja Tröster, “‘Mein Fleiß und Müh ich nie hab g'spart’ – Zwei Ritter singen ihr Leid,” *Musik in Bayern* 86 (2021): 22–41.

¹⁹ The importance of this repertoire and noble warrior culture in the shaping of our conceptualization of Renaissance “war music” is best embodied in: Richard Wistreich, “Music and War,” in *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, edited by Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 176–206.

princes in the wake of the fall of Constantinople in 1453.²⁰ Furthermore, towards the 16th century the genre of the *battaglia* encapsulated the stylized soundscape of the battlefield in novelty works of polyphony. With its clever use of onomatopoeia and direct quotation of trumpet and fife and drum signals, Clément Janequin's chanson *La bataille* has become the most frequently cited example of this style.²¹ Johann Herczog has further devoted a monograph to this genre.²² Extending beyond musical performance alone, Kate van Orden has also considered the role of courtly dance practices in noble warrior culture, while Andrew Kirkman and Flynn Warmington have explored the militarized rituals of the mass and, more specifically, the manner in which they offer cultural contextualization for the *l'homme armé* tradition.²³

While these studies have done much to enrich our knowledge of Renaissance music and the reception of war in it, it is clear that our conceptualization of “war music” is heavily dependent on a battle-centric mentality. Musical practices peripheral to, but not strictly about,

²⁰ This corpus of scholarship is naturally too vast to enumerate. See in particular Barbara Haggh, “Arming the Duke of Burgundy: L’homme Armé Revealed,” *Revue Belge de Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap* 76 (2022): 33–58; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “The Origins and Early History of L’homme Armé,” *The Journal of Musicology: A Quarterly Review of Music History, Criticism, Analysis, and Performance Practice* 20, no. 3 (June 2003): 305–57; Jesse Rodin, “The L’homme Armé Tradition — and the Limits of Musical Borrowing,” in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 69–83; William F. Prizer, “Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece,” *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 5 (October 1985): 113–53; Craig M. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols In Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

²¹ van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 20–6; Wistreich, “Music and War,” 194–8; Stefan Gasch, “Clément Janequin und die Folgen: Musikalische Schlachten des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Handbuch der Musik der Renaissance*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Elisabeth Schmierer, and Joshua Rifkin, vol. 4.1, *Musikleben in der Renaissance: Zwischen Alltag und Fest*, ed. Wolfgang Fuhrmann (Lilienthal: Laaber 2019), 369–95.

²² Johann Herczog, *Marte Armonioso: Trionfo Della Battaglia Musicale Nel Rinascimento* ([Galatina?]: M. Congedo, 2005).

²³ van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*; Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 98–134; Flynn Warmington, “The Ceremony of the Armed Man: The Sword, the Altar, and the L’homme armé Masses,” in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 89–130.

battles, practices in which polyphonic singers were more likely to be involved, are not as readily addressed in a systematic manner. A few connections between 16th-century motets sung in response to the threat of violence have been drawn, but such cases are often addressed individually.²⁴ Moreover, we must acknowledge that the performance of the vast majority of the aforementioned musical works, despite involving the subject of war directly, were, ironically, often conducted at a distance from violence itself. Missing in this picture of Renaissance music-making during and about war is an awareness of the extra-military ceremonial practices, including votive masses, feast days, and triumphal processions and the devotional frameworks that permeated everyday life, triumph, and defeat in the battle entourage. Bringing these perspectives into the fold requires our willingness to reframe war itself, not merely as a narrow study of the battlefield, its proceedings, and its imitations, but as the complete study of the culture that surrounded it.²⁵

The Italian Wars

The involvement of the French chapel in the numerous military campaigns that spanned the years 1494–1515 offers a particularly rich case study for this holistic approach to war. These years represented the early decades of the so-called Italian wars, a series of military conflicts lasting until 1559, which would ensnare nearly all of the major powers on the European

²⁴ See in particular: Mary Ellen Ryan, “‘Our Enemies Are Gathered Together’: The Politics of Motets During the Second Florentine Republic, 1527–1530,” *The Journal of Musicology* 36, no. 3 (Summer 2019): 295–330; Klaus Pietschmann, “Emperor Maximilian I, Audible Ideology and Heinrich Isaac’s *Optime pastor*,” in *Henricus Isaac (c.1450/5–1517): Composition Reception Interpretation*, ed. Stefan Gasch, Markus Grassl, and August Valentin Rabe (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019), 200. Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette: 1480–1555* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1969), 45–53.

²⁵ In referring to war and its culture in this way, I situate myself within recent discourse surrounding the term “cultures of war” and its inclusive implications. Johannes Pahlitzsch, “Byzantium’s Place in the Euro-Mediterranean Cultures of War,” in *Victors and Vanquished in the Euro-Mediterranean: Dealing with Victory and Defeat in the Middle Ages*, ed. Johannes Pahlitzsch and Jörg Rogge (Mainz: Mainz University Press, 2024), 9–10.

continent as they vied for control on the Italian peninsula.²⁶ The wars began in 1494, as the young Charles VIII invaded Italy in a successful, but short lived, attempt to gain control over the Kingdom of Naples. In the next two decades, his successors, Louis XII and Francis I, would carry on his violent legacy in campaigns against Milan (1499, 1515), Genoa (1507), Venice (1509). Commanding their armies personally, these kings often spent long months away from home, bringing with them bloated entourages, which included not only the standard fare of officers, mercenaries, and military musicians but also a large retinue of servants, clerics, and entertainers. Falling into this group of non-combatants were the singers of the French chapel, who accompanied their king to war during the aforementioned campaigns. The years selected for this study are deliberate. Though the wars waged on for decades to come, the tides began to shift after 1515. Francis I lost his bid for emperor, lost control of Milan in 1521, and was ultimately captured at Pavia in 1525. No accounts of singers in the battle entourage emerge in the decade after 1515.

During the optimistic early decades of the wars, singers left behind numerous traces in chronicles, memoirs, leaflets, letters, and musical manuscripts detailing their involvement in masses and processions, their experiences with violence, and the music they selected for and composed during their time in the battle entourage. The concentration of sources in this period has much to do with the unprecedented nature of these wars. John Hale notably wrote that Renaissance warfare prior to 1494 represented only “violent housekeeping” and that the Italian wars ushered in a new era of ambition and conquest.²⁷ The brazen attempt of the French at

²⁶ Much study had been devoted to the Italian wars. For an overview of landmark sources see: J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450–1620* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998); Potter, *Renaissance France at War*; Christine Shaw and Michael Mallett, *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559: War, State and Society In Early Modern Europe*, second edition (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019).

²⁷ Hale, *War and Society*, 13.

subduing the peninsula indeed sent shockwaves throughout the continent, and the clash and upheaval provoked a slew of propaganda and polemic works.²⁸ French poets were commanded to write chronicles of the campaigns, and printers publicized news of the wars to broader audiences. Both of these capitalized heavily on the visually rich nature of triumphal ritual of the wars, as the king staged entries throughout his journey. The wars also presented new opportunities for cultural contact. Italian contemporaries were exposed to the novelty of the French king's expansive entourage and what they brought with them, sending home word of their encounters with the chapel in letters, including them in their chronicles, and seizing the opportunity to bring home new musical works.

To the extent that the Italian wars and their sources have featured in musicological scholarship, cases appear to be isolated and focused largely on extraordinary individuals and motets. Richard Sherr, John Brobeck, Christelle Cazaux, and Stephan Bonime have accounted for nearly all of the prosopographical evidence available on the French chapel c. 1494–1515, including in times of war.²⁹ Lewis Lockwood, thanks to his discovery of a few fascinating letters from music copyist Jean Michel, has managed to place both Jean Mouton and his military motet *Exalta regina Galliae* in the battle entourage of 1515.³⁰ Lester Brothers has made a convincing argument for the association of Mouton's motet *Exsultet conjubilando Deo* with the meeting in

²⁸ For more on propagandist and polemic works see: Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 255–84, 307–31; Cynthia Jane Brown, *The Shaping of History and Poetry in Late Medieval France: Propaganda and Artistic Expression in the Works of the Rhétoriciens* (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, 1985).

²⁹ Richard Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne De Bretagne in the Years Preceding Their Deaths," *The Journal of Musicology* 6, no. 1 (1988): 60–82; John T. Brobeck, "Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515–1547)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 187–239; Christelle Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier* (Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2002); Stephen Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study," (PhD diss, Bryn Mawr College, 1975).

³⁰ Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 191–246.

Bologna between Francis I and Leo X in 1515.³¹ Additionally, recent interest in the papal manuscripts VatS 15 and VatS 63 has invited new hypotheses on the contextualization of the festive motets contained therein in the battle campaign of 1494–5.³² To the extent that ritual sources have been considered, a study by Ernest Thoinan included a few written anecdotes of the involvement of the singers in the early years of the Italian wars. The list is, however, inaccurate and incomplete, and no extensive analysis of the sources was offered.³³

While the discovery of new prosopographical evidence and political motets with an overt connection to war has largely been achieved, a comprehensive analysis and cultural contextualization of these, in addition to the examination of socio-historical issues, ritual evidence in textual sources, and devotional works to which less attention has been afforded, has yet to be undertaken. These questions extend beyond the purview of musicology alone and overlap with methodologies in ritual studies, social history, and liturgics. Approaching these sources interdisciplinarily and holistically allows us to better understand the complex picture that they paint, address the complementary nature of textual and musical sources, which differ in their focus on ritual pageantry and devotion respectively, and to situate the corpus of sources for the French chapel within a broader history of warring chapels, understanding the paradigm shift that characterized their traces in written sources.

Chapter 2 begins with an examination of the *longue durée* and the tradition in which the French chapel singers ought to be understood. I demonstrate the tradition of battlefield

³¹ Lester D. Brothers, “‘And They Vied with Each Other in Singing’: Francis I and Leo X, Music and Diplomacy at Bologna, 1515.” *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 17, 1 (1991): 71–86.

³² Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1996), 11–15; Brett Kostrzewski, “Rome after Josquin: The Missa La Sol Fa Re Mi Reconsidered,” *The Journal of Musicology: A Quarterly Review of Music History, Criticism, Analysis, and Performance Practice* 38, no. 1 (January 2021): 67–108.

³³ Ernest Thoinan, *Les origines de la Chapelle-Musique des souverains de France* (Paris: A. Claudin, 1864), 97–8.

sacralization from which polyphonic music in military campaigns likely originated and compare the French chapel's relationship with the battlefield with that of other chapels. I propose that ritual sources for the French represent a paradigm shift in the conceptualization of the wartime chapel from devotion and supplication to the social values of triumphal ritual. Chapter 3 explores the diverse social identities of the chapel singers that did accompany the king to war, challenging the notion of a unified entity implied in textual sources. Whether all chapel singers were indeed expected to go to war is called into question as are the drastically different ways in which chapel singers in fact experienced violence, emphasizing their social diversity. I also consider the role of chapel singers residing in foreign chapels and the manner in which the wars may have impacted their employment. Chapter 4 studies the masses and processions in which the singers participated during military campaigns and explores the ritual theories with which we can understand the paradigm shift that took place c. 1494. To emphasize this historiographic transition between late-15th century wartime chapels and the Italian wars, I first examine the documentation of singers in processions, in Poggibongi in 1495 and in Genoa in 1507, and the manner in which a preference for optical spectacle and excess, over auditory details and even historiographic accuracy, exemplifies the outward-facing values with which they were received. I then present evidence of two masses celebrated shortly after Louis XII's entries into Milan and Brescia in 1499 and 1509 respectively. The function of masses held during the king's festive visits to cities he had recently conquered is explored and a broad range of sources are used to determine the function of those held in 1499 and 1509. I suggest that these masses were intended to serve as the high point of the king's sojourn in these cities and that singers played an important role in the representation of hybrid princely identities and clerical allegiance. In a final discussion on ritual, I address the involvement of the chapel in meetings between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon in Savona in

1507 and between Francis I and Leo X in Bologna in 1515. I examine the culture of parity and precedence towards which the diplomatic ceremonial strove and compare this to the gestural symbolism of the manner in which two princely chapels split the mass.

Chapter 5 pivots to the musical sources and practices of the French chapel and emphasizes the importance of considering textual and musical sources in tandem. Whereas textual sources emphasize social values, musical sources are split between politics and devotion, challenging the paradigm shift present in the former. The musical landscape of the Italian wars was considerably diverse, allowing for the performance of high and low mass with and without polyphony musical performances by the king's own chapel. A case study in the complexity of this musical landscape revisits papal manuscripts VatS 15 and VatS 63, demonstrating the limits of performance-oriented and motet-centric approach and highlighting the importance of works that may illuminate the chapel's approach towards wartime devotion. Chapter 6 offers a close reading of the only festive motet affirmatively connected with the Italian wars, this being Jean Mouton's *Exalta regina Galliae*. My analysis attempts to read the motet beyond its initial exhortation as a symbolic whole. I explore the role of the motet's addressees as well the potential Marian connotations it carries with it. I further examine the origin and implication of the remainder of the text and contextualize its symbolic narrative with other works produced around the victory of Marignano. Chapter 7 offers a final look into the devotional repertoire of the French chapel, specifically into prayers of peace. I examine and problematize the role of the *Dapacem* antiphon as a prayer for peace, demonstrating its widespread use as a quotidian prayer. As an alternative, I propose reading Mouton's *O salutaris Hostia* as a prayer for peace and emphasize the importance of searching for devotional repertoire associated with the wars.

This study does not seek to answer all of the questions and address all of the lacunae that exist in the study of polyphonic chapels from the perspective of war. We must ultimately contend with the fact that the performance and transmission histories of large swaths of polyphonic music transmitted in the Renaissance do and will remain a mystery to us. Nevertheless, in revisiting the world of d'Auton we may set a better template for engaging with subjects of war in the future.

2. Perspectives from the battlefield

The involvement of the French chapel at war did not emerge out of a vacuum. For at least several decades prior to 1494, polyphonic musical chapels accompanied their patrons to war and performed both sacred and secular music for the patrons at camp and on the battlefield. This practice can be traced to the importance of regular devotion and field masses at war, a tradition in which most evidence of polyphonic music at war in the late-15th century can be clearly situated. In contrast, written evidence of the French chapel's involvement in the early Italian wars bears little connection with the practices of its medieval forebearers. No surviving contemporary source places the chapel on the battlefield itself, and evidence suggests that the chapel itself was spared from battles when possible. Understanding this turning point in the historiography of polyphonic music at war is a crucial precursor to the analysis and contextualization of the sources of the early Italian wars and the ritual priorities with which they were written.

The military field mass

In one of Renaissance France's most important princely military manuals, Pierre Choinet's *Rosier des guerres*, produced during the reign of Louis XI for his son Charles VIII, the young dauphin, future instigator of the Italian wars, received clear instruction on the role of devotion during his future reign:

Le Prince doit souvenir à toute heure de la loy et des commandements et ne doit oublier dieu nis es saintz et aller souvent à l'église et prier dieu pour luy et pour ses subjectz. Car se dieu ne garde la cité pour neant se traveillent ceulx qui la gardent.³⁴

The prince should always remind himself of the law and of the commandments and should not forget God nor his saints and go frequently to church and pray to God for

³⁴ Italics added by the author to denote the paraphrase of Psalm 127. *Le rosier des guerres, enseignements de Louis XI Roy de France pour le Dauphin son fils* (Paris: Bernouard, [1925]), ch. 7.

himself and for his subjects. *For if God does not guard the city, those who guard it suffer for nothing.*

Fear of God was a necessity in all seasons of life and for all people, especially a warring prince, and intercession was considered to be an essential weapon in the path to victory. Divine approval was a foundational element of the legitimization of war in military texts. In the influential 14th century text *L'arbre des batailles* Honoré Bouvet wrote "Likewise it is necessary to understand that battle comes from God, not only that he permits battle rather than he himself commanded it."³⁵ Similarly, Symphorien Champier noted in the *Nef des Princes*, a treatise intended for military commander Charles of Bourbon, that "the prince should consider that victory comes from God and that his kingdom and seigneurie depend on him."³⁶ The belief the God was responsible for military outcomes was as ingrained in practice as it was in theory, as chronicles, missives, and ritual sources document actions taken before and after battles. As Charles VIII roused his men for the battle of Fornovo in 1495 he proclaimed, in a paraphrase by la Vigne: "God is for us, and God will fight for us. God wants to demonstrate today the good love, the dilection and the singular charity that he has for all good and loyal Frenchmen."³⁷ Once victory was achieved, gratitude for heavenly intervention was expressed publicly. Royal missives sent

³⁵ "Ainsi fault il entendre que bataille vient de Dieu non mie tant seulement que il permet bataille ainçois lui mesme l'a ordonné. Car Dieu commanda à ung homme qui s'appela Jhesuane comment il fist bataille contre ses ennemis, et si le advisa en quelle maniere il ordonnast ung embuschemment pour desconfir sa partie adverse. Encore disons nous comment nostre seigneur Dieu mesme est sire et gouverneur des batailles. Et pour ce convient il accorder et octroyer que bataille vient de droit divin c'est à dire par droit de Dieu, car la fin de bataille est pour conquérir paix et tranquillité et raison de celui qui son tort ne vouldroit recognoistre." Honoré Bonet, *L'arbre des batailles*, ed. Ernest Nys (Brussels: Muquart, 1883), 84.

³⁶ "Et doit penser le prince q[ue] la victoire prouient de dieu [et] q[ue] son royaume [et] seigneurie despend de luy." Symphorien Champier, *La nef des princes et des batailles de noblesse* ([Lyon]: n.p., 1502), xxi; Phyllis Ann Hall, A Critical Edition of the First Six Books of Symphorien Champier's "La nef des princes," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1975), 40.

³⁷ "Dieu est pour nous, et Dieu bataillera pour nous. Dieu veult aujourd'uy montrer la bonne amour, la dilection et la charité singuliere qu'il a aux bons et loyaux François." André de la Vigne, *Le voyage de Naples*, ed. Anna Slerca (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1981), 285.

out to French cities spreading news of victory ordered cities to give thanks to God and hold processions. According to Marot's *Voyage de Venise*, Louis XII commanded after the victory Agnadello in 1509 that "He sent letters, then, all throughout France, / Where he benevolently led [them] to pray to God."³⁸ This was repeated after the victory against Brescia in 1512, the text from one such missive received in Grenoble reading "so that you may make some suitable demonstration, by giving thanks and praise to God, our creator, for the victory that it pleased him to give us, and by holding great processions."³⁹ That these directives were taken seriously is apparent. Processions, masses, and public festivals were held across France in commemoration of victory, just as their king had commanded.⁴⁰

As part of this deep sense of divine dependence, princes and their armies developed rituals that regulated the rhythm of military life and prepared them for dangers ahead. These were generally held wherever the prince required. The scope and persistence of the field mass is difficult to overstate. Over a hundred preserved portable altars dated from 600 to 1400 serve as a testament to the practice of portable devotion.⁴¹ Renaissance chapels were always prepared for such occasions. Du Peyrat noted that the kings of France long had the custom of hearing mass "ordinarily in times of peace, as in times of war; and in the fields they heard them under tents

³⁸ "Lettres, adonc, par toute France envoye, / Où doucement à prier Dieu convoye." Jehan Marot, *Le voyage de Venise*, ed. Giovanna Trisolini (Geneva: Droz, 1977), 114.

³⁹ "affin que vous an faites queque honeste démonstration, en rendant grâce et louange à Dieu, nostre créateur, de la victoyre qui luy a pleu nous donner, et en faites grans processions." Auguste Prudhomme, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790: Ville de Grenoble*, vol. 1, *Séries AA et BB* (Grenoble: Dupont, 1886), 5.

⁴⁰ I examine these festivals in a forthcoming essay on the city of Grenoble: Deanna Pellerano, "War and Sound in Grenoble During the Italian Wars (1494–1559)," in *Vie musicale et identité urbaine dans la France de la Renaissance (ca.1500 – ca.1650)*, ed. Alex Robinson and Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Classiques Garnier, forthcoming).

⁴¹ On the several uses of portable altars see: Sarah Christine Luginbill, "Portable Altars, Devotion, and Memory In German Lands, 1050–1190 CE," (PhD diss., University of Colorado Boulder, 2021), 3–5.

and pavilions that they would have carried for this purpose in their entourage.”⁴² The Constitutions of the Castilian chapel specifically provided for the availability of a chaplain should the king wish to hear mass while travelling, hunting, or at war.⁴³ Furthermore, Burgundian sources from the late-14th century document how the duke travelled with carefully guarded chests containing his chapel’s treasures and ritual necessities for the mass.⁴⁴

In rare cases, military manuals stipulate the content of the quotidian rituals of battle entourages. In the *Instruction de toutes manieres de guerroyer*, Philippe de Clèves prescribed regular devotions for ships at war, dictating that one should have a mass said every morning such that “everyone can hear it and say their devotions,” and at night one “should have the Salve sung, on your ship, in front of the image of Our Lady, and have all of the fires that are on your ship extinguished.”⁴⁵ Nevertheless, featured prominently in written sources are accounts of masses held in close proximity to battles. These served an essential function. As it became clear that combat was nigh, masses were held at camp or on the battlefield, a final one for many who would soon face a violent death. The trope of princes and armies hearing mass before immediately mounting horses, raising standards, and charging into battle remains recognizable in late-medieval French-language chronicles. Jean Froissart wrote that king John II in anticipation of the battle of Poitiers in 1356 “had in his pavilion a most solemn mass sung before him, and

⁴² “ordinairement en temps de paix, comme en temps de guerre; & à la campagne ils les oyoient sous des tentes & pauillons qu’ils faisoient porter pour cet effet à leur suite.” Guillaume du Peyrat, *L’Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour* (Paris: Henry Sara, 1645), 498.

⁴³ Knighton, “Ritual and Regulations,” 307.

⁴⁴ Craig M. Wright, *Music At the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville, Pa.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 71, notes 128 and 129; On the mobility of the early Burgundian musical chapel see: Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 275.

⁴⁵ The first quotation reads: “Außi monseigneur à quelle heure qu’il vous plaira du matin, debuez faire dire vostre messe seiche par vostre chapelain, affin que chacun la puisse ouyr, & dire leurs deuotions.” Philippe de Clèves, *Instruction de toutes manieres de guerroyer*, 148. The second reads: “debuez faire chanter le Salué, en vostre nauire, deuant l’image de nostre Dame,& faire esteindre tous les feux qui sont en vostre nauire” Ibid., 145.

received communion, and his four sons” after which he held council and subsequently commanded his forces to go into battle in the name of God and Saint Denis.⁴⁶ Jean le Fèvre painted a similarly dramatic image of Henry V on the day of the battle of Agincourt in 1415 “Then, when morning came, the king of England began hearing his mass from dawn, and heard three one after the other, armed in all his harness, except his head, and his surcoat” after which he hastily charged into battle without even sounding his trumpets.⁴⁷ Charles VIII before the battle of Fornovo in 1495 “heard mass well and devoutly in a large pavilion, where watch had been held all night. And after the mass he dined, and around eight hours he mounted his horse, well-armed and richly outfitted, as was suitable for him.”⁴⁸ When the time came to attack the fortresses of the hills of the *Due Fratelli* in Genoa during Louis XII’s campaign against the territory in 1507, soldiers “seeing a great battle of enemies in place, while ascending kissed the earth and crossed their arms two or three times and held long ceremonies.”⁴⁹ Prayers of thanksgiving took place swiftly thereafter on the same soil. After the victory of Marignano in 1515, Francis I knelt in his tent and venerated the cross.⁵⁰ Louis XII also likely commemorated

⁴⁶ “fit en son pavillon chanter messe moult solennellement devant lui, et s’acommunia, et ses quatre fils.” Jean Froissart, *Les chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart*, ed. J.A.C. Buchon (Paris: Société du Panthéon littéraire, 1853), 1:340; du Peyrat, *L’Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 499.

⁴⁷ “Puis, quant ce vint le bien matin, le roy d’Angleterre commença à oyr sa messe dès le point du jour, et en ouy trois l’une après l’autre, armé de tout son harnas, hors sa teste, et sa coste d’armes vestue.” Jean le Fèvre, *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre*, ed. François Morand (Paris: Renouard, 1876), 1:244.

⁴⁸ “ouy messe bien et devotement en ung grant pavillon, ou toute la nuyt l’on avoit faict bon guet. Et après la messe il se disna, et environ huit heures il monta a cheval, bien armé et moult richement acoustré, ainsi qu’il appartenoit.” La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 283.

⁴⁹ “voyant grosse bataille d’ennemys en ordre, en montant baisèrent la terre et croiserent les bras deux ou troys foys et firent longues cerymonies.” D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:198.

⁵⁰ Jean Barrillon, *Journal de Jean Barrillon, secrétaire du chancelier Duprat, 1515–1521*, ed. Pierre de Vaissière (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1897), 1:125; This gesture would be repeated in a commentary on the 26th Psalm by François Demoulins, where Francis I is depicted seeking intercession from the cross for victory during his siege of Milan in 1515. François Demoulins de Rochefort, *Commentaire sur le psaume Dominus illuminatio mea*, manuscript, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 2088, f. 3r.

the victory at Agnadello in 1509 directly on the battlefield, the ramifications of which will be discussed in further detail below.⁵¹

Early evidence of musical chapels at war

The field mass and, on a broader scale, the sacralization of war itself appear to have offered a logical stage for the military debut of the Renaissance musical chapel. Though we must assume that the act of singing on the battlefield, perhaps even polyphonically, had preceded the official involvement of the Renaissance chapel, clear evidence of their involvement surfaces in the second half of the 15th century. Some of the earliest examples of their participation date to the military involvement of the Burgundian chapel under duke Charles the Bold. Antoine Busnoys participated in several campaigns spanning 1467 and 1475, information which has been preserved in the *escroes* of the ducal chapel.⁵² In a few cases, written evidence of the chapel's performance at camp has survived. In his documentation of the siege of Neuss (1474–5), Jean Molinet praises the existence of the ducal chapel and the duke's devotion to sacred music at camp during his military campaigns.⁵³ Similarly a letter from Giovanni Pietro Panigarola not only confirms the chapel's presence, but reveals their use for the duke's private entertainment at camp, writing: "Even though he [the duke] is in camp, every evening he has something new sung in his quarters; and sometimes his lordship sings, although he does not have a good voice; but he is skilled in music."⁵⁴ This would soon come to an end. In 1476 only Hayne de Ghizeghem and

⁵¹ See "The French chapel and the battlefield."

⁵² Paula Higgins "'In Hydraulis' Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 60–1.

⁵³ Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. J. A. Buchon (Paris: Verdière, 1827), 1:73.

⁵⁴ Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973), 162.

Adrien Basin, both singers and valets, accompanied the duke on his fateful journey, the rest of the chapel presumably dispersed ahead of the arduous campaign.⁵⁵

Though Burgundy may have been the earliest chapel to leave behind traces of their military participation, they were not alone. At the siege of Málaga in 1487 the chapels of the Catholic monarchs gathered at camp, apparently in considerable numbers. A vibrant account of their presence was preserved in Andrés Bernaldez's chronicle of the Catholic monarchs.

And in addition to the clerics, there were singers of the chapel of the king and the queen and other chapels of the nobles; so that in this way divine worship was honoured in that camp as in a very big town, and thus it seemed that God blessed them with infinite music and singers.⁵⁶

In light of these accounts, it comes as no surprise that by the dawn of the early Italian wars 1494, the French chapel was not the only one travelling in military entourages on the peninsula.

According to Marino Sanudo's chronicle of Charles VIII's military campaign in 1494–5, Francesco Gonzaga enjoyed the performance of both instrumental and vocal music during a field mass on August 16th held for the reception of ambassadors at camp:

Et dismantati al pavion dil capetanio, dove era fatto uno altar da dir messa... Il stendardo era posto in mezo il pavion, et baston d'ariento sopra l'altar; et fo cantato una solenne messa, con cantadori, pifari, et trombe venuti de qui.⁵⁷

And they dismounted at the tent of the captain, where there was set up an altar for saying mass...the standard was mounted in the middle of the tent, and the staff of silver on the altar; and a solemn mass was sung, with singers, *piffari*, and *trombe* from here.

⁵⁵ David Fiala, "Music and Musicians at the Burgundian Court in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 439; See also Higgins "'In Hydraulis,' 60–1.

⁵⁶ "E allende de los clerigos, avia cantores de la capilla del rey e la reina e de otras capillas de grandes; que asi era honrado el culto divino en aquel real como en una muy gran cibdad, e asi parecia que los ordenava Dios, con infinitas musicas e cantores." Bernaldez, *Memorias del reinado*, 199; Translation by Tess Knighton. Knighton, "Ritual and Regulations," 307.

⁵⁷ Marino Sanudo, *La spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin (Venice: Marco Visentini, 1873), 552.

Here it must be noted that is not clear if the local origins of the wind instruments are also meant to extend to the singers, who are not clearly identified as the singers of the marquess himself. Nevertheless, the source is indispensable, as we possess no other anecdote that so clearly delineates the manner in which polyphonic singers were integrated into the field mass, which in other cases we can only infer.

A decade later, the singers of the papal chapel traveled with Julius II during the Bologna campaign of 1506–7 and possibly again in 1510–11.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in a list of objects from the papal chapel brought along for the Bologna campaign of 1506, Paris de Grassis also included: “The twelve apostles, and all the utensils for the altar, and the credence table, and also the books for the singers.”⁵⁹ The masses in which the papal singers definitively participated are sparsely documented, though de Grassis documents plans for a mass in Orvieto for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, which fell through due to the unwillingness of the *commune* to pay for a messenger to recall the singers to the city.⁶⁰

The French chapel and the battlefield

While the circumstances of these chapels differed, with the exception of the papal chapel, nearly all of the aforementioned accounts placed singers directly on the battlefield, ready to meet the spiritual needs of combat and peril. Given the prevalence of this detail, the singers of the French chapel and those that documented their service had every reason to understand themselves within this long tradition of battlefield sacralization. Sacred music was itself an

⁵⁸ Richard Sherr, *The Papal Choir During the Pontificates of Julius II to Sixtus V, 1503–1590: An Institutional History and Bibliographical Dictionary* (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2016), 124–9, Paride Grassi, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II*, ed. Luigi Frati (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1886), 7.

⁵⁹ “Apostoli duodecim, et omnia utensilia pro altari, et credentia, et etiam libri pro Cantoribus.” Grassi, *Le due spedizioni*, 7, 9; Sherr, *The Papal Choir*, 124.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 124–5.

extension of prayer, a paradigm ingrained in the thinking of earlier chronicles. Olivier de la Marche, for instance, writing in the late 15th century, suggests that it was the singing of Capetian king Robert II, who was so pious that he would sing mass as if he were a cleric himself, leaving the battle at one point to do so, that resulted in his ensuing victory.⁶¹ Positioning the French chapel within the history of battlefield devotion faces some obstacles, as our understanding of the French chapel and the battlefield has been muddled through centuries of historiographic telephone. Among the leading, albeit aging, scholarship on the presence of chapel singers at war, featured prominently is an anecdote of the singers performing a *Te Deum* on the battlefield of Agnadello in 1509. Readers familiar with this literature would be led to believe that this reflected part of the duties of the wartime chapel. Yet, as will be demonstrated below, this anecdote not only reflects a misinterpretation of a 16th-century source but contradicts known evidence on the performance practice of the *Te Deum* as well as contemporary information on the manner in which chapel singers, as well as other clerics and noncombatants, navigated battles. It must be made clear that the institution of the *chapelle du Roy* consisted of far more than just singers. Priests, prelates, and confessors in the king's service continued to perform masses, absolutions, and sermons before and after battles, just as their medieval predecessors did. It is the presence of the singers on the battlefield, compared to other polyphonic chapels, that is conspicuously absent. Debunking old narratives and re-shifting our focus to contemporary sources will allow us to better evaluate the experiences that French singers may have had on and around the battlefield,

⁶¹ "Celluy Robert fit à Dieu telle reverence, qu'en son habit royal chantoit aveques les prestres, et faisoit le service de Dieu, comme s'il fust prebendé comme prestre: et fut celluy qui, tenant un siège sur ses ennemis à grande puissance, l'abandonna de sa personne, pour aler chanter et faire le service divin avec les prestres: et luy faisant le saint service de Dieu, les murailles tombèrent, sans coup ferir de canon ou bombarde, mais par la volonté de Dieu: et fut la place prise par ce moyen, et mise à la volonté de ce tresdevot roy Robert." Olivier de la Marche, *Les mémoires de messire Olivier de La Marche*, ed. M. Petitot, Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France 9 (Paris: Foucault, 1825), 1:133–4.

as well as the paradigm shift from devotion to princely virtue that may have accompanied the documentation of a triumph-centric ritual landscape in which singers were indeed situated.

The first anecdote under examination arises in the work of Ernest Thoinan, which still ranks among the few pieces of scholarship available on the singers of the French chapel at war. Thoinan's writes: "After the victory of Agnadello, the chaplains of the king executed on the field of battle a musical *Te Deum*."⁶² This is indeed the only evidence he offered attesting the involvement of the singers in the 1509 campaign.⁶³ Though no source is clearly offered, the anecdote appears in the works of two 18th century church historiographers, Louis Archon and Étienne Oroux, and their respective histories of the French chapel.⁶⁴ It is clear that Thoinan must have relied exclusively on one or both, as the anecdote does not appear to surface anywhere else. A search for the original source, however, reveals that the *Te Deum* in question appears to be an imaginative addition of these two historiographers.

In 1711 Archon published in his volume, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la chapelle des Rois de France* the following claim:

Dès que le Roy fut maître du champ de bataille, il descendit de cheval pour se mettre à genoux, les mains jointes, ce sont les termes de l'Historien; il remercia Dieu le maître Souverain de la victoire; ayant en même tems fait appeller le Cardinal Georges d'Amboise qui étoit Légat, il fit chanter le *Te Deum*, par les Ecclesiastiques & les Chantres de sa Chapelle.⁶⁵

Once the king was master of the battlefield, he dismounted in order to kneel, hands joined, these are the words of the historian; he thanked God, the sovereign master of the victory; having at the same time sent for the Cardinal Georges d'Amboise who was a legate, he had a *Te Deum* sung, by the ecclesiastics and the singers of his chapel.

⁶² Thoinan writes: "Après la victoire d'Agnadel, les chapelains du roi exécutèrent sur le champ de bataille un *Te Deum* en musique." Thoinan, *Les origins de la Chapelle*, 87–8.

⁶³ Thoinan jumps from the meeting in Savona in 1507 between Louis XII and Ferdinand II of Aragon straight to the singers on the battlefield and then directly to Ravenna. Ibid.

⁶⁴ Louis Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la chapelle des Rois de France* (Paris: Pierre-Augustin le Mercier, 1711), 475; Étienne Oroux, *Histoire ecclesiastique de la cour de France* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1776), 1:653–4.

⁶⁵ Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la chapelle des Rois de France*, 475.

The action, location, and participants of the anecdote seem to align closely with Thoinan's summary of the events. A similar account appeared in Oroux's work, *Histoire eccésiastique de la cour de France*:

Dès qu'il vit l'ennemi en déroute, il descendit de cheval, & se mit à genoux pour remercier le souverain Maître des évènements. Ayant ensuite appelé le Cardinal d'Amboise, il fit chanter le *Te Deum* par les Ecclésiastiques & les Chantres de sa Chapelle.⁶⁶

Once he saw the enemy changing course, he dismounted, and kneeled to thank the sovereign Master of the events. Having afterwards called for the Cardinal d'Amboise, he had a *Te Deum* sung by the ecclesiastics and the singers of his chapel.

Though both accounts are not word-for-word equivalents, Oroux's text mimics some of the key elements in Archon's, including the king's dismounting from his horse, the use of the descriptive "sovereign Master," and mostly importantly, the exact replication of the words used to describe the *Te Deum* and its participants. Seeing as Oroux's account came decades later, and as some of his wording and sentence structure matches Archon's, it is possible that Oroux modelled his account on the former, or perhaps a common source.

At first glance, this account would seem to be promising, with the singers heroically present in the middle of the action. This celebration, however, is premature, considering that the original source has yet to feature in any discussion of the matter. Early-modern historiographers drew on historical texts and archival sources, fashioning historical quodlibets, at times quoting historical texts verbatim and times elaborating them. Unsurprisingly interpretations and interpolations took place, often made in good faith and with attention to what could be reasonably understood to be standard practice. Nevertheless, this present study demands a re-evaluation of these sources, especially considering that the use of later historiographic sources

⁶⁶ Oroux, *Histoire eccésiastique de la cour de France*, 1:653-4.

comes at the expense of the accounts in contemporary sources and has led to misunderstanding. In this case an original sources is indeed offered. Archon claims that his words are the words of “the historian,” whom he cites in the margin as “S. Gelais.”⁶⁷ This is likely Jean de Saint-Gelais, who himself wrote a chronicle of the reign of Louis XII: *Histoire de Louys XII*.⁶⁸ A comparison of Archon and Saint-Gelais’s texts reveals that Archon’s bibliographic citation is in fact credible, given the similarities between the two excerpts. Saint-Gelais’s text does claim that the king dismounted and knelt to pray. Yet, his account of the events that followed are far more ambiguous than Archon leads us to believe:

Et incontinent la journée gaingée, il descendit de cheval, & à genoüils, & mains ioinctes il remercia le Createur, duquel tous biens & honneurs viennent, de la victoire qu’il luy avoit pleu donner contre ses ennemis. Et envoya querir Monseigneur le Legat, & luy dist que tout ce qu’il pourroit penser, qui se debvroit faire, pour rendre graces & loüanges à Dieu, qu’il fust faict & accompli.⁶⁹

And immediately on the victorious day, he dismounted, & on his knees, & hands joined he thanked the Creator, from whom all possessions and honors come, for the victory that he had been able to give him against his enemies. And sent to fetch for Monseigneur the Legat, & told him that all that could be thought of, that should be done, to give thanks and praise to God, that it be done and carried out.

The text matches Archon’s critical details, namely the initiative taken by king and that he sought the assistance of “Monsieur le Legat,” clarified in Archon’s account as being Cardinal Georges d’Amboise, in carrying out some act of devotion. Though some prayer appears to have taken place, we know only that the king ordered “all that could be thought of, that should be done.”

The *Te Deum* and more importantly the chapel singers are noticeably absent. We may offer Archon the benefit of the doubt in considering that he may have had access to sources that we are

⁶⁷ Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la chapelle des Rois de France*, 475.

⁶⁸ It ought to be noted to avoid confusion that there were several writers and poets of the name Saint-Gelais that lived around the turn of the century, namely Octavien de Saint-Gelais and Mellin de Saint-Gelais. I refer purposefully to more obscure Jean de Saint-Gelais.

⁶⁹ Saint Gelais, *Histoire de Louys XII*, ed. Theodore Godefroy (Paris: Abraham Pacard, 1622), 215–6.

simply not aware of. Indeed several accounts of the aftermath of Agnadello suggest that some acts of devotion may have taken place, with sources mentioning the construction of a chapel on the site of the battle, the burial of the dead, and the singing of masses in the days following the battle.⁷⁰ One source offers an image similar to the one portrayed in the text of Saint-Gelais. An illumination from the manuscript of Raoul Bollart's 16th century poem *On the Victory of King Louis XII of France against the Venetians* depicts Louis XII knelt in prayer on the battlefield.⁷¹ Nevertheless, in spite of the existence of these sources, Archon does not reference any of them.

It is probable that the *Te Deum* and the inclusion of the singers was a well-intended inference, founded presumably on his own awareness of the ubiquity of the *Te Deum*. Chronicles and leaflets had long profited from the predictability of ritual in the documentation of distant events. A Parisian pamphlet, now believed to have been a fabrication, publicizing Charles VIII's entry into Naples on 22 February 1495 included a vibrant image of clerics singing a *Te Deum* in a rather convincing description of the king's reception at the cathedral.⁷² That the *Te Deum*

⁷⁰ Among these references were the account of Marot attestation of the presence of masses and burials after the battle and multiple accounts that report of plans to erect a chapel on the site to commemorate the battle. On the building of a chapel: Robert de La Marck, seigneur de Fleuranges, *Mémoires mis en escript par Robert de la Marck, seigneur de Fleuranges et de Sedan, et maréchal de France, dit le jeune aventureux*, Collection universelle des mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France 16 (London: n.p., 1786), 46–7; Claude de Seyssel, “L'Excellence & la felicité de la victoire, que eut le tres-chrestien Roy de France, Louys XII, de ce nom,” in *Histoire de Louys XII, Roy de France, pere du peuple, et des choses memorables advenües de son Regne*, ed. Theodore Godefroy (Paris: Abraham Pacard, 1615), 328; Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 156; On the singing of mass and burial of the dead: Ibid. 112.

⁷¹ Saint Gelais, *Histoire de Louys XII*, 215–6; Raoul Bollart, *On the Victory and Triumph of the French King Louis XII*, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 97, fol. 11v.

⁷² “Et après le roy fist serment de garder et defendre l'église et incontinent les portes furent ouvertes et commença tout le clergé, qui durait une demye lieue, chanter à haulte voix: ‘Te Deum laudamus.’ Toutes les cloches sonnaient, les orgues, trompettes, clérons et toute manière d'instruments: ‘Louange à Dieu soit faicte.’” “S'ensuy l'entrée et couronnement du roy nostre sire en la ville de Napples faicte le XXII^e jour de fevrier 1495,” in *Campagne et Bulletins de la grande armée d'Italie commandée par Charles VIII, 1494–1495: d'après des documents rare sou inédits, extraits, en grande parties, de la bibliothèque de Nantes*, ed. J. de la Pilorgerie (Nantes: V. Forest et É. Grimaus, 1866), 202; See the argument of Bonner Mitchell, who has called out the pamphlet's lack of knowledge of the Neapolitan coronation ceremonial: Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns In Renaissance Italy* (1494–1600) (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1986), 78–9.

would have been used to celebrate the victory is certainly not misguided. Nevertheless, contemporary sources lack concordances for such a battlefield ritual in the French tradition. The *Te Deum* was by the 16th century firmly embedded in French ritual. It was featured most notably in coronations, entries, and the ratifications of treaties, gradually morphing into a form of “state music.”⁷³ In her essay on the use and development of the *Te Deum* in state ritual, Sabine Žak mentions the use of the *Te Deum* as a medieval post-battle ritual, rooted in the understanding that military victories were tied to divine intervention.⁷⁴ One especially colorful anecdote hails from Bruno von Magdeburg’s *De bello Saxonico liber*, which dates back to the 11th century, in which the victorious Henry IV sings a *Te Deum* on the battlefield along with his clerics.⁷⁵ Yet, this heroic medieval *Te Deum*, which may itself be a trope, is a far cry from the performance practice of Renaissance France.

To the extent that something as common as a *Te Deum* was mentioned in historical sources, in the Renaissance French ceremonial it is documented most often as taking place in a church as part of carefully coordinated ritual, with the hymn serving as a stamp of approval on important political affairs.⁷⁶ These consisted of course heavily of royal entries, during which a *Te Deum* would sound with organ accompaniment and the ringing of bells in Notre Dame.⁷⁷ Military affairs were not excluded. After Francis I and Henry VIII signed an accord in December 1518, the English ambassadors were received at Notre Dame during which a *Te Deum* was

⁷³ Žak, “Das Tedeum als Huldigungsgesang,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 102, no. 1 (1982): 30–1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 26–7.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 27; Bruno von Magdeburg, *De bello Saxonico liber*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1843), 127.

⁷⁶ This is often referred to as taking place “en choses faites.” Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 184.

⁷⁷ Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 23; Bonime, “Anne de Bretagne,” 77–8.

sung.⁷⁸ Furthermore, after the return of Francis I from captivity in 1527, a royal celebratory mass took place in Bordeaux at the church of Saint-André after which a *Te Deum* sounded “en chantant de chozes faictes.”⁷⁹ These instances, characteristic for the period, noticeably bear none of the spontaneity of the previous anecdotes. This is not to say that a *Te Deum* after Agnadello would not have been appropriate to sing but that a trope of spontaneous execution on the battlefield is lacking.

Another important detail to note is that, to the extent that contemporary anecdotes are able to offer this information, it is often apparent that the clergy present during battlefield devotions belonged to the king’s innermost circle. Saint-Gelais’s account, for instance, featured prominently Georges d’Amboise. We also learn from Barrillon that at least Francis I’s confessor, a Dominican friar, had joined him on the battlefield, as he delivered a sermon in the king’s tent shortly after the victory:

Le XVe jour du mois de septembre, le Roy alla veoir l’armée des Vénitiens et, ledict jour, frère Guillaume Parvy, confesseur dudit seigneur, feit ung sermon en la tante d’icelluy seigneur, exhortant ung chascun à rendre grâces à Dieu de la belle victoire qu’il luy avoit pleu donner aux François et confesser que Dieu seul avoit donné la victoire et non la force de l’armée.⁸⁰

The 15th day of the month of September, the King went to see the army of the Venetians and, the said day, brother Guillaume Pervy, confessor of the said lord, did a sermon in the tent of this lord, exhorting each to give thanks to God for the beautiful victory that he had been able to give to the French and confess that God alone had given the victory and non the force of the army.

⁷⁸ *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Ier, 1515–1536*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Renouard, 1854), 76. Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 204.

⁷⁹ Sébastien Moreau, “La Prinse et delivrance du roy, venue de la royne, seur aînée de l’empereur, et recouvrement des enfants de France,” in *Archives Curieuses de l’Histoire de France Depuis Louis XI Jusqu’à Louis XVIII*, ed. M. L. Cimber and F. Danjou, Series 1 (Paris: Beauvais, 1835), 2:331; Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 187.

⁸⁰ Jean Barrillon, *Journal*, 1:127–8.

Singers, in contrast, appear to have been intentionally sequestered from the battlefield. This took place at least once. As news of the king's victory in 1507 spread, the chapel, which had been lodging in Alessandria undertook the journey to Genoa to join their patron, suffering a near fatal ambush along the way.⁸¹ The chapel was evidently not permanently attached to the king as he waged war. A date of separation is discernable by means of additional sources. We learn from Jean Michel, who encountered the chapel in Asti around April 20th, that the chapel was still been in the king's entourage at that time.⁸² Combined with d'Auton's account, it follows that the chapel remained with the king up until about April 23rd when the king departed from Alessandria to join his army.⁸³ That the king may have strategically elected to protect his chapel echoes similar treatment received by d'Auton himself, a Benedictine monk who, during the siege of Genoa, remained sheltered in the castle of Rivarolo close to the city and was permitted to participate in d'Amboise's largesse:

Dedans le bourg de Rivereu estoit logé messire Charles d'Amboise, lieutenant du Roy, et grant compaignye de gentishommes du Roy, qui repaissoient tous a son logis. Ausi tenoit il maison ouverte a tous venans, ou ce jour me trouvay a l'eure du soupper pour en avoir ma part comme les autres.⁸⁴

Inside the town of Rivereu was lodged sir Charles d'Amboise, lieutenant of the king, and great company of gentlemen of the king, who all ate at his lodging. Also he held open house to all coming, where this day I founded myself at the hour of supper to get my share like everyone else.

D'Auton describes afterwards how the soldiers would return to the village after the battle, bringing alone stories that he promised to document in his present chronicle.⁸⁵ In both cases,

⁸¹ The following anecdote has been used as evidence of Prioris's status as musical master of the chapel, but its implications for the experience of the chapel at war is nonetheless relevant to this study. Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 28; Theodor Dumitrescu, "Who Was 'Prioris'? A Royal Composer Recovered," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 15.

⁸² Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 201

⁸³ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:190

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 4:209–10.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4:210.

either d'Auton or the singers were afforded explicit protection. Though the consistency with which this practice was observed in the French chapel cannot be confirmed, it must nonetheless be acknowledged that no clear rebuttal can be extracted from available sources.

Upon closer inspection, the authenticity of Archon's *Te Deum* struggles to hold in the face of contemporary evidence. The text of Saint-Gelais, which Archon admittedly drew on, contains no *Te Deum* and no mention of the chapel singers. Given the benefit of the doubt, Archon's *Te Deum* also fails on contextual grounds. When compared to other uses of the *Te Deum* in France, post-battle devotion at Agnadello, and known relationships between French singers and clergy and the battlefield, Archon's extrapolation finds no concordance in contemporary accounts. Despite the ubiquity of the *Te Deum*, we must accept that if any such performance took place after Agnadello, it did not take place in the manner in which Archon dictated, eliminating the description from our list of anecdotes of the French chapel singers at war. This observation confirms the lack of battlefield anecdotes for the French chapel during the early Italian wars. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, this observation reveals that Thoinan's study, one of the only works of scholarship on the singers of the chapel at war, basis his claim of the singers' participation in the 1509 campaign on unreliable evidence, a fact that further stresses the importance of undertaking new research on chapel singers at war and seeking out contemporary sources.

A theoretical paradigm shift?

Despite the devotional value of music, after correcting a historiographic error, no textual source is able to confirm the involvement of the French chapel singers on the battlefield itself. On the contrary, available evidence of the singers and other clerics in the king's retinue points to their avoidance of major battles. While the absence of evidence does not automatically indicate

the absence of practice, it is clear that the evidence of the physical presence of the French chapel at war, which will be discussed in further detail in the following chapters, is markedly festive. Ritual descriptions praise their participation in processions and masses that took place during triumphant entries and visits in vanquished cities and as part of official diplomatic affairs. Transmissions of their works that can be reliably traced to the wars point strongly to urban centers and the confluence of international forces that took place as princes gathered, deliberated, and celebrated. The degree to which this represents a paradigm shift in the valuation of polyphonic music at war represents an ongoing question in this study. To the extent that contemporary texts are able to offer a theoretical explanation for this phenomenon, the values that led to a de-emphasis of battlefield narratives and saturation of triumphal ones in contemporary accounts of the French chapel at war can be discerned, in part, through discussions of princely virtue. Towards the turn of the 16th century, writings on good princely behavior at war did not characterize the role of music solely as the embodiment of prayer but also as an extension of the prince's own good virtue.

Music-making as a desirable attribute of the warring Renaissance prince was frequently expressed through comparisons with legendary models. Attitudes ranged from the use of music as a means of controlling one's temperament to the use of music as an expression of one's piety. A well-known anecdote stems from Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano*, for instance, he cites the story of Achilles and his mentor Chiron, who makes the hero play the lyre to balance his warring deeds.⁸⁶ Yet, while Castiglione's ideas have been influential in modern scholarly discourse and would have no doubt come into fruition as the early Italian wars were unfolding, more common in texts contemporary to the wars is the comparison of the warring

⁸⁶ Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, 116; See also van Orden, *Music, Disciplines, and Arms*, 14–5.

prince and his song to the psalmody of David.⁸⁷ In the aforementioned commentary on the 26th psalm by Demoulins, he writes in his introduction that on the 12th of February 1516, shortly after Francis had returned from his recent campaign in Italy, Louise of Savoy went to speak with her son:

Et le supplier que po[ur] oraison deuote, il prinst le psaulme xxvi^e. Le quel est co[n]uenable po[ur] Luy. Selo[n] veritable narratio[n] suyua[n]t la declaratio[n] de son adue[n]ture. Et moult Luy p[ro]fitera si a la requeste de la Dame quil ayme tant Il veult cha[n]ter et dire co[m]me David *Dominus illuminatio mea, et salus mea, que[m] timebo?*

And beseech him that for devotional prayer, he should choose the 26th psalm, which is suitable for him, according to veritable account following the declaration of his adventure. And it would profit him much if, at the request of the Lady he loves so much, he would sing and say like David: *Dominus illuminatio mea, et salus mea, que[m] timebo?*⁸⁸

The suitability of this metaphor for the piety of a warring prince was apparently widely understood. According to Molinet, the idea that Charles the Bold would occupy himself with the performance of sacred music during the siege of Neuss was praiseworthy inasmuch, in part, as it reflect an expression of his virtuous and pious character and the restorative power of sacred music, which is compared to the example of David:

Après la réfection du corps, donnoit la réfection à l'ame, et employoit ses jours, non pas en folle vanité, en mondain spectacle, mais en saintes scriptures, histoires approuvées et de haultes recommandations, souverainement en l'art de musique, dont il estoit tant amoureux que nul plus, et non sans cause, car musique est la resonance des cieux, la voix des anges, la joie de paradis, l'esperoir de l'air, l'organe de l'Eglise, le chant des oyselets, la récréacion de tous cueurs tristes et désolés, la persécution et enchassement des diables, comme appert par David jouant de sa harpe devant le roi Saül, possédé des diables.⁸⁹

After the rehabilitation of the body, he gave the rehabilitation to the soul, and spent his days, not in foolish vanity, in worldly spectacle, but in holy scriptures, proven histories and high recommendations, especially in the art of music, of which he was so enamored

⁸⁷ Outside of music, comparisons to David played an important role during the Italian wars. See especially Dominique Vinay, "Charles VIII et David au temps des guerres d'Italie," in *Les figures de David à la Renaissance*, ed. Elise Boillet, Sonia Cavicchioli, and Paul-Alexis Mellet (Geneva: Droz, 2015), 21–50.

⁸⁸ Demoulins, *Commentaire*, 1r.

⁸⁹ Molinet, *Chroniques*, 1:73.

as with nothing else, and not without cause, because music is the resonance of the heavens, the voice of the angels, the joy of paradise, the hope of the air, the organ of the church, the song of the birds, the recreation of all sad and sorry hearts, the persecution and expulsion of the devils, as made apparent by David playing his harp in front of the king Saul, possessed by the devils.

Here Molinet's language of heavenly imitation also echoes contemporary discourse on the metaphysical value of sacred music as the mirror of angelic song, ideas propagated in theoretical texts on music.⁹⁰ A similar attitude towards ritual was expressed in the contemporary texts of papal theorist and master of ceremonies Paris de Grassis: "Indeed, it is one by which, while we pay the debt of culture to the divine majesty, we place ourselves in heavenly things."⁹¹ This metaphysical perspective, however, appears to have gained limited traction in military texts. More salient is the fact that Charles's music-making, despite not relinquishing its devotional qualities, was not equated with collective tactical intervention, as la Marche did with Robert II, but as an individual-centric act with social and spiritual capital for the supplicant.

Furthermore, in no other text was the social value of music so clearly delineated as in Maximilian's *Weisskunig*, where the ideal prince is said to balance the musical and devotional qualities of David with the warring qualities of Alexander the Great.

⁹⁰ Franchino Gaffori, *The Theory of Music*, ed. and trans. by Walter Kurt Kreyszig (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 21. Rob C. Wegman, "Sense and Sensibility in Late-Medieval Music: Thoughts on Aesthetics and 'Authenticity,'" *Early Music* 23, no. 2 (May 1995): 298–314. See also Pietschmann's explanation of how this process worked, particularly with respect to the writings Celco Maffei: Klaus Pietschmann, "Religion and the Senses in Fifteenth-century Europe," trans. James Steichen, in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-century Europe*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (The Cambridge History of Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 47–8.

⁹¹ "Siquidem ea una est, per quam dum divinae maiestati debitum culturae praestamus, nos ipsos in caelestibus collocamus. Ea inquam est, quae hominibus a Deo praelectis honores adhibere nos admonet, quae statum utriusque professionis, principium scilicet et praelatorum, exornat, rudes instruit, magistros erudite et magistrat eruditos, discipulos compescit et quid divinitatis humanitatisque ac honestatis usquam est indicat et demonstrat." Fondo Borghese, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Borg.lat.569, f. 16r cited in Bölling, *Das Papstzeremoniell*, 110; See as well Staubach's analysis of the same quote. Nikolaus Staubach, "'Honor Dei' oder 'Bapsts gepreng'? Zur Reorganisation des Papstzeremoniells in der Renaissance," in *Rom und das Reich vor der Reformation*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 111–12.

Auf ein zeit gedacht er an kunig Davit, das der almechtig got ime sovil genad het gethan, und laß den psalter, darynnen er gar oft fand: ‚lob got mit dem gesang und in der herpfen.‘ Da beweget er wie groß gefellig sölichs got were. Nach sölichem nam er fur sich kunig Alexander, der so vil kunigreich und land überwunden hat, und laß seine geschichten, darynnen war geschriben also: der groß kunig Alexannder ist oftmalen durch der menschen lieblich gesang und durch die frölichen saytenspil bewegt worden, das er seine veind geslagen hat: aus dem war der jung weiß kunig gröslichen in seinem gemuet bewegt und in seinem herzen entzundt, in dem lob gotes den kunig Davit und in der streitperkait dem kunig Alexander nachzufolgen, und er lernet mit grossem emsigen vleiss erkennen die art des gesangs und saytenspils, dann er nam fur sich die zway grossen stuck, den lob gottes und die uberwyndung seiner veind, das dann ainem kunig die zwo höchsten tugend sein.⁹²

Once he was thinking about King David, that almighty God had conferred so much grace upon him. And he read the psalter, in which he found, “Praise God with song and with the harp.” Then he reflected on how very pleasing to God such a thing must be. He also took up King Alexander, who conquered so many kingdoms and lands, and he read his history. Therein was also written: the great King Alexander was often so moved by the lovely singing of people and by the merry string music that he slew his foes. That kindled the heart of the young White King to emulate King David in the praise of God and King Alexander in militancy...He learned with diligent effort the arts of singing and of string play, for he occupied himself with two things: the praise of God and the conquest of his enemies, which are for a king the two highest virtues.⁹³

The story of Alexander refers here to the oft cited legend of Alexander the Great and the musical modes that moved him to battle.⁹⁴ In equating music and war with affect, this account recalls more vividly the aforementioned story of Achilles and Chiron, a humanistic perspective absent in the versions of Demoulins and Molinet. To be clear, this anecdote does not specifically state that the king *at war* must emulate David, but that the qualities of David, which he emulated through the curation of a chapel, and the qualities of Alexander, which he emulated through the curation of military ensembles, must be concurrently embodied. It is, however, consistently the act of

⁹² *Der Weisskunig*, ed. Marx Treitzsauerwein von Ehrentreiz and Alwin Schultz, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 6 (Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1888), 80.

⁹³ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 193.

⁹⁴ See Introduction for a more detailed discussion.

music-making that allows the king to access “the two highest virtues.” Similar to Molinet’s interpretation, the intercessional value of music is not without its social benefit.

Though the latter three accounts differ in the details of their interpretations, the notion arises that the act of singing itself, and not merely its use in the observation of mass and prayer, had acquired additional cultural capital for the warring prince. No longer a pragmatic extension of the medieval tradition of military sacralization, the documentation of Renaissance chapel singers at war cannot be separated from these contemporary ideals of heavenly and humanistic virtue. These values ran parallel to the decisions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I to bring their musical chapels with them to war and the attitudes with which contemporary observers associated them with triumphal ritual. Whether this represented a total paradigm shift in the military valuation of polyphonic music remains to be seen. It must be emphasized that conceptual changes could be gradual and fragmented. It is certainly telling that the example of David, whose social virtues were nonetheless rooted in piety, was chosen in these sources over that of secular Achilles. As the investigation into chapel repertoire in this study will demonstrate, even as social values and ritual practices evolved, the importance of devotion and military sacralization was never eschewed.

3. War and the lives of singers

Though this book affords necessarily much attention to the rituals and the music of the French chapel at war, readers will notice that the singers themselves remain somewhat in the shadows. Indeed apart from a scant few names offered in letters and manuscript attributions, an overview of the individual members of the chapel and their diverse experiences at war is hardly acknowledged in contemporary sources about the wars. We must presume that the arduous and violent campaigns of the Italian wars left unmistakable marks on the lives and careers of singers that either joined the campaigns in person or were made to suffer their consequences at home and abroad. As clergy they would have certainly been subject to Alexander VI's tithe levied in 1500 in support of his crusading ambitions, and they must have kept a careful watch on tensions between the monarchy and the papacy and their aspirations to reform the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.⁹⁵ Residing in France, they would have been subject to the routine updates on the wars that were periodically received throughout the country.⁹⁶ In at least one instance, this would affect them directly, as in the late summer of 1501 they sang in Lyon for the funeral of the deceased Louis II, Count of Montpensier, who had perished in Naples shortly after the French

⁹⁵ Alexander VI issued in 1501 a bull levying a tithe against all clergy in order to wage war against the Ottoman Empire. Johannis Burckardi, *Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani, Vol. 32, pt. 1 of *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, Giosue Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, and Pietro Fedele (Castello: S. Lapi, 1907), 2: 220–4; That the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was a source of tension between France and the papacy is well documented. See: John A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 140; Jules Thomas, *Le Concordat de 1516: ses origines, son histoire au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1910), 1:307–28; R.J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 47–50.

⁹⁶ Broadsheets and letters were frequently circulated as ways of keeping the public abreast of the developments of the wars. See Jean-Pierre Seguin, “L’information à la fin du xv^e siècle en France: Pièces d’actualité imprimées sous le règne de Charles VIII (I^{re} partie).” *Arts et traditions populaires* 4, no. 4 (October–December 1956): 309–30; Richard Cooper, “Noël Abraham publicist de Louis XII, Duc de Milan premier imprimeur du roi?” in *Passer les monts: Français en Italie – l’Italie en France (1494–1525)*, ed. Jean Balsamo (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1998), 149–76.

conquest of the city.⁹⁷ Furthermore, as members of the battle entourage itself, they were exposed to the perils of war as both witnesses and victims. How singers navigated these developments individually could vary. Yet, if there is anything to be gleaned from extant evidence, it is that the French chapel at war was no monolith. The diverse social and musical statuses present in the chapel weighed heavily on a singer's destiny, whether they joined the battle entourage at all or stayed behind, whether they stayed away from the fighting or charged into battle, and whether the wars hindered their professional mobility or enabled it. The following chapter aims to shed a light on the shreds of prosopographical evidence and research in social history that may offer an answer to these questions.

All the king's men?

It stands that the roster of the chapel singers during the years of 1494 to 1515 is generally challenging to pin down. Studies by Bonime, Sherr, Brobeck, and Cazaux collectively offer the most comprehensive overview of sources pertaining to the royal chapel and its membership c. 1494–1515.⁹⁸ In these studies, scattered archival records, a cluster of papal supplications during the reign of Louis XII, and a list of singers present at the obsequies of Louis XII largely form the basis of our current prosopographical understanding of the French chapel during these challenging archival years. What this can say about the nature of the chapel at war is limited. We can glean that the chapel at its smallest ranged from approximately 8–11 singers around the mid-1490s and reached its apex in 1515 when Francis I acquired the presumably combined chapels of Anne of Brittany and Louis XII, numbering at 23 as of January 1515.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, most

⁹⁷ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:135–6.

⁹⁸ Bonime, “Anne de Bretagne,”; Sherr, “The Membership of the Chapels,” 60–82; Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*; Brobeck, “Musical Patronage,” 187–23.

⁹⁹ For estimates of the chapel at its smallest and largest see: Bonime, “Anne de Bretagne,” 29; Sherr, “The Membership of the Chapels,” 79; Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 310.

records just miss the years of the wars. Records of activity under the rule of Charles VIII cluster in the early 1490s, and evidence of Louis XII's chapel stems largely from supplications dating to the early 1510s, between the Venetian and Milanese campaigns of 1509 and 1515 respectively.¹⁰⁰ Small exceptions exist. It is possible to see in Leo X's approval of benefices for, Guillaume Cousin, Noel Galoys, Antoine de Longueval, and Jean Richafort, Claudin de Sermissy on 30 January 1516 evidence of members of Francis's wartime chapel.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the appearance of a supplication on behalf of Jean de Montul dated 6 May 1509 overlaps with Louis XII's presence in Italy shortly before the battle of Agnadello.¹⁰² I do not wish, however, to use the proximity of certain dates to the battle campaigns alone as a means of drawing up a wartime chapel roster. The risk of error in pure speculation is non-negligible, particularly considering that very few records are affirmatively attributable to the wars. Mouton and Longueval's reception of papal honors on 17 December 1515 can be clearly associated with the presence of the French entourage in Italy for the meeting between Francis I and Leo X in Bologna.¹⁰³ Additionally, Pierre Mouton's presence as a witness to the appointment of Jean Mouton as a canon of the church of Saint André in Grenoble on 22 April 1509 coincides with the king and queen's presence in the city ahead of Louis's departure for Venice.¹⁰⁴ Though it does not appear that members of the queen's chapel ever joined the king at war, preparations for war during the Italian wars were often made in Grenoble, and evidence of Mouton's appointment offers rare insight into the potential brushes of the queen's chapel with the prospective battle entourage and

¹⁰⁰ Sherr offers some discussion on the reason for this selection of years. Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels," 80.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 66–78.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 67, 71.

¹⁰⁴ Bonime, "Anne de Bretange," 38

the pageantry of war.¹⁰⁵ The need for such a cautious reading of these sources rests not merely on the high standards of prosopographical methodologies but in the fact that discrepancies appear to have indeed occurred. Two individual cases suggest that, whether by individual choice or princely command, the chapel did not always partake in full during times of war.

Much debated have been the whereabouts of Févin, who in 1507 was asked to furnish a chanson for Louis XII so that he might impress the local ladies.¹⁰⁶ Rifkin and Bonime have both agreed that this speaks for his absence from the battle entourage.¹⁰⁷ The latter, however, has argued that d'Auton's statement that all of the singers of the chapel were present in 1507 suggests that Févin may not have held the title of singer.¹⁰⁸ Févin's status as a singer, however, is difficult to contest. In Guillaume Crétin's *Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier, dit Lourdault* the narrator remarks that "Then I was told that death had taken / By accident a singer of high price" to which he responded "Tell me of whom I speak? Is it not the noble / Master musician Anthoyne Févin?" thus implying that Févin was also to be regarded as a singer.¹⁰⁹ In this case, we must question if d'Auton's statement is meant to be taken so literally. It was certainly in his interest to inflate the honor and grandeur of the king's entourage, and small discrepancies may not have been worth mentioning. It is important to note that this offers no explicit evidence on individual agency. Févin could have also been ordered to remain in

¹⁰⁵ The importance of Grenoble in the battle campaign is discussed in a forthcoming publication: Pellerano, "War and Sound."

¹⁰⁶ Maulde-La Clavière, "*Jean Perréal*," 1–9.

¹⁰⁷ This being in contrast with Dunning's view arguing that Févin was present with Louis XII. Joshua Rifkin, review of *Die Staatsmotette: 1480–1555* by Albert Dunning, *Notes* 28, no. 3 (March 1972): 427–28; Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 72–6.

¹⁰⁸ Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 35.

¹⁰⁹ "Lors me fut diet que la mort avoit pris/Par accident ung chantre de hault pris/'Qui vois-je dire? esse pas ce gentil/Musicien maistre Anthoyne Fevin?'" Translation by Martin Ham. Text and translation quoted from Martin Ham, "'Le gentil' Févin and Motets of Remembrance" *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 65, no. 1/2 (2015): 101.

France, perhaps elsewhere in the service of the skeleton court left behind as the king traversed the alps.

In another case, Cazaux's study of the singers of Francis I's chapel has raised one fascinating discrepancy, namely that the master of the chapel Hilaire Bernonneau was replaced in his role as master of the chapel by Antoine de Longueval sometime in the late summer of 1515. The document in question is an account book BnF ms. F5118 in which are documented payments for the half-year from April–September 1515.¹¹⁰ Cazaux notes that the amount of the payment better correlates with four and a half months of payment, placing the change of guard in mid-August.¹¹¹ The timing of Bernonneau's departure raises some pertinent questions, as it was precisely during this month that Francis I gathered his army and left for Italy, making Bernonneau's partial payment and eventual departure appear more than coincidental.¹¹² The chapel would have had ample time to deliberate who would be joining the battle entourage and who would stay. Already in July, the king spent three weeks in Lyon making plans for the war before making his way to Grenoble and Embrun in early August, during which period his army mobilized.¹¹³ A payment extending only into August indeed implies Bernonneau's absence in the coming wars and Longueval's ascension to master of the chapel at the start of the battle campaign itself. Moreover, the fact that Bernonneau does not feature in any of the honors

¹¹⁰ Brobeck offers a literal reading of the source, but Cazaux has proposed that there was in fact a mistake in the copying of the document, noting that Bernonneau was without a doubt the master of the chapel in January of 1515 during the funeral of Louis XII, citing a different account located in a different part of the same source in which the name "Hillaire" appears clearly. Brobeck, "Musical Patronage," 197–8; Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 235–6, 342–3. The source cited in Cazaux's study is: Archives Nationales, KK 89, f. 59. To this one might add that the manner in which Jean Michel expresses Longueval's status as master of the chapel suggests the affirmation of a fact that needed confirmation "Logneval si è maestro di capella del Re." Lockwood translates this as "Longaval is master of the king's chapel," but I suggest reading this more specifically as "Longueval is *indeed* master of the king's chapel." Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 204.

¹¹¹ Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 235, note 4.

¹¹² Barrillon, *Journal*, 1:78

¹¹³ Ibid. 1:65–78

bestowed on the members of the chapel by Leo X in December and that Jean Michel makes no mention of him in his letters supports this notion. Although it is quite possible that Bernonneau already had plans to leave the chapel, the wars may have presented him with a convenient date of departure. The war itself would even offer perhaps a clearer explanation for the mysterious documentation. A possible explanation may rest in the hypothesis of Cazaux, who has suggested that Bernonneau's lack of appearance in any further records of the musical chapel and subsequent employment as *valet de chambre* in 1519 and 1520 could represent "a sort of pension granted by the king to an old servant."¹¹⁴ Perhaps age or another infirmity affected his fitness for a strenuous military campaign, though this must remain speculative.

Violent encounters and armsbearing

Once the singers of the battle entourage had been selected, the road ahead of them was yet uncertain. This was hardly more evident than in matters of violence and defense, a risk in all forms of travel, and for which there existed strict codes of conduct for both clergy and noblemen, two groups to which singers often belonged and two social obligations that they needed to negotiate. The previous chapter offered an argument for the intentional separation between singers and the battlefield and the diminished centrality of battlefield devotion in contemporary sources. Battlefield devotions were, however, separate from experiences of violence. One did not guarantee nor preclude the other. On the one hand, "Shadow agents" of war were not always able to escape the occupational hazard of violence, musicians included.¹¹⁵ Marot mentions how Louis XII's fool, the famous Triboulet, was so frightened by the sounds of canons at the siege of

¹¹⁴ "une sorte de pension accordée par le roi à un serviteur âgé." Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 343.

¹¹⁵ A recent volume explores this group of Renaissance agents in more detail. Stephen Bowd, Sarah Cockram, and John Gagné, eds., *Shadow Agents of Renaissance War: Suffering, Supporting, and Supplying Conflict In Italy and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023).

Peschiera in June of 1509 that he fled and hid under a bed at camp.¹¹⁶ In a more grave case, Paula Higgins has uncovered that the Burgundian singer Jehan Stewart may have perished at the battle of Nancy in 1477, the compensation his widow received thereafter perhaps issued in response to a death perceived as unjust.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, as will be discussed in further detail below, even the most unexpected agents could take up arms. The following discussion takes a closer look at questions of violent encounters and armsbearing, examining from a socio-historical perspective two contrasting violent encounters involving chapel singers and the social reasoning for them. While information is limited, these two cases demonstrate that there existed no clear template for singers and their relationship with violence and that the diverse social roles of singers, often dually employed as members of the household, in the king's service must always be born in mind.

A prominent anecdote by d'Auton is the only source of information we possess on the violent experiences of the French chapel as a whole. As mentioned previously, the king's chapel had been left behind in Alessandria as Louis XII waged war against Genoa. Despite their distance from the battlefield, the chapel suffered a harrowing attack.

Au Roy fut dit lors et acertainé que, durant le temps qu'il estoit devant Gennes, ceulx d'Allexandrye semerent nouvelles que son armée estoit deffaicte et les François tous mors; par quoy voulurent courir sus a ceulx de France, qui la estoient demourez, mesmement a ceulx de sa chappelle, qu'il avoit la lessez au partir dudit lieu d'Alixandrie; lesquelz, apres la prise de Gennes, s'en allerent la devers le Roy et lui disrent que lesdits villains d'Alloxandrie, au moyen desdites nouvelles, s'estoyent voulus revoulter et mettre en armes pour aller garder les chemins d'entre Gennes et Allexandrye, affin que les François ne peussent passer pour eulx retirer ni avoir par la secours, et tant en firent que les lyecoulz leurs chevaulx copperent et misrent leurs malles en la rue, pres a les vouloir destrousser et tuher; et si grant peur leur firent, entre autres a ung nommé Prioris, maistre de la Chappelle, qu'il cuydoit estre mort.¹¹⁸ Quoy plus? si n'est qu'ilz eurent tous si belles affres qu'ilz deslogerent sans trompette et s'enfuyrent en Ast, ou sceurent tantost

¹¹⁶ Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 127.

¹¹⁷ Higgins, "'In Hydraulis,'" 60, note 87.

¹¹⁸ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:244–5.

apres que le Roy estoit avecques son armée dedans Gennes; auquel lieu s'en allerent et luy conterent lesdites choses.

It was then reported and confirmed to the King that, during the time that he was at Genoa, those from Alessandria spread the news that his army had been defeated and that the French were all dead; therefore, they wanted to run after those from France, who were stayed there, including those from his chapel, who he had left there while departing from the said place of Alessandria; who, after the capture of Genoa, went there to the King and told him that the said villains of Alessandria, by means of the said news, had wanted to revolt and take up arms to guard the roads between Genoa and Alessandria, so that the French could not pass through to withdraw or to have recue there, and so much they did that they cut the harnesses of their horses and threw their trunks into the street, prepared to destroy and kill them; and so much fear they instilled in them, among others one named Prioris, master of the chapel, that he believed he would die. What more? if not that they all had such great terror that they left without a trumpet and fled to Asti, where they learned shortly after that the King was with his army in Genoa; to which place they went and told him the said things.

After the king heard the news of the ambush, d'Auton writes that he angrily sent no fewer than 3,000 *Landsknechte* and 3,500 mercenaries in a counterattack, forcing the enemy to abandon the city.¹¹⁹

The most striking detail of this account is not the mere fact that violence occurred, but the manner in which the singers responded: a seemingly defenseless flight. The social history behind this anecdote seems obvious at first. Prioris and d'Auton, who dined with Georges d'Amboise at Rivarolo during the siege of Genoa, on the surface appear to embody the most restrictive attitudes on clerical armsbearing, long a subject of debate in the Latin church. Towards the late Middle Ages and into early modernity, canon law generally upheld the stipulation that clergy were not permitted to bear arms, with small exceptions carved out for life-threatening cases, among these defense against an imminent threat to one's life, the need to protect oneself against the risks of travel.¹²⁰ This attitude towards defensive action was reiterated in the seminal 14th century

¹¹⁹ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:245.

¹²⁰ Lawrence Duggan has outlined an extensive list of bans and exceptions that were enacted in the late-Middle Ages. These stipulations were often regionally enacted and could vary from place to place. Exactly which laws the singers were beholden to is difficult to say. See especially Lawrence G. Duggan,

military treatise *L'arbre des batailles* by Honoré Bouvet.¹²¹ It is worth noting that within these legal boundaries, Prioris may have been within his rights to defend himself, but d'Auton mentions no presence of armor or attempts to fend off the attackers. Scholarship on clerical armsbearing, however, has repeatedly illustrated that written norms were routinely skirted as individual clergymen, institutions sought to defend life and property.¹²² Occasionally, the law itself could permit such violence. For instance, earlier in the 15th century, Pope Martin V issued a decree permitting the clergy to commit acts of violence against the Hussites.¹²³ Yet, clerics often took matters into their own hands. D'Auton insinuates that the fighting against Genoa, from which the chapel was supposed to be spared, did indeed include clerics:

In all, there was not one who did not lay hands on arms, even some prelates and lords of the church, who were there, saying that defending with arms the person of the prince, lord of their country, was fought and battled for the very defense of the country, which is permitted and possible in times of necessity.¹²⁴

Though the documentation of the French chapel suggests their adherence to the traditional stipulations of canon law, whether the violent abstention of the chapel singers was specifically due to their clerical status is a more open question than one might imagine. Perhaps a combination of their cultural value, scarcity, and perhaps even a lack of military skill could have

Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 155–61.

¹²¹ Bouvet takes a broad view of defense and also discusses the ability of a Pope or prince to issue orders Bonet, *L'arbre des batailles*, 115, 123–4.

¹²² Examples of clerical armsbearing have been widely studied. See Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy*; Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John S. Ott, eds., *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, eds., *Ecclesia et Violentia: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014).

¹²³ I thank my colleague Lorenz Kammerer for showing me this source. *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, vol. 7, *Acta Martini V. pontificis Romani (1417–1431)*, ed. Jaroslav Ešl (Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 2001), 369–371.

¹²⁴ “Somme, il n’y eut celuy qui ne mist la main aux armes, voire aucuns prelatz et seigneurs d’Eglise, qui la estoient, disant que deffendre par armes la personne du prince, seigneur de leur pays, estoit millité et bataillé pour la deffence mesme du pays, ce qui leur est permys et loisible en temps de necessité.” D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:178–9.

impacted their non-combatant status.¹²⁵ Whatever the answer, a clear and immutable framework of norms is elusive.

The need for this socio-analytical flexibility rests in one notable exception. In the late summer and fall of 1501, the king sent Philip of Cleves, Lord of Ravestein in charge of a fleet of ships to reconquer the island of Lesbos, then under Ottoman control.¹²⁶ In his retinue was one named Prégent de Jagu, identified by d'Auton as *valet de chambre* of the king, and otherwise known by means of archival records to have been a singer in the court of Anne of Brittany.¹²⁷ As Philip's forces laid siege on the city of Mytilene, Jagu surfaces in d'Auton's account as a valiant combatant, killing an enemy soldier with his half-pike:

et la ung nommé Pregent de Jagu, Breton, avecques une demy picque, donna a ung Turc, qui a luy se combatoit, au travers du corps, tellement que iceluy Turc mourut contre la porte de la ville.¹²⁸

And there on named Prégent de Jagu, Breton, with a half-pike, struck a Turk, who was fighting against him, through his body, such that this Turk died against the gate of the city.

Sometime afterwards a group of singers are identified as making music near the walls of the city, to which enemy soldiers listened without complaint:

Les crestiens, qui lors estoient du guect, alloient souvant la nuyt contre leurs murailles, et, la, aucuns d'iceulx, qui musicyens estoyent, disent plusieurs bon motez et doulces chancons, ce que les Turcz escouterent volontiers et laissoient toute oeuvre pour ouyr la

¹²⁵ Philippe Contamine has suggested that late-medieval French armies saw a general decline in clerical participation, which he suggests could be attributed to a wide range of factors including a change in the self-conceptualization of clerical life as well as a decreased place in military life for unskilled participants. Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2013), 1:151–83.

¹²⁶ There are limited accounts of this campaign. D'Auton's account is still the most detailed. For more on d'Auton's account see: Jonathan Dumont, "Entre France, Italie et Levant, Philippe de Clèves et la 'croisade de Mytilène' (1501): portrait d'un seigneur bourguignon par l'historiographe royal Jean d'Auton," in *Reoncontres de Rome (25 au 27 Septembre 2008): 'Bourguignons en Italie, Italiens dans les pays bourguignons*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes, 2009), 51–68; An analysis of an Ottoman account of the siege can be found in: Nicolas Vatin, "Le siege de Mytilène (1501)," in *Turcica* 23 (1991): 437–59.

¹²⁷ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:171; Bonime, "Anne de Bretange," 9–10.

¹²⁸ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:171.

douceur de l'armonye, sans faire semblant de vouloir mal faire ausdits chantres par gectz de pierres ou coups de trectz ne leur chanterie empescher.¹²⁹

The Christians, that were there on watch, went often at night to the walls, and, there, some of them, who were musicians, said several good motets and sweet songs, which the Turks listened to voluntarily and stopped all work to hear the sweetness of the harmony, without seeming to want to harm the said singers by throwing stones or firing arms nor hindering their singing.

These two anecdotes represent the only extant evidence of the involvement of singers of any kind on the battlefield itself during the period covered in this study. Bonime has further suggested that Jagu himself also joined this heroic group of singers at the walls of Mytilene.¹³⁰ Upon reading these anecdotes it is certainly tempting to add these to our list of whereabouts and actions of French singers during the early Italian wars. This unusual context, however, warrants separate treatment.

That a group of singers would have been permitted to experience the hardship of war so directly runs contrary to the majority of sources discussed in this study. Yet, a deeper look into the exceptional circumstances of the crusade against Lesbos offers some explanation. I will first note that the assertion that some singers executed motets and chansons at the city wall by no means implies their professionalism. Amateur musicking almost certainly took place at war. We must only look back to the letter of a member of the French contingency in Naples in May of 1495 and his report of a chanson written and performed amongst noblemen as a means of entertainment.¹³¹ Furthermore, members of the royal chapel would have, in all likelihood, remained in France during the fall of 1501, given that they performed during the funeral of Louis

¹²⁹ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:180.

¹³⁰ Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 10.

¹³¹ A. Cutolo, "Nuovi documenti francesi sulla impresa di Carlo VIII," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 24 (1938): 203.

II of Montpensier, who had perished in mid-August and whose funeral must have taken place in the following weeks, before which Philip of Cleves and his retinue had already departed.¹³²

Concerning Jagu himself, we must piece together several parts of his biography to truly understand how he came to play such a role in the crusade against Lesbos. Firstly, it must be emphasized that his status as a singer is evident to us alone. Though the fact that Jagu had served as a singer in the service of Anne of Brittany has been confirmed, his status as a singer is not mentioned in any way in d'Auton's text.¹³³ He is acknowledged only as *valet de chambre* who had somehow entered the service of Philip of Cleves. That he had served Philip closely is evidenced in the fact that he was chosen to join a small party of thirteen men, among these four archers and Philip's personal confessor, to explore the island of Stromboli towards the start of Philip's journey in August.¹³⁴ The impulse that would have driven him to participate in the crusade must be viewed not musically but through lens of noble warrior culture, in which military deeds were viewed as an indispensable component of noble identity, if not its very reason for existing.¹³⁵ Castiglione notably wrote in his *Libro del cortegiano*, speaking through the character of Lodovico da Canossa, that "I feel that the main and true profession of the Courtier, should be that of arms."¹³⁶ Arms offered noblemen an opportunity to acquire rank not through birth alone but through deeds. Guillaume du Bellay affirmed "that I began to pursue

¹³² D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:135–6.

¹³³ There is no doubt that this is the same person. Two letters from 1493 confirm his status as a *valet de chambre* as well as his position as Archdeacon of Dinan. Antoine Jean Victor Le Roux de Lincy, *Vie de la reine Anne de Bretagne femme des rois de France Charles VIII et Louis XII* (Paris: Curmer, 1861), 3:5–8.

¹³⁴ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:150

¹³⁵ Much has been written about the nature of noble warrior cultures. See in particular. Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 88–94; Wistrich, "Music and War," 183–8; van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 8–13.

¹³⁶ "Estimo che la principale e vera profession del Cortegiano, debba esser quella dell'arme." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, 60. Wistrich, "Music and War," 181.

arms (as is the custom and ordinary occupation of the nobility of France, and by which my progenitors and ancestors in past times have attained reputation and high rank).”¹³⁷ This pressure to fulfill one’s noble purpose often persuaded royal *valets de chambre* to leave the king’s side and fight in his name. A similar situation unfolded in 1500 as the French mobilized against the forces of Ludovico Sforza culminating in the battle of Novara. Of the mobilization, before listing the names of the members of the royal household that had volunteered for the campaign, d’Auton writes:

Plusieurs jeunes gentishommes et autres de la maison du Roy, oyans nouvelles de la bataille et sachans que a plus honorable affaire ne pourroyent mectre leur valleur en veue ne leur force employer, pour vouloir avoir part a l’honneur du triumphe ou a la perte de la deffortune, heurent deliberacion jurée de eulx trouver a celle besoigne.¹³⁸

Several young noblemen and others of the household of the king, hearing news of the battle and knowing that no more honorable affair could put their valor in sight or make use of their strength, out of desire to have a part in the honor of the triumph or the loss of misfortune, had a sworn deliberation to fulfill this need.

That some of the names listed were *valets de chambre* is certain. Among them is enumerated François de Crussol, who had also joined the 1507 campaign and is identified by d’Auton as having served as *valet* to the king.¹³⁹ Such actions were not always voluntary. As the king gathered his entourage to travel to Italy in 1502, he compelled all members of his household, archers, Swiss guard and “in sum all those who had pension or wages from him, except those who pleased him, on pain of being dismissed, undertook the said voyage.”¹⁴⁰ Nobility, and

¹³⁷ “que je commençay à suyvre les armes (ainsi qu’est la coustume et ordinaire vocation de la noblesse de France, et par laquelle mes progeniteurs et ancestres au temps passé sont parvenuz en reputation et hault degrez).” Martin du Bellay and Guillaume du Bellay, *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume de Bellay*, ed. V.-L. Bourrilly et F. Vindry (Paris: Société de l’histoire de France, 1919), 4:362; See also the discussion of Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 67.

¹³⁸ D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 1:236.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 1:238, 4:366

¹⁴⁰ “en somme tous ceulx qui pencion ou gaiges avoyent de luy, sauf ceulx qui luy pleut, a la peine d’estre cassez, firent ledit voyage.” Ibid., 2:242–3; See discussion in Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 68.

especially noble members of the king's household, faced extraordinary pressures, if not the compulsion, to go to war. It must be stressed, thus, that Jagu's reason for joining the crusade against Lesbos, as a *valet de chambre* not as a member of a musical chapel, was firmly rooted in this culture, one that places him much closer in social proximity to the likes of Crussol than to his musical companions.¹⁴¹

Another element of Jagu's social status requires investigation. A letter from Anne of Brittany in 1493 seeking to secure some benefices for Jagu in Tréguier notes his status as the Archdeacon of Dinan, a position he may have still held in 1501, given that he is named as Archdeacon once again in a document from 1507.¹⁴² There is little reason to believe that this Jagu was a different person. A subsequent letter from 1493, reiterating the desire to secure benefices for the apparent same person, reveals that Jagu was then already in the service of Charles VIII as *valet de chambre*. This would seem to imply that the Jagu that joined the crusade of 1501 did so not only out of noble obligation but also in spite of his clerical status, going as far as to shed enemy blood. Reconciling these two identities was no new concern to medieval nobility.¹⁴³ Yet, it is apparent that the crusade against Lesbos may have involved extraordinary circumstances. Jagu was not the only presumed cleric to partake so directly in military armsbearing. The aforementioned confessor of Philip of Cleves, a Franciscan friar by the name

¹⁴¹ We may imagine that similar intentions may have motivated the decision to include Ghizghem and Basin, both *valets de chambre*, in the final campaigns of Charles the Bold. Fiala, "Music and Musicians," 439.

¹⁴² Le Roux de Lincy, *Vie de la reine*, 3:5; The Prosopography of Renaissance Singers database cites a document from 10 December 1507 in which Prégent Jagu is clearly identified as the archdeacon of Dinan in the cathedral of St. Malo. "Jagu (de), Prégent (Musician)," *Prosopographie des chantres de la Renaissance*, accessed January 11, 2025, <https://ricercar.pcr.cesr.univ-tours.fr/items/show/1008>.

¹⁴³ "The glorification of armed exploits and military prowess by the sword-bearing class of aristocrats, from which ranks most clergy originated, also clashed with canonical restrictions placed on clerical armsbearing and participation in violence" Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John S. Ott, "The Medieval Clergy and War: A Historiographical Introduction." In *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John S. Ott (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 3.

of Frère Bernardin was apparently, during the siege of Mytilene, armed under his habit and an active participant in the battle:

A l'entrée des fossez estoit lors ung cordellier nommé frere Bernardin, lequel estoit armé soubz son habit et tenoit au poing une demye picque et la raspiere a son costé, qui donna la benediction a tous les crestiens presens et leur dist que, pour l'exaltation de la foy de nostre seigneur Jesu Crist, chascun devoit mectre sa vye en avanture; et luy mesme avecques eulx se mist des premiers a descendre les fossez.¹⁴⁴

At the entrance of the moats there was a Franciscan named brother Bernardin, who was armed under his habit and had in his fist a half-pike and a rapier at his side, who gave a blessing to all the Christians present and said to them that, for the exaltation of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, everyone should put their lives at risk; and he himself with them was among the first to descend the moats.

It was apparently also during this risky attack that Jagu was injured by two shots.¹⁴⁵ In neither the anecdote of Jagu or that of Frère Bernardin does it appear that they were acting strictly out of self-defense, especially given the latter's clear charge into battle, suggesting their full and uninhibited participation in the siege. It remains, however, that no similar cases arise in the campaigns taken on by the French kings against Italy, despite knowledge of singers who were dually employed as *valets de chambre*. In this case, we must remember that the crusade against Lesbos was not strictly a part of the Italian wars. Alexander VI had been encouraging crusade for some years, even incorporating participation in a crusade against the Ottoman Empire in his jubilee indulgence of 1500 and allowing the profits of the indulgence to be invested in the war effort.¹⁴⁶ The legal and ecclesiastical circumstances under which the violence of the crusade was committed were thus of an entirely different nature than those of the territorial wars that waged

¹⁴⁴ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:182.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:183.

¹⁴⁶ The indulgence was also extended a number of times to serve the needs of the crusade. See especially, Stuart Jenks, *Documents on the Papal Plenary Indulgences 1300–1517 Preached in the Regnum Teutonicum* (Boston: Brill, 2018), 405–9, 414–57. Additionally, d'Auton mentions that those on the crusade received a plenary remission of sins before the battle. It is quite possible that this refers to one of the iterations of the jubilee indulgence. D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:166.

between Christian princes on the continent. That a royal *valet de chambre* who found his way into Ravestein's service during an ecclesiastically sanctioned crusade possessed musical experience must be ascribed to pure chance. This perfect storm does not seem to have repeated itself in the decades covered in this study. Yet, if there is anything to be gleaned from the case of Jagu, it is the importance of understanding the secondary role that musical employment often played in individual lives. Singers dually employed as *valets* may have held more responsibilities in the battle entourage than those of performing music alone, and, contrary to the perspective of modern musicologists, contemporaries may have regarded their status as members of the royal household above that of their musical services. Understanding the complexity of social history of singers at war demands an awareness of a world beyond music.

The repercussions of war

That the wars enabled to some degree international musical exchange is the assumption that fueled the previous couple of chapters in this volume. The reverse is harder to argue. We can never know for certain precisely which works or people may have reached a broader audience during times of war but never did. Likewise, though a few works of propaganda exist, whether French singers, at home or abroad, ever expressed any negative opinion over the wars remains uncertain. Unlike the polemics of the likes of the *grands rhétoriciens*, musical compositions offer little testaments to their political leanings. Moreover, what musical or prosopographical evidence does exist is ambiguous and able to be interpreted in myriad ways. We need look no further than Compère's notorious *Sola caret monstis*, whose liturgically inspired, yet politically antagonistic text has engendered entirely opposing interpretations from Sherr and Dean.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ I find this debate would not benefit from further speculation and will thus refrain from offering my own. Jeffrey J. Dean, "The Occasion of Compère's 'Sola Caret Monstis': A Case Study in Historical Interpretation," *Musica Disciplina* 40 (1986): 99–133; Richard Sherr, "What Were They Thinking? Sola

Similarly the declaration of the departures of French singers Gilles Charpentier and Elzéar Genet from the papal chapel on 21 February 1510 and 21 May 1512 respectively could be read either as a sign of their discontent with the tensions between Julius II and Louis XII or as a symbol of their enduring mobility in spite of political strife.¹⁴⁸ It is indeed certain that the dates of their departure correspond with tensions experienced between France and Rome. Charpentier's departure was announced shortly after Rome's decision to make peace with Venice, an accord which the French ambassador Alberto Carpi had fought fiercely against, and Genet's departure would have taken place shortly after the battle of Ravenna in April and the expulsion of the French from Milan in May, both of which pitted French and papal powers against one another.¹⁴⁹ Du Peyrat also reports that this was a period during which anti-French prayers were instituted in the mass in Rome.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, it is clear that no new French singers entered the service of the pope during this period.¹⁵¹ Yet, a coordinated act of retaliation on the part of Julius is hard to argue, as his acts of revenge were as erratic as his personality.¹⁵² A few heated events did transpire in the summer of 1510. On 29 June 1510 Julius arrested the Cardinal of Clermont for attempting to leave Rome for France without permission and threatened the other pro-French cardinals in Rome with a similar fate.¹⁵³ In July Julius eventually expelled Carpi from Rome after a quarrel that resulted in Julius telling him that "I look upon your King as my personal

Caret Monstris at the Papal Court," in *Essays on Renaissance Music in Honour of David Fallows: bon jour, bon mois, et bonne estrenne*, ed. Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 163–9.

¹⁴⁸ Sherr has rightfully refrained from offering a concrete hypothesis either way. Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels," 72, 67; Sherr, *The Papal Choir*, 124.

¹⁴⁹ Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 6, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (London: Routledge, 1950), 319.

¹⁵⁰ Du Peyrat, *L'Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 791.

¹⁵¹ Sherr, *The Papal Choir*, 124.

¹⁵² On Julius's explosive personality: René de Maulde la Clavière, *La diplomatie au temps de Machiavel* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1893): 3:21–2.

¹⁵³ Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 211; Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 326.

enemy, and do not wish to hear anything more.”¹⁵⁴ This was an apparent blow to the French in Rome who thereafter, according to Sanudo’s record “went about Rome like dead men.”¹⁵⁵ Louis XII responded in kind, reasserting the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in an ordonnance dated 16 August 1510, forbidding French citizens from travelling to or seeking benefices in Rome.¹⁵⁶ Though the French were certainly in hot water in Rome, correlation is still not causation. Whether Charpentier sensed tensions brewing earlier that year as peace with Venice was being negotiated is impossible to say for certain. What is clear, however, is that Louis’s retaliation was essentially toothless. Supplications from the French chapel to Rome continued well beyond this date, a fact that Sherr speculates could be attributed to an attitude of indifference on the part of Julius.¹⁵⁷ If there is anything political at all to be gleaned by the departure of Genet and Charpentier, we would do well to note the heterogenous nature of their behavior. As Charpentier made his decision to leave in 1510, politically motivated or not, Genet was apparently content enough to stay.

The previous observations do not purport to achieve a perfect overview of the impact of war on the lives of individual singers. We are left to wonder what the likes of Compère, Prioris, and Mouton must have felt and experienced as they were asked to follow their kings into Italy, some perhaps experiencing war for the first time. If anything is clear it is that no template existed for the wartime chapel. The following chapters are not always able to provide this degree of individual differentiation, as the authors that observed and documented the involvement of

¹⁵⁴ Translation from Ibid. Original text reads “ho el suo re per mio aperto nemico et detoli che non me dica altro et me l’ ho levato davanti.” Moritz Brosch, *Papst Julius II. und die Gründung des Kirchenstaates* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1878), 349–50.

¹⁵⁵ “et francesi vanno per Roma come morti.” Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanudo* (Venice: M. Visentini, 1883), 10:829.

¹⁵⁶ *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, vol. 21, ed. J.M. Pardessus (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849), 438.

¹⁵⁷ Sherr, *The Papal Choir*, 124.

singers preferenced group identity over individual exception. As this subject will not be revisited in this text, it is essential to reiterate that the *chantres de la chapelle du Roy* as they appear in textual sources represent no uniform entity. Some singers remained at home, while others went to war. Some singers committed acts of violence while others fled. Some escaped tense situations, while others weathered it out. The unfolding of these events was as unpredictable as the wars themselves.

4. Masses and processions in the French battle entourage (1494–1515)

The action of the chapel singers at war unfolded not in heroic gestures on the battlefield but in the churches and streets of the cities the king visited and conquered. Understanding how their performances fit into the larger context of masses and processions at war is essential in understanding the significance of their participation. The royal battle entourage of the early Italian wars maintained a steady rhythm of masses and processions, only some of which were strictly connected to developments on the battlefield. These included the king's custom of hearing mass every day, which continued during the battle campaigns, as well as the ceremonial demands of the king's progress through both friendly cities and newly conquered territory and the devotional needs of the battle entourage at war. This involved not only routine masses, but also feast days, extravagant political celebrations, field masses, and impromptu funerals. Such a breadth of ritual needs, from the familiar to the impromptu, led to a breadth of configurations of the mass. Accounts of the king's travels, among these chronicles, letters, and archival documents, include careful documentation of the places and manner in which the king heard mass. Their reports show that the nature of the masses celebrated at war could vary widely. Masses could be celebrated in mendicant monasteries, main cathedrals, or in tents, as a high mass or a low mass, with or without political guests of honor, and with or without chapel singers, as the following demonstrates.

Two snapshots from a French chronicle and a group of letters encapsulate this ceremonial diversity in the days surrounding both major battles and triumphal entries. In la Vigne's account of the Naples campaign in 1494–5, he describes the reality of masses in the weeks leading up to the battle of Fornovo on July 6, 1495, demonstrating how in a span of weeks the king heard mass in larger and smaller venues, as part of civic pageantry and preparation for battle, and on feast

and ferial days. On June 18th, after having left Siena the day prior and having met with Girolamo Savonarola, the king celebrated *Corpus Christi* in the city of Poggibonsi with a procession, whose description included the singers of the chapel. On the 21st he heard mass in the cathedral of Pisa after the citizens had approached him to plead for his favor. On the 24th the citizens of Lucca received the king with a celebration for the feast of St. John the Baptist. On the 29th after hearing mass presumably at camp near Villafranca, he went to dine at a monastery. On the 3rd and 4th of July the king heard mass at camp. On the 5th he heard mass in Terrenzo, and finally on the 6th of July he heard mass in a tent at Fornovo on the day of the battle.¹⁵⁸

As a point of comparison, we can trace the masses documented in the letters of the Gonzaga family, which highlight the ebb and flow of political pageantry in masses leading up to an important entry into Milan, which took place on 6 October 1499. Giovanni Gonzaga writes about several masses held in Viguevano in September of 1499. On the 26th he reports the king heard mass with all of his barons and lords in the city's main church. On the 27th he mentions having accompanied the king to mass, and on the 29th the king pompously celebrated the feast of St. Michael with the Duke of Savoy at his side.¹⁵⁹ Francesco Gonzaga mentions a mass in Piacenza on October 2nd, the day following the entry into the city. His description is particularly lengthy, occupying the majority of the letter's brief text and contains details about the presence of the king's archers, many noblemen, pomp, and a particularly good sermon.¹⁶⁰ He also mentions a mass on October 7th, on the day following the triumphal entry into Milan, to which he

¹⁵⁸ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 273–83.

¹⁵⁹ Giovanni Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga, 26 September 1499; Giovanni Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga 27 September 1499; Giovanni Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga 29 September 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113.

¹⁶⁰ Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 2 October 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113.

added his commentary on the singers of the chapel. This mass was apparently important enough that it also received mention in the chronicle of Prato and a letter from Baldassare Castiglione.¹⁶¹

In these two snapshots of masses at war, we gain a sense of the occasions that received special care and why. Some masses receive minimal mention, and we must assume that others, too routine to warrant special mention, escaped documentation entirely. A number of feast days stand out, including *Corpus Christi*, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, and the Feast of St. Michael, which of course held special importance to the French as the patron saint of the Order of St. Michael.¹⁶² Furthermore, the accounts reveal that masses and processions that are distinguished as especially pompous and politically significant are typically occasions that took place in the shadow of major political events, such as those that took place in the days following triumphal entries. An extra-liturgical social purpose for such masses and processions is not always overtly stated, leaving us to infer their meaning through context and symbols.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the notion that these masses were combined with political ceremonies of which we are simply not aware. For instance, on November 26, 1494 in Florence, during the culmination of the king's tumultuous entry and sojourn in the city, the king heard mass with the Signoria in the Duomo during which both the king and Signoria swore to the terms

¹⁶¹ Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 7 October 1499, *Ibid.*; Baldassarre Castiglione to Jacomo Boschetto da Gonzaga, 8 October 1499, in *Lettere del conte Baldessar Castiglione*, ed. by Antonio Serassi (Padua: Giuseppe Comino, 1769), 1:4–5; Giovanni Andrea del Prato, “Storia di Milano,” in *Cronache Milanesi* (Florence: Viesseux, 1842), 227–9.

¹⁶² Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Frederic L. Cheyette (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 160–3.

¹⁶³ This assumption draws on the idea that masses and processions had both an “official” religious function and an additional social one. This has been well established in historical research. For a few key works see: R. W. Scribner, “Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35, no. 1 (January 1984): 47–77; John Bossy, “The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700,” *Past & Present* 100, no. 1 (August 1983): 29–61; Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001).

of a treaty over the body of Christ.¹⁶⁴ Also, nearly half a century earlier in the same city, another mass with military overtones took place. In 1452 soon-to-be-crowned emperor Frederick III entered Florence on 30 of January. On Candlemas, February 2, the feast day was celebrated followed by a military ceremony in the church, during which Frederick conferred military honors on several noblemen.¹⁶⁵ In this way, any votive mass or feast day that was celebrated after a triumphal entry or victory, especially those identified as being particularly extravagant affairs, warrant further consideration as political pageantry.

Within this spectrum of quotidian devotion and political spectacle the singers of the chapel weave in and out of the picture. Both la Vigne and the Gonzagas demonstrated that singers receive no notice in anecdotes of smaller and more spontaneous affairs, including all of the daily ferial masses that the king heard outside of political events, as well as any mention of their involvement in masses on the battlefield. This could reflect in part the observers' tendency towards recording novelty. Yet, accounting for bias alone does not explain their inconsistent presence. It is in fact clear that the chapel singers were at times entirely absent. During the campaign of 1507 when Louis XII left the city Alessandria on his way to Genoa, the chapel remained behind before travelling to join the king in Genoa after the victory.¹⁶⁶ Additionally, in October of 1515 in a letter from Jean Michel to Sigismondo d'Este, he appears to speak of Mouton and Francis I's itinerary separately, stating first that Mouton personally declared to him his plans to go to Loreto and Ferrara while casting doubt on the king's plans to do the same

¹⁶⁴ Piero di Marco Parenti, *Storia Fiorentina*, vol. 1, 1476–8, 1492–96, ed. Andrea Matucci (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994), 142. Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 69.

¹⁶⁵ Francesco Filarete and Angelo Manfidi, *The Libro cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic*, ed. Richard C. Trexler (Geneva: Droz, 1978), 72–3; Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Florentine Histories*, ed. G. B. Niccolini, trans. C. Edwards Lester (New York: Paine and Burgess, 1845), 2:97.

¹⁶⁶ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:244.

following his stay in Bologna.¹⁶⁷ Lockwood hypothesized that, given confirmation of Mouton's journey to Ferrara and no evidence that Francis made a stop in the city, it is possible that Mouton was permitted to travel on his own.¹⁶⁸ This period would have fit in between the triumphal visit in Milan in October and the papal summit conference in Bologna in December, with Mouton presumably having joined the king in time for the meeting. Furthermore, not to be dismissed is the degree to which local clergy could step in to fulfill musical roles. In one case, the accounts of the king's offerings, alms, and devotions of 1507 appear to spell this out clearly, indicating that on the 11th of April the king paid an *offrande* of 35 *sous tournois* to "Jacobin de Malingrie" identified as a singer of the church of Oulx.¹⁶⁹ Also, in the aforementioned entries that the king enjoyed in the cities of Pisa and Lucca, such events would have demanded the mobilization of local artistic forces, as cities themselves were responsible for planning and executing such occasions .

While it is reasonable to assume that singers occasionally sang less ornate music in routine services, the kind of that would not warrant mention in a chronicle, a spectrum of masses and ceremonial needs, could result in a diversity of musical configurations, from elaborate polyphony to no music at all. Even after accounting for novelty bias, it is significant that the singers' presence is noted almost exclusively during feast days, processions, votive masses connected with major political occasions. Descriptions of the singers in processions (fig. 1) include one held shortly after the meeting between Charles VIII and Savonarola in Poggibonsi as

¹⁶⁷ Jean Michel to Sigismondo d'Este, 29 October 1515, cited in Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 202–4.

¹⁶⁸ Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 213.

¹⁶⁹ "Compte des offrandes, aumônes et dévotions du roi," Archives nationales, KK 88, 137v; Similar payments to people identified as singers appear in other cases during the period from 1494–1515. For instance, one "Jehan Bodeaulx," identified as priest, singer, and canon of Notre Dame de Corbeil was twice recorded as having received 35 *sous tournois* on both August 9th and September 23rd of 1498. "Compte des offrandes, aumônes et dévotions du roi," Archives nationales, KK 77, ff. 172r, 195r.

well as the triumphal entry of Louis XII into Genoa.¹⁷⁰ A votive mass in Milan in 1499 and a Pentecost mass in Brescia in 1509 both served as the ceremonial highlight of Louis XII's triumphal visit into both cities.

Figure 1. Chapel singers in masses and processions at war (1494–1515)

Campaign	Location	Date	Liturgical context	Political context
Naples	Poggibonsi	June 18, 1495	Corpus Christi	Held in the days following a meeting between Charles VIII and Girolamo Savonarola
Naples	Turin	August 15, 1495	Assumption	Travel through Savoy
Milan	Milan	October 7, 1499	Votive mass	Held the day following the triumphal entry into the city
Genoa	Genoa	April 28, 1507		Triumphal entry
Genoa	Savona	June 29, 1507	Feast of St. Peter and Paul	Held as part of the meeting between Louis XII and Ferdinand II of Aragon
Venice	Brescia	May 27, 1509	Pentecost	Held in the days following the triumphal entry into the city
Milan	Bologna	December 13, 1515	Feast of St. Lucy	Held as part of the meeting between Francis I and Leo X

¹⁷⁰ The term “triumphal entry” will be used to refer specifically to royal entries celebrated after and because of major victories. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 269; Note, however, that terminology varies across fields and languages. For an overview see: Gerrit Jaspar Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik: Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 47–59.

Two masses also served as the culmination of two “summit conferences,” one held in 1507 between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon and one in 1515 between Francis I and Leo X.¹⁷¹ Only one mass is not as clearly politicized as others in the manner in which it is presented in the source, this being a celebration of the feast of the Assumption in Turin in 1495. This list demonstrates that the function of singers as instruments of political pageantry and symbolism was greatly valued, their presence used to amplify and elaborate accounts of major military and diplomatic successes during the wars, a sharp departure from the medieval field mass. The importance of such events is exemplified through the fact that the king elected to have his chapel singers present in the battle entourage, despite the danger it posed to them, and despite the fact that they may not have been needed at every mass. The nature of this cultural value and how it was conveyed in contemporary sources remains unanswered in musicological scholarship, which will be addressed in the following chapters.

Ritual and ritual theories

It must be made clear that the sources for these masses and processions, despite referring to ceremonies that adhered to strict templates, represent diverse perspectives. These ceremonies reached the eyes and ears of diverse witnesses, among these the city public, the courtly bystander, the ruling class of the city, both French and local clergy, masters of ceremonies, and finally the king himself. Each group of stakeholders brought different priorities to the table. Planners of triumphal entries sought to portray the king’s identity strategically. Local clergy and governments sought the confirmation of their own privileges. The king’s advisors sought to secure a favorable deal with the opposing party. Chroniclers strove to record the best version of

¹⁷¹ The term “summit conference” stems from Bonner Mitchell, who describes these as princely meetings that took place “*inter pares*.” Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 11.

the day's events, and masters of ceremonies enforced ritual order. The king strove to meet expectations of princely decorum. Some merely sought to enjoy the music. Music and musicians were filtered through these perspectives, each observer leaving behind traces of their ritual values in their descriptions of spectacle, at times in an idealized and hyperbolized form. For this reason, only a multi-faceted approach to ritual can explain the significance of the French chapel singers and their music at war

Several theoretical frameworks can help us approach these sources and their peculiarities: triumph as a rite of passage, ritual as diplomatic decorum, and ritual as functional process. The first two relate to the methodology of “symbolic communication,” defined here broadly as any information conveyed by any kind of nonverbal action, including gesture, clothing, physical structures, visual art, and music.¹⁷² Viewed through this lens, ritual generally is a fictionalized and idealized reflection of a current reality or desired ideal.¹⁷³ The act of concretization is achieved through sensorial output, which is then processed individually according to one's experience, expectations, and physical location.¹⁷⁴ Generally, ritual can only inform and

¹⁷² Following the definition of Althoff and Sieb: Gerd Althoff and Ludwig Siep, “Symbolische Kommunikation und Gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme vom Mittelalter bis zur französischen Revolution: Der neue Münsteraner Sonderforschungsbereich 496,” *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 3 (2001): 212; I follow Andrea Ammendola's lead in using this definition in a musical context Andrea Ammendola, *Polyphone Herrschermessen (1500–1650): Kontext und Symbolizität* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2013), 32.

¹⁷³ On ritual as a “model or mirror”: Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 6; On ritual as fictionalization: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 2–4; On the manner in which ritual idealizes a reality and strips it of its flaws: Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1984), 40.

¹⁷⁴ On the concretization of realities through the senses: Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*, 4; See also the complementary observation of Yuval Noah Harari, who suggests that the preference for tangible events over abstracts ideas in memoirs is closely related to the tangibility of ceremonies. N. Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450–1600* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2004), 106.

persuade through the senses.¹⁷⁵ Yet, sensorial experiences can fulfill diverse functions, expressing practical information, increasing the memorability of the event, and conveying magnificence.¹⁷⁶ This approach to ritual and its communicative properties can be applied to the turmoil that arose after military victories. Triumphs represent a violent rupture in the status quo and the need for princes and cities to assume new roles as rulers and subjects, challenging identities that had developed under different conditions.¹⁷⁷ This was particularly bitterly felt during the Italian wars. Long-standing dynasties fell as cities such as Naples, Milan, and Brescia became French subjects. The king took on new titles such as Duke of Milan, King of Naples, and conqueror. Yet, the moment a territory is conquered it ceases to belong to its previous duke, king, or republic but lacks the treaties, laws, and privileges that would govern its future. The period between a major victory and a triumphal entry could last for weeks, leaving cities in a state of uncertainty as they planned for the entry and engaged in diplomatic negotiations. While

¹⁷⁵ On the importance of the senses in ritual comprehension: Jörg Jochen Berns and Thomas Rahn, "Zeremoniell und Ästhetik," in *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* eds. Jörg Jochen Berns and Thomas Rahn (Berlin, New York: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995), 658; See also the discussion of Jörg Bölling, "*Musicae utilitas*. Zur Bedeutung der Musik im Adventus-Zeremoniell der Vormoderne," in *Adventus. Studien um herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, ed. Peter Johanek and Angelika Lampen (Böhlau Verlag: Köln, 2009), 229–31.

¹⁷⁶ On the practical function of sound an ritual see Berns's eighth "rule" of sound. Jörg Jochen Berns, "Instrumental Sound and Ruling Spaces of Resonance in the Early Modern Period: On the Acoustic Setting of the Princely *potestas* Claims within a Ceremonial Frame," in *Instruments in Art and Science: On the Architectonics of Cultural Boundaries in the 17th Century* eds. Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte and Jan Lazardzig (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2008), 502; On sensory pageantry and memorability see: Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 254.

¹⁷⁷ For more on war as a rite of transition see: Elizabeth Harding and Natalie Krentz. "Einleitung," in *Symbolik in Zeiten von Kriegen und gesellschaftlichem Umbruch*, ed. Elizabeth Harding and Natalie Krentz (Münster: Rhema, 2011), 9–18. This also refers to Turner's understanding of *rites de passage*. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995), 94. Also, an important note on identity is necessary. Here it is not meant that cities ceased to possess their longstanding civic character, which was inextricably tied to place and people, rather, that the symbols of political authority and submission could indeed change abruptly in times of war. For an overview on the construction of civic identity in the Renaissance see: Muir, Edward and Ronald F. E. Weissman. "Social and symbolic places in Renaissance Venice and Florence." In *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, edited by John Agnew and James Duncan, 81–100. London: Routledge, 1989.

new documents could establish the letter of the law, triumphal rituals, understood here as rites of passage, reacted publicly to the liminal state of those waiting to see how French rule would affect their cities. Never was ritual more important than in moments of political transition and symbolic flux.¹⁷⁸ Masses and processions offered tangible expressions of political identity in a period of anxiety.¹⁷⁹ The king himself, his manner of dress, entourage, and music were put on display, first for immediate participants and subsequently for those who received word of events after the fact. In such situations singers were not merely sonic mediators. They exemplified clashing “planes of classification,” existing simultaneously within the planes of cleric/lay person, sound/silence, courtly/non-courtly, and French/non-French. Different planes of meaning, if any, could be brought forth and amplified at different times, dependent on the values of the observer.¹⁸⁰ Singers could expand the visual grandeur and importance of the French entourage, express the king’s piety, and be used to represent hybrid identities when performing alongside local clergy. How different observers understood the role of foreign singers in triumphal ritual offers not only insight into the reception of singers themselves but on the reception of rites of passage across political boundaries.

Ritual during diplomatic meetings remained symbolic but adopted an additional layer of meaning, the communication of political ideals no longer the only objective. In this context, ritual functioned as decorum, establishing a set of rules that would govern peaceful interactions between opposing parties. Predictability was valued and expected.¹⁸¹ This ensured that

¹⁷⁸ This idea is drawn from the work of Kertzer. David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 153.

¹⁷⁹ The idea of liminality follows Turner’s usage. Ibid. 95.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 41–2.

¹⁸¹ Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 147; William Roosen, “Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach,” *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (September 1980): 454–5.

interactions would go one smoothly and that offenses, which would endanger the success of the diplomatic negotiation, would not occur.¹⁸² Ritual in this context produces a desired action in its participants, this being political concessions, offers of aid, and the ratification of a favorable treaty.¹⁸³ Through their actions in the mass, singers mimic the language of gestures that their patrons are expected to perform in humble compliance. Yet, in this context singers are indeed prized and singled out for the quality of the music they produce. Their masterful performance exhibits their patron's cultural capital and his willingness to share it with his counterpart as he would other precious gifts.¹⁸⁴

A bit of caution here is necessary. The overinterpretation of ritual semiotics carries risks.¹⁸⁵ Wielded unscrupulously, this methodology can yield a two-dimensional interpretation of ritual and its meaning. A flat interpretation of symbols was by no means the only goal of ritual in early modernity. Not to be dismissed is the degree to which rituals performed importance civic and sacred functions for their contemporaries. Royal entries were not merely spectacle but a material exchange between king and city, the latter of which sought approval for their privileges.¹⁸⁶ As for masses and feast-day processions, one cannot dismiss the importance that

¹⁸² Berns, "Instrumental Sound," 479.

¹⁸³ On ritual as policing. See Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ On the culture of intangible gift-giving in the diplomatic ceremonial: Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 199–200, 260. On cultural capital and competition: Arne Spohr, "Concealed Music in Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," in *Music and Diplomacy From the Early Modern Era to the Present*, eds. Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 19.

¹⁸⁵ For more on this and a comprehensive critique of the study of ritual see: Geoffrey Koziol, "Review Article: The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?" review of *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, by Philippe Buc, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, by Gerd Althoff, *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson, and *Medieval and Early Modern Rituals: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, edited by Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Early Medieval Europe* 11, no. 4 (January 2002): 367–88.

¹⁸⁶ Neil Murphy advocates strongly for this interpretation of royal entries. *Neil Murphy, Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328–1589* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1–11.

devotion itself held to the French court. While humanistic interpretations of festival were starting the bloom during this period, medieval elements of French sacred identity persisted. Both king and kingdom embraced the notion of divine approval. The king enjoyed the title “Most Christian,” his people allegorized as the descendants of David.¹⁸⁷ The king also continued to perform the act of healing those afflicted with scrofula with his touch, including during the military campaigns themselves.¹⁸⁸ Sacred ritual could embrace worldly semiotics in seeking to portray the king as pious and legitimate for social gain, but this does not erase the intrinsic sacred value that objects and acts of devotion held for contemporaries. Masses of thanksgiving could be held in earnest, the Holy Spirit or the Eucharist could be asked to intercede at war, and the cross could guide armies to victory. Singers in this context must be understood in their role as clerics, fulfilling their sacred duty to execute masses and processions as per custom, their sacred music carrying out prayers in hope of intercession. This is evidenced most clearly in the preserved musical output of the French chapel, in which only a handful of works with any overt political connection to war has survived, in comparison to an exponentially larger volume of devotional masses and motets preserved in contemporary Italian sources.

This study aims to balance, where possible, the different perceptions of ritual that its participants may have brought to the table. While Chapter 2 has argued for the shift towards social values and away from devotional ones in the reception of the French chapel at war, exactly how this took place could vary. Some saw the social value of listing chapel singers in a roster of honorable participants. Others focused on the identity of the singers in relation to other

¹⁸⁷ Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 180.

¹⁸⁸ The king touched afflicted persons in January 1495 in Rome while visiting the chapel of France in the city. La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 236. Marc Bloch mentions this in a discussion of the kings’ of France performing this act during the Italian wars: Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie Istra, 1924), 312–3.

participants. Others applauded the success of another successfully choreographed diplomatic dance. Others, still, understood music as prayer. These values are spread across different groups of sources, which collectively offer a diverse impression of the impact of this cultural practice and allow us to better understand the reception of singers in military campaigns in the *longue durée*.

Processions

By the time the Italian wars arrived the ethos of princely excess had never been stronger. The king's travel entourage grew substantially throughout the 15th century, presenting an ever-larger burden to cities that were expected to host members and offer them costly courtesy payments.¹⁸⁹ Polyphonic compositions themselves grew in size and complexity. Important treatises on the humanistic education of the prince came into fruition during the very Italian wars discussed in this work and urged princes to consider the importance of worldly values.¹⁹⁰ While upholding the ritual, legal, and sacred scaffolding of medieval processions, Renaissance cities and princes embraced elaborate political pageantry and the symbolic communication it afforded for spectators.¹⁹¹ There was hardly an occasion better suited for such pageantry than war. As a

¹⁸⁹ Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries*, 155–63.

¹⁹⁰ Erasmus's *Education of a Christian Prince* was first published in 1516, and Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* was published in 1528. See Strong's discussion of both works: *Ibid.*, 66 and 43. Castiglione focuses heavily on how one appears playing secular music, a stark departure from the otherwise devotional value of sacred music. James Haar, *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul E. Corneilson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 27–30.

¹⁹¹ Several scholars have advocated for the importance of remaining in touch with the functional roots of the royal entry, especially the confirmation of local privileges, and avoiding a blanket superimposition of 17th century values on earlier entries. Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 16. Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries*, 1–11. Others stress the importance of recognizing an increased focus on magnificence and political semiotics. Strong, *Art and Power*, 20–41; Margaret M. McGowan, *Festival and Violence: Princely Entries in the Context of War, 1480–1635* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 23–8; Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin “The Multilayered Production of Meaning in Sixteenth-Century French Ceremonial Entries,” in *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*,

city lingered in the liminal state between violent conquest and its integration into a foreign kingdom, this public manifestation of government offered an opportunity for king and city to perform their newfound relationship for both domestic and foreign audiences.¹⁹² In these rites of passage, sensorial excess was the agent of symbolic communication. At their core, political processions embodied the political status quo, the “body politic and moral,” of the state, united through collective movement in the public space.¹⁹³ Yet, as Muir argues, innovations in pageantry brought symbolic clarity to civic processions that would otherwise consist of “marching officials and citizens” in a “strictly hierarchical order.”¹⁹⁴

Triumphal entries during the Italian wars offered spectators a display of clashing social groups. Spectators witnessed a mix of local mendicant friars and foreign bishops in splendid copes, trumpeters, French and Italian noblemen, members of the royal household, and thousands of soldiers accompanying kings into conquered cities.¹⁹⁵ The identities of these participants were

ed. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 17–8.

¹⁹² Liminality here refers closely to Turner’s understanding of the term. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95.

¹⁹³ On the concept of processions as the embodiment of a political body in royal processions see: Lawrence M. Bryant, “The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris,” in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 106; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, Ernst H., *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, intro. Conrad Leyser (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), 207–8; Berns and Rahn, “Zeremoniell und Ästhetik,” 656–57; See also Borghetti’s analysis of the court as corpus. Vincenzo Borghetti, “Music and the Representation of Princely Power in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century,” *Acta Musicologica* 80, no. 2 (2008): 187–88. On the conceptualization of a procession as collective movement see the contribution of Kathleen Ashley. She notes that royal entries present an interesting conundrum in the theory of collective movement, since two parties walk in opposite directions to meet each other. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that both parties eventually join together in collective movement after they have met. Kathleen Ashley, “Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 14–5.

¹⁹⁴ Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 260–1. On the ability of procession to “convey the structure of authority in a community.” David Harris Sacks, “Celebrating Authority in Bristol, 1475–1640,” in *Urban Life In the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 192.

¹⁹⁵ McGowan, *Festival and Violence*, 29–33.

often clearly visible. Mendicant friars were dressed in characteristic black and white and cardinals in red, and French military gear and emblems were on display.¹⁹⁶ Illuminations of both the departure from Asti and the entry into Genoa in Marot's *Voyage de Genes* depict French cavalry in colorful brigandines and horses in caparisons.¹⁹⁷ The cavalry bore Louis XII's emblem the porcupine while the king and his horse, during the departure from Asti, bore a beehive, a longstanding symbol of power and reference to the king's willingness to show benevolence to his obedient subjects.¹⁹⁸ The overwhelming presence of foreign adornment and heraldry would have certainly made an impression, but they did not replace expressions of local civic identity, with cities displaying their own emblems and ritual objects. During the entry into Florence in November of 1494, the city adorned the streets with painted canopies usually reserved for the festival of St. John the Baptist, and la Vigne reports that "precious relics" and "crosses, gonfalons, banners authentic" lead the procession.¹⁹⁹ Decorations, floats, and performances also became indispensable tools of symbolic communication.

¹⁹⁶ Marot has a penchant for color. See especially Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 146.

¹⁹⁷ Jean Marot, *Le Voyage de Gênes*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 5091, f. 15v, 22v. By the 15th century caparisons had become more ceremonial rather than military. Dirk H. Breiding, "Horse Armor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe: An Overview," in *The Armored Horse in Europe: 1480–1620*, ed. Stuart W. Pyhrr, Donald J. LaRocca, and Dirk H. Breiding (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 9.

¹⁹⁸ The words on Louis XII's caparison read: "non utitur aculeo rex cui paremur," meaning: "The king that we obey does not use his stinger." These are of course the depictions created for the manuscript of the chronicle after the fact and reflect a stylized interpretations of the symbols that were used. See the notes to the critical edition. Jehan Marot, *Le voyage de Gênes*, ed. Giovanna Trisolini (Geneva: Droz, 1974), 153. The symbol of the king bee has a long a fascinating history as a political symbol. For an overview see: Dietmar Peil, *Untersuchungen zur Staats- und Herrschaftsmetaphorik in literarischen Zeugnissen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Fink, 1983), 235–7.

¹⁹⁹ Concerning the use of canopies see: Sanudo, *La spedizione di Carlo VIII*, 133; Eve Borsook, "Decor in Florence for the Entry of Charles VIII of France," *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 10, no. 2 (December 1961): 113–5. La Vigne's text reads: "Processions comme j'ay devant dit/dignes corps saintz, precieuses reliques/sortirent hors sans aucun contredit/croix, confanons, banyeres auctentiques." La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 208.

During the Renaissance, the classical triumph became a coveted ideal, and triumphal arches, text, and even theatrical displays styled the king as a new Caesar.²⁰⁰ During the triumphal entry into Milan in 1509, several triumphal arches were erected throughout the city. One in front of the duomo displayed text that read “the chains are broken, and we are freed.”²⁰¹ A triumphal carriage pulled by four white horses would have carried the king through the city, were it not for his refusal to board it.²⁰² In his account of the events, Girolamo Priuli remarked that it resembled one that the emperor of Rome would ride into the city after returning victorious from his military exploits.²⁰³ At every turn, these processions strove to send a political message, and representation of musicians in these was no exception.²⁰⁴ They were themselves representatives of people, places, and institutions, much like the participants described above. How and why chapel singers were integrated into wartime processions in foreign lands will be explored in further detail below.

Chapel singers in processions

The participation of Renaissance chapels in processions of all manner, from liturgical feast days to triumphal entries, is nothing new. Processions and the masses that accompanied them were important occasions for musical pageantry, as research on *Corpus Christi* processions,

²⁰⁰ Earlier in the Italian wars, classical influences are less common, but by 1509 classical elements become more pronounced. See Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 137–8, 143–4, 148–9, 151, 153. See also McGowan, *Festival and Violence*, 30–41; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* 269–70.

²⁰¹ “Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberate sumus.” Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 277.

²⁰² Ibid.; Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, ed. Roberto Cessi, vol. 24, pt. 3 of *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, Giosue Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, and Pietro Fedele (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, [1938–41]), 4:123; On the symbolism of white horses see: Jörg Traeger, *Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums* (Munich: Schnell und Steiner, 1970), 12–18.

²⁰³ Priuli, *I diarii*, 4:123.

²⁰⁴ The sonic dimension of these entries is covered in greater depth in Deanna Pellerano, “Music, Sound, and the Politics of Regime Change Surrounding the Entries of the Early Italian Wars (1494–1515),” *Eventum* (forthcoming).

in particular, has been able to demonstrate. In his foundational study on the music of *Corpus Christi*, Detlef Altenburg makes a case for the use of polyphonic music in the processions, noting the frequency with which familiar chants such as *Pange lingua* appear in polyphonic settings.²⁰⁵ Regardless of whether or not polyphony was performed, we are aware that court chapels were often present for such occasions. At Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, the singers of the papal chapel joined the *Corpus Christi* festivities of 1503.²⁰⁶ Additionally, under the orders of Francis I, a procession for the blessed sacrament was held in Paris on January 20, 1535, during which the singers of the chapel likely joined in a procession alongside those of Notre Dame.²⁰⁷ While music during liturgical processions may seem commonplace, connections between chapel singers and triumphal processions are fewer and more challenging to work with. For as early as 1415, Margaret Bent has argued that, in conjunction with Henry V's triumphal entry into London on November 23rd, several motets by composers from the king's household chapel can be associated with the occasion.²⁰⁸ Also, an important visual source, Maximilian's *Triumphzug* contains several depictions of music, including a carriage carrying chapel singers performing from a large

²⁰⁵ This is of course difficult to say for certain. Detlef Altenburg, "Die Musik in der Fronleichnamsprozession des 14. Und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984): 17–8; On the mix of vocal and instrumental music see: Edmund A. Bowles, "Musical Instruments in the Medieval Corpus Christi Procession," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1964): 259.

²⁰⁶ Whether the joined the processions itself or just the mass is not spelled out clearly in the sources. For Pietschmann's discussion of the source related to this performance see. Klaus Pietschmann, "Music Cultivation in Roman National Churches before the Council of Trent," in *Music and the Identity Process: The National Churches of Rome and their Networks in the Early Modern Period*, eds, Michela Berti, Émilie Corswarem, and Jorge Morales (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 82–8.

²⁰⁷ "Après marcheront ceux de la sainte Chappelle du Palais, avec ceux de la Chappelle du Roy, les haulxbois & sacquebutes deuant...Après viendra le saint sacrement porté par l'Euesque de Paris, & les quatre bastons du poille feront portez par messeigneurs & monsieur de Vendosme." Jean du Tillet, *Recueil des roys de France, levr covronne et maison* (Paris: Jaques de Puys, 1580), 433; Du Peyrat, *L'Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 756.

²⁰⁸ Margaret Bent, "Sources of the Old Hall Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 94 (1967): 19–35.

music book.²⁰⁹ Both cases, however, offer limited information about performance practice, especially the latter, which is an idealized and fictionalized representation.

The presence of French singers during the triumphal entries of the early Italian wars is certainly situationally possible. In fact, their presence at war is frequently noted in the days and weeks following an important entry. The singers of the French entourage sang a mass with the ducal singers in Milan one day after the triumphal entry on October 6, 1499.²¹⁰ Also, thanks to an anonymous Brescian chronicle, we know that the singers performed during a festive mass held on Pentecost in Brescia days after the entry, which had taken place on 23 May 1509.²¹¹ Finally, a letter from music copyist Jean Michel, dated 29 October 1515, which musicologist Lewis Lockwood has published, boasts of his contact with singer and composer Jean Mouton in Viguevano, two and a half weeks after the royal entry into Milan on October 11th.²¹²

Despite the likelihood that they experienced entries, contemporary sources seldom identify the singers of the French chapel as a sonic presence in these triumphal entries. This is not for a lack of interest in vocal music on the part of the contemporary chroniclers. La Vigne and Marot embrace singing as part of the sonic spectacle of royal entries. The former mentions singing in his description of the entries into Chieri and Florence during the early months of the Naples campaign in 1494.²¹³ Both anecdotes refer to clergy singing along with the procession

²⁰⁹ Der Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians I, [Vienna]: n.p., [1526], Grazer Exemplar, University of Graz, print 25 and 26.

²¹⁰ Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 7 October 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113.

²¹¹ "Cronaca di anonimo autore (1508–1511)," in *Le cronache bresciane inedite dei secoli XV–XIX*, ed. Paolo Guerrini (Brescia: Brixia Sacra, 1922), 1:143.

²¹² Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance: A Descriptive Bibliography of Triumphal Entries and Selected Other Festivals for State Occasions* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1979), 86; Jean Michel to Sigismondo d'Este, 29 October 1515, cited in Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 202–4.

²¹³ La Vigne *Voyage de Naples*; 164, 208–9.

and/or the mere presence of “chantres” without any sonic designation. A leaflet adds that during the entry into Florence some “choirboys and others” performed for the king during the entry.²¹⁴ Marot further denotes the presence of vocal music in descriptions of the entries into Genoa in 1507, as the king entered the cathedral of San Lorenzo, and during the procession into both Brescia and Milan during the Venetian campaign of 1509.²¹⁵ These sources are rich in vocal music; however, the performers in questions are quite likely to have been local clergy. In some cases, this can be inferred with little effort. In Marot’s account of the entry into Milan in 1509 it is clear that those singing belong to the mendicant orders:

Freres prescheurs, cordeliers, telz manieres
De mendiens, observans, piedz deschaulx,
Moynes noirs, blancs, comme charbons et chauds,
Marchoient, chantans en grant devotion,²¹⁶

Friars preachers, Cordeliers, in the manner
Of mendicants, observants, bare feet,
Monks black, white, like carbon and lime,
Marched, singing in great devotion,

Additionally, during a peacetime entry into Genoa in 1502, d’Auton spells out the music that greeted Louis XII at San Lorenzo with relative clarity. As the king reached the threshold of the building, the bishop of Genoa, the canons of the church, and the “collieges de la cyté” were waiting for him and were holding relics.²¹⁷ Afterwards the king descended from his horse in front

²¹⁴ “ladicte fleur de lis avoit ung grant pie a degrez sur lesquelz avoit enfans de cueur et autres mesmement qui chantoient et touchoient merueilleusement bien.” *La noble et excellente entree du Roy nostre sire en la ville de Florence ce qui fut le xvii. Jour de novembre mil. cccc. iiiixx. et xiiii.* Département des manuscrits. Bibliothèque nationale de France. NAF 7644 (N.p.: n.p., 1494), 68r.

²¹⁵ Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 108; Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 121, 145–6.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

²¹⁷ “ou estoit l’evesque de Gennes et les channoynes de l’esglize, avecques tous les collieges de la cyté, revestus et tenans les saintes reliques entre les mains.” D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 3:59; This could perhaps even refer to the *cantoria* of San Lorenzo. After about 1494 San Lorenzo boasted a budding choir of at least a handful of clerics and boys. Maria Rosa Moretti, *Musica e costume a Genova: Tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Pirella, Genova, 1992), 71–3, 244–6.

of the church and met the bishop and canons inside. Then the same “colleiges” led the king to the altar while singing “divine praises.”²¹⁸ This is unsurprising. A triumphal entry was an opportunity for a city to open its gates and put its best foot forward. They were generally responsible for the execution of visual and sonic pageantry, which allows for the use of chapel singers if the entry took place at home but creates a more complicated dynamic during entries abroad. In the aforementioned list of chapel singers in processions, all of the singers are performing on home turf. When the chapel singers travelled to war, they performed in unfamiliar territory, in cities with their own singers and even princely chapels, if the deposed ruler happened to have one. The use of local clergy for vocal music during triumphal entries was certainly possible if not preferred. Why, then, chapel singers would have been inserted into accounts of triumphal processions to begin with and what authors had to gain in doing so remains to be seen. Featured in this analysis are two accounts, which identify the chapel singers in processions at war. The only triumphal procession among these is the one into Genoa in 1507. The second is not strictly a triumphal entry, consisting of a *Corpus Christi* procession during the Naples campaign of 1495 in the city of Poggibonsi. The triumphal framing and symbolism of the procession, however, will be viewed through a similar lens, and their shared emphasis on the visual reception of singers will be explored.

Louis XII's triumphal entry into Genoa 1507

In November of 1506, while Genoa was under French rule, a popular uprising known as the revolt of the *capette* broke out in city. In a protracted conflict, the people succeeded in

²¹⁸ “tous les colleiges qui la estoient commencerent a chanter unes divines laudes, et ainsi convoierent le Roy juckes au maistre autel de ladite esglize.” D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 3:59

storming the castle and electing Paolo da Novi, a silk dyer, to serve as the people's doge.²¹⁹ In response, the king personally led an army to quell the uprising, ultimately resulting in Genoa's defeat. Now at the mercy of an angry king, the triumphal entry of the king into the city was a display of penitence and mercy. A Genoese delegation with bare heads and feet met the king at Sampierdarena just outside of the city. The entourage then processed through the gates of San Tommaso and towards the dome of San Lorenzo. Along the way maidens lined the streets and cried "misericordia!" After the entry was concluded then king then sat upon a throne, entertained the apologies of the people, and burned the city's book of privileges as a symbol of their subjugation.²²⁰

Among several descriptions of the procession, an anonymous leaflet, publicizing the events of the campaign against Genoa in 1507 and the ensuing entry into the city on April 28th, contends that the singers of the French chapel processed with the king's entourage during the royal entry. The leaflet bear the title:

The conquest of Genoa. And how the French conquered the fortress. And of the defense of the castellum. With the entry of the King into the said city of Genoa. And that which had been done by the said city of Genoa for the entry of the King our said lord.²²¹

²¹⁹ Fabien Levy, *La monarchie et la commune: Les Relations entre Gênes et la France, 1396–1512* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014), 124–5.

²²⁰ We enjoy many sources on this entry, both from French and Italian observers: Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 107–8; *La conquête de gennes*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, RES 4-LB29-25 ([Genoa]: n.p. 1507); D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:231–45; *Un anno di storia Genovese (giugno 1506–1507) con diario e documenti inedita*, ed. Emilio Pandiani, Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria 37 (Genoa: Società Palazzo Bianco, 1905), 399–400; Francesco Pandolfini, "Francesco Pandolfini aux dix," in *Negociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, ed. Giuseppe Canestrini and Abel Desjardins (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861), 2:241–8; Alessandro Salvago, *Cronaca di Genova scritta in francese*, ed. Cornelio Desimoni (Genoa: R. Istituto de'Sordo-Muti, 1879), 119–21; Bartolomeo Senarega, *De rebus Genuensibus commentaria ab anno MCDLXXXVIII usque ad annum MDXIV*, ed. Emilio Pandiani, vol. 24, pt. 8 of *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, Giosue Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, and Pietro Fedele (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, [1934–7]), 116–8; Agostino Giustiniani, *Annali della repubblica di Genova*, ed. G. B. Spotorno (Genoa: Libraio Canepa, 1854), 2:632–3; Sanudo, *I diarii*, 7:69–70; Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 1 May 1507, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2117.

²²¹ "La conquest de gennes. Et c[om]ment les francoys c[on]quister[en]t la bastille. Et de la deffense du castellet. Avec lentrete du Roy en ladicte ville de gennes. Et ce qua este fait de par ladicte ville de

This source joins a chorus of similar newsletters produced during the Italian wars, though it is the only one to mention the singers of the chapel. The leaflet was published first by Lyonese publisher Noël Abraham and later published again in Paris by G. Bigneaulx.²²² Likely familiar to later historians, the text reappears in Théodore Godefroy's *Le Ceremonial françois*. His citation is ambiguous "Tirée d'une Relation manuscrite," but if his original source was indeed the leaflet, there would have been little to no bibliographic information to cite, as the leaflet itself bears minimal publication information.²²³ As indicated in the title, the leaflet contains a description of the Genoese campaign in addition to a description of the entry, written entirely in prose. The writing style overall is direct and descriptive, absent of excessive poetic formulations, one of several tactics which Cynthia Brown has attributed to an increasingly popularized audience in France who consumed texts about military campaigns.²²⁴ The description of the entry in particular enumerates the individual participants of the march, with emphasis on its military and French components first, followed by a description of Genoa's contributions to the pomp.²²⁵

The chapel singers are situated specifically within the enumeration of the king's entourage:

Item il y avoit quelque nombre de prisonniers des genevois qui avoyent estez prins durant la guerre ac[om]paignez de gens de pied qui les [con]duisoient. Item apres marchoyent tous les chantres de la chapelle du Roy. Item apres maistres

gennes pour l'entree du Roy nostredit sire." 4-LB29-25, f. 1r; The word "leaflet" here refers to a short newsletter not exceeding a single quire. This is the definition of William Kemp who assigns the word "pamphlet" to newsletters of more than one quire. William Kemp, "Transformations in the Printing of Royal Entries During the Reign of François I^{er}: The Role of Geofroy Tory," in *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*, eds. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 114, note 10.

²²² The text cited is from the Bigneaulx version, identified as such in: Cooper, "Noël Abraham," 151, note 14.

²²³ Theodore Godefroy and Denys Godefroy, *Le Ceremonial françois* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1649), 1:712.

²²⁴ Brown, *The Shaping of History*, 149.

²²⁵ RES 4-LB29-25, ff. 1v–4r.

dostelz:p[an]etiers:eschansons;varletz de chambre: et aultres officiers du Roy qui estoy[en]t en gr[an]t n[om]bre habillez bien richem[en]t.²²⁶

Then there was some number of prisoners of the Genoese who had been taken during the war accompanied by foot soldiers who lead them. Then behind marched all the singers of the chapel of the king. Then behind butlers:bakers:cupbearers:valets de chambre:and other officers of the King who were in great number dressed very richly.

The singers are listed directly after the prisoners of war but ahead of various members of the household of the king. D’Auton recorded a different version of this portion of the entourage, leaving out the singers: “After those, went the thirty Genoese led by Messier Galeazzo Visconti. Thereafter, walked the grand squire.”²²⁷ The thirty Genoese appear to be the Genoese prisoners mentioned in the leaflet, but d’Auton does not mention the singers or the members of the king’s household, jumping instead to the Grand Squire, Galeazzo Sanseverino, who is indeed mentioned in the leaflet, only a full eight entries further down the list.²²⁸ Maulde de la Clavière, 19th-century editor of d’Auton’s chronicle, appears to treat these two accounts as collatable, electing to insert the singers of the chapel in after the thirty Genoese prisoners in a footnote, citing Godefroy and not the leaflet.²²⁹

Such a literal interpretation of either source is not necessary. Different observers could experience and remember processions quite differently. It suffices to note that the singers were associated not with any other group of clergymen but with other members of the king’s household. This may have reflected an informed decision on the part of the author. Valets and other servants, appear elsewhere in accounts of entry marches, and singers could be dually

²²⁶ RES 4-LB29-25, f. 3r.

²²⁷ “Après ceulx la chemynoyent les xxx Genevoys que messier Galeas Visconte conduysoit. En ensuyvant, marchoit le grant escuyer.” D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:234.

²²⁸ RES 4-LB29-25, f. 3r.

²²⁹ D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:234, note 3.

employed as *valets de chambre* in the household.²³⁰ Nevertheless, the leaflet defies the fact that local clergy often provide music for entries, a fact that Marot and d'Auton appear to respect in their own descriptions, and does not offer an explanation of the singers' place in the procession.²³¹

This touches on an important question of accuracy, which looms over every anecdote considered in this study and extends beyond the texts produced during the wars themselves. It is certain that the majority of the musical anecdotes in this study bear no other source with musical content, textual, visual, or archival, to corroborate them, leaving us with little choice but to take the sources we have at face value. In research on early modern festivals, the subject of the credibility of written sources arises often, and for good reason. Keen readers of these works will note that it hardly ever rained in Renaissance Europe, that horses never spooked, and that music was always pleasing to the ear. This of course reflects the hyperbolic and idealistic style of festival texts, whose goal was to preserve a somewhat truthful but intentionally idealized commemoration of the events of that day.²³² This is no inherent shortcoming, with current scholarship leaning towards the acceptance and embrace of the subjectivity of such texts. In the words of Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly: "Early modern courtly historiography is meant to be biased, and so are festival books."²³³ In concretizing the value of chapel singers at war, official texts

²³⁰ For instance, la Vigne's account of the entry into Florence in 1494 reveals that "varletz et paiges" marched into the city. La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 219; That a chapel singer may have processed with the household specifically during the Italian wars is not far from reality. It is known that Antoine de Longueval, future master of the king's chapel, served as *valet de chambre* to the king from 1509 to 1522. Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 364.

²³¹ Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 107–8; D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:231–45.

²³² See McGowan's discussion on entries and hyperbole: McGowan, *Festival and Violence*, 215–33; Watanabe-O'Kelly reminds us that these sources often did try to be truthful and attempted to accurately document details such as the date and participants of an entry. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "'True and Historical Descriptions': European Festivals and the Printed Record," in *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions*, ed. Jeroen Duindam and Sabine Dabringhaus (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 151; See also Strong, *Art and Power*, 21–2.

²³³ Watanabe-O'Kelly, "'True and Historical Descriptions'?" 151.

shine a magnifying glass on the cultural values of their courtly origins. During the early-Italian wars, descriptions of entries and masses were often produced by writers with direct relationships of patronage to the king or queen. Such was the case for court poets André la Vigne and Jean Marot, who documented the campaigns in Naples (1494–5), Genoa (1507), and Venice (1509) respectively, and for Benedictine monk Jean d’Auton, who served as royal historiographer during the military campaigns of 1499–1507.²³⁴ Similarly, the printer Noël Abraham published accounts of the wars with official permission.²³⁵ Their texts reflect their close allegiance to the monarchy and a careful approach towards the magnitude of their ceremonial descriptions and the completeness of their lists of honorees, replete with effusive apologies for those inadvertently excluded.²³⁶ It is conceivable that the report of the entry in 1507 would have served similarly as a public update on the battle campaign more broadly, and that the author sought to include as much relevant information as possible in little space. In this sense, the leaflet fulfills its objective of courtly enumeration, regardless of whether the presence of singers can be taken literally or not.

It must be noted, however, that the accuracy of this account is at least situationally possible. As mentioned in the introduction d’Auton’s list of participants in the entourage of 1507 mentions the singers in his “Some names of some of the officers of the household of the king, which were found and served in this voyage.”²³⁷ Furthermore, d’Auton reports that the chapel

²³⁴ La Vigne held the title of “facteur du roi.” La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 7; See also the dedication Marot writes for Anne of Brittany in his chronicle of the Genoa campaign: Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 83–4; Philippe Contamine, “Jean d’Auton, historien de Louis XII,” *Louis XII en Milanais: XLI^e colloque international d’études humanistes 30 juin–3 juillet 1998*, eds, Philippe Contamine and Jean Guillaume (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2003), 14.

²³⁵ Cooper, “Noël Abraham,” 151, note 14.

²³⁶ D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:364–5.

²³⁷ “Des noms d’aucuns des officiers de la maison du Roy, lesquelz se trouverent et servirent a ce voyage.” *Ibid.*, 4:364–5

left the city of Alessandria for Genoa shortly before the entry, presumably joining the king in the city for the triumphal festivities.²³⁸

Charles VIII's Corpus Christi procession in Poggibonsi 1495

As mentioned above, only one other procession received any indication of the participation of the singers of the chapel. According to la Vigne, on the feast of *Corpus Christi* in 1495, the French battle entourage held a procession in the Tuscan city of Poggibonsi:

Le dit jour du Saint Sacrement, au dit Pontgipond, le roy se monstra vray catholique et ferme pillier de la foy; car au matin il manda tous ses seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et autres pour l'accompagner en la procession et faire honneur au Saint Sacrement. Et des lors qu'il fut prest, il s'en alla a la grant eglise ou tous les seigneurs l'attendoient, aussi les chantres de sa chapelle. Et de la avecques les seigneurs de la dicte eglise, tous revestuz et garniz d'ornemens et reliquaires riches et sumptueux, luy estant après le Corpus Christi, marcha en devocion grande et belle ordonnance, acompagné de tous ses seigneurs; et portoient le poille du Saint Sacrement monsieur de Vendosme, la marquis de Ferrare, monsieur le Vidame et François de la Salle, et devant grant force clerges, torches et luminaires. Aussi devant le Corpus Christi trompettes et clairons, tabourins, menestriers et toutes sortes d'instruments jouoyent a qui mieulx mieulx. Le roy alla par tous les lieux et places acoustumees en ceste procession; en laquelle avoit tant de seigneurs; nobles barons, gens d'armes et autres, avec plusieurs seigneurs d'Italie, que tous le pays qui la / s'estoit assemblé pour voir la magnificence du roy, estoit tous esmerveillé de voir si belle et si triumpante compaignie; et fist le service monsieur l'evesque de Cornouaille.²³⁹

The said day of Corpus Christi, at the said Poggibonsi, the king demonstrated himself true catholic et firm pillar of the faith; for in the morning he sent all his lords, barons, knights and others to accompany him in the procession and pay honor to the Blessed Sacrament. And as soon as he had been prepared, he left for the great church where all the lords waited for him, also the singers of his chapel. And from there with the lords of the said church, all adorned and garnished with ornaments and rich and sumptuous reliquaries, they being after the Corpus Christi, marched in great devotion and beautiful organization, accompanied by all his lords; and carried the baldachin of the blessed Sacrament monsieur de Vendosme, the marquis of Ferrara, monsieur le Vidame and François de la Salle, and ahead a great number of clergy, torches and lamps. Also ahead the Corpus Christi trumpets and bugles, drums, minstrels and all sorts of instruments played each one more than the other. The king went by all the spots and places customary in this procession; in which were many lords, noble barons, gens d'armes and others,

²³⁸ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:244–5.

²³⁹ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 273–4.

with many lords of Italy, that all the country that there was assembled to see the magnificence of the king, was all amazed to see such beautiful and such triumphant company, and monsieur the bishop of Cornouaille did the sermon.

The stop in Poggibonsi was no insignificant event; however, the choice of location may have been decided on short notice, as Charles VIII had recently sojourned in Siena, with Sanudo mentioning that Charles had debated if he should stay in Siena for *Corpus Christi*, ultimately deciding to press on for tactical reasons.²⁴⁰ If Charles had elected to stay in friendly Siena, the celebration as we know it may not have taken place. Indeed the events that unfolded in this small city in 1495 may have cemented its place in history, as the town was so small that la Vigne felt the need to explain that “Poggibonsi is a little town, somewhat populated and very pleasant to look at.”²⁴¹

It is clear that the procession was meant to highlight French structures of power. The honor of giving the sermon fell on the bishop of Cornouaille, also referred to as the Bishop of Quimper. The role was occupied at this time by Raoul le Moël, then Aumônier of the king.²⁴² The carriers of the baldachin concentrated powerful French noblemen and their allies at the center of the procession.²⁴³ This included Francis of Bourbon, count of Vendôme, Jacques de Vendôme, vidame of Chartres, Duke Ercole I, marquess of Ferrara, and Jean François de la Salle, lord of Sarraziet and marquess of Roquefort.²⁴⁴ Archon identifies these in his version of the text

²⁴⁰ Sanudo, *La spedizione*, 392.

²⁴¹ “Pongipond est une petite ville/assez peuplée et bien plaisante à voir.” La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 221.

²⁴² R. François Le Men, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Quimper (XIIIe–XVe siècle)* (Quimper: Jacob, 1877), 147; Pierre Hyacinthe Morice and Charles Louis Taillandier, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Guingamp: Benjamin Jollivet, 1836), 17: 145.

²⁴³ On the importance of the carriers of the baldachin see: Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Sinzig: Sankt Meinrad Reprintverlag, 1990), 111; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 251.

²⁴⁴ See Index provided in la Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 392, 389, 403

as “four of the principal lords of the court.”²⁴⁵ Local clergy appear only to have assumed the responsibility of carrying relics in the procession, which would have been expected at such an event, and precise details on the route of the procession appear to have been unimportant to la Vigne.²⁴⁶ In contrast to the triumphal entry, noticeably left out is any suggestion that the town contributed extensively to the execution of the procession. It is important to note that the Italian noblemen named in la Vigne’s account may not have been seen as locals but as foreigners to the inhabitants of the town, should it have included citizens of neighboring states. Though the procession in Poggibonsi was not a royal entry in the literal sense, the framing of the procession obligates us to question its political function. Sacred processions would have lacked some of the pageantry of triumphal entries. Yet, their use in a political context fulfilled a similar role. They embraced a similar entourage of noblemen, clerics, and musicians, their political identity still visually accessible, and were employed strategically in proximity to political events. La Vigne’s decision to describe the procession as “triumphant” is no coincidence. French triumphal entries bore close resemblance to *Corpus Christi* processions. This transpired in part through their use of the baldachin, which Guenée and Lehoux notably argued was meant to mirror the eucharistic one.²⁴⁷ While this idea has since been received with some skepticism, speaking in favor of the hypothesis is a miniature from François Demoulins’s aforementioned commentary on the 26th psalm, produced in commemoration of Francis I’s campaign against Milan in 1515. One miniature depicts four angels holding a baldachin over an armed Francis on horseback.²⁴⁸ The fifth verse of the psalm, praising God for protection in his tabernacle on the day of evil, is

²⁴⁵ “quatre des principaux Seigneurs de la Cour. “Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la chapelle des Rois de France*, 449.

²⁴⁶ Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie*, 103.

²⁴⁷ Guenée and Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, 16–8.

²⁴⁸ Bryant’s discussion of the criticism is particularly helpful: Bryant, *The King and the City*, 102, note 11; Demoulins, *Commentaire*, f. 5r.

featured in this meditation.²⁴⁹ The additional French commentary explains that the illustration depicts Francis in the tabernacle of the Lord, this referring to the baldachin.²⁵⁰ While the original tabernacle of the psalms would not have referred to the body of Christ, its contemporary usage suggests an intentional conflation of the royal baldachin with that of the Eucharist, in support of Guenée and Lehoux’s hypothesis. Moreover, this would not be the only time that elements of *Corpus Christi* celebrations were appropriated during the Italian wars. Louis XII’s 1509 entry into Brescia featured white cloths like those used in the city for the feast.²⁵¹ Several weeks later, the Bishop of Brescia would choose the feast of *Corpus Christi* as the date on which he would formally swear allegiance to the French king.²⁵² We may also wonder if cardinal Georges d’Amboise’s celebration of *Corpus Christi* in otherwise Ambrosian Milan “alla romana” in June of 1507 had any connections with the king’s recent victory against Genoa.²⁵³ The celebration in Poggibonsi and its documentation must not be read in a political vacuum. Despite the emphasis that la Vigne places on the event in his chronicle, Italian chroniclers focus on a different occasion that occurred in Poggibonsi during the same visit. Both Nardi and Landucci mentioned that the stop in Poggibonsi, which at the time belonged to Florence and served as a strategic border town with Siena, was the site of a fateful meeting between Savonarola and Charles VIII on the 17th, failing to mention the French procession entirely.²⁵⁴ Local records indicate the

²⁴⁹ “Quoniam abscondit me in tabernaculo suo, in die mallor[um] protexit me, in abscondito tabernaculi sui.” Demoulins, *Commentaire*, f. 5r.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ “Cronaca di anonimo autore (1508–1511),” 1:142. This was not limited to the French. Richard III’s entry into York in 1483 used the route of the *Corpus Christi* procession. Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, 90. Pamela Tudor-Craig, “Richard III’s triumphant entry into York, August 29th, 1483,” in *Richard III and the North*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Hull: University of Hull, 1986), 108–16.

²⁵² Sanudo, *I diarii*, 8:393; Stephen D. Bowd, *Venice’s Most Loyal City: Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022), 199.

²⁵³ Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 263.

²⁵⁴ Jacopo Nardi, *Storie della città di Firenze*, ed. Lelio Arbib (Florence: Società editrice delle storie del Nardi e del Varchi, 1842), 1:78–9; Luca Landucci, *Diario fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516*, ed. Iodoco del

presence of the French, but the records focus instead on the damage done to local infrastructure and food stores.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, the presence of a *Corpus Christi* procession is left out, despite documenting plans for a procession for the nativity of the Virgin Mary just a few months later.²⁵⁶ One could imagine that the king wished to send a message in executing a Franco-centric procession, with the help of local clergy, on the very Florentine soil upon which the two leaders had met and that the adequate documentation of both the ritual and its intention was only of relevance to the French chronicler.²⁵⁷

Being heard and being seen

The musicological tendency is often to embrace music and musicians in processions as part of a sonic reading of civic life, sacred rituals, and princely ceremonies, the value of which lies in their ability to capture and triangulate lived experiences of the senses, often silent in notated sources.²⁵⁸ Yet, musicians are never bound to sound alone. Audible and visual elements of pageantry work in tandem, and both are central to contemporary descriptions of musicians in

Badia (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1883), 108; Francesco Pratelli, *Storia di Poggibonsi* (Poggibonsi: Lalli, 1990), 346.

²⁵⁵ “Deliberazioni 1492 aprile 6 – 1497 aprile 24,” Archivio di Stato di Siena (ASS), Archivio comunale di Poggibonsi (ACPO) 110, ff. 92r–92v; Pratelli, *Storia di Poggibonsi*, 352.

²⁵⁶ The few mentions of the city’s contact with the French can be found in ACPO 101, ff. 87r–92v; For the records of the city’s plans for a procession see Ibid., f. 95r.

²⁵⁷ Savonarola himself may have been carrying out similar anti-French processions around the same time, including on June 5th, *Corpus Christi*, and the feast of St. John the Baptist. This is largely the hypothesis of: Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 476, note 294; Landucci explains how Savonarola ordered some of the devotions that occurred on June 5, 1495; Landucci, *Diario fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516*, 106–7; However, concerning the processions of *Corpus Christi* and St. John the Baptist, Savonarola’s sermons do not explicitly connect them to the French, focusing instead on their reform. Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche sopra i salmi Vol. 2*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Girolamo Savonarola* (Rome: Angelo Belardetti, 1974), 68–9.

²⁵⁸ While much progress has been made in the study of civic ritual from a musicological perspective, soundscapes are still the center of this research. Ian Biddle, and Kirsten Gibson, eds., *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe 1300–1918* (London: Routledge, 2015), Tess Knighton, and Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, eds., *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Belgium, 2018).

processions. In the leaflet's description of the Swiss battalions, the description zeros in on the visual nature of the spectacle even when describing their sound: "And sounded the drums and flutes that were in said companies, which was a thing marvelous to see."²⁵⁹ We can imagine that Swiss fife and drum ensembles easily stood out as much for their striking manner of dress as for their music, just as the sound of trumpets could evoke images of the banners and heraldry they often wore, allowing for easy identification.²⁶⁰ This may explain Sanudo's description of Charles VIII's entry into Florence in 1494, in which he is careful to distinguish between the discernable presence of both the "trombetti di la Signoria di Fiorenza" and the "trombetti dil Re."²⁶¹ Trumpets also marched close to other visible symbols of identity. For the entry into Milan in 1499, d'Auton groups the trumpets next to the French heralds of arms, and Prato places the trumpets of the *commune* next to the gonfalon of St. Ambrose.²⁶² This visual function was fulfilled regardless of whether or not the trumpeters were performing at any given moment.

The similar function of singers as visual markers of identity and status has been raised in research on the papal chapel. Analyzing the documentation of Patrizi, Jörg Bölling notes that the during the ride to the Lateran, the singers of the papal chapel appear without clear musical direction, suggesting that their purpose was to serve as the "vanguard of the chapel clergy," identifiable by means of their surplices.²⁶³ Elsewhere Bölling compares the presence of singers to

²⁵⁹ "Et sonnoient les tabourins [et] fleutes qui estoye[n]t esdictes co[m]paignies dont cestoit chose merueilleuse a veoir" RES 4-LB29-25, ff. 2v.

²⁶⁰ Bern's "mobile sound-cocoon" cannot exist without a visual manifestation. Bern, "Instrumental Sounds," 495.

²⁶¹ Sanudo, *La spedizione*, 135.

²⁶² D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 1:105; Prato, "Storia di Milano," 227.

²⁶³ "Doch beim Ritt zum Lateran im Rahmen der Papstkrönung treten die Sänger auch ohne unmittelbare musikalische Aufgabe in Erscheinung. Sie schließen sich auf eigenen Pferden und mit Superpelliz als Zeichen ihrer Zugehörigkeit zur Kapelle an die verschiedenen Bediensteten der päpstlichen Kanzlei an und bilden somit die Vorhut des Kapellklerus, der mit zunehmender Nähe zum Papst in aufsteigender Hierarchie dem Papst voranreitet." Bölling, *Das Papstzeremoniell*, 129–30.

the *cappa magna* worn by prelates as emblems of their status.²⁶⁴ Bölling writes in favor of the multi-sensory symbolic interpretation of singers, one that may offer a useful parallel for this study, as it is precisely through the notion of *being seen*, both *as whom* and *by whom*, that the presence of the singers in both accounts becomes clear.

Singers always exist simultaneously in different planes of classification, most of which have little to do with the music they produce.²⁶⁵ Often these planes reflect their status as foreigners (French/non-French), distinguish them from the chapel of another ruler (king/pope), or emphasize their functional role either in the execution of the mass (clergy/lay people) or of music (sound/silence). The notion of an extramusical function tied to the expression of political identity, extracted through visual cues much like the aforementioned trumpets, underscores the majority of the anecdotes in this study. Though the description of the procession in Poggibonsi appears to tacitly imply their performance during the mass (clergy/lay people and sound/silence), both sources place an emphasis on their belonging in the French court (courtly/non-courtly) and on the spectator's sight. This is achieved in part through the absence of sound. La Vigne leaves them out in his sonic description of the instruments that joined the procession and lists them directly after the lords that are waiting for the king, the leaflet similarly listing the singers next to the servants of the household and not with any instruments. Yet, la Vigne also invites the audience into the visual realm, ending his anecdote by stating that "all the country that there was assembled to see the magnificence of the king, was all amazed to see such beautiful and such

²⁶⁴ "Die gesangbegleitete Einzugszeremonie bildet den Übergang von der Einholung außerhalb der Kirche und der Ankleidung mit den liturgischen Pontifikalgewändern am Altar. Der Gesang demonstriert somit in ähnlicher Weise die exponierte Stellung des Bischofs – sei es in seiner Eigenschaft als Zelebrant oder als regierender Diözesanbischof – wie das von ihm während des Einzugs getragene Kleidungsstück, die *Cappa magna*." Bölling, "*Musicae utilitas*," 243.

²⁶⁵ As mentioned above, this terminology makes reference to Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 41–2.

triumphant company.”²⁶⁶ In eschewing the sonically descriptive, despite the fact that both excerpts refer elsewhere to the active performance of music, both descriptions of the singers become inherently visual and enumerative, as much as part of the “compagnie” as the lords, servants, and soldiers that comprised it.

Why these sources, as well as d’Auton in his roster of participants in the 1507 campaign, chose to single out the soundless presence of an elite group of musicians cannot be said for certain.²⁶⁷ Perhaps this is a mere reflection of the central importance of seeing and commemorating to the style of the military chronicles, leaflets, and memoirs of this period, which leave out the heavy polemics of other military texts and focus on a simpler listing of tangible observations.²⁶⁸ The leaflet appears to have taken this to an extreme, including even the mules and trunks that trailed the procession.²⁶⁹ It further comes as no surprise that both sources discussed above were published in print in France, presumably for a wider audience.²⁷⁰ Perhaps we may choose to read, particular in la Vigne’s account, a reflection of courtly *debitus honor*, reflecting their inclusion in a practice often reserved for high-status individuals. Whatever their reasons, it must not be understated the degree to which the ascription of these social and sighted values to chapel singers in military campaigns marks a sharp departure from the sonic and devotional values of earlier chapels, for whom the performance of masses on the battlefield was the sole source of function and value for singers.²⁷¹ The chapels of the Catholic monarchs,

²⁶⁶ “tous le pays qui la / s’estoit assemblé pour voir la magnificence du roy, estoit tous esmerveillé de voir si belle et si triumpante compaignie.” La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 274.

²⁶⁷ See Introduction.

²⁶⁸ Brown, *The Shaping of History*, 18–9; Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 187–8; Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoires*, 154–5; Nadine Kuperty-Tsur, *Se dire à la Renaissance: Les mémoires au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1997), 18–43.

²⁶⁹ RES 4-LB29-25, f. 3r.

²⁷⁰ See the critical edition’s summary of sources: La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 18–24.

²⁷¹ See Chapter 2.

Charles the Bold, and Francesco Gonzaga were identified at war, if at all, through their musical and liturgical deeds.²⁷² The French chapel, in contrast, is adopted into the landscape of triumph. These French sources exemplify the extremes of sight as form of musical reception, but their perspective forms the foundation for further study. Though other sources in this study are more sonically and ritually engaged in their descriptions, the importance of sight still reigns, becoming only more instrumental as it intersects with anxieties about princely and civic self-representation and attempts to meet diplomatic expectations.

²⁷² Ibid.

Masses and Triumphal Symbolism

After a major victory, it could take weeks before the king made his official triumphant entry into the conquered city. During this short period of time, organizers rushes to make arrangements, build triumphal arches, and mobilize local citizens for the royal entry. During the Italian wars, these spectacles occurred at least once during every major campaign. As discussed above, it was often the entry itself that made its way into leaflets, festival books, and chronicles. Similarly it is the triumphal entries themselves that often receive attention in modern studies. While these were certainly the most visible rites of passage during military campaigns, less recognized in both contemporary and modern sources are the prolonged visits that occurred thereafter. The king would often spend days or weeks in a city following a major entry. These were opportunities to negotiate treaties, receive ambassadors, install new governments, and enjoy feasts and balls. As far as the latter is concerned, much documentation exists for the festivities the king enjoyed in Milan following the triumphal entry in 1499. The entry took place on October 6th, after which on October 15th, the king attended a “Festa de Ballare” at the house of Francesco Bernardino Vesconte.²⁷³ On October 18th, the king attended dinner at the house of Francesco Trivulzio.²⁷⁴ And finally, on the 20th of October the king attended a large dinner at court, replete “with the sound of trombones and shawms, and also with the drums playing certain ballets for the French.”²⁷⁵ While evidence for such festivities appears sporadically, the documented importance of these visits in governance remains constant throughout the early Italian wars. After the entry into Florence in 1494, Charles VIII remained in Florence for nearly

²⁷³ Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 229.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 230.

²⁷⁵ “cu[m] soni de tromboni et piffari, et anche cu[m] li tamburini facendosse certi baletti p[er] li Francesi.” Text is cited in the first source. Giovanni Gonzaga to Isabella d’Este, 20 October 1499; Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d’Este, 21 October 1499; Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113; Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 230.

two weeks, ultimately negotiating and signing a treaty with the city, which was ratified in the Duomo.²⁷⁶ Similarly, shortly after the aforementioned entry in Genoa in 1507, Louis XII took time to re-negotiate the privileges of the city and publicly install Raoul de Lannoy as the new governor.²⁷⁷ Lastly, after the entry into Brescia in 1509, the king remained for about a week in the city, and according to Marot he “imposed good order and administration.”²⁷⁸ The ceremonial nature of the deliberations themselves are not always given, though its importance must not be discounted. These extended political visits fused governance, cultural capital, and the expression of political and sacred identity in a period of symbolic uncertainty, objectives for which chapel singers are largely well-suited. It is therefore unsurprising that these visits account for a large portion of anecdotes that identify singers in the royal entourage at war.²⁷⁹ Of the sources covered below, two report specifically of masses held in the days after triumphal entry. One tells of a votive mass after the entry into Milan in 1499 and another of a Pentecost mass after the entry into Brescia in 1509. How their musical observations fit into contemporary approaches towards symbolic communication during triumphal visits and rites of passage will be explored.

A votive mass in Milan 1499

In 1499, barely a year after his coronation, Louis XII revived the military ambitions of his predecessor and invaded the Duchy of Milan, asserting his claims to the duchy by virtue of his Visconti grandmother.²⁸⁰ The invasion was successful and led to the expulsion of Ludovico il

²⁷⁶ Parenti, *Storia Fiorentina*, 69.

²⁷⁷ Mitchel, *The Majesty of the State*, 93.

²⁷⁸ “mist bonne ordre et police.” Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, v. 2987, 124; For his description of the entry and receptions of ambassadors see: *Ibid.*, 121–4.

²⁷⁹ This takes into account the triumphal entry into Genoa 1507, the visits in Milan and Brescia in 1499 and 1509, and also the presence of Jean Mouton in the royal entourage in October of 1515 sometime after the entry into Milan. Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 202–4.

²⁸⁰ Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 85.

Moro and the establishment of French rule in Milan. A short-lived return of Ludovico in February of 1500 was met with swift defeat and his ultimate capture.²⁸¹ The first conquest in the fall of 1499 culminated in a triumphal entry into the city on October 6, 1499, and the king remained in Milan for the duration of the month.²⁸² As part of the triumphal visit, on October 7th, a mass took place at the Basilica of St. Ambrose. Studies on the entry focus closely on the detailed visual pageantry of the entry, which is well documented in the chronicles of Priuli, Prato, Sanudo, and d'Auton, an anonymous leaflet, and letters from Baldassarre Castiglione and Francesco Gonzaga.²⁸³ Yet, little to no attention is devoted to the mass itself. Good reason to consider its political value rests in the fact that a full three of the aforementioned sources, including those of Prato, Gonzaga, and Castiglione, the latter two of which appear to be eyewitness testimonies, mention the mass. Of the limited attention the mass has gotten in scholarly literature, William Prizer keenly noted that the presence of the ducal singers at this mass confirms their whereabouts during the period immediately following the flight of Ludovico Sforza and the arrival of the French, a valuable piece of evidence pertaining to the ducal chapel after 1499.²⁸⁴ This evidence is, however, is equally valuable for research on the French chapel

²⁸¹ Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 87.

²⁸² Ibid., 85–7.

²⁸³ For scholarly studies on the entry see: Ibid.; Luisa Giordano, “Les entrées de Louis XII en Milanais,” in *Passer les monts: Français en Italie – l’Italie en France (1494–1525)*, ed. Jean Balsamo (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1998), 139–48; Robert W. Scheller, “Gallia Cisalpina: Louis XII and Italy 1499–1508,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 15, no. 1 (1985): 7–10; Contemporary sources include: Castiglione, *Lettere*, 1:4–5; Priuli, *I diarii*, 1:208–9; Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 227–9; Sanudo, *I diarii*, 3:24–5; D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII* 1:92–111; *Ingressus [christ]ianissimi Ludouici francorum regis in ciuitatem suam mediolanens[em]* ([Rome]: [Eucharius Silber], [1499]) British Library: IA 19043; Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d’Este, 7 October 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113.

²⁸⁴ William F. Prizer, “Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center,” *Musica Disciplina* 43 (1989): 176; Evidence of the singers of the ducal chapel becomes murky after 1499. Paul Merkley and Lora L. M Merkley *Music and Patronage In the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 405; Recent work on the *Libroni*, however, has worked on pushing past 1499. See: Daniele V. Filippi, “The Making and Dating of the Gaffurius Codices: Archival Evidence and Research Perspective,” in *Reopening Gaffurius’s Libroni*, ed. Agnese Pavanello (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2021), 25–41;

and in the careful negotiation of identity that accompanied triumph and conquest during the Italian wars.

The mass on October 7th is largely absent in the chronicles. Of these sources, only Prato briefly mentions the mass:

Il lune seguente poi, che fu il giorno septimo d'Octobre, il serenissimo Ludovico, re di Franza et duca de Milano, andò a Sancto Ambrosio, et ivi fece cantare una messa de Spirito Sancto con grande solennitate; da poi se ne ritornò nel castello.²⁸⁵

Then on the following Monday, which was the seventh day of October, the most serene Louis, king of France and duke of Milan, went to Saint Ambrose, and there he had a mass of the Holy Spirit sung with great solemnity; afterwards he returned to the castle.

Of particularly importance in this report is the detail that the mass that took place was one for the Holy Spirit. Complementary to Prato's account are letters by Francesco Gonzaga and Baldassare Castiglione. Castiglione's account corroborates Prato's and offers additional information on the mass's celebrant:

Il lunedì mattina andassimo a Corte dietro allo Illustriss. Sig. nostro, donde il Re ne venne a Messa a S. Ambrosio in mezzo a quelle alabarde, accompagnato da tutti li Signori sopradetti. La Messa fu cantata per il Vescovo di Piacenza: detta la Messa, ed accompagnato il Re in Castello andammo a desinare, e poi si tornò a Corte.²⁸⁶

On Monday morning we went to Court behind the illustrious lord of ours, whence the King came to Mass at St. Ambrose in the midst of those halberds, accompanied by all the aforementioned lords. Mass was sung by the Bishop of Piacenza: the Mass being said, and the King being accompanied to the Castle we went to dine, and then returned to Court.

Neither Prato nor Castiglione mention the chapel singers. For this we have Gonzaga and his musical interests to thank:

Agnese Pavanello, "The Non-Milanese Repertory of the Libroni: A Potential Guide for Tracking Musical Exchanges," in *ibid.*, 217–70.

²⁸⁵ Prato, "Storia di Milano," 229.

²⁸⁶ Castiglione, *Lettere*, 5.

Siamo doppoi questa mattina stati con la Maestà dil Re ad udire una messa cantata a la Ambrosiana in la chiesa de Santo Ambroso, dove sonno intervenuti li cantori dil Duca Ludovico et quelli de la prefata Maestà.²⁸⁷

We were afterwards this morning with the Majesty of the King to hear a mass sung in the Ambrosian rite in the church of Saint Ambrose, where the singers of Duke Ludovico and those of the aforementioned Majesty attended.

In combination the three accounts each offer valuable information concerning the mass. From this, we can gather that the mass was in fact a mass for the Holy Spirit sung in the Ambrosian rite, during which the Bishop of Piacenza served as celebrant and the two musical chapels performed.

Though none of these source clearly state the political purpose of the mass they describe. Yet, its political trappings are plain to see, and the mass is clearly singled out as the only one worth mentioning during the king's triumphal visit. It appears that the intercessory value of the mass may have been connected to the diplomatic deliberations that often accompanied these visits, by virtue of the use of the Holy Spirit as intercessor, though this is not explicitly stated.²⁸⁸ Yet, the Holy Spirit's role as the ultimate giver of good council and as a choice intercessor for political meetings throughout the 15th and 16th centuries must be taken into account. Votive masses for the Holy Spirit preceded the councils of Pisa and Constance and were also used to inaugurate Imperial diets in the 16th century.²⁸⁹ During the Italian wars, after tense negotiations

²⁸⁷ Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 7 October 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113; See discussion in Prizer, "Music at the Court of the Sforza," 176, note. 107.

²⁸⁸ This mass occurred outside of the scheduled liturgy in the Ambrosian rite, according to which the appropriate celebration would have been the feast of Pope Mark. *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: Leonhard Pachel, 27.VIII.1499); *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: Antonius Zarotus, 23.III.1475); *Missale secundum ordinem sancti Ambrosij* (Milan: Niccolò Gorgonzola, 1515).

²⁸⁹ For the use of the mass in the Councils of Pisa and Constance see: Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys: contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. M. L. Ballaguet, trans. M. de Barante (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1842), 4:207–11; *Ibid.*, (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1844), 5:451; For the mass's use in Imperial Diets see: Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*, 21–22. See also Dotzauer's foundational work in two parts: Winfried Dotzauer, "Anrufung und Messe vom Heiligen Geist bei Königswahl und Reichstagen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1981): 11–44; Part II in *Archiv für mittelrheinische*

between Charles VIII and Alexander VI in Rome had concluded, the pope originally intended to sing a mass for the Holy Spirit for his mass with the king, but master of ceremonies Burchard persuaded him to honor the feast day of St. Sebastian instead.²⁹⁰ The mass appears again in Milan on November 17th, 1499. Newly minted governor of Milan, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, heard a votive mass for the Holy Spirit in the Duomo with other city officials after German soldiers had departed the city on their way to fight for Louis XII in Imola.²⁹¹ The votive mass's association with political deliberation would have thus made it an excellent choice for a triumphal visit, which, as mentioned above, consisted not only of protracted celebrations but of the establishment of a new government.²⁹²

Pentecost in Brescia 1509

A similar mass took place a decade later in the city of Brescia. In the spring of 1509 Louis XII advanced on the interests of the League of Cambrai and followed through on its goal to wage war against Venice. This culminated in the bloody battle of Agnadello on May 14, 1509.²⁹³ Though not immediately captured in the battle, the city of Brescia, caught in the

Kirchengeschichte 34 (1982): 11–36; See also Moritz Kelber's discussion of the mass's use in 1507. Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Allitera, 2018), 102–3.

²⁹⁰ Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 1:567.

²⁹¹ “Et, da Milano partito il soldaresco tumulto, si fece in Domo una Messa dello Spirito Sancto, dove li era il Trivulzio, il Consiglio Secreto, li Maestri de le entrate, et assai d'altri Ufficiali; i quali udita la Messa, che fu nel giorno 17 Novembre, ogni uno andò all'ufficio suo.” Ibid., 235–6.

²⁹² Another political reading of the mass could consist of its interpretation as a mass of thanksgiving. The Holy Spirit had been used as intercessor in times of tribulation both in the Middle Ages in France and in 16th century Milan. Nevertheless, the diplomatic hypothesis may better fit the character of the triumphal visit, which generally involved lengthy diplomatic negotiations. For more on the mass for the Holy Spirit and the crusades see: M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 309–18; See especially Linder's explanation of the triumphal semiotics of Pentecost: Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 98–9. See also a few anecdotes about the mass for the Holy Spirit in Milan: Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 322–24, 327–30.

²⁹³ Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 192–7.

aftermath and fearing a disastrous sack, capitulated to the French.²⁹⁴ The submission of the city to the French in 1509 represented the betrayal of nearly a century of Venetian rule, which the city had once willingly embraced in 1426.²⁹⁵ This change was controversial among Brescians and Venetians alike and perceived as a deliberate choice on the part of Brescia as opposed to an act of conquest on the part of the French.²⁹⁶ Venice's fury was unbridled. Priuli stated that "And in Venice it was named a rebel city, ungrateful for so many benefits received, and hostile to the name Venetto," a critique predicated on the fact that he perceived the city to have been sufficiently equipped to fend off a French attack, rendering the capitulation unnecessary.²⁹⁷ Brescian chroniclers, however, received Louis XII's triumphal entry on May 23rd, rather warmly.²⁹⁸ Bartolomeo Palazzo wrote that "On day 23, the King entered into Brescia with a very beautiful entourage."²⁹⁹ Similarly, Elio Capriolo did not withhold his wonder and awe, stating that the entry displayed "Truly marvelous pomp, and to us all new, and incredible."³⁰⁰ Joining the sympathetic Brescian reception of the French is an anonymous chronicle, who notes the presence of the singers in a mass for Pentecost that took place several days after the entry on May 27th in the dome:

Adi 27 mazo, cioè il giorno de pasca de mazo lo Re soprascritto fece cantar messa lo nostro monsignor, et ditto che fu lo evangelio fece predicar uno frate del ordine de S. Domenico, qual era franzoso, et era a quella messa trei Gardinali, cionè lo Rovà, lo

²⁹⁴ Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 198–9.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁹⁶ Bowd gives a measured overview of the different reactions to the submission of Brescia. Though some had welcomed the French, the view on the Venetian side was that Brescia had given up too easily: *Ibid.*, 198–200.

²⁹⁷ "Et in Venetia hera nominata citade rebella, ingrata de tanti benefitij riceputi, et inimica del nome venetto." Priuli, *I diarii*, 4:46; See as well Bowd's discussion of Priuli and other Venetian commentator's displeasure: Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 200.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁹⁹ "Adi 23, el Re fece la intrada in Bressa cum una Bellissima compagnia." Bartolomeo Palazzo, "Diario di Bartolomeo Palazzo," in *Le cronache bresciane inedite dei secoli XV–XIX*, ed. Paolo Guerrini (Brescia: Brixia Sacra, 1922), 1:260.

³⁰⁰ "Fasto veramente marauiglioso, & a noi tutti nuouo, & incredibile." Helia Cavriolo, *Delle historie bresciane* (Brescia: Francesco Tebaldino, 1630), 19.

Dalphino, et quello de Ferrara, com molti altri Vescovi, gli erano tanti Baroni et zintilhomini de Milano et cantori francesi com tanto ordine et tanta gente che non gli si posseva stare. non se sarla possuto sparzer uno grano de milio ne la Capella de S. Maria Rotunda in Dommo, et ditta che fu la messa esso Re se comunicò et subito fece cantar il vespro, et possa andò al palazzo suo.³⁰¹

On May 27, that is, the day of Pentecost, the aforementioned King had our prelate sing mass, and the Gospel having been said, he had a friar of the order of the Dominicans preach, who was French, and at that mass were three Cardinals, that is, the Rovà, the Dalphino, and the one from Ferrara, with many other Bishops, there were many Barons and gentlemen of Milan and French singers with so much order and so many people that one could not stand. One could not have been able to scatter a grain of millet in the Chapel of S. Maria Rotunda in the Dome, and the mass having been said, the King took communion and immediately had vespers sung, and then he went to his palace.

This source, overlooked by Thoinan, is the only contemporary one that confirms the presence of the chapel singers in the 1509 campaign entirely, seeing as the previous leading source for their participation in the battle of Agnadello is no longer reliable.³⁰² Moreover, its original text has been buried under a few layers of misinterpretation, which has led to the belief that a *Te Deum* had been performed during the mass, a claim which the text does not substantiate.³⁰³ This source joins Gonzaga's letter as one of the only Italian language sources to locate the singers of the French chapel in a military campaign. Though the author remains anonymous, some transmission clues point to his identity as a contemporary local witness.

No original copy of the chronicle exists, the earliest source being the codex K. VI. 23, n. 63 of the Ducos-Gussago collection in the Biblioteca Queriniana. The codex contains four

³⁰¹ "Cronaca di anonimo autore (1508–1511)," 1:143.

³⁰² See Chapter 2.

³⁰³ In Stephen Bowd's recent study on Brescia, he indicates that the singers of the chapel themselves sang the *Te Deum* on this occasion. Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 3. Similarly, Bonner Mitchell indicates the presence of a *Te Deum* during this mass but does not indicate the participation of the singers of the French chapel. Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 101. The earliest source of this misinformation is no doubt the a 20th century secondary study, *Storia di Brescia* in which the claim is present but not substantiated. "Seguirono cinque giorni di sontuosissime feste civili, religiose e private, concluse con un *Te Deum* in duomo celebrato dal vescovo Paolo Zane assistito da tre cardinali e dai cantori della cappella regia che avevan accompagnato in Italia il loro sovrano." Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, *Storia di Brescia*, vol. 2, *La dominazione veneta (1426–1575)* (Brescia: Banca S. Paolo di Brescia, 1963), 235–6.

chronicles all in the hand of one Tomaso Mercanda and includes his own additions. Mercanda was born in c. 1507/8 in Manerbio and lived and worked in Brescia at the Palazzo di Broletto, the events at Agnadello and the arrival of Louis XII no doubt still fresh in local memory at the time of the work's copying c 1545–7.³⁰⁴ Speaking favor of the chronicle's contemporary status is the fact that the other two chroniclers copied by Mercanda, Cristoforo Soldo and Iacopo Melga also lived contemporaneously to the events they described. Soldo was born in the late 14th century, and the fragment of his chronicle copied by Mercanda covers the year 1469. Melga's case is less certain, though Paolo Guerrini posits that he was likely born c. 1457 and lived beyond 60 years. As his chronicle covers the years 1477–1487, he would have lived through the period covered, though it is possible that he wrote after the fact.³⁰⁵ In addition to the transmission of the source, the mere fact that the source writes positively about French pageantry, which the Venetians certainly did not do, betrays its origins in the upper stratum of Brescian society, who received the French with relative optimism.³⁰⁶

While the mass in Brescia, like the one in Milan in 1499, is also closely intertwined with the Holy Spirit, it is not clear if this was a coincidence. Nevertheless, descriptions of the mass suggest a similar intent to exploit the mass politically. The Brescian chronicler carefully lists the name and rank of the attendees of the mass. For the cardinals in attendance, he specifies that these were “the Rovà, the Dalphino, and the one from Ferrara.”³⁰⁷ These are no trivial figures. The Ferrarese cardinal is likely Ippolito I d'Este, who was also present at the camp of the French

³⁰⁴ “Cronaca di anonimo autore (1508–1511),” 1:viii–ix; Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 3; The Palazzo di Broletto was historically Brescia's seat of government. G. Rosa, “Il Broletto di Brescia,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 11, no. 135 (1883): 321–28.

³⁰⁵ *Le cronache bresciane inedite dei secoli XV–XIX*, 1:v–viii.

³⁰⁶ The Brescian elite had the most to gain from changes in government that ultimately gave them a greater voice in the general council and access to power in Milan. Yet, peasants were forced to accept feudal rule, which was harsher than the Venetian system of justice. Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 199.

³⁰⁷ “Cronaca di anonimo autore (1508–1511),” 1:143.

during the campaign.³⁰⁸ The “Rovà” is no doubt Cardinal Georges d’Amboise, who was known as the cardinal of Rouen and who was deeply involved in French politics. The “Dalphino” is likely the Carlo Domenico del Carretto, known as the cardinal “dal Finale,” who was left behind with the task of governing Brescia for the king.³⁰⁹ Sanudo offers more from the Venetian perspective:

A dì 27 fo, domenga, zorno di Pasqua di mazo. El principe, *de more*, fo in chiesa a messa, vestito di veludo cremexim; e non vi fu orator niuno, cosa za molti anni, e forssi za 50 anni in qua, non vista, in mezo di do consieri, e tutti li senatori vestiti di scarlato, che indichava gran mesticia, et poi si reduse in colegio.³¹⁰

On the day 27 it was, Sunday, day of Pentecost. The prince, as customary, went to church for mass, dressed in crimson velvet; and there was no orator, something not seen in many years and perhaps 50 years into the future, in the middle of two counselors, and all the senators dressed in scarlet, which indicated great melancholy, and then he retreated to council

The Venetian delegation, apparently dismayed at the absence of an ambassador, nonetheless begrudgingly attended.³¹¹ Despite the difference in the Brescian and Venetian accounts, together they paint a picture of a confluence of political factions with a direct stake in the past and future governance of the region.

³⁰⁸ Sanudo, *I diarii*, 8:350.

³⁰⁹“Et im Brexa è restate francesi 600 e li cardinal el Final al governo” Sanudo, *Ibid.*, 8:352; For biographical information about the cardinals: “Del Carretto, Carlo Domenico,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, accessed April 28, 2023, [treccani.it](https://www.treccani.it); Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de cardinali della Santa romana chiesa*, vol. 3 (Rome: Pagliarini, 1793), 314–5; “Carlo Domenico del Carretto” in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*, accessed April 28, 2023, [cardinals.fiu.edu](https://www.cardinals.fiu.edu).

³¹⁰ Sanudo, *I diarii*, 8:313.

³¹¹ Scarlet was the color of Venetian ambassadors. Though Sanudo’s diary does not explicitly say that these are Venetian delegates, the color of their robes and the author’s characterization of their attendance as worthy of melancholy supports this inference: David Young Kim, “Gentile in Red,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 18, no. 1 (2015): 170.

Identity crises

Given the strong political inclination of both of the masses and their documentation, the masses and their symbolism, in spite of not bearing stereotypical trappings of victory, benefit from their integration into the symbolic narrative of power and conquest typically ascribed only to triumphal entries. The masses in Milan and Brescia reflect, both devotionally and socially, the blended festive and political character of triumphal visits. In this context singers do not appear in sources classified as sonic entertainment (sound/silence), or for the sake of being seen as members of the court (courtly/non-courtly), but in the eyes of Italian witnesses as members of a particular camp, pitted against a known other. They are received and classified as foreigners (French/non-French) in contrast to local singers and clergymen, much like the trumpets of Charles VIII and the Signoria of Florence in 1494.³¹² These juxtapositions embody the identity crises confronted in the liminal state of a conquered city, which were resolved through law, ritual, and careful compromise. These crises involved questions related to the king's own status as inheritor or conqueror, as well as how the city would adapt or even eschew their own symbols of identity to fit their new status.³¹³ The urgency of these questions was heightened in periods of political transition, as contemporaries became more sensitive and attuned to rituals and their symbols.³¹⁴ While processions in French chronicles paint a relatively rosy picture of what it meant to perform French authority, we would be mistaken to believe this process was painless.

Not all welcomed the imposition of French identity. Letters from Milan in 1499 illustrate the difficulty of expressing and constructing identity in newly conquered territory. A letter from Giovanni Gonzaga offers a fascinating account of a meeting that took place on October 10th:

³¹² Sanudo, *La spedizione*, 135. See Chapter 4 "Being heard and being seen."

³¹³ This theoretical framework stems largely from the work of Turner, though others have adapted it in the context of war: Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 94; Harding and Krentz, "Einleitung," 9–18.

³¹⁴ See Kertzer, *Ritual*, 151–73.

Today around xxij hours the most Christian majesty had all the lords of the order of St. Michael summoned. And he held first council together. His majesty with his own hands gave the resolution to the Most Illustrious Most Holy Consort, with great solemnity, and ceremonies. But not without displeasure of some. What matters this order for the security of the state, and of his person. I think that it must be known to your excellency but I will not extend myself to say more with the part.³¹⁵

The language of this letter exemplifies the manner in which political affairs were inseparable from religion, ceremony, and the symbolic self-representation of the French king. The chivalric Order of St. Michael rivaled that of the Order of the Golden Fleece and was predominantly popular in France and with French monarchs, no doubt why Gonzaga and others bemoaned its use for diplomatic deliberations in Milan.³¹⁶

Attempts to negotiate complex dual identities existed; however, they required careful planning. Letters exchanged during the organization of the entry into Milan reveal that great care went into the choices made in the representation of Louis XII. A primary question that was raised at the time concerned whether he would be received as duke or king.³¹⁷ This ambiguity stemmed from Louis's own claim to the territory, which from the perspective of the French was legitimate not through military might alone but through his own claim to the Sforza bloodline.³¹⁸ Nevertheless, this was not a typical rite of passage.³¹⁹ There was no expectation that the king

³¹⁵ "Oggi circa xxij hore la christ[ianissima] m[aesta] havendo f[a]cto convocare tutti li s[ignore] lordine de S[an] Michele. Et facto prima consiglio insieme. La m[aesta] sua cu[m] le proprie mane ha dato l'ordinanza allo ill[ustrissimo] s[ancitissi]mo consorte, cu[m] gran[de] sollemnita, et cerimonie. Ma non senza displicentia di alcuni. Quello ch[e] importi q[ue]sto ordine p[er] la secureza dil stato, et persona sua. Credo que deba essere noto alla Ex[cellentia] V[estrae] p[er]o non me extendero dirgline altro cu[m] la pa[r]te." Giovanni Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 10 October 1499, Ibid.

³¹⁶ The king also held a large celebration on the feast of St. Michael shortly before the entry into Milan. Giovanni Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga 29 September 1499, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 160–3. For more on the order of St. Michael see: Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 160–71.

³¹⁷ This is raised in multiple scholarly contributions on the subject. Giordano, "Les entrées de Louis XII en Milanais," 141; Scheller, "Gallia Cisalpina," 9; Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 85–7.

³¹⁸ Giordano, "Les entrées de Louis XII en Milanais," 141.

³¹⁹ Unlike other rites of passage, a king's conquest of a foreign territory never forces him to undergo the stage of "separation." Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 94.

would leave any identity behind when he adopted a new one, an attitude reflected in his unapologetic use of the Order of St. Michael, requiring contemporaries to tiptoe around the question. This dilemma was discussed openly at the time. In a letter from the provisional government of Milan to Trivulzio, the event planners discussed their intention to have the king enter as duke:

Essendosi poi rasonato del modo cum loquale la Maestà del Christianissimo signor Re Nostro haverà intrare, a noi occorre desiderar che la fosse contenta intrargli como Duca, in loquale case da noi saranno fatte tutte quelle preparationi quale saranno convenienti per riceverla cum quelli honori e ceremonie se e consueto.³²⁰

Since it was then discussed the manner with which the Majesty of the Most Christian lord our King will enter, it is necessary for us to desire that he should be pleased to enter as Duke, in which case all those preparations will be made by us which will be convenient to receive him with those honors and ceremonies if it is customary.

The answer to this question was, evidently, uncertain enough to require deliberation. The final decision was left to the king, who ultimately entered dressed in ducal garb.³²¹ Read in this context, the Milanese elements of the mass in 1499—the use of a local bishop, the Ambrosian rite, and the presence of the ducal signers—could thus be understood as part of the pattern of the decision to portray the king as duke.³²² Moreover, the Bishop of Piacenza at this time, Fabrizio Marliani, served previously in the ducal chapel and was one of the confessors of Galeazzo Maria Sforza.³²³ Compared against the strong use of ducal symbolism, the presence of his own chapel singers at mass offers a source of ambiguity. On the one hand, the king heard mass as duke, surrounded by ducal ritual. On the other hand, the presence of his own chapel singers attests to

³²⁰ The provisional government to Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, 2 October 1499, in Léon Pélissier, ed., *Les préparatifs des l'entrée de Louis XII à Milan* (Montpellier: Gustave Firmin et Montane, 1891), 47.

³²¹ The provisional government to Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, 2 October 1499, in *Les préparatifs*, 46; Scheller, “Gallia Cisalpina,” 8–9; Prato, “Storia di Milano,” 228.

³²² The implications of this decision in comparison with the other French royal entries of the Italian wars is considered in Pellerano, “Music, Sound.”

³²³ “Fabrizio Marliani,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, accessed April 28, 2023, [treccani.it](https://www.treccani.it).

his concurrent status as the French king, perhaps a rare moment of compromise in a symbolic discourse that seemed keen on embracing the absolute.

The mass in Brescia demonstrates a similar collaboration between local and French clergy, this including the Brescian Bishop Zane, the singers, and the French Dominican friar who gave the sermon. Yet, symbolic compromise, in the way in which it was implemented in Milan, was certainly not the goal. The capitulation of Brescia was part of a larger conquest on the *terra ferma* and was framed as such. While the city's statues and relics were allowed to remain in place, there was no room for compromise with the symbols of the previous regime.³²⁴ Lions of St. Mark were removed from the city, and cries of "Marco" were supplanted with those of "Franza."³²⁵ The capitulation of Brescia demanded a relinquishment of identity and the allegiance of the city and its clergy. The latter must not be underestimated. The approval of clergy could make or break a change in regime.³²⁶ The return of Ludovico il Moro in 1500, for instance, and the ensuing uprising in Milan would not have been possible without the involvement of numerous clergymen, including several bishops and archbishops who aided the conspiracy against the French. In a French document listing the names and reprisals doled out to the rebels of Milan, a long list of clerics, including a number of bishops and archbishops is included, and the general of the *Humiliati* is named as the mastermind of the uprising.³²⁷ The alliance of Bishop Zane was indispensable. He was himself pro-French and would later that year swear fidelity to the king over the host on *Corpus Christi* and accompany him on the

³²⁴ On the concessions that Louis XII afforded to the Brescians: Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 199.

³²⁵ On the removal of lions from the city: Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 201; Sanudo, *I diarii*, 8:416; Marot makes it clear that the newfound cries of "Franza" were meant to replace those of "Marco" that had previously filled the city. Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 121.

³²⁶ Hale, *War and Society*, 34–5.

³²⁷ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 2:336, Appendix II.

procession.³²⁸ His presence alongside that of French clergy and singers would have sent a clear message of clerical support and acceptance for the king.

A look at these masses reveals that use the chapel singers in triumphal ritual was not as simple as the documentation of processions would make it seem. While their visual and implied sonic presence was no doubt spectacular and exciting, underscoring contemporary sources is a clear sense of belonging, exclusion, and contrast, qualities present during triumphal visits as a whole. Read in the context of other decisions made surrounding these royal entries, we can only imagine that the presence of French chapel singers could serve as much as a source of tension as of harmony. The delicateness of such arrangements would only intensify as the diplomatic stakes were raised.

³²⁸ Sanudo, *I diarii*, 8:393; Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 199.

Music in the language of diplomacy

The Italian wars were not conducted through violence alone. As the French entourage tore their way through the peninsula, they opted for the diplomatic approach as it convened them. Often decisions to enter negotiations occurred under duress, spurred by fears of succumbing to plunder, a fate far worse than political upheaval. The heightened diplomatic burden of war demanded readiness for the diplomatic ceremonial. Though much diplomacy in the Renaissance took place with ambassadors, at times two princes met in person during encounters that Mitchell has referred to as “summit conferences,” which took place increasingly throughout the 16th century.³²⁹ The extravagance of these meetings often exceeded their political fruitfulness, no doubt why singers were often present at these occasions, usually paired with another princely chapel of similar prestige. During the military campaigns themselves, the singers joined a meeting between Louis XII and Ferdinand II in Savona in 1507 and a meeting between Francis I and Leo X in 1515, in both cases sharing the performance of the mass with their counterparts.

In these situations, ritual existed for the purpose of extracting a desirable action from one’s counterpart, demanding a combination of gestures and gifts that both flattered one’s opponent and affirmed one’s own worthiness.³³⁰ The right balance would conjure notions of love and friendship between the two parties.³³¹ d’Auton and Fleurange used this precise language in order to describe the successes at Savona and Bologna respectively, the former writing “But the

³²⁹ Lucien Bély, “Les rencontres de princes (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles),” in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Âge à l’époque moderne*, eds. Rainer Babel and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), 101–10; Mitchell’s use of the term “*inter pares*” is somewhat contentious, seeing as questions of precedence and parity could be complicated. Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 11.

³³⁰ Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 147; Berns, “Instrumental Sound,” 479; Roosen, “Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial,” 454–5.

³³¹ On the importance of *amicitia*: Tracey A. Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History,” *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (2016): 443.

opinion of each was that it was being negotiated some fraternal love, eternal peace and sure alliance.”³³² The latter hardly differs in his praise: “it developed between them two one such friendship, & so great, that they were frequently enclosed them two in a room discussing their affairs.”³³³ Failure to understand one’s ritual expectations was a grave misstep. A few high-profile misunderstandings illustrate this well. For instance, Charles VIII, during a mass with Pope Alexander VI, evidently failed to understand why he was obligated to assist the pope during the mass and succeeded in annoying then master of ceremonies Johann Burchard with his questions.³³⁴ While Charles demonstrated an interest in comprehending the semiotic value of the ritual, rushing to inform himself on the spot, lest he spoil his princely image as the Most Christian King, Burchard’s annoyance demonstrates the value he placed on compliant decorum as essential to a successful interaction. This recalls a famous episode between Pope Adrian IV and Frederick Barbarossa in the 12th century, during which Barbarossa refused to assist the pope as he mounted his horse. While Barbarossa complained about his confusion concerning the semiotic value of the gesture, his refusal to participate was enough of an insult.³³⁵

Within such a high stakes environment, music played no trivial role. In the past few decades, scholarship on early modern diplomacy has increasingly acknowledged the importance of diplomatic ritual as performance and symbolic communication.³³⁶ Within this framework,

³³² “Mais l’opinion de chascun estoit que la se trectoit quelque amour fraternele, perdurable paix et seure alience.” D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:354.

³³³ “s’engendra entre eulx deux une telle amitié, & si grande, qu’ils estoient souvent enclos eulx deux en une chambre devisant de leurs affaires.” Fleurange, *Mémoires*, 216.

³³⁴ Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 1:571; See English translation in Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 76.

³³⁵ For more on this situation and a lengthier analysis see: Gerd Althoff, “Inszenierung verpflichtet zum Verständnis ritueller Akte bei Papst-Kaiser-Begegnungen im 12. Jahrhundert,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 35, no. 1 (2001): 78–9. See also Stollberg-Rilinger on presence as a means of communicating approval in ritual: Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor’s Old Clothes*, 4.

³³⁶ See in particular: Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History,” 456; Julia Gebke, “New Diplomatic History and the Multi-Layered Diversity of Early Modern Diplomacy,” in *Early Modern European Diplomacy: A Handbook*, ed. Dorothee Goetze and Lena Oetzel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024),

singers were uniquely positioned in their capacity to both produce cultural products through musical composition and performance and execute gestures through their actions during the mass. The following offers a close look at use of singers in the diplomatic masses that took place in Savona and Bologna, revealing that the relationship between chapel music and the culture of precedence and parity that accompanied these meetings was indeed close.

The meeting in Savona 1507

In late June of 1507 after Louis XII's victory and subsequent triumphal entry into Genoa in April, he met with Ferdinand of Aragon in the city of Savona. In the face of ongoing conflicts on the Italian peninsula, both sides were hungry for alliances, and ultimately walked away with an agreement to maintain a friendly status quo.³³⁷ The meeting was held in the somewhat neutral city of Savona, loyal to Louis XII though not expressly under his rule, an arrangement that nonetheless made Louis the default host.³³⁸ As part of their meeting, the cardinal of St. Prassede and papal legate Gabriele de Gabrielli, "who had there all the power of the pope," led mass in the dome of Savona, during which the singers of both chapels participated.³³⁹ As the mass was set to begin, the king walked towards the church and before entering the church took one another's hands and walked towards two chairs of equal height located on the right-hand side of the

27–48; Mark Häberlein, "Material Exchanges: Gifts, Tribute and Corruption," in *ibid.*, 673–92; Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*.

³³⁷ Alvaro Fernández de Córdova, "El recibimiento de Fernando el Católico en Savona en junio de 1507: innovaciones rituales para la primera cumbre moderna," *Nuova rivista storica* 105, no. 3 (November 2021): 1047–68; Maulde de la Clavière published the text of one of the speeches given at the meeting, which provides some insight into the diplomatic proceedings. René de Maulde-La Clavière, "L'entrevue de Savone en 1507," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 4 (1890): 588–90.

³³⁸ Fernández de Córdova, "El recibimiento de Fernando el Católico en Savona," 1050–1, 1057.

³³⁹ "qui avoit la toute la puissance du pape." D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:352; "Gabriele de Gabrielli" in *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*, accessed April 28, 2023, cardinals.fiu.edu.

church, in front of which sat a table covered in golden cloth for the kings to kneel before.³⁴⁰

According to d'Auton it was only after this that the singers began the mass:

Les Roys furent en leurs chairs, et la messe comaincée par les chantres du Roy d'Arragon et aucuns de ceulx du Roy, qui la n'avoit mené tous les chantres de sa chappelle, pour la presse. Or, s'en alla ledit cardinal Sainte Praxede, en ses pontificaulx habitz, devant le grant autel, ou illecques, tout environné de prelatz, fist l'introite de sa messe et puy se retira en sa chaire, tournant la face vers les Roys; et la, tout assix, chanta la messe, jusques au *Per omnia*.³⁴¹

The kings were in their chairs, and the mass began with the singers of the King of Aragon and some of those of the King, who had not brought there all the singers of his Chapel, because of the crowds. Now, went the cardinal St. Prassede, in his pontifical habit, in front of the great altar, where there, entirely surrounded by prelates, did the introit of his mass and then retired to his chair, turning his face towards the kings; and there, entirely seated, sang the mass, up until the *Per omnia*.

After this d'Auton details the many noblemen and prelates present at the mass, the kissing of the gospel and the osculatory, and the benediction of the cardinal following the mass.³⁴² Not all of the king's chapel apparently joined. After the mass both kings rode to their lodgings on mules and ate separately.³⁴³ They then rejoined each other's presence and enjoyed merriment late into the night, after which both kings retreated to the castle with Georges d'Amboise and deliberated for another three hours.³⁴⁴

The meeting in Bologna 1515

After the victory at the battle of Marignano in September 1515, Francis I continued his victorious stay in Italy, making a triumphal entry into Milan in October then meeting with Leo X in Bologna in December. The meeting in Bologna was marked by a strong desire to reach political accord. The fact that both rulers were intent on walking away with their high-stakes

³⁴⁰D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:350.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 4:350–1.

³⁴² Ibid., 4:351–3

³⁴³ Even the choice of mules had symbolic significance. See Traeger, *Der reitende Papst*, 19–22.

³⁴⁴ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4: 4:353–4.

requests fulfilled is well-documented in the scholarly literature on the event.³⁴⁵ Pope Leo X wished to end the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438, while Francis I sought to increase his control over the Gallican church. The resulting agreement would have serious implications for the power both pope and king would be permitted to wield over the clergy in France. Furthermore, these concrete political goals and their deep yearning for them rested against a backdrop of tension resulting from the recent decades of French belligerence on the Italian peninsula and the soured relationship between Louis XII and Julius II. The meeting in Bologna thus blossomed with symbolic gestures of give-and-take and the willingness to restore the relationship between the crown and the papacy. A high point of this exchange occurred on December 13th, when both parties gathered to celebrate a mass, whose music the memoirist Fleurange praised:

y estoient les Chantres du Pape & du Roy, lesquels il faisoit bon ouir, car c'estoient deux merueilleusement bonnes Chapelles ensemble, & chantoient à l'envi³⁴⁶

there were the singers of the pope and of the king, which was good to hear, because there were two wonderfully good chapels together, and they sang in emulation of one another

The expression “à l'envi” requires some etymological explanation. According to the *Dictionnaire du moyen français* and Gilles Roques's research on the terms “à l'envi” and its synonym “à qui mieux mieux,” the expression stems from the Latin *invitare*, implying a provocation to participate in a game, and in its literal interpretation can be understood as an action performed in competition with or in emulation of another.³⁴⁷ The competitive connotation

³⁴⁵ Lester Brothers' summary is useful and highlights some of the key background sources, which have influenced this analysis. Brothers, ““And They Vied with Each Other in Singing,”” 71–6; See also the following summaries: Thomas, *Le Concordat de 1516*, 1:307–28; Knecht, *Francis I*, 47–50; John A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 140.

³⁴⁶ Fleurange, *Mémoires*, 215–6.

³⁴⁷ Pierre Cromer, “Envi,” DMF: *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, version 2020 (DMF 2020), ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, site internet: <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>; Roques contests the

of the expression is not contested in the literature. This no doubt influenced the interpretation of Lester Brothers in his analysis of the meeting in Bologna, translation expression as “and they vied with each other in singing,” further ascribing an adversarial tone to the mass, meant to match the competition between both rulers for diplomatic success.³⁴⁸ Yet, the figurative use of “à ‘envi” or “à qui mieux mieux,” as it pertains to musical description remains unexplained in etymological research.³⁴⁹ At least a couple other musical uses of “à qui mieux mieux” are available in contemporary military texts. La Vigne used “à qui mieux mieux” to describe the sounding of instruments in the *Corpus Christi* procession in Poggibonsi: “trompettes et clairons, tabourins, menestriers et toutes sortes d’instruments jouoyent a qui mieulx mieulx.”³⁵⁰ Marot echoed this language in his descriptions of triumphal entries during the Venetian campaign of 1509: “Trompes et Bussines / Clerons et doulcines / Lu[t]cz, rebecz, orguines, / Tabours, chalemynes, / Sonnoient à mieulx, mieulx.”³⁵¹ In these passages the competitive connotation of the expression “à qui mieux mieux” does not rise to the level of political metaphor. In fact, it is not clear that the musical performance in each passage is even comprised of distinct political factions. La Vigne and Marot’s sonic usage of the expression suggests that it may have

precise history of its Latin derivation but retains its competitive connotation. Gilles Roques, “Notes d’étymologie française,” in *Festschrift Kurt Baldinger zum 60. Geburtstag: 17. November 1979*, ed. Manfred Höfler, Henri Vernay, and Lothar Wolf (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1979), 2:580–82; In addition to the contributions of Roques and the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* see: *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 6th ed., s.v. “invitare”; *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, 5th ed., s.v. “envi”; *Ibid.*, s.v. “mieux”; *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “invitare”; *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., s.v. “envi”; *Ibid.*, s.v., “mieux”; *Nouveau dictionnaire étymologique et historique*, 2nd ed., s.v. “envi”; *Ibid.*, “mieux”; *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, s.v. “envi.”

³⁴⁸ Brothers, ““And They Vied with Each Other in Singing,”” 73; Fleuranges, *Mémoires*, 215–6.

³⁴⁹ Paul Kast had long ago alluded to the potential to derive a deeper meaning from the use of “à l’envi” in Fleurange’s text but did not explore the question further. Paul Kast, “Remarques sur la musique et les musiciens de la chapelle de François Ier au Camp du Drap d’Or,” in *Les fêtes de la Renaissance. II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), 135–6.

³⁵⁰ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 273–4.

³⁵¹ Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 144.

functioned figuratively as a qualitative assessment of the performance. This would certainly be a better fit for Fleurange's language, who offers nothing but praise for the singers and does not suggest that he means to pit them against one another. To the degree that competition is implied, we may consider that this had more to do with mutual esteem and worthiness, a better parallel for the contemporary diplomatic ceremonial, as it did with vying for superiority.

Parity and precedence

The nuances of "à l'envi" exemplify the complex nature of the diplomatic ceremonial. The meaning behind ceremonial gestures and their description cannot always be taken at face value and requires careful evaluation of contemporary ceremonial norms and deviations from them. Usually this involved a simultaneous affirmation and subversion of hierarchy. Numbers of attendees, gestures of precedence, and gifts were carefully calculated in order to create an impression of parity and friendship between both rulers. This occurred in spite of the fact that strict ceremonial guidelines often made it abundantly clear who was meant to take precedence over another. Popes always took precedence over kings, and during the meeting in Savona, France took ceremonial precedence over Spain, seeing that the French were hosting and that they took precedence in the Roman ceremonial.³⁵² Gestures of constructed parity thus involved the temporary relinquishment of one's rightful superiority and were received as signs of goodwill.

Exactly how to achieve this dynamic was not so simple. True acts of parity were only occasionally achievable and often required the acknowledgement of the ceremonial hierarchy first. During the meeting in Bologna both Leo X and Francis I were housed symbolically close to each other in the Palazzo Pubblico.³⁵³ After the two met, both sides engaged in a laudatory

³⁵² D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:353; Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 100.

³⁵³ Though not explicitly a public gesture, Knecht interprets this as "an arrangement which betokened mutual trust." Knecht, *Francis I*, 48; Fleuranges, *Mémoires*, 215.

exchange of words between the camps of the pope and king. Nevertheless, this required Antoine Duprat, acting as the king's surrogate, to first declare the king's subservience to the pope.³⁵⁴ In 1507, during the mass in Savona, the two monarchs entered the church holding hands, sat in chairs of equal height, and even kissed the gospel at the same time thanks to the quick thinking of the bishop holding the book, having had first offered it to Louis XII and then Ferdinand of Aragon, who each refused to claim precedence for themselves.³⁵⁵ This formula of politeness repeated itself during the kissing of the osculatory, which they were also permitted to perform at the same time.³⁵⁶ While these displays of parity were meaningful and subversive, the difference in status between both parties was never quite abolished. Often there was no substitution for an act of subservience or superiority. As a result, gestures that expressed hesitation and ambiguity through repeated offers and refusals of precedence were more common than gestures of true parity, allowing both the offering and refusing party to appear generous as a result.³⁵⁷ In 1515, Leo responded to Francis's customary genuflection and kissing of the papal feet with an unexpected embrace.³⁵⁸ Furthermore, after the king verbally expressed his obedience to the pope, Leo responded that these words were directed not to the pope but to God.³⁵⁹ In 1507, a laborious back and forth took place between Ferdinand and Louis as they decided which would walk ahead of the other. After refusing several times, Ferdinand eventually acquiesced and walked ahead of Louis after he implored him:

³⁵⁴ Thomas, *Le Concordat de 1516*, 1:313–4; Knecht, *Francis I*, 49.

³⁵⁵ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:350–2

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4:352.

³⁵⁷ Lazzarini describes these as “gestures expressing familiarity and pleasure.” Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 199–200.

³⁵⁸ Barrillon, *Journal*, 1:167; Knecht, *Francis I*, 49; Thomas, *Le Concordat de 1516*, 1:312.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:312–3.

Marchez devant, car si j'estoye cheux vous et en voz pays, sachez que je feroye ce de quoy me priez; et, pour ce qu'estes en mes pays, vous en ferez ainsi, car je le veulx, et si vous en prie. ³⁶⁰

Walk ahead, because if I were at your place and in your country, know that I would do what you would ask of me, and, as you are in my country, you will do it this way, because I want it, and so beg of you.

This stubborn back and forth was not only a sign of humility and politeness, but it served the important function of avoiding the tension caused by a forced submission and created enough ambiguity such that each party could interpret what they wished.³⁶¹ Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, writing from the perspective of the Spanish in a letter from Savona, interpreted the gestural language between the monarchs during their initial meeting as a sign of parity: "For the most Christian king, when he descended, addressed and embraced him as if he were another king."³⁶² In contrast, the French did not relinquish their implicit superiority: d'Auton insisted that those in attendance at the mass should have been well aware that the king of France took precedence in Rome, suggesting that Louis had demonstrated utmost generosity in his willingness to engage in gestures of parity.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:349.

³⁶¹ Fernández de Córdova, "El recibimiento de Fernando el Católico en Savona," 1056; Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*, 55; See how a similar case unfolded in the meeting of Emperor Maximilian and the Duke of Lorraine during the Imperial Diet of Worms in 1495. The Duke of Lorraine, René II was loyal to both the French king and the emperor and thus avoided the typical rituals of enfeoffment, opting for a more symbolically ambiguous version of the ritual. Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*, 54–57.

³⁶² "Rex namque Christianissimus, descendente, illum, aequae ac si Rex alter, & allocutus & complexus est." Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, *Opus epistolarum* (Amsterdam: Elzevirianis, 1670), 194.

³⁶³ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:353.

Music and gesture

The use of musical chapels during these meetings offered princes an opportunity to continue the performance of this gestural language through the use of surrogates.³⁶⁴ Whether through the mutual exchange of composition or performance, the physical presence of both chapels, or the performance of the mass in collaboration and alternation, music was especially well-suited to the rules of diplomatic decorum. Music as an abstraction is cultural capital and competence. It offers two princes the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to compete with one another in spite of ceremonial hierarchy, curate their personal image, and disseminate propaganda.³⁶⁵ Moreover, the performance of music, especially the mutual composition and execution of bespoke works, can be understood as an “immaterial gift” not unlike the effusive orations traded back and forth between parties.³⁶⁶ Lester Brothers has put forth the hypothesis that Mouton’s *Exsultet conjubilando Deo* and Bruhier’s *Vivete foelices* were meant to do just that, ensuring that both camps had contributed a flattering motet to the occasion.³⁶⁷ Furthermore, in a bull dated to December 17th of that year, Mouton and Longueval are both bestowed the title of apostolic notary.³⁶⁸

The mere fact that two musical chapels were present is itself a gesture of constructed parity and a sign of humility, considering that the French as hosts would have taken ceremonial

³⁶⁴ For discussions on the copceptualization of singers as surrogates or ambassadors see: Noel O’Regan, “Musical Ambassadors in Rome and Loreto: Papal Singers at the Confraternities of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini,” in *Collectanea I*, ed. Adalbert Roth (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 75–95; Pietschmann, “Music Cultivation in Roman National Churches,” 341.

³⁶⁵ Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History,” 447; Elisabeth Natour, “Art and Diplomacy,” in *Early Modern European Diplomacy: A Handbook*, ed. Dorothee Goetze and Lena Oetzel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024), 134; Häberlein, “Material Exchanges,” 673; Spohr, “Concealed Music,” 19.

³⁶⁶ Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 260–1.

³⁶⁷ Brothers, ““And They Vied with Each Other in Singing,”” 71–85.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 72; Sherr, “The Membership of the Chapels,” 67, 71.

precedence.³⁶⁹ This reflects similar efforts to curate entourages of equal value for such meetings. For example, during the planning of the meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, both sides took great pains to ensure that their entourages were of comparable sizes. On 5 March 1519 Sir Thomas Boleyn wrote to Cardinal Wolsey asking:

He also expects the meeting between Henry and Francis to take place in June, and desires to know what number the King and Wolsey will bring over, that he may appoint an equal number to meet them.³⁷⁰

We may wonder, however, if this was always taken literally when it came to the singers of the chapel. D’Auton’s account of the mass at Savona reveals a fascinating detail: the fact that not all of the singers from Louis XII’s chapel were present due to the “presse.”³⁷¹ For the meeting in Savona, we are aware that Louis XII received word from his courier of Ferdinand’s entourage ahead of time. Ferdinand intended to bring his queen and her entourage as well as 1400 of his men, noting that there would not be enough space in Savona for both Ferdinand’s entourage and that of the king. Louis’s entourage made plans accordingly and left the excess in Asti and Milan, alongside a hefty military presence in anticipation of an impending attack by imperial troops on Lombardy.³⁷² d’Auton’s account says nothing of Louis’s entourage save the fact that a large portion of his household travelled to Savona as well as 400 archers and 100 Swiss guardsmen.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Du Peyrat offers several anecdotes from later in the 16th century concerning conflicts of precedence between princely and local musical chapels. He falls squarely on the side of allowing the king’s chapel to take precedence where possible and that those singers that are not of the chapel “should shut up.” “tous les autres Chantres qui ne sont point de sa Chapelle, se doiuent taire, & ceder à ceux du Roy, comme aux plus nobles, & qui doiuent auoir le prééminence pardessus tous les Chantres de son Royaume.” Du Peyrat, *L’Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 131. For the full discussion see Ibid. 123–32.

³⁷⁰ Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, 5 March 1519, in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 3, [1519–1523], ed. J.S. Brewer (London, 1867), 34; Glenn Richardson has an extensive analysis of the intentions to bring entourages of equal size, including those expressed in the aforementioned letter. Glen Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 79–81.

³⁷¹ D’Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:350–1.

³⁷² Ibid., 4:338–9.

³⁷³ Ibid., 4:381.

Fernández de Córdova has suggested that Louis reduced his entourage to match that of Ferdinand and that the entourage of Georges d'Amboise was used to compensate for the missing entourage of Anne of Brittany and therefore manufacture parity with Ferdinand, who brought with him the entourage of the queen, Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII.³⁷⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that d'Auton's clarification that only some of the singers attended due to the crowds is related to the limits placed on Louis's entourage.³⁷⁵ Moreover, how this may have affected the ceremonial equilibrium of the mass raises the fascinating question of whether parity in numbers was ever achieved on a consistent basis. This has serious implications for the execution of the mass. The Aragonese chapel at the time was no small institution. In her study on the meeting between Philippe le Beau and Ferdinand of Aragon in Toledo in 1502, Tess Knighton notes that the Aragonese contingency alone, not counting the Castilian or Toledan chapels, could have included up to 25 members, easily outnumbering Burgundy's 15, though it is not clear if all attended.³⁷⁶ Louis's chapel, in comparison may not have been so numerous to begin with. As of 1515, the French royal chapel numbered at approximately 22, and it is possible that this number reflects the combined chapel of Louis XII and the late Anne of Brittany, who enjoyed a chapel of approximately 16 singers.³⁷⁷ For comparison, the papal chapel in 1515 would have had approximately 30–31 singers.³⁷⁸ In both cases, the French chapel could have easily been outnumbered by their counterparts, potentially more severely in 1507 than in 1515. Returning to

³⁷⁴ Fernández de Córdova, "El recibimiento de Fernando el Católico en Savona," 1052–4.

³⁷⁵ Lockwood suggests that some singers were left behind in Milan. Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 195, note 9.

³⁷⁶ Tess Knighton, "A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in Early Modern European Court*, eds. Juan José Carreras López, Bernardo José García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 88.

³⁷⁷ Thoinan, *Les origins de la Chapelle*, 91–2, Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels," 60–82, 79–80.

³⁷⁸ Sherr, *The Papal Choir*, 131.

d'Auton's cryptic description, we must consider that his clarification is justified inasmuch as it refers to a disruption related to parity of entourage. It is possible that Ferdinand had also brought a limited number of singers, implying that Louis had constructed parity in his reduction of the chapel, but d'Auton's account could just as easily be interpreted as an obligatory explanation for the lack of expected parity between the two, particularly if one chapel was present in full and the other only in part, risking damage to Louis's image of cultural competency. Fear of ridicule would have certainly been a good enough reason for d'Auton to step in and save his patron's image.

Whether the difference in numbers at Savona made a difference in the performance of the mass remains unknown. Nevertheless, a relatively consistent division of the mass ordinary with room for flexibility in the proper and in the performance of motets appears to have been standard practice for summit conferences. The meetings between Louis XII and Maximilian I in Blois 1501, with the chapels of Louis XII and Philippe le Beau present, and the meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, with the chapels of Francis I and Henry VIII present offer some specifics.³⁷⁹ In his report of the mass in 1501, Antoine de Lalaing reports that "The singers of the king sang on one side, and those of his lordship on the other. After the mass, they sang the *Te Deum* all together."³⁸⁰ An anonymous chronicler reported in even greater detail:

Les chantres du Roy chanterent lintroite Jusques a gloria en contrepont et les chantres de monseigneur le gloria et apres lintroite les chantres du Roy les Kyrieleison et ceulx de

³⁷⁹ The meeting in Toledo appears to have contained masses sung in alternation, though less details are given. Knighton, "A Meeting of Chapels," 91–2; Bonime addresses this in a deeper analysis of the importance of Philippe le Beau's singers: Bonime, "Anne de Bretagne," 34.

³⁸⁰ "Les chantres du roy chantèrent à ung costé, et ceulx de Monsieur à l'autre. Après la messe, chantèrent le *Te Deum* tous ensemble." Antoine de Lalaing, "Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne," in *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, ed. M. Gachard (Bruxelles: F. Hayez, 1876), 1:140.

monseigneur et in terra Ceulx du Roy le patrem ceulx de monseigneur le sanctus et langnus ceulx du Roy.³⁸¹

The singers of the king sang the *introit* until the *gloria* in counterpoint and the singers of his lordship the *gloria* and after the *introit* the singers of the king the *kyrie eleison* and those of his lordship the *in terra* Those of the king the *patrem* those of his lordship the *sanctus* and the *agnus* those of the king.

The “Gloria” here may not refer to the actual *gloria* of the mass, which is implied instead by the “in terra,” but to the lesser doxology. The degree of specificity in the account is remarkable, but what is perhaps most intriguing is the similarity of the account to a leaflet published by Jehan La Caille, which recounts how Henry VIII and Francis I’s chapels shared the parts of the mass during the meeting at the Field of the Cloth of Gold:

le p[re]mier introyt fut dit par les chantres dangleterre/le seco[n]d p[ar] ceulx de france/[et] fut accorde entre les chantres de france [et] dangleterre que quand lorganiste de france toucheroit des orgues quilz chanterioie[n]t/[et] p[ar]eilleme[n]t qua[n]d lorganiste dangleterre ioueroie[n]t que ceulx da[n]gleterre cha[n]terioie[n]t Et p[ar] ainsi maistre pierre mouto[n] commença a iouer le Kyrie avec les chantres de fra[n]ce/quil faisoit bon ouyr. le gloria in excelsis, par lorganiste dangleterre/le patre[m] par ceulx de france la ou estoient les cors de sabbutes [et] fifres du roy avecques les chantres/[et] les faisoit si bon oyr quil est impossible de oyr plus grande melodye/le sanctus fut dict p[ar] ceulx dangleterre/[et] langus dei par ceulx de france qui dirent a la fin plusieurs motetz quil faisoit bon ouyr.³⁸²

The first *introit* was said by the singers of England, the second by those of France, and it was agreed between the singers of France and of England that when the organist of France would play the organ that they would sing, and similarly when the organist of England would play that those of his England would sing And in this way master Pierre Mouton began to play the Kyrie with the singers of France, which was good to hear. The *gloria in excelsis*, by the organist of England, the *patrem*, by those of France there where there were the horns & fifes of the king with the singers; & it was so good to hear, that it is impossible to hear a greater melody. The *sanctus* was sung by those of England, & the *Agnus Dei* by those of France, who said at the end several motets, which was good to hear.

³⁸¹ *Voyage que l'archiduc Philippe fait pour aller en Espagne avec l'archiduchesse sa compagne*, Manuscript, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3410, transcribed in Joseph Chmel, ed., *Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien im Interesse der Geschichte, besonders der österreichischen* (Wien: Gerold, 1841), 2:570.

³⁸² *Lordonnance et ordre du tournoy ioustes [et] combat a pied [et] a cheval*, [Paris: Jean Lescaille, 1520], Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, RES 4-Lb30-35, f. diir.

In comparing the leaflet to the anonymous chronicler, the protocol of splitting the parts of the mass on both occasions is in fact nearly the same. Apart from the double introit at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the mass was consistently divided, with the French taking the *kyrie*, *patrem*, and *agnus dei* and their counterparts the *gloria* and *sanctus*. Opportunities for collaborative singing would have occurred at the end.

We do not know the exact choices made in 1507 and 1515. d'Auton mentions that the cardinal of St. Prassede sang the mass until the collect, not specifying whether the *kyrie* and *gloria* contained in between had been sung polyphonically as well.³⁸³ Yet, a similar division of the mass would offer a meaningful parallel to the gestures of parity and precedence that took place at both meetings. Fascinating to note is the degree to which the performance of the *introit* could vary. The performance of the beginning of the mass is ceremonially akin to the right of one prince to walk ahead of the other or to kiss the gospel first. In a lengthy report of a conflict between the French chapel and that of Notre Dame during the reign of Henry IV, both of whom wished to sing vespers for the king, du Peyrat writes that the conflict was solved by singing the mass in alternation. Yet, the singers of the king's chapel, retaining ceremonial precedence, sang first.³⁸⁴ Indeed in 1501 and 1520, it appears that the hosting country claimed this privilege. The French sang first in Blois; whereas, the English sang first in the then English possession of the Pale of Calais. If d'Auton is to be taken at his word, it is quite possible that both choirs in 1507 sang the introit together. He mentions that the mass began with the singers of Ferdinand II *and* the portion of singers the king had brought with him, as opposed to "after" or "followed by," which would have been closer to the language used during the masses in 1501 and 1520.³⁸⁵ This

³⁸³ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:351.

³⁸⁴ Du Peyrat, *L'Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 132.

³⁸⁵ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:351.

would offer a fitting parallel to the gestures of constructed parity that took place during the mass, from the kissing of the gospel and the osculatory, to the mutual hand-holding and chairs of equal height.

Epilogue

The previous discussion have offered a contextualized reading of the symbolic qualities of singers in triumphal and diplomatic ritual. I have argued that their value stemmed not merely from the music they produced but from their ability to contribute to the political symbolism of the triumphal rituals in which they participated. They were included in processions, absent of sonic contribution, as extensions of long enumerations of courtly participants. They were interpolated into masses held shortly after triumphal entries amidst discussions and disputes over civic identity and allegiance. Finally, they appeared as gestural surrogates in the highly-regulated diplomatic ceremonial, in which gestures of parity and precedence were mimicked in their physical presence and in the alternation of the parts of the mass. It must be made clear that these are readings both of the rituals themselves and, fundamentally, of the sources. This analysis reflects not only a paradigm shift away from battlefield devotion and towards the socially-oriented usage of singers at war but also the willingness of contemporaries to view them this way. While it is true that certain Italian witnesses, such as the Brescian chronicler, may have only encountered the singers during the king's festive visit, witnesses like la Vigne or d'Auton, for example, were present throughout enough of the military campaign and sufficiently interested in musical detail to have been able to offer battlefield anecdotes of the singers, as fellow *grand rhétoriqueur* Molinet did for the Burgundian singers, had they been willing and able to. They, nevertheless, showed a distinct preference for the music of political pageantry.

Yet, as many grand narratives often concede, exceptions are always necessary. At the beginning of this chapter, I offered a word of caution for the over-interpretation of the social values ritual and a reminder not to overlook the constitutive value of ritual as a result.³⁸⁶ At no

³⁸⁶ For more on the idea of the constitutive value of ritual see: C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective," in *Moving Subjects*:

point does the devotional value of the liturgy cease to exist, nor does the case for a paradigm shift argue that the rituals in which singers participated had no devotional value. The votive mass for the Holy Spirit in Milan in 1499 was no doubt sincerely intended as a supplication for good council, as was the celebration of Pentecost in Brescia in 1509 an earnest observation of the feast day. Indeed, a purely social reading of liturgy can soon run into a trap. While the social function of the masses and processions discussed above is often discernable, one cannot always be produced. One final textual source reminds us that this was often the case. In la Vigne's documentation of Charles VIII's celebration of the feast of the Assumption in Turin in 1495 in the months following the battle of Fornovo he writes:

Le Samedi, quinziesme jour du moys d'aost, le roy au dict Thurin, pour l'honneur de la feste et solempnité de Nostre Dame, oyt le grant messe aux Augustins du dict lieu; et fist le service monsieur de Cornouaille. Et après le disner le roy alla au sermon que fist ung excellent docteur de l'ordre des dictz Augustins, et puis ouyt Vespres et Complies au dict convent qui est hors la ville du dict Thurin. Auquel service estoient tout le jour ses chantres et sa Chappelle entierement.³⁸⁷

The Saturday, fifteenth day of the month of August, the king at the said Turin, for the honor of the feast and solemnity of Notre Dame, heard the great mass at the Augustinians of the said place; and Monsieur de Cornouaille did the service. And after the dinner the king went to the sermon that an excellent doctor of the order of the said Augustinians did, and then heard vespers and compline at the said convent that is outside the city of the said Turin. At which service were all day his singers and his chapel entirely.

The description la Vigne provides for this feast day could not be more different than the description of *Corpus Christi* in Poggibonsi. Little is offered or inferable on the social elements of the mass, aside from the presence of the Bishop of Cornouaille, who had led the mass in Poggibonsi as well. Around this time Charles VIII was in Turin meeting with the Duchess of Savoy who was regent at the time, but there is no indication that any Savoyard delegation

Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 38.

³⁸⁷ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 300.

participated in the mass.³⁸⁸ The fact that the new dome of Turin was under construction at the time may have influenced the decision to observe the mass at the Augustinian convent, but the king often observed ferial masses and feast days at more humble institutions.³⁸⁹ Taken in contrast with the procession of *Corpus Christi* in Poggibonsi, the celebration of the Assumption in 1495 demonstrates how greatly the celebration of feast days could vary while the king was at war. While we can always advocate for the presence of social functions beyond our knowledge, in this case, we may also wonder if this passage reflects a glimpse of the realities of wartime devotion on the road, caught by chance in one of la Vigne's more journal-like passages of prose.

This discussion on textual sources and ritual ends with this source as a reminder that a holistic approach to the singers of the French chapel at war must not discount the importance of routine devotional practices and frameworks. While written sources exhibit a bias towards social values and triumphal rituals, they do not do so at the expense of devotion entirely. Moreover, the universal espousal of ritual values and methodologies can lead one on a fruitless search for political motets and performance hypotheses. As the following chapters explore the nature of the musical sources of the early Italian wars, they reveal the importance of looking beyond politically important compositions alone and towards works of purely devotional character. When both textual and musical sources of the early Italian wars are read together, we may better

³⁸⁸ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 299.

³⁸⁹ The dome was under construction from 1491–8: Maria Teresa Bonardi, Irma Naso, Giuseppe Dondi, Diego Quaglioni, Massimo Oldoni, Andreina Griseri, Silvana Pettenati, Giuliano Gasca Queirazza S.J., “La vita e la istituzioni culturali,” in *Storia di Torino*, vol. 2, *Il basso Medioevo e la prima età moderna (1280–1536)*, ed. Rinaldo Comba (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1997), 706. Also we are aware of the existence of an Augustinian convent located “extra muros Taurini.” Archivio Arcivescovile di Torino, register 32, f. 109v, act of June 18 1456, quoted in Stefano A. Benedetto, Rinaldo Comba, Renata Segre, and Alessandro Barbero, “L’economia e la società,” in *Storia di Torino*, vol. 2, *Il basso Medioevo e la prima età moderna (1280–1536)*, ed. Rinaldo Comba (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1997), 504, note 210.

appreciate the fragmentary nature of the paradigm shift surrounding chapel music at war c. 1500 and the hybrid culture of symbols that formed in this period of transition.

5. The Musical Landscape at War

The true landscape of vocal music at war can be elusive. This is not without reason. Few compositions, prints, and manuscripts that have survived make any discernable reference to France's military involvement in Italy. Limited studies devoted to music and war have flocked to these, understandably, as connections between strictly devotional works and politics are not easily drawn without external evidence.³⁹⁰ Even among those few works that engage directly with the subject of war, seeking in them evidence of the works that were conceived and performed during the campaigns of the early Italian wars themselves is a challenging and often misleading task. The most famous work associated with the early Italian wars, Clément Janequin's *La Bataille* does not appear until 1528 in a collection of the composer's chansons by Attaignant, and its popular association with the battle of Marignano appears first in 1540 in a lute tablature.³⁹¹ This late attribution, despite its wide reception, further lacks consensus in contemporary sources. A German lute tablature from 1549 associates the chanson with the battle of Pavia, and Johann Herczog has put forth the hypothesis that the work was intended for Francis I's return from captivity in 1526.³⁹² In comparison, Compère's *Vive le noble Roy*, makes a more discernable reference to the battle of Fornovo in 1495 through the mention of the Albanian mercenaries known as *Stratoti*, who were known to have participated in the battle.³⁹³ Yet, evidence of the chanson's performance has not been preserved, and given the reception of Janequin's work of similar character, performances of the work could have easily persisted in

³⁹⁰ van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*; Wistreich, "Music and War" 176–206; Mary Beth Winn, "Some Texts for Chansons by Loyset Compère." *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979): 48–50.

³⁹¹ *Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin* (Paris: Attaignant, [1528]); Pioh Pozniak, "Le vocal et l'instrumental dans les tablatures manuscrites polonaises au xvf siècle," in *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean- Michel Vaccaro (Paris: CNRS, 1995), 671–6.

³⁹² *Ein new künstlich Lauten Buch* (Nuremberg: Julius Paulus Fabritius, 1549), v1v. Herczog, *Marte Armonioso*, 45; Wistreich, "Music and War," 195.

³⁹³ Winn, "Some Texts for Chansons," 48–50.

celebrations of the battle that took place well after the wars concluded. Though this is not intended to diminish the value of these chansons in France's culture of war, their place in warfare itself remains unclear. The following chapters look beyond the limited role of the military chanson and at the performance of vocal music, in multiple forms, in the battle entourage itself. They demonstrate the breadth of polyphonic music at war, from monophony, to flexible devotional prayers, to political motets. This discussion will center primarily around the years 1495 and 1515, during which both prosopographical and musical evidence align. The role and function of political motets, including Compère's *Quis numerare queat*, Vaqueras's *Rax fallax miraculum*, and Mouton's *Exalta regina Galliae* will be called into question and reinvestigated, and devotional works, including Compère's *Crux triumphans* and Mouton's *O salutaris Hostia*, will be called to the forefront.

Chansons

While this study focuses on the analysis of polyphonic works with plausible connections to the battle campaigns and for which scores are available, it must be acknowledged that the landscape of music at war was considerably diverse. Humbler works and those with no textual reference to war were exceedingly common, and the composition, performance, and transmission of sumptuous new works with overt references to war was likely in the minority. Both sacred and secular music appear to follow this trend. In contrast to the strictly military chansons mentioned above, written evidence of chanson performance and transmission suggests that a different landscape, one dominated primarily by the basic desire for entertainment and only secondarily with the need to commemorate battles, flourished in the French battle entourage.

Perhaps the most compelling source is one attesting the presence of informal musicking amongst the French noblemen of the battle entourage. As the French sojourned in Naples in May

of 1495 after its conquest, a French nobleman wrote home to his sister detailing the recent amateur composition they enjoyed amongst themselves: “and *monsieur* of Cologne, your good uncle, has written a song that everyone is crazy about.”³⁹⁴ As far as the chapel composers are concerned, some letters suggest that chansons by Mouton and Févin were circulated during the campaigns of 1515 and 1507 respectively. Chansons were among the works that Mouton handed over to Jean Michel in October of 1515.³⁹⁵ Also, while staying in Savona, Louis XII request that some songs by Févin be sent to him alongside a few portraits in order to impress the local ladies:

Et quant la chancon sera faicte par Fenyn et voz visaiges pourtrai[tz] par *Jehan de Paris*, ferez bien de les m’envoyer pour monstrier aux dames de par deca, car il n’en y a point pareilz.³⁹⁶

And when the song will be made by Févin and your portraits by Jehan de Paris, do well to send these to me to show to the ladies here, because they are unparalleled.

In none of these cases is it suggested that the works or even the occasions in question, particularly the impression of local women, had any significant symbolic meaning to the military campaign, and no military chansons by Mouton or Févin have survived to support this notion.

The unique chansons of Janequin and Compère appear foreign to this world of casual entertainment. Central to this observation is an understanding that life in the battle entourage of French kings was not strictly military and that certain aspects of musical practice carried on undisturbed. We may recall that Charles the Bold had chansons performed in his tent, even as he laid siege to Neuss.³⁹⁷ While sources on chanson performance practice are thin, we can imagine that the secular chansons of the battle entourage may have reflected a culture of amateur

³⁹⁴ “et monsieur de la Cologne, vostre oncle bon, a fait une chanson que tous cieulx qui ont passé le mon son cocu.” Cutolo, “Nuovi documenti francesi,” 203.

³⁹⁵ On Mouton see: Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 204.

³⁹⁶ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2915, fol. 17, cited in René de Maulde-La Clavière, “*Jean Perréal* et Pierre de Févin, a propos d’une lettre de Louis XII,” *Nouvelles archives de l’art Français* 3, no. 2 (1886): 1–9.

³⁹⁷ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 162.

musicking and courtly entertainment that continued in spite of its thematic dissonance with war. Though it is noted that most of the examples listed above transpired during or shortly after triumphal visits, the case of Charles the Bold offers reason to consider the continuity of this practice. We must also consider that chanson patronage was not limited to the king alone and that the king's large entourage, coupled with their regular contact with other princes and courts created a perfect storm for healthy demand.³⁹⁸

Sacred vocal music

The stark contrast between composed military chansons and written evidence of chanson performance at war echoes a similar challenge in the understanding of the landscape of sacred vocal music. Though *Exalta regina Galliae* and *Exsultet conjubilando Deo* have been upheld for their outstanding connections to the victory of Marignano and Francis I's meeting in Bologna with Leo X in 1515 respectively, newly composed festive motets produced by chapel singers were very likely an exception in the sacred soundscape of the Italian wars.³⁹⁹ Chapter 4 discussed the frequency with which French chapel singers were apparently absent from the king's retinue entirely as well as the importance of local singers in triumphal entries. Though musical sources are more likely to preserve notated polyphonic music, we must consider that the mass at war involved everything from plainchant to polyphony and could be performed by a variety of musical forces. Burchard offers a prime example of this in his insight into the processional music, perhaps either plainchant or improvised polyphony, sung during the king's visit to the church of St. Paul on the 25th of January for the feast of the conversion of St. Paul. Despite the

³⁹⁸ On the identity of chanson patrons: Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 178–206.

³⁹⁹ Brothers, ““And They Vied with Each Other in Singing,”” 71–86; Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 212.

fact that the king and the pope heard mass together, neither musical chapel appears to have been responsible for the singing:

In introitu ecclesie sancti Pauli fratres venerunt obviam pape cum processione, ubi papa de manibus cardinalis Sancti Georgii crucem osculatus est et post eum rex de manibus ejusdem. Accesserunt ad altare majus, fratribus interim *Te Deum laudamus* decantantibus, ubi parata erant duo faldistoria, unum pro papa, aliud pro rege convenienter: sed papa in suo faldistorio genuflexus traxit ad se regem, et sic in eodem simul genuflexerunt.⁴⁰⁰

At the entrance of the church of Saint Paul the brothers came towards the pope with a procession, where the pope kissed the cross from the hands of the cardinal of St. George and after him the king from the same hands. They ascended to the high altar, as the brothers sang *Te Deum laudamus*, where there were two faldstools, one for the pope, the other suitably for the king: but the pope, kneeling in his faldstool, pulled the king to him, and thus in the same faldstool they knelt together.

Furthermore, of all the sources consulted in the preparation of this study, only a couple mention the word “motet” at all, and only Marot’s description of the reception of Louis XII in the cathedral of Genoa makes any reference to motets that may have been performed as part of a sacred service by professional musicians.⁴⁰¹

Le roy adont en grant triumphe et gloire
Entre à l’Eglise rendant graces divines.
Durant ce temps cloches, trompes, busines
Menoyent ung bruit doux et armonieux.
Musiciens avecques les orguynes.
Disoyent motetz et chansons celestines
A la louenge du tresvictorieux.⁴⁰²

The king then in great triumph and glory.
Entered into the church giving divine thanks.
During this time bells, trumpets, buisines
Carried out a sweet and harmonious sound
Musicians with the organs
Said motets and heavenly songs
To the praise of the very-victorious

⁴⁰⁰ Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 1:572.

⁴⁰¹ Chapter 4 made the case for these being the singers of San Lorenzo. See “Chapel singers in processions.”

⁴⁰² Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 108.

Here we begin to notice how broad the *topos* of the motet can be in the poetic language of la Vigne and Marot. In addition to Marot's aforementioned usage, both la Vigne and Marot use the word "motet" to describe the music sung by clerics, presumably local ones, during royal entries. In his description of the procession into Chieri in 1494, la Vigne writes that the four mendicant orders were to be seen "Singing motets to banish the dissonance / That rendered the land in such great destitution."⁴⁰³ Similarly Marot's description of the entry into Brescia in 1509 claims that "all of the clergy" sang "For the praise and exaltation / of the French king, motets, hymns, canticles."⁴⁰⁴ While the word is fundamentally associated with polyphony, we must question the intention of these poets. A motet was apparently a work of music that could be performed by professional musicians and "all of the clergy" alike and was semantically equivalent to the hymn, canticle, and song. This broad range of music could have certainly included some composed motets, but we must also acknowledge the function of the word motet as part of the poetic devices used by both poets, who often used enumerations of entities within a single category as a means of amplification.⁴⁰⁵ While this offers some fascinating insight into the etymology of the word motet in middle French, we would do well to refrain from repertorial assumptions.

Chapel repertoire

As for the output of the chapel singers, given the diverse landscape of sacred musical performance in written sources, their role in the production and performance of bespoke festive motets at war must be similarly called into question. Not only were many musical configurations

⁴⁰³ "chantans motez pour banir les discordes / qui mettent paiz en trop grant indigence." La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 164.

⁴⁰⁴ "Devant Marchoit en grant devotion / Tout le clergé, faisant procession. / Moult decorez de chappes auctentiques, / Prestres chantoient par jubilation, / A la louenge et exaltation / Du Roy François, motetz, hymnes, cantiques." Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 121.

⁴⁰⁵ See Slerca's critical commentary. La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 75.

of masses and processions possible, but, as previous chapters of this study have demonstrated, the political rituals in which singers are attested often appropriated feast days and votive masses, whose propers no doubt served as the basis for much of the musical settings heard at these occasions. Just as war ritual is not always war ritual, so too is war music not always war music. Nevertheless, the search for such devotional works presents a number of challenges, not least of which due to the question of how much notated music actually accompanied the chapel singers in their journeys. To the extent that the “music library” of the French chapel is ever mentioned, information conveyed in contemporary accounts reveals varying information about novelty and scarcity. The aforementioned letter by Louis XII asking for songs by Févin to be sent to him implies that Févin was indeed not with the king at the moment and that the latest music by the composer was not at his immediate disposal.⁴⁰⁶ Yet, that same year, music copyist Jean Michel encountered the king’s entourage and musical chapel in Asti, shortly before the advance on Genoa. Jean Michel promises in a letter to Sigismondo d’Este private gossip on the chapel and to bring back “qualche cosa de novo,” which Lockwood has interpreted as his intention to furnish his patron with “some new music.”⁴⁰⁷ The quest for new music was not always successful. On 7 October 1494 Ferrante d’Este writes to the Duke of Ferrara in Casale Monferrato explaining that

Compère:

was extremely sorry not to be able to furnish Your Lordship with any good compositions because the only works he had with him are old ones. He finds that he left behind in France certain of his books, in which he has some good new compositions, and he will be glad to satisfy Your Lordship as soon as he is able to do so.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ Févin’s absence is also discussed in Joshua Rifkin, review of *Die Staatsmotette*, 427–28.

⁴⁰⁷ Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 201.

⁴⁰⁸ The original text reads “Et finalmente dicto Luyseto mi ha risposto dolerli grandemente il non poter al presente servir Vostra Signoria de alcuna bona cossa, per non haver apresso de si se non cosse vechie, & chel si trova haver lassato in Franza certi suoi libri suliquali il ge ha alcuni bone cosse nove, & chel starà attento di satisfare vostra signoria quanto piu presto il potrà.” Lewis Lockwood, “Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d’Este.” *Studi Musicali*, 1, no. 1 (1972): 115–6, 129–30.

How this letter ought to be interpreted in the transmission of Compère's works in 1495 has been read in varying ways and will be expounded on below, but for now it suffices to note that at least Compère himself spoke of the availability of his own music in the language of scarcity.⁴⁰⁹ In contrast, Jean Michel seems to have had success once again in 1515 with Jean Mouton, receiving not only a "motet for the victory," implying a newly composed work, but also "certain other motets and chansons," whose origins are not specified.⁴¹⁰

Whether the library of the French chapel at war was appealing to patrons and copyists appears to be in the eye of the beholder. Yet, a few practical observations must be made. The extraordinary logistical challenge of moving an army across the alps must not be discounted. Armies travelled largely by foot, horse, and mule, and notated music and singers were no exception. In a postscript of another letter by Jean Michel to Sigismondo d'Este, he promises to bring "some music-a mule-load of it."⁴¹¹ This itself may have proven to be a significant limitation. Though the king was never without his luxuries, wars, with its limitations and risks, required selective packing. It comes as no surprise that Compère would think to bring only a few older works with him, perhaps familiar works that could be counted on to be useful in various scenarios. It is also relevant to note that Compère notes the absence of his "books" in his possession, perhaps a nod to the logistical difficulty of carrying these in comparison to smaller fascicle-manuscripts.⁴¹² Furthermore, none of these sources give the impression that the chapel was producing large quantities of new works either. By the time that Compère was asked for

⁴⁰⁹ That he is attempting to show modesty is also a possibility; however, his promise to send more music when it was indeed available suggests that he might be telling the truth.

⁴¹⁰ All translations of the Jean Michel letters are Lockwood's. Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 204.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. 205.

⁴¹² I use the terminology of Charles Hamm, who coined this term in describing the circulation of DuFay's motets. Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era." *Acta Musicologica* 34, no. 4 (1962): 167.

music in October of 1494, the battle campaign was already two months underway, implying that the allegedly older repertoire of Compère had seen no significant addition during that time. Similarly, that Mouton's "certain other motets and chansons" could have included a mix of older and newer works must be seriously considered.

In light of these observations, the search for sacred music that may have been performed during the military campaigns of the early Italian wars must adopt a careful approach, considerate of liturgical celebrations, transmission histories, and devotional practices, and wary of quick connections between Italian transmissions of French composers and the liturgical calendar during times of war. A few guidelines are proposed. Firstly, the French chapel singers were not responsible for all music-making, and not all masses need to be performed polyphonically. Second, to the extent that polyphonic music was performed, the relevance of older devotional works must not be dismissed, though their relevance to wartime devotion must be carefully investigated. Third, the performance of polyphonic works with military themes during battle campaigns must be proven, not assumed. And finally, polyphonic music performed for the king could have originated from local sources. The following chapters take these guidelines into account, offering better substantiation for the performance of military motets in the battle entourage, calling others into question, searching for devotional works with possible connections to the battle entourage, and considering the output of local composers to the extent that this is possible. Though this study does not seek to offer a comprehensive assessment of the military-readiness of every composition by composers of the French chapel and beyond c. 1494–1515, it may perhaps open the door for a more fruitful discussion about the nature of music at war.

Poles of transmission

Evidence of musical transmission during the battle campaigns of the early Italian wars is available in a few isolated cases, largely thanks to the ability to extrapolate on a few extant letters from 1494, 1507, and 1515 respectively. Yet, the relatively even distribution of these letters is not reflected in the ability to reliably identify individual works that may have been performed or engendered in these contexts. Despite knowing that Jean Michel had contact with the French entourage in 1507 and that Louis XII had sought out the work of Févin while in Savona, the absence of additional layers of evidence has made the identification of plausible works transmitted in this context futile. The years 1499 and 1509 have even less to offer by means of extramusical evidence. It is thus by necessity that the few existing hypothesis on the performance of individual works by the French chapel at war have clustered around the years 1494–5 and 1515 respectively.⁴¹³ These poles of transmission have much in common. They represent a combination of contact with known hubs of musical activity, namely Rome and Ferrara, as well as clues in the works and manuscripts themselves, be it through text or heraldry, that point strongly to the military campaigns of the French. Additionally, both years offered occasions for ceremonial magnificence during the meetings in Rome between Alexander VI and Charles VIII and Leo X and Francis I respectively.⁴¹⁴ While this evidence has been instrumental

⁴¹³ Edward F. Houghton, “A Close Reading of Compère’s Motet *Sile Frigor*,” in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 89–103; Bloxam, Jennifer M. “‘La Contenance Italienne’: The Motets on ‘Beata Es Maria’ by Compère, Obrecht and Brumel.” *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 38–89; Brothers, “‘And They Vied with Each Other in Singing,’” 71–86; Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 191–246.

⁴¹⁴ The discourse on musical transmission surrounding contact between chapels is an important one. Much has been debated concerning the degree to which such events can be thought of as major engines for musical transmission and how to read these sources. Though opinions vary, is clear that these hypotheses must consider a wide range of factors. For general considerations see: Reinhard Strohm, “European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century,” *Early Music History* 1 (1981): 305–23. Concerning the Council of Constance see: Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 106–24; Klaus

in achieving the current state of research on the subject, our picture of the performance practice of the French chapel is incomplete. Existing analyses have drawn heavily on the convenience offered by the papal meetings as potential performance contexts and overlooked the relevance of royal entries and French devotional practices as occasions for composition and performance. The following chapters will revisit the years 1494–5 and 1515 and offer new perspectives on some familiar and less familiar works.

1494–5

A series of important clues in letters and papal manuscripts of the 1490s have pointed towards the Naples campaign, and more specifically the meeting between Alexander VI and Charles VIII in January of 1495, as an important catalyst for transmission. Two main pillars of evidence have been taken into account: First, the existence of a letter attesting the presence of Compère in the king's entourage as well as his own apology for having no new music on hand and second, the presence of French heraldry in the manuscripts VatS 15 and VatS 63 and their subsequent ability to be dated to the mid 1490s. These observations collectively have fueled several arguments attempting to understand the relationship between the meeting in Rome and some works contained in VatS 15 and VatS 63, (fig. 2), largely those by Compère, but also one motet by papal composer Bertrandus Vaqueras, whose initials feature French heraldry.⁴¹⁵

Hortschansky, "Kapitel I: Musikleben," in *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Hermann Danuser, vol. 3.1, *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1989), 34–7. Concerning the Spanish chapels see: Knighton, "A Meeting of Chapels," 83–102. Concerning the papal chapel see: Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle Unter Dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471–1484): Die Chorbücher 14 Und 51 Des Fondo Cappella Sistina Der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1991), 389–407.

⁴¹⁵ Houghton, "A Close Reading," 89–103; Bloxam, "La Contenance Italienne," 38–89; Kostrzewski, "Rome after Josquin," 67–108.

Figure 2. Motets associated with the presence of Charles VIII in Rome in 1495

Work	Composer	Manuscript	Folio	Notes
Crux triumphans	Compère	VatS 15	179v–181r	Prayer addressing the triumphant cross
Sile fragor	Compère	VatS 15	183v–185r	Humanistic text addressing Mary at the end
Ave Maria gratia plena	Compère	VatS 15	185v–187r	Marian prayer with litany
Propter gravamen	Compère	VatS 15	193v–196r	Antiphon for the fifth sorrow of Mary
Quis numerare queat	Compère	VatS 15	196v–198r	Celebration of peace with <i>Da pacem</i> antiphon
Rex fallax miraculum	Vaqueras	VatS 63	69v–73r	Epiphany text

This has naturally led to some speculation about the performance of these works during the masses and meetings that took place between pope and king. In particular Ferrante's letter has been used to create a sense of urgency in the motets transmitted in VatS 15. If Compère had no new works to offer in October, the logical conclusion dictates that his works in VatS 15 must contain some new compositions.⁴¹⁶ This is, at least partially, the argument made in Edward Houghton's close reading of *Sile fragor*. That the works make their historical debut in VatS 15 is clear. No significant evidence for an earlier transmission of any of these works has been put forth, save for Compère's *Ave Maria gratia plena*, whose transmission in MS K.I.2 in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati in Siena has been dated to 1481.⁴¹⁷ Yet, Jennifer Bloxam has keenly noted that the version preserved in Siena is noticeably different than other transmissions, lacking the characteristic borrowing of the *lauda Beata es Maria* at the work's conclusion as

⁴¹⁶ Houghton, "A Close Reading," 94.

⁴¹⁷ Bloxam, "'La Contenance Italienne,'" 58. Frank A. D'Accone, "A Late 15th-Century Siennese Sacred Repertory: MS K. I. 2 of the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena," *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983): 122.

well as references to the decidedly French saints of St. Quentin and St. Louis of France.⁴¹⁸ This led Bloxam to conclude that the version that accompanied Compère into Italy consisted of “a reintroduction of the piece to Italy after Compère’s return to France.”⁴¹⁹ Novelty, however, is relative and not an exclusive determiner of transmissibility. Compère, Ferrante, and the papal chapel could all have different impressions on whether or not Compère’s works were new to them and/or worth copying. More importantly, while we may be able to argue the novelty of a select few works in VatS 15, this argument reaches its limits at scale. The ascription of the composition of five motets to a single encounter is a large feat, and while the place of novelty in Compère’s motets in VatS15 has been explored, the inverse may also be argued. While it is not the aim of this analysis to challenge the Roman transmission hypothesis of these works, the role of heraldry, liturgy, and political context in the construction of existing performance hypotheses warrants revisiting. A critical view of these sources of evidence will reveal that fewer works than expected may be reasonably situated within the ceremonies of the papal meetings itself, but that relinquishing a dependence on festive performance occasions and novelty may bring us closer to understanding the devotional character of Compère’s works in the context of the French battle entourage.

Heraldry

The presence of French heraldry in papal music manuscripts has hitherto served as the primary source of evidence for the wartime transmission hypothesis of the works noted in figure

2. Some clarifying notes, however, are warranted.

⁴¹⁸ Bloxam, ““La Contenance Italienne,”” 64–5.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

Figure 3. Heraldry in VatS 15

Work	Composer	Folio	Description ^a	Association
Magnificat primi toni K.141	Anonymous	78v	Superius initial: two sets of three fleurs-de-lis each placed above and below an open crown	King of France
Magnificat tone 2 K.198	Anonymous	85v	Superius initial: “Sola fides sufficit” written three times; Tenor initial: St. Andrew with cross	Duchy of Burgundy/Order of the Golden Fleece
Magnificat tone 2 K.198	Anonymous	86r	Top margin: animal holding shield with fire steel and sparks and cross of St. Andrew; Bassus initial: cross of St. Andrew with fire steels and sparks in each corner, three additional fire steels with sparks inserted above	Duchy of Burgundy/Order of the Golden Fleece
Magnificat K.272	Anonymous	118v	Superius initial: Ermine spots and crown	Duchy of Brittany
Magnificat sexti toni K.909	[Johannes Martini]	134v	Superius initial: Three towers and bishop’s miter	[Geoffroi III de Pompadour, Bishop of Puy-en-Velay?]
Magnificat sexti toni K.292	Anonymous	141v	Superius initial: Lion holding book reading “pax tibi marce eva[n]geli[sta]”	Republic of Venice
Magnificat sexti toni K.292	Anonymous	142r	Bottom left margin: Lion holding book reading “pax tibi marce eva[n]ge[lista]”	Republic of Venice

^a Smaller insertions of text and fleurs-de-lis are not counted. Only full depictions of coats of arms are considered for consistency. For a more complete list see Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 9.

Differences in the scope, detail, and placement of the coats of arms in both VatS 15 and VatS 63 tell different stories about the meaning of both sets of heraldry in the context of the Italian wars. The complexities of the heraldry in VatS 15, in particular, are easily overlooked. As noted by Sherr and summarized above (fig. 3) no fewer than five coats of arms, some repeated, are present in the largely unattributed Magnificat settings of VatS 15.⁴²⁰ It is significant that the arms of the French king and Duchy of Brittany, equating to Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany, are present, but the assertion that “the heraldic symbols seem to point unequivocally to the French court” must be amended.⁴²¹ Sherr’s original hypothesis posited that the coats of arms present in 85v–86r and 134v, must refer to a Burgundian nobleman in the retinue of the French king and Geoffroy III de Pompadour, then Bishop of Puy-en-Velay and almoner of the king, respectively.⁴²² The proximity of both of these coats of arms to the French court and by extension battle entourage of 1494–5 must be revisited. The former conclusion is predicated on the fact that Burgundy’s Valois dynasty fell in 1477, suggesting that the fire steel and cross of St. Andrew could no longer refer to the duchy.⁴²³ This may not be entirely true. The emblems of the dukes of Burgundy continued to be used during the reign of Philip the Handsome despite his concurrent reign in Castille. Numismatic evidence illustrates this well, as coins minted throughout the reign of Philip the Handsome in the low countries continued to bear the fire steel and cross of St. Andrew alongside his name.⁴²⁴ For the case of the French bishop, it is certainly the case that the three

⁴²⁰ Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 9.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 11–15; Several sources name Pompadour as bishop of Périgueux, but by 1495 he had already assumed the role of bishop of Puy-en-Velay, which Roth correctly cites. Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire*, 390; This hypothesis has been otherwise accepted. Kostrzewski, “Rome after Josquin,” 82.

⁴²³ Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 15.

⁴²⁴ A *toison d’or* minted in Brabant in 1506 features the fire steel and sparks above a fleece. [Monnaie: Pays-Bas, Brabant, Philippe IV le Beau, toison], 1496, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département monnaies, médailles et antiques, AF.PB.172; Additionally, a florin from Flanders estimated to have originated sometime in the late 15th century bears the cross of St. Andrew. [Monnaie: Pays-Bas,

towers and miter correspond well to the coat of arms of Pompadour and that Geoffroy III de Pompadour was a prominent figure in French politics.⁴²⁵ Yet, the use of three towers was a common device at the time, and no bishop of Puy-en-Velay or a Pompadour feature prominently in otherwise thorough contemporary accounts of Charles VIII's journey into Italy.⁴²⁶ Also missing in the French hypothesis is an explanation for the presence of the arms of the Republic of Venice, whose opposition to France as part of the League of Venice in 1495 puts the coat of arms squarely in political dissonance with the others.

Upon review the designation of the heraldry as an exclusive embodiment of the French court tells an incomplete picture. A more accurate interpretation is to view the collective impression of the heraldry as international. This tells a decidedly different story, though what it signifies is challenging to say. One could posit that these represent different courts with which Rome had contact c. 1495 or even the origin of the otherwise unattributed settings, still allowing for their use as evidence for a wartime transmission hypothesis of Compère's works. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the symbolic mysteries of the manuscript, which contains myriad other small additions in its initials, including Latin phrases, have not yet been fully unraveled.⁴²⁷ Regardless of what the coats of arms signify, they are concentrated in the Magnificat section of the manuscript, a different layer than that of the motets, none correspond directly to a work by Compère or appear to support the notion that any of his works acquired any

Flandre, Philippe IV le Beau, florin de bourgogne], [1482–1506], Bibliothèque nationale de France, département monnaies, médailles et antiques, AF.PB.2bis.

⁴²⁵ Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 15.

⁴²⁶ It is not clear if he joined the battle entourage at all. An enumeration of prelates attending the funeral of François de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, does not contain any similar names. The index of names in the edited edition of the chronicle also contains no mention of him. La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 310, 385–406. Burchard and Commynes also document no relevant variations of Geoffroy, Pompadour, Périgueux, or Puy. Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 560–75; Commynes, *Mémoires*, 2:174–190.

⁴²⁷ See Sherr's list: Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 9.

special association with the meeting in 1495. The challenging nature of the heraldic evidence highlights the critical importance of searching for additional clues that may support the wartime transmission and performance of Compère's works. While arguments on the performance date of some of Compère's works in VatS 15 have been put forth, a devotional perspective, which will be covered in greater detail below, may heighten the credibility of the wartime transmission hypothesis.

The heraldry present in VatS 63, however, is symbolically distinct. In contrast to VatS15, the heraldry corresponds directly with a work, namely Betrandus Vaqueras's *Rex fallax miraculum*, with liturgical overlap with the meeting in January by means of the Epiphany, does not appear to be part of a larger international selection of coats of arms, and depicts a closed crown, typically reserved for emperors, surmounting the fleurs-de-lis.⁴²⁸ The meaning of the latter requires further discussion. Robert Scheller has argued that Charles VIII never formally assumed an imperial title and its ensigns. Though rumors had spread widely that Charles VIII would assume the title of Byzantine Emperor, per an agreement with the pretender to the throne Andreas Palaiologos, this never officially took effect.⁴²⁹ Also, claims that Charles assumed the title of emperor on January 20th in Rome and his representation in an imperial crown circulated more widely only in later centuries.⁴³⁰ Furthermore, intentions behind imperial metaphors in the reign of Charles VIII could vary, including the desire to associate the king with Roman emperors, Charlemagne, and even Constantine.⁴³¹ The symbol of the closed crown during the reign of Charles VIII was not widely circulated during his reign. In fact, there exists only one

⁴²⁸ See Kosztrzewski's discussion: Kosztrzewski, "Rome after Josquin," 83.

⁴²⁹ Robert W. Scheller, "Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 12, no. 1 (1981): 43–4.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 66–9.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 8–17.

known contemporary miniature in a small manuscript containing the *Louanges de Charles VIII* of Bénart. The opening miniature of this work depicts Charles VIII as emperor, crowned with a closed crown and surmounted by the imperial *Sol Iustitiae* associated with Constantine.⁴³² The importance of this single use of the closed crown has been contested.⁴³³ In light of substantial evidence that Charles never formally assumed the title of emperor, neither the *Louanges de Charles VIII* nor VatS 63 should be taken as evidence of Charles's official status as Byzantine Emperor, but this should not distract from the bigger picture. Imperial metaphors were indeed associated with military ambitions. Scheller cites Octovien de Saint-Gelais's *Epistre faicte en equivocques au Roy Charles*, written during Charles's preparations for the invasion into Italy, in which he names Charles "most Christian imperial lord" and wishes upon him the triple crown, another imperial symbol.⁴³⁴ Similarly the text of *Louanges de Charles VIII* evoke Charles' military exploits in Italy.

Ov plvs parfo[n]t des gra[n]s coffres marins
 Et barbarins des mers orientales
 soient plongez tous les vieulx tartarins
 qui a ses fins joignent leurs decretales
 leurs loix toutalles sont de croyre aux fatalles
 par les ytalles plusieurs ont cesterreur
 il nest adueu que dun hault conquereur⁴³⁵

At the depths of the great sea chests
 And barbarisms of the eastern seas
 are plunged all the old Tartars
 who join their decrees to these ends
 their whole law is to believe in fatalities
 among the Italians, many have this error
 he is only avowed to be a great conqueror

⁴³² See Scheller's discussion of this Scheller, "Imperial Themes," 57, 17.

⁴³³ Sherr has argued that this single instance of the closed crown is insufficient in determining Charles's status as emperor and echoes Scheller's analysis in emphasizing the lack of imperial title. Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 20.

⁴³⁴ Scheller, "Imperial Themes," 31.

⁴³⁵ Bénart, *Louanges de Charles VIII*, manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Français 2228, unnumbered fourth page of text.

Here Bénart compares the errors of France's eastern enemies with those of Italy, ultimately proclaiming Charles as the descendant of a lofty conqueror. Additionally, the military ambitions of the fleur-de-lis are framed as the pursuit of an imperial throne:

O fleur de lis sovrce dvmilite
en champ dazur par honne[ur] decoree
de vous je lys que auez tant milite
que de fin or deuez estre doree
Et sur tout autre ou mo[n]de Reuerree
Iusques au trosne du siege Imperial
ainsi q[ue] aprez verrez en champ Royal⁴³⁶

O flower of lily source of humility
in a blazon of azure decorated by honor
of you I read that you have so fought
that you must be gilded in fine gold
And above all else in the world revered
up to the throne of the Imperial seat
just as you shall see in the royal blazon

These military inclinations are further present in the opening miniature in which Charles is depicted fully armed on horseback against the backdrop of a tent at a presumed military encampment.⁴³⁷

The fact that the only other known contemporary depiction of the closed crown during the reign of Charles VIII was heavily associated with military themes ought to be taken seriously. Despite the fact that Charles never officially assumed the title of Byzantine emperor and that the closed crown was not officially adopted as his symbol, the heraldry on f. 75r, much like the aforementioned miniature, does not cease to express military ambitions. In a second article on Louis XII, Scheller hypothesizes that the use of the closed crown during the reign of Louis XII may in part express his military ambitions in Italy.⁴³⁸ That a similar broad reading of

⁴³⁶ Bénart, *Louanges de Charles VIII*, unnumbered sixth page of text.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., unnumbered first. page of text.

⁴³⁸ Scheller, "Imperial Themes," 110.

the closed crown in the *Louanges de Charles VIII* and VatS 63 is possible must not be dismissed. We must also imagine that the closed crown may not have been the symbol of choice for a copyist who disapproved of Charles and his wars.

Text and ceremony

Given that VatS 15 and in particular VatS 63 have been associated with the presence of Charles VIII in Italy, it follows naturally that we would search for liturgical occasions during which these works could have been performed. Though this approach can lead to meaningful arguments, applied to the aforementioned works in VatS 15 and VatS 63, we encounter dissonances between text, liturgy, and chronicle that challenge the efficacy of performance hypotheses. The liturgical observances of the meeting in Rome are not entirely a mystery. We possess, in fact, several clues about the nature of the masses celebrated in January of 1495, compiled from the accounts of Burchard, la Vigne, and Louis of Luxembourg. The first liturgical encounter between the pope and the French mentioned in these sources occurred at the celebration of the vespers of the Epiphany, during which Frenchmen crowded the pope attempting to kiss his feet, much to the displeasure of Burchard.⁴³⁹ When the pope and king eventually met for an official mass on January 21st, it is more likely than not that a mass for St. Sebastian was celebrated. Burchard documents a conversation during which the pope debated whether or not to sing a mass for the Holy Spirit. It was Burchard who recommended observing the given feast day, a practice that was likewise upheld on January 25th for the feast of the conversion of St. Paul.⁴⁴⁰ Additionally, during the aforementioned mass on January 21st, which was, according to Burchard, intended to be celebrated as the formal reception of Charles,

⁴³⁹ Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 1:561–2.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 1:572.

evidence from the accounts of both la Vigne and Louis of Luxembourg, reveal that the pope said a *confiteor* and that those present were made to say their *audi nos*, hinting perhaps at more participatory elements of the mass.⁴⁴¹

Of all of the works mentioned above, it is clear that none fit the liturgical itinerary of Charles's visit to Rome better than Vaqueras's *Rex fallax miraculum*, which clearly cites the antiphon for the Epiphany *Apertis thesauris* as the first of several chants for the Christmas season.⁴⁴² Sherr originally posited that the work may have been part "part of a manuscript prepared for Charles in Rome, but never sent."⁴⁴³ A more recent argument by Brett Kostrzewski argues directly for the work's performance during the aforementioned vespers of the Epiphany given the strength of the motet's liturgical roots and additional evidence on the connection of the transmission of Josquin's *Missa la sol fa re mi* in VatS 41 to France's rivalry with Ferdinand of Aragon.⁴⁴⁴ A 1495 performance hypothesis certainly has credibility. Firstly, and most importantly, this would have been the only year during the mid-1490s where celebrations would have coincided with significant contact between France and Rome.⁴⁴⁵ Charles had furthermore, by his own accounts in a letter to the cardinal of Saint-Denis expressed his desires to celebrate Christmas in Rome with the pope.⁴⁴⁶ Scheller is keen to note that this royal advent in Christmastide carries connotations of Charlemagne's own Christmas coronation in 800.⁴⁴⁷ It

⁴⁴¹ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 236–7; J. de la Pilorgerie, *Campagne et bulletins de la grande armée d'Italie commandée par Charles VIII, 1494–1495* (Nantes: V. Forest, 1866), 157.

⁴⁴² Also cited are the Christmas chants *Magnum nomen domini*, *Puer nobis nascitur*, and *Fit porta Christi pervia*, though these are less prominently featured. Bertrandus Vaqueras, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Richard Sherr (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1978), XII–XIII.

⁴⁴³ Richard Jonathan Sherr, "The Papal Chapel ca. 1492–1513 and its Polyphonic Sources," (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1975), 167.

⁴⁴⁴ Kostrzewski, "Rome after Josquin," 85–90.

⁴⁴⁵ Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 1:456, 591.

⁴⁴⁶ *Lettres de Charles VIII, roi de France*, ed. P. Pélicier (Renouard: H. Laurens, 1898–1903), 99.

⁴⁴⁷ Scheller, "Imperial Themes," 40.

must not be dismissed, furthermore, that Renaissance princes were often depicted in scenes of the nativity as one of the three kings. Though this trope more readily evokes symbolism surrounding the Holy Roman Emperors and the Medici family, France was not excluded. In a miniature by Jean Fouquet from 1450 for Etienne Chevalier's book of hours, for instance, king Charles VII is represented as one of the kings bringing gold to the infant Jesus.⁴⁴⁸

A closer look at the description of the mass and the text of the motet, however, raises questions as to the intended purpose of the motet. Firstly, the arrival of the French did not go smoothly. The Epiphany vespers, the single Christmas mass for which the presence of the French is clearly attested, during which Frenchmen crowded the pope frightened him such, according to Sanudo, that he gathered a consistory of sixteen cardinals to discuss his next steps with the king.⁴⁴⁹ Additionally, in an edited edition of the motet, a few challenges in interpreting the transmission and translation of the text have arisen. Barring the smaller details, which will be summarized below, the greatest challenge in interpreting the text of the motet lies in the penultimate verse of the Latin poem. A crucial word has been misinterpreted. The edited edition of this motet suggests the reading "Quo in ypos Anna."⁴⁵⁰ The presence of the name "Anna" has been used to assert the text's connection to the French court, and more specifically its potential use as a festive motet on the birth of one of Anne of Brittany's children.⁴⁵¹ However, none of the births of Anne's short-lived children corresponds temporally with the winter of 1494–5. Furthermore, a closer look at the text in the manuscript reveals that the word in question contains

⁴⁴⁸ Hans Hofmann, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: zur Heiligenverehrung im kirchlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben des Mittelalters* (Bonn : Röhrscheid, 1975), 164.

⁴⁴⁹ Sanudo, *La spedizione*, 170.

⁴⁵⁰ Vaqueras, *Opera Omnia*, XIII.

⁴⁵¹ Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "Psallite noe! Christmas Carols, the Devotio Moderna and the Renaissance Motet," in *Das Erzbistum Köln in der Musikgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed, Klaus Pietschmann (Berlin: Merseburger, 2008), 226.

three, not four, strokes in between the first and final letters, reading “ama” not “Anna.”⁴⁵² I propose that this word may be better understood as an abbreviation of “anima” without its sign. Moreover, the notion of the soul leading upward towards the heavens better reflects the broad-reaching supplication contained at the end of the prayer.⁴⁵³ What this signifies for the political character of the motet is even further distance between its transmission and its political reception. While it is certainly possible that the motet sounded during the Epiphany celebrations of 1495 in the presence of parts of the French entourage and that its copyist remembered this, this certainly was not a friendly encounter.⁴⁵⁴ An alternative performance hypothesis to a liturgical one may be speculated. Motets are not strictly tied to the liturgy, and they could sound easily in festive celebrations. The papal chapel was known for celebrating a *motetto a pranzo* at dinner four times a year, including at Christmas, one reason Schmidt-Beste offers for the explosion of Christmas motets in the Papal chapel, a tradition in which Vaqueras’s motet could have potentially belonged.⁴⁵⁵ Whether the motet was intended strictly for such a dinner or not remains unknown, but the notion that its composition could have been intended for the festive reception of a king, outside of strict liturgical constraints, remains plausible. Should the intended

⁴⁵² VatS 63, 74v–75r.

⁴⁵³ Text and translation of the final strophe reads “Precando te virgo pia mater clemens o Maria, ut quem collaudare cepi, placa, m[ate]r et filia, quo in yp[s]os a[ni]ma ducat sursum, qui est *epi*.” (*In that I beseech you, pious Virgin, merciful Mother, o Maria, as the one I have sought out to praise, reconcile, mother and daughter, so that through him, who is above, the soul may enter upwards into the heavenly realms*) This text presents some considerable difficulties in its interpretation, no doubt why no translation of this final strophe has been attempted. This present reading of the text suggests that the words *epi* and *ypos* are intended as contrasting Greek loan words, though for the sake of translation, the latter is more logically read as an abbreviation of “ipsos.” The interpretation of the imperative “placa” raises further questions, as a reason for appeasement or reconciliation does not appear to be given in the text. Nevertheless, the image of a soul yearning towards heaven appears logical. Credit is extended to Klaus Pietschmann and Johannes Beul for their helpful contributions to this reading.

⁴⁵⁴ We may wonder if the copyists inclusion of the French heraldry amounts to an expression of his personal French sympathies, perhaps even in spite of the mood in Rome at the time; Kostzewski discusses this cautionary view as well. Kostzewski, “Rome after Josquin,” 83.

⁴⁵⁵ Schmidt-Beste, “Psallite noe!” 227.

reception of Charles VIII at Christmas taken place, or even his entry on January 1st as originally planned, ample opportunity for extra-liturgical festivities during Christmastide would have certainly taken place.⁴⁵⁶

Similar difficulties in ascribing political connotations to suspected wartime transmissions can be found in attempts to understand the works of Compère. When it comes to war, no work in VatS 15 has been more strongly debated than Compère's *Quis numerare queat*, a tripartite motet using the antiphon *Da pacem* as cantus firmus. The origin of the text is vague. It functions as a humanistic commentary on war and peace more generally, citing the first few words of Juvenal's 16th *Satire*, and it appears to celebrate a recently concluded period of violence.⁴⁵⁷ Hypotheses on the motet's origin and intended use vary widely. The most common hypothesis asserts that the motet must have been used to celebrate a recent treaty, given the text's indication that peace has recently been established. Finscher originally proposed both the peace of Vercelli in October of 1495 and the campaign against Milan in 1500.⁴⁵⁸ Maria Caraci Vela demonstrated support for a Milanese hypothesis.⁴⁵⁹ Sherr, noting the presence of the French coat of arms in VatS 15, reasserts the Vercelli hypothesis; however, Bloxam correctly notes that both the Vercelli and Milan hypotheses would have post-dated the presumed transmission of the work in January of that year.⁴⁶⁰ She proposes, based on the work's transmission in VatS 15, that the work would

⁴⁵⁶ The entry as planned did not come pass, as Charles VIII impulsively followed some astrological advice and entered the city on December 31st. Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 71–2.

⁴⁵⁷ We may also wonder if the motet's third strophe, addressing the French in the imperative as "Galle" may be intended as a nod to the presence of a certain "Gallus" as the addressee of Juvenal's original work. Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c. 1450–1518): Life and Works* (N.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 106; Maria Caraci Vela, "De Compère à Gaffurio: la musique à Milan à l'époque de la conquête française," *Louis XII en Milanais: XLI^e colloque international d'études humanistes 30 juin–3 juillet 1998*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jean Guillaume (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2003), 372.

⁴⁵⁸ Finscher, *Loyset Compère*, 121.

⁴⁵⁹ Caraci Vela, "De Compère à Gaffurio," 377.

⁴⁶⁰ Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 65; Hanheide reasserts the Vercelli hypothesis. Stefan Hanheide, *Pace: Musik Zwischen Krieg und Frieden: Vierzig Werkporträts* (Kassel: n.p., 2007), 16. Bloxam's

have been fit for performance in response to the signing of the treaty between Alexander VI and Charles VIII on 15 January 1495.⁴⁶¹ Other scholars have looked in an entirely different direction. Among those that have argued for an earlier date of composition are both Dunning and Wegman. The former suggested the 1484 treaty of Bagnolo, while the latter proposed the 1492 treaty of Étapes as the work's potential origin, based on the argument that Obrecht, who himself produced a setting of the text, would have been travelling between France and the Low Countries during that period.⁴⁶²

Given the motet's textual ambiguity, it would seem that multiple hypotheses, perhaps with the exception of those that postdate the plausible transmission of the work in 1495, could be argued within reason. Of the ideas that have been put forth, the Rome hypothesis, which Bloxam advances, offers the closest synthesis between the work's transmission and potential use. Yet, the work itself does not seem to closely reflect the occasion. Caraci Vela chimed in with a similar uncertainty, stating that the meeting of two princes would have called for a more "celebratory" motet than what is offered in Compère's composition.⁴⁶³ Though a "celebratory" character alone does not suffice in the development of a performance hypothesis, a comparison of *Quis numerare queat* to a similar motet composed for a similar diplomatic exchange reveals significant differences between the two.

A previous chapter focused on the importance of comparable gestures and gifts between two diplomatic parties, with music participating in this language of decorum both in content and

critique of the Milanese hypothesis predates Caraci Vela's argument, but the logic remains the same. Bloxam, "La Contenance Italienne," 73, note 70.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 73.

⁴⁶² Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 10; Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 310, note 54; Edwards support's Wegman's Étapes hypothesis: Warwick Edwards, "Word Setting in a Perfect Musical World: The Case of Obrecht's Motets," in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, no. 1 (2011): 68.

⁴⁶³ Caraci Vela, "De Compère à Gaffurio," 376.

performance practice. Gestures of parity, cooperation, and flattery were essential in the assurance of a smooth and successful interaction, and failure to adequately meet these expectations could ruin an encounter.⁴⁶⁴ It is thus reasonable to expect compositions created for these occasions not to deviate dramatically from the norms established through diplomatic decorum. Though politically ambiguous music such as plainchant and polyphonic mass sections were likely also in use, festive motets, in their heightened ability to convey political themes, must be measured against a stricter standard of decorum. Indeed, conformity to these expectations is often observable in confirmed diplomatic motets. Jean Mouton's *Exsultet conjubilando Deo*, which Lester Brothers connects to the meeting between Francis I and Leo X in Bologna in 1515, appeals to the pope in its text and tenor. Its tenor reads: "*Pater ecclesiae, Christe, ora pro nobis*" ("Father of the Church, Christ, pray for us"). Additionally, the main text showers further praise on the pope: "*Gloriam Christo canamus in laude pontificis*" ("Christ's glory we would sing in the praise of the pope").⁴⁶⁵ The papal flattery in this motet is unmistakable. In contrast, *Quis numerare queat* makes no mention of the pope, focuses on the horrors of war rather than the benefits of diplomacy, and it establishes a sharp dichotomy between France and its enemies at the beginning of the third strophe: "*Funde preces Galle fundantque preces inimici*" ("Pour out prayers Frenchman, pour out prayers of the enemies").⁴⁶⁶ Compared to a similar motet produced by a composer in a similar position, *Quis numerare queat*, behaves uncharitably towards its host. Though the meeting in January of 1495 did not go as smoothly as expected, the French were

⁴⁶⁴ See "Music in the Language of Diplomacy."

⁴⁶⁵ Text and translation from: Brothers, "'And They Vied with Each Other in Singing,'" 85.

⁴⁶⁶ VatS 15, 198v–199r.

nonetheless eager to make a good impression.⁴⁶⁷ Such a motet would have been gesturally awkward for the occasion.

Caraci Vela is furthermore not the only scholar to have cast doubt on the intended purpose of the motet's text. Wegman staunchly criticized the hypothesis that the motet was intended to celebrate a treaty at all:

The poem, which was also set to music by Loyset Compère, has been thought to celebrate a peace treaty, but this seems unlikely. Rather, it expresses gratitude for the *cessation* of war (possibly the withdrawal of an invader or the ending of a civil war), and does so exclusively from the people's point of view. War is seen in terms of the innumerable sufferings and losses inflicted on the people. The poet interprets this as God's wrath at their sins, condemns aggressors in general, and regards peace as God-given rather than man-made. Such thoughts would hardly seem appropriate at the signing of a peace treaty.⁴⁶⁸

He goes on to suggest that the poem may have been better suited for a civic context.⁴⁶⁹ This opposing take on the motet's origins appears to have gained limited traction. Yet, taken in conjunction with an acknowledgement of the limitations of the motet's text, this alternative viewpoint offers an explanation for the gestural ineptitude of Compère's motet for the meeting between Alexander VI and Charles VIII.

Crux triumphans

The cases of *Rex fallax miraculum* and *Quis numerare queat* clearly demonstrate the challenges of constructing performance hypotheses during the Italian wars. Attempts to solve these questions run into irritating contradictions. The heraldic evidence appears to point in different directions and the occasional grounding used to situate VatS 15 and VatS 63 within the

⁴⁶⁷ We may recall an aforementioned anecdote where Charles VIII clumsily kneeled several times before the pope, arrived late to a meeting, and pestered Burckhard with questions during a mass with the pope. Burckardi, *Liber notarum*, 569–71.

⁴⁶⁸ Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 317.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 317–8.

campaign of 1494–5 is less stable than it would appear.⁴⁷⁰ At the same time the ties of both manuscripts to the French milieu cannot be severed. The presence of the French entourage in Italy still offers the best explanation for the sudden influx of Compère’s works in VatS 15, and the exclusive heraldic affinity of VatS 63 for the French crown cannot be ignored. Though occasional uses cannot be ruled out, the limits of their study may have been reached. Rather than propose another solution from this angle, I suggest abandoning the meeting in Rome as the locus of the corpus’s contextualization and consider the battle entourage itself as a performance context. In doing so we may imagine the works of Compère in VatS 15 in their ability to serve the needs of a traveling prince and his army and why certain works were preemptively selected for their place in the entourage. Applying this mindset to *Quis numerare queat*, recent work by Robert Nosow has emphasized the work’s thematic value as a setting of an anti-war text above its occasional value.⁴⁷¹

In an extension of this thematic view, we may consider how all of Compère’s motets in Vat 15 reflect on worldly violence, express a desire for peace, call for protection, and invoke saints and symbols associated with victory, war, and distress (fig. 4). One particularly worthy of further investigation is *Crux triumphans*, which I suggest represented a much older, pre-existing motet that Compère had composed in France and elected to bring with him in 1494.

⁴⁷⁰ This would concord with ongoing research by Simon Frisch, which has sought to decouple the performance of motets in the French milieu from the liturgy entirely. Simon Frisch, “Mathieu Gascongne, *Christus vincit*, et la politique de la cérémonie sacrée,” in *Vie musicale et identité urbaine dans la France de la Renaissance (ca. 1500 – ca. 1650)*, ed. Alexander Robinson and Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Classiques Garnier, forthcoming).

⁴⁷¹ Robert Nosow, “Hobrecht’s Motet Against War,” paper presented at the 2025 AMS-SMT Joint Annual Meeting, Minneapolis, MN, November 8, 2025.

Figure 4. Tribulation and deliverance in Compère's motets in VatS 15.

Work	Folio	Commentary on wars	Desire for peace	Expression of need	Symbols associated with war and suffering
Crux triumphans	179v–181r		"Tu es Jesus pax et protectio"		Triumphant Cross
Sile fragor	183v–185r	"Sile fragor ac rerum tumultus"			
Ave Maria gratia plena	185v–187r				BMV, St. Michael, St. Louis
Propter gravamen	193v–196r			"et subveni in hora ultima et extremae necessitatis"	Mater dolorosa
Quis numerare queat	196v–198r	"Quis numerare queat bellorum saeva peracta"	"Funde preces ad Dominum ut data pax sit duratura perenum" "Da pacem"		

Though the motet does not appear to have a clear textual model, its devotional connotations are rich. The triumphant cross itself possessed multiple meanings. In a theological sense the triumphant cross symbolized Christ's resurrection and triumph over death.⁴⁷² Yet, a purely figurative interpretation was never the only possibility. In the late-Middle Ages the idea of the triumphal cross as a physical object became increasingly widespread. Triumphal crosses acquired considerable popularity in the 12–14th centuries as particularly ornate crosses as well as

⁴⁷² Manuela Beer, *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zu Typus und Genese im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert; mit einem Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005), 25.

fixtures on medieval rood screens.⁴⁷³ More importantly, however, the designation of the “triumphant cross” was one that could be applied to relics.

One such relic in France bearing this name appears consistently in the French milieu beginning in the 13th century. In 1247 Latin emperor Baldwin II relinquished a number of relics to Louis IX, among these a fragment of the True Cross known as the “*crux triumphalis*” for its use in battle by Byzantine emperors.⁴⁷⁴ At the time, the cross was associated with emperor Constantine and his military victories, and the cross came to accompany Louis IX on his crusades.⁴⁷⁵ That this relic remained in the possession of the Sainte-Chapelle and also retained its association with warring emperors is evidenced in an early inventory of the reliquary of Saint-Chapelle from 1534: “Another medium cross, which the ancients called triumphant, because the emperors had the custom of carrying it in battle in hope of victory.”⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, the relic in the 15th century was quite busy. Gaposchkin notes several instances of the cross’s use for wartime supplications in 1411, 1417, 1418, and 1429.⁴⁷⁷ Additionally, the cross continued to be processed publicly into the Italian wars, including in 1507, 1510, 1511, and 1512 in favor of victory against Genoa, the Holy League, and otherwise.⁴⁷⁸ Of particular relevance to the origin of *Compère’s* motet, however, is activity surrounding the relic during the reign of Louis XI. Coinciding with the beginning of the Wars of Liège in 1465, Louis XI ordered a mass said every day for thirteen

⁴⁷³ Beer, *Triumphkreuze*, 28–9.

⁴⁷⁴ Cecilia Gaposchkin, “Louis IX and the Triumphal Cross of Constantine.” *French Historical Studies* 46, no. 1 (February 2023): 8; Gérard of Saint-Quentin also refers to it as such. Emmanuel Miller, “Review of *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*.” *Journal des Savants* (1878): 299–300

⁴⁷⁵ Gaposchkin, “Louis IX,” 19–24; Yossi Maurey, *Liturgy and sequences of the Sainte-Chapelle : music, relics, and sacral kingship in thirteenth-century France* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 103.

⁴⁷⁶ “Une autre croix moyenne, laquelle les anciens appelloient triumphale, parce que les empereurs avoient de coustume de la porter en bataille en esperance de victoire [contre leurs ennemis].” A. Vidier, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle: inventaires et documents* (Paris: Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1911), 129.

⁴⁷⁷ Gaposchkin, “Louis IX,” 27.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 27–9.

weeks in the presence of the triumphal cross.⁴⁷⁹ Furthermore, towards the end of the Wars of Liège in 1468, Louis XI and Charles the Bold united forces to quell the uprising in the city. Philippe de Commines reports that the two swore a peace treaty upon “the true cross that Saint Charlemagne carried, that is called the Cross of Victory, and swore the peace.”⁴⁸⁰ The association of the relic with Charlemagne, though fascinating, does not reflect the history of the relic’s acquisition and perhaps represents an intentional reinterpretation of the relic as Carolingian.⁴⁸¹ One final use of the cross warrants special note. As Louis XI lay in his deathbed in August of 1483 in Plessis-lès-Tours in an attempt to save his life, he sent for numerous relics to be brought to him, including the Holy Ampulla, the rod of Moses, and relic of the true cross, referred to in several sources as the “croix de Victoire.”⁴⁸² The journey of these relics was not quiet. Jean de Roye reports that the arrival of the Holy Ampulla in Paris was accompanied by “great reverence and processions.”⁴⁸³ Roye’s statement is no doubt an accurate description of how these relics were treated as they traveled. Extensive research by Gaposchkin and Maurey further reveals that the Sainte-Chapelle developed elaborate liturgies for the veneration of the relics, including for their translation.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁹ Gaposchkin, “Louis IX,” 27.

⁴⁸⁰ “la vraye croix que saint Charlemagne portoit, qui s’appelle la Croix de Victoire, et jurerent la paix.” Commines, *Mémoires*, 1:150. Also, any resemblance of the aforementioned relic to the talisman of Charlemagne, mythicized in the 17th century and later by Napoleon, who came to possess it, must be dispelled. The history of the talisman pre-1600 is challenging to assert, though available evidence suggests that it was stored safely in Aachen in 1520 and that at the time, it still contained the hair of the Virgin Mary, as opposed to the wood of the true cross. Holger A. Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 293.

⁴⁸¹ Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye: connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse*, ed. Bernard de Mandrot (Paris: Renouard, 1896), 2:134.

⁴⁸² See Dupont’s notes on Commines: Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires*, ed. Émilie Dupont (Paris: Renouard, 1840), 2:250; Roye, *Journal*, 2:134.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Gaposchkin and Maurey have done extensive research into the development of liturgies surrounding the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Vexilla regis glorie: liturgy and relics*

We may wonder if *Crux triumphans* was originally composed in response to the events of 1483, or for other celebrations related to the relics in the Sainte-Chapelle. A few key details further support this hypothesis. While the relics apparently continued to be of use after 1500, chronicles document no stronger personal connection to the triumphal cross than during the reign of the Louis XI. He also apparently took comfort in sending both for large quantities of instrumental musicians as well as religious zealots to his side during a life-threatening illness in 1482, which he spent in Saint Cosme near Tours, a habit he could have easily repeated a year later.⁴⁸⁵ La Vigne, in contrast, says little of the role of the symbol of the cross, let alone a relic, during the campaign of Charles VIII, save for a small comment on the decoration of haquetons with a white cross.⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, in the aforementioned uses of the triumphal cross in 15th century supplications, no source suggests that the cross was physically taken into battle as it had been during the crusades of the 13th century, suggesting perhaps that the cross remained in France during the Italian wars. Given these details, it cannot be ruled out that Compère's motet found its origins during the reign of Louis XI, perhaps even during the relic's journey to Tours in 1483, a period that also coincides with Compère's recent presumed departure from the Milanese chapel.⁴⁸⁷

Though more information in support of a Louis XI hypothesis for Compère's motets would be welcome, the devotional power of the cross in times of crisis in the French milieu is clear. Moreover, the inability to connect this motet to the meeting in 1495 is perhaps due to the fact that it was not intended for the meeting at all. The devotional context of the triumphal cross

at the Sainte-Chapelle in the thirteenth century (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2022); Maurey, *Liturgy and sequences of the Sainte-Chapelle*.

⁴⁸⁵ Roye, *Journal*, 2:122.

⁴⁸⁶ La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 138.

⁴⁸⁷ Finscher, *Loyset Compère*, 17.

is better traced to the French devotional milieu, perhaps even a decade before the first transmission of the motets. *Crux triumphans* is thus better understood not in the context of the papal meeting but in the “music library” of a warring prince. In line with Ferrante’s letter, we might imagine that in his packing Compère selected existing works that he found fit for the journey into Italy. One may question if these were works that he associated with war and distress in anticipation of the needs of the king and his entourage at war or if they were works that he would have selected otherwise for ordinary travel.⁴⁸⁸ While we cannot know for certain, the importance of the triumphal cross in French wartime devotion certainly helps make a case for the former. The potential value these works held for the Papal chapel must also not be discounted. The fact that no other setting of these texts exists may have proved attractive to Papal singers interested in acquiring new settings of prayers, whose lack of overt political text would have made them functional in a variety of devotional settings and feast days. Nevertheless, as the discourse on *Sola caret monstis* has poignantly demonstrated, some knowledge will always be beyond our reach.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ I discuss the preparations made by princely chapels for travel and war in Chapter 2. It is clear in some of these cases that the same provisions were made for war and travel. The Constitutions of the Castilian chapel, for instance, discussing travel, hunting, and war together. Knighton, “Ritual and Regulations,” 307.

⁴⁸⁹ Dean, “The Occasion of Compère,” 99–133; Sherr, “What Were They Thinking?” 163–9.

6. “A motet for the victory”⁴⁹⁰

Jean Mouton’s *Exalta regina Galliae* is one of few works in the Renaissance than can be reliably traced to a specific battle and whose composer ostensibly penned the work while at war with his patron. Numerous scholars have commented on the motet, its origins, and its transmission. That the motet responded to the battle of Marignano in 1515 is generally accepted, though several ideas concerning its transmission in the Medici Codex have since arisen. Most notably, Lockwood identified the work as the victory motet that Jean Mouton handed over to Ferrarese music copyist Jean Michel, which he alludes to in a letter to Sigismondo d’Este.⁴⁹¹ Lockwood speculates that *Exalta regina Galliae* may have been transmitted together with Mouton’s *Domine salvum fac regem* and *Corde et animo* before their transmission next to one another in the Medici Codex.⁴⁹² Shephard, in advancing the Roman hypothesis of the Medici Codex, suggests that the meeting in Bologna in 1515 would have represented a prime opportunity for Roman copyists to encounter French occasional motets of the manuscript.⁴⁹³

Despite considerable attention to the motet’s conception and transmission, there is little overarching consensus on the motet’s recipient, symbolism, and contextualization within the commemoration of the battle. Internal analyses of the motet have focused largely on its female addressees. The motet addresses a “Regina Galliae” and a “Mater Ambasiae,” or “Queen of France” and “Mother of Amboise,” and discrepancies center largely on whether the text refers to the queen Claude of France, or the king’s mother, Louise of Savoy, known to be involved in political affairs throughout her son’s ascent to power and ensuing reign. Dunning suggested that

⁴⁹⁰ It is with these words that Jean Michel describes the motet, presumably *Exalta regina Galliae* that he has received from Mouton. Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel,” 212.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 244–5.

⁴⁹³ Tim Shephard, “Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift,” in *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 116.

the motet addresses Claude de France, having recently given birth to a girl in Amboise in August, while Lowinsky identifies the addressee as being only Louise of Savoy, having served as regent in the king's absence.⁴⁹⁴ Cazaux refrains from taking a definitive stance and suggests the motet addresses either queen Claude or Louise.⁴⁹⁵ Both women appear well-suited as addressees; however, that the text was meant to address only one or the other arises through grammatical necessity. In the verse following the direct appeals, “nam franciscus tuus Inclitus,” the “you” of the addressee appears in singular. No additional modifiers suggesting a marital or matrilineal relationship are present, raising the question as to whether or not an unambiguous identification of either of these two women was ever intended or if the ambiguity allowed room for both readings. Alternatively, we may read the motet as containing two separate appeals, first to the “regina” then to the “mater,” though this reading seems to be less popular and would raise the question as to why the “Regina Galliae” is then excluded from “nam franciscus tuus Inclitus.”

While the identification of the addressee is an intriguing question for musicologists, more important, however, is what this insertion means to the motet as a whole. Are we to presume that the direct address to these women implies the motet's performance in their presence or even that the motet's primary recipient was a women? Dunning suggested that the motet may have been performed as part of the victory celebrations in France in 1516 as Francis returned to his country and reunited with Claude and Louise.⁴⁹⁶ Additionally, a recent biography on Louise of Savoy suggests that the motet was, in fact, written for her.⁴⁹⁷ While this hypothesis adopts a literal

⁴⁹⁴ Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 110; Edward E. Lowinsky, ed, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, Monuments of Renaissance Music 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 72.

⁴⁹⁵ Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 198.

⁴⁹⁶ Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 110.

⁴⁹⁷ Aubrée David-Chapy, *Louise de Savoie: régente et mère de roi* (Paris: Passés composes, 2023), 84–5.

interpretation of the role of second-person appeals in poetry, contextually, this seems hardly possible. Given the epistolary evidence at hand, Mouton would have then handed the motet away to Jean Michel and by extension the Ferrarese chapel before his own performance of the work for its presumed honoree. Moreover, the military subject matter of the work would hardly justify such a lengthy delay of the work's first performance. Cazaux arrives at a similar conclusion, suggesting that the motet was composed shortly after the battle and was first performed no later than the following October.⁴⁹⁸ While Louise and Claude may have eventually heard the motet themselves, we cannot exclude a first reception of the work in the entourage of Francis I in Italy during the fall of 1515. Yet, despite the musicological relevance of these questions, our hypotheses of the motet, its honorees, and performance context have hitherto not exceeded this level of understanding. Speculation about the motet's performance can hardly exceed the hypothesis that Cazaux has put forth. New studies on the motet demand new questions.

What does it mean to write a motet for the victory? The answer requires a much broader understanding of how military victories, and more specifically the battle of Marignano, were received and celebrated. Commemoration in the Renaissance went hand in hand with military affairs. Both musical and non-musical acts of commemoration saturated Renaissance cultures of war, in which the documentation of names, deeds, and acts was of paramount concern. Military monuments could encompass both physical structures, from chapels to sculptures, and ephemeral works of literature, chansons, and motets, which were by nature destined for ephemeral performance, but whose physical documentation had the power to both inform and memorialize. After the battle of Marignano, allies and courtiers of the king responded in full force. Festivities and diplomatic negotiations continued for months, Francis had a chapel built in honor of the

⁴⁹⁸ Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François Ier*, 198.

battle, and over time drawings, prints, manuscripts, and seals came to refer to the battle as well.⁴⁹⁹ The following analysis reads *Exalta regina Galliae* as one contribution among many within a larger sea of works produced in the representation of Francis and his family, looking beyond its first verses and the realm of music to investigate the motet's cultural meaning. The social and textual function of the motet's female addressee(s) in the context of the military campaign of 1515 will be analyzed as well as the nature and symbolism of the text's sacred roots as they may have been understood in the military milieu of Francis I and the motet's performance context. In doing so, we may situate the motet in its ritual and cultural context and better understand its place in the victory celebrations of 1515 and in its transmission in the Medici Codex three years later.

The purpose of exhortation

Before addressing the content of the motet's initial salutation, we may first consider the role of direct appeals in the texts of polyphonic motets more generally. Often these were not directed at the dedicatees themselves but to entities external to the poem's political recipient. This could include an invitation to the citizens of a city to praise their ruler for recent deeds, a saint or deity to intercede in earthly affairs, or an individual, by name, to mourn a deceased colleague. When reading these texts, it is necessary to distinguish between *addressees* and *honorees*. In this case the honoree, the reason and purpose of the poem itself, may be addressed in either the second or third person, the presence of an external addressee not changing the centrality of the honoree to the poem. This dimension of *Exalta regina Galliae* cannot be understated. The only person present in name is Francis I, "nam franciscus," and the latter verses

⁴⁹⁹ The chapel is referred to in: *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 24.

of the text are entirely centered on his military deeds and character. This fact alone suggests that the motet must be situated within the symbolic milieu of Francis himself, a fact often buried in discussion of the female addressee(s).

Untangling the poetic treatment of addressees and honorees can be a complex affair, but the technique is not foreign to Renaissance poetry. Within the scope of the Italian wars, in Marot's *Voyage de Venise*, which documents the Venetian campaign of 1509, he includes an "Exhortation to the Christian princes," in which he addresses the pope, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the king of France, then allies against Venice, directly in the second person.⁵⁰⁰ Marot offers no reason to believe this was intended literally but incorporates the exhortation into his larger justification for the campaign and criticism of the Venetians. From a musical perspective, interpretations of this poetic strategy are central to studies of the 15th and 16th century *déploration*. As a rule, these texts frequently make appeals to either mythical entities or colleagues of the deceased to join the mourning that the work seeks to facilitate. An entire text may even be structured as a persuasive address to this external entity. Katelijne Schiltz has likened this practice in Andrea Gabrieli's *Sassi palae* on the death of Adrien Willaert to the classical *exhortatio*.⁵⁰¹ In this case the language of hortatory rhetoric does not seek to describe a literal relationship between poet and addressee, here the flora and fauna of the Adriatic, but to name and classify a rhetorical strategy, one in fact common throughout laudatory texts.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 38–42.

⁵⁰¹ Katelijne Schiltz, "Tod in Venedig. Adrian Willaert als Rezipient burlesker Lamenti," in *Tod in Musik und Kultur. Zum 500. Todestag Philipps des Schönen*, ed. Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007), 363.

⁵⁰² Hortatory rhetoric in the classical tradition is best understood through the epistolary tradition. For a summary of the classical interpretation see: Wesley V. Avram, "Exhortation," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, accessed March 19, 2024, DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780195125955.001.0001.

Exhortations in the context of political motets do more than persuade an imagined listener, a goal better suited to hortatory rhetoric's epistolary origins. Rather, they affirm personal relationships and imagined communities through the naming of individuals, such as wartime allies or fellow singers and composers.⁵⁰³ This notion is central in determining the role of women in Francis I's princely representation. Addressing and representing women in the sphere of the king could reveal one's knowledge of courtly and diplomatic decorum, whether to gain the favor of king, queen, or regent, or to manipulate genealogical rhetoric in the legitimization and representation of political affairs. In this way *Exalta regina Galliae* can be better understood not for the novelty of its exhortation but for its conformity in its knowledge of the decorum surrounding women in the royal family during the reign of Francis I and the use of Marian allegories in the milieu of Louise of Savoy.

Women and war

Few laudatory motets in the Renaissance appear to direct praise at both a prince and the women in his family. Victoria Panagl notes that women are most often addressed in motets of mourning and matrimony, suggesting that any deviations are significant.⁵⁰⁴ The presence of women in a military motet, especially one that may have been premiered in their absence, is thus certainly noteworthy; however, a broader selection of visual and textual sources suggests that by

⁵⁰³ See the discussions on this subject in the contributions of: Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Die Autorität der Namen. Fremd- und Eigensignaturen in musikalischen Werken der Renaissance," in *Autorität und Autoritäten in musikalischer Theorie, Komposition und Aufführung*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken and Nicole Schwindt (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 2004), 21–40; Laurenz Lütteken: "Memoria oder Monument? Entrückung und Vergegenwärtigung in der musikalischen Totenklage um 1500," in *Resonanzen: Vom Erinnern in der Musik*, ed. Andreas Dorschel (Wien: Universal Edition, 2007), 60–3; Jane D. Hatter, *Composing Community In Late Medieval Music: Self-Reference, Pedagogy, and Practice*, (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 94–122.

⁵⁰⁴ Victoria Panagl, *Lateinische Huldigungsmotetten für Angehörige des Hauses Habsburg: Vertonte Gelegenheitsdichtung im Rahmen neulateinischer Herrscherpanegyrik* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2004), 276–7.

1515 the text of *Exalta regina Galliae* would not have been unique in its treatment of the royal family.

The concurrent praise of Francis I, Louise of Savoy, and occasionally Claude de France was in other mediums a consistent and effective tool in the legitimization of the roles embedded in the royal family. In particular deference to Louise of Savoy as both mother and regent was constant throughout his reign. This responded to the political influence she amassed as she orchestrated her son's rise to power and the tangible powers she acquired, among these two official periods of regency in 1515–1516 and 1523–1526, coinciding with Francis's military absences.⁵⁰⁵ Shortly after this first period of regency she appears in the dedicatory miniature of the presentation copy of Symphorien Champier's *Les grandes chroniques de Savoie*, in which both she and Francis are seated next to one another upon a throne as if to affirm her commensurate political status.⁵⁰⁶ Louise was, furthermore, engaged in diplomatic affairs, including her involvement in negotiations with Cardinal Wolsey in 1520 for the meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 and with Margaret of Austria, resulting in the Treaty of Cambrai, the so-called "Ladies' peace," in 1529.⁵⁰⁷ Her power of persuasion was closely felt and also feared.⁵⁰⁸ Several scholars observed that letters of the period often refer to the two in

⁵⁰⁵ Her powers during this period included judicial and financial powers, among these the right to issues pardons. For further discussion of her regency see: Laure Fagnart and Mary Beth Winn, "Louise de Savoie: The King's Mother, Alter Rex," in *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483–1563*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 86–7; Cédric Michon, "Introduction. Le conseil de François I^{er} (1515–1531)," in *Les conseillers de François I^{er}*, ed. Cédric Michon (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 85–6.

⁵⁰⁶ Symphorien Champier, *Les Grans croniques des gestes et vertueux faictz des tresexcellens catholicques illustres et victorieux ducz et princes des pays de Savoye et Piémont*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Vélins 1173 (Paris : Jean de La Garde, 1516); Fagnart and Winn write: "It is tempting to see therein a visual rendition of the political power shared by mother and son." Fagnart and Winn, "Louise de Savoie," 87–90.

⁵⁰⁷ Knecht, *Francis I*, 80, 219–20; Fagnart and Winn, "Louise de Savoie," 86.

⁵⁰⁸ Knecht discusses a fascinating letter in which an English ambassador writes to Cardinal Wolsey in 1521 explaining just how Louise would interject in conversations with her son and influence the political

tandem as “le roi et Madame.”⁵⁰⁹ Unsurprisingly, the term *alter rex* has arisen in modern scholarship in response to the extraordinary position that Louise occupied.⁵¹⁰ This unique status fueled a corpus of visual and textual representations of the mother and regent that emphasized Louise’s political and identity and established a culture of *debitus honor* that offers context and precedent for the gestural language surrounding Marignano.⁵¹¹

While Claude did not possess the same political status as her mother-in-law, both were included in the celebrations after Marignano. On the 18th of September 1515, the *Colegio dei Savi* in Venice, allied with France at Marignano, sent out a number of congratulatory letters, among these one to the king himself, one to Queen Claude, and one to Louise of Savoy. Both letters contain similar gestures. They both congratulate these women on the victory and offer prayers, the letter to Claude congratulating her additionally on the recent birth of her = daughter.⁵¹² The letter to Louise focuses more directly on political affairs, emphasizing their political alliance and even expressing gratitude for deeds done on behalf of the Venetians:

Essendo nui quelli che *non modo* siamo unitissimi et optimi alliati del Christianissimo Re, et che prosequimo la Christianissima Sua Majestà de singular observantia, ma che *etiam* non cedamo ad alcun de tener desiderio de la grandeza et gloria sua, parne che, *ultra* le operatione che per nui se han possuto fare, et che Vostra Illustrissima Signoria harà inteso per lettere dil Christianissimo et felicissimo suo fiol, sia conveniente per

decision being made. Ambassador Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey, 9 October 1521, in *Letters and Papers*, 3:688–9; Knecht, *Francis I*, 87.

⁵⁰⁹ This fact is often repeated with some variation, including that Francis himself signed some of his letters in this way. No specific letters are cited. See Michon, “Introduction. Le conseil de François I^{er} (1515–1531),” 85; Fagnart and Winn, “Louise de Savoie,” 86; Pascal Brioist, Laure Fagnart, and Cédric Michon, “Introduction,” in *Louise de Savoie (1476–1531)*, ed. Pascal Brioist, Laure Fagnart, and Cédric Michon (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2015), 13–18; David-Chapy, *Louise de Savoie*, 84–5.

⁵¹⁰ Michon, “Introduction. Le conseil de François I^{er} (1515–1531),” 85; Fagnart and Winn, “Louise de Savoie,” 85–114.

⁵¹¹ That this culture of deference was legible to others is clear in how transgressions were punished. In one case, in 1535 Francis punished Doctor Cornelius Agrippa for writing unfavorably about his mother after a disputed astrological prediction. John F. Freeman, “Louise of Savoy: A Case of Maternal Opportunism,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, no. 2 (1972): 79.

⁵¹² Sanudo, *I diarii*, 21:119.

queste lettere nostre, non essendo hora concesso poterlo far altramente, congratularse *cum* la Illustrissima Signoria Vostra.⁵¹³

Being those who are not only very united and excellent allies of the Most Christian King, and who follow His Most Christian Majesty with singular observance, but who also do not yield to any to keep desire of his greatness and glory, it seems that, besides the workings that have been able to be done for us, and which Your Illustrious Lordship will have learned from letters from the Most Christian and most happy of her sons, it is convenient for these letters of ours, not being now permitted to be able to do it otherwise, to congratulate Your Illustrious Lordship.

Of particular importance is not only the fact that both women were honored after the battle, but that the Colegio emphasizes the occurrence of these gestures *in absentia*. The honoring of absent women was in fact a constant throughout the early Italian wars. Triumphal entries frequently drew on imagery of both the king and queen, despite the fact that she never joined the entourage for such occasions. For instance, in Pasquier le Moyne's description of the decorations within the Dome of Milan for the entry of Francis in October following the battle of Marignano, a *pavillon* erected within the church contained a depiction of queen Claude kneeling, dressed in Gold.⁵¹⁴ During the Naples campaign, a stage erected for the *mystères* produced during the entry of Charles VIII into Chieri in 1494 bore decorations in purple and white satin, adorned with the initials C and A, representing Charles and Anne of Brittany.⁵¹⁵ We must also remember that Marot's military chronicles were produced while he was under the queen's patronage.⁵¹⁶ The *Voyage de Gênes* includes a dedication to the queen and cleverly displays her initials on the triumphal caparison of Louis XII's horse in the miniature of his entry into the city.⁵¹⁷ The

⁵¹³ Sanudo, *I diarii*, 21:119–20.

⁵¹⁴ Pasquier Le Moyne, *Le Couronnement du roy Francois premier de ce nom* (Paris: Gillet Couteau, 1520), f. oi v.

⁵¹⁵ "avec ung C et ung A tout seulet, signiffiant ensemble Anne et Charles." La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 169.

⁵¹⁶ See the title page of the original print of Marot's *Voyage de Venise*: Jan Marot, *Sur les deux heureux voyages de Gênes et Venise* (Paris: Pierre Roufet, 1532), t.p.

⁵¹⁷ Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 83–5, 153; Marot, *Le Voyage de Gênes*, BnF, Fr. 5091, f. 22v.

Voyage de Venise mentions Anne several times, notably her reception of a letter sharing news of the victory at Agnadello in 1509, a curious parallel to the letters from Venice, which Marot weaves into his description of the commemorations that followed the battle.⁵¹⁸ The reference has the effect of bringing Anne, despite her physical absence, into the unfolding action of the victory for the reader. These gestures could even persist into the years following a campaign itself. Within a couple years of the victory at Marignano, François Demoulins produced for Louise his *Commentaire sur le psaume Dominus illuminatio mea*. In the manuscript he interspersed text from the 26th psalm with his own commentary and the illustrations by Godefroy le Batave. Both text and images make reference to Francis's recent military victories and his religious devotions, with Louise appearing in a number of these images as both witness and facilitator of these prayers. One miniature depicts Louise kneeling in prayer at Amboise as Francis, riding his horse in armor, pursues his journey in Lombardy, once again artificially stringing together the actions of mother and son separated by war.⁵¹⁹

These examples demonstrate how involving women in the commemoration of the Italian wars was in fact commonplace, either in response to their patronage or the honor owed to the king, and, most importantly, consisted of acts that could take place in their absence, at times going as far as to visually or textually insert women into the action of the battle campaign through parallel narratives. When we choose to read *Exalta regina Galliae* as gesture, it appears thus less extraordinary that the same impulse should have been exerted poetically and musically in *Exalta regina Galliae*. In this context, the exhortation in question can be understood as a gestural corollary to the letters, images, and words that sought to keep them engaged in the developments of the war, especially when their status as political stakeholders was most valued.

⁵¹⁸ Marot, *Voyage de Gênes*, 83–5; Marot, *Voyage de Venise*, 114.

⁵¹⁹ Demoulins, *Commentaire*, f. 8v.

These representations reinforced the political, devotional, and social role of these women and demonstrated the authors' understandings of the social and patronage networks surrounding the king and how to acknowledge them in order to remain in good graces with the family.

A Marian allegory

The question of the motet's potential sacred roots has remained hitherto entirely unaddressed, likely due to the motet's musically atypical approach to these themes. The mixture of sacred and political themes in polyphonic music is generally unremarkable for compositions c. 1500. The use of sacred subject matter, *cantus firmi*, or the parodying of popular tunes enabled a rich two-way street between the sounds of sacred and secular life. In the case of *Exalta regina Galliae*, this laudatory motet draws on none of these techniques. There is no *cantus firmus* to rely on, the motet stylistically structured on its text. Each verse is set modularly and clearly, either homophonically or in imitation, and the search for sacred motifs within this work is futile.⁵²⁰

The motet also, to the best of our knowledge, stands alone as a one-part work, at least, according to its transmission. In the Medici Codex, the only transmission of the motet, the table of contents in the form of an acrostic, makes clear that *Exalta regina Galliae* and the succeeding work, Mouton's *Corde et animo*, are to be listed separately, and the attribution to Mouton is repeated at the beginning of both motets.⁵²¹ This is of course to say nothing of the motets' stylistic differences, among these, the latter's near absolute avoidance of the homophonic style that characterizes the former. Therefore, *Exalta regina Galliae*'s sacred roots must lie not musically, and not in the liturgical calendar, but textually, through the use of double-meanings and sacred citations that allegorize both *regina* and *rex*.

⁵²⁰ Dunning has commented on the clearness and simplicity of the text setting as well. Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 110–11.

⁵²¹ Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 5: f. 1r, 55v, 56v.

I have mentioned previously that the exhortation in this motet combines several impulses: the depiction of women in the reign of Francis I and the use of sacred appeals in early 16th century motet texts. The implicit presence of Louise of Savoy or Claude de France in *Exalta regina Galliae* does not fully explain why neither is mentioned by name and why such ambiguity is present. This blurred identity might be explained through a Marian allegory, linking the royal women to Mary and Francis I to Christ himself. The poem does not appear to have an obvious model, but its construction evokes some common Marian texts:

Exalta regina Galliae
Jubilae mater Ambasiae

Exalt queen of France
*Rejoice mother of Amboise*⁵²²

Salve Regina (mater) misericordiae
Hail! Queen (mother) of mercy

The motet bears some slight similarity to the first verses of Salve Regina, and we may also consider whether the “mater Ambasiae” reminisces on “mater Ecclesiae.”⁵²³ The hymn was of relevance to the French chapel, who were known to have been used it after regular compline services.⁵²⁴ Yet, the search for a single textual model may not be entirely necessary in our understanding of the motet. Marian textual formulas could be cobbled together with relative ease, a fact emphasized a century later in an eerily similar motet by Luigi Rossi bearing the title *Exsulta jubila mater ecclesia*.⁵²⁵

⁵²² I have paraphrased Lowinsky’s translation, which reads: “Exalt Queen of France! Raise a shout of joy, Mother of Amboise!” Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 3:72.

⁵²³ While the word “Mater” was not standardized until the 16th century, the decision to make reference to a mother in the text of the motet, would at least reflect unity in the Marian approach to the exhortation and allow for a more recognizable political reference. Sonja Stafford Ingram, “The Polyphonic Salve Regina: 1425–1550” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 1973), 15.

⁵²⁴ Brobeck, “Musical Patronage,” 226–7.

⁵²⁵ The motet is transmitted in: Christ Church Library and Archives, Oxford, Mus.83, ff. 86–91.

Other factors speak towards the relevance of a Marian reference in this text. A Marian allegory may explain the use of the word “Regina” in the text. If the exhortation is indeed an allegory, this would represent a much stronger case, which will be expounded on below, for interpreting Louise as the sole addressee of the motet. It remains, however, that she was never addressed as queen throughout her life.⁵²⁶ Either the motet indeed contains a dual-exhortation, despite its grammatical quirks, or the word “Regina” is meant to reference the Virgin. That the Virgin Mary was a go-to intercessor at war is a platitude, surfacing as well in the campaign of 1515. Firstly, a treaty with Milan was signed on September 8th, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, a fact that was acknowledged in the treaty itself.⁵²⁷ Second, celebrations of victory that took place in Rome and Venice both occurred against the backdrop of Marian intercession. Sanudo records that ambassadors in Rome carried out a mass for the Virgin Mary at the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, and celebrations at St. Mark’s in Venice made use of iconography of the Virgin.⁵²⁸

Yet, more broadly, the presence of a Marian appeal with allegorical connections is not out of the ordinary for political motets c. 1500. Especially well analyzed are works legitimizing the reign of Maximilian I. David Rothenberg has demonstrated how Heinrich Isaac’s settings of *Virgo prudentissima* equate the coronation of the Virgin Mary with that of Maximilian.⁵²⁹ Yet

⁵²⁶ Winn comments that Antoine Vérard always referred to her as “princesse” or “dame,” given that Anne of Brittany was queen. It seems by extension unlikely that Louise would have ever been referred to as queen so long as another woman held that title. Mary Beth Winn, “Books for a Princess and Her Son: Louise de Savoie, François d’Angoulême, and the Parisian Libraire Antoine Vérard,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 46, no. 3 (1984): 607.

⁵²⁷ “Donné audit lieu de Gallera, le jour Nostre Dame de septembre l’an mil cinq cens et quinze” *Ordonnances des rois de France: règne de François I^{er}* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), 1:291; This fact is also mentioned in Barrillon, *Journal*, 1:107.

⁵²⁸ Sanudo, *I diarii*, 21:123–4, 130.

⁵²⁹ David Rothenberg, “The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King: Isaac’s *Virgo Prudentissima* Compositions in the Imperial Ideology of Maximilian I,” *The Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 1 (2011): 34–80.

even more relevant to *Exalta regina Galliae* is Benedictus de Opitiis's *Summe laudis o Maria*, composed in the wake of Maximilian's election to the emperorship in 1508 and in the lead-up to the formation of the League of Cambrai later that year, which introduces laudatory text for the emperor first with an exhortation to the Virgin Mary.⁵³⁰ This work may serve as a useful source of comparison for the use of Marian genealogy in laudatory motets. In a study on Latin laudatory motets connected to the Hapsburgs, Victoria Panagl, notes that the poem's rhyme and versification mirrors that of the *Stabat mater*.⁵³¹ After the poem's praise of the Virgin it immediately exhorts the Virgin to ensure the praise of a son, whose name is withheld: "Fac ut nato mente pia / Detur honos glorie" (*Make that the son in a pious way is given glorious honor*).⁵³² We may wonder if this ambiguous reference to a son is meant to equate Maximilian with Christ as son of Mary. Nevertheless, though *Summe laudis o Maria* and *Exalta regina Galliae* originated in different contexts, their treatment of sacred and secular themes may be similar. Both use sacred themes as a means of legitimizing political ones. Furthermore, both works allude to a known Marian text, begin with an exhortation to the Virgin, and make use of genealogical language that is unspecific enough to allow for concurrent sacred and secular interpretations. In Mouton's motet, the withholding of a clear name that associates the "mater Ambasiae" with Louise of Savoy could be similarly interpreted as intentional ambiguity that allowed for the mother in question to be both Louise and Mary.

An allegorical interpretation of the "mater Ambasiae" would resonate with representations of the royal family at the time, as several scholars have convincingly argued that Louise of Savoy was consistently allegorized as Mary both before and throughout Francis's

⁵³⁰ Panagl, *Lateinische Huldigungsmotetten*, 73–5.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵³² Panagl's translation of the first three verses reads: "O Maria, Hochgelobte, mach, daß dem Sohn mit frommem Sinn ruhmvolle Ehren zuteil werden." German and Latin text from *Ibid.*, 75–6.

reign.⁵³³ Central to Louise's image was her representation as a mother. Mary Beth Winn has made the case for Louise of Savoy as dedicatee of Antoine Vérard's presentation copies of the *Jeu des eschez* (1504), *Passetemps de tout homme* (1505), and *Epistres de Saint Paul* (1507/8), all of which bear a dedicatory miniature featuring a woman and a young boy, presumably Louise and her son Francis.⁵³⁴

In some cases, these maternal representations of Louise cross into the territory of Marian allegory. In an earlier manuscript c. 1500, the printer Vérard dedicated a copy of *La vie Nostre Dame* to Louise, including both a dedicatory text as well two miniatures facing each other, one of Louise and her son receiving the present book and another of the Virgin Mary with her child.⁵³⁵ Lecoq has interpreted these miniatures, the two women seated on the left and gesturing similarly with their right hands, as creating a direct parallel between the two.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, in 1517, following a poetry and painting contest on the subject of the Virgin Mary, which the Puy de Notre Dame held at the cathedral of Amiens, Louise had copies of the works reproduced and bound in a manuscript, the *Chants royaux de Puy de Notre-Dame d'Amiens*.⁵³⁷ Caroline Zöhl notes that the image of Louise in the dedicatory miniature reflects the images of the Virgin Mary,

⁵³³ Fagnart and Winn, "Louise de Savoie," 92–5; Mary Beth Winn and Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier "Louise de Savoie, ses livres, sa bibliothèque," in *Louise de Savoie (1476–1531)*, ed. Pascal Brioist, Laure Fagnart, and Cédric Michon (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2015), 235–252, paragraph 14; Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), 335.

⁵³⁴ Winn, "Books for a Princess and Her Son," 603–17; I viewed these images as preserved in the copies at the Bibliothèque nationale de France Rés. Vélins 1018 (*Le jeu des eschez*); Rés. Vélins 2249 (*Le passetemps de tout homme*); Rés. Vélins 124 (*Les epistres de Saint Paul*), figure 93 in "Cahier d'illustrations," in *Louise de Savoie (1476–1531)*, ed. Pascal Brioist, Laure Fagnart, and Cédric Michon (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2015), I–XXXII.

⁵³⁵ *La Vie Nostre Dame*, manuscript, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 985, 2v–3r.

⁵³⁶ Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire*, 335; See also: Winn and Wilson-Chevalier "Louise de Savoie, ses livres, sa bibliothèque," 235–252, paragraph 14; Fagnart and Winn also suggest that this allegory is present in the dedication, though in this case the text, suggesting that both Louise and Mary are described with similar metaphors. Fagnart and Winn, "Louise de Savoie," 93.

⁵³⁷ Fagnart and Winn, "Louise de Savoie," 93.

who is depicted larger than life and aligned with the center axis in the portraits of the Puy.⁵³⁸ Yet, this allegory is made all the more clear in the dedication text. Lecoq, Zöhl, and Fagnart and Winn have all commented on how the dedication makes an unmistakably direct comparison between Louise and Mary. The text of the second strophe especially addresses Louise in second person and explains the allegory in plain terms:

Et que ainsy soit dame scientifique
 Tu as porte comme mere et regente
 Le royal sang le corps honorificque
 Du roy francoys qui les francoys regente
 En leur causant ung espoir admirable
 Dont quoy que la royne insuperable
 Marie vierge en sa maternite
 Nous a porte quant a lhumanite
 Totalement du monde lesperance
 Aussy es tu par aultre qualite
 Mere humble et franche au grant espoir de france⁵³⁹

The text leaves here little to the imagination as to its allegorical intentions, as the poem depicts both Mary and Louise in their bestowal of hope upon both humanity and France and explains, in the penultimate verse, the means of comparison. David-Chapy further suggests that the Marian allegories associated with Louise were unique to her. Not even Claude de France was portrayed as such.⁵⁴⁰ Yet, while both the *Vie Nostre Dame* and the *Chants royaux* illustrate the facility and existence of a Marian allegory between Louise and Francis specifically, the content of both

⁵³⁸ Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire*, 335; Caroline Zöhl, “Retables et miniatures des Chants royaux du Puy de Notre-Dame d’Amiens: iconographie et fonction,” in *L’Europe des retables*, vol. 1, *XV^e–XVI^e siècles*, ed. Michel Maupoix (Orléans: Rencontre avec le patrimoine religieux, 2007), 221; Fagnart and Winn, “Louise de Savoie,” 93.

⁵³⁹ *Chants royaux du Puy Notre-Dame d’Amiens*, manuscript, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 145, 2r; Fagnart and Winn’s translation reads “You carried as mother and regent / The royal blood, the honorific body / Of King François who rules the French, / Giving them admirable hope, / For which, while the unsurpassed queen / Mary, virgin in her maternity, / Brought us in person / The hope of the entire world, / So are you too, by another quality, / The frank and humble mother, / For the great hope of France.” Fagnart and Winn, “Louise de Savoie,” 94.

⁵⁴⁰ Aubrée David-Chapy, *Anne de France, Louise de Savoie, inventions d’un pouvoir au féminin* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016), 687.

works covered the subject of the Virgin Mary explicitly and that Louise was their mutual dedicatee. The purpose of this allegory thus lay in a simple association between book and recipient. This is not the case in Mouton's motet. In *Exalta regina Galliae*, the woman(en) appear only as *addressee(s)* not as *dedicatee(s)*, who was in this case Francis. Despite the clarity with which the allegory is expressed in these manuscripts, the mechanism of allegory in the motet, as in *Summe laudis o Maria*, functioned also within a paradigm of the prince as biblical heir.

It bears mentioning that the symbolic Marian depiction of royal matrilineage was not exclusive to Louise of Savoy and does not require her to be the only beneficiary. Sacred genealogy played an important role in the legitimization of kings both at peace and at war. After the birth of the Dauphin Charles Orlando, son of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany, the city of Viennes produced a medallion with a depiction of mother and child in the likeness of the Virgin with the infant Jesus.⁵⁴¹ Furthermore, in his *Voyage de Naples* la Vigne makes reference to a harangue performed in Chieri in July of 1495 in the weeks following the battle of Fornovo, as Jean de Solier hosted the king. The harangue makes reference to the king's noble birth:

Vrayment ta premiere nascion, o roy des roys terriens, descendue est de si tres merveilleuse renommee, qu'elle approuche singulierement a l'excellence de celle au patriarche Abraham, et de David roy des Hebreux, desquelz est descendue la mere du Roy des cieulx, la glorieuse Vierge Marie.⁵⁴²

Truly your first ancestry, o king of earthly kings, is of such marvelous renown, that it approaches singularly the excellence of that of the patriarch Abraham, and of David king of the Hebrews, from whom descended the mother of the king of heaven, the glorious Virgin Mary.

Though the military chronicles of the *rhétoriciens* make ample comparisons to biblical and ancient figures of military renown, here the distinction of his lineage specifically includes both

⁵⁴¹ Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire*, 334–8.

⁵⁴² La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 297.

David and the Virgin Mary, as if to say that Charles stood next in line in the place of Christ. The harangue then follows with an exhaustive comparison between Charles and the military deeds of his forefathers, with special emphasis on the crusades of Louis IX.⁵⁴³ In this case the comparison between the lineage of Christ and the lineage of the kings of France within this military harangue exemplifies the saintly reverence exhibited towards French kings of yore, especially Clovis and Louis IX, and the prevailing attitude that the *Rex Christianissimus* received privileges from God himself.⁵⁴⁴ This emphasis on genealogy and “Christomimesis” is all the more poignant when we consider the origins of the Italian wars and contemporary attitudes towards their legitimization.⁵⁴⁵ The Italian wars especially were, in large part, aspirational wars of inheritance, founded on meticulous, if not spurious, genealogical arguments.⁵⁴⁶ These wars naturally unleashed a crisis of identity. As long-standing regimes were overthrown and replaced with French government, this outburst of dynastic instability demanded a campaign of reassurance. Therefore, in *Exalta regina Galliae* the language of biblical inheritance, in this case, of Francis as the son of the Virgin Mary, functioned also within this greater obsession with lineage, reinforcing the use of heavenly parallels for earthly legitimacy, which hung in such delicate balance.

⁵⁴³ “Et que diray ge de la grant conquete qu’on fait tes predecesseurs comme le roy Charlemaigne, saint Loys et autres devant nommez qui ont conquis pays en Espagne, terres en Allemagne, en Ynde, en Turquie, en la Terre Sainte et plusieurs autres lieux?” La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 297.

⁵⁴⁴ R.J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 89.

⁵⁴⁵ For more on “Christomimesis” during the reign of Francis I see: Christine Tauber, *Manierismus und Herrschaftspraxis. Die Kunst der Politik und die Kunstpolitik am Hof von François I^{er}* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 24–30.

⁵⁴⁶ Charles VIII and Louis XII both claims legitimacy to the throne in Naples and Milan respectively. Hale, *War and Society*, 23.

The victor and his feast

Concerning a different aspect of the motet's sacred roots, this work has hitherto received considerably less attention for the latter verses of the text, with most scholarly intrigue concentrated on the motet's exhortation. Yet, the political implications of the motet do not end with the beginning of the text. A careful study of the text and its possible translation suggests that the motet's allegory may extend throughout the entire motet, creating a unified allegory of Francis as biblical victor and authority. These impulses can be situated within the sacred and political discourse surrounding the battle of Marignano and may offer some clues as to the motet's original performance context.

The first point concerns the motet's fourth verse: *clara victor ducit encaenia*. This verse, particularly the word *encaenia*, can result in different translations, as demonstrated in the editions of both Paul Kast and Edward Lowinsky.

Original text:	<i>clara victor ducit encaenia</i>
Kast:	[Franziskus] begeht siegreich das prächtige Weihefest ⁵⁴⁷
	[Francis] <i>celebrates victoriously the splendid dedication feast</i>
Lowinsky:	Francis leads as victor the triumphal procession ⁵⁴⁸

Kast opts for a more literal translation, with the word “Weihefest” or “dedication feast,” though no feast day has yet been suggested for the motet's performance; whereas, Lowinsky opted for a more semantic translation that interprets the word *encaenia* as a “triumphal procession,” indeed a kind of celebration relevant to the events following the battle.⁵⁴⁹ While Lowinsky's translation approaches a more ritually legible interpretation of the meaning behind the motet, I suggest that the unique word is intended to convey multiple levels of meaning, including making reference to

⁵⁴⁷ Jean Mouton, “Exalta regina Galliae,” in *Fünf Motetten zu 4 und 6 Stimmen*, ed. Paul Kast. Das Chorwerk 76 (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler Verlag, 1959), 32–5.

⁵⁴⁸ Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 3:72.

⁵⁴⁹ David-Chapy has relied on this translation as well in her mention of the motet. David-Chapy, *Louise de Savoie*, 79.

an important feast day in Milan as well as the crusading symbolism embedded in the military rhetoric of Francis I and Leo X. This in combination with the use of additional liturgical text contextualizes *Exalta regina Galliae* within the language of legitimization surrounding the Milanese campaign further strengthens the case for interpreting Francis as the work's recipient.

The word *encaenia* in middle and Neo-Latin refers more specifically to the dedication of a building, specifically a church or temple.⁵⁵⁰ It is not clear that a more general understanding of the word as “celebration” or even “triumphal procession,” as in Lowinsky’s interpretation, existed at the time, which might justify the use of a more literal translation. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, interpreting the phrase as the dedication of a building or church in this context opens the question of what place deserved this honor. If the word *encaenia* did indeed refer to a concrete dedication, a strong candidate would be the feast of the dedication celebrated on the third Sunday of October in the Ambrosian rite in Milan. The date in fact commemorated multiple dedications that occurred at different points in time, originally the ancient dedications of the older *ecclesia maior* and *ecclesia minor* of Milan, also known as Santa Tecla and Santa Maria Maggiore respectively, and later in 1418 the dedication of the main altar of the Duomo by pope Martin V, and eventually in 1577 the Duomo itself.⁵⁵¹ This date in 1515, in this case October 21st, would have certainly coincided with the king’s extended presence in the city following his triumphal entry. Searching for extra-liturgical evidence is challenging but not fruitless. Sources documenting the French campaign of 1515 do not record ceremonial events as militantly, perhaps due to the fact that the previous generation of ceremonially-minded chronicler-poets did

⁵⁵⁰ “Founder’s Day,” in *Neo-Latin Lexikon*, accessed March 18, 2024, <https://neolatinlexicon.org/>; *Mittellateinisches Glossar*, 2nd ed., s.v. “encaenia”; *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “encaenia.”

⁵⁵¹ F. Dell’Oro, “La Messa in ‘dedicatione ecclesiae’ nei messali ambrosiani antichi,” in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro* (Rome: Desclée, 1967), 2:594–9; Paolo Grillo, *Nascita di una cattedrale: 1386–1418: La Fondazione del Duomo di Milano* ([Milan] : Mondadori, 2017), epilogue.

not leave any military chronicles behind for this campaign. However, some evidence suggests that this date and its significance held some value. In Pasquier Le Moyne's documentation of the triumphal entry into Milan, he makes a key observation: "and it is the foundation of the said dome of St. Ambrose."⁵⁵² A few caveats are necessary. Le Moyne gets a number of important facts wrong. He not only bungled the date of the entry but also the calendar and the fact that the Duomo is dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Despite these shortcomings, le Moyne's observation still manages to demonstrate that the idea to associate an important dedication feast in Milan with the king's presence in the city had indeed occurred to a Frenchman.

Whether the word *encaenia* in the motet is enough to suggest that a special liturgical celebration took place on that day is difficult to confirm, as what manner of mass held on that day does not appear to be documented. A letter from Federico Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga reports only that the king spent the evening of the 21st "at the home of Giringello, where there were festivities being done."⁵⁵³ Nevertheless, that the same Sunday in October in 1499, following predecessor Louis XII's own triumphal entry into the same city, a particularly large festive feast was held at court, well attended by both the French and Milanese, who were serenaded "with the sound of trumpets and *piffari*, and also with the drums playing certain ballets for the French."⁵⁵⁴ It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that the feast day held some ceremonial value during both triumphal visits and that a festive ball or dinner could have been equally appropriate for the motet's performance. Also a possibility is that the motet was performed on another date

⁵⁵² "Est es la foundation dudit dome de saint ambroise." Le Moyne, *Le Couronnement du roy Francois*, f. oii.

⁵⁵³ "a casa dil Giringello ove si facea festa." Federico Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga, 22 October 1515, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2121.

⁵⁵⁴ "cu[m] soni de tromboni et piffari, et anche cu[m] li tamburini facendosse certi baletti p[er] li Francesi." Text is cited in the first source. Giovanni Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 20 October 1499; Francesco Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, 21 October 1499; Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2113; Prato, "Storia di Milano," 230.

during Francis I's festive sojourn and that the motet referred retrospectively to the *encaenia* as a cause for celebration. Even if the question of a specific occasion remains open, an allusion to the feast of the dedication on the third Sunday in October combined with the *terminus post quem* offered by Jean Michel's letter would offer more concrete support for the motet's performance in Milan and in October. Furthermore, a connection to the feast may help explain an address to Mary in the second person, as the duomo is indeed dedicated to her.

Though the connection to the dedication feast celebrated in Milan may help explain the immediate usage of the word *encaenia*, we must not dismiss the possibility that word *encaenia* in this context may have acquired a more abstract meaning, referring to festivals and dedications that could serve as allegory to the triumphal feast the king would hold in Milan. Most important is the Jewish feast of the re-dedication of the temple in Jerusalem following the victory of Judas Maccabaeus, with the gospel of John referring to the feast by the term *encaenia*.⁵⁵⁵ In fact, it is this reading that is prescribed in the Ambrosian rite *In dedicatione maioris ecclesiae*, leaving the word perhaps fresh in the memory of its listeners.⁵⁵⁶

Reading *encaenia* through its Maccabean roots contextualizes the motet within the crusading rhetoric that was dominant in the reception of Marignano. Moreover, that the end goal of the Italian wars was perceived to be the recapture of territory from the Ottoman empire, was a repeating theme throughout the wars, including in 1515.⁵⁵⁷ The *Grant voyage de Jérusalem*,

⁵⁵⁵ “facta sunt autem encenia in Hierosolymis et hiemps erat” John 10:22 (Vulgate). Both the Neo-Latin Lexicon and the Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch list this as an interpretation of the word. “Jewish: Hanukkah,” in *Neo-Latin Lexikon*, accessed March 18, 2024, <https://neolatinlexicon.org/>; *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. “encaenia”; See also Joshua Schwartz, “The Encaenia of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Solomon and the Jews.” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 43, no. 3 (1987): 269–70.

⁵⁵⁶ *Missale secundum ordinem sancti Ambrosij* (Milan: Niccolò Gorgonzola, 1515), f. 121r; Dell’Oro, “La Messa in ‘dedicatione ecclesiae,’” 590.

⁵⁵⁷ Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 311.

Nicole Le Huen's 1517 French edition of Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Sanctae Peregrinationes* on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, reimagined the original work, through textual and visual insertions, as the story of a crusading France.⁵⁵⁸ In an excerpt on Marignano, the text expresses a desire to see Francis I reconquer land under the rule of "Turks and pagans," including "both Greece, Constantinople, as well as others, usurped and won in sixty years from Christendom by the said infidels."⁵⁵⁹ This ideology was often manifested with imagery of the cross. An illustration in Godefroy le Batave's 1519 *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* depicts Christ on the cross holding both the imperial crown and a crusading banner.⁵⁶⁰ Additionally, in the aforementioned commentary on psalm 26 *Commentaire sur le pasaume Dominus illuminatio mea*, drew heavily on a Constantine-like depiction of Francis as crusader, particularly through the image of the cross. In one miniature Francis receives a Constantine-like vision of a cross in the sky.⁵⁶¹

Though these texts post-date the battle itself by a number of years, the crusading mentality present in them was not far from the battle entourage itself, as expressed in a treaty ratified between Francis and Leo X on the 19th of October 1515:

Item, quod beatitudo vestra et nos simul operam dare debeamus ut fiat pax universalis inter principes christianos, ut arma et magnus exercitus adversus immanissimum Turcum hostesque fidei christiane facilius moveri et congregari possint.⁵⁶²

Also, that your blessedness and we should work together to establish universal peace between Christian princes, so that weapons and great armies may be easily moved and mobilized against the most monstrous Turk and the enemies of the Christian faith.

⁵⁵⁸ Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, 259–62.

⁵⁵⁹ "Et s'il plaist à Nre. Seigneur Jésuschrist, ce sera celuy qui débouterà et expellera lesdits Turcz et païens, et aultres infidèles hors des pays et terres, tant de Grèce, Constantinople que aultres, usurpées et gaignées depuis soixante ans sur la Crestienté par lesditz infidèles, et par le moyen et cause des guerres et batailles faictes entre les princes crestiens." Bernhard von Breydenbach and Nicole le Huen, *Le grant voyage de Jherusalem* (Paris: Higman, 1517), f. cvc v, cited in Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, 260.

⁵⁶⁰ Tauber, *Manierismus und Herrschaftspraxis*, 29.

⁵⁶¹ Demoulins, *Commentaire*, 7v.

⁵⁶² *Ordonnances, François I^{er}*, 1:303–4.

This rhetoric between Leo and Francis continued into their meeting in Bologna in December.

Two seals created for the concordat bore the coats of arms of both parties alongside a cross and the famous words that Constantine received during his heavenly vision: *In hoc signo vinces* (by this symbol you will vanquish).⁵⁶³ Christian warfare was thus present not only as princely semiotics but as a concrete military aspiration embedded in the war-time mentality of Christian princes, installing the *Rex Christianissimus* at the head of this future army.

Moreover, the idea of Christian warfare appears central to the motet's text as a whole. The fifth and sixth verses of the motet paraphrase the liturgical text *Paupertatis ascendens culmina*, a responsory from the Matins of the Office of St. Dominic:⁵⁶⁴

Responsory: Paupertatis ascendens culmina
 Clamat mundi detestans crimina
 Frangit hostes et fugat agmina
 Nulla sanctum frangunt discrimina⁵⁶⁵

Bergin's translation: *Ascending the heights of Poverty
He shouts, cursing the faults of mankind,
He smashes the enemies, puts the troops to flight,
No dangers overcome the holy one.*⁵⁶⁶

Motet: Frangit hostes et fugat agmina
 nulla Regem turbant discrimina

Translation: *He smashes the enemies, puts the troops to flight,
No dangers trouble the king.*⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, 264; Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron*, 103.

⁵⁶⁴ Patrick Bergin Jr., "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic," (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2019), 172–7; Maura O'Carroll, "The Cult and Liturgy of St Dominic," in *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2005), 597.

⁵⁶⁵ Bergin, "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic," 173.

⁵⁶⁶ The translation is Bergin's: Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ I have based this translation on Bergin's for consistency. Lowinsky's translation reads: "He shatters the enemy, puts the troops to flight. No hazards trouble the King." Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 3:72.

The text of the responsory references Dominic's preaching through the metaphor of war, painting him as a militant defender of the faith.⁵⁶⁸ Why the Office of St. Dominic as textual model was chosen is not immediately clear.⁵⁶⁹ Moreover, it is not apparent if the motet means to reference Dominic, or merely wishes to cite sacred text relevant to the defeat of armies. It is hardly likely that the average listener would have immediately associated the text with this obscure responsory, and Dominic did not feature among the ranks of biblical heroes, such as David and the Maccabees, used to allegorize the warring princes of the Renaissance. This may, however, be beside the point. Taken in conjunction with the use of the word *encaenia*, the liturgical paraphrase illustrates first and foremost the importance of Christian warfare to the author of the text and by extension the need to imbue the military occasion for the motet with divine legitimization. Thus, that Francis would have been styled in the wake of the battle of Marignano as liberator of Jerusalem, as the Maccabean celebrator of this *encaenia*, and as defender of the faith parrots dominant narratives in the discourse following Marignano as well as actionable military goals. Yet, most importantly, in reading the motet allegorically, through the deeds and character of Francis as Christ, Judas Maccabeus, and St. Dominic, the work loses its disjointed character present in incomplete interpretations of the text centered only around Louise of Savoy and Claude of France and acquires symbolic unity.

One final curiosity warrants discussion. Another interpretation of the word *encaenia* could refer to the commemoration of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 335 during the rule of Constantine the Great, a feast day that has since been lost in

⁵⁶⁸ Kenneth C. Russell, "An Analysis of the Mediaeval Latin Hymns to St. Dominic, St. Peter the Martyr and St. Thomas Aquinas," (Master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 1959), 72; Bergin, "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic," 172–7.

⁵⁶⁹ This appears to be purely textual borrowing. A quotation of the chant does not appear to be present. For reference, see: Bergin, "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic," 173.

the roman liturgical calendar.⁵⁷⁰ The ancient pilgrim Egeria was the first to observe that this festival had been referred to as an *encaenia* and that the celebration was associated with the finding of the True Cross, which had taken place on the same day as the dedication and would later supplant the original *encaenia* as a more important feast for the Church.⁵⁷¹ The original *encaenia* and the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross took place on September 14th, coincidentally the day on which the battle of Marignano was won. The symbolism of the Holy Cross, as discussed above, was central to wartime rhetoric, and whether the symbolism of the date of the battle was meaningful to contemporary observers or was merely complementary in a crusade-minded society is up for debate.⁵⁷² Yet, this did not prevent chroniclers and memoirists from commenting on the miraculous coincidence. Du Bellay notes that the battle took place on the feast day but erroneously gives the date as the 13th of September.⁵⁷³ Barrillon, however, makes note of the date and mentions that the king venerated the cross after the battle.⁵⁷⁴ Additionally, in December of 1515 during the meeting between Francis I and Leo X in Bologna, the pope gifted the king a relic of the True Cross, which in the account of Fleurange was intended for use in processions on the feast day “because on the same day he had won the

⁵⁷⁰ Matthew Black, “The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesia in the Ancient Church with special reference to Palestine and Syria,” in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5, no. 1 (April 1954): 78–80; Mary K. Farag, *What Makes a Church Sacred?: Legal and Ritual Perspectives from Late Antiquity* (University of California Press, 2021), 159; Georg Kretschmar, “Die frühe Geschichte der jerusalemener Liturgie,” *Jahrbuch Für Liturgik Und Hymnologie* 2 (1956): 42; Schwartz, “The Encaenia of the Church,” 266–8.

⁵⁷¹ Aetheria (Egeria), *Itinerarium Egeriae seu Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, Library of Latin Texts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), chapter 48, accessed March 19, 2024, <http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=PEGER2325X>; Black, “The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesia,” 79; Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 17–19.

⁵⁷² Lecoq touches on this question as well: Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, 312–5.

⁵⁷³ Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, 1:70.

⁵⁷⁴ Barrillon, *Journal*, 1:125.

battle.”⁵⁷⁵ Though these sources suggest that some contemporaries did make a connection between this sacred symbolism and the unique date of the battle, it remains uncertain whether the symbolism of the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and with it a more diverse understanding of the word *encaenia* in this context was legible. We do know, however, that the story of the invention of the cross circulated widely in the middle ages and into the 15th century and that associations between Francis and Constantine, the emperor who ultimately oversaw the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulcher and the first *encaenia*, were extensive.⁵⁷⁶

Mouton’s *Exalta regina Galliae* has much more to offer than a superficial reading of its first two verses. The creation of a “motet for the victory” involved not only the conception of new text and music, but an intuitive understanding of the symbolic norms of representation at the French court.⁵⁷⁷ A critical look at the work’s use of exhortation reveals a complex function that incorporates the regent Louise of Savoy in the celebration of the battle *in absentia* while mirroring contemporary gestures of deference and reinforcing Louise and Francis’s political collaboration through Marian allegories that were prevalent throughout their reign. We may also speculate that the exhortation’s ambiguous formulation may have appealed to the compilers of the Medici Codex as a means of styling Madeleine de la Tour d’Auvergne, whose wedding to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino provided the occasion for the gifting of the manuscript, as a

⁵⁷⁵ “& donna le Pape au Roy une vraye Croix longue d’un pied, des plus belles que je vis, & lui donna quant & quant la Jubilé, toutesfois qu’on porteroit ladicte Croix à la Procession le jour de Sainte Croix en Septembre, pour ce que le mesme jour il avoit gagné la bataille.” Fleurange, *Mémoires*, 216; Knecht, *Francis I*, 49–50.

⁵⁷⁶ Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: the Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 194–288; Lecoq has addressed the subject of Francis I as Constantine in extensive detail: Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, 259–323.

⁵⁷⁷ These results can be read against greater attempts to emphasize *Gallità* over *Italianità* in the wake of Francis’s ascension to power and early years on the throne. This is central to Tauber’s argument. Tauber, *Manierismus und Herrschaftspraxis*, 9–10.

French queen of sorts.⁵⁷⁸ Moreover, when we engage closely with the remaining verses and read them within a comprehensive context of literary texts, images, treaties, and letters, we can better understand the work's cultural value in the representation of Francis I's military ambitions. The motet mirrored sacred genealogical tropes in princely legitimization, and, through carefully chosen words, propagated ideas of holy war that underscored the 1515 campaign and its reception. Though this war motet may be unique in the repertoire of French polyphonic music that has been preserved from the early 16th century, its non-musical peers flourished in the months and years that followed the battle. *Exalta regina Galliae* as monument must be understood within a gallery of diverse works created in the wake of Marignano. It must be seen not for its singularity but for its conformity.

⁵⁷⁸ It is also worth noting that their wedding took place at Amboise, perhaps adding extra appeal to the motet.

7. Prayers for Peace

In the interest of working towards an understanding of the wartime repertoire of the French chapel, prayers for peace form an indispensable category of potential works to be considered. In the output of polyphonic music near the turn of the 16th century, overt references to war, violence, and victory are available only in a limited number of cases. In contrast, the language of peace is more readily available, woven into motet texts, *cantus firmi*, and polyphonic settings of antiphons. It would, on the surface, appear that the path to understanding war in Renaissance composition is better achieved through its counterpart. Before delving into this repertoire and its implications, however, some attention must be devoted to terminology and classification. Barring more complex theological arguments, which extend beyond the scope of this analysis, peace in its simplest form can be defined as the antithesis to war and conflict.⁵⁷⁹ Naturally, this nebulous concept has invited commentary and clarification throughout the ages. While the full scope of peace discourse cannot be covered in this analysis, two contrasting strains of thought from ancient writers are of particular relevance to this analysis.⁵⁸⁰ According to St. Augustine, one could understand peace purely as the presence of tranquility, a state of non-violence, whereas Isidor of Seville understood peace as an agreement between active or prospective belligerents, basing his understanding on an etymological association of the word

⁵⁷⁹ Modern peace studies have argued for a less reflexive approach to defining peace, but these perspective are inseparable from modern diplomacy. For more on this see: Thorsten Bonacker and Peter Imbusch, "Begriffe der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung: Konflikt. Gewalt. Krieg. Frieden," in *Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. Eine Einführung mit Quellen*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter Imbusch and Ralf Zoll (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1999), 108–14. For more on a theological perspective see Raimund Lachner, "Friede aus theologischer Sicht. Biblische Grundlagen und theologische Entfaltungen von der frühen Kirche bis zum Mittelalter," in *Pax. Beiträge zu Idee und Darstellung des Friedens*, ed. Wolfgang Augustyn (Munich: Scaneg, 2003), 99–106.

⁵⁸⁰ While ancient theories on peace are most relevant to this current discussion. I do not wish to dismiss Renaissance discourse on war and peace. For a succinct overview of these works see: Joycelyne G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1986), 3–20.

pax with *pactum*.⁵⁸¹ This distinction between tranquility and pact was especially prescient. In practice, prayers, processions, and musical works *pro pace* can be understood either as supplications for the resolution of ongoing violence and the institution of tranquility as well as the commemoration of a recently concluded accord between powers. It is important to note here that peace could be the ultimate goal of an aggressor and was not solely desired by victims of violence.⁵⁸² This, of course, raises the question of how to distinguish between a supplication for victory and a supplication for peace, which for the purposes of this discussion will be decided on the basis of three factors: the text of the prayer itself, the language prescribing its usage, and the context in which it is performed. By this definition, any motet or mass combining textual allusions and situational connections to peace is a candidate for integration into a narrative of war and music in the Renaissance. Nevertheless, typological challenges arise.

Supplications for peace in times of war could easily camouflage themselves within the quotidian, borrowing texts from prayers ascribed to other parts of the liturgical calendar as political circumstances demanded so. Linder's catalog illustrates well how the "dedicated war mass" could arise through the compilation of otherwise unassuming propers.⁵⁸³ The inverse is similarly possible: antiphons for peace could be absorbed into the regular rhythm of daily and weekly masses, losing touch with concrete military developments and calling into question their purported status as war music. It is within this ambiguous context that the *Da pacem* antiphon, which a number of composers of the French chapel have set polyphonically, circulates, having been adopted into the discourse of music and war in the Renaissance with too little consideration

⁵⁸¹ For more on these poles see: Dietrich Kurze, "Krieg und Frieden im mittelalterlichen Denken," in *Zwischenstaatliche Friedenswahrung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, edited by Heinz Durchhardt (Cologne: Böhlau, 1991), 13–21.

⁵⁸² Augustine famously suggested that wars could be used as a means of achieving peace. *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁸³ Linder, *Raising Arms*, 175–273.

of contextual evidence. Presenting another typological dilemma are works reacting to different stages in the quest for peace, such as commemorations of the signing of a treaty or the meeting of two princes, celebrations for the capitulation of an enemy, or supplications in the midst of military distress. In the broadest terms, occasional celebratory diplomatic motets and devotional works both inhabit the realm of political concord and the avoidance of violence, different in their conceptualizations of peace but both associable with the word *pax*, as has been established above. Yet, they also engage with starkly different compositional approaches and performance contexts. The former is comprised of authored compositions belonging to the corpus of state-music produced for princely chapels and courts, and, while still connected to war and/or the threat of it, these works are oriented diplomatically towards a worldly audience. For instance Heinrich Isaac's *Optime pastor* intertwines both *Da pacem* and *Sacerdos et pontifex* as *cantus firmi*, accompanying a poem addressing a divine shepherd and wishing for peace in light of Turkish military threats. The work ostensibly sounded during a diplomatic meeting, whose purpose was to devise a military strategy against the Ottoman Empire, between Rome and the Holy Roman Empire c. 1513–14.⁵⁸⁴ Despite the work's *bona fide* connections to war, its function is nonetheless closely linked to the diplomatic ceremonial. Devotional works, in contrast, may possess but do not demand bespoke polyphonic settings, could be spread throughout a kingdom through royal decree, and saw use in both courtly and civic occasions. Such compositions may

⁵⁸⁴ Several hypotheses have emerged surrounding this motet's intended performance context. Pietschmann argues for the reception of Lorenzo Campeggi's reception at the imperial court in 1514, though opposing arguments have been made arguing that the work was intended for Cardinal Matthäus Lang's visit to Rome in 1513. Klaus Pietschmann, "Emperor Maximilian I, Audible Ideology and Heinrich Isaac's *Optime pastor*," in *Henricus Isaac (c.1450/5–1517): Composition Reception Interpretation*, ed. Stefan Gasch, Markus Grassl, and August Valentin Rabe (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019), 200. Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 45–53.

consist of settings of hymns and antiphons and, despite their devotional character, are more ambiguous in their usage.

As works for the diplomatic ceremonial have been addressed elsewhere in this study, the following chapter focuses specifically on the latter, on works that may have been performed by the French chapel specifically as supplications for peace in response to an active military threat.⁵⁸⁵ Taken into consideration are the polyphonic settings of the *Da pacem* antiphon, whose genuine connection to war has yet to be challenged. Furthermore, the role of Mouton's *O salutaris Hostia* as a recurring prayer for peace will be examined.

Da pacem

In commentary on wartime music in the Renaissance, no individual chant has received as much attention as the *Da pacem*. Originally an antiphon for the Summer Histories of the Maccabees, the chant later took on a life of its own and enjoyed numerous, often anonymous, polyphonic settings throughout the 15th and 16th centuries.⁵⁸⁶ The existence of multiple settings of the chant by French composers c. 1500, including those of Brumel, Prioris, Divitis, and Mouton, and its use as a *cantus firmus* in political motets, in particular Compère's *Quis numerare queat*, demands further attention as to the chant's relevance to the battle campaigns of 1494–1515 and the role of prayers for peace more generally. Reasons given for this widespread adoption of the *Da pacem* often include the ever-present military campaigns that characterized the Renaissance.⁵⁸⁷ While the impulse to make such a connection is quite natural, contemporary

⁵⁸⁵ Compère's *Quis numerare queat*, of course, makes use of the *Da pacem* antiphon. For a discussion of this work see Chapter 5.

⁵⁸⁶ For a succinct summary of the liturgical origins of the antiphon see Éva Pintér, "'Da pacem, Domine' – kompositorische Annäherungen," in *Vom hörbaren Frieden*, ed. Hartmut Lück and Dieter Senghaas (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005), 328–31.

⁵⁸⁷ Despite some attempts to acknowledge the quotidian use of the antiphon, it is often associated with war in modern research: Ludwig Senfl, *Motets for Five Voices*, ed. Scott Lee Edwards, Stefan Gasch, and

liturgical sources and, increasingly, modern scholarship, reveal that *Da pacem* settings enjoyed a diverse set of quotidian uses intermingled with prescriptions for wartime and diplomatic use. A quotidian prayer can certainly take place amidst a backdrop of violence, but we lack a clearer set of guidelines for how to connect prayers for peace with active conflicts and thus a means with which to measure the impact of war on compositional output. This calls for a critical look at the *Da pacem* settings of the 15th and 16th centuries and the diversity of the chant's usage in the Renaissance in order to determine the degree to which the chant may have understood during times of war.

Both in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, outside of the *Da pacem*'s usage in the Summer Histories of the Maccabees, the chant appears in the context of war and peace in a limited number of cases. A few wartime liturgies call for the use of the antiphon. Linder has shown that the chant was inserted into the Holy Land clamor *Deus qui admirabili* under Innocent III.⁵⁸⁸ Additionally, in a Salzburg source from 1526, the chant is listed as a possible alternative to the *Te deum* in the after-mass prayers of a procession *contra turcos*.⁵⁸⁹ Similarly, a liturgy “contra infidels et contra Thurcos” instituted by the bishop of Mainz during the reign of Maximilian I lists the *Da pacem* after the *Salve regina* in the after-mass prayers of the

Sonja Tröster, vol. 3 of *New Senfl Edition*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 163.3 (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2022), XXI; Ryan, “Our Enemies Are Gathered Together,” 315; An older source that shares this idea is: Edward E. Lowinsky, “Music in the Culture of the Renaissance” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15, no. 4 (1954): 513; Pavanello adopts a more neutral stance on the diverse uses of *Da pacem*: Agnese Pavanello, “Weerbecke at Rome: The Making of a Papal Composer,” in *Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik* 11 (2012): 239–40; Odoj offers war as a tentative explanation of why so many *Da pacem* settings came out of the French chapel during the early 16th century. Wojciech Odoj, “Some Observations on the VatS 18 and BolC Q19 Settings of the Antiphon Da Pacem: Were They Composed by Costanzo Festa?” In *Hudební veda* 51, no. 1–2 (2014): 128–9, note 34; Rodin briefly questions the role of war in his analysis of the *Da pacem* settings at the end of MS Capp. Sist. 15. Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing In the Sistine Chapel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 174.

⁵⁸⁸ This addition also only occurs in one manuscript of the clamor consulted in Linder's study: Basel, Bibliothèque universitaire, MS B XI 14, cited in Linder, *Raising Arms*, 42, 70.

⁵⁸⁹ Salzburg, Sankt Peter Erzabtei, MS b.X.6, ff. 1–12, cited in *ibid.*, 261.

aforementioned liturgy.⁵⁹⁰ The antiphon also saw use as part of Renaissance diplomatic negotiations. Papal master of ceremonies Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini explains that the *Da pacem* was to follow the *Te deum* after the reading of the articles of a peace treaty.⁵⁹¹ A similar application arose in the French court during the middle years of the Italian wars. On 22 October 1532 during a meeting between Francis I and Henry VIII in Boulogne, both kings heard mass in separate chapels, after which both sides reunited and sang a motet setting of *Da pacem*. Following the mass, diplomatic negotiations ensued.⁵⁹² Finally, several decades later, a procession was held in Paris in honor of a truce between Henry II and Charles V in 1555. Once the procession had reached the church of Saint-Jean-en-Grève the priests of the church said, with organ accompaniment, both the *Salve Regina* and the *Da pacem*.⁵⁹³

Outside of dedicated liturgies, the antiphon saw more cyclical use. The *Heiltumbuch* c.1510 of the Waldauf foundation at the church of St. Nicholas in Tirol dictates that the *Da pacem* antiphon is meant to be sung after high mass on Fridays followed by a collect.⁵⁹⁴ This was to serve as an exception to the performance of the Marian antiphon *Recordare virgo mater*, which took place after all masses on other days of the week.⁵⁹⁵ We learn of a similar practice from a synod in Cologne in 1536, which complained of the disruptive nature of music during the liturgy and recommended that prayers said at the elevation, specifically those for death,

⁵⁹⁰ Linder, *Raising Arms*, 268–71.

⁵⁹¹ Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 1: 178; See also Pavanello, “Weerbecke at Rome,” 239–40, note 32;

⁵⁹² *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 4, 1527–1533, ed. Rawdon Lubbock Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 366; Sanudo, *I diarii*, 57: 317.

⁵⁹³ Godefroy, *Le Cereimonial françois*, 2:897.

⁵⁹⁴ Grantley McDonald, “The Waldauf foundation at St. Nicholas’ church, Hall in Tirol,” in *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, 2019, accessed March 26, 2024, <https://musical-life.net/essays/waldauf-foundation-st-nicholas-church-hall-tirol>.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

destruction, and peace, including antiphons such as the *Media vita* and the *Da pacem* would be best moved to the end of the mass.⁵⁹⁶ These examples speak to a gray area in this analysis. The *pro pace* designation present in the Cologne synod cannot be dismissed, and it is certainly possible to read these all of these prayers against a backdrop of military violence. Nevertheless, no specific military intentions are clarified, and the role of these prayers as an acknowledgement of the routine threats of earthly life merits consideration.

Furthermore, certain musical settings of the antiphon reveal associations with a variety of other chants, with ample extra-military connotations. In the Milanese tradition, a *Da pacem* setting attributed to Compère takes the place of *loco Deo Gratia* in the Milanese motet cycle *Ave domine Iesu Christi*, a work which has not been strictly associated with war.⁵⁹⁷ Moreover, the placement of the antiphon at the end of the cycle mirrors the aforementioned use of the antiphon as an after-mass prayer. Two other cases, however, suggest a new connotation for the antiphon entirely. Concerning the papal tradition, Wojciech Odoj and Christopher Reynolds have both commented on the unique pairing of the *Da pacem* text with *Petrus Apostolus*, an antiphon from the Octave of Saints Peter and Paul, in papal sources.⁵⁹⁸ Reynolds mentions a similar case in Ferrara, in which the *Da pacem* antiphon was prescribed both as an antiphon for peace as well as

⁵⁹⁶ “Cantiones vero illae contra mortalitatem seu cladem, aut pro pace, fatius post finitam missam canuntur. Quae ut ad Deum dirigantur, excerptae ex canonica scriptura plus placuerint, quales sunt antiphonae, Media vita; ac, Da pacem domine, & similes.” in Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection*, vol. 32, *Ab anno MCDXXXVIII. ad annum MDIL* (Paris: H. Welter, 1902). 1227. See also Helmut Huckle, “Die Musik in der Sixtinischen Kapelle bis zur Zeit Leos X,” in *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen” Kongreßakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen 1984*, ed. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, Joerg O. Fichte, and Karl Heinz Göller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 157–8.

⁵⁹⁷ Bokulich pushes back against accepted attribution Clare Bokulich, “Metre and the *Motetti missales*,” in *Motet Cycles Between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 416; Finscher, *Loyset Compère*, 106.

⁵⁹⁸ Odoj, “Some Observations,” 115–6; Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St Peter’s, 1380–1513* (University of California Press, Berkeley 1995), 83.

for St. George, the city's patron saint, suggesting that a similar use in the Roman case was possible.⁵⁹⁹

To the extent that the stand-alone *Da pacem* antiphon had any discernable association with acts of war and peace, it was nevertheless as part of the after-mass prayers of an intercessory or celebratory service in tandem with other common prayers and hymns. While this speaks in favor for the antiphon's wartime implementation, ritual and compositional evidence suggests similarities between the antiphon's extraordinary and routine uses. Thus, the motet's situational versatility, its pairing with a variety of other texts, and its frequent placement at the end of the mass raises the question of its status as a quotidian prayer. Recent scholarship resonates with this hypothesis. In an analysis of the three *Da pacem* settings towards the end of the manuscript Cappella Sistina 15, Jesse Rodin likens the simplicity and brevity of these setting as potential evidence "of polyphonic practice that, surviving sources notwithstanding, may have been considerably more widespread."⁶⁰⁰ This assertion, informed through stylistic observation, appears to compliment the liturgical evidence.

As a final excursion into the performance practice of the *Da pacem* antiphon, we would be remiss to exclude its propagation as the *cantus firmus* of numerous motets throughout the 16th century.⁶⁰¹ Among those in close proximity to the early Italian wars are the settings of Isaac, Compère, and Philippe Verdelot. Such works are more likely to contain overt evocations of war by means of their secular texts. Yet their ultimate function and the events they refer to were far from unified. Previously mentioned is the manner in which Isaac's *Optime pastor* belongs to the

⁵⁹⁹ Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 83, note 9.

⁶⁰⁰ Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 176.

⁶⁰¹ Hanheide offers an overview of these works: Stefan Hanheide, "Friede als Gegenstand musikalischer Komposition," in *Pax. Beiträge zu Idee und Darstellung des Friedens*, ed. Wolfgang Augustyn (Munich: Scaneg, 2003), 477.

diplomatic ceremonial, its call for peace oriented short-term and socially towards successful diplomatic talks. Additionally, a previous chapter has suggested that Compère's *Quis numerare queat* must be understood not as a diplomatic motet for the signing of a treaty or even a supplication for peace, but as a victory motet, which found its way into the French battle entourage of 1494–5. Here the presence of the antiphon is celebratory, much like the diplomatic uses described above. That leaves us with Verdelot's *Congregati sunt inimici nostri*. It was during the short-lived Florentine republic of 1527–1530 that Verdelot's motet *Congregati sunt inimici nostri* likely came into existence. Its text, unquestionable in its aims, culminates in an address to God in the imperative: *Disperge illos in virtute tua, et destrue eos, protector noster* (Scatter them in your strength, and destroy them, our protector). Mary Ellen Ryan has suggested that such a work may have been performed as a recurring prayer in defense of the nascent republic.⁶⁰² This is certainly possible given the text's generic construction. Thus, of the three motets with *Da pacem* tenors mentioned here, three entirely different performance contexts arise: the diplomatic, the festive, and the supplicatory. Only one could be understood as a heavenly supplication for peace absent of other social functions. While these distinctions may appear minute, this discussion seeks to emphasize the extent of the lack of functional homogeneity in works based on the *Da pacem* antiphon, even when overt connections to war are present.

To return to the music of the French chapel, this discussion may bring us one step closer to understanding whether the *Da pacem* settings of Brumel, Prioris, Divitis, and Mouton were indeed composed and performed in response to the ongoing violence of the early 16th century. As

⁶⁰² Mary Ellen Ryan traces the rituals and occasions that would have supported the use of such a prayer. Mary Ellen Ryan, "'Our Enemies Are Gathered Together': The Politics of Motets During the Second Florentine Republic, 1527–1530," *The Journal of Musicology* 36, no. 3 (Summer 2019): 315–25. For more on the idea that the motet could have been a routinely performed work see: *Ibid.*, 319. For the full text of the motet see: *Ibid.*, 326.

this analysis has implicitly demonstrated, sources related to French performance practice are few. Nevertheless, the sum of evidence delineating the antiphon's performance practice in a wider context may still be of use. Given the abundance of uses listed above, as well as their geographic and institutional diversity, there is little reason to believe that the settings in the French chapel represented a unique and collective response to the Italian wars. Moreover, in their respective transmissions, no attention is drawn to the subject of war outside from the text of the antiphon. In particular, Andrea Anticos *Motetti novi e chanzoni franciose a quatro sopra doi*, in which the canonic settings by Brumel and Prioris are preserved, both canons do little to stand out in the sea of canonic prowess. Perhaps the two *Da pacem* settings were merely meant to blend in with the print's more routine sacred texts, a testament to their status as quotidian prayers? While we need not deny their perceived function *pro pace*, as implied in the 1536 synod, in the absence of any extraordinary occasion or additional text, we must be prepared to view the canonic settings as evidence of a regular liturgical practice stemming from the perpetual human desire for tranquility, itself perhaps a useful observation in our understanding of the French chapel's elusive liturgical routines. Nevertheless, that these sorts of prayers would have travelled with the French chapel during the Italian wars is certainly possible. In addition to the two works preserved in Antico's print, a copy of Divitis's *Da pacem* is preserved in the hand of copyist Jean Michel in the Ferrarese partbook Add. MS 19583, who had contact with the chapel singers during the military campaign of 1515.⁶⁰³

With this excursion on the function of the *Da pacem* antiphon, the question of the French chapel's approach to prayers for peace remains nonetheless open. This analysis has adopted a critical view towards this repertoire and stressed the importance of discerning between routine

⁶⁰³ Altus partbook, manuscript, British Library, Add. MS 19583, f. 38r; Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 212.

and occasional prayers for peace. Nonetheless, this does not signify that unique prayers for peace never took place. The following section addresses this question and investigates a suitable alternative.

O salutaris Hostia

As mentioned previously, prayers for peace could easily camouflage themselves amidst the ordinary. That being said, an analysis of all devotional prayers by members of the French chapel in light of war and peace is fruitless endeavor in the face of meager external sources on liturgical practices within the chapel. Nevertheless, within this repertoire, one particular hymn may warrant further investigation. The hymn in question is *O salutaris Hostia*, which bore sufficient symbolism for the French chapel that we enjoy a number of archival, textual, and visual sources that illuminate the hymn's importance in both military and militarized contexts.

This ubiquitous eucharistic prayer borrows its text from the fifth stanza of Thomas Aquinas's *Corpus Christi* hymn *Verbum supernum prodiens*.⁶⁰⁴

O salutaris Hostia,
Quae coeli pandis ostium:
Bella premunt hostilia,
Da robur, fer auxilium⁶⁰⁵

O saving host,
which opens the doors of heaven:
The enemies press wars
Give strength, bring aid

⁶⁰⁴ Jaap van Benthem, Marnix van Berchum, Anna Dieleman, Theodor Dumitrescu, and Frans Wiering, eds., "The Occo Codex," The CMME Project, accessed June 9, 2024, <http://www.cmme.org/database/projects/4#note56>.

⁶⁰⁵ Guido Maria Dreves, *Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters: Aus gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen herausgegeben* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1907), 588.

This text would have already served as a suitable wartime prayer.⁶⁰⁶ However, du Peyrat maintains that the king's chapel sang an altered version:

O salutaris Hostia
Quae coeli pandis ostium
In te confidit Francia,
Da pacem, serva lilium⁶⁰⁷

O saving host,
which opens the doors of heaven:
France relies on you
Give peace, protect the lily

Here the text is adapted it into a prayer for France, having the text culminate not in a supplication for aid in times of tribulation but for France: "give peace, protect the lily." In line with first half of this analysis, the insertion of the text "da pacem," may reflect a desired retention of the prayer's original military language.

As an elevation hymn in the French chapel, *O salutaris Hostia* became recognized for its political connotations. Better known is Louis XII institution of *O salutaris Hostia* in the royal court and Notre Dame in 1512 for use at the elevation during mass, an act that must be read within a larger context of the wartime Eucharistic devotion during the Italian wars.⁶⁰⁸ 1512 was by no means the first time Louis XII adopted the host as devotional symbol during personal and political affairs. In 1505, after a challenging bout of illness, the king credited his recovery to the intervention of the Bleeding Host of Dijon, a cult that had formed earlier in the 15th century, but grew in popularity, in part due to continued acts of support from the French monarch.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁶ Jaap van Benthem, Marnix van Berchum, Anna Dieleman, Theodor Dumitrescu, and Frans Wiering, eds., "The Occo Codex."

⁶⁰⁷ Du Peyrat, *L'Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 791.

⁶⁰⁸ Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris (500–1500)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 119; Du Peyrat, *L'Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 791–2.

⁶⁰⁹ Roger S. Wieck, "The Sacred Bleeding Host of Dijon in Books of Hours," in *Quand la peinture était dans les livres: Mélanges en l'honneur de François Avril*, ed. Mara Hofmann, Caroline Zöhl, and Eberhard König ([Turnhout]: Brepols, 2007), 394; For a discussion on the role of the cult in music see:

Furthermore, other cases of eucharistic devotion during the reign of Louis XII coincided with major military victories. A 17th century text by Philibert Boulrier on the history of the Bleeding Host of Dijon, records both the aforementioned case of 1505 as well as a few additional anecdotes from the Italian wars. Claiming to be citing the archives of the *Chambre de comptes*, Boulrier reports that in May of 1507 during a procession of the Holy Host, sixteen large wax torches were carried in thanksgiving for the victory in Genoa earlier that year.⁶¹⁰ Two years later in 1509 two candles were placed in front of the host in honor of the recent victory at Agnadello.⁶¹¹ In addition to these two cases, we may also recall that his predecessor Charles VIII held a triumphal procession on *Corpus Christi* in Poggibonsi in 1495 following a fateful meeting with Savonarola.⁶¹² These cases thus establish a trend in the wartime devotion of French king towards the host in the years prior to 1512.⁶¹³

It remains, however, that overt associations between the implementation of *O salutaris Hostia* in the French chapel and war were not expressed in contemporary sources. It is Du Peyrat, writing over a century later, who maintains that the implementation of the prayer was strictly political, claiming that it was adopted following the addition of anti-French prayers to the masses of Julius II following the French victory at Ravenna on April 11 against the Holy League. The juxtaposition of the papal prayers, “three little prayers said by him and addressed to the

Agnese Pavanello, “The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9, no 1 (2017): 45–8.

⁶¹⁰ Philibert Boulrier, *Remarques historiques et chrétiennes, sur la sainte et miraculeuse hostie de Dijon*, 2nd ed (Dijon: Pierre Pallioat, 1646), 92; These details are also mentioned in Wieck, “The Sacred Bleeding Host of Dijon,” 394.

⁶¹¹ Boulrier, *Remarques historiques et chrétiennes*, 92–3.

⁶¹² La Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 273–4.

⁶¹³ Whether Rapael’s depiction of the *Mass at Bolsena*, commemorating a similar bleeding host and painted around 1512–14, can be connected in any way to Louis XII’s eerily similar devotions cannot be said for certain.

Virgin” with the Eucharistic prayer of the French further illustrates the capacity of otherwise generic prayers to be manipulated for political purposes.⁶¹⁴

In light of the absence of such detailed descriptions in contemporary sources, the manner of implementation of the hymn may offer evidence concerning its military reception. Archival documents from Notre Dame report that the canons of the church received a letter on 15 June 1512 asking for the prayer to be implemented at the elevation.⁶¹⁵ As mentioned above, this would have taken place shortly after the battle of Ravenna. Yet, France faced military pressures on multiple fronts. Despite the recent victory, the French faced a disastrous defeat in Milan in May, ultimately losing control of the city, a loss that would not be overturned until the victory in Marignano in 1515.⁶¹⁶ It is perhaps this sense of threat that led the wounded king to double down on his devotional efforts. Future implementations and cessations of the prayer in Notre Dame appear to support this hypothesis. On 17 February 1517 the church ceased singing the prayer at the elevation.⁶¹⁷ Yet, the prayer was reinstituted in 1521 according to the chapter registers of Notre Dame “pro pace et unione principum et huius regni.”⁶¹⁸ The timing of these changes in the use of the prayer coincides with importance changes in the wars. By 1517, the most recent phase of the Italian wars had begun to die down. Francis I restored amicable relations with the

⁶¹⁴ “L’invention de ce cantique est venuë du temps du Roy Loüis XII, car l’an 1512, apres la bataille de Rauenne, le Pape Iules II, ayant fait vne ligue avec l’Empereur Maximilian, & les Venitiens, contre le Roy Loüis XII, & ayant ordonné qu’en Italie, lors qu’on sonneroit la cloche pour dire la salutation de l’Ange à la Vierge Marie, on diroit quant & quant contres les François trois petites oraisons par luy faites, & adressees à la Vierge.” Du Peyrat, *L’Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, 791.

⁶¹⁵ The text specifically references that the prayer is to sung between the *Pleni sunt caeli* and *Benedictus qui venit*. Archives Nationales, LL 132, f. 521, cited in Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 119.

⁶¹⁶ Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 222; Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 6–7.

⁶¹⁷ Archives Nationales, LL 133, f. 217, cited in Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 221.

⁶¹⁸ “for peace and unity of the princes and of this kingdom” Archives Nationales, LL 134, f. 577, cited in Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 221. See also Jaap van Benthem, Marnix van Berchum, Anna Dieleman, Theodor Dumitrescu, and Frans Wiering, eds., “The Occo Codex.”

papacy, and the Concordat of Bologna finally came into fruition in 1516.⁶¹⁹ In March 1517 Francis I, Maximilian I, and Charles I of Spain ratified the treaty of Cambrai, bringing a newfound sense of peace, however tenuous, to the continent.⁶²⁰ Despite attempts at restoring order, in 1521 the wars crept back into the forefront of politics. Tensions with the newly elected emperor Charles V and growing unrest in Milan led to protracted fighting that ultimately resulted in the French expulsion from Milan in November.⁶²¹ This defeat was the beginning of a disastrous several years of fighting for the French that ultimately led to the capture of Francis I in Pavia in 1525.⁶²²

In light of both previous Eucharistic devotion at war as well as the political significance of the timing of the prayer's implementation and cessation, we must consider that a significant factor motivating the use of the prayer's was the ongoing threat of violence for the French, more specifically, the threat of major losses of territory. Though the institution of the prayer in 1512 arrived on the heels of a major victory, a connection that Du Peyrat himself makes, we may do well to reframe the timing of *O salutaris Hostia* through the pain of defeat, an interpretation that also better fits the reinstitution of the prayer in 1521. Musical settings of *O salutaris Hostia*, reveals themselves, therefore, as potential wartime music for the French chapel, not as music for victory, but as a genuine prayer for peace.

Jean Mouton's *O salutaris Hostia*

Of the settings of the motet with connections to the French chapel, of particular interest is that of Jean Mouton. The initial rise of the tradition of singing *O salutaris Hostia* in the French

⁶¹⁹ Knecht, *Francis I*, 49, 55.

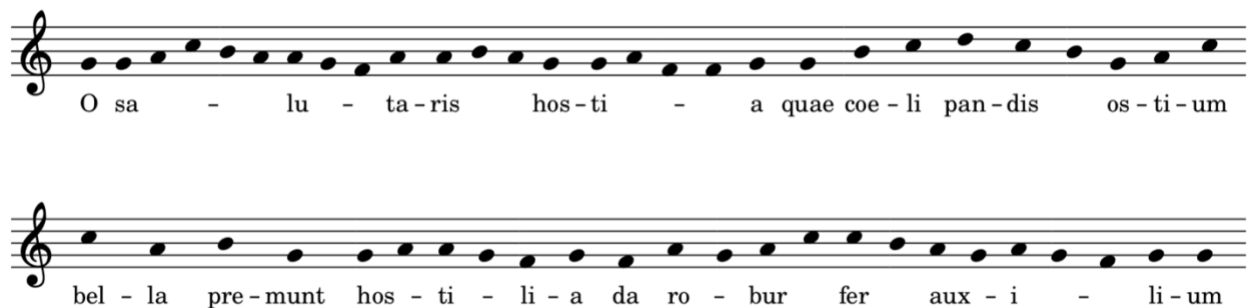
⁶²⁰ Knecht emphasizes the importance of 1517 as a turning point in popular sentiment towards the sense of peace on the continent. *Ibid.*, 68–9.

⁶²¹ Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 30–1; Knecht, *Francis I*, 108–112.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 165–73.

chapel would have coincided with the composer's activity in the chapels of Anne of Brittany, Louis XII, and Francis I, as well as his journey to Italy with the latter in 1515.⁶²³ The motet has been preserved in two sources: the Roman print, *Motetti e canzone libro primo* and the Ferrarese choirbook alpha.N.1.2 held today in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena. The latter dates to approximately 1535, the first year of Duke Ercole II d'Este's reign, to whom the manuscript is dedicated.⁶²⁴ Though the subject of violence does not arise directly in either source, the musical setting and the work's transmission do not rule out an association with the Italian wars and with the military identity of the French court.

Figure 5. *O salutaris Hostia* chant.⁶²⁵



Mouton's motet delivers a compact and effective setting of the prayer and leaves little doubt that it would have sufficed for the elevations prayers instituted by Louis XII. Melodically,

⁶²³ While Mouton was originally a singer in Anne's chapel, the late queen's and the king's chapels likely combined after her death in 1514; however, Louis XII survived his wife by only about a year, after which Mouton would have entered the service of the newly crowned Francis I. Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels," 71, 79.

⁶²⁴ For more on the manuscript's origin and dating see: Ammendola, *Polyphone Herrschermessen*, 73; Joshua Rifkin, "Ercole's Second-Hand Coronation Mass," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 381; Alvin H. Johnson, "A Musical Offering to Hercules II, Duke of Ferrara," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 450.

⁶²⁵ I follow Wright's example in citing a Parisian *Directorium chori* from the 17th century. Despite the stark temporal distance, the pitches of the chant match Mouton's setting well. Martin Sonnet, *Directorium chori, seu ceremoniale sanctae et metropolitanae ecclesiae ac dioecesis Parisiensis* (Paris: S & G Cramoisy, 1656), 205. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 120.

the motet closely cites the pitches of the original chant. This occurs primarily in the uppermost voice, with the exception of the very beginning, where the *altus* sings the chant melody instead. For the most part, *discantus* quotes the pitches of the corresponding sections of the chant melody with little departure from the source material.⁶²⁶ In the first and fourth verse, the chant is elaborated in cadential flourishes, losing the original melody somewhat. In the case of the first phrase, significant edits would have been necessary to accommodate the fact that the first verse in the chant is set to a disproportionately long melisma in comparison to the other verses. Nevertheless, the *discantus* in each phrase cadences on the corresponding pitch of the end of each verse in the chant melody.

Concerning texture, the motet begins with a simple near-homophonic setting of the words “o salutaris” ending on a fermata, recalling the austere, fermata-laden “devotional style” characteristic of several other settings of the prayer.⁶²⁷ Nevertheless, the rest of the work does not heed to the minimalist style of the first few words, though it maintains some restraint in its elaboration. The text is set somewhat modularly, with the voices cadencing together at the end of every short verse. Staggered entrances and elisions prevent the phrases from losing momentum. Though each voice is elaborated individually, creating a heterogenous rhythmic texture, the voices remain nonetheless egalitarian throughout the work, allowing the motet to maintain some of contemplative qualities of the stricter “devotional style.” This style mirrors the approach of

⁶²⁶ I offer a word of thanks to Thomas MacCracken, who generously allowed me to consult the forthcoming edition of *O salutaris Hostia*. Jean Mouton, “O salutaris Hostia,” ed. Thomas G. MacCracken, in vol. 8 of *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 43 ([n.p.]: American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming).

⁶²⁷ I refer to Blackburn’s use of the term: Bonnie J. Blackburn, “The Dispute About Harmony c. 1500 and the Creation of a New Style,” in *Théorie et analyse musicales 1450–1650*, ed. Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, 2001), 13; This style is clearly prevalent in the settings preserved in the Occo Codex. Jaap van Benthem, Marnix van Berchum, Anna Dieleman, Theodor Dumitrescu, and Frans Wiering, eds., “The Occo Codex.”

Pierre de la Rue in his setting.⁶²⁸ Yet, in contrast to Mouton, de la Rue adheres to a much stricter cadential division between phrases and employs more of the choral style at the beginning of phrases. Mouton's setting indulges in more rhythmic freedom, making strong moments of chordal unity stand out in contrast within the work. This is especially poignant towards the end of the motet. After a decisive cadence and rest after the third verse, all four voices proclaim the words "da robur" or "give strength" in lockstep. In the French version of the text the corresponding words would be "da pacem." Concerning text setting elsewhere in the work, the words "salutaris" or "saving" at the beginning and "auxilium" or "aid" at the end are repeated, the latter driving to the cadence with a descending melody in the upper three voices and ascending melody in the lower voice. If we substitute the French text in place of "auxilium," the word that would have been reiterated is "lilium" or the lily of France. These choices in the setting of the text demonstrate an understanding of the importance of the last verse, which shifts into the imperative tense both in the original and French texts, as the central request and goal of the prayer.

The work's overall efficiency, use of the chant melody, and evocation of the "devotional style" common in other settings of the text makes it fit for use as a quotidian prayer, as instituted in 1512. No doubt, the compilers of both the print and choirbook in which the motet later found itself saw the practical value of the work. Yet, a political reading of the work's transmission is also possible. The Ferrarese manuscript alpha.N.1.2 was created in dedication to and sometime within in the first year of the reign of Ercole II d'Este, as attested in the manuscript's dedicatory poem:

Le premier an et second de ce nom
De ta duche tresillustre seigneur

⁶²⁸ Pierre de la Rue, *The motets*, ed, Nigel S. Davison, vol. 9 of Pierre de la Rue, *Opera Omnia* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart : Hänssler, 1996), 68–9.

Ce liure ycy a ton ueu et renom
Je tay escript et note de bon cueur
Et sil nest tel que merite ung greigneur
De si haulte pris pardonne a lingnorance
Plus hault ne peult attai[n]dre ma science
Accepte donc mo[n] labeur et ma paine
et le voloir qui a mis sa puissance
A t[e server] dune amour souveraine⁶²⁹

The first year and second of this name
of your duchy, very illustrious lord
This here book for your regard and renown
I have written and notated with good heart
And if it is not one that merits a grandeur
of such high value pardon the ignorance
My ability cannot attain any higher
Accept thus my labor and my pains
and the desire that took action
to serve you with a sovereign love

The manuscript contains a section of masses followed by a section of motets. Adhering to the celebratory occasion of the manuscript, the works present in the manuscript correspondingly reflect both the immediate event of the duke's ascension on 1 November 1534 as well as the sacred legitimization of the new prince. The first work included is Maistre Jhan's *Missa omnes sancti et sancti Dei*, whose cantus firmus invokes the name of the duke directly: *Omnes sancti et sanctae Dei, intercedite pro Hercule secondo duce nostro*.⁶³⁰ This particular work was likely either composed in commemoration of the duke's ascension to power on All Saint's Day or adapted from an earlier version to fit the occasion.⁶³¹ Elsewhere in the manuscript, we may

⁶²⁹ Biblioteca Estense, MS alpha.N.1.2, title page verso. This transcription is informed in part by that of Alvin Johnson. The reconstruction of the corrupted last verse is his. The translation is the author's. Johnson, "A Musical Offering to Hercules II," 449.

⁶³⁰ See Ammendola, *Polyphone Herrschermessen*, 77; Rifkin, "Ercole's Second-Hand Coronation Mass," 383.

⁶³¹ See Johnson for the first hypothesis: Johnson, "A Musical Offering to Hercules II," 450. Rifkin argues, on the basis of rhythmic discrepancies in different sources, that the work was only later adapted for Ercole II d'Este. At any rate, the relevance of Ercole and the feast day on which he assumed the throne does not change. Rifkin, "Ercole's Second-Hand Coronation Mass," 383–9.

question if certain sacred themes were meant to allegorically invoke princely identity. At the forefront of potential allegory are the manuscript's works of Mouton: *Missa tu es Petrus*, *Missa alma redemptoris Mater*, *Missa tua es potentia*, and *Noe noe psallite*. *Missa tu es Petrus* and *Missa tua es potentia* could be read as a direct appeal to spiritual authority. The latter text had seen use in the papal ceremonial for the reception of kings.⁶³² Yet, we must not forget that the penultimate verse of *Noe noe psallite* contains the text *quis est iste Rex gloriae?* (who is this King of glory?), text which could and had been used to bolster spiritual authority. A famous case took place in the *Corpus Christi* procession of Pius II in Viterbo in 1462, during which the aforementioned text was modified to read *quis est ist rex Pius* (who is this king Pius).⁶³³ It appears thus that extra care went into the curation of Mouton's repertorial presence in the manuscript.

It is further noteworthy that Mouton is one of only two posthumously present composers, alongside Josquin. In light of this information it is necessary to question why certain works by Mouton made the cut for such a momentous manuscript in the first place. The aforementioned analysis demonstrated that the work is musically well-suited as an elevation prayer and follows some of the stylistic conventions of similar works. Yet, when we observe the circumstances of its transmission in alpha.N.1.2, it is clear that certain works were prized for their political value, in fulfillment of the dedicatory poem's promise to deliver a book "a ton veu et renom." It is possible that the inclusion of Mouton's *O salutaris Hostia* may have, like three out of four other works by the composer transmitted in the manuscript, taken place out of acknowledgement of the music's

⁶³² Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1: 197.

⁶³³ Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice: un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nelle prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), 92–3; Pii II, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt*, ed. Adriano van Heck (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984), 2:500–1.

political value.⁶³⁴ This was reinforced publicly a few years before alpha.N.1.2's copying. The hymn held a place of prominence on the title page of Attaignant's *Secundus liber tres missas continet*, published in 1532. The print itself is a paragon of power, containing Mouton's *Missa tua est potentia*, Sermisy's *Missa ix. lectionum*, and Manchicourt's *Missa surge et illuminare*.⁶³⁵ The image on the title page depicts Francis I at mass during the moment of the elevation.⁶³⁶ At the very center of the image are a group of singers kneeling and singing from a large musical manuscript upon which the chant *O salutaris Hostia* is clearly depicted. Behind the singers, in the foreground of the image, kneel a group of men, some wearing brigandines and sallets, armed with swords and halberds. The location of the arms in this image places them in line with the Host and the music manuscript, carving out the central third of the image as one in which the elevated host is both venerated and defended by the musicians and soldiers beneath it.⁶³⁷ Flanking this middle column are the entourages of Francis I and Queen Éléonore, both accompanied by their coats of arms, who bear witness to the elevation.⁶³⁸ Additionally present

⁶³⁴ It is noteworthy that a manuscript copied by Alamire in the second quarter of the 16th century contains almost exclusively the masses of Mouton, peppered with some motets of mixed origin and one anonymous setting of *O salutaris Hostia* at the very end in ff. 170v–171. The possibility of this representing an allusion to a more widespread association of the hymn with the practices of the French chapel merits further investigation. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch, MS 155, ff. 170v–171.

⁶³⁵ Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant: Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 246.

⁶³⁶ *Secundus liber tres missas continet* (Paris: Attaignant, 1532), title page. On the importance and centrality of this moment for the mass see: Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie*, 28–39.

⁶³⁷ Several princes developed traditions of displaying armor or drawing swords during the mass, a practice which symbolically invoked both the divine legitimization of earthly might and the status of a prince or knight as defender of the faith. Such a militarization of the mass and of devotion to the host is present in sources concerning the French chapel as well: According to a 15th century account by Florentine merchant Giovanni Rucellai, the French king observed a custom in mass during which his page would draw a sword for the duration of the gospel. For a more extensive discussion of this practice see Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, 111; Warmington cites paragraph 7 of Rucellai's, *Zibaldone quaresimale*, f. 47v, held in private ownership. Warmington, "The Ceremony of the Armed Man, 103–4.

⁶³⁸ Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}*, 34.

are the coats of arms of John, Cardinal of Lorraine, and Francis of Tournon, two of the most powerful cardinals in Francis I's circle and both avid patrons of music.⁶³⁹ Given the continued importance of this hymn in the musical representation of the French king's devotional identity, as well as the allegorical value of the other works in the manuscript, a politically informed selection of Mouton's setting appears more likely.

A more challenging yet pertinent question concerns the work's dating and its journey into Italy. Both transmissions in Rome and Ferrara indeed highlight two known nuclei of wartime transmissions of the music of the French chapel. The transmission question allows us to consider in a different light the performance practice of *O salutaris Hostia*, whose use during active battle campaigns has yet to be considered. An important factor in the Ferrarese transmission of the motet is that the Modenese manuscript bears the hand and signature of none other than Jean Michel.⁶⁴⁰ This would certainly speak towards a potential wartime transmission of the work; however, evidence of Jean Michel's involvement alone is hardly confirmation of the work's presence in Italy c. 1515. An extrapolation of this logic would imply that all works by Mouton in the hand of Jean Michel had a connection to the campaign of 1515, which is demonstrably untrue, as we know through epistolary evidence that Jean Michel sought access to works by Mouton once again in 1518 after the birth of the dauphin.⁶⁴¹ In this case revisiting the Notre Dame sources may offer some insight as to when the composition would have been most likely to have seen regular performance. Given the dating of the Roman print to 1521, it is unclear if the work appeared during the tradition's revival in 1521. Furthermore, if the tradition had

⁶³⁹ For a full discussion of these cardinals and their relationship to the print see: Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 81–6.

⁶⁴⁰ There is no doubt about this as he names himself as the copyist under the dedicatory text. Biblioteca Estense, MS alpha.N.1.2, title page verso.

⁶⁴¹ Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," 215–6.

become less urgent after 1517, given a newfound sense of peace and Notre Dame's cessation of the prayer, it seems less likely that a new setting of the prayer after that date would have held much appeal, even if the king's chapel had continued its use. Thus, from a contextual perspective, a composition date later in Mouton's life appears less plausible, allowing us to consider in earnest a date of composition in the mid-1510s, with 1512 serving as a soft *terminus post quem*, keeping in mind that the hymn could have still sounded during *Corpus Christi* celebrations. While it is impossible to say for certain whether or not this work travelled with the battle campaign of 1515, of all the quotidian prayers that would have seen regular use during this period, none seems better suited for the job than *O salutaris Hostia*, given the regularity of its use and its wartime associations. Based on available evidence, which is of course incomplete, a wartime transmission of the work in Italy, through either Ferrarese or Roman channels, cannot be ruled out.

Both *Da pacem* and *O salutaris Hostia* afford us the opportunity to evaluate the effective of opposing methodologies in the search for a Renaissance wartime canon of music. Searching for overt references to war and peace is not fruitless but requires careful consideration of the work's ultimate function. Quotidian prayers, celebratory motets, the diplomatic ceremonial, and supplications for peace must be appreciated for the diverse ritual roles they fulfill. Based on the evidence that has survived, the *Da pacem*, both as antiphon and as borrowed material, wove in and out of the military developments of the Renaissance, at times reacting to tangible threats and at times sounding in spite of them. The fact that a number of canonic settings from French composers survive may very well mirror a wider adoption of the antiphon as a regular addition to the mass. In contrast, *O salutaris Hostia* has hitherto evaded a more detailed investigation into its potential associations with the Italian wars but may be situated within a military context by

means of archival, visual, and musical evidence. In this case close attention paid to the dating of changes in performance practice can offer insight into the political timeline that such efforts adhered to. Concerning Mouton's setting, though no extramusical information is available on this particular work, its musical characteristics and transmission contexts would have presented no obstacle to its performance as an elevation prayer in Francis I's battle entourage. Whether this methodology may be used to connect other works in the hand of Jean Michel to the battle entourage of 1515 remains to be seen.

Conclusion

Throughout this work, two major strands of thinking have been at odds. The tradition of the field mass served no doubt as a precursor to the presence of Renaissance chapel singers in the battle entourage. Several chapels certainly appear to have followed in the footsteps of this medieval practice, supporting their patrons at war through thick and thin, exposed to the violence and consequences at war.⁶⁴² In spite of the prevalence of this tradition, French chapel singers are never situated within it, at least in surviving textual sources. The only extant anecdote that would seem to place chapel singers on the battlefield itself, appears to have been a later embellishment of an 16th-century text by Jean de Saint-Gelais, in which the singers of the chapel are by no means present.⁶⁴³ If anything, documentation of the chapel singers favors their absence from the battlefield and their protection from the most severe consequences of warfare. While this did not exclude their participation in field masses *per se*, the rituals of war in which singers appear were decidedly triumphal, surfacing most often for triumphal processions and the masses that accompanying such festive visits. In another break with medieval practice, texts documenting these visits stray away from the devotional function of vocal music and favor the social value chapel singers. Singers were transformed from agents of divine intercession into an extension of the royal court and of the identity of their king. They were enumerated in processions and lists of participants in the wars, affording them the same honor of commemoration typically afforded to noblemen. They were strategically placed in masses alongside their local counterparts, among these the remnants of the Milanese chapel, signaling the king's ability to sustain a hybrid identity, in spite of Italian objections to the assertion of French identity on their soil. In

⁶⁴² Molinet, *Chroniques*, 1:73; Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado*, 199; Knighton, "Ritual and Regulations," 307; Sanudo, *La spedizione*, 552; Grassi, *Le due spedizioni*, 7.

⁶⁴³ Saint Gelais, *Histoire de Louys XII*, 215–6.

diplomatic occasions, among these the meetings between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1507 and between Francis I and Leo X in 1515, their presence became an extension of diplomatic gesture, the division of the mass used carefully to mimic the gestural language of parity and precedence that allowed for the smooth execution of the diplomatic ceremonial. While their devotional functions were no less important, as they also performed for feast days observed during the battle campaigns, it is evident that their political function dominated. This shift from vertical devotion to horizontal social values was timely. Increasingly social attitudes towards the humanistic values of largesse and towards the princely virtue of performative piety through music underlay the reception of the French chapel.⁶⁴⁴ The French chapel during the Italian wars were by no means the first to experience war, but they were the first to receive such considerable attention for it. While foreign delegates were no strangers to sending home letters with news of their musical encounters, chapel singers made their way for the first time into printed works, spreading news of their involvement to those following the wars at home, and they were immortalized by name in courtly and regional chronicles in both French and Italian.

This strict focus on socio-political values, however, has its limits. Musical repertoire reminds us that devotion and intercession remained central to the chapel's wartime duties and that the contextualization of musical works at war cannot rely on political ritual alone. Chansons and motets commemorating the Italian wars are few and far in between. Moreover, it is not immediately clear how many of these works were clearly composed for and during the battle entourage. Clément Janequin's *La bataille*, despite acquiring an association with the battle of Marignano decades after the fact, shows little indication of its inception and reception in 1515, or during any military campaigns themselves. Only one motet, Mouton's *Exalta regina Galliae*, can

⁶⁴⁴ See Chapter 2 "A theoretical paradigm shift?"

be clearly situated within the symbolic narrative that flourished around Francis I, Louise of Savoy, and Claude de France, after the battle of Marignano and may have been performed during the king's festive visit to Milan in October of 1515. Attempts to situate other contemporary motets in the proceedings of wartime rituals remain challenging. Compère's *Quis numerare queat* and Vaqueras's *Rex fallax miraculum*, despite some thematic and liturgical connections to the meetings between Alexander VI and Charles VIII in Rome in 1495, struggle to find compatibility with the gestural language of the meeting. Though existing hypotheses need not be dismissed, a search for alternatives proved fruitful. Easily overlooked are the devotional motets that would have been selected to join the "music library" of the warring chapel and that would have sounded as supplications in times of distress. Mouton's *O salutaris Hostia* and Compère's *Crux triumphans* offer glimpses not only into musical composition in times of crisis but into the devotional character of the royal chapel itself at war. While the former is an elevation motet instituted in times of war, the latter is a devotional motet for the Triumphal Cross, potentially referring to a relic held at the Sainte-Chapelle. All of these reflect greater practices of intercession in times of crises, some of which extended beyond the confines of war alone. An analysis of Compère's motets proposed that he elected to bring older works with him, challenging the assumption that motets for war needed to be newly composed.

This work set out to resituate our knowledge of the French chapel at war in the world of chronicler Jean d'Auton, for whom the *chantres de la chapelle du Roy* were more than mere composers of occasional motets but a part of the military entourage as any other.⁶⁴⁵ Though this work has uncovered and analyzed many of the rituals and compositions that marked the lives of these singers on their memorable journeys, much remains to be studied. As I have stated in the

⁶⁴⁵ D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, 4:365.

introduction to this work, my aims were not to uncover every connection between the actions and works of the singers 1494–1515 and war, but to establish a template for how to better approach the sources of this period from the perspective of the Italian wars. Still to be undertaken is a study of the journeys of numerous works by chapel composers in the years following their departures from Italy and the full impact of the military campaigns on music transmission. We cannot deny that the wars were an important catalyst for contact and exchange. The five motets by Compère in VatS 15, for instance, would eventually all find their way into Petrucci's *Motetti A*, perhaps making a stop along the way in Verona.⁶⁴⁶ Mouton's motets would also flourish in Italy in the years following the campaign of 1515. Were it not for the wars, we may wonder if the Medici Codex would have looked strikingly different in its composition. Hiding in the many Italian transmissions of French composers post-1515 may be further evidence of the devotional works that accompanied the chapel to war, some of which could still be identified through careful analysis. Beyond the Italian wars, the military campaigns of other princes and their chapels and the repertorial implications of these have yet to be studied from a similar perspective. As this study has attempted to demonstrate, these gaps in knowledge cannot be remedied through a battle-centric approach alone, but through a reconceptualization of war music itself. By shifting our understanding of music and war from a strict focus on musical works that address violence directly to a broader understanding of the rituals and devotional practices that accompanied military campaigns, we may better appreciate Renaissance music's culture of war in its entirety.

⁶⁴⁶ The manuscript in question is MS DCCLVIII of the Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, which has been dated to c. 1500. Masakata Kanazawa, "Two Vesper Repertories From Verona, ca. 1500," *Rivista Italiana Di Musicologia* 10 (1975): 155–79.

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