UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Iconography of Queenship:

Sacred Music and Female Exemplarity in Late Medieval Britain

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology

by

Gillian Lucinda Gower

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Iconography of Queenship:

Sacred Music and Female Exemplarity in Late Medieval Britain

by

Gillian Lucinda Gower

Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology

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Professor Elizabeth Randell Upton, Chair

This dissertation investigates the relational, representative, and most importantly, constitutive functions of sacred music composed on behalf of and at the behest of British queen-consorts during the later Middle Ages. I argue that the sequences, conductus, and motets discussed herein were composed with the express purpose of constituting and reifying normative gender roles for medieval queen-consorts. Although not every paraliturgical work in the English

repertory may be classified as such, I argue that those works that feature female exemplars—model women who exemplified the traits, behaviors, and beliefs desired by the medieval Christian hegemony—should be reassessed in light of their historical and cultural moments. These liminal works, neither liturgical nor secular in tone, operate similarly to visual icons in order to create vivid images of exemplary women saints or Biblical figures to which queen-consorts were both implicitly as well as explicitly compared.

The Iconography of Queenship is organized into four chapters, each of which examines an occasional musical work and seeks to situate it within its own unique historical moment. In addition, each chapter poses a specific historiographical problem and seeks to answer it through an analysis of the occasional work. Broadly speaking, the first two chapters are concerned with establishing continuity between Jewish and Christian traditions of exemplarity, while the latter two chapters address the convention of name parallelism, by which women were aligned with the saints that shared their given names. The dissertation traces the development of late medieval exemplarity in music as the roster of female exemplars available to illustrate model queenship continued to expand, ultimately minimizing the Hebrew matriarchs in favor of constructed saints such as Katherine of Alexandria and Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist. This research reveals hitherto unobserved thematic links and practical connections between English paraliturigcal works. By interrogating the historicity of these occasional pieces, I demonstrate that medieval sacred music had multivocal and multivalent available meanings beyond the purely devotional.

The dissertation of Gillian Lucinda Gower is approved.

Robert W. Fink

Matthew N. Fisher

Tamara Judith-Marie Levitz

Elizabeth Randell Upton, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary
DIAMM	*Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*
Grove	Stanley Saide and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
PMFC	*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*
PMFC XIV	Ernest H. Sanders, ed., *English Music of the 13th and early 14th Centuries*, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979).
PMFC XV	Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., *Motets of English Provenance, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 15 (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980).
PMFC XVI	Frank Ll. Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders, and Peter M. Lefferts, eds., *English Music for Mass and Offices (I)*, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 16 (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983).
PMFC XVII	Frank Ll. Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders, and Peter M. Lefferts, eds., *English Music for Mass and Offices (II)*, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 17 (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986).
ODNB	*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
RISM	*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*
SIBS	Helen Deeming, ed., *Songs in British Sources c. 1140-1300*, *Musica Britannica* 95 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013).

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

All library sigla follow the conventions set by RISM and continued by DIAMM.

CF D/DP Z6/2	Great Britain, Essex Record Office, MS D/DP Z6/2
Cgc 512/543	Great Britain, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 512/543
Cgc 667/760	Great Britain, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667/760
Cjc 234	Great Britain, Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 234 (K.31)
Cjec 5	Great Britain, Cambridge, Jesus College, MS Q. B.5
Cp 40	Great Britain, Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library, MS 40 ("Peterhouse Partbooks," "Henrician Set," Triplex)
Cp 41	Great Britain, Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library, MS 41 ("Peterhouse Partbooks," "Henrician Set," Medius)
Cp 31	Great Britain, Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library, MS 31 ("Peterhouse Partbooks," "Henrician Set," Contratenor)
Cp 32	Great Britain, Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library, MS 32 ("Peterhouse Partbooks," "Henrician Set," Bassus)
Cp 43	Great Britain, Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library, MS 40
Cu Dd.13.27	Great Britain, Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.13.27

DRc 20	Great Britain, Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library, MS C.I. 20
En 5.1.15	Great Britain, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 5.1.15 ("Scone Antiphonary; Carver Choirbook")
Eton	Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 178 ("Eton Choirbook")
Harley 978	Great Britain, London, British Library, MS Harley 978
I-Tn J.II.9	Italy, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS J.II.9
Lbl 978	Great Britain, London, British Library, MS Harley 978
Lbl 4909	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 4909
Lbl 24198	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 24198
Lbl 29246	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 29246
Lbl 34049	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 34049
Lbl 40011B	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 40011B
Lbl 57950	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 57950 ("Old Hall")
Lbl R.M.24.H.11	Great Britain, London, British Library, MS R.M.24.H.11
Llp 1	Great Britain, London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1
ModB	Italy, Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS a.X.I.11
NYpm 978	United States, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 978
Ob 7	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e museo 7
Ob 354	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 354
Ob 591	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood 591
Ob 652	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 62
Ob 1464	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 1464
Occc 59	Great Britain, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 59
Occc 144	Great Britain, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 144
Onc 362	Great Britain, Oxford, New College, MS B 362
Otc 34	Great Britain, Oxford, Trinity College, MS 34
OH	Great Britain, London, British Library, Additional 57950 ("Old Hall")
S-Uu C 233	Sweden, Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek MS C 233
Tenbury 354	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 354
Tenbury 1464	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 1464
WO	Great Britain, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Liturg. D. 20

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VITA

2006	B.A., Writing Seminars The Johns Hopkins University
2009	Libby van Arsdale Prize and Stipend for Best Research Paper Department of Music Hunter College of the City University of New York
2011	M.A., Music Department of Music Hunter College of the City University of New York
2011	Class of 1895 Award and Stipend for Academic Excellence Department of Music Hunter College of the City University of New York
2011-2012	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellowship Department of Musicology University of California, Los Angeles
2011-2012	Dean's Fellowship Herb Alpert School of Music University of California, Los Angeles
2012-2013	Teaching Assistant Department of Musicology University of California, Los Angeles
2012-2014	Research Fellow Center for Primary Research Training Charles E. Young Library Special Collections University of California, Los Angeles
2013	Summer Research Mentorship Award Graduate Division University of California, Los Angeles
2013-2014	Teaching Associate Department of Musicology University of California, Los Angeles
2014	C.Phil.

	Department of Musicology University of California, Los Angeles
2014-2015	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellowship Del Amo Fellowship Department of Musicology University of California, Los Angeles
2015	Student Opportunity Fund Award Herb Alpert School of Music University of California, Los Angeles
2015	Travel Award Center for European and Eurasian Studies University of California, Los Angeles
2015-2016	Teaching Fellow Department of Musicology University of California, Los Angeles

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

2016	"Reading in the Digital Darkroom," Paper presented at the 2nd Annual Inertia Conference on Sound, Media, and the Digital Humanities, Unviersity of California, Los Angeles, April, 2016.
2015	"St. Katherine of Alexandria at the English Court: The Late-Medieval Motet as Agent of Devotion and Propaganda," Paper presented at the Royal Musical Association Research Students Conference, University of Bristol, United Kingdom, January 2015.
2014	"Where's the Music?" Roundtable on Medieval and Renaissance Material Culture, presented at Reading Matters: 25th Annual Friends of English Southland Graduate Conference at the University of California, Los Angeles, May 2014.
2013	"On Earth as It Is in Heaven: Musical Mirrors and the Public Lives of Medieval Queens," Paper presented at the 19th International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 2014.
2014	"Musical Models of English Queenship in the Later Middle Ages," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Los Angeles, California, April 2014.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF QUEENSHIP:
Sacred Music and Female Exemplarity in Late Medieval Britain

Introduction: "I syng of a maiden"

I syng of a mayden // that is makeles
Kyng of alle kynges // to her sone che ches.

He cam also stylle // ther his moder was,
As dew in Aprylle // that fallyt on the gras.

He cam also stylle // to his moderes bowr,
As dew in Aprylle // that fallyt on the flour.

He cam also stylle // ther his moder lay,
As dew in Aprylle // that fallyt on the spray.

Moder and mayden // was never non but che:
Wel may swych a lady // Godes moder be.

Anonymous.

Introduction

Within the archives of the British Library resides the manuscript GB-BL Sloane 2593, a collection of Middle English lyrics made ca. 1400, including *I syng of a mayden*, quoted above in full. *I syng of a mayden* is both one of the more well-known English carols of the fifteenth century as well as one of the more perplexing. To Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou, the carol is "baffling" as well as "arguably the most elegant of all Middle English lyrics."[1] Barbara Raw remarked upon the lyric's "beauty and restraint."[2] To W. W. Greg, the repetition in the central

[1] Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou, "Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric," in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 575.

[2] Barbara C. Raw, "As Dew in Aprille," *The Modern Language Review* 55, no. 3 (1960): 411.

three stanzas made the poem not only "striking" but "one of the most perfect poems in the [Middle English] language."[3] The carol, although its music is now lost, was meant to be sung.[4]

I syng of a mayden is yet more intriguing for in its presence within the Sloane manuscript, which in addition to narrative poems and bawdy "riddle" lyrics laden with sexual innuendoes (including "I have a gentil cok" and "I have a newe garden"), contains several other carols, many of them on religious subjects. Similar in both form (long couplets with caesurae) and subject to *I syng of a mayden* is the carol *Adam lay ybounden*, which includes the following lines:

> Ne hadde the appil take ben// the appil taken ben,
> Ne hadde never our lady //a ben heven quen.
>
> Blyssid be the tyme // that appil take was
> Therfore we mown syngyn //*Deo gracias*.

The juxtaposition of Latin prayer *Deo gracias*—the response to the benediction which ends the Mass—with the Middle English "folksong" style that apes oral tradition would seem to contradict much of what musicologists have long held to be true about medieval music: namely, that the composers of this music adhered strictly to binary oppositions between oral and written, vernacular and Latin, and above all sacred and secular. These formulations are reified in our core currricular courses, our conferences, and our publications, preserving artificial and ahistorical boundaries that were never inherent to their origin but are inimical to the objectives of our field. That the Sloane lyrics should remain the province of English departments because they lack music notation when we know that they were intended to be sung is but one symptom of an

[3] W. W. Greg, "I Sing of a Maiden That Is Makeless," *Modern Philology* 7, no. 2 (1909).

[4] Alan J. Fletcher, "'I Sing of a Maiden': A Fifteenth-Century Reminiscence," *Notes and Queries* 223, no. 1 (1978): 108.

ongoing challenge for musicologists: what is to be done with music that is inherently liminal? Whether the issue be topic, source, or quirk of notation, musicologists have struggled to cope with music that does not easily sort itself into one of the many categories we have devised to organize it. It is with such liminal music that this dissertation is chiefly concerned.

The Iconography of Queenship began with my desire to understand how the sacred and secular could co-exist in the conductus that became the subject of Chapter Two, *Singularis laudis digna*. Composed in the late-fourteenth century, *Singularis laudis digna* comprises three central themes: first, a salutation and prayer for intercession from the Virgin Mary; second, a commentary on the marital and martial relationships of the Old Testament figures Esther and Judith; and finally, a prayer for the cessation of hostilities between France and England, and specifically, that the English king "Edwardus" prove victorious. This confluence of meanings was compelling enough on its own, but what truly piqued my interest was that the piece had not only been linked to a specific king, Edward III, but also to his consort, Philippa of Hainault. How was it, I wondered, that this queen, who was not even named in the text, had become so inextricably bound up with this anonymously-authored conductus? Who had composed this work? More importantly, who had commissioned it, and for what purpose? Who had the intended audience been? How involved had Philippa really been with *Singularis laudis digna*, and were there other comparable works that remained unexamined, or other comparable queens? These were the questions that planted the seeds of this dissertation.

The Iconography of Queenship investigates the relational, representative, and most importantly, constitutive functions of sacred music composed on behalf of and at the behest of English queen-consorts, spanning the twelfth- through the beginning of the sixteenth-century. I

argue that the paraliturgical works I discuss herein were deliberately constructed in order to constitute and reify normative gender roles for medieval English queen-consorts. Although not every paraliturgical work in the English repertory may be classified as such, those works that feature female exemplars—model women who exemplify the traits, behaviors, and beliefs desired by the Christian hegemony—should be reassessed in light of their historical and cultural moments. While this is not an art historical dissertation, I have selected the term "iconography" in order to communicate the religious implications and divine resonance depicted in these musical works. Because so many of their lyrics are descriptive in tone and narrative in mode, the sequences, conductus, and motets discussed in this dissertation work similarly to visual icons in order to create vivid images of exemplary women saints or Biblical figures to which queen-consorts were both implicitly as well as explicitly compared.

Background

Few musicologists have undertaken interpretive work on the medieval English sacred music. Indeed, musicologists' attitude towards this repertory is aptly summed up by Peter Lefferts' assertion that

> the [English] motet texts offer no opportunity for the kinds of interpretive analysis that musicology has seen so successfully applied to the rich, figurative language of 14th-century isorhythmic motets and grandes ballades, whose political, often polemical texts can usually be associated to definite historical circumstances.[5]

Lefferts' claim that the music of medieval Britain was entirely apolitical and apolemical is not borne out by analyses rendered either in this dissertation or in earlier scholarship. The classic study of medieval English music is Frank Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain* (1958,

[5] Peter M. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, Studies in Musicology (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 171.

repr. 1963), which contains many of the preliminary observations that contributed to this dissertation, such as the idea that *Eterne laudis lilium* might have been written for Elizabeth of York.[6] Ernest Sanders and Nigel Wilkins were also proponents of what might be termed an historicist approach to medieval musicology.[7] No summary of scholarship on medieval English music, however cursory, could be complete without mentioning Margaret Bent's impressively diverse body of scholarship[8]. Without Bent's paleographical, philological and theoretical expertise, which she has brought to bear on an astonishing number of works of English provenance, this dissertation would not have been possible.

Despite these mid-century forays into historicism, since the 1980s, scholarly engagement with medieval English music—particularly sacred music—has often focused solely on formal analysis and codicology. Formal analyses, codicological studies, and composer biography have seemed to take precedence over questions about purpose, meaning, and listener experience. This analytical turn in medieval musicology is especially puzzling in light of the new methodologies taking hold of the rest of the field through the paradigm shift known as the New Musicology.

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[6] Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, Second ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

[7] See for example Ernest Sanders, "English Polyphony in the Morgan Library Manuscript," *Music & Letters* 61, no. 2 (1980); Nigel E Wilkins, *Words and Music in Medieval Europe* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011).

[8] A small sample: Margaret Bent, "Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation," *Early Music* 22, no. 3 (1994); *The Fountains Fragments* (Clarabricken, Kilkenny, Ireland: Reproduced under the direction of L. Hewitt for Boethius Press, 1987); "Grammar and Rhetoric in Late Medieval Polyphony: Modern Metaphor or Old Simile?," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript," *Music & Letters* 47, no. 3 (1966); "The Motet around 1500," *Early Music* 35, no. 4 (2007); "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 2 (1968); Peter M. Lefferts et al., "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," *Early Music History* 2 (1982); Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Early Music* (1974); Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, eds., *The Old Hall Manuscript*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae (Münster, Germany: American Institute of Musicology, 1969); Margaret Bent, "Rota Versatilis—toward a Reconstruction," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981); "Sources of the Old Hall Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 94 (1967).

During the 1980s and 1990s, a debate took hold of the field about the value and purpose of these empirical methodologies, which were frequently derided as "positivist." In his watershed article "The Musicology of the Future," Lawrence Kramer wrote,

> what we call musical experience needs to be systematically rethought, that the horizons of our musical pleasure need to be redrawn more broadly, and that the embeddedness of music in networks of nonmusical forces is something to be welcomed rather than regretted.[9]

Kramer criticized musicologists for relying solely on what he described as "positive knowledge" about music: evidence that is recorded in the score or in other direct references to the piece and its provenance.[10] He argued that musicologists should instead practice "criticism," which he defined as "the rigorous use of a language that, while conceding its own "rhetorical" and "subjective" character, responsibly seeks to situate musical experience within the densely compacted, concretely situated worlds of those who compose, perform, and listen."[11] Through this process of "responsible" contextualization, musicologists would no longer rely on direct, positive evidence to interpret and evaluate music, but incorporate indirect, contextual evidence into their research as well. Kramer's postmodern musicology would allow the intrusion of other theoretical systems to intrude upon traditional music theory, substituting, for example, feminist theory for Schenkerian analysis.

In response to Lawrence Kramer's article, Gary Tomlinson advocated a form of scholarly criticism and contextualization that would de-center the notes—the so-called "music itself"—and instead

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[9] Lawrence Kramer, "The Musicology of the Future," *repercussions* 1, no. 1 (1992): 9-10.

[10] Ibid., 8.

[11] Ibid., 10.

> resolutely historicize musical utterance, exploding it outwards through an imaginative building of contexts out of as wealthy a concatenation of past traces as the historian can manage. Such contextualism will aim to describe a local set of meanings in as full a volume as possible. It will not pose as a reconstructive of some putative and unitary "original" situation the music inhabited will recognize the myriad situations we as historians might construct around a musical utterance and the plurality of meanings the music might thus engage.[12]

Tomlinson argued that Kramer's notion of "criticism" was overly limiting; more than one "original" situation may be possible, depending on who is determining the situation and what is meant by "original." Tomlinson notes the inherent subjectivity present in criticism, finding that Kramer has failed to acknowledge this serious problem. In addition, Tomlinson critiqued aspects of modernity that, in his view, have been detrimental to music scholarship, including the myth of genius; the assumption that categories and genres like "work" and "music" are created by human and may differ depending on time, space, and culture; and finally, love of music. In his later critique, Leech-Wilkinson picked up the thread of these debates, ostensibly siding with Tomlinson and opining that "musicology is about ideas and opinions, not about demonstrable facts as usually understood."[13]

Critiques of positivism also came from musicologists aligning themselves with explicitly feminist scholarship. Susan McClary introduced the idea of semiotics into music of the seventeenth century, describing organized sound as a "cultural discourse." As McClary explained, "music does not just passively reflect society; it also serves as a public forum within which various models of gender organization (along with many other aspects of social life) are

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[12] Gary Tomlinson, "Musical Pasts and Postmodern Musicologies: A Response to Lawrence Kramer," *Current Musicology*, no. 53 (1992): 22.

[13] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 217.

asserted, adopted, contested, and negotiated."[14] In other words, music in McClary's formulation is not simply a reflective mirror for society; rather, it is a medium through which society and individual actors can engage in a dialogue about modes of being.

In her own related critique of the musical canon and its place in medieval scholarship, Paula Higgins argues that "historically constructed hierarchies of genre and their valorization" have "informed assessments of musical significance" in ways that have (unintentionally) obscured information vital to understanding musical culture.[15] For Higgins, the undue focus by medievalists on individual composers and its attendant assumptions about the archetypal "musical genius" have warped music historiography of the Middle Ages into a narrative that apes that of the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the mythical great (white, male) composer. The privileging of a musical canon in medieval music, as elsewhere in music scholarship, has closed musicologists' eyes to works by "lesser" composers—including works that survive anonymously or only in fragmentary form.[16]

Recent critiques of McClary's *Feminine Endings* have focused on the limits of her feminism. For example, Paula Higgins has rightly admonished McClary for failing to credit other pioneering feminist musicologists for their work, while Emily Sue Goldman takes both Higgins and McClary to task for neglecting to critique their own reliance on essentializing language that implicitly underscores the very aspects of femininity they sought to rehabilitate as worthy objects

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[14] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991), 8.

[15] Paula Higgins, "Introduction: Celebrating Transgression and Excess, Busnoys and the Boundaries of Late Medieval Culture," in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 6.

[16] On the myth of white male genius in medieval music see"The Apotheosis of Josquin Des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 3 (2005); Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 9-44.

of scholarship.[17] Similarly, Elizabeth Sayrs has voiced her objection to what she views as an unintentional but deeply problematic reification of the gender binary in McClary's approach towards listening to sonata form, particularly in terms of McClary formulation of male-female sexual dynamics as both essentializing and biodeterminist as well as fundamentally negative.[18]

To be clear, these issues are not McClary's (or Higgins') alone: as with any scholarly work that seeks to engage with notions of "womanhood" and "femininity," their work is hamstrung by the complexity of performativity and constitutiveness that resonates in Beauvoir's elegant formulation: "One is not born, but rather becomes woman."[19] Indeed, the line between dismantling and reifying essentialist and biodeterminist notions of what exactly makes a woman is one that this dissertation often straddles; however, I have tried to base my argument not on what most scholars now agree constitutes womanhood—a set of normative and performative constraints separate from physiological characteristics, the definition advanced by Butler—but rather on how femininity and womanhood was constituted for and by medieval women. Specifically, this dissertation is concerned with the experiences common to a very small category of people defined as women—the ones who by birth or marriage became royal. As Mary Carpenter Erler, Maryanne Kowaleski, and Carolyn Dinshaw have demonstrated, normative gender roles were not the same in different echelons of society and medieval queerness of

[17] Emily Sue Goldman, "Feminist Evasions: Susan Mcclary's Unacknowledged Debts," *Discoveries* 6 (2005): 5.

[18] Elizabeth Sayrs, "Deconstructing Mcclary: Narrative, Feminine Sexuality and Feminism in Susan Mcclary's Feminine Endings," *College Music Symposium* 33-34 (1993).

[19] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 301.

sexuality and gender, if not willingly constructed and embraced in the self-identified way of the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries, was not so unusual as once thought.[20]

While many musicologists assumed the debate had come to a close, in *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (2002), Daniel Leech-Wilkinson attacked medieval musicology, asserting that

> medievalists, almost without exception, have acted as guardians of a historical ideology, policing the work of their colleagues in search of ideas or views that might not be historically correct, and in the process building up a body of common law that forms the generally acceptable story of Music in the Middle Ages. There is no branch of musicology in which 'discipline' has been a more apt term.[21]

Leech-Wilkinson's sharp critique centers on the issue of musicology's disciplinary boundaries. An overarching preoccupation with historical accuracy, he argues, has stifled the discipline, fostering an authoritarian dialogue in which some musicologists dictate methodology to other musicologists. The debates of the 1990s about the appropriate methodology for musical scholarship have, perhaps, faded into the background but they remain relevant to all musicologists, not only those working on music of the distant past.

In light of the recent breakdown of the United Kingdom's relationship with the European Union, commonly referred to as Brexit, it seems a cultural and ideological border between the UK and the rest of Europe is on its way to being (re-)erected. This dissertation does not seek to re-inscribe such a boundary within musicology; indeed, as Tamara Levitz has demonstrated, acknowledging the violence enacted on people by the regulation of borders—physical,

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[20] Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, "Introduction: A New Economy of Power Relations, Female Agency in the Middle Ages," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

[21] Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 217.

ideological, and academic—has had a disastrous effect on individual experiences of music.[22] And although I object strenuously to the sense of abjection expressed by some medievalists regarding their focus on insular topics, this dissertation is not an intervention in the discourse about the quality of music produced in the England that has so often been derided as a "backwater" of medieval international relations, not to mention material culture. Rather, this dissertation represents my contribution to a discourse in need of continuity as well as context. The false dichotomy between positivist and poststructuralist scholarship—the "old" and "new" musicologies, respectively—must come to an end. I see my work as a melding of these two approaches, which in my view ought to be regarded as tools rather than ideologies. Nor does this dissertation pretend to be a source study. Instead, I have constructed this dissertation with the intent of eschewing what I see as unproductive boundaries erected between the medieval and early modern eras, between secular and sacred, and above all, between musical and lyrical analyses.

Rather than focusing on the composer's biographical details or speculating as to their psychological condition, or investigating the performance practice of medieval music or the ethics of same in our own time, as many recent monographs have so ably done, this dissertation is explicitly concerned with the *reception* of medieval music, not in the critical sense, but from the perspective of lived experience. What did medieval audiences think of the music they heard at mass, during the Office, or at specific political or religious occasions? What were the motives of the patrons who were responsible for the composers, either through ongoing underwriting or through an exchange of payment?

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[22] Tamara Levitz, "Introduction: Musicology Beyond Borders?," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012).

Like literature, medieval music, and in particular song, as Emma Dillon explains, "is often bounded by later notions of the musical work, and of music's rarified place of the world." She goes on to say,

> That classification [I.e. music as something rarified and ineffable] is sometimes reinforced by cultural historians who, perhaps cautious in the face of the notational and analytical dimensions of music, have treated musical experience as separate from other kinds of experience, and listening and performing as activities set apart.[23]

Dillon here describes an ongoing problem for music scholars in which the phenomenon of music is held apart from other cultural products open to scholarly inquiry, from theater to the plastic arts. The problem she pinpoints is ancillary to the disciplinary lacuna addressed in this dissertation—the "notational and analytical dimensions of music," in other words, its appearance on the page, and its (il)legibility to scholars, dependent on discipline or subfield. For example, Dillon noted the problem posed by the musicological boundary that is medieval music, a boundary that is functionally framed by technologies of notation and ideologically by the privileging of manuscript and source studies. Dillon elegantly formulates a comparison between today's disciplinary focus and the medieval *mappa mundi*, which artificially depicted the center of the universe primarily Jerusalem (here, standing in for Christianity), and secondly, the location of the artist, with the word's nadir whatever mysterious country was currently most "Other."[24]

From its advent in the ninth century, music notation in Europe was slow to standardize. Notational practices emerged in seemingly discrete styles across the Continent and in the British Isles. Although related by commonalities of symbols, pitch-specific notations developed characteristics unique to their home scriptoria. English or Anglo-Norman liturgical books

[23] Emma Dillon, "Musicology on the Edge: Reflections on Medieval Borders," ibid.: 6.

[24] Ibid.

surviving *in toto* are not commonplace. This is undoubtedly due to not only the ravages of time but the ravages of Reformation as well. In fact, most music-in-England (as distinct from English music) of the earlier medieval period survives only in miscellanies, and it is perhaps the heterogeneous contents of these manuscripts, that has contributed to a lack of collaboration between historians, philologists, and musicologists. Perhaps because manuscript studies have traditionally conferred the greatest academic capital within medieval musicology, rarely do musicologists undertake fully comprehensive studies of miscellanies or fragmentary sources—typically, studies are performed on complete liturgical books or codices with some sense of coherence, such as the Winchester Troper. The field has seldom probed the usage of these books, to say nothing of the intentionality of the authors, often failing to acknowledge or examine the flexibility—or outright lack of fixity—that is inherent to the contents of medieval books. For this reason, I have deliberately sought out historical and thematic connections between works from fragmentary sources to those found in complete codices such as Old Hall.

The sacred and the profane

Religion has long been understood as a constitutive force in the shaping of society. Guy DeBord, for example, argued *pace* Marx that that stratification of feudal society was a product of the combination of invading tribes (Vikings, Goths, etc.) and the post-Roman cultures into which they were assimilated. These cultures communicated their hierarchies through both spoken and unspoken discourses, including the "religious language" of Christianity, which was itself a fundamentally hierarchical view of the world."[25]

[25] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Ken Knabb (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2014), 74.

Eamon Duffy's work on lay devotion has been particularly foundational for my understanding of medieval English religious practice outside the cloister and within the court. Duffy's central claim revolves around the conceit that Christianity in late medieval England was relatively cohesive and consistent across communities of practitioners.[26] Moreover, the worship he terms "traditional religion" was a rich and imaginative devotional practice, encompassing prayers, emblems, and ritual practices that were legible to not only literate, educated élites of ecclesiastical, academic, and lay aristocratic classes, but the illiterate members of the third estate as well.[27] Duffy refutes the once-prevailing theory that the Protestant Reformation represented a welcome renewal of Christian faith in England, arguing instead that Henry VIII's break with the Pope was a moment of monumental rupture for all echelons of society. In considering not only how people prayed but also *why* they prayed, Duffy provides new insight into medieval communities' relationships with the divine that further blurs the sacred/secular divide.

As Lawrence Besserman argues, "the categories of the 'sacred' and the 'secular' are and have always been in flux, and that the critical methodologies for studying sacred and secular phenomena are correspondingly varied."[28] However, this view has not been universally reflected by medieval musicological scholarship. Rather, although musicologists have been increasingly willing to investigate the porousness of the sacred divide, the discipline often tends to view the border as a one-way street. For example, John Caldwell has explored the relationship between liturgical and vernacular music, but he does so by looking at the liturgy's influence on vernacular

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[26] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-C.1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

[27] Ibid., 4-5.

[28] Lawrence Besserman, "Introduction: Sacred and Secular in Medieval and Early Modern Cultures, Issues and Approaches," in *Sacred and Secular in Medieval and Early Modern Cultures: New Essays*, ed. Lawrence Besserman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1.

compositions, rather than examining how the vernacular might impact liturgical or paraliturgical works.[29] This approach reifies musicology's privileging of the liturgical above all else by assuming that liturgical practice preceded vernacular song, and that secularity never intrudes on the domain of the sacred.

Liturgy and paraliturgy

In order to address the liminal works that form the basis of this dissertation, I rely on a distinction between musical works with obviously liturgical purposes, and those works that are not easily classified within orthodox practice, such as sequences, conductus, and motets. These works are aptly described as "paraliturgical," a term coined by Thurston Dart written in 1954.[30] Dart identifies several then-"urgent" problems for the study of renaissance music, including an overall lack of bibliography, particularly *catalogues raisonnés* and *opera omnia*; a dearth of meaningful scholarship on instruments, particularly developmental histories (Dart's own particular interest was the lute); a limiting focus on what he termed "art song", i.e. the music enjoyed by educated élites over "city-song", the music of the bourgeoisie in the absence of meaningful traces of folk song; and a general lack of scholarship on the subject of sacred music. In particular, Dart lamented the dearth of histories of the mass, singling out colonial offshoots of Spanish Catholicism as a fruitful area of scholarship, only just beginning to be investigated by the great scholar of Iberian music, Robert Stevenson. Dart also noted that sequences, processionals, and other plainly sacred works without a clearly defined place in the liturgy were long-overdue for scholarly interrogation. He termed this liminal group of sacred works "para-

[29] John Caldwell, "Relations between Litrugical and Vernacular Music in Medieval England," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainson & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[30] Thurston Dart, "Renaissance Music: Some Urgent Tasks for Scholars," *Renaissance News* 7, no. 3 (1954).

liturgical."[31] This term has since been employed sparingly but accurately by Leeman Perkins and John Caldwell to describe works that resist the strictures of liturgical genres, such as the English so-called "cantilena."[32]

Interpretative communities

The humanistic study of medieval lyrics has comprised several different approaches towards assessing interpretation in different historical moments. The more fruitful of these approaches have often involved inscribing borders around a community in order to understand how its members might experience a work. For example, Wendy Scase defines the requirements of a "textual community" as:

1. A set of texts with common features;
2. A group of readers who know each other
3. Evidence that they were thinking about how to read/use texts.[33]

The words "texts" and "readers" might easily be replaced with "musical works" and "listeners." The textual community has much in common with Stanley Fish's concept of interpretive communities, a group of "informed readers" through whom the meaning of a literary work is co-created with the author. This formulation locates meaning not in the work itself, but rather, in the resonance, perhaps cultural or emotional, it stimulates in its audience. Medieval musicology has typically focused on authorial intention as a way of accessing meaning or at least rationale for a composition's existence. Fish's idea of interpretive communities displaces meaning, if not rationale, into the mind of the listener, allowing scholars neatly to avoid the

[31] Ibid., 90.

[32] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 92.

[33] Wendy Scase, "Re-Inventing the Vernacular: Middle English Language and Its Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1100-1500*, ed. Larry Scanlon, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 29.

question of authorial intention when no author can be identified. Further, the notion of interpretive communities may help in if not closing at least reducing the gap between scholarly interpretation and original reception of these works. By identifying these communities, scholars can also identify the cultural and educational influences that might have acted upon their members.[34]

These theories, broadly categorized as "reader-response theory" have begun to be recognized by musicologists. For example, Elizabeth Randell Upton has adapted Eric Zimmerman's theory of play as a means to explain the experience of creation, co-creation, and listening in medieval music. Play, according to Zimmerman, is not the free, limitless experience we generally conceive of it to be. Instead, as Brian Upton clarifies, play comprises movement that is free, but only to a point, for it is "a process, not a thing," which takes place within a "system of constraints"; paradoxically, without these constraints, freedom cannot be perceived.[35] *Pace* Zimmerman, Upton identifies three different types of "players": performers, composers, and listeners, each of whom encounter a work differently depending on the constraints operating within their sphere of experience. Constraints on a performer's play include the limits of a musical work and their own technical training. For listeners, the constraints may be a bit wider, encompassing not only the musical work, but the entirety of their lived experience and education as well. Upton's description of listener play, which grants the listener agency in their own understandings of musical objects, is most useful to a pursuit of cultural meaning in music. By reconstructing the constraints that bounded medieval musical play—notation, location,

[34] Stanley Eugene Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

[35] Brian Upton, *The Aesthetic of Play* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2015), 14-15.

perception, the influence of culture and other art works, historical events—we can also reconstruct an imagined original live performance; the object to be studied becomes not the nebulous concept of "the music itself" but the event of its performance(s) and the context in which it (or they) took place.[36]

Interpretation and intertextuality

Recent monographs and articles by medieval musicologists have begun to engage with interpretation and contextualization as valid forms of scholarly practice, citing aspects of the musical work such as genre, juxtaposition of texts, choice of tenor, and musical structure as open to interpretation. Julie E. Cumming has noted that knowledge of genre can inform interpretations of medieval music, along with "text, texture, and musical style."[37] She suggests the possibility of unique interpretations for motets with unusual structural features by asking the question, "do their peculiarities have an expressive purpose?"[38] These questions have begun to be addressed in new musicological scholarship. For example, both Margaret Bent and Anna Zayaruznaya have argued that the structure of polyphonic music may be linked to the work's textual subject. Bent argues that the "round" compositional strategies employed in the rondellus-conductus *Rota versatilis* reflects the roundness of the wheel emblem of its subject, St. Katherine of Alexandria.[39] Similarly, Zayaruznaya argues that Machaut used the technique of voice-crossing

[36] Elizabeth Randell Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 6-7.

[37] Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 154.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Bent, "Rota Versatilis—toward a Reconstruction."

in his motets on the goddess Fortuna in order to create a musical image of the goddess' own wheel emblem.[40]

Many recent inquiries—including this dissertation—have been influenced by the work of literature scholar Sylvia Huot on thirteenth-century vernacular motets. Huot introduced the concept of intertextuality into her analyses, arguing for readings of motets such as the Montpellier Codex's *Plus bele que flor/ Quant revient fuelle et flor/ L'autrier joer m'en alai/ Flos filius ejus* that interrogate how these voices work together to create new meanings. As she explains, these meanings could be read differently depending on the listener:

> The sudden realization that the amorous vignette of the motetus hides an allusion to the Marian liturgy and the Song of Songs could be a source of great amusement; it could also be a lesson in the importance of careful reading. To single out just one interpretation would be to destroy the fragile beauty and the subtlety of the motet, whose very nature consists in the simultaneous rendition of diverse texts and the suggestive play of meaning generated from their interaction.[41]

The nuanced readings Huot prescribes have been taken up as a key methodology by some musicologists working on medieval topics. For example, Paula Higgins has recently brought contextualized interpretation into the forefront of her work on Antoine Busnoys, an approach she terms "contextual reading." In her article "Love and Death in the Fifteenth-Century Motet," Higgins offers a reading of the motet *Anima mea/ Stirps Jesse* that relies on an understanding of political events in the late fifteenth century. Higgins concludes that the unusual combination of these two texts is the product of Busnoys' coded reference to a historical person, Margaret of Scotland, dauphine of France, who passed away in 1446 following a scandal in which her fidelity

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[40] Anna Zayaruznaya, "'She Has a Wheel That Turns ...': Crossed and Contradictory Voices in Machaut's Motets," *Early Music History* 28 (2009).

[41] Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 94-95.

to the dauphin was questioned by a courtier. Higgins' analysis relies on an intertextual reading of the two texts of the motet; placed in the historical context of the French court in the mid-fifteenth century, her reading of the texts as sexually revelatory becomes convincing.[42]

Royal institutions, royal programs

Little attention has been given to royal involvement with music outside studies of institutions such as the Chapel Royal, obscuring the relationships royal patrons and composers might have engaged in outside of the formalities of the institution. This has also meant that royal patronage of music prior to the establishment of the Chapel Royal has remained undiscovered. Early studies of the Chapel Royal by W. H. Grattan Flood determined that although the establishment of the Chapel Royal was not confirmed by Edward III until 26 October 1351, substantial records of earlier royal household chapels survive.[43] The earliest of these was a "primitive" version attached to the household of Henry I (1068-1135)[44]. The gap between Henry I's chapel and the similar group of clerks employed in the household of King John (1166-1216) is likely due in part to the short reign of Stephen of Blois, but primarily because Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine resided primarily on the Continent. During the reign of John, some provisions may have been made for continuity in the chapels, as singers employed for John's Christmas feast held at York in 1200 were also retained by Henry III.[45] In 1225, Henry III sent

[42] Paula Higgins, "Love and Death in the Fifteenth-Century Motet," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[43] These early studies are W. H. Grattan Flood, "The English Chapel Royal under Henry V and Henry Vi," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10, no. 4 (1909); "Gilbert Banaster, Master of the Children of the English Chapel Royal (1478-1490)," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 15, no. 1 (1913); "The Conscription of Choristers for the Chapel Royal from 1400 to 1700," *The Musical Times* 57, no. 884 (1916); "Henry Abyndon, Mus. Bac., Choirmaster of the King's Chapel, in 1455," *The Musical Times* 52, no. 820 (1911); "The Beginnings of the Chapel Royal: An Unwritten Page of English Musical History," *Music & Letters* 5, no. 1 (1924).

[44] "The Beginnings of the Chapel Royal."

[45] Ibid., 85.

one of these chapel clerks Oxford for further musical training, perhaps as a composer. The increasing entrenchment of the choir in court culture is reflected by the fact that by the late thirteenth century, the group had its own uniforms, made of samite and gold cloth—expensive materials only a monarch could afford to purchase in bulk.[46] As the English bureaucracy continued to grow, and record-keeping became commonplace, the exchequer's records and the royal household ordinances began to include the names of the choristers and their deans, as well as the sorts of music they performed. For example, the Chapel Royal of Henry VI performed a daily ladymass in honor of the BVM. Perhaps because of the relatively high number of recorded names for these musicians, scholarship on the Chapels Royal has typically focused on scraping together such crumbs of biographical detail. Although an undoubtedly valuable line of inquiry, such hyper-emphasis on composers and performers may have detracted from the ways these musicians engaged with their patrons, including the types of music they performed and composed, and the reasons for those performances and compositions.

In his study of Westminster Abbey, Paul Binski argues that the abbey "stands not as an illustration of the beliefs and principles of a certain type of political culture, but as a practical incorporation of those beliefs and principles: it stands as a 'constitutive representation' of certain discursive practices."[47] Binski demonstrates that royal hagiography expressed through architecture and the cult of St. Edward constituted "symbolic representations" of the English court's political and cultural values and attitudes.[48] While trying to avoid the organicist "discourse of improvement" that pervades description of medieval visual art (as well as musical

[46] Ibid.

[47] Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), vii.

[48] Ibid.

art), Binski "proposes a more complex reading of high political patronage."[49] "High patronage and its audience was essentially diverse and fragmented, or federal, on character, possessing the character of a complex system of local knowledge: that the attributes of the margin, namely diversity and polysemous meaning, were attributes too of the center."

Binski explores Henry III's motives for beginning a program of *renovatio* at Westminster Abbey in 1295, which manifested as the so-called English High Gothic style. Binski suggests, *pace* Matthew Paris, that in combination with devotion to St. Edmund, Henry desired parity with European monarchs, especially Louis IX, and to establish a central locus of Plantagenet piety on par with St-Denis that would act as the embodiment of "formative political culture" in England.[50] Early in his reign, Henry chose to promote the cult of St. Edward, the last effective Anglo-Saxon king (1042-66), canonized 1161, and Henry III's ancestor via Henry I. Binski argues that this was likely a personal devotional gesture by Henry because the saint was not popular outside of a small class—i.e. the royal family. Binski calls into question early assumptions that the twelfth- and thirteenth-century canonization of counter-monarchical saints such as Thomas Becket, Simon de Montfort, and Thomas of Lancaster necessitated a royal answer in the form of Edward because Henry III himself practiced devotion to Becket.[51]

As Binski does in the case of architecture, I question the notion that art served only as a backdrop to medieval political and cultural life[52], preferring to see cultural products as simultaneously reflective and constitutive of cultural ideas, themes, and discourses. As Binski

[49] Ibid., vii-vii.

[50] Ibid., 1.

[51] Ibid., 3-4.

[52] Ibid., vii.

argues, there is a "multiplicity of meaning in medieval art," where by "the potential of any artefact, not only to shape our understanding of a culture, but actually substantially to form that culture."[53]Binski argues that Henry III's Westminster *renovatio* represented not a program solely of veneration of a personal royal saint, but rather *constituted* a program of consolidation of royal power. Rather than focusing on personal affinity, Henry was motivated by a desire to centralize English monarchical power at Westminster, a natural choice for location based on its royal mythology, the recent relocation of the exchequer's headquarters under Henry II and treasury under John. Binski argues that Westminster would now become the central location of royal mythology and the spiritual home of the king's persona, even though kings' bodies themselves continued to be itinerant. As a political capital, the process begun by Edward with the construction of the original Romanesque church and royal residence nearby built on that begun by the Anglo-Saxon kings, as early as Edgar. Henry III merely consolidated the administrative center by rebuilding the palace and abbey in a location that was distinct from London. He finalized his choice by becoming the first English king to be buried at Westminster, indicating that it was a center of power, not yet a royal mausoleum unlike the establishment appropriated by the French kings at St. Denis. Westminster itself would become a symbol of a centralized state, mutually reflexive with the growing centralization of the *cultus* of Edward in that location.[54] The official royal presence at Westminster developed by the Plantagenets began with the cult of St. Edward and corresponding Hagiography, his commemoration and burial, history writing and royal ritual, and finally campaigns of building.[55] Thus the Abbey *constructs* rather than

[53] Ibid.

[54] Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 5.

[55] Ibid., 6.

illustrates; its design is an *exercise in* rather than simply a *reflection of* power.[56] In this way, the Abbey, and medieval art in general, acted as "the reflexive means by which a particular community addressed itself through its own imagery[57]"—in this case, the community being the ecclesiastical and courtly people who encountered the Abbey.

As Andrew Wathey observes,

> From early times the royal household chapel had been deeply implicated in representations of kingship. In the coronation ceremonies, crown-wearings, solemn entries and other major state occasions designed for this purpose its presence had become a customary element. This does not devalue the spiritual content of these or others of the chapel's ceremonies. Nor does it mean that nobles failed to turn to their chapels for their more intimate devotional needs, even though there was independent scope for private worship. It was nonetheless from ceremonial and other presentations of kingship that kings drew at least a part of their prestige."[58]

Thus, we must consider the Chapel Royal as an integral part of royal programs, whether tied to specific locations such as Westminster Abbey or St. Stephen's Chapel or to specific people, such as the kings or queens themselves. As Wathey notes, chronicles rarely mention the chapel other than to note its presence at a particular occasion.[59] Those occasions where the Chapel's occupation in that moment is described at any length are extremely rare. Instead, "the chapel appears as an emblem of the royal presence, a sign that an occasion was accorded full ritual solemnity."[60]

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[56] Ibid., 9.

[57] Ibid., vii.

[58] Andrew Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 53-54.

[59] Ibid., 55.

[60] Ibid.

Music and Pageantry

Robert Nosow argues that "all motets of the fifteenth century originated as ceremonial vehicles, and cannot easily be separated from the rituals of which they formed part."[61] Many of these paraliturgical works have been connected with medieval civic pageantry, itself occupying the liminal space between sacred and secular, and the performance of which had particular symbolic significance for reasons beyond the demonstration of sincere faith. As Gordon Kipling explains, medieval pageantry was frequently programmatic—designed to communicate as much meaning as any sermon, text or cathedral façade.[62] The imagery of pageant (and its music) was not random; rather, it was deliberately chosen to for its ability to tell a specific story. For example, Margaret of Anjou's entry into London in 1445 was celebrated with pageants staged throughout the city. The script for this pageant recorded in BL MS Harley 3869 includes an explicit comparison between "Queene Margarete" and Saint Margaret of Antioch:

> Conueie of Grace, Virgyne moost benigne,
> Oo blessid Martir, holy Margarete,
> Maugre the myght of spirites maligne
> To God aboue hire praier pure and swete
> Maketh now for rest, pees, and quiete,
> Shewed here pleynly in this storie,
> Oure Queene Margarete to signifie.[63]

[61] Robert Michael Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

[62] Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1998).

[63] Kipling, "The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: A Medieval Script Restored," 21. This is the only speech that the scribe did not gloss with a reference to scripture; evidently the mention of St. Margaret was sufficient to call her *vita* to mind.

The sixth episode of the pageant includes a rubric calling for a chorus costumed as angels to sing a piece with the incipit "Sacris solemmpniis iuncta sunt gaudia." In the speech that follows, to be given "At the Crosse in Chepe," the expositor (narrator) directly references singing both diegetic (psalms sung by angels) and non-diegetic (the previous song performed by "angels" played by singing actors):

> On blisful psalme and song celestialle,
> 'Letatus sum'; for thynges that I here,
> Noon erthely ioie compared nor egalle…[64]

The music described in the pageant script is decidedly sacred: "Sacris solempniis" is likely the Corpus Christi processional attributed to Thomas Aquinas, "Sacris solemniis iuncta sint gaudia." "Letatus sum" ("I was glad") is the incipit of Psalm 121, which comprises a prayer for Jerusalem. Its use here suggests an association between London and Jerusalem—a fitting analogy, and perhaps the source of *Letatus sum*'s usage as a the English coronation entrance anthem in seventeenth-century sources.[65]

Gender and Patronage

Although recent scholarship on the topic of female patronage has taken a fresh look at Continental sources, few musicologists have considered English noblewomen as significant forces in the production of music, whether as patronesses or honorees. Still less attention has been given to the role of women in sacred music, in large part because medieval English music continues to be viewed inaccurately as the sole provenance of monastic houses. In fairness, few

[64] Ibid, 22.

[65] Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth Ii* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)., 9.

musicologists have been willing to engage in conjecture and as is well known, the sources of English music before the Reformation are largely fragmentary, with the notable exceptions of the Winchester Troper and the Old Hall Manuscript, the latter of which is discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Because the bulk of medieval English sacred music is thought to have been created by and for monks in the context of the minster, few musicologists have considered the role of women in musical cultural production of the middle ages. With the exception of Hildegard and the nuns of the seventeenth century in Italy, little attention has been to women composers and performers within in the sacred sphere.[66] Even less consideration has been given to English abbesses, who are often dismissed as insignificant, despite their kinship-based political connections with kings and princes. As former queens or princesses themselves, these women often had access to political influence, not to mention the capital that enabled them to become major patrons of writers and artists, visual and musical.

The secular women who are the focus of this study are liminal in much the same way that the music encompassed herein remains: although fundamental and exciting in their own time, they are poorly recognized in today's musicological scholarship. As other disciplines continue to investigate the role of women in medieval society and culture, uncovering ever more complex and nuanced relationships, discourses, and constitutive functions, musicology remains resolutely

[66] Recent scholarship on Hildegard includes Judith Ann Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Margot Fassler, "History and Practice: The Opening of Hildegard's Scivias in a Liturgical Framework," *Religion & Literature* 42, no. 1/2 (2010).. To my knowledge, no musicological studies on medieval nunneries have been conducted. However, on seventeenth-century nuns, see Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Lindsay M. Johnson, "Performed Embodiment, Sacred Eroticism, and Voice in Devotions by Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Nuns" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2013).

stuck in the mud, unwilling to acknowledge the existence of these women, let alone the regulatory fictions our discipline continues to indulge as central ideas to its study—and its pedagogy. Fortunately, these attitudes are beginning to be re-written. For example, writing about Continental courtly music for St. Anne, Michael Alan Anderson argues that "as much as secular works, sacred music participated in the formation of identities for patrons, sometimes mapping their personal and political concerns onto pieces as communicated by composers. This added subjective layer of meaning and the reception of the music (whether performed in private for in public) intensified what some may perceive as a humble act of devotion. As difficult as it may be for the modern mind to admit politics into the sacrality of the liturgical ritual, this book demonstrates that the boundary between ecclesiastical conventions and secular wishes was as porous as ever in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries."[67]

The emphasis on Hildegard's perceived uniqueness, however, has meant that her exceptionalism has overshadowed other female contributors to music who were perhaps less accomplished people but no less worthy of study. This is one of the inherent flaws of the type of work referred to as compensatory or reparative musicology, a form of including women in the canonical narrative without actually engaging with theories of feminism and gender. This approach is not limited to Hildegard; Higgins, for example, has investigated the relationship between Margaret Stewart (1424-1445), Dauphine of France through her marriage to the future Louis XI. and Jacqueline de Hacqueville.[68] as one of friendly patronage between a princess and her lady-in-waiting. Higgins argues that rather than merely being the subject of Antoine

[67] Michael Alan Anderson, *St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 4.

[68] Paula Higgins, "Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song," *Early Music History* 10 (1991).

Busnoys' so-called "Hacqueville songs" Jacqueline de Hacqueville was in fact the author of at least some, if not all, of their poetic texts. Higgins explicitly seeks to position Hacqueville within the tradition of Christine de Pizan, another seeming-exceptional female writer.[69] Although Higgins argues that Hacqueville is evidence that Christine de Pizan was in fact *not* exceptional and that together with Hacqueville, these women were but a small fraction of a distinct textual community of women poets active at the French court during the later Middle Ages. This is vital and admirable work, to be sure. But it continues to privilege the role of the composer and poet above all other experiential modes of musicking.

Queenship studies

The modern study of queenship did not begin until 1989, when Lois Huneycutt became one of the first modern historians to argue that the queen-consort's role in the Middle Ages had been historically underestimated by scholars. The queen's power, Huneycutt asserted, although mitigated by her subordination to her husband, could be quite significant, often emerging as influence on her spouse through mediation in its ritualized form, intercession. As Huneycutt explained, "bishops and other churchmen of the high Middle Ages recognized the importance of the queen, and these churchmen began to play an increasingly didactic role in shaping a new and lasting image of an ideal queen."[70] Religious imagery was used both by the church as well as by the monarchy in order to emphasize queens' possession of values and attributes considered to be the most desirable traits of femininity/the ideal woman/womanhood. In turn, the broader political culture incorporated religious imagery which in turn was predicated upon the imagery of daily

[69] Ibid., 166-69 and passim.

[70] Lois Huneycutt, "Medieval Queenship," *History Today* 39, no. 6 (1989).

life, as Miri Rubin has shown.[71] Nowhere is this trend more striking than where, in spite of medieval conceptions of a woman's nature, which were overwhelmingly unflattering, queens continued to assert themselves under the aegis of their husbands' dynastic power.

The historiography of queenship during the early Middle Ages has been complicated by a lack of documentary sources; however, by the fourteenth century, household accounting and chroniclers appear to have paid more attention to the queen's activities and more records survive. Still, biographies of queens have tended towards the fictional rather than the academic, perhaps because of institutional sexism. In addition, early biographers such as Agnes Strickland and B.C. Hardy shaped a narrative of queenship that romanticized intercession, muting the significance of the practice's political consequences.[72] As Theresa Earenfight explains, queens were not considered objects of serious academic study until at least the 1980s. As a result, most biographies were written by "gentlewomen" such as Agnes Strickland—upper class women with an interest in their forebears but without access to scholarly training or resources. Earenfight argues that queens continue to be portrayed like fictional heroines in biographies because they are not seen as legitimate objects of study.[73] They are romanticized in that entertainment and not education is the goal of these volumes.

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[71] Miri Rubin, "Religious Symbols and Political Culture in Fifteenth-Century England," in *Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Linda Clark and Christine Carpenter, The Fifteenth Century (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2004).

[72] Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest.* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1881); Blanche C. Hardy, *Philippa of Hainault and Her Times* (London: J. Long, 1910).

[73] Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Queenship and Power (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 4.

Earenfight suggests that "historians, both medieval and modern, who neglect queens reflect anxieties that reveal the truth of the power of a queen."[74] For example, queen-consorts were and continue to be trivialized as "meddlers" and "dabblers" in affairs of state.[75] The rise of feminist scholarship, however, has contributed to a growth in social history and family studies within the academy. Queens were both within and without the sphere of power, their own power validated only by their proximity to the king. As such, they were also easy scapegoats, often winding up exiled or divorced.[76]

To remedy this situation, Earenfight advocates an "inclusive definition of monarchical power" that encompasses the authority or power exercised by queens in all its forms. Although queens' identities derived from their position within a family, these were families of great power and influence. As such, royal women, who themselves were "stake holders in the realm" whatever their status, could exert influence as regents, dowagers, and intercessors.[77] While queens themselves might not be monarchs, their role was endemic to the transfer of power, as for example in the case of Emma, who acted as a conduit for Æthelred and Cnut to access the English throne. In the case of intercession, this was not always a formal or informal activity, but was an important part of the office of queen. Intercession was about men: it both reinforces male dominance as well as critiquing it. It is a performance—often a deliberately staged one—of unthreatening feminine power. Yet at the same time, it does represent real access to influence,

[74] Ibid., 3.

[75] Ibid., 4.

[76] Ibid., 6.

[77] Ibid., 410-11.

and men were not necessarily the instigators of every intercessional act; women could and did exert their own agency within these roles.[78]

It is possible that some discomfort with discussing queens' role in government as well as cultural production stems from the intimate relationship central to her access to power: her sexual relationship with the monarch. The social historian Georges Duby famously described the queen's bed as her "real throne".[79] The emblematic bed alluded to the queen's source of power: her role in the continuation of dynasty, expressed in two ways: first, the act of conception of children through sex with the king and second, the act of giving birth to heirs. This image, Duby argued, explains the use of ceremonial beds (litters) to carry queens during churching processions. Here queens saw petitioners, requesting intercession that was enabled by the actions queens took in those beds.

Duby identified three central barriers to a nuanced understanding of medieval marriage: first, the writing was rare, prescriptive, and therefore presented views of marriage at their ideological extreme; second, that the medieval writers who wrote about marriage were almost universally monks or clerics:

> They are men, males, either celibate or trying to pass themselves off as such; men professionally obligated to express repugnance toward sex and particularly toward women; men either without experience of marriage or else saying nothing of what they knew, advancing a theory designed to strengthen their own power.
> Their testimony is thus not the most reliable evidence on the subject of love or marital theory and practice, or in general on the different set of moral standards observed by the laity in the matter of marriage.[80]

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[78] Ibid., 11-12.

[79] Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 234.

[80] Ibid., 20.

Duby's third concern was "the danger of anachronism"—in other words, that historians looking backward would superimpose their own views and imagined ideas of the middle ages upon their practices. He himself admitted culpability: "The men I am studying are my ancestors, and the models of behavior I am tracing have survived into my own lifetime. The marriage I speak of is my own marriage, and I am not sure if I can free myself from the ideological system I am trying to analyze, demystify. I am involved; can I really be impartial?"[81]

Exemplarity

In other disciplines, greater attention is being paid to the idea of female sanctity, initially as compensatory history, but more recently, with an eye to the constitutive function of medieval hagiography and communities of readers of varying levels of literacy. As this dissertation explores in detail, a central aspect of queens' public image was the language and imagery of female exemplarity. Catherine Sanok defines "exemplarity as "the expectation […] that women take the legends of female saints as examples for their own ethical and devotional practices."[82] Hagiographies and other accounts of female sanctity were presented as "regularity fiction: saints' lives present idealized feminine behavior and encourage female audiences to adopt it."[83] As Sanok argues, however, these images should not be understood as "simply prescriptive;" rather, hagiographers consciously participated in and provoked a "fantasy that contemporary women imitate ancient saints."[84] The difficulty of detecting the nuances in these images has been, in my opinion, a major barrier to musicologists otherwise fully engaged in interpretive work.

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[81] Ibid., 21.

[82] Catherine Sanok, *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval England*, ed. Ruth Mazo Karras, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), ix.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., xii.

Writing of vernacular hagiographies, Sanok advances two arguments central to unpacking the meaning and purpose of female exemplars. First, she argues that vernacular legends "construct a feminine audience" that is wholly imagined by the author, and not necessarily the same as the actual audience receiving these works.[85] This "imagined community" of feminine readers is problematic in its own right and should not be romanticized: whether deliberately or by accident, hagiographers' imagined feminine readers rarely recognized the nuances of lived female experience, resulting in an erasure of difference in age, class, sexual status, and, although it might not have occurred to them to think this way, sexual orientation.[86]

Secondly, vernacular legends act as "vehicles for historical reflection," providing an avenue towards of thinking through both constants as well as changes in medieval concepts of gender and religion.[87] Because these constructs were constantly in flux during the Middle Ages, as they are not in modern society, vernacular literature was a way of writing through thorny issues of gender, theology, and ethics. As a result, the genre is not properly historical; although formulaic, vernacular hagiography borrows freely from other sources, an authorial trick that allows the reader (and the author) to reflect on the present through an imagined past that never could have happened.[88]

As Sanok explains, when we look at saints' lives as normative, they read as misogynist because of psychological effect modern scholars think they had. Although some scholars have interpreted hagiography as potentially "alienating," as if women readers who couldn't possibly

[85] Ibid., ix.

[86] Ibid., xii.

[87] Ibid., ix.

[88] Ibid., x.

live up to this standard might be put off from Christianity, such readings dismiss a genre that has much to tell us about how women actually engaged with vernacular hagiographies as readers and owners.[89]

As Butler argues, performing normative gender roles simultaneously reinforces and alters them.[90] And according to Sanok, "If regulatory fictions define women's identity and practice, they also, inevitably, allow them to contest and reshape the social meaning and performance of those fictions."[91] Pace Michel de Certeau and Judith Butler, then, royal women could use the language of these stories as a model or method for subverting or outright resisting men's authority.[92] In other words, "the performance of a regulatory script inevitably alters it."[93]

Perhaps most germane to my argument is Sanok's claim that hagiographers' fictive feminine audience had material consequences; by writing for these audiences, they constituted them, with the result that women were recognized by their contemporaries and the historical record as book owners, patrons, and readers.[94] In other words, because authors thought they were writing for a female audience, that audience became real and visible, perhaps overly so, to the exclusion of other female activities involving reading, writing, and literature production. For example, textual evidence that women were involved with production of hagiographies is transmitted in the dedications supplied by Osbern Bokenham in his *Legends of Holy Women*,

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[89] Ibid., xiii.

[90] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Second edition ed. (New York: Routledge, 1990; repr., 2007), 25-34.

[91] Sanok, *Her Life Historical*, xiv.

[92] Ibid., xiii; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), Government publication (gpb); State or province government publication (sgp).

[93] Sanok, *Her Life Historical*, xiv.

[94] Ibid., xi.

who by naming his female patrons, explicitly identified and constituted the feminine audience he anticipated would be his readers.[95]

As the Middle Ages wore on, the development of compendia of *exempla* such as the *South English Legendary* and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* contributed to an ever-expanding vocabulary of exemplarity and sanctity. Initially intended as reference works for lay priests and preachers writing sermons for a lay audience, collections of exempla brought together folklore and proverbs with saints' lives, patristic literature, and scripture.[96] Chroniclers and composers alike could assume a reasonable level of Biblical and hagiographical literacy in their audience, particularly among the clergy, but also among the educated aristocracy, male and female. Chaucer's satirical use of Biblical *exempla* in *The Canterbury Tales* demonstrates that even outside the context of a sermon, familiarity with Biblical stories, characters, and saints was considered commonplace, perhaps even a tired saw deserving of Chaucerian parody.[97]

Saints also appeared in historiographical and literary writing, not only as exempla, but also as features of pseudo-history and genealogy. For example, Adam of Usk employed Constantine's mother St. Helen to validate the connection between the Greek Empire and Britain, a narrative device he borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth.[98] As Sanok notes, even the heterodox Lollards and Wycliffites relied on stories of saints because hagiography was an

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[95] Ibid., xv; Osbern Bokenham, *A Legend of Holy Women* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

[96] Mel Storm, "Proverbs, Riddles, and Exempla," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert E. Bjork (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[97] Stanley J. Kahrl, "Allegory in Practice: A Study of Narrative Styles in Medieval Exempla," *Modern Philology* 63, no. 2 (1965); Robert P. Miller, "The Wife of Bath's Tale and Mediaeval Exempla," *ELH* 32, no. 4 (1965).

[98] Geoffrey of Monmouth, "Historia Regem Britanniae," in *History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Charles W. Dunn (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1958), 109-52.

integral part of medieval English cultural vocabulary.[99] In a climate of thought suffused by religious allegory, it is thus unsurprising that exempla made frequent appearances in literary and musical texts. As Delany observes, "Hagiography itself is a deeply synthetic genre, over the centuries incorporating oriental and western folktale, classical myth and legend, adventure story, political propaganda, biography, travel literature, and romance."[100] With such a plethora of source material and inspiration available to the authors of vitae—many of whom were men of the church—it is perhaps no wonder that they produced works with a high degree of extraliturgical references. Similarly, the writers of motets had a diverse range of sources and references to choose from in constructing both text and music. The polytextual motet is perhaps the best representative of the practice of combinative composition among medieval music writers.

Medieval Misogyny

One of the major barriers preventing grasp of the nuances of medieval female exemplars is the problem of medieval misogyny. Misogyny is poorly understood in general but especially in retrospect. It is all too easy to write off the theology of the early and medieval Church as blankly misogynist, and in fairness, it is certainly problematic, particularly as expressed in later idioms. However, one might argue that the Protestant Church is in fact deeply misogynist by comparison; whereas the early Church sought to create opportunities for women dismayed by the lack of educational, social, and professional opportunities available to them in late Roman and antique societies, later approaches towards virginity took the approach of policing rather than empowerment. Rather than freeing women from mandatory marriage and childrearing, the strictures of enforced virginity and policed sexual status became a way to control women. No

[99] Sanok, *Her Life Historical*, 15.

[100] Sheila Delany, introduction to Bokenham, *A Legend of Holy Women*, xxii.

longer empowered by Mary, "the second Eve," women were abandoned by a Church that had once set out to include them by offering real opportunities for education, travel, and community.[101]

Some scholars have argued that the church's inherently contradictory theories of femininity had practical results that were actually beneficial for women, such as the distaste for sex, which inadvertently privileged monogamy.[102] Similarly, the Christian emphasis on women's role in the household was important to medieval political thought.[103] As Stafford explains, "the household was not only the center of government, but the model for it."[104] This theory was echoed in the imagery popularized by chronicles, in which successful queens were depicted as positive influences and managers within their own homes.[105] Yet beneath this rosy picture of queenship was a political economy supported by the commodification of the female body, in which young noblewomen were used by their fathers and brothers as gifts to solidify peace treaties.[106] Once queen, criticism of these young women often centered on their behavior within the domestic and intimate spheres into which they had been thrust. Here effective management was juxtaposed with avarice; wholesome maternal love countered with manipulative machinations that provoked rivalry between the children or even patricide; and brides as bringers

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[101] Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 27-29.

[102] Ibid., 27.

[103] Ibid., 28.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., 28-29.

[106] Ibid., 46; Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 5-8.

of peace were collocated with "snakes in the grass"—foreign intruders with malicious intent.[107] Women of all statuses, but especially queens, were frequently accused of intangible crimes, many of them related to male sexuality: witchcraft, seduction, engendering male impotence, perverting the natural course of conception and childbirth, and even murder, typically the intimate crime of poisoning, committed like the other sins at close quarters and by unnatural means.[108]

Any feminist scholar will be aware of the problematic nature of some hagiographies: these authors' reductive and essentialist portrayal of female "goodness" as determined exclusively within a bodily paradigm of sexuality and sacrifice are closely connected to a fetishization of sexualized violence has become familiar to us as a form of medieval "torture porn," re-inscribed by modern-day medievalist (and moralist) views of the Middle Ages as a brutal and uncivilized era.[109] But as in every genre, there are variations in hagiographical literature. Thinking of *vitae* and exemplarity as a discourse through which hagiographers grappled with ethical continuity and paradigm shifts within their communities can demonstrate that these authors were aware not only of themselves, but of the complexity of the narratives and norms that they constructed and by which they themselves were constructed.[110]

As J.L. Laynesmith argues, "across medieval Europe it was common for sovereigns to emulate their literary counterparts and to have events in their own lives presented in terms

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[107] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, 29-30.

[108] Ibid.

[109] On imagined medieval violence and its implications in modern politics, see Patricia Skinner, "The Gendered Nose and Its Lack: "Medieval" Nose-Cutting and Its Modern Manifestations," *Journal of Women's History* 26, no. 1 (2014).

[110] Sanok, *Her Life Historical*, xv.

familiar from literature, particularly military and chivalric exploits. Conversely, literature reflected the concerns of contemporary royalty and nobility."[111] She argues that "queenship is such an integral part of mature kingship that any assessment of the latter must consider the political and ideological relationship between king and queen if it is to achieve the fullest possible understanding of the exercise of sovereignty" in the later Middle Ages.[112] Laynesmith queries in which kings manipulated their wives' traditional occupations as icons and intercessors as well as counterparts to the king, as well as how queens themselves participated in "creating and enacting these roles."[113] However, exemplars have never been not static images: they mean different things at different times to different people. For example, Margareta Stocker has describe the various interpretations of the Old Testament story of Judith from antiquity to the present, as well as the ways in which she has been used as an exemplar and anti-exemplar in a variety of contexts, from Christian allegory to feminist literature and analyses of female criminal behavior.[114] Thus, *The Iconography of Queenship* is concerned not with valorizing these exemplars, or even critiquing the gender dynamics of the Middle Ages; rather, this dissertation intends to explore how and for what they came to be conveyed through music.

Judith Butler's well-known argument regarding the performative nature of gender suggests that, given her unique responsibilities, the gender of a queen consort might necessarily be performed slightly differently from, for example, that of a nun or peasant. The gender of a

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[111] J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 25.

[112] Ibid., 22.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Margarita Stocker, *Judith: Sexual Warrior, Women and Power in Western Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

public figure like a Queen, I suggest, could also be performed on her behalf, in other words, outside of her body, through art, literature, and music all designed as a kind of propaganda meant to elevate the queen to a position of exalted moral, as well as class, status. Queens and kings employed patronage to produce such art works, sometimes calling on artists and composers who were proficient in the creation of religious art and thereby, allegory. This system resulted in a phenomenon of artworks having a dual purpose: worshipping a saint(s) while also giving thanks or praising to the saint/God for the queen's most admirable actions, such as childbearing, giving alms, or intercession, the ritualized practice of mediation that queens were expected to take on as a central part of their political role.

As Butler argues,

> "gender is not a noun, but neither is it a set of free-floating attributes, for we have seen that the substantive effect of gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence. Hence, within the inherited discourse of the metaphysics of substance, gender proves to be performative—that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed. […] There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results.[115]

As Ruth Mazo Karras explains, medieval notions of "womanhood" and "femininity" varied drastically between the different classes. She argues that within medieval discourses of gender, "[t]here are several registers of [gendered] language at work, one for those of good birth and another for those below, to describe what is essentially the same behavior."[116] Karras argues that "despite the normative teaching of the church, women's experiences of sexuality and sexual

[115] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 34.

[116] Ruth Mazo Karras, "'Because the Other Is a Poor Woman She Shall Be Called His Wench': Gender, Sexuality and Social Status in Late Medieval England," in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon A. Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, Medieval Cultures (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 224.

behavior obviously varied a great deal by social position."[117] For example, employers considered their female servants sexually available both for themselves and for profit via prostitution in a way that would have been inconceivable if applied to a woman of their own class. The very notion of consent itself was nonexistent as applied to most female servants.[118] In contrast, accusations of sexual misconduct against aristocratic women tended not to refer to prostitution. Instead, they typically used adultery "to sexualize what were really struggles over property."[119]

As R. Howard Bloch notes, the act of studying a particular subject does not necessarily equate to condoning it—a critical distance that seems perfectly clear when applied to modern terrorism, racism, and misogyny, yet grows peculiarly blurry for some when presented with scholarship that engages with aristocracy and premodern religions.[120] Whether or not the women addressed in this dissertation were objectively "good" people—good rulers, good wives, good mothers, good Christians, etc.—is not my concern. Nor am I here to pass judgment on musicologists for engaging with works in a particular way. If academia has been blind to certain issues of gender, sexuality, identity, and class, as it demonstrably has been and continues to be, it is not the fault of individual academics. Nor do I believe there is anything objectively wrong with the scholarship derided by certain proponents of the former New Musicology as "positivist". Codicological, paleographical, and analytic work is important and central work in medieval studies; however, it is not the only work that is available to us. This dissertation seeks

[117] Ibid., 211.

[118] Ibid., 216-18.

[119] Ibid., 223.

[120] R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1-7.

to build and expand upon the many valuable studies that musicologists working on medieval England and sacred in music in particular by incorporating interdisciplinary perspectives on the political and social situation within which these works were composed, played, heard, and preserved.

Recent scholarship on medieval English music

Another model for this study is Helen Deeming's recent investigation of the Agincourt Carol. The Agincourt Carol (variously known as the Agincourt Song, the Agincourt Hymn, or sometimes by its incipit, *Deo gracias Anglia*) is an English song dating from the early fifteenth century. It is composed in the bipartite form of a carol: there are several four-line stanzas with unique lyrics bookended by a two-line refrain or burden that repeats its own contrasting text and music. Interestingly, the burden of this particular carol, which is a prayer giving thanks for the English victory, is written in Latin while the strophes are written in Middle English with the interpellation of "Deo gracias!" at the end of each quatrain. The carol is generally understood as a depiction of Henry V of England's defeat of the French army at Agincourt in Normandy in 1415. The issues surrounding the Agincourt Carol include many familiar to students and scholars of medieval music: origin, location and practice of performance, purpose, historical impact, form, place in the genre, etc. Because the carol survives in different forms in two different manuscripts, editorial concerns are also a problem.[121]

Deeming tackles these issues of origin and purpose by examining the manuscript sources themselves. She questions the circumstances under which the Carol was composed and its intended purpose, not only at its nascence but also as it was recorded in the Trinity Roll and

[121] Helen Deeming, "The Sources and Origin of the Agincourt Carol," *Early Music* 35, no. 1 (2007).

Selden Manuscript. Deeming interrogates the historical accuracy of the piece by situating it within a literary genre of battle descriptions and celebration of victories: the medieval historical chronicle. She draws on literary sources including chronicles and other poetry that is verifiably about the Battle of Agincourt in order to first ascertain that the events described correlate with the verifiable details associated with that event. Deeming then compares the lyrics of the Carol to two contemporary poetic accounts, in order to verify that the literary style is comparable with those other written works. In order to do so, the author integrates an analysis of the poetry with manuscript evidence such as paleographic information about the script used to write the lyrics. Deeming also examines the Carol's physical place within the Trinity Roll, in which it was copied, and its historical place in the copying of music manuscripts after the fifteenth century. The author takes a dim view of previous scholarship that seeks to place the Carol's origin in Mettyngham on the basis of dialect and institutional practices of music copying; rather, she concludes that the Trinity Roll was likely owned and produced by a trained individual musician from Norfolk, perhaps with the assistance of clergy, and that the Carol is an authentic product of the fifteenth century, rather than an antiquarian faux-relic. Deeming's approach is valuable to me in that, like Deeming, my goal is to establish that the pieces I have found (and will continue to seek out) were part of a recognizable tradition of music that was known to composers and patrons alike. By comparing both the music and the lyrics to other examples of allegorical poetry, as well as situating them in the material context of their source manuscripts, I hope to locate these pieces within a larger musical, literary, and artistic culture that celebrated queenship alongside female sainthood.

Alison Walker has investigated the role of music in constructing political narratives after the fact. The Agincourt Carol, performed on the occasion of Henry V's re-entry to London following his decisive victory at the Battle of Agincourt in 14 whatever exemplifies the importance of paraliturgical music to entry pageants in the fifteenth century. According to Helen Deeming, all of the contemporary accounts and biographies of Henry V mention singing, often in tandem with the poetic theme of harmony.[122] The two poetic accounts of the battle in the Chronicle of London also record the use of music. The second episode describes Henry's entrance, and the version transmitted in Harley MS 565 incorporates a two-line burden, suggesting a formal concordance between this lyric and the Agincourt Carol. In other words, the existence of the burden indicates that this lyric could have been sung as a carol in the same way as *Deo gracias Anglia*.[123] Walker's careful analysis of the carol's text reveals the significance of verb tense in the writing of late medieval musical lyrics. Specifically, she notes the contrast between the use of the indicative mood for the stanzas, which are expository narratives that describe the events of Agincourt, and the imperative mood in the burden, which answers the conditional voice with a demand for song.[124] Walker also expands her analysis beyond the single surviving work that has been transmitted in connection with Agincourt, suggesting that the work *Ave rex [gentis] Anglorum* might have been re-written for the occasion, replacing the name of the English soldier-king and martyr St. Edmund with that of Henry V.[125] Considering the pageantry as a whole programmatic unit, Walker examines the pageant at Cheapside described in the *Gesta*

[122] Ibid.; Alison Walker, "Politics, Patronage, and Orthodoxy in Late Medieval England" (dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2010), 145.

[123] "Politics, Patronage, and Orthodoxy," 149.

[124] Ibid., 143-44.

[125] Ibid., 152.

Henriici quinti, in which twelve costumed apostles sang alongside twelve costumed kings and other figures of the English succession.[126] She describes this concluding tableau of the "fatherly lore" of patriarchs signing together as a as a "musical affirmation of Henry's success at Agincourt," in which historical and Biblical figures together symbolized Henry's achievements as a Christian monarch.[127]

Most recently, Lisa Colton (Johnson) has engaged with the body of English motet texts by placing them in dialogue with other contemporary English texts, both Latin and vernacular. In her own words, Colton's dissertation "challenge[s] the view that English motets offer nothing more than vague cultural contexts; rather, they were part of the fabric of religious, regional and nationalistic sentiment throughout the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."[128] Colton argues, however, that "[t]he essence of Anglo-Latin texts seems less to do with whether their dedication is to saints or the Virgin Mary, but to which saints, and how these were described and praised. The use of earlier textual models (Biblical, liturgical, hagiographical) in motets served to emphasize appropriate elements of the saint's life and work."[129] While this is undoubtedly true—why would a text on a saint *not* emphasize appropriate elements from that saint's vita?—I disagree with Colton's assessment that a dedication to saint implies a solely votive intention for a motet. For example, Colton argues that the mid-fourteenth century conductus *Singularis laudis digna* (discussed at length in Chapter 2) emphasizes the personae of Judith and Esther only as a means of amplifying the conductus' devotion to the Virgin Mary and securing an intensified

[126] Ibid., 156-57.

[127] Ibid., 159.

[128] Lisa Marie Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England, c. 1260-c. 1400" (PhD thesis, University of York, 2003), 408.

[129] Ibid.

intercession for England in a time of intense military altercation between France and England.[130] I do not entirely disagree with Colton on this point; however, as I argue in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, I see no reason why a musical work cannot have multivalent and multivocal interpretations in different levels of intensity depending on the audience and individual listener perception.

Colton has also contributed to existing scholarship exploring English noblewomen and their participation in cults of particular saints. That sacred music venerating female saints such as Ursula and Catherine of Alexandria survives is not unusual except in England, where Henry VIII's Reformation destroyed much visual, written, and auditory evidence that these saints' cults had ever existed. But as Colton and other scholars have shown, Ursula and Catherine had particular resonance for Englishwomen; they were associated specifically with English nationalism.

Queens, duchesses and other members of the aristocracy routinely prayed to female saints, including but not exclusively the Virgin Mary. As Colton notes, the cult of Catherine of Alexandria in particular was a thriving one following the Norman Conquest. More importantly, it was a cult that was closely associated with English and French royalty. For example, Eleanor of Aquitaine's patron saint was likely Catherine, and her favorite daughter by Henry II was given that name. A lengthy English tradition of writing pieces directed at St. Catherine may in fact begin with the untimely death of little princess Katherine in 1256 at age four-and-a-half. Further, as Colton argues, the practice of venerating female saints in music is not unrelated to that of

[130] Ibid., 183-87.

venerating Mary. Colton claims that venerating a lower female saint who shared the virgin's characteristics, she herself was also venerated, a claim I will address in Chapter One.[131]

In order to examine the ritual function of motets, I draw on Robert Nosow's formulation of the *Staatsmotetten* (a motet about the state) as "ritual embassy." Nosow describes ritual embassy as "the art of presenting one's interests, party, and honor in the most positive way."[132] In other words, embassy is a kind of calling card or, in modern terms, social media profile that represents an individual's best characteristics. Embassies could have transactional value in the political realm. Staatsmotetten with this function were almost always written in Latin, according to Nosow, in part because Latin was the language of diplomacy and as such, it was an appropriate choice for the text of a piece with political connotations. The syntax and rhetoric of Latin, too, were effective choices for the composition of a motet's text, as Nosow demonstrates in the case of Guillaume Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, written for the consecration of Santa Maria del Flores in Florence in 1436.[133] The opening lines of *Nuper* reference the golden rose that symbolizes the Pope who commissioned the piece, acting as a salutation (*salutatio*). The first two stanzas together address the pope and narrate his positive qualities and recent accomplishments, comprising an embassy of the pope (*narratio*). The third and fourth stanzas address the Virgin Mary, offering her praise and petitioning for intercession; in this way, the choir acts as mediator between the Florentine people and the Queen of Heaven. Thus, in Nosow's reading, *Nuper rosarum flores* acts as embassy simultaneously to an earthly figure (one with status above the monarchy) and a heavenly one (Mary). I propose that similar embassies were at

[131] Ibid., 188-233.

[132] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*, 94.

[133] Ibid., 100-06.

work in motets that praise female saints but can also be read as dedicated to English queen-consorts. For example, as I argue in Chapter Three, the polytextual motet *En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis contio /Sponsus amat sponsum* acts at once as a prayer to St. Katherine of Alexandria and a welcome gift to Katherine of Valois upon her marriage to Henry V and coronation as Queen of England.

Musicologists working on Continental topics have also begun to recognize the extraliturgical function of the late medieval and early modern motet. For example, in *St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics* (2014), Michael Alan Anderson argues that much of the surviving body of Continental music, including motets and Mass Ordinary settings—for St. Anne has "detectable political undertones."[134] Anderson describes this music as "an emblem of prestige that reflected the values and ambitions of its patrons or dedicatees, mostly women in uncharacteristically powerful positions."[135] Anderson's interest in identity-formation as an essential aspect of patronage is a useful model for this study, particularly his insistence that these works must be viewed as more than "an invocation of a patron namesake."[136] As Anderson asserts, and as I argue in Chapter 4, in the context of powerful landed aristocrats and their families, the invocation of the Holy Kinship via St. Anne and Mary's other family members must be read as an expression of hopes for continued dynastic success.[137]

Similarly, Rebecca Baltzer has investigated the rationale behind non-Marian tenors used to construct Marian motets sung at Notre Dame. In a radical reassessment of the relationship

[134] Anderson, *St. Anne in Renaissance Music*, 3.

[135] Ibid., 4.

[136] Ibid., 5.

[137] Ibid., 17.

between tenor and upper voices, Baltzer argued that while liturgically-appropriate tenors had been chosen for these motets based on the feast when they were meant to be sung, the framework of the cathedral within which they were performed created a moral imperative that the monks celebrate the Virgin even on feast days that were not ostensibly Marian. Baltzer's reading of these intertextual relationships upended the dominant theory that the selection of a tenor chant determined the overall meaning and purpose of a given motet.[138] As Susan McClary states,

> no composition can be reduced simply to the narrative conventions that informed it: its historical moment and its particular strategies must also be taken into account. But the specific details of any given piece are intelligible only insofar as they engage dialectically with those conventions."[139]

By opening up the discipline to aesthetic values other than those termed "organic," musicologists have created space for analyses drawn from the paradigms of other disciplines, and understanding based on Kramer's "relativity of all knowledge to the disciplines […] that produce and circulate knowledge."[140]

As part of the process of situation, both cultural and physical, I also take inspiration from Emma Dillon. In her recent book *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330,* Dillon argues that "the consonances between different sorts of sonic evidence offer precious insights into a sense of musical sound in this period." Dillon describes her project as "an attempt to restore to music a lost interlocutor: a world captured in words, images, and music, in which

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[138] Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Colk Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[139] Susan McClary, "Narrative Agendas in 'Absolute' Music: Identity and Difference in Brahms's Third Symphony," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 334.

[140] Kramer, "The Musicology of the Future," 5; Janet M. Levy, "Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music," *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 1 (1987).

sounds of all kinds shaped human experience, and which also shaped musical listening."[141] Dillon sets out objections to musicological approaches to medieval song not dissimilar from my own throughout the entirety of her book, but in particular in the introduction. She advocates a turn towards an ethnographic understanding of "soundscapes" and "soundworlds"—the complete range of sounds available for experience, including and beyond music, in a particular time and place—terms borrowed from modernist scholar Emily Thompson, who in turn draws on the work of R. Murray Schafer and Alain Corbin. By examining the soundworld of medieval sacred music in combination with, rather than opposed to, the secular world with which Dillon engages, musicologists may become more able to conceptualize how medieval music was heard by its original listeners, rather than focusing solely on authorial intention. Dillon explains her framework further:

> [F]olded into the hubbub of city sound, music takes its place as one sonority among many, all of which are imbued with social, emotional, even ethical meanings unique to the people and place they inhabit. To unsettle the category of musical listening is not to deny music any of the expertise necessary for its creation or performance. Rather, it allows for the inclusion of other kinds of sounds and environments as contexts to inform musical experience, and welcomes in a more holistic mode of listening to music.[142]

Dillon's "holistic mode" explores the polytextual motet by attempting to situate it in its historical context, which for her purposes is the soundworld. I see (or perhaps "hear") the soundworld as an important component of the situational ear, informing my understanding of medieval listening as much as other forms of culture: visual, literary, material, and ritual. Although the soundworld of the medieval motet is important, it is but one of the factors in the

[141] Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

[142] Ibid.

cultural world within which the sounding object resided. At the confluence between soundworld and the cultural world lie the secrets of the motet's composition and reception.

Outline of the study

The Iconography of Queenship is organized into four chapters, each of which examines an occasional musical work and seeks to situate it within its own unique historical moment. In addition, each chapter poses a specific historiographical problem and seeks to answer it through an analysis of the occasional work. Broadly speaking, the first two chapters are concerned with establishing continuity between Jewish and Christian traditions of exemplarity, while the latter two chapters address the convention of name parallelism, by which women were aligned with the saints that shared their given names. The dissertation traces the development of late medieval exemplarity in music as the panoply of female exemplars continued to expand, ultimately minimizing the Hebrew matriarchs in favor of constructed saints such as Katherine of Alexandria and Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist. By interrogating the historicity of these works, I hope to show that a range of interpretations of medieval music directed at female exemplars beyond the purely devotional were available by design and by necessity.

Chapter 1 begins by summarizing the various ways in which the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVM) was presented as an exemplary female character in sacred music from the earliest Christian hymns written in Syria through the later Middle Ages in the West. As Mariology deepened in complexity and symbolism, so did her representation in music. Similarly, as the roles of Britain's queens evolved, so did the models made available to them, with repurposed or newly constructed female characters from the Old Testament added to the roster of queenly

exemplars. By the end of the fourteenth century, theologians, authors, and composers had a diverse portfolio of exemplars to draw upon, including Esther, Judith, and Sarah. Conversely, female Biblical characters such as Eve and Jezebel were often employed as cautionary figures, or anti-exemplars, whose characteristics were not to be emulated. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the monophonic sequence *Ex te lux oritur,* written on the occasion of the wedding of a thirteenth-century Scottish princess. As an example of ritual embassy, I argue that this song was an integral part of the wedding ritual, writ large. I argue that *Ex te lux oritur* references the the Old Testament matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah with the express purpose of praying for a successful and fertile relationship between Margaret of Scotland and Erik II of Norway. Because these women were emphasized within the Christian tradition as a way of creating continuity between the old and new beliefs, along with Esther and Judith, the Hebrew matriarchs were often presented as Mary's compatriots and companions, much as medieval queen-consorts themselves had social circles comprised of noblewomen of high but not quite equal status to themselves. Finally, I conclude the chapter by addressing three anti-exemplars: Jezebel, Delilah, and Eve, each of whom figured prominently in misogynist literature, history, and music. Although Eve and Mary were frequently presented in binary opposition, in literature as well as music, to my knowledge, this is the first scholarly foray into the subject of Eve's portrayal in medieval English song.

Chapter 2 takes up the historiographical question of politics and meaning in the English paraliturgical polyphonic repertoire. This is my intervention into the debate regarding the conductus *Singularis laudis digna*, which has long been connected with Philippa of Hainault's intercession on behalf of the Burghers of Calais. This chapter explores three ideas: first, the

importance of intercession within the strictures of English queenship; second, how Philippa became associated with *Singularis laudis digna* in the minds of medieval and modern historians; and finally, how musicological scholarship has artificially retained this association, even to the point of distorting manuscript evidence in order to attach a specific date to the work. Although Philippa is erroneously associated with the ritualized act of intercession in excess of other consorts, I re-assert that *Singularis laudis digna* references Esther, Judith, and Mary in the context of her queenship. I demonstrate that in order to request special assistance from the BVM during the Hundred Years' War, extra assistance from other holy women was required.

Chapter 3 continues the theme of historiographical critique. In this chapter, I turn away from the BVM and the Hebrew matriarchs in order to consider St. Katherine of Alexandria, the "constructed saint" whose very construction displaced her point of origin from Egypt to Britain.[143] By Anglicizing Katherine, I argue, the English church sought to appropriate a popular saint into a hyperreal version of Britain's history, including Arthuriana. With this construction in place, Katherine became an appropriate exemplar for newly-anointed English queen-consorts, the overwhelming majority of whom were foreign-born. By aligning these consorts with St. Katherine through pageantry and paraliturgical song, the church and the crown symbolically assimilated them into their new nationality. In order to demonstrate St. Katherine's importance to the English polyphonic tradition, I trace her representation in music from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, concluding with a re-appraisal of the motet *En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ T. Sponsus amat sponsam.* I demonstrate that while the motet has been linked

[143] On constructed saints, see Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

to the wedding of Henry V and Katherine of Valois in 1420, the full social and political implications of this motet have not yet been fully grasped by musicologists.

In Chapter 4, I again examine motets that involve name parallels between queen-consorts and female saints. This chapter examines the five-voice motet *Eterne laudis lilium* within the context of the so-called Wars of the Roses. For the first and only time in the dissertation, I examine a motet with a surviving receipt for its composition that names both the composer and the patron. *Eterne laudis lilium* was commissioned from court composer Robert Fayrfax by Queen Elizabeth of York, consort to Henry VII, ca. 1502. I argue that this motet's subject, the Holy Kinship and in particular the relationship between Mary and her cousin Elizabeth, was chosen by Elizabeth of York with a specific dual agenda—namely, to pray for another successful childbirth, while also celebrating her Plantagenet lineage, a subversive gesture given the complex machinations by which her husband had created his own claim to the throne. I conclude this chapter by suggesting an alternative reading for Gilbert Banester's motet *O Maria et Elizabeth*, a motet strikingly similar to *Eterne laudis lilium* in subject, texture, and provenance. The Banester motet, I suggest, was composed not for Elizabeth of York as a young queen, but for her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, whose final pregnancy took place in her forties. Read in this light, *O Maria et Elizabeth* becomes legible as an antecedent for *Eterne laudis lilium*, and suggestive of a tradition of family worship of the Holy Kinship among both the Woodville family and the House of Lancaster.

A note on editions, translations, and orthography

Because of the large volume of musical works cited in this dissertation and because much excellent codicological and paleographical scholarship has already been devoted to the task of creating authoritative editions of them, creating new editions was beyond the purview of this dissertation. As a result, I have refrained from normalizing orthography on my own initiative, referring instead to the spelling preferred by these more than competent editors. The one exception is names: in order to avoid confusion, I use the modern Anglicized spelling of names wherever possible; all Katherines, Elizabeths, and Isabellas are referred to consistently with the same spelling.

Except where noted, translations are my own, although where necessary I have taken the liberty of updating or improving the readability of existing translations. Biblical quotations are drawn from the Vulgate and translations from the Douay-Rheims version. In order to facilitate readability, the full text and translation of each musical work referenced appears in a separate Appendix following the dissertation proper.

Chapter One: *Paradisi porta*: Locating the Origins of Female Exemplarity in British Sacred Music

> Since youth is both bold
> and talkative, the young girls gathered,
> daughters of the Hebrews, wise women,
> and the mourners, and with their soft words
> changed dirges into prophecy.[1]
> —Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymn 22*

Introduction

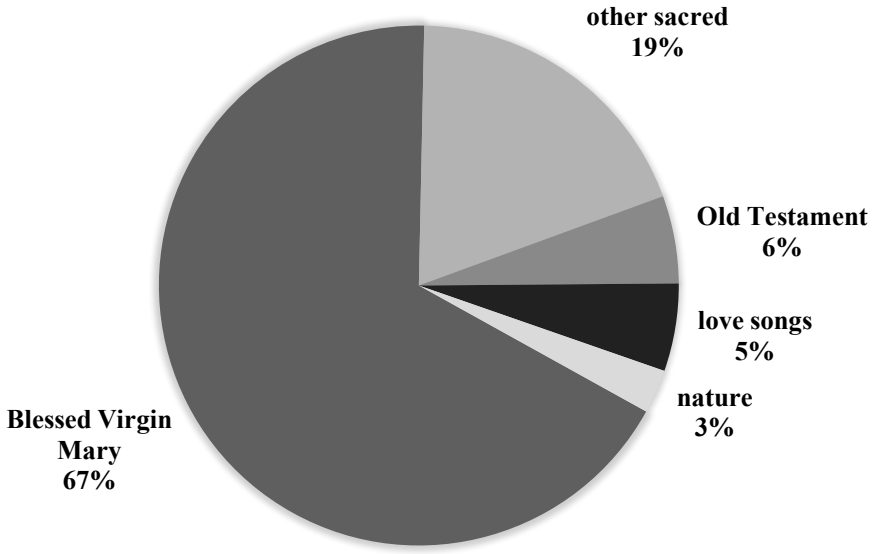
In 2013, the series *Musica Disciplina* published a volume of British songs dating from ca. 1150-1300, transcribed, edited, and translated by Helen Deeming. *Songs in British Sources* (*SIBS*) was the first major edition of twelfth- and thirteenth-century British music to be published in nearly thirty-five years—not since the publication of the fourteenth (1979) and fifteenth (1980) volumes of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (*PMFC*) had many of these works received editorial attention. In fact, many of the songs edited in *SIBS* had never appeared in published sources at all. As Deeming noted in her Preface, her new edition organized its contents by source rather than genre, as the editors of *PMFC* had chosen to do. This editorial decision revealed not only that the musical culture of medieval Britain was trilingual—comprising settings of medieval Latin, Middle English, and Anglo-Norman French lyrics—but that many of these sources preserved works written in more than one of these languages, some of them inscribed on facing pages, or even the same folio.[2]

[1] Ephraem, *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns*, trans. Kathleen E. McVey (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 123.

[2] Helen Deeming, ed. *Songs in British Sources, C.1150-1300*, Musica Britannica (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013), xxi.

Of the 115 works edited in *SIBS*, seventy-four take up themes and theology related to the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVM). Figure 1.1 illustrates the breakdown of the subjects of the texts found in the edition, of which the Marian works makeup an overwhelming two-thirds majority. In addition, some of the subjects classed as "nature" or "love songs" may in fact be allegorical texts that refer indirectly to sacred ideas.

Figure 1.1: Textual subjects of songs edited in *SIBS*



Why not Mary?

For many years, musicologists have privileged the BVM as the most visible woman in the Christian liturgy and concomitant musical corpus, and for good reason. The vast majority of devotional music composed during the Middle Ages was targeted towards veneration of the BVM; however, little attention has been directed towards the different aspects of Mary's life and personality that were celebrated in music. When prompted, many editors simply inscribe the

legend "For the BVM" as an explanation of the subject of a hymn, sequence, conductus, or motet. And when musicologists do venture below the surface meaning, they often do so only in the service of ascertaining which aspects of the liturgy were enriched by this music. Few musicologists have considered the role of the laity in the production and experience of sacred music, and the studies that do tend to look outward from a largely monastic perspective, interrogating the influence of sacred music on so-called secular music, or rarely, vice versa.

For example, David Rothenberg has examined what he describes as a cultural trend during the later middle ages of devising intertextual relationships between secular and sacred musics. Following Sylvia Huot, Rothenberg demonstrates that polyphony, particularly motets with *canti firmi* was a primary area for interaction between the sacred and secular because of the large volume of words and lyrics required by two, three, and four-voice motets. He argues that devotional songs and secular love songs combined in compositions in ways that were understood by their audience as a "spiritual harmony between these diverse materials."[3] Rothenberg claims that using secular love songs humanized Mary, and that vice versa, borrowing the styles of secularity in devotional music likened the earthly beloved to Mary. His central conceit is that the confluence of sacred and secular achieved through intertextual unity between courtly love songs or *pastourelles* and paraliturgical hymns or liturgical chants worked to simultaneously elevate the Lady of *fin'amours* or the shepherdess of the *pastourelle* while also humanizing the BVM. Although for Rothenberg allegory and literal meaning exist simultaneously, and the sacred and

[3] David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

secular realms exist within a "single hermeneutic universe," he still maintains that they are fundamentally distinct.[4]

Although I begin by focusing on Mary, this chapter will conclude with her antecedents: the "daughters of the Hebrews" who filled the roles of female exemplars both before the advent of Christianity and long into its prime. I argue that the Old Testament matriarchs Sarah, Rachel, Rebecca, and Leah along with their fellow positive exemplars Judith and Esther should be considered not merely as analogues for the BVM, but rather, as fully-realized companions to Mary in the minds of medieval men and women. These women—and their anti-exemplars Jezebel, Delilah, and Eve—provided a fully-fledged cast of characters from which theologians, hagiographers, poets, and queens could choose from in order to emphasize specific aspects of femininity, according to their individual needs. Donna Spivey Ellington writes that

> Through the close of the Middle Ages, the figure of the Virgin continued to serve as the one key which could be counted on to unlock all the major doors in the complex edifice of medieval piety, her central position guaranteed by the fact that her immaculate flesh had been given to become the body of Christ.[5]

But because of the sheer fact of her central, immaculate position, the Virgin's experience could not encompass all of the lived experiences of medieval women. While Mary had experienced a miraculous pregnancy like Sarah, for example, she had done so as a young bride, not a wife of an advanced age. And while by definition the human Mary could not equal the divine purity of God the Father, the Holy Ghost, or her son Christ, for Christians, at least, she

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[4] Ibid., 4-6.

[5] Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 2.

was not appropriate for use as an anti-exemplar—in other words, an example of how *not* to behave. By selecting figures from the Old Testament to act as feminine exemplars, negative or positive, the early Christian fathers were able to create a sense of continuity between the Jewish and Christian traditions, a gesture of great importance to the then-fledgling extremist sect.

Royal marriage in the Middle Ages

We moderns often think of marriage as a romantic joining of souls, the confirmation of a relationship founded on emotional attachment, and typically an agreement formed between two consenting individuals of legal age and equal status. This arrangement is often presented as superior to the medieval model of marriage as a transaction cementing an alliance between two kin groups.[6] As Conor McCarthy observes, "our modern notions of personal consent and the nuclear family as being progressive, and hence likely to replace outmoded ways of thinking involving broad kinship groups and family input into the arranging of marriages, implies some sort of evolutionary model of history."[7] The practice of arranged marriage, as McCarthy argues, is not inherently antithetical to personal choice.[8] Royal marriages in the middle ages had practical consequences for medieval society in ways distinct from our own understanding of marriage. A marriage between two scions of great noble houses could avert war, change a local economy, and most immediately, create opportunities for employment and boost the economy. Should a marriage be unsuccessful, on the other hand, the repercussions could include serious political, economic, and even emotional consequences not only for the couple and their families,

[6] Conor McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature, and Practice* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2004), 78-91.

[7] Ibid., 80.

[8] Ibid.

but for their vassals and subjects as well.[9] By the later middle ages, marriage agreements often included deterrents designed to forestall any complications. The contract between Margaret of Scotland and Erik of Norway, for example, stipulated a stiff penalty of 100,000 merks should either party have a change of heart prior to consummation of the marriage.[10]

The ideal medieval royal marriage had three significant practical functions. First, the marriage would create and cement a material connection between two polities, whether kingdoms, duchies, city-states, or empires. Second, the marriage solidified and—at least in theory—guaranteed the continuation and perpetuation of dynasties through the production of heirs. Third, marriage involved a two-way financial transaction, in the form of a dowry, the funds given to the groom by the bride's family, and the dower, or the lands and titles conferred upon given the bride by her new husband As a result, marriage between nobles prompted a permanent redistribution of property, as the titles and lands acquired by a consort were intended to support her throughout the entirety of the marriage.[11] Many English queens were excellent at managing their lands; however, if a queen was not a capable landholder, her lack of skill could have disastrous consequences, not only for her employees, but also for the treasury.[12] Finally, marriage between royal scions could also bring valuable but non-monetary resources to a struggling ruler, as in the case of Philippa of Hainault's marriage to Edward III, in which case the negotiations assured the bride's father's military arsenal would be at the King of England's disposal.

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[9] For a general history of marriage, see Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: From Obedience to Intimacy or How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Viking, 2005). On the difference between marriages among the various social classes, see Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, 19-21 and passim; *Medieval Marriage*.

[10] Cynthia J. Neville and Grant G. Simpson, eds., *The Acts of Alexander Iii, King of Scots 1249-1286*, vol. 4, Regesta Regum Scottorum, 1153-1424 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 157-65.

[11] Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, 5-8.

[12] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 222-41.

Princes and princesses were well aware of the gravity of their personal role in statecraft. One of the ways they were made aware of their roles was through courtesy literature. While instructive literature for male rulers—the genre known as "mirrors for princes"—typically focused on external political and military matters, courtesy literature directed at noblewomen tended to focus on their roles within their marital relationship. Christine de Pizan's *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, for example, includes advice explicitly intended for royal women on a wide range of useful topics including managing one's finances, navigating interpersonal relationships with her husband's friends and family, and dressing tastefully.[13] A central theme of Christine's work is personal virtue and religious devotion: her "good princess" is advised to prioritize her faith above all else, just as Mary had.[14]

Marital ritual and spectacle

Although marriages between specific individuals did not occur in the same regular, repeating, and calendrical way as the daily observance of the Divine Office, the weekly celebration of Sunday mass, or the annual Corpus Christi procession, the marriage ceremony itself was an occasion with a clearly prescribed set of rules governing its practice, referred to in the Church liturgy as *ordines*. Beyond the liturgical aspect of the ritual, there were also ritualistic elements involved in the "secular" parts of the marriage. These included the signing of the marriage contract after negotiation—a process that could take years—as well as celebratory feasts following formal betrothal, the ceremonial wedding rites, and, in the case of sovereigns,

[13] Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies, or the Book of the Three Virtues*, ed. Sarah Lawson, trans. Sarah Lawson, Revised edition ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

[14] Ibid., 5-6.

the coronation ceremony. Embedded within these rituals was the practice of music-making. Unfortunately, the nature of the music within the larger sphere of medieval marriage and coronation celebrations has been much obscured by the persistent binary distinction drawn by musicologists between sacred and secular music.[15]

It is difficult to ascertain how members of the lower classes perceived royal weddings; however, it is evident that in many cases the host families wanted the lower classes to know about them and be impressed and supportive. The sheer amount of public pageantry—spectacle—involved in the celebration of a typical royal wedding indicates that while some elements of the event remained restricted to the social elite, others were open to the members of the lower classes, particularly those events that took place in public spaces such as the city streets. Here, removed from the physical domain of the court, the poor were encouraged to participate and act as spectators. Part of the spectacle's impact was that it continued to reinforce the established relationality between the ruling class and their subjects. As Guy Debord explains, "The spectacle is not a collection of images; it is a social relation between people that is *mediated* by images. The spectacle cannot be understood as a mere visual excess produced by mass-media technologies It is a worldview that has actually been materialized, that has become an objective reality."[16] Medieval spectacle, while a tremendous production in terms of space, financial investment, and personnel, did not function solely as an extravagant entertainment. Nor

[15] On medieval marriage see Anne Crawford, "The King's Burden? The Consequences of Royal Marriage in Fifteenth-Century England," in *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. Ralph Alan Griffiths (Gloucester, UK: A. Sutton, 1981); Duby, *Medieval Marriage*; *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*; McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England*; Linda Elizabeth Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England, 1225-1350* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Stephen G. Nichols, "An Intellectual Anthropology of Marriage in the Middle Ages," in *The New Medievalism*, ed. Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

[16] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 2. My emphasis.

was spectacle a mere demonstration of the monarch's power; rather, it both displayed and constituted that power. Spectacle, therefore, was an important mechanism for cementing the psychological hold of kings over their subjects—in effect, it served as propaganda. Thus the rich pageantry associated with a royal wedding both communicated, performed, and manifested its political and spiritual ramifications. Simultaneously, the wedding spectacle enacted and constituted the gendered roles of and relationship between the royal bride and groom.

Medieval Mariology: a brief primer

As is well-known to medievalists, the cult of Mary experienced a tremendous expansion during the High Middle Ages, flourishing particularly in the twelfth century. In England, she remained popular until the Reformation, and for some, even after. As Duffy observes, "Englishmen were encouraged to think of their country as being in a special way 'Mary's Dowry,' a notion propagated, for example, by the custodians of the shrine at Walsingham."[17] The tremendous outpouring of devotion towards the BVM is exemplified by the preponderance of English Books of Hours, which themselves began as personal copies of the Little Office of the BVM. These prayer books were part of increasing affective identification with and empathy for Mary, through a "process by which Mary was made local and familiar [and] encouraged the exploration of emotion and empathy. Medieval adherents wondered how like them Mary really was."[18] Similarly, Ellington argues that during the sixteenth century, portrayals of Mary shifted

[17] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 256.

[18] Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures*, The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lecture Series (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009), 98.

from body-focused to soul-focused along with change in religious focus from corporeal to inner spiritual life.[19]

Thesis and Antithesis: The Second Eve

One of the aspects of medieval Mariology that is less well-known to medievalists is the theory of Co-Redemption. Reynolds explains that from the moment Mary agrees to be the vessel of Christ, she activates God's plan for redemption. ("From the moment of her assent, not from the moment of Christ's birth, the plan of redemption went into operation on earth.") This crucial moment in the salvific narrative was referred to as Mary's *fiat*, shorthand for her statement in Luke 1:38: "*Fiat mihi*" ("be it done to me").[20] The *fiat* activates the process of redemption of every person mentioned in the Old Testament, including Adam and Eve. Thus, through her *fiat* Mary became "the new Eve who is instrumental in restoring the bridge between God and humanity destroyed by the sin of the first Eve." From Patristic times, Mary's primary function was the act of bearing Christ and thereby the church, itself understood as an extension or manifestation of Christ's body.[21]

Surprisingly, as Reynolds elucidates, "the Eve-Mary antithesis, based on Genesis 3:15, was one of the earliest and the most enduring of the themes in Mariology, and si the foundation for the notion of the co-redemption."[22] Contrary to popular belief, the Church fathers saw Mary as an agent of redemption, nearly on part with Christ himself. As a free participant in the *fiat*; she had agency; she wasn't seen as simply "the passive recipient of Gabriel's message at the

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[19] Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, viii.

[20] Brian Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven: Marian Doctrine and Devotion, Image and Typology in the Patristic and Medieval Periods* (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press, 2012), 107.

[21] Ibid., 108.

[22] Ibid., 109.

Annunciation." In other words, Mary could have refused the Immaculate Conception; that she chose to participate in the salvation of mankind is not only an exercise of human free will but also, a significant expression of female agency. "Just as Eve had brought death to the world by listening to the voice of the serpent and disobeying God, the Virgin Mary had rescued the world from its bondage and opened the way to salvation by her *fiat*. It is precisely in this free consent that she reverses Eve's choice and sets in motion the process whereby humanity is restored to grace."[23] Had Mary been compelled to participate, her involvement would not have been so significant; as a result of her free will, however, her decision to participate in salvation is the very act that reverses Eve's own choice to partake in original sin, kickstarting the process of salvation. That Mary's exercise of free will—*not* the moment of Christ's birth—should be seen as so central to this story is crucial to understanding the antique and medieval devotion to Mary.

The earliest evidence of the Eve-Mary antithesis in Christian thought may be found in the writings of the second-century theologian Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165). Justin draws a parallel between Mary's interchange with Gabriel to Eve's with Satan (posing as the serpent), presenting a dichotomy between an economy of sin and an economy of salvation.[24] Eve was thought to be a virgin until after the fall, after which event she became sexually voracious—the antithesis of the idealized feminine. Conversely, the eternal virgin Mary was presented as the enemy of the devil, while Eve was his accomplice.[25] Ireneaus (d. ca. 202) fleshes out the idea through theory of recapitulation (via St. Paul): "While it is Christ, the new Adam, who is the formal cause of salvation, Mary, the new Eve, also plays an instrumental role in undoing the damage caused by

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 108-09.

[25] Ibid., 110.

original sin and in restoring creation." In other words, the work Christ and Mary undertake is done as a team: together, they do not only restore the whole of humankind to its "prelapsarian state," but they bring the process to its completion, "bringing humanity and the created universe to maturation thereby fulfilling the original *telos* established by the Father."[26] The recapitulation involves not only restoration of "the lost perfection of Eden" but also the "fulfillment of creation itself."[27] Together, Christ and Mary make it possible for people to achieve perfection; everyone can achieve a place in paradise if they follow Christ, in whose existence Mary has played a central role. The fine distinction between their roles in the process is explained by Irenaeus: "Mary is the '*cause* of salvation,' while Christ *is* salvation."[28]

The writings of Ireneaus were particularly influential among his contemporaries as well as to later scholars. In particular, Irenaeus' theory of Mary as coredemptrix was a key component of the increased role for Mary eventually embraced by the Church. Further theologians elaborated on his ideas. For example, Tertullian theorized that the Annunciation and Crucifixion had taken place on the same calendrical day. Thus the date of Christ's incarnation could also be the day of the redemption of all creation.[29]

Not all of the patristic writers thought as liberally as Tertullian about Mary's role as co-redemptrix. These writers modified the theory of Redemption in ways that subtly pushed back against female agency.[30] For example, while Augustine of Hippo (354-430) confirmed Tertullian's theory that Mary conceived Jesus on the same calendar day that he died, he also

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Cited in ibid., 111. My emphasis.

[29] Ibid., 112-13.

[30] Ibid., 114-15.

wrote about the Immaculate Conception in a way that negated Mary's free choice, chalking up her role in salvation to predestination—a choice made *for Mary* by God, rather than a sacrifice freely given by the BVM. Nevertheless, Augustine and his contemporary Ambrose (ca. 340-397) agreed that Mary and Eve were antithetical.[31] Similarly, Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446) wrote that all women were blessed through Mary, yet instead of emphasizing her *fiat*, he makes her a passive recipient of God's grace:

> Thanks to the grace that descended on her, the curse laid on women as a result of original sin has been removed, not just for those born after the Incarnation but beginning with Eve, and including all the great women of the Old Testament—Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, Deborah, and Elizabeth [i.e. Elisheba, wife to Aaron].[32]

A major theme of the Eve-Mary antithesis was that Mary, although not always conceived of as an architect of redemption, had extended salvation to the Hebrew matriarchs of the Old Testament, who through Christ's conception and birth were no longer tainted by Eve's sin. Germanus of Constantinople (d. ca. 733), focused on Mary's Assumption as the final victory in Christ's battle against the process of damnation triggered by Eve. Not only was Mary's return to heaven the natural ending of the denoument that followed the Crucifixtion, but she was also the embodiment of salvation itself: "Mary, through her Assumption, is a beacon of hope and a prophetic sign that all the faithful will rise again and overcome death." The Assumption also represents the ultimate point of parallel between Eve and Mary: while Eve is cast out of Paradise at the ending of her story, the conclusion of Mary's live (the Assumption), sees her brought home to Paradise, along with the rest of creation.[33]

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[31] Ibid., 116.

[32] Cited in ibid., 118.

[33] Ibid., 125-26.

The theory of Mary's permanent virginity was largely the product of to the asceticism of early Christian thinkers. As Rubin explains, the version of Mary's life created by the author of the *Protoevangelium* by Pseudo-James presented "a narrative of Jewish cultic excellence refracted through the prism of ascetic values, for there was no institution of celibacy and virginity in the Jewish mainstream. Yet the author of Mary's life chose to endow her with a unique order of physical purity."[34] To this was added a number of details fleshing out her early life and presenting her as a young woman of the highest level of purity. "The early stories of Mary and Joseph are creations steeped in Jewish family life. They were meant to speak to Jews with the intention of drawing them towards the emergent claim of Jesus' divinity."[35] As the makeup of Christianity shifted, however, a discourse apart from Hebraic thought developed, generating its own debates about the nature of Jesus' divinity and his—and by extension, Mary's—origin story. By the fourth century, interest in Mary's life had waned, except for fundamentalists who cleaved to Christian ideals of virginity. For these ascetics, "Mary was the symbol of bodily purity and was developed into a model and companion to those, especially women, who chose a life of Christian striving."[36] As the earliest Christian female exemplar, Mary was responsible for mirroring multiple aspects of idealized femininity; as Athanasius of Alexandria (296-373) argued, "she was not only the epitome of loving motherhood, but also of renunciation, ascetic living, and virginal purity."[37] Despite the asceticism that was a core tenet of these sects, virginity as a concept and praxis was thought to bring women together. As Rubin

[34] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 11.

[35] Ibid., 12.

[36] Ibid., 23.

[37] Ibid. This is the same Athanasius who was later said to have been St. Katherine of Alexandria's tutor.

explains, "the life of the virgin was solitary but not lonely, since she became part of a universal sisterhood of virgins. Their gathering is described by Athanasius as a joyous celebration in which virgins joined Mary at the feet of her son with virtuous women like Sarah and Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, Susanna and Elizabeth."[38] The image of Mary as the leader of a community of female exemplars comprised of figures from the Old Testament emphasized the continuity between the Judaic tradition and the then-radical ideas advanced by the New Testament.

Although it is tempting to read these theories of female exemplars as empowering for medieval women, as feminist critics of Christian theology assert,

> From the vantage point of gender, the theology of original sin in the Christian tradition has not been beneficial for women. Embedded in the doctrine's conceptual world is a gender dualism of male superiority and female inferiority, a denial that women possess the image of God fully as persons, and the assumption that male privilege and rule is the divinely guaranteed order of creation.[39]

This "push/pull" dynamic between the exemplarity of Mary and other exceptional Christian women and the way in which normative gender roles affected women's daily lives also played out in contemporary theories of gender roles.[40] Augustine, although not a committed Mariologist himself, wrote in *De bono conjugali ("On the good of marriage,"* 401 CE), that

> the marriages of Abraham and Sarah and of Mary and Joseph were ones of consent, loyalty and obedience and exemplified the core of Augustine's model of marriage. This model brought Mary into the heart of the discussion where she exemplified the fundamental unit of Christian life, the family. […] The paradoxical triumphed yet again: Christian marriage imagined through the sexless union of Mary and Joseph.[41]

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[38] Ibid., 24.

[39] Tatha Wiley, *Original Sin: Origins, Developments, Contemporary Meanings* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002), 156.

[40] Erler and Kowaleski, "A New Economy of Power Relations," 4.

[41] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 32.

Augustine was insistent that Mary and Joseph's marriage had been without sexual intercourse. But that Mary had been married at all emphasized that while she had a special connection to God, while on earth, she was involved in a relationship that by definition privileged male power and made female access to authority difficult to obtain. It is no wonder then that debates over the BVM have been a cornerstone of Christian doctrinal conflict since before the Reformation.

The hymns of Ephrem the Syrian

By the second century, a parallel between Eve and Mary had already emerged as a key concept of Mariology, and it was seized upon by devotional writers such as as Ephrem the Syrian (c.306-373). Ephrem (took up the Annunciation as the moment God's plan starts, spreading the message through his homilies and lyrics. As Reynolds recounts, "Ephrem returns repeatedly to the Eve-Mary antithesis in his writings, making it abundantly clear that he believes the process of Redemption began with the Virgin comparing Satan's conquest of Eve with Mary's crushing destruction of his schemes."[42] Moreover, Ephrem enlarges Mary's symbolic role as the Holy Mother: now no longer simply the mother of Christ, the BVM takes on role of every living person's mother, the role that should have been Eve's. For Ephrem, devotion to Mary was centered on her status as antithesis to Eve.[43] The pain women experience during childbirth was thought to be Eve's punishment for her sin. But through Mary's labor had come salvation, embodied by the infant Jesus Christ. Thus, Ephrem argued, Mary's labor had been blessed, and

[42] Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven*, 113.

[43] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 37.

"exempt from the curse" of pain, and her uterus was "a place of great beauty and purity."[44] For those who agreed with Ephrem, Mary was viewed as a co-redeemer of humanity.

In addition to his influence on later Christian thinkers, because so many of Ephrem's hymns survive, it is evident that they were widely read and no doubt heard among his Greek and Latin contemporaries. Of his twenty-eight surviving hymns on the nativity, four make explicit reference to Eve as the source of original sin, and Mary as its antidote. For example, Hymn 17, Strains 4-6 give voice to Mary, in dialogue with her son:

> In her virginity Eve put on
> leaves of shame. Your mother put on,
> in her virginity, the garment of glory
> that suffices for all. I gave
> the small mantle of the body to the One who covers all.
>
> Blessed is the woman in whose heart
> and mind You are. She is the King's castle
> for You, the King's Son, and the Holy of Holies
> for You, the High Priest. She has neither the anxiety nor the toil of a household and husband.
>
> On the other hand, Eve became a cave and grave
> for the accursed serpent, for his evil counsel
> entered and dwelt in her; she who became dust
> became bread for him, [But] You are our bread,
> and You are our bridal chamber and the robe of our glory.[45]

The "garment of glory" Mary describes refers to the resurrection body. By Eve's "cave," Ephrem meant her womb, filled with untold horrors, while Mary's is "the King's castle," and the source of greatness.

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[44] Ibid., 37-38.

[45] Ephraem, *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns*, 154-55.

Several of Ephrem's hymns retain rubrics that indicate that they were intended to be sung to existing melodies.[46] For example, his second hymn on the Nativity has the legend "to the melody 'Heavenly Hosts.'"[47] This hymn, too, appears to be written from Mary's perspective; Strain 7 reads,

> I am about to enter His living Paradise,
> and in the place in which Eve succumbed, I shall glorify Him.[48]

The same hymn continues in this vein through Strs. 15-16:

> Man imposed corruption on woman when she came forth from him;
> today she has repaid him—she who bore for him the Savior.
>
> He gave birth to the Mother, Eve—he, the man who never was born;
> how worthy of faith is the daughter of Eve, who without a man bore a child!
>
> The virgin earth gave birth to that Adam, head of the earth;
> the Virgin today gave birth to [second] Adam, head of heaven.[49]

In addition to Mary and the theme of the Second Eve, Ephrem was preoccupied with genealogy. His Hymn 8 on the Nativity describes the Hebrew matriarchs' and their desire for children:

> Rachel cried out to her husband; she said,
> "Give me sons!" Blessed is Mary
> for, without her asking, You dwelt in her womb
> chastely, O Gift
> Who pours Himself out upon His recipients.
>
> Anna with bitter sobs

[46] Ibid., 63n1.

[47] Ibid., 75.

[48] Ibid., 77.

[49] Ibid., 86.

asked for a child; Sarah and Rebekah
with vows and words, and even Elizabeth,
again, with her prayer [asked for a long time.
Although they suffered, afterward they were consoled.

Blessed is Mary, who without vows
and without prayer, in her virginity
conceived and brought forth the Lord of all
the sons of her companions who were and will be
pure and just men, priests and kings."[50]

Here these matriarchs are positioned in a similar role to Mary; like her, they long for children and are rewarded for their faith with pregnancy. Yet Mary's place in the hierarchy of exemplarity is made clear: because she was humble enough not to beg or demand sons from God, she is the most blessed of all. In other words, Mary's personality—meek and ethical—is the ultimate source of her high status.

Although many of these central Mariological ideas had taken place in the Eastern church, during the Middle Ages, the Latin church eventually caught up with the Byzantine theologians. Ultimately, these scholars would push Mariology to levels not yet seen in the east. Many European and insular writers seized upon the Eve-Mary antithesis as an evocative image of salvation and redemption. Among these authors was the Northumbrian monk Bede the Venerable (d. 735), the so-called father of English history.[51] During the Carolingian era, Mary worship became closely associated with family and ancestors because Charlemagne (748-814) had promoted Marian feasts (the Purification and the Assumption) as well as built a chapel in her honor in his palace at Aachen. Charles the Bald (823-877) established Mary as central to the

[50] Ibid.

[51] Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven*, 130-31.

ideology of his own reign when he re-founded his grandfather's chapel at Compiègne following the loss of both palace and church at Aachen. Carolingian interest in Mary was also promoted by Alcuin (ca. 740-804), whose personal compilation contained thirteen antiphons for the BVM.[52]

Mary in the British Isles

The English church was the first to develop a unique theology of Mary's own Immaculate Conception, accompanied by a new tradition of effusive praise, such as the eleventh-century rhymed Marian Office known as "The Portiforium of St. Wulstan."[53] Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109) easily equals Irenaeus in his levels of praise, a tradition continued by Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153). Bernard himself reinvigorated the notion of choice and free will in Mary's *fiat*.[54] As Rubin notes, "the British Isles display a trend towards much deeper acquaintance with the liturgy and imagery of Mary than that experienced in other parts of Northern Europe."[55] In particular, Mary was seen as a powerful intercessor. "Blathmac was one of the first to realize how effectively the Christian story could be explored through Mary's mediating power of witness."[56] But Christianity arrived largely fully-formed in the insular world and in England, at least, it spread north from the south. Many Anglo-Saxon kings were reluctant to embrace Christianity, and it was queens who were frequently positioned as the agents of conversion.[57] For example, a

[52] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 100-03.

[53] Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven*, 136n13.

[54] Ibid., 136-41.

[55] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 105.

[56] Ibid., 109.

[57] For example, Klein argues that Bede positions English, but not foreign-born, queen-consorts as agents of conversion. Stacy S. Klein, *Ruling Women: Queenship and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 17-52.

Benedictional commissioned by Æthelwold of Winchester (963-84) contains nineteen full-page illuminations, half of which are Marian in nature. Many of the illuminations also incorporate rare and unusual images of the Holy Ghost, here depicted as semi-tangible "swirling wispy vapour." Equally remarkable, an image of the queen and abbess St. Æthelthryth is positioned opposite an icon of Christ on the facing page (ff. 90^{v}-91^{r}), an intimate position that indicates that "Æthelthryth had offered herself as bride to Christ, just as his mother was" so offered.[58]

Esther and Judith: the first queenly exemplars

As we shall see, royal identities could also be constituted through biographical as well as through fictional literature. For example, the scholar and abbot Ælfric of Eynsham (ca. 950-ca. 1010 CE) wrote two homilies on queenly subjects: Judith and Esther. Ælfric's *Esther* focuses on characters Stacey Klein terms "queenly exemplars" in order to promote stricter adherence to religious practice, resulting, ideally, in increased social stability in the face of Danish raids and impending conquest by Sweyn of Denmark. It has been suggested that this poem was intended as a targeted exemplar for Emma of Normandy (d. 1052), consort first to Æthelred II and second to Cnut. Despite the fact that Anglo-Saxon queens were closely involved in secular affairs, the conservative Ælfric minimizes Esther's political efficacy. His Esther's primary responsibility is the "spiritual health" of her subjects, and thereby, the realm. By converting Ahasuerus, and by extension, his subjects, Easther saves him from not only from physical death, but also from the death of the soul— missing out on salvation.[59]

Klein argues that Ælfric intended *Esther* to be encountered outside as well as inside the monastery by men and women from different echelons of society; in her view, *Esther* thus

[58] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 111.

[59] Klein, *Ruling Women*, 165-70.

represents not a targeted message to a specific queen, but rather an attempt to shape social norms, practices and expectations of queenship.[60] Ælfric's message was perhaps prompted by an increase in access to political agency among Anglo-Saxon queens during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[61] Following Paul Strohm's argument that intercession was a ploy to make twelfth-thirteenth century queens feel powerful when in fact they were losing agency, Klein writes,

> It is tempting, then, to follow Strohm's logic and to view Ælfric's celebration of queenly intercession in Esther as indicative of veiled resistance to the increasing participation of contemporary queen sin formal political affairs, and as an attempt to limit queens' power both by consigning it to the margins and by reifying a Pauline spousal dynamic premised on the idea of the submissive wife's subordinating herself to an all-powerful but indulgent husband.[62]

Although given the opportunity to promulgate the submissive martial paradigm advocated by Paul, however, Ælfric declines to engage.[63] Therefore, in Klein's view, the abbot's re-inscription of queenship as a spiritual role need not be interpreted as a gesture to try and limit the scope of queenship to something more "appropriate." Rather, he seems to Klein to have wanted a return to the age of the converting Anglo-Saxon queens of the seventh and eighth centuries, who like Eadburga and Kyneburga brought their husbands' kingdoms into the Christian fold, and who supported the monasteries as Æthelfryth, Lady of the Mercians in her own right, had done.[64] In other words, Ælfric saw royal families as "spiritual guardians of the

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[60] Ibid., 171.

[61] See Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

[62] Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts*, Princeton Paperbacks (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 95-119; Klein, *Ruling Women*, 172. I address Strohm's argument regarding intercession in Chapter 2.

[63] *Ruling Women*, 172-73.

[64] Ibid., 175.

nation."[65] His ideology could even be read as political health being dependent on spiritual health; if the latter was not in order, there was no point in focusing on the latter. In short, while Ælfric's *Esther* could be read as a polemic discouraging queens from be involved in secular affairs; however, it seems fair to say that he actually thought the sacred was more important than secular.[66]

As Klein observes, "Esther was frequently presented to early medieval queens as an examplar of piety and, more specifically, as a model of how a people might strengthen the faith of her husband and her people."[67] The liturgy of marriage reinforced these standards: the coronation *ordo* created for Æthelwulf and his consort Judith and perpetuated through continued use by Anglo-Saxon and English monarchs mentions Esther twice, first in the list of Hebrew matriarchs described at the end of this chapter, and second, in a prayer that specifically promotes intercessional action.[68] These two prayers remained a feature of the coronation *ordines* for English queens long after the Conquest; even the post-Reformation recension preserves the essence of these prayers.[69]

Ælfric's homily on the Book of Judith takes up similar themes. His homily is in fact only one of two major appearances by Judith in the Old English corpus; a poem about Judith also survives in the Nowell Codex, itself also the source of *Beowulf*. According to Tracey-Anne Cooper, Ælfric's homily was meant as a meditation on chastity and designed for an audience of

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[65] Ibid., 174.

[66] Ibid., 174-76.

[67] Ibid., 165.

[68] Ibid., 166.

[69] Walter Ullmann and D. H. Turner, eds., *Liber Regie Capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora*, Henry Bradshaw Society (London: [Henry Bradshaw Society], 1961), 108.

nuns. The perceived "ambivalence" of Judith's nature, as Cooper explains, is often reduced to a dichotomy between military heroine and pious and chaste exemplar.[70] However, as she explains, the Old English poem is an heroic epic that positions Judith in a similar role to Beowulf: the military leader, skilled in battle, and unabashedly violent in pursuit of her cause and ultimately, "the instrument of God." On the other hand, Ælfric's *Judith* is much more restrained, but not only out of blind faith, but also out of self-control and free will.[71] This dichotomy has been aptly described by Margaret Stocker as the dilemma of "the Good Bad woman."[72] Although seemingly problematic, the dilemma of Judith's duality as a character was actually a fruitful opportunity for working through issues of gender, violence, belief, and ethics, much in the way that vernacular hagiographies often function, as Sanok describes.[73]

Although Judith had a complex patristic history that provided many opportunities for grappling with these issues, in the insular context, she became an early figure of resistance, strength, and Godliness in light of the Viking raids at the end of the tenth century.[74] The first known medieval commentary on the Book of Judith was written by Alcuin's student Maurus of Fulda (780-856), who dedicated his work to Judith of Bavaria, queen-consort of Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne (778-840). This image would continue to be available throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern era, both as an allegory for the power of faith and as an exemplar for female leaders such as Elizabeth I. (On this point, see Chapter 5.) Perhaps

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[70] Tracey-Anne Cooper, "Judith in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies across the Disciplines*, ed. Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, and Henrike Lähnemann (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2010), 170.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Stocker, *Judith: Sexual Warrior*, 24.

[73] Cooper, "Judith in Late Anglo-Saxon England," 170; Sanok, *Her Life Historical*., passim

[74] Cooper, "Judith in Late Anglo-Saxon England," 171.

unsurprisingly, few works of medieval music explicitly reference Judith; those that do often pair her with a less complex figure such as Esther, as in the conductus *Singularis laudis digna*, discussed in Chapter 2.

Queenship and gender before the Norman Conquest

Although as the Middle Ages wore on, the ritual and spectacle became ever more intense, the thematic elements and roles they constituted remained consistent with view of queens from prior to the Norman Conquest. Stafford argues that although Anglo-Saxon queens such as Ælfgifu, Wulfthryth, and Edith-Matilda "fulfilled traditional female family roles magnified by the status of royal dynasties and extended by the fraught politics of succession to the throne," royal women were not ncessarily barred access to power by the dominant paradigms of nuclear, patriarchal Christian families.[75] In fact, some royal women were able to work within these paradigms.[76] The liminal position of Anglo-Saxon queen-consorts—both adjacent to soveriegn authority yet not fully in possession of it themselves—was reflected by the imagery used to represent female power; although it was "predominantly Christian and familial, [it was] also contradictory and ambiguous."[77]

Although early medieval queens lacked sovereign power, they instead exercised what we would now describe as authority indirectly, "through influence and counsel."[78] Because this power was not "official," and accessed secondarily via intimate familial relationships with

[75] Stafford, "Portrayal of Royal Women in England," 143.

[76] Ibid., 144.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid., 145.

husbands and children, it was easy to characterize as inherently stealthy as well as open to abuse. The very acts that furthered dynastic succession—conception and childbirth—took place in and around women's bodies.[79] As such, women were "natural targets" for accusations of misuse of their abilities.[80] The consequence of the centrality of these images of queens as mothers and counselors to their contemporaries is that these are the sole images of queens transmitted to the present, whereas the surviving images of royal men give a sense of the full spectrum of human behavior[81]. This does not, of course, mean that all queens did was have children, raise them, and die while king lived full lives, but it does mean that the information we have about how queens lived is limited.

Anglo-Saxon queens were presented as either side of a binary opposition; either they were "beautiful brides of high lineage" or "seductive schemers surrounded by predatory relatives."[82] There was little room for nuance. This kind of psychological "splitting" is illustrated by in the choice of Biblical figures as exemplars: "good" brides were compared to Old Testament heroines such as Judith, Esther, and Susannah, while "evil" queens were likened to Jezebel and Delilah. The dominant paradigms of social structure and court politics affected how royal women were depicted, and reflexively, these depictions constituted their roles. Constructed from the male perspective, women's public roles "emerge[d] from their familial ones"; at the same time, the idealized notions of feminine behavior constrained them.[83]

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[79] Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, 234.

[80] Stafford, "Portrayal of Royal Women in England," 146.

[81] Ibid., 145.

[82] Ibid., 146.

[83] Ibid.

In particular, the condition of virginity and chastity—theorized by medieval theologians as states not only of the body but of the mind as well—granted some women a singular sexual status, from which they had extra access to power. These were abbesses and saints, themselves often queens turned abbess after the death of a husband. Because virginity signified the control of the body, it conferred a "charismatic power" upon a woman who achieved it.[84] Abbesses in particular held a status influenced by Christianity: they often acted as "converting" wife/mother figure as "sanction[ing]" influence/counsel model of control.[85] It is for this reason that so many early Anglo-Saxon female saints are also queens turned abbesses: they were converting queens who talked their husbands into being Christians.

In the aftermath of the Norman Conquest, Stafford describes a resurgence of vernacular contemporary histories, many of them politically motivated, such as the English saints' lives written by Goscelin of St. Bertin.[86] These increasingly waspish, pessimistic, and judgmental monastic writers continued to pay little attention to royal women. For example, the northern version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (MS D) portrays the future Queen and Saint Margaret of Scotland (ca. 1045-1093) as "the ideal Christian wife." Powerful and devout, Margaret refuses to marry until she is instructed by God that He will accomplish "great things" through her dynastic role.[87] The northern *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* thus reflects a dual purpose: the necessity that northern England to maintain close relationship with Scotland as well as the desire of Edith-Mathilda to create a hagiographical narrative honoring a female relative. As Stafford explains,

[84] Ibid., 144.

[85] Ibid., 146.

[86] Ibid., 153.

[87] Ibid., 153-54.

"She is a dynastic saint, a mother, however reluctant, a fertile wife who was the agent of God's purpose. This is not hagiography shaped by family roles […] This is family politics calling for hagiographical expression."[88]

The increasing concern with virginity displayed in these writings may reflect monastic misogyny, expressed especially in a distaste for (especially female) sexuality, particularly feminine expressions of sexual desire and activity. For example, the Flemish monk Goscelin's vitae composed about Wulfthryth and her daughter Edith, both of whom were nuns at Wilton (Wulfthryth was abbess) reflect his unease with fertile married women's sexuality, especially in his portrayal of Ælgifu.[89] At the same time, Goscelin is sympathetic to his subjects and develops a vocabulary that reflects his amity for powerful women patrons and rulers, who he likens to Helen, Paula, and Eustochium, all powerful women of the early Christian communities. It is for this reason that Stafford describes his "feminist" conception of women's power as comparatively "feminist."[90]

The twelfth century ushered in the so-called English historical renaissance, but with it came a period of increased conservatism in terms of misogyny, race, orthodoxy/heterodoxy, normative/defined roles. Stafford suggests this was because "The increased professionalization of church and state sharpened the public-private distinction which the dynastic kingdoms of the early Middle Ages had blurred."[91] As church and state grew increasingly separate, royals of any gender were increasingly available for criticism. Meanwhile, the growth of queen's role,

[88] Ibid., 154.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., 155.

[91] Ibid., 156.

especially in England, because of the "need for regency" was juxtaposed against the veiled misogyny of the chivalric romance.[92]

With both these ideas in play, medieval depictions of women in power becomes increasingly complex. For example, William of Malmesbury described his contemporary, Empress Mathilda, as a "virago" but also emphasized her lineage in order to complement Matilda within the context of the dynastic struggle in which she was embroiled. By contrast, the *Gesta Stephani* reviles Matilda as both ugly and also seductive, reflecting the enmity Matilda faced from her cousin and rival for the English throne Stephen of Blois.[93]

During the high middle ages, a new language emerged in order to grapple with increasingly nuanced discourses of power. Rulers could now be depicted in terms that reflected the moral gray areas they often inhabited instead of the "black-and-white stereotypes" of the early Middle Ages.[94] This approach was not always successful for coping with thornier issues, such as women in power, and its difficulties are reflected in historical works commissioned by women during the eleventh century.[95] For example, the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (1041) and *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit* (ca.1066-1067) exemplify patently propagandic historiography. Yet they also present complex but ultimately positive portrayals of Emma of Normandy and her daughter-in-law Edith (ca. 1025-1075), consort of Edward the Confessor (1003-1066), who commissioned these works and likely worked closely with the

[92] Ibid., 157; Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, 143-64.

[93] Stafford, "Portrayal of Royal Women in England," 158-59.

[94] Ibid., 161.

[95] Ibid.

authors.[96] The increased complexity of these hagiographical narratives is reflected in Edith-Matilda's (ca. 1080-1118) early twelfth-century *Life of Queen Margaret of Scotland* which although it recounts the story of her royal ancestor, also reflects Edith-Matilda's desire for positive female representation in literature. Stafford argues that because Edith-Matilda required a role model, the work she commissioned has much in common with mirrors for princes, courtesy literature of the later middle ages designed as instructional manuals for noblemen.[97] In addition, the *Life of St. Margaret* draws on tropes from other royal dynastic hagiographies dealing with female sanctity, such as the cult of Ælgifu. As Stafford explains, "Given the purposes of the work, it is not surprising that it provides a classic restatement of the acceptable face of female power that had evolved in the early Middle Ages: wife, mother, household manager, patroness of churchmen, active within the limits that such statuses defined."[98]

The Eve-Mary antithesis in music

Despite the misogynist undertones of the Eve-Mary antithesis, women writers were also preoccupied with this theme. For example, Hildegard of Bingen explored in her music the opposition between Eve and Mary at length.[99] At least two of her sequences, including *O splendissima gemma* (antiphon) and *Ave Maria* (responsory), mention Eve/Mary. These ideas were not limited to Germany's nunneries. The anonymous tenth-century sequence *Aureo flore*, found in both French and English manuscripts, prominently features the opposition between

[96] Ibid., 165.

[97] Ibid., 162.

[98] Ibid.

[99] On Hildegard and the Eve-Mary antithesis in her works, seeRubin, *Mother of God*, 143-49; Rebecca L. R. Garber, *Feminae Figurae: Representations of Gender in Religious Texts by Medieval German Women Writers 1100-1375* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 33-60.

Mary and Eve; intriguingly, the sequence has a contrafact text *Aurea vira*, which has been identified with the Feast of the Assumption.[100] The ubiquitous hymn *Ave maris stella*, transmitted as early as the ninth century, appears to the be source of the Ave-Eva word play that would become a central mnemonic device for reminding Christians of the antithesis between Mary and Eve and their respective roles in the beginning and end of redemption.[101]

However, the Eve-Mary antithesis was not the only image in which an Old Testament woman was remembered in otherwise-Marian devotional music. The wives of the Hebrew patriarchs—the Hebrew matriarchs—were often invoked as signifiers of good marriages and successful childbirth. In addition, Mary and these women were often linked explicitly in medieval paraliturgical song, recalling Athanasius' image of the assemblage of Mary with Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Leah, Susanna, and Elizabeth—a family gathering of sorts, but hierarchical in the same way that a gathering of queen or princess with her ladies-in-waiting would have been. As discussed above, these images emphasized the continuity between Jewish and Christian theology, as well as affirming the importance of kinship and genealogy. But the characters could also be called upon to emphasize particular aspects of Mary's narrative. For example, the late-thirteenth-century conductus *Risum fecit Sare* pairs Sarah with the BVM, beginning with Sarah's laughter after God grants her prayers for a successful pregnancy late in life. Colton references this conductus in connection with her argument that any mention of an Old Testament woman in late medieval music should be understood as a reference to the BVM.[102] While the connection between the two women is undeniable, I read the invocation of Sarah, laughing in delight over

[100] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 146.

[101] Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven*, 130-33.

[102] Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England," 179.

her unanticipated motherhood late in life (Genesis 21:6-7), not as a straightforward analogue for Mary, but rather as a complex and deliberate emphasis not only of Mary's pregnancy but also of her *fiat*.

Table 1.1 Comparison of "Sarah's laughter" theme in Genesis and *Risum fecit Sare*

Source	**Text**
Genesis 21:6-7	"And Sarah said: God hath made a laughter for me: whosoever shall hear of it will laugh with me."
Risum fecit Sare	Risum fecit Sare / sue deus care / quo conrident omnia
Translation of *Risum fecit Sare*	[God caused his beloved Sarah to laugh, and everything joins in her laughter.]

Like Sarah, Mary has been miraculously impregnated through the grace of God, and thus both women are closely connected physically and spiritually to the divine. This is not Peter's Sarah, praised for her obedience to Abraham (1 Peter 3:6); rather, this is a Sarah that is rooted in her own genealogy and closeness to God, for her "laughter" (*risum*) is also the namesake of her son, Isaac, himself a Christ-like figure.

Jezebels and Eves

Because few *vitae* of the type commissioned by Emma and Edith-Matilda survive, we must conclude that these queens were unusual in their ability to write their own histories. Queens who violated normative gender roles were often portrayed through the language used to describe Biblical counter-exemplars such as Jezebel and Eve. For example, in the *Life of Offa*, written by a monk of St. Albans, Queen Cynethryth of Mercia is portrayed as a villain who murders the king of East Anglia in a lurid scene.[103] This is in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which places the blame for his death squarely at Offa's feet. St. Albans favored Offa as their founder

[103] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, 16-17.

and needed a scapegoat; Cynethryth was apparently a good candidate because she could be painted as an "agent of the devil."[104] Slander directed at Anglo-Saxon and Frankish queens usually concerned the domestic sphere. Avarice was often a major theme of criticism leveled at queens, including Willa, Angelberga, Constance, Fredegund, and Brunhild. For example, Judith of Bavaria (797/805-843), the mother of Charles the Bald (823-877) was the target of propagandic literature authorized by her stepsons, who depicted her court as a den of iniquity, rife with witchcraft and incest. Judith was compared to Eve, the archetypal temptress, enemy of priests, and childlike, irrational, etc., in contrast to her earlier career, during which she was praised for her rule and likened to Esther. By accusing Judith of these crimes, they created propaganda that affected her son's legitimacy.[105] Indeed, queens often figured as scapegoats for their husbands' excesses.[106] These images persisted into the later middle ages. For example, Isabella of Valois, the consort of Edward II, was labelled a "Jezebel" by the chronicler Geoffrey le Baker. Narrating Isabella's attempted coup in 1325, Baker writes,

> the criminal devisers of this wicked plot met their pupil, who herself was skilled in the weapons of crime, on the appointed day. As leaders in chief of this army, they were not in charge of lambs or sheep but of cruel, fanged wolves, and they were less shepherds than tyrants. There the two elders, whose wickedness was that of the Babylonians against Susanna but on behalf of Jezebel, yes, those priests of Baal, pupils of Jezebel, I mean the bishops of Lincoln and Hereford [Adam Orleton and Henry Burghersh, respectively] and also the bishops of Dublin and Ely, assembled a great army together with the queen.[107]

Referring to Isabella as "Jezebel" was not only a clever example of wordplay through the sound parallels in their names; it was also a way of reinforcing the perceived immorality of her

[104] Ibid., 14-15.

[105] Ibid., 17-19.

[106] Ibid., 24.

[107] Geoffrey Baker, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker of Swinbrook*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), 20-21; Bray notes that the latter claims, at least, were entirely spurious. Ibid., 18fn3.

behavior. Jezebel was the Biblical counterexample to Esther; as the worshipper of the false god Baal, she swayed prophets to sin and heresy.[108] Described with the slur "Jezebel," therefore, Isabella of Valois was presented as the implicit antithesis not only to Esther, wise counsellor of Ahasuerus, but also to the patient and chaste Susannah. These comparisons cast aspersions not only on Isabella's ability to rule but on her sexual conduct as well.

Ironically, Isabella's own behavior may have been shaped by the exemplars available to her, both positive and negative, in a reflexive relationship whereby behavior constituted allegory which constituted the same prescribed and proscribed sets of behaviors. As Stafford notes, "The images available to describe queens are determinants certainly of the surviving pictures, perhaps of the actions of royal women."[109] The Bible was a major source of such images, including exemplars for male and female rulers. For example, David and Moses were used as respective analogues for Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, while Rachel and Mary loomed large in the vita of the saint and Holy Roman Empress Adelaide (931-999). Similarly, the character of Susannah makes an appearance in the twelfth-century Annals of Winchester written by Richard of Devizes, an account critical of Emma of Normandy and her son by Æthelred, Edward (later Edward the Confessor). Richard's narrative of Emma's capture and arrival at Winchester in ca. 1044 explicitly links the queen to the Susannah: accused of fornication, like her Biblical exemplar, Emma prays to God, asking Him to bear witness to her innocence, and is ultimately exonerated through the same ordeal, namely, by walking over hot coals.[110] Conversely, Biblical women could also be used to exemplify the antithesis of good queenship, most frequently Eve, Jezebel,

[108] Stafford, "Portrayal of Royal Women in England," 147.

[109] *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, 24.

[110] *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, UK: Malden, MA, 1997), 20-21.

and Delilah. Surprisingly, few musical works have been uncovered that so much as mention these anti-exemplars. A lone monophonic sequence *Samson dux fortissime* is transmitted in Lbl Harley 978, ff. 2^{r}-4^{v}. The sequence tells the story of Samson from his own perspective. By using the first person, the composer allows the singer(s) to embody Samson—an unusual and sophisticated but rare form of role-playing. The image of Delilah is so unflattering that it seems unlikely that this work was performed for any occasion requiring royal spectacle:

> 9. Post amavi Dalidam,
> virginem puellulam,
> corpore iuvenculam,
> fraudibus vulpeculam,
> cum libaret poculum,
> porrigebat osculum
> serviens ad oculum,
> seducebat seculum,
> que sivit michi periculum.
>
> [Afterwards I loved the virgin maid Delilah, a young woman in body, a vixen in deceit, when she would fill up the cup, she would extend a kiss, waiting upon the eye, she seduced the world, she sought danger for me.][111]

Delilah is presented as an analogue for Eve—dangerous and deceitful, not only to Samson but to the whole world, she uses her beauty as a weapon to outwit and manipulate men.

In a similar vein, Eve herself is presented as an anti-exemplar whose errors are countered by Mary's actions in conceiving and bearing Christ. The message is two-fold: women should neither venerate nor emulate Eve; rather, it is Mary who is worthy of prayer and capable of granting intercessory assistance. Moreover, it is Mary who should be emulated. These themes appear in *Missus Gabriel de celis*, a monophonic rhymed sequence dated to the second half of

[111] Translated in Deeming, *SIBS*, 113.

the twelfth century and found in Otc 34, f. 151v. The sequence begins by recounting the events of the Annunciation:

1a. Missus Gabriel de celis,
verbi baiulus fidelis,
sacris disserit loquelis
cum beata virgine:

1b. Verbum bonum et suave
pandit intus in conclave
et ex Eva format Ave
Eve verso nomine.

[Gabriel having been sent from heaven, bearer of the faithful word, speaks with holy words with the blessed virgin: he extends a good and gracious word inward within the room and from Eve ['Eva'] makes 'Ave', with the name Eve reversed.]

Here the poet invokes the Eva-Ave palindrome, a mnemonic for remembering the relationship between Eve and Mary (the "Second Eve"). The image of Adam and Eve appears again in the fourth verse:

4a. Virga sica sine rore,
novo ritu, novo more,
fructum protulit cum flore,
sic et virgo peperit:

4b. Benedictus talis fructus,
fructus gaudii non luctus,
non erit Adam seductus,
si de hoc gustaverit.

[The virgin has brought forth such blessed fruit, fruit of joy not of grief, Adam will not be seduced if he will have tasted from this.][112]

The "blessed fruit" to which the poet refers is Christ, whose sacramental flesh is juxtaposed with the apple that Adam and Eve tasted. Thus the covenant to which the second

[112] Translated in ibid., 27.

verse refers is fulfilled, not only through Mary giving birth to Christ, but allow the salvation his sacrice promises to be delivered through her delivery of the Son of God:

> 2a. Consequenter iuxta pactum,
> adest verbum caro factum,
> semper tamen est intactum
> puellare gremium:
>
> 2b. Parens pariens ignorat,
> et quam homo non deflorat
> non torquetur nec laborat
> quando parit filium.
>
> There will follow close together a covenant, the word made flesh appears, always, though, is intact the virginal womb: giving birth, she knows no equal, and she whom man does not deflower is not wracked nor does she labour when she delivers a son.[113]

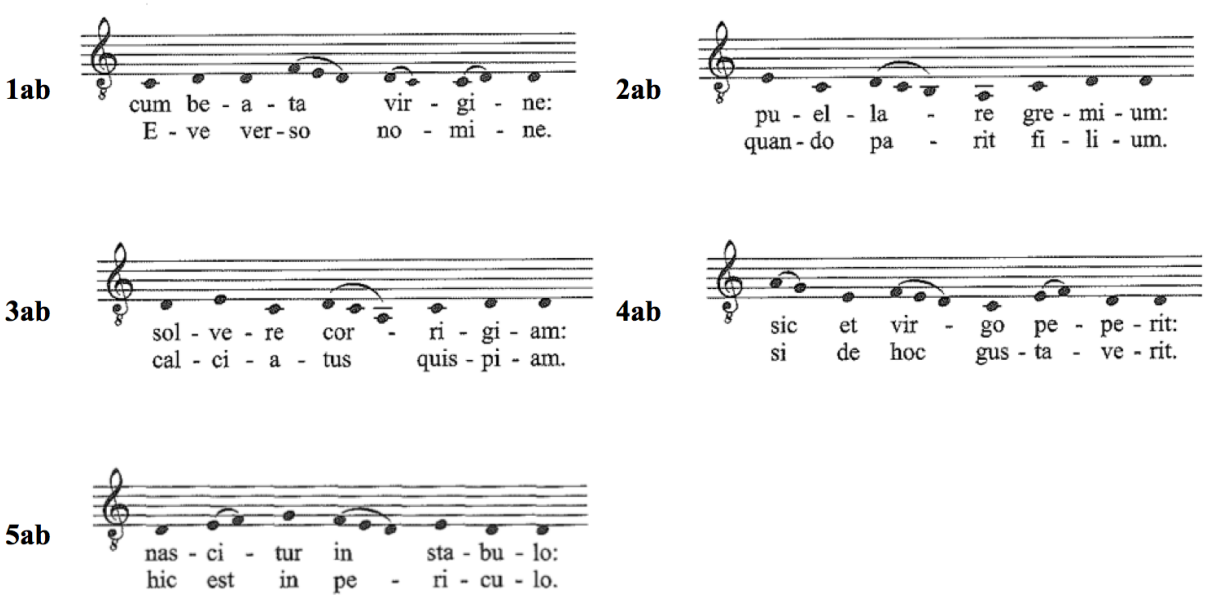
The two halves (*a* and *b*) of each of these verses repeat the same music with new text; thus, each of the following paired words are sung to the same music:

Table 1.2: Textual pairs in *Missus Gabriel de celis*

Verse	a	b
1	virgine ("virgin")	nomine ("[Eve's name")
2	gremium ("womb")	filium ("son")
3	corrigam ("shoe-lace")	quispiam ("any [sandal]")
4	peperit ("[Mary] gives birth")	gustaverit ("[Adam] eats")
5	stabulo ("stable")	periculo ("danger")

[113] Translation in ibid., 26-27.

Musical example 1.1: Settings of textual pairs in *Missus Gabriel de celis*



In the first verse, the BVM is juxtaposed with Eve, setting the tone for the remainder of the oppositions or pairs in the remainder of the sequence. For example, *gremium* and *filium* are sung to the same music in the second verse, aligning the Son with the womb from which he is born. In the fourth verse, Mary's act of giving birth is juxtaposed with Adam and Eve's taste of the apple; the internalization of original sin is presented with its fundamental antithesis, the erasure of that sin through the emergence of God into the world in human form. Similarly opposed are the notions of the stable (*stabulo*) as the physical safe-haven in which Jesus is born and the metaphysical danger (*periculo*) of sin. A less-clear example appears in the third verse, but here too is a pair of things that complement one another: a sandal (*calciatus quisquam*) and its lace (*corrigiam*). This verse refers to the episode of the burning bush in Exodus 3:1-4:17, which is sent by God as a sign to Moses that he should lead the Israelites out of Egypt. By juxtaposing this episode with that of the Annunciation, the author of the sequence implies that

angel that appears to Moses within the bush is the same as Gabriel, the angel who appears to Mary. Both are instances of extraordinary events happening to essentially ordinary people and both herald a tremendous paradigm shift in the Old and New Testaments, respectively. By highlighting the continuities between the Old and New Testament, not only in Genesis but in Exodus as well, the sequence author portrays these episodes as essential events within a single, continuous narrative. This clever wordplay in text and music suggests that the anonymous poet is also the author of the music.

A heightened version of the same matrix of female sanctity appears in another monophonic sequence, *Stella maris singularis* ("Matchless star of the sea"), found in *Cgc 240/126*, pp. 4-5. The honorific "stella maris," made famous in the incipit of *Ave maris stella,* alludes to Jerome's mistranslation of the Hebrew name Miriam as "bitter sea." Jerome's error is further complicated by a possible scribal error, which transformed *stilla* ("drop") into *stella* ("star").[114] Instead of a drop of ocean water, Mary's newest *topos* became the northern star. By addressing the BVM as "stella maris," the poet draws on this paratext, the hymn *Ave maris stella*, which although transmitted only from the ninth century is sometimes credited to Jerome. *Ave maris stella* itself appears to be the origin point of the Ave-Eva palindrome. Verses 1 and 2 address the Immaculate Conception and, significantly, the absence of pain felt by Mary during her labor:

> 1a. Stella maris singularis,
> claustris claris castillaris,
> fecundaris nec fedaris,
> fetasine semine:
> 1b. Expers paris prelicaris,

[114] Paul Haffner, *The Mystery of Mary* (Leominster, UK: Gracewing Hillenbrand Books, 2004), 106n87.

exsors maris marem paris,
gravidaris nec gravaris,
sancto fulta flumine.

2a. Tument queque femine
de virili semine
nec sine doloribus
vacuatur fetibus:
2b. Tu solo spiramine
grato tumes germine
et altis applausibus
flores, plena fructibus.

[1. Matchless star of the sea, you are defended with shining gates, you are made fruitful not defiled, pregnant without seed: without equal you are foretold, without a man you bear a man, you are impregnated not burdened, supported by the holy spirit.
2. And those women who swell from masculine seed are not vacated by their infants without sorrows: you alone swell with pleasing fruit by the inspiration [of the holy spirit] and you give birth with lofty applauses, filled with delights.][115]

The "sorrows" (*doloribus*) to which the poet so politely refers are the physical pains of childbirth. Because Mary was understood in this period to be free from original sin through her *fiat,* it was also believed that she had been spared the agony of labor, and that her childbirth had been "filled with delights" (*plena fructibus*). The third verse clarifies that it is Eve who is responsible for original sin, while Mary, through Christ, has fulfilled her role as co-redemptrix and made salvation possible. The poet presents a duality of conception: the serpent's stealth in approaching, seducing, and (figuratively) impregnating Eve with mortal curiosity (*serpens Eve clam surrepit*), is here juxtaposed with Mary's chaste conception by proxy.

3a. Serpens Eve clam surrepit,
multa spondens quam decepit,
pomum gustans dum incepit
dare viro vetitum:
3b. Salutare cum hanc cepit

[115] Translated in Deeming, *SIBS*, 82.

Gabriel, ista concepit
Christum, cruem qui suscepit
solveret ut debitum.

[The serpent covertly steals in to Eve, promising many things as it deceives, while she, tasting the forbidden apple, undertakes to give it to the man: when Gabriel took it in hand to greet this one [Mary], she conceived Christ, who bore the cross that he might pay back the debt.][116]

The fifth verse ushers in a striking set of familiar exemplars. Here are Judith and Esther, presented not only as the pinnacle of feminine virtue—one "spirited" (*an[l]imata*) in the face of mortal peril, the other interceding with her royal spouse for the sake of her people's safety— but also as the pinnacle of Christian achievement. The poet reclaims the heroines of the Old Testament, restoring them to the spiritual lineage of Christianity in the same way that Christ's sacrifice repairs the broken covenant between God and the chosen people.

5a. Hec est archa instaurata
mana, virga, tabulis,
prudens, recta, dulcorata
angelorum epulis:

5b. Hec est Judith, animata,
obvians periculis,
Hester, regi copulata,
pacem donans populis.

[5. This is the ark restored by the manna, the branch, the tablets; prudent, upright, sweetened on the food of angels: this is Judith, spirited, meeting with dangers; [this is] Esther, coupled to the king, giving peace to the people.][117]

The image of Mary as second Eve also appears in a number of twelfth and thirteenth-century polyphonic songs, whether by allusion, as in the song *Miro genere*, or through explicit description, as in the case of the two-voice sequence *Salve sanctarum sanctissima.* In *Miro*

[116] Translated in ibid.

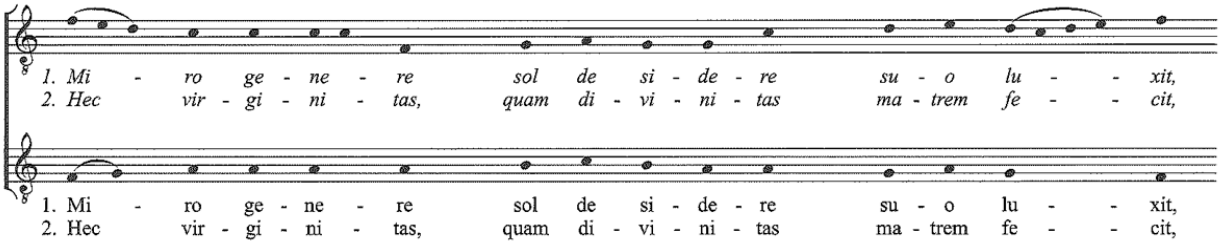
[117] Translated in ibid.

genere, the players are vague and unnamed, but the story remains the same: mankind has been saved through Mary's *fiat*.

> Hec virginitas
> quam divinitas matrem fecit
> per quam veterem
> summum hominem
> ius deiecit
> a regina
> sic divina
> medicina lapsa refecit.
>
> [This virginity, given motherhood by the Divinity, through whom the ancestral man has been driven out by the highest law, has thus restored him through the medicine that, once withdrawn, flows from the divine queen.][118]

The two voices of *Miro genere* move in contrary but harmonious motion, often seeming to be in dialogue with one another.

Musical example 1.2: Dialogic counterpoint in Miro genere



In *Salve sanctarum sanctissima,* written in the first half of the thirteenth century, Mary and Eve are explicitly named and the rhetoric with which they are described takes on a new intensity: in the third verse, Eve is described as "savage" (*seva*), while in the seventh and penultimate verse, Mary is elevated to the highest status possible, adjacent to divinity, through her Assumption. Rather than deserving empathy for the trick played on her by the serpent, the poet makes clear his belief that Eve deserves her punishment. On the other hand, Mary is praised

[118] Translated by Peter M. Lefferts in Frank Ll. Harrison, ed. *Motets of English Provenance*, vol. 15, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980), 213.

effusively for her part in restoring "the first condition," i.e. making redemption possible by reversing Eve's mistake.

3a. Nam illa seva
mulier, Eva,
descipi digna
fraude maligna:

3b. Ius subit mortis,
abstulit sortis
prime gaudia,
carens patria.

[For that savage woman, Eve, fit to be snared by malicious deception: the law of death approaches, it takes away firstly the joys of her lot, [she] being deprived of her homeland [i.e. Paradise].]

4a. Sed diram tulit mortem;
primam reddidit sortem
virgo Maria,
4b. Conceptu sacro suo,
miroque partu suo,
plena gracia.

[But it brought awful death; the virgin Mary restored the first condition, with her holy conception and with his marvelous birth, full of grace.]

[Verses 5-6 here omitted.]

7a. O qualis femina,
cunctorum domina,
7b. Post Deum unica,
spesque salvifica.

[O what a woman, queen of all, alone after God, and saving hope.][119]

[119] Translation in Deeming, *SIBS*, 61.

Mary in insular vernacular song

As discussed above, some of the sources of British music ca. 1150-1300 are written in the vernacular. While not a majority of the works, the trend in the surviving sources suggests an increase in vernacular compositions sharing the metaphorical vocabulary of Latin sacred texts, if not their actual language. As such, these works should be considered as part of the larger tradition of Marian paraliturgical devotion.

Table 1.3: Number of English Marian text settings by language, ca. 1150-1300

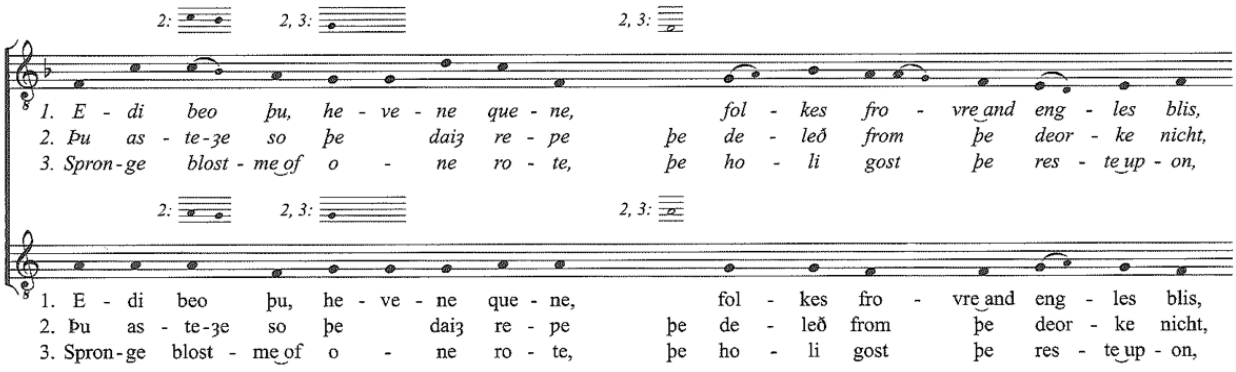
Date	Latin	Middle English	Anglo-Norman French	Total
1150-1200	10			10
1200-1250	14	3	1	18
1250-1300	31	9	6	46
Total	55	12	7	74

Edi beo þu is a two-voice hymn written in Middle English that also focuses on the theme of the Eve-Mary antithesis. Found in GB-Occ 59, the hymn comprises eight stanzas of eight lines in length, each sung to the same music. Like *Miro genere*, the two voices often move in contrary motion, the note-against-note counterpoint favoring to the thirds beloved by English composers. This is not music for virtuoso singers; the lower voice employs only three notes, F, A, and C, while the upper voice is slightly more adventurous. Yet it is affective and accessible, the sweetness of the English thirds reflected in the textual imagery. The fourth verse introduces the theme of Mary as second Eve, further illustrated by a contrast between the sweetness of heaven's "dew" (a metaphor for the Conception) and Eve's "bitter" brew:

> Þu ert eorþe to gode sede,
> on þe liȝte þe heovene deuȝ,
> of þe sprong þeo edi blede,
> þe holi gost hire on þe seuȝ,

þu bring us ut of kare, of drede
þat Eve bitterliche us breuȝ,
þu sschalt us in to heovene lede,
þelle spete is þe ilke deuȝ.

[You are soil to good seed; on you alighted the heavenly dew; from you sprung the blessed fruit, the holy ghost sowed it in you; you bring us out of care, of the fear that Eve bitterly brewed for us, you shall lead us into heaven; very sweet is that same dew.][120]

Musical example 1.3: Edi beo þu, opening two lines of stanzas 1-3

Like *Edi beo þu*, the vernacular three-voice pes motet *Duce creature* is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. Intriguingly, *Duce creature* has a Latin contrafactum (or is itself the Anglo-Norman French contrafact) in *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris*. Both works are found in Lbl Harley MS 978 ff. 9v-10r and ff. *Duce creature* further extends the theory of the Eve-Mary antithesis, including the evocative emblem of the women's bodies as open and closed doors to Paradise.

Vus estes la rose
d'espine nurie,
par ki est desclose
la porte de vie,
k'a trestuz grant pose
fu par la folie

[120] Translation in ibid., 157.

Eve e Adam close,
ke plein furent d'envie.

Porte de salu,
vus estes refu,
garaunt et escu
cuntre l'enemi,
vus estes le port,
solaz et confort
a ceus ki la mort
urent de servi:

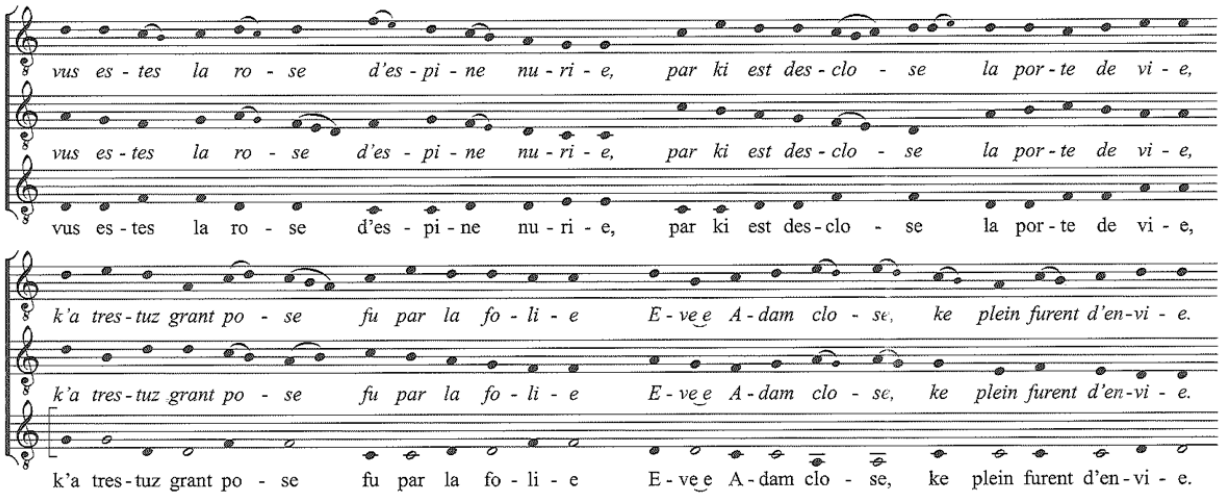
[You are the rose nurtured by a thorn, by whom is opened the gate of life, which for a long time was closed to everybody by the folly of Eve and Adam, who were full of envy. Gate of salvation, you are refuge, protector and shield against the enemy, you are the port, solace and comfort to those who have merited death.][121]

The poet describes Mary as "a rose nurtured by thorns" (*la rose d'espine nurie*) an example of the image of a Christian woman reared by pagans that would become a feature of virgin martyr hagiography.[122] Despite her pagan and specifically Jewish origin, Mary herself is here depicted as responsible for counteracting the madness and folly (*folie*) of Adam and Eve. Moreover, the poet employs the epithet "gate of salvation" (*Porte de salu*), a reference to her womb and vaginal canal as the literal and figurative passageway through which Christ passed. The theoretical opposition is depicted in the musical setting. In the top voice, the antonyms "desclose" (opened) and "close" (closed) receive antithetical treatment: at "desclose," the vocal line rises by the interval of a third, while at "close," it falls by a second.

[121] Translation in ibid., 120.

[122] For example, the Prologue to John Capgrave's fifteenth-century Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria describes the saint as a "fresh rose grow[n] from thorny brambles." The poet continues: "Our Lady came from Jews, Katherine from heathens." John Capgrave, "The Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria," ed. Karen A. Winstead (Notre Dame, IN: Uniersity of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 26.

Musical example 1.4: Open- and closed-door imagery in *Duce creature*



Together with *Edi beo þu*, *Duce creature* bears witness to the consistent use of Mary as a female exemplar in Norman and Anglo-Saxon textual and musical communities. Rather than being the sole province of Latin-speaking and -reading monastic communities, the Eve-Mary antithesis as well as Mary's embodied role as co-redemptrix in Christian salvation were important aspects of lay and vernacular musical cultures, as these pieces evince.

The Ave-Eva antithesis in the English motet tradition

The Ave-Eva motif is not limited to the insular song tradition. In the incomplete motet *Virginis Maria laudes* (Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.vi.16, ff. 1v, 246r) the comparison between Eve and the BVM is once again made explicit:

> Eva tristis abstulit
> sed Maria protulit
> natum qui reemit peccatores.

[Sad Eve took away, but Mary brought forth a son who redeemed sinners.][123]

In this motet, the comparison to Eve is made as part of a program of explicit antisemitism. *Virginis Maria laudes* describes the Jewish people as both "*incredula*" (nonbelievers) and "*prave choorti*" (a perverse cohort). By extension, the pathetic and morally bankrupt—a tangle of import conveyed here simply in the word "*tristis*" (sad)—Eve is racially marked as Jewish, while Mary literally and figuratively embodies Christianity, both through the act of giving birth to Christ and through her personality, described here "clemens et pia" (gentle and pious/holy).[124] The allusion to Gabriel in conjunction with the misogynist and antisemitic tone suggests that this piece may have been intended for monastic use. Although *Virginis Maria laudes* has Continental concordances, the Cambridge manuscript consists of a divided bifolium with fourteenth-century notation, used as flyleaves for an early fifteenth-century paper missal made for St. Augustine's, a Benedictine house in Canterbury.[125]

In the short three-voice conductus *Pardisi porta per Evam* (Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.i.6, no. 3, f. 246v), salvation is further embodied by Mary:

> Paradisi porta
> per Evam cunctis clausa est
> et per Mariam virginem
> iterum patefacta est.
> Alleluya.

[123] Translated in Frank Llewellyn Harrison, ed. *English Music for Mass and Offices (Ii) and Music for Other Ceremonies*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre., 1986), 191.

[124] Here I employ the framework of race, rather than ethnicity, following Dorothy Kim, "Reframing Race and Jewish/Christian Relations in the Middle Ages," in *transversal* (2015)..

[125] Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th Century*, International Inventory of Musical Sources B = RéPertoire International Des Sources Musicales B (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), 211.

> [The gate of paradise because of Eve was closed to all, and through the virgin Mary has been opened again. Alleluia.][126]

The binary opposition between these two women is presented in physical terms: through her curiosity, Eve closes the door to salvation, while Mary opens it through her humility. In this sense, Mary and Eve are presented both as two sides of the same coin, one a positive exemplar of ideal femininity, while the other embodies the negative aspects held to be true of medieval women. Moreover, by figuring Eve as physically and racially Other to Mary, Mary's whiteness is made more visible. Rubin argues that "by the year 1200 Mary was deemed by some Europeans to be immaculate in her purity in the face of heretics and Jews. Belief in Mary's purity became the absolute touchstone for membership in the Christian body."[127]

Rosa delectabilis/ T. Regali ex progenie/ Regalis exoritur is a three-voice motet transmitted in *Onc 362*. The motet is one of few surviving works that incorporate an unusual but typically English structural feature: the motet's chant tenor is in the middle voice, rather than the lowest. While not isorhythmic, the *cantus firmus* repeats in a regular rhythmic pattern. The outer voices move together, often in parallel sixths and occasionally in tenths (i.e. thirds).[128] Sanders aptly describes these two enveloping voices as "a duet draped around the *cantus firmus*."[129]

Rosa delectabilis' three voices are remarkably unified, thematically and musically. Each voice, however, deals with the Nativity of the BVM in its own way. To begin with, the tenor

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[126] Translated in Harrison, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 192.

[127] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 125.

[128] Ernest H. Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre Dame Conductus," in *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries: Style and Notation* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 516.

[129] Ibid.

Regali ex progenie celebrates Mary's lineage as well as her physical manifestation of the church trough delivery of Jesus:

> Regali ex progenie Maria exorta refulgent:
> Cujus precibus nos adjuvari, mente et spiritu, devotissime poscimus.
> cuius vita inclita illustrat ecclesias.
>
> [Sprung from royal lineage, Mary shines; through the devoted mind and spirit, we ask that her prayers aid us; she whose illustrious deeds manifested the Church.][130]

Because of its invocation of the notion of "royal lineage" this chant has appeared in other royal contexts. For example, Æthelflaed, ruler of the Mercians after her husband's death in 911 CE, was referred to in the *Life of St. Dunstan* as "*regali ex progenie*" on account of her royal descent.[131] This phrase, despite being the incipit of a Marian antiphon—or perhaps *because* of it—has appeared in multiple political contexts. For example, Jean de Montreuil (1354-1418), who often debated Christine de Pizan on issues relating to women, used *Regali ex progenie* as the title of a political treatise. Montreuil was among the first to invoke Salic law in order to invalidate Henry IV of England's claim to the French throne, arguing that because Henry's connection to the House of Valois through a female ancestor (Isabella of France), the English king was not eligible to rule over France. *Regali ex progenie* is also the *cantus firmus* for a Magnificat and mass by Robert Fayrfax, both of which are now associated with Henry VIII, despite the antiphon itself being intended for the Office of the Nativity of the BVM. The lineage

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[130] Translated by Peter M. Lefferts in Frank Ll. Lefferts Harrison, Peter M., ed. *Motets of English Provenance*, vol. XV, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980), 180-89.

[131] "Erat namque quaedam praedives matron, regali ex progenie orta, sed strictis nodis divinae religionis innexa, cujus nomen brevi mentionis attactu nuper contigimus." William Stubbs, ed. *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Longman & Co., 1874), 17. Specifically, the Mercian register refers to Æthelflæd as "*Myrcna hlæfdige"* ("Lady of the Mercians"). "Æthelflæd (*d.* 918)," Marios Costambeys in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. David Cannadine, Oxford: OUP, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8907 (accessed July 22, 2016).

of the chant's incipit therefore begs the question, how did a Marian chant become associated with kings and not queens?

The lowest voice of *Rosa delectabilis*, *Regalis exoritur*, also celebrates Mary's lineage. The poetry is organized into six four-line stanzas with an additional five-line stanza, the same scheme as that used in the triplum. Each stanza's lines have a regular length: seven- and eight-syllable lines alternate. The theological message aligns with the patristic theory of Mary as co-redemptrix. Stanza 1 describes Mary's *fiat*, emphasizing her exercise of free will. In the second stanza, the practical consequences of the fiat are narrated—Mary is pregnant and Jesus is born. The third stanza describes the co-redemption, emphasizing that through Mary's actions, Eve is saved from the consequences of her own folly. Stanza 4 brings the story to its climactic point: Jesus is betrayed and makes the ultimate salvific sacrifice. Stanzas 5-7 act as a *dénouement* and a prayer for intercession. This text affirms the idea of Mary as "the second Eve" and co-redeemer, with Jesus, of humanity. The final two stanzas amplify the prayer for intercession expressed in the chant tenor, with the specific request that Mary intercede on behalf of the penitent while reiterating the belief that Mary's *fiat* ensures that all true Christians will have access to heaven.

Throughout the motet, sound is used to highlight its unity of text and ideas. Not only are the upper- and lowermost voices musically concordant, they also correspond to each other in terms of metrical scheme—syllable count, and poetic form. Each lyric is written in seven stanzas, six of which have four lines, and the seventh having five. The lines of poetry alternate length between seven and eight syllables. The only point of divergence is the final stanza, where both texts add a line of eight syllables in length.

Maria regina anglie

What is the significance of Marian theology in the context of English queenship? Aside from the prevalence of music for the BVM in English sources of the late middle ages, including sources closely associated with English courts, a clear association existed in imagery of the earthly queens and imagery of the heavenly queen. For example, antiphons for the BVM were sung for the queen's churching during the mid-fifteenth century. According to the *Liber regie capelle*, these included the *Nunc dimittis* and *Lumen ad revelacionem gentium*, both for the BVM's purification, sung during the procession.[132] The *ordo* for the queen's Purification following the birth of a child stipulates that after the queen is anointed with chrism, the singers of the Chapel Royal should sing the antiphon *Lumen ad revelacionem gentium* and the *Nunc dimittis*, "sicut in festo Purificacionis beate Marie annotatur."[133] Parsons also associates the psalm *Eructavit cor meum* with the king and queen's reception by the bishop of Exteer in the late fourteenth century. This was Psalm 44, used in the liturgy for the Assumption of the Virgin, itself rife with imagery of coronation and queenship.[134]

Opposition between medieval writing about men and women set up complementary powers of king and queen: the king was responsible for the law and intelligence, while the queen was responsible for mercy and heart. Masculine language was used to praise queens; while feminine vocabularies were invoked in order to criticize them. Rituals acknowledged both informal and unofficial as well as formal and recognized powers of the queen; these could be manipulated by queens even as the rituals reassured others of her "modesty and

[132] John Carmi Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship to 1500," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg, Cosmos (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 687.

[133] Ullmann and Turner, *Liber Regie Capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora*, 72.

[134] Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol," 68.

submissiveness."[135] Parsons argues that medieval English society made sense of the "paradox" posed by queenship through ritual, which he defines as "repetitive, socially standardized behavior, secular or religious, that takes place at locations and times that have symbolic meaning."[136] Parsons describes six distinct rituals in the life cycle of medieval queens: coronation, entry pageants, marriage, childbearing, receiving petitions (intercession), and funerals. Because these rituals used ambiguous and multivocal, they could express (constitute) and reflect but also limit queenly power in the eyes of participants and viewers alike.[137] For example, Eleanor of Castile's entry into London in 1255 was celebrated with the trappings of St. Edward's cult in order to "naturalize" the new queen and mitigate any distrust generated by her Otherness as a Spaniard.[138] Coronations in particular involved frequent allusions to virginity, from the visible—queens wore their hair long and loose, as if they were unmarried—to the audible, including the prayers invoking the BVM. From the time of Edith, the *beata stirps* also made a significant appearance in the ritual in the form of floriated scepters, often decorated with fleurs-de-lys, held by Edith and Anne Neville at their coronations. Because these items recalled the rods of Jesse, they conveyed a "strong Marian connotation", further cemented by the mention of Esther in the *ordo.*[139] Intercession may have been a part of the official investiture; records suggest that Eleanor of Provence (crowned 1236), Joan of Navarre (cr. 1403), Katherine of

[135] Ibid., 69.

[136] Ibid., 60.

[137] Ibid., 61.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid., 65.

Valois (cr. 1421), and Anne of Bohemia (planned but not executed, 1382) all enacted a ritualized form of intercession. This practice may have been customary rather than explicitly planned.[140]

Case study: The Scottish sequence *Ex te lux oritur*

In the preceding pages, this chapter has outlined two of the most common ways in which seemingly generic references to Mary and the Hebrew matriarchs in medieval paraliturgical music worked to constitute normative gender roles for royal women. In the remainder of this chapter, I explore a case study of a medieval sequence in which a specific princess was venerated alongside these Biblical matriarchs, at once elevated to their status while also asked to use her exalted role to request an intervention on behalf of her subjects' people.

On the Feast of St. James (July 25) in 1281, Alexander III, King of Scotland, signed an agreement with envoys sent by Erik II, King of Norway, on behalf of his daughter Margaret. The agreement was simple: Margaret would sail to Bergen and marry Erik, bringing with her 14,000 Scottish merks (payable in four installments between 1281 and 1284). In return, Margaret would be crowned queen of Norway and receive as a wedding gift lands in her new homeland valued at 1,400 merks.[141] Like that of Katherine of Valois to Henry V some 140 years later, the marriage between Margaret and Erik was intended to ease hostilities between Scotland and Norway. The marriage only lasted two years; Margaret died in 1283 either during or immediately following childbirth. Her only surviving child, also named Margaret but called the Maid of Norway (1282-90), became queen-designate of Scotland following her grandfather's death in 1286 from injuries sustained during a riding accident. Never crowned, the Maid of Norway fell ill and died during

[140] Ibid., 64.

[141] Neville and Simpson, *The Acts of Alexander Iii, King of Scots 1249-1286*, 157-58.

the voyage to Scotland. Had she lived, she might have married her cousin, the future Edward II, and ceded control of Scotland to the English crown, perhaps even calling the Norwegian succession into question.[142]

In 1281, of course, none of these events had yet come to pass. The promise of Erik and Margaret's wedding is celebrated in the Latin song *Et te lux oritur,* a monophonic sequence dated to the second half of the thirteenth century.[143] The sequence is unique to Uppsala MS C 233, a miscellany containing only two works of music: the aforementioned piece and one other Latin sequence, *Nobilis humilis*. The Uppsala manuscript was likely compiled in Orkney, to judge by the text of *Nobilis humilis*, which honors the martyr St. Magnus Erlendsson, Earl of Orkney (1080-1115/6). The nature of St. Magnus' cult suggests Orkney as a point of origin for the two pieces, if not of the Uppsala manuscript itself.[144]

Et te lux oritur comprises a lengthy and detailed prayer for a successful marriage between Margaret and Erik, the complete text of which is given in the Appendix. Although *Et te lux oritu*r does not mention Margaret of Scotland by name, the sequence's repeated mention of a "royal virgin" sent from Scotland to marry "*regem Eyricum*" ("King Erik") can only be interpreted as

[142] "Alexander III (1241–1286)," Norman H. Reid in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eee ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, May 2011, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/323 (accessed June 1, 2016). "Margaret [the Maid of Norway] (1282/3–1290)," A. A. M. Duncan in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eee online ed., ed. David Cannadine, Oxford: OUP, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18048 (accessed June 10, 2016).

[143] See Deeming, *SIBS*, 223; John Beveridge, "Two Scottish Thirteenth-Century Songs," *Music & Letters* 20, no. 4 (1939): 352-64.

[144] Orkney was controlled by Norway from 875 until it was re-annexed by Scotland in 1472, during which period the archipelago's earldom maintained a tense relationship with the Scottish crown.

references to Margaret.[145] Moreover, the eighth verse of the sequence appears to be a direct reference to both the prayer from the Sarum rite's marriage ceremony as well as the prayers for the queen's fertility found in the English coronation ordo:

Table 1.4: References to Hebrew matriarchs in the medieval English liturgy

Sarum marriage rite:	**English coronation ordo:**
Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro, sapiens ut Rebecca, longæva et fidelis ut Sara.	… una cum Sara atque Revecca, Lya, Rachel beatisque reverendis feminabus, fructu uteri sui fecundari seu gratulari mereatur ad decorem tocius regni...

Both the rite as well as the *ordo* incorporate *exempla* of wives of the Hebrew patriarchs, each exemplary in her own way. Sarah is gifted with long life and loyalty to Abraham; her son Isaac marries Rebecca, who is the mother of Jacob and Esau. Jacob in turn marries sisters Leah and Rachel (in addition to two other women who are usually not named), each of whom bears him multiple children. Susanna (Shoshana), a figure from the Book of Daniel, is the beautiful and pious wife of Joachim. When she refuses the sexual advances of two elders of her community, the men seek revenge by accusing her of adultery; Daniel intervenes and the elders are put to death. Jerome assigned the "History of Susanna" to the Apocrypha when he translated the Vulgate, a decision which in turn may account for Susanna's absence from the marriage and coronation ordos in the Sarum rite as well as the *Liber regie capelle*. The rhetorical gesture in *Et te lux oritur*, however, is clear: the author of the sequence wishes Erik's new wife to be as

[145] "Margaret" was a family name for the Scottish royal House of Dunkeld, deriving from the name of St. Margaret of Wessex, wife of Malcolm II of Scotland, and Margaret of Scotland's six-times-great grandmother. In addition, the choice of the name "Margaret" by Margaret of Scotland's grandmother, Eleanor of Provence, Queen of England, coincided with her and her husband Henry III's choice to name their daughters after female royal saints: Margaret (1240-75), later Queen of Scotland by marriage to Alexander III, Beatrice (1242-75), later Duchess of Brittany by marriage to John II, and Katherine (1253-7), who died in childhood. Eleanor may have been following something of a family tradition, as her sisters were also given saintly female names: Margaret, Beatrice, and Sanchia.

affectionate as Rachel; as conciliatory as Esther; as able to conceive as Leah, and as patient as Susanna. The prominence (and provenance) of these exempla, coupled with the reference to England in the first half of the sequence and the context provided by the naming of Scotland and Norway in the opening stanza, suggest that this sequence was intended as a gift from Edward to Erik, congratulating him on this wedding and offering the king's hopes for a successful marriage. Implicit in this gift was the hope that the Scottish succession would not be impacted by this marriage—and that England's relationship with both Norway and Scotland would remain peaceable. As such, *Et te lux oritur* is an early example of the type of piece described by Robert Nosow as a "ritual embassy."

Nosow defines "embassy" as "the art of presenting one's interests, party, and honor in the most positive way."[146] The art of embassy was often made manifest in motets—themselves constitutive of ritual action[147]—through the musicotextual rhetorical structure. For example, in the case of Johannes Ciconia's occasional motet *Albane misse celitus/Albane doctor maxime,* the motet itself acts as embassy from the Cathedral of Padua to its first Venetian bishop. The motet-as-embassy thus comprises a significant and symbolic political gesture in light of the Padua's surrender to Venice, reflected in the textual structure of the motet, organized according to the *Ars dictaminis.*[148] In addition to promoting diplomacy between earthly polities, "embedded in a ritual situation" a fifteenth -century motet "potentially communicated with both celestial and terrestrial audiences."[149] The now-lost motet *Ave rex Anglorum/Flos mundi/Miles Christi* performed during

[146] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*, 84.

[147] Ibid., 44.

[148] Ibid., 84-86.

[149] Ibid., 45.

the Agincourt processions and described in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, marked the king's physical journey from Blackheath to London, and his symbolic reunion with his subjects.[150]

Perhaps the most well-known example of ritual embassy to musicologists is Dufay's ballade *Resveilliés vous*, the occasion of which composition has recently been revised from the wedding date of Carlo Malatesta da Pesaro and Vittoria di Lorenzo Colonna on July 23, 1423 to to a few days earlier, during an earlier phase of the marriage celebrations. Elizabeth Randell Upton argues that the verb tenses used in the opening stanza of *Resveilliés vous* suggest that the song was intended for performance *prior* to the final celebration of the wedding on the grounds that the lyrics indicate that the wedding has not yet happened. Moreover, Upton contends that the ballade's lyrics would have been inappropriate for performance in mixed company and must have been intended for a part of the marriage festivities attended only by men, most of whom were the male relatives of the groom.[151]

As Upton observes in the case of *Resveilliés vous,* "changing a date by a week or two [might seem as if it] doesn't make much difference over five hundred years later:"[152] A more nuanced grasp, however, of the process of wedding arrangements does indeed affect our understanding of the music itself. Like *Resveilliés vous,* scholars might easily consider any further investigation into *Et te lux oritur* closed—but if we know a musical work was intended for a particular event, and we can be even more specific as to the time and place of its performance, why not try? The inclusion of the wedding matriarchs in *Et te lux oritur* is no

[150] Ibid., 87.

[151] Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages*, 14-18, 22-35.

[152] Ibid., 34.

accident; rather, together these allusions make up a clear, direct reference to the marriage and coronation rites.

John Beveridge concluded that both *Ex te lux oritur* and *Nobilis humilis* were the work of one Friar Maurice, a Minorite (Fransciscan) monk who was one of the members of Erik's Norwegian envoy.[153] On the basis of his observation that the sequence was written for two voices moving in parallel thirds, in addition to its use of the Lydian mode in conjunction with a recurrent horizontal motion by tritone in the melody, Beveridge argued that *Nobilis humilis* was the work of a Orcadian, rather than Scottish or Norse composer.[154] Given the cultural exchange between Orkney and Norway, Uppsala manuscript may indeed have been, as Beveridge suggested, the work of Minorite monks in the Orkney Islands; however, his theory regarding the identity of the composer of *Ex te lux oritur* is less likely.[155] Beveridge argued that a member of the Norwegian envoy sent by Erik's father Magnus to negotiate with Alexander was responsible for the work in question. Although Maurice was a monk, he was not removed from the world; he was also "an old servant of the Norwegian court, a travelled man with literary gifts and interests" who had journeyed to Scotland on the Norwegian king's business in the past.[156] That he was an educated and well-travelled man is undeniably true of Maurice; however, Beveridge's claims regarding the monk's nationality are unverifiable. Even if Maurice was indeed born in Scotland, and for this reason a good candidate for envoy to his place of birth, as Beveridge hypothesized,

[153] Beveridge, "Two Scottish Thirteenth-Century Songs.", 356-358.

[154] Ibid., 362-364.

[155] Ibid., 361.

[156] Ibid., 357.

Maurice's nationality, whether Norse or Scots, does not explain the reference to England's well-wishes for the marriage so prominently featured in stanza 2b:

> 2b. Applaudunt undique
> terrarum spacia
> tecum sed utique
> congaudet Anglia.
>
> [The spaces of the world celebrate with you on every side, but England rejoices especially.][157]

Unless Maurice was for some reason also acting on orders from the king of England—and there is no evidence to suggest that he served Edward in addition to Magnus and Erik—he cannot be the author of *Ex te lux oritur*.

It was undeniably tempting for Beveridge to conclude that the performance of *Ex te lux oritur* took place in Bergen on the occasion of the marriage ceremony, and as such, to argue that Friar Maurice was the only possible author. Following Upton and Nosow, however, I question Beveridge's conclusion on the basis of text: the sequence's opening and closing references to Scotland include a direct address ("*O dulcis scocia*"/"O sweet Scotland") that would perhaps *not* have been appropriate once the bride arrived in Norway. The focus on the bride's journey, to which she is a wholly passive party who is "carried off" (*transvehitur*) or "led forth" (*progreditur*), suggests that the voyage to Norway has yet to take place. In this way, the piece anticipates the celebration, rather than celebrating in the moment, of the marriage and the speaking of the marriage vows in stanzas 6a and 6b. In addition, the mention of England in stanza 2b could either refer to the bride's mother Margaret of England, or, as I suspect, be an indication that the sequence itself was an embassy from the bride's uncle, Margaret's brother

[157] Translation in Deeming, *SIBS*, 160.

Edward I, King of England. It is possible, therefore, that *Ex te lux oritur* was intended to be sung on the occasion of Margaret's departure from Berwick, rather than her arrival in Bergen.

Why did *Ex te lux oritur* include no mention of the BVM? I suspect the answer is to be found in the English coronation rite for queens. The third and fourth recensions of the ordo give its final prayer as follows:

Recension III (Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226, ca. 1150-1200)[158]	Recension IV (ca. 1362-1377, Westminster Abbey MS 37 "Liber regalis")
Omnipotens sempiterne deus, fons et origo to*ti*us bonitatis qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando aduersaris, sed dignanter comprobando propicius eligis, etqui infirma mundi eligendo forcia queque confundere decreuisti, quique e*ti*am glorie uirtutisque tue triumpham in manu Iudith femine olim Iudaice plebe de hoste seuissimo resignare voluisti. Respice quesumus preces humilitatis nostre, et super hanc famulam tuam N[omine]. quam supplici deuo*ti*one in reginam eligimus, benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tue poten*ti*e semper et ubique circunda, ut umbone muniminis tui undique secus firmiter protecta, uisibilis seu inuisibilis hostis nequi*ti*as triumphaliter expugnare ualeat, et una cum Sara atque Rebecca et Rachel beatis reuerendisque feminis fructu uteri sui fecundari seu gratulari mereatur, ad decorum to*ti*us regni, statumque sancte dei ecclesie regendum nec non protegendum, per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui intemerato beate Marie uirginis utero nasci, et uisitare ac renouare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum uiuit et gloriatur deus in unitate spiritus sancti, per immortalia secula seculorum. Amen	Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons et origo to*c*ius bonitatis qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando **auertis**, sed dignanter comprobando **pocius** eligis, et qui infirma mundi eligendo forcia queque confundere decreuisti, quique e*c*iam glorie uirtutisque tue triumpham in manu Iudith femine olim Iudaice plebe de hoste seuissimo **dignare** uolutisti. Respice quesumus **ad** preces humilitatis nostre, et super hanc famulam tuam N[omine]. quam supplici deuo*c*ione in reginam eligimus bene+di*cc*ionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tue poten*c*ie semper et ubique **curcumda**, **sitque** umbone tui **numinis** undique firmiter protecta, **quatinus** uisibilis seu inuisibilis hostis nequi*c*ias triumphaliter expugnare ualeat, et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, **Lira [Lya]**, Rachel beatis**que** reuerendis **feminabus** fructu uteri sui fecundari, seu **gratulari** mereator ad decorum to*c*ius regni, statumque sancte dei ecclesie regendum per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui **ex** intemerat**e** Marie beate uirginis **aluo** nasci, uisitare ac renouare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum uiuit et gloriatur deus in unitate spiritus sancti per **immoralia** secula seculorum Amen.

Almighty and everlasting God,

[158] Orthographic changes are italicized; word changes or additions are in bold.

Recension III (Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226, ca. 1150-1200)[158]	Recension IV (ca. 1362-1377, Westminster Abbey MS 37 “Liber regalis”)
fountain and origin of all goodness, who by no means rejects women for the fragility of their sex, but rather chooses and enfolds them, and who by choosing the weak things of the world confounds those who are strong, who did cause thy ancient people the Jews to triumph over a cruel enemy by the hand of Judith, a woman. Hear us, we humbly implore you, and above all hear thy handmaiden [name of queen], who in humble devotion we have chosen as Queen, and multiply your blessings upon her, in order that she may triumph over all enemies, visible and invisible, and may she be one with Sarah and also Rebecca, Leah, and blessed Rachel and may her womb be as fruitful as theirs, for the honor and glory of the whole kingdom, and the condition of the Holy Church of God through our Lord Christ, who was born of the inviolate Blessed Virgin Mary, so that he might visit	

Recension III (Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226, ca. 1150-1200)[158]	Recension IV (ca. 1362-1377, Westminster Abbey MS 37 "Liber regalis")
and redeem the world, who lives and reigns	
with you O God, in unity with the immortal	
Holy Ghost, forever and ever. Amen.	

The prayers for fertility in the name of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah should now be familiar both from the English marriage rite as well as the text of *Ex te lux oritur*. But neither of these include a reference to the BVM. Because the Assumed Mary was the Queen of Heaven, after an English queen was anointed, crowned, and given her floriated scepter, it was with Mary that she had the greatest affinity, and Mary who became her ultimate exemplar. Just as Mary was the *sponsa Christi* as Queen of Heaven, so was a newly-crowned English Queen on Earth as consort of her king.

Conclusion

What do we mean when we describe a motet, polyphonic song, or sequence as dedicated to the BVM? This chapter has outlined two of the most common ways in which seemingly generic references to Mary and the Hebrew matriarchs in medieval paraliturgical music worked to constitute normative gender roles for royal women. The expectations and images with which queens were depicted operated reciprocally with images of Mary, Sarah, Esther, Rebecca, to venerate both living and mythical women. In this chapter, we have also explored a sequence in which the Scottish princess Margaret, future Queen of Norway, experienced the constitutive and normative effects of female exemplarity. In Chapter 2, I turn to another example of Mary paired

with Hebrew queens, this time in the service of an established, reigning queen-consort of England, Philippa of Hainault.

Chapter Two: The Leopard and the Lily: Collective Memory and Intercession at the Court of Edward III

Introduction

In his 1846 portrait of Queen Victoria of England and her consort Prince Albert, Sir Edwin Landseer famously depicted the royal couple in their costumes for the Plantagenet Ball held on 12 May 1842. As they received their guests in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace, the Prince-consort and his Queen were dressed as Edward III (1312-1377) and his own consort, Philippa of Hainault (1314-1369), in costumes designed with Spitalfields silk, an attempt to boost the declining textile industry. While the costumes are only moderately accurate, the position of the Queen and her consort is perhaps more telling: Albert stands courteously one step below Victoria, holding her hand in the manner of an imagined medieval lover. The portrait has been interpreted as an attempt by Victoria to manipulate political discourse through material culture: publicly playing at courtly love allowed the Queen to smooth over concerns about the gender dynamics of her relationship with Albert while also alleviating concerns that the Prince-consort's allegiance to his German relatives might trump his loyalty to his wife.[1] By inverting the public's impression of her relationship with Albert, Victoria sought to establish not that he was her superior, as the dominant paradigm of medieval gender relations might suggest, but rather that she held an unshakeable and unquestionably feminine power over her husband. In associating herself with Philippa, Victoria did not demean herself, as has also been suggested;

[1] Adrienne Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 31-32.

instead, she allied herself with a Queen whose intercessory skill and concomitant sway over her husband and King had passed beyond the realms of historical fact to those of mythology.[2]

The most well known account of Philippa acting as an intercessor—and the one which likely inspired Victoria—was recorded first by Jean le Bel (ca. 1290-1370) and repeated by Philippa's friend and secretary, Jean Froissart (ca.1337-ca.1405) Both versions describe how Philippa persuaded Edward to grant mercy to the Burghers of Calais, a group of hostages who in 1347 volunteered their lives in exchange for the city's freedom. Le Bel writes that King Edward was on the verge of executing the Burghers until Gautier de Mauni suggested he spare their lives. In le Bel's account, Edward's refusal to stay the execution is reversed by Queen Philippa's appeal for mercy:

> 'Ah, my worthy lord! Since I crossed the sea—in great peril, as you know—I've asked for nothing. But now I beg and implore you with clasped hands, for the love of Our Lady's son, have mercy on them.'
>
> The worthy king fell silent for a moment; he looked at the Queen on her knees before him, weeping bitter tears, and his heart began to soften a little and he said: 'Lady, I wish you were anywhere but here! Your entreaties are so heartfelt that I daren't refuse you! Though it pains me to say it, take them: I give these men to you.'
>
> And he took the six burghers by their halters and handed them over to the Queen, and spared all the people of Calais from death out of love for her. And the good lady bade that the six burghers be freshly clothed and made comfortable.[3]

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[2] For the former interpretation, see Simon Schama, "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986); for the latter, see Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 22-23.

[3] Jean Le Bel, *The True Chronicles of Jean Le Bel, 1290-1360*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2011), 202.

Froissart, having recounted de Mauni's measured advice, repeats and elaborates upon le Bel's description as follows:

> The Queen of England, whose pregnancy was far advanced, then fell on her knees, and with tears in her eyes implored him: 'Ah! My lord, since I have crossed the sea in great danger, I have never asked you any favour. But now I humbly beg you, for the Son of the Blessed Mary and for the love of me, to have mercy on these six men!'
>
> The King looked at her for some minutes without speaking, and then said: 'Ah, lady. I wish you were anywhere else but here. You have entreated me in such a way I cannot refuse. Therefore, though I do it with great reluctance, I hand them over to you. Do as you like with them.'
>
> The Queen thanked him from the bottom of her heart, and had the halters removed from their necks. She took them to her rooms, had them clothed and gave them a good dinner. She then gave them six nobles each, and had them escorted safely out of the camp.[4]

Save for Froissart's addition of details regarding Philippa's physical state (her "advanced" pregnancy) and generosity (the rather motherly gifts of a hot meal and pocket money), the two accounts are nearly identical. Both Froissart and le Bel have taken poetic license in depicting Philippa's pregnancy as advanced. No other evidence suggests that the Queen was indeed expecting a child in August of 1347. Scholars ascribe Froissart's error to his youth at the time of the siege—he was only ten years old in 1347—and as proof that he was not at Calais at all. The mistake rather seems to stem from Froissart's free use of le Bel as source material; however, the reason for le Bel's error is less clear. What does seem likely is that both chroniclers embellished the tale of the Burghers for dramatic and symbolic effect. The image of a pregnant woman begging for mercy on her knees is deeply affective. It is also evocative of scenes and characters from the Bible, particularly the Virgin Mary, whose pregnancy is not only a central

[4] Jean Froissart, *Froissart's Chronicles*, trans. John Edward Austin Jolliffe (London: Harvill, 1967), 145, 56-57.

part of her narrative but also the source/evidence/origin of her mystical power. Visible pregnancy was an important signifier of the relationship between queen-consort and kingdom; in Theresa Earenfight's words, "a pregnant queen was seen as the guarantor of the realm's survival and integrity, and so of peace and control."[5] The multivocality of the image of a pregnant Philippa is thus evidence not of the inaccuracy of the chronicles, but rather of their authors' understanding of the allegorical resonance of including a pregnant queen in his narrative, as I explore below.[6]

The Burghers of Calais' aborted sacrifice has persisted in the cultural memory of Anglophone scholars so strongly that Philippa of Hainault is seldom mentioned without some acknowledgment of her part in their escape from death. Although only a handful of studies of Philippa have been conducted, all spend considerable time recounting her intercession at Calais, as for example in Blanche Hardy's 1910 biography, the sole book-length study of the Queen, which draws heavily on Froissart for material.[7] Philippa's intercession at Calais has also been memorialized in other media, perhaps most notably in Auguste Rodin's 1889 sculpture of the six Burghers, *Les Bourgeois de Calais* (Figure 4.2). Although the Queen herself does not appear in the sculpture, the tormented faces of the Burghers at the moment of her intervention evoke the immediacy of their plight, and the exigency of Philippa's assistance in securing mercy for them. While the original monument has stood in Calais since 1895, during the twentieth century twelve casts were made and distributed to cities throughout Europe, Asia, and the United States: Copenhagen; Mariemont in Hainaut, Belgium; London; Philadelphia; Paris; Basel; Washington, D.C.; Tokyo; Pasadena, California; New York; and most recently, Seoul. The dissemination of

[5] Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 7.

[6] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 101-02.

[7] Hardy, *Philippa of Hainault and Her Times*, 175-77.

the copies of *Les Bourgeois de Calais* reflects their place in our collective unconscious, and the extent to which discourses from the Middle Ages continue to resonate many hundreds of years after they began. In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the apocryphal salvation of the Burghers of Calais contributed to medieval discourses about gender, power, and the monarchy, as well as how the primacy of this myth in historical narratives about Edward III, Philippa of Hainault, and their family influenced twentieth-century musicologists' interpretations of one anonymous conductus, *Singularis laudis digna*, which has been viewed as a memorial of Edward's mercy (and Philippa's intercession) at Calais. The insistence of musicologists on attaching *Singularis laudis digna* to the narrative of the Burghers of Calais demonstrates the extent to which Western public memories that originated outside of the academic unconscious can infiltrate seemingly objective scholarship. By privileging this one encounter between Philippa and Edward in their discourse, musicologists contributed to perpetuating a limited perspective on medieval queenship while also reifying a particular interpretation of *Singularis laudis digna*, resulting in the continued misapprehension of the manuscript source's date and origin. Although some aspects of the initial interpretation by Frank Harrison and Edward Sanders were accurate—for example, the identities of the piece's likely honorees, Edward III and Philippa—a full understanding of *Singularis laudis digna* requires the establishment of a more complete cultural and historical context for the work and the environment into which it emerged. In what follows, I examine the identity of Philippa of Hainault, the political backdrop of her marriage to Edward III, and the importance of queenly intercession within this context. Finally, I analyze *Singularis laudis digna* within these new parameters and offer a revised and updated

interpretation that dispenses with the Burghers in favor of a more holistic understanding of the piece.[8]

Historicizing medieval intercession

Recent studies of medieval queenship have revealed that intercession was a central component of a female consort's political and ceremonial role within her spouse's regime. Although queen-consorts lacked political and personal *autonomy*, they could and did exert some agency *within* the structure of their husbands' regimes, subject to the king's approval. Like kings, queens operated simultaneously within two overlapping spheres, the public/political and the private, and the actions taken in one individual role often had consequences in the other. As Ernst Kantorowicz demonstrated in *The King's Two Bodies,* medieval theologians and political philosophers understood the physical body of the monarch as simultaneously manifesting both the person of the king and also the polity of the realm.[9] Similarly, the body of the queen-consort existed in two spheres: the private and the public. Whereas the king's field of influence was primarily external, his queen's most important acts took place within intimate spaces, including her own body. Because the central activities of queenship—conception and childbirth—took place in the queen's bed, Georges Duby has argued that the bed itself should be understood as the queen's true throne.[10] It was for this reason that an English queen's wedding mantle was used as the shroud during her funeral, as was the case for Philippa and her predecessor as Queen of

[8] On the interpretation of Singularis laudis digna, see Sanders, "English Polyphony in the Morgan Library Manuscript," 172-76; Roger Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," ibid.71, no. 3 (1990): 313-35; Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England," 87-188. The assertion that *Singularis laudis digna* celebrated Philippa's intercession at Calais appears most recently in Margot E. Fassler, *Music in the Medieval West*, Western Music in Context (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014), 240-43.

[9] Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[10] Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, 234.

England and mother-in-law, Isabella of Valois. The mantle, like pregnancy, was a reminder of the consort's relationship to the king and, by signaling that this relationship was both the agent of her power as well as the locus of her influence, provided a kind of symbolic bookend to her reign.[11]

Occasions we understand today as purely personal milestones, such as a wedding or the birth of a child, had for medieval queens grand political consequences for royal succession and the stability of the realm. The successful performance of a queen's responsibilities had emotional consequences not only for her immediate family (the satisfaction of the successful live birth of an heir), as individual human beings, but for the kingdom at large (continued dynastic and political stability; the avoidance of war). The implicit power of the queen-consort has eluded historians, in part because modern theories of female individuality and agency do not always account for influential negotiations that occur behind-the-scenes. Until recently, historians—even feminist historians—understood intercession to be one of the few ways a queen could exert any political power, resulting in perhaps undue emphasis on this one activity in existing scholarship.[12] Scholarly lacunae notwithstanding, intercession remained a fundamental aspect of the queen's position throughout the Middle Ages. Lisa Benz St. John identifies three distinct areas of intercession: diplomatic, judiciary, and domestic. In diplomatic intercession, queens would act as peacemakers between the king and other actors of similar rank. As judiciary intercessors, they sought privileges for others through pardons, grants, employment, or other

[11] Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol," 69.

[12] Lisa Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England*, Queenship and Power (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 39.

financial means. Finally, queens could also act on their own personal behalf by seeking private privileges for themselves within their domestic sphere.[13]

While it was not a queen's sole avenue towards exerting influence, intercession was so common that it took on a formulaic aspect with a tone St. John recognizes as distinctly submissive, although rarely sincerely so.[14] It is perhaps this outward sense of submission that has caused intercession to be dismissed as a legitimate political strategy and the agency of queens to be ignored. Similarly, the perceived influence queen-consorts (and queen-dowagers) held was a double-edged sword: while it granted power, it also enabled fierce criticism.[15] Still, intercession remained so politically and culturally significant that queens were continually reminded of its central place within their responsibilities. The expectation that they would act as mediators was communicated through programmatic art, architecture, literature, and music, all of which were embedded with exegetical language and imagery.[16]

Scholars have long been aware of the existence of political allegory in works by Chaucer, Gower, and the Pearl- and Gawain-poet. For example, as well as the role of symbolism in medieval historiography, Paul Strohm has explored the role of allegory and politics in Chaucer's poetic address of Richard II.[17] Chaucer is also known to have paid compliments to well-known intercessor and Philippa's successor as Queen of England, Anne of Bohemia, in his *Legend of*

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[13] Ibid., 34-35.

[14] Ibid., 45.

[15] Ibid., 47.

[16] See Ann W. Astell, *Political Allegory in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*; Rubin, "Religious Symbols and Political Culture in Fifteenth-Century England," 97-110.

[17] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 57-74.

Good Women and *Troilus and Criseyde*.[18] Similarly, art historians have demonstrated the importance of intercession to medieval devotional art, where much attention has been paid to material traces of intercession, both within the walls of the monastery and in the lives of wealthy lay persons.[19] It seems more than plausible, therefore, that such allegories also played a significant role in medieval musical culture, however, few musicologists have investigated this possibility directly. For example, while David Rothenberg explores the relationship between musical prayers requesting spiritual intercession by the BVM and courtly love songs, he explicitly avoids connecting Marian musical works to particular historical events or persons.[20]

Historiography and Propaganda

Philippa's access to intercessory and political influence derived in part from her parentage. Philippa's father was Count William the Good of Hainault and Holland (*d*. 1337), a member of the House of Avesnes, and her mother was his wife Jeanne de Valois, the granddaughter of Philip III of France. The family's close connections to the French crown would also include Philippa's cousin and eventual mother-in-law, Isabella of France, then Queen-consort of England.[21] (This relationship would ultimately necessitate a papal dispensation for Philippa's marriage to Isabella's son Edward III.) Philippa's maternal descent also included links

[18] David Wallace, forward to Alfred Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420*, Medieval Cultures (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), xii.

[19] See for example Sean Gilsdorf, "Deēsis Deconstructed: Imagining Intercession in the Medieval West," *Viator* 43, no. 1 (2012); Elizabeth L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2008); Catherine Oakes, *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008).

[20] Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 4-22.

[21] No scholarly monograph has been produced that addresses Philippa of Hainault's life alone; for biographical details, see St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*. The most current biography of Edward III is W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward Iii* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012). On Edward's politics, see James Bothwell, *Edward Iii and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility, and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2004); Scott L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward Iii*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

to the English royal family through her great-great-grandmother Margaret of Provence, older sister to Henry III's wife Eleanor of Provence, and her great-aunt Margaret of France, the eldest daughter of Philip III of France and Marie de Brabant, and herself the second wife of Edward I (1239-1307), Henry III's son and Edward III's grandfather.[22]

Philippa's exact birthplace is uncertain, but it was most likely Valenciennes, a major city in Hainault-Hollande, located near the present-day border between France and Belgium. Tension between Edward II and Isabella of France necessitated that both the king and his wife sought allies from France's neighbors in the Low Countries. Accordingly, Philippa made an attractive bride for reasons both practical and political: while her dowry was a factor in her eligibility, her appeal was heightened by several other factors. Most immediately, an association between England and Hanault-Hollande would provide Edward with access to William II's standing army. In addition, the House of Avesnes' close kinship with the House of Valois and connections within the Holy Roman Empire in Bohemia and elsewhere could only strengthen England's position on the Continent. Finally, it is possible that Isabella was drawn to Philippa as a match for her son because of the young woman's native tongue; as a francophone, she was fluent in the language, customs, and literature of the Continental aristocracy. At the very least, Philippa and her mother-in-law shared a cultural connection. Although Isabella's personality was evidently forceful, it would be a mistake to assume that Philippa was merely a pawn for her new mother-in-law. Such misconceptions overlook the strength of northern Europe and the influence wielded

[22] Edward I's first wife was Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290). It is from this union that Edward II and Edward III descend.

by Hainaulters during the fourteenth century, in addition to misunderstanding the role of the medieval queen-consort.[23]

Because of the interconnected nature of European royal houses, familial ties were important factors in medieval diplomacy, and mediation between different factions was often necessary. It is indisputable that queen-consorts were chosen for the political alliances that came with them; however, these new royal brides were not necessarily passive instruments either of their families or of their new husbands. Rather, female consorts were expected—indeed, required—to become actors on the stage of medieval diplomacy, whether as mediators between their husbands and their subjects or as ambassadors to their family members.[24] Although queenly intercession is better recognized in its sense of "indirect patronage", as in the case of Philippa's sponsorship of Oxford College, queen-consorts could exploit their perceived influence for private or personal gain.[25] In addition, medieval kings were well aware that they could manipulate their wives' intercessory power by encouraging its "symbolic capital," whether this be through encouraging their wives to openly mediate during a political conflict, or by urging (or demanding) chroniclers and artisans to make queenly intercession a major theme of their works.[26]

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[23] This misconception is perhaps related to the drastic impact of World Wars I and II and the post-war political climate on the European academy, as demonstrated by Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 79-160.

[24] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 95-120. For a thorough discussion of intercession in the lives of Philippa's immediate antecedents, Margaret and Isabella of France, see St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, 33-63.

[25] *Three Medieval Queens*, 48-57.

[26] Ibid., 54.

Froissart's "most gentle Queen"[27]

Much of what is known about Philippa—particularly those events that paint her in a positive light—derives from the poetry and historiography of Froissart. In his *Chroniques*, the poet explains how he became associated with the queen by presenting her with a verse poem recounting her son Edward the Black Prince's capture and imprisonment of John II, King of France, following the Battle of Poitiers in 1356.[28] Froissart reports that the queen was so taken with her new page that she became his special patron.[29] Perhaps she felt a special connection to the poet, a fellow Hainaulter who hailed from her own hometown, Valenciennes. Whatever the interest he held for Philippa, it is difficult to deny that Froissart's affection for his patron was genuine. He expressed his high regard for the Queen in historical prose as well as lyric poetry, writing glowingly of her kindness generosity and intercessory activities in both the *Chroniques* as well as in an elegy composed after her death, the *Lay de la mort la royne dengelterre*.[30]

The *Lay* takes the form of a lament, in which Froissart details Philippa's virtues in the glowing, romantic language of *fin'amours*. In nod to her relationship to the House of Valois, Froissart opens the poem with a reference to the French royal family's symbolic fleur-de-lis. This device may also be understood as a callback to the troubadour practice of opening a poem by comparing the lady in question to a flower.[31] The troubadour inspiration appears to continue

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[27] "I took it upon myself, on finishing my school days, to write an account of these wars in verse; and when it was compiled I took it to England and presented it to my lady Philippa of Hainault, the nole Queen of England, who received it most kindly, to my great profit and advantage." Froissart, *Chronicles*, 4.

[28] Ibid., 170-73.

[29] Ibid., 4.

[30] I rely throughout this chapter on the edition and translation of the Lay in *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative & Lyric Poetry*, trans. Kristen Mossler Figg and R. Barton Palmer (New York: Routledge, 2001), 512-20.

[31] Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 1.

with an enumeration of Philippa's virtues, beginning with the Queen's noble lineage ("de noble lignie"). Significantly, Froissart describes the queen as not merely the king's *consort* but as a female *sovereign* ("souverainne") in her own right, a claim the poet seems to have understood as inherited at birth ("puis le jour / que demour / et favour / a eu …"). The poem's third section introduces the themes of donation and patronage, which persist throughout the remainder of the poem, particularly in relationship to the queen's sponsorship of young women. Philippa's personal investment in her role as benefactor and mediator was clearly visible to Froissart through his position at court. It seems Philippa was particularly invested in acting as a match-maker for young women of the court. As Froissart remarks in the fifth section

> Par li a este donnee
> Mainte ausmosne et estoree
> Tamainte messe chantee
> Mainte eglise reparee
> Onques ne fu saoulee
> De dire a tous tiens
> Dou sien a este doee
> Mainte dame et mariee
> Mainte pucelle assenee
> Mainte vesve confortee
> Et tou chil de sa contree.
>
> [At her request many alms / were furnished and provided, / many masses were sung, / many churches repaired; / never did she have too much / of telling everyone "here, take it." / Through her wealth many a lady / was endowed and married, / many a maiden betrothed, / many a widow comforted, / all of them from her homeland.][32]

Froissart also describes Philippa's donations to the Church, on an institutional as well as an individual level. In endowing construction and masses, the queen acted as a benefactor to the institution (and its artisans and musicians) as well as to the souls of her people. By distributing

[32] Froissart, *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative & Lyric Poetry*, 514-15.

alms to the poor, she fulfilled her mandate as a Christian as well as a Queen to care for the disadvantaged (and thereby avoid a long stint in Purgatory for herself as well).[33] Froissart also emphasizes Philippa's generosity to her fellow Hainaulters at court, some of whom had accompanied her as attendants on her initial voyage to England.

Froissart's praise is borne out by other historical events. For instance, Philippa arranged a politically and financially advantageous marriage for her sister-in-law Eleanor of Woodstock with Reginald II Count of Guelders. The Queen also gave the newlywed couple lavish gifts. Katherine A. Smith argues that the Taymouth Hours, a lavish illuminated manuscript dated ca. 1331, was commissioned by Philippa and intended as a marriage gift for Eleanor, who Smith has identified as depicted within their pages.[34] Elsewhere, Philippa's munificence to the Church is demonstrated by the endowment she provided to support Queens College, Oxford, which in 1341 was founded by one of her own chaplains, Robert de Eglesfield.

The remainder of Froissart's *Lay* recounts yet more examples of Philippa's aid to the male members of the nobility, not only in financial terms but also, and perhaps more importantly, through intercession:

> … ma tres chiere
> Dame les y a ataint
> Tanat par dons que par priiere
> Le maniere
> En sceut.

[33] See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*.

[34] See Kathryn A. Smith, *The Taymouth Hours: Stories and the Construction of the Self in Late Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

> [My very dear/ Lady assured their success, / as much by generosity as by entreaty; / she knew/ how it was done.] [35]

Here Froissart places intercession on par with munificence, indicating that the targeted speech of the queen was widely known and highly valued among her courtiers. The aside "She knew / how it was done" suggests that Philippa was highly skilled, perhaps even canny, in her mediation; she exerted power, if not authority, through supplication ("priiere") of her husband. While it would be tempting to read "priiere" as "prayer," the primary role of a queen was not to pray to God for her subjects, although of course this was not discouraged. Rather, it was intervention with her husband that was within the consort's purview. Medieval Christian kings were not normally compared to God the Father through allegory—instead, they were compared to kings of the Hebrew bible, most often Solomon and David, archetypes of the Wise King and the Warrior King, respectively. So the Marian exemplar does not map onto the queen vis-à-vis her king as easily. But the holiness conferred upon English kings through anointment at their coronations was analogous enough. Kantorowicz demonstrates that according to the line of thought introduced by the Norman Anonymous, Christian kings in the Middle Ages were understood as "imitators of Christ. The Christian ruler became the *christomimetes*—literally the "actor" or "impersonator" of Christ—who on the terrestrial stage presented the living image of the two-natured God."[36] Just as the body of Christ was understood to constitute both human and supernatural dispositions, so did the kings of medieval Christendom possess dual natures (the "two bodies" of Kantorowicz's theory) by virtue of their royal status. Coronation ceremonies, specifically the moment of anointment with the chrism, were the mechanism through which these

[35] Froissart, *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative & Lyric Poetry*, 516-17.

[36] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 47.

dual natures were manifested within the king's body.[37] English queen consorts were also anointed at their coronations, suggesting that they also could be understood as having Kantorowicz's "twin natures": human and divine. Judging by his choice of words, Froissart seems to have grasped and appreciated this central aspect of medieval queenship.

Froissart was not the only contemporary writer to observe that Philippa was well versed in the art of queenly mediation. Similar accounts of Philippa's intercessions have survived, perpetuating an impression of queen-consorts that romanticizes Philippa's behavior as exceptional, rather than expected. For example, significant evidence of Philippa's intercessory activities appears in *The Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker*, which covers the years 1303-1356. Baker's chronicle survives in but two manuscripts, only one of which contains material pertaining to Philippa. The first of these manuscripts (BL Cotton MS Appendix LII) is unreliable in part because it was damaged severely in the Cotton Library Fire of 1731. In addition, Baker's narrative in the British Library manuscript concludes (or was truncated) prior to Edward III's accession to the throne in 1326. The second version, which takes the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 as its end point, appears in a miscellany (Oxford Bodleian MS 761) dated to some twenty or twenty-five years later (ca. 1365-1370). The Oxford manuscript is considered by scholars to be a more complete form of Baker's text.[38] Although Baker's primary concern was with Philippa's eldest son, Edward the Black Prince, his mother appears several times in this second, later version of Baker's *Chronicle*. Here Baker describes an incident in which Philippa's generous nature asserted itself:

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[37] Ibid., 49.

[38] Richard W. Barber, "Introduction," in *The Chronice of Geoffrey Le Baker of Swinbrook* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), xxvi.

> A little before the feast of St. Michael [in 1331] there were the most handsome tournaments at Cheapside in London, attended by the lady queen Philippa and a large retinue of her maidservants. The canopied tents, which had been newly set up for the spectators of the tournament, collapsed, though without doing any harm. The pious queen did not allow the carpenters to be punished, but by her prayers and genuflection so recalled the king and his friends from their anger that by this act of mercy she caused everyone to love her, as they thought about her goodness.[39]

While his description makes much of her piousness and generosity, these virtues were (and are) coded feminine. Indeed, Baker's narrative paints Philippa as a passive actor in situations centered around her interactions with men. These include being married, giving birth or churching,[40] being pregnant; interceding with male petitioners, and her relationship to male relatives (such as her brother-in-law William of Juliers, conflated by Baker with her paternal uncle, John of Beaumont).[41] Baker consistently represents Philippa as lacking in agency, whereas he portrays Queen Isabella as powerful but malicious. Isabella's choice of the Hainaulter as her eldest son's bride is painted as "revenge" against her husband, instigated in turn not by Isabella but by her paramour, Roger Mortimer. (Baker's opinion is not born out by historical evidence, however; plans for a union between England and Hainault were discussed earlier in Edward II's reign.[42])

Although he omits the tale of Philippa's intercession at Calais and her "advanced" pregnancy there, like le Bel and Froissart, le Baker emphasizes Philippa's fertility as an essential part of her persona. For example, in 1333, "the king together with his pregnant queen celebrated

[39] The tournaments in question were held on 2 May and 23-25 September 1331. Baker, *Chronicle*, 43.

[40] Ibid., 88.

[41] Ibid., 65.

[42] Ibid., 20n3.

the feast of Christ's nativity at Wallingford."[43] In 1338, le Baker recounts a "pregnant queen" Philippa together with "her two daughters" present alongside the king's "fleet of five hundred ships he landed at Antwerp."[44] It is reasonable to assume that Philippa joined Edward on this trip not only for the purpose of companionship but also as evidence of the king's power and potency; a pregnant wife then, as now, was a sign of male virility and vigor.[45] The monarchs remained in Antwerp for several weeks and did not depart before Philippa gave birth to a son there in November 1338. The queen does not make an appearance in le Baker's chronicle again until 1340, when Philippa, again pregnant, was left in Ghent while Edward went back to England to hold a Parliament.[46] Although Baker is correct to depict Philippa as frequently pregnant, his decision to focus on her pregnancy at the expensive of her other activities as Queen implies a misogynist bent to his text[47]—lending credence to Richard Barber's theory that Baker was a monk of the Carmelite house at Oxford established by Edward II.[48] In comparison, Froissart remembers in his *Lay* for Queen Philippa that she gave birth to twelve children; however, unlike Baker, his attitude towards Philippa's fertility suggests a positive rather than dismissive or minimizing outlook on her work as queen.[49]

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[43] Ibid., 47.

[44] Ibid., 54.

[45] Alcuin, quoted in John Carmi Parsons, "The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood," in *Medieval Mothering*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 44.

[46] "The queen had now spent a year plotting her revenge, and finally on the advice of her lovers she prepared to drink its cup. At the end of the year she went to the lands of Hainault and without any discussion with the nobles of England she married off her son, who was loved and feared by the whole world. She joined him in marriage to Philippa, the daughter of the count of Hainault." Baker, *Chronicle*, 59.:

[47] On misogyny in the monastery, see Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*.

[48] Barber, "Chronicle of Geoffrey Le Baker," xv.

[49] "Elle eut son vivant / .Vii. fils et .v. filles." In reality, Philippa may have delivered at least fourteen children, of whom ten survived to adulthood. Froissart, *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative & Lyric Poetry*, 516-17.

Intercession in Music: *Singularis laudis digna*

Codicological issues

Singularis laudis digna, a three-voice conductus dated to the mid-fourteenth century, depicts both ideal, mythological intercession as well as celebrating and calling for further present-day mediation by a queen.[50] The piece survives in only two manuscripts: Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M. 978 (hereafter *NYpm*) and Oxford Corpus Christi MS 144 (hereafter *Occ 144*).[51] The latter manuscript is a composite given to Tynemouth Priory, likely by John Bamburgh, who was a subprior at Tynemouth during the 1440s and 1450s. Because the disparate sections of manuscript are labeled with different dates of donation, North argued that they originated as booklets and were only copied and bound together by Bamburgh at a later date *after* the initial gift in the mid-fifteenth century.[52] The discrete units within *Occ 144* include an authoritative manuscript of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Liber metricus de nova poetria (*ff. 194-43^{v}), a widely read treatise on the subject of poetic rhetoric. The Vinsauf text is immediately followed on fol. 44^{r} by a tract authored by Richard of Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans from 1326-1335. The St. Albans connection suggests that Bamburgh himself was a monk at St. Albans (the

[50] *Singularis laudis digna* has variously been termed a song, a cantilena, a conductus, a motet, and a cantilena-motet. I have chosen to use the term "conductus" in order to elimate any potential confusion between the genre of cantilena, itself already diffuse in meaning, and the style of singing and instrumental composition popularized in the eighteenth century. "Conductus" is defined in *The Oxford Dictionary of* Music as a "metrical Latin song, sacred or secular, originating in France in [the] 12th century," [sic] usually for two or three voices. I feel the term conductus emphasizes the sacred—but not liturgical—character of the Latin text as well as communicating the homorhythmic style of composition as well as its rather typically English reliance on 6/3 chords, as it is described in *Grove,* s.v. "Conductus."

[51] On this piece and NYpm 978 more generally, see Frank Harrison, "Polyphonic Music for a Chapel of Edward Iii," *Music & Letters* 59 (1978): 420–28. On Occ 144, see Lefferts et al., "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 273–362.

[52] "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 348n85. Fol. 19^{v} indicates the first section of the manuscript was presented to the Priory on the feast of St. Edmund in 1438. Fol. 26^{r} gives a donation date of the feast of St. Thomas, 1447.

mother house of Tynemouth) prior to arriving in Northumberland, lending credence to the theory that the manuscript originated there.[53]

Seven folios (ff. 22^{r}-29^{v}) within the Vinsauf *Liber metricus*, are a palimpsest, written over a musical score that has been partially erased and thus rendered largely illegible. The palimpsest folia were cut down on the top and bottom, resulting in a major loss of music, including the entirety of the top system and the lowest notes of the bottom staff, and causing significant difficulty for editing.[54] Seven pieces of English polyphony survive within these pages, all *unica* with the sole exception of *Singularis laudis digna*, which occupies the first position in the source (see Table 2.1, below). All seven are settings of Marian texts. Six are described by Lefferts as "cantilenae" while the last is a discant setting of *Alma redemptoris mater*.[55]

Table 2.1: Musical contents of *Occ 144*

Position in MS.	Fols.	Incipit
1	28-28v	Singularis laudis digna
2	28v, 24-24v, 25	Que est ista que processit
3	25v, 29	Fulgens stella maris Maria sine tactu
4	29v, 22	…quodam… - angulo
5	22v, 26-26v	-ter eius crede
6	26v-27v	Robur castis
7	23-23v	Alma redemptoris mater

Gilbert Reaney, Peter Lefferts, and Margaret Bent have established that the music within *Occ 144* dates from the mid-fourteenth century on the basis of three factors: the notation, details of the text, and the institutional history of a likely scriptorium. First, Reaney identified the distinctive c.o.p. ligatures and *cauda hirundinis* in *Singularis laudis digna* and *Fulgens stella* as

[53] Richard of Wallingford, *Richard of Wallingford: An Edition of His Writings*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Lefferts et al., "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 349.

[54] "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 350.

[55] Ibid., 348.

the work of scribe Robertus de Brunham, active ca. 1350.[56] Second, the text of *Singularis laudis digna* names a king Edward (*Edwardus rex*), who was identified by Harrison and Sanders as Edward III of England. The reference to Edward III initially suggested a not yet established Chapel Royal (perhaps stationed at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, or St. George's at Windsor Castle) as the point of origin for *Occ 144*; however, given Harrison and North's findings, Lefferts concluded that the scriptorium at St. Albans was the most likely originator of these folia.[57] In addition, by tracing fragments of other manuscripts to St. Albans, Margaret Bent established that the monastery was a significant center for the production of manuscripts of polyphonic music during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[58] Bent's argument that O*cc 144*'s musical folia originated at St. Albans, ca. 1350, remains unchallenged.

As mentioned above, the manuscript *NYpm* contains the lone concordance for *Singularis laudis digna*. Internal and external evidence from the text and the manuscript suggests a date after *Occ 144*, indicating that *NYpm 978* was perhaps copied from the older of the two manuscripts. *NYpm* differs significantly from *Occ 144* in that its music remains relatively unscathed. This second manuscript comprises eight unbound, continuous bifolia containing of sixteen pieces of various types of liturgical and paraliturgical music: six cantilenae (conductus), a motet written uncontinuously, a near-complete mass cycle (one *Gloria*, two *Credos*, one *Sanctus*, one *Benedictus*, and an *Agnus Dei*, previously unobserved), and one piece of unclear genre (*Victimae paschali laudes,* no. 16) whose text is nearly invisible to the naked eye. All of these

[56] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th Century*, 83.

[57] Lefferts et al., "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 349.

[58] Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony." The other St. Albans manuscripts are: Lbl Add. MS 38651 (F), Lbl Add. MS 49597 (O), and Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS Okes 253.

are composed with different voicings: three- and two-voice polyphony and at least one possible monophonic work.

Table 2.2: Contents of *NYpm 978*

Position	Fols.	Incipit
1	1^{r}	Singularis laudis digna
2	1^{v}-2^{r}	Gaude virgo immaculata
3	2^{r}-2^{v}	Regem regum collaudemus
4	3^{r}	Generosa Jesse plantula
5	3^{v}	Salamonis inclita mater
6	4^{r}	S[anctus?]
7	4^{r}-5^{v}	[Credo] Patrem omnipotentem
8	5^{v}-6^{v}	[Credo] Patrem omnipotentem
9	6^{v}	Deo gratias
10	6^{v}	Benedictus
11	7^{r}	Ut arbuteum folium
12	7^{v}	Candens crescit lilium
13	7^{v}	[Agnu]s dei
14	8^{r}	Candens lilium columbina
15	8^{r}	[Gloria. E]t in terra pax)
16	8^{v}	[untexted]

Frank Harrison was the first to suggest that these bifolia originated as part of a larger choirbook for the Chapel Royal of Edward III.[59] More recently, Roger Bowers argued that *NYpm 978* and a manuscript of polyphony belonging to Edward's eldest daughter, Isabella, were one and the same.[60] The manuscript's *mise-en-page* seemingly supports the choirbook theory. As is to be expected in English manuscript sources before the fifteenth century, the music is laid out in score using five-line staves, with the voices differentiated by clefs rather than the named parts seen in the partbooks common after ca. 1500. The top two voices of *Singularis laudis digna*, both of which are comparatively florid in style, employ C4 (with a signed B-flat, excepting the

[59] Harrison, "Polyphonic Music for a Chapel of Edward Iii," 421.

[60] Bowers Roger, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: A Postscript," ibid.80, no. 2 (1999): 2. I dispute this theory below.

bottom-most staff) and C1 clefs, respectively, while the bottom supporting voice has a C2 clef. The notation is mensural, written with note heads that are more oblong than square, and including breves, semibreves, minims and occasional ascending and descending c.o.p. ligatures. There are no barlines except those that demarcate the structural sections of the text—and in any case, those lines could be later additions.

The lyrics of *Singularis laudis digna* are written under the lowest voice only, while what can only be described as horizontal squiggly lines appear beneath the untexted staves, probably to indicate that the text of the lowest voice should be repeated. The font here is a rather unattractive *littera textualis*, suggesting two intriguing challenges to the dating of this manuscript stemming from the choice of font and its ugliness. The first of these is that the text was either inscribed during the first third of the fourteenth century, or later by someone unfamiliar with the latest advances in textual practices. The second is that the manuscript was not what is known as a presentation copy, like most surviving manuscripts; rather, its primary function maybe have been to serve as a reference for the choir and their chief clerk. Could it be that this manuscript belonged to the prototypical Chapel Royal of Edward III, or his predecessor, and like the Royal Chancery's records, travelled with them as they accompanied the king?

Indeed, I suspect that the manuscript *NYpm 978* was most likely copied not by professional scribes but by at least two *musicians*. Further, the overall unevenness of the manuscript copying—including that of both text as well as music—suggests that the music was copied not all at once but rather as the musician-scribes encountered new pieces, whether by means of exposure (as listeners or performers) or because a new piece was commissioned for their choir. I conclude that, unlike *Occ 144*, *NYpm 978* was *not* a presentation copy; rather, its

intended purpose was to act as a reference for professional singers who were very likely members of Edward III's Chapel Royal, as Harrison first concluded. The singers would have used the manuscript as a working rehearsal copy, adding new pieces as they grew their repertoire. In that case, it is likely that there was no need for the manuscript to be bound. Instead, it may have been what is known in modern times as a *fascicle* manuscript, an unbound collection of bifolia usually transported in a leather pouch.[61] The flexibility of this design would have enabled regular additions to the collection of music within—a practice evidenced by the multitude of hands, fonts, and erasures present even in so few pages—as well as enabling it to be taken along when the choir was traveling. Given the itinerant nature of the English kings in the fourteenth century, and their tendency to travel with a full retinue, it is not unlikely that the musicians traveling with Edward were seasoned professionals who required their own equipment, including music manuscripts.

[61] On this type of manuscript, see Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34, no. 4 (1962).

Table 2.3: Scribal hands in *NYpm 978*

Text Scribe	Scribal Hand	Fols.	Pieces
Scribe A	textualis (small and cramped)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r (staves 10-12 only), 6v, 7r, 7v (staves 1-3, 9-12)	Singularis laudis digna, Regem regem collaudemus, Generosa Jesse plantula, Salamonis inclita mater, Credo 1, Benedictus, Ut arbuteum folium, [Agnu]s dei
Scribe B	textualis (disproportionately large)	4r (1-8), 5v (1-3)	Sanctus, presumed end of Credo 1 ("Amen")
Scribe C	cursiva with chancery letter forms	4v, 5r	Credo 1 (middle)
Scribe D	anglicana	5v, 6r	Credo 2
Scribe E	textualis (moderately sized and neat)	7v (4-7), 8r	Candens crescit lilium, Candens lilium columbina
Unknown	-	8v	(text illegible)

Music as rhetoric in the medieval conductus

As Margaret Bent explains, medieval composers were well educated in the principles of rhetoric and they applied these rules to music, attending closely to melodies and the text that shaped them. Bent identifies three ways in which rhetoric and grammar treatises used music to explain key concepts. First, theorists examined the rhetorical effects engendered by composers in their works. Second, musical structure was used to explain and demonstrate oration structure. Finally, musical rhetoric was defined as a way of "tailoring" music to suit particular lyrics.[62] The composer of *Singularis laudis* digna used the principles of rhetoric to develop a work that was legible to the ear (in the sense of enabling the listener to hear and understand the text and its meanings). As the formulaic *mise-en-page* of the medieval book and the growth of punctuation

[62] Bent, "Grammar and Rhetoric in Late Medieval Polyphony," 60.

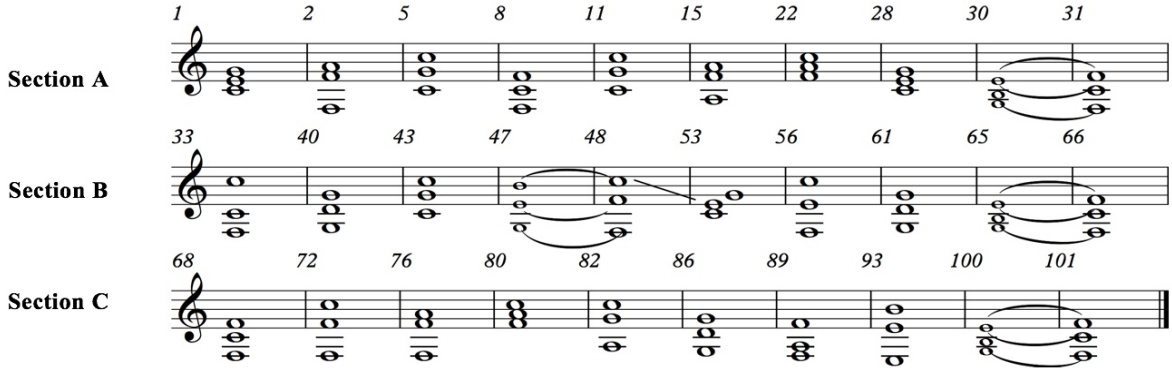
developed to aid the reader in understanding the text, so did the auditory layout of this piece structure the listener experience, allowing them to engage in understanding the text and its metaphorical significance.[63] The legibility was in part responsible for producing an affect that was aesthetically pleasing to its original audience(s). In addition, by capturing the ear of the audience on an aesthetic level, the composer draws yet more attention to the text of the piece.

In order to facilitate this musical oratory, *Singularis laudis digna* remains stable in mode 6 (F plagal), allowing the text to remain the focal point of the piece, while the melody and harmony provides a grammatical structure. Although the piece opens on a resonant C sonority sustained by all three voices, the harmony moves immediately to F, where it remains centered throughout the rest of the sections. Thereafter the harmony oscillates between F and C sonorities, with an identical closing cadence on F in each of the three sections. Here the outer voices (mm. 30-31) move outwards to create a sonority of stacked perfect intervals, a perfect fifth between the lower two voices and a perfect fourth between the upper two. The combination of these intervals—an entirely orthodox cadential figuration in the late middle ages—bestows a sense of finality and completion on the end of each stanza, similar to the sense of rhetorical closure provided by punctuation.[64]

[63] Elizabeth Randell Upton describes this kind of structured listening experience within which interpretative play takes place in the context of medieval music, focusing on structural play in the *formes fixes.* See Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages*, 98-130. On the invention of punctuation, see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[64] Bent, "Grammar and Rhetoric in Late Medieval Polyphony," 54-55.

Musical example 2.1: *Singularis laudis digna* chordal reduction



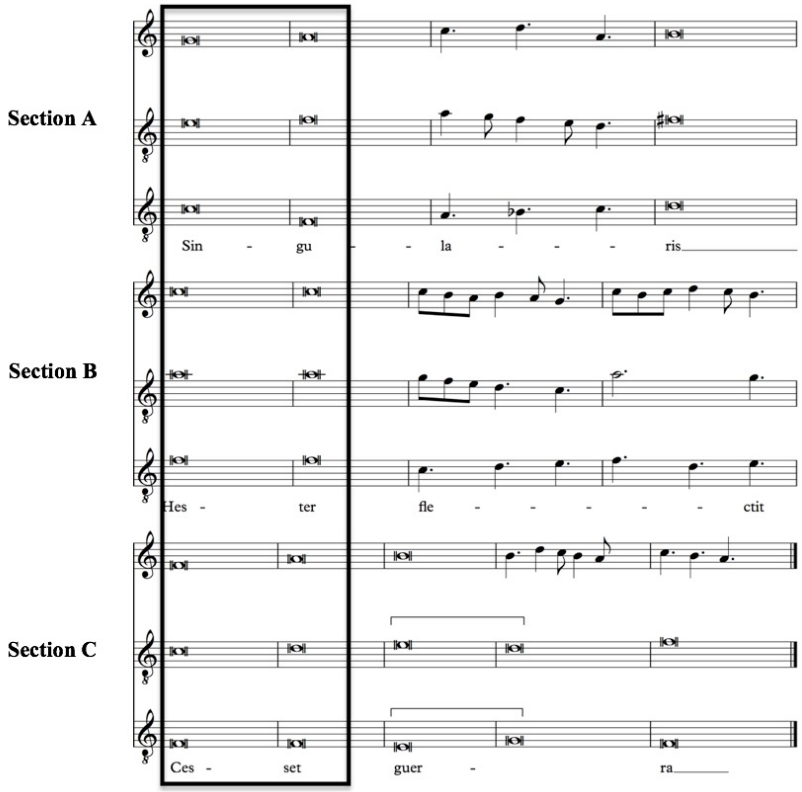
Despite the piece's numerous melismatic passages, the homorhythmic text setting is sensible and fairly easy to follow; the composer advanced this sense of clarity by avoiding assigning melismas to the first syllables of words or phrases. There are three discrete sections (see Table 4.4) demarcated both by the textual phrasing and the melodic structure (slow-fast-slow). The three sections are of roughly equal length (33-35 breves), which creates an overall sense of balance. Each section consists of two stanzas, sung one after the other, as in a sequence. With the exception of the stanzaic repetitions, melodic material is not reused.

Table 2.4: *Singularis laudis digna* structure and section length

Section	Stanza and Incipit	Number of breves	Measures spanned in PMFC transcription	Pacing
A	1. Singularis laudis digna 2. Stella maris appellaris	33	1-33	slow
B	3. Hester flectit Assuerum 4. Tu regina regis regem	35	34-67	fast
C	5. Cesset guerra iam Francorum 6. Essit concors leopardo	34	68-102	slow

The composer has taken care to punctuate the beginnings and endings of phrases with alternating sustained notes and lengthy melismatic figures, rendering audible the overall structure

of the piece. There is little musical consistency *within* each pair of the stanzas; all three are through-composed. There is, however, a distinct resemblance between the opening two breves of each stanza, in that none of these are subdivided in any voice.

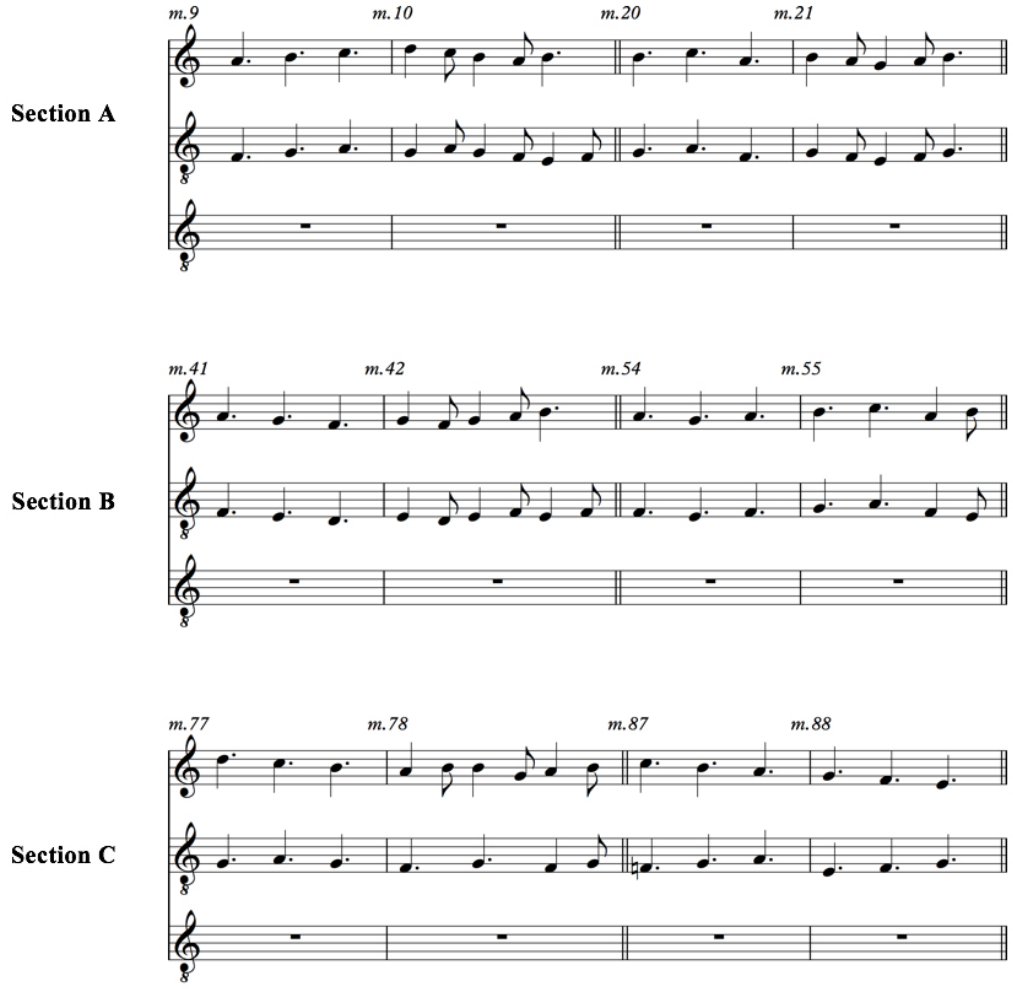
Musical example 2.2: Opening breves of *Singularis laudis digna*

Although each section of *Singularis laudis digna* has its own distinct text and music, the overall melodic trajectory of the piece as a whole is arched, beginning and ending in the top voice on F. A melodic reduction with repeated notes and rhythmic changes eliminated demonstrates the arch shape of the top (C1) voice in section A. The melody climbs from G to middle C, an opening flourish that outlines the modal center. Thereafter the music descends quickly and nearly stepwise to F, passing through a cadential figure at the first syllable of "digna". An interstitial melisma lifts the voice back to C at "dulcis", where the tone is prolonged with lower neighbor tones. The third phrase of the stanza commences after a second interstitial

melisma, opening with C ("sumas") and falling once again to F ("gratia"). The interstitial melismas here serve the modal purpose of delaying a final cadence and the rhetorical or oratorical purpose of delaying the next idea, rather like a comma.[65]

Much of the aesthetic appeal of *Singularis laudis digna* derives from rhythmic contrast between stasis and floridity. This contrast is more than an aesthetic effect, however; the poetry defines this music in unmistakable ways. A melisma of two breves in length divides the first two lines of each stanza. Although the melodies are not identical, all three of these melismatic interludes employ similar rhythmic patterns, in the sense that the first half of each interlude (mm. 9, 20, 41, 54, 77, 87) is static and symmetrical while the second part (mm. 10, 21, 42, 55, 78) is active and largely trochaic, as if referencing rhythmic mode 1 (long-short), with the sole exception of the final instance in m. 88 (Example 4.3). The voicing is also consistent between occurrences: the interludes are sung by the upper two voices only; the lowest voice drops out entirely, only to return for the next stanza. These breaks provide the listener with further insight into the musical and textual structure, heralding a new part of the lyric in the same way that a carriage return separates a new line of poetry for the modern reader.[66]

[65] Ibid., 59-60.

[66] A similarity in this respect to the *conductus*-textured *Gloria* and *Credo* movements of Machaut's *Messe de notre dame* should also be noted. I am grateful to Elizabeth Randell Upton for making this observation.

Musical example 2.3: Interstitial melismas in *Singularis laudis digna*

Unfortunately, scribal errors in *NYpm 978* have obscured the longer melismatic passages within *Singularis laudis digna*. Inconsistences in the text underlay mar the first stanza (see Table 2.5, below). The absence of the lowest voice during the melismatic breaks seems to have caused some scribal confusion, contributing to the misalignment of the text underlay in the first system. At least two scribes (out of a minimum of five) and one decorator divided the labor of constructing this first folio among them. It seems that the text was inscribed prior to the music, following the usual practice; however, the text scribe (Scribe A, see Table 2.3 above) made too

many allowances for melismas in the first system, causing the music scribe's work to be overly compressed, muddling the proper text underlay. This suggests that Scribe A was at least familiar with the music of *Singularis laudis digna*—had he perhaps sung it?—before he inscribed the lyrics.[67] If Scribe A was working from memory, this could explain why the words "mater" and "dulcis" are transposed in the NYpm manuscript, thereby obscuring the internal rhyme scheme and caesuras.[68]

[67] See also Elizabeth Randell Upton, "Aligning Words and Music: Scribal Procedures for the Placement of Text and Notes in the Chantilly Codex," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque Du Château De Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, Épitome Musical (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009).

[68] This error was first observed by Christopher Page. Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 14n7.

Table 2.5: Transcribed and corrected text of *Singularis laudis digna*, showing rhyme scheme, with English translation

Transcription from *NYpm* 978 (duplicated in PMFC)	**Corrected text with rhyme scheme restored (italicized)[69]**	**English translation**
Singularis laudis digna **dulcis mater et benigna** sumas ave graci[e]	Singular*is* laudis digna **mater dulc*is* et benigna** sum[m]as ave graci[*e*]	Unique lady worthy of praise, Sweet and kind mother, Hail to you, of the highest grace
Stella maris ap[p]ellaris deum paris expers maris loco sedens glori[e]	Stella mar*is* ap[p]ellar*is* deum par*is* expers mar*is* loco sedens glori[*e*]	You are called 'Star of the Sea,' Peerless lady who bore the son of God, seated in Heaven.
Hester flectit Assuerum Iuditti plectit ducem ferum *[sic]* precis in oraculo	Hester f*lectit* Assu*erum* Iudit(h) p*lectit* ducem f*erum* precis in oracul*o*	Esther prevailed upon Ahasuerus and Judith overcame the fierce leader through prayer.
Tu regina regis regem et conserva tuum gregem maris in periculo	Tu regin*a* regis reg*em* et conserv*a* tuum greg*em* maris in periculo	You, queen, can rule the king And save your people from the peril of the sea.
Cesset guerra iam Francorum terra fit Anglorum cum decore lilii	Cesset guerra iam Francorum terra fit Anglorum cum decore lilii	Let this war with France end Let their lands come to England, decorated with lilies
Et sit concors leoperdo per quod honor sit Edwardo regi probo prelilii [sic]	Et sit concors leoperdo per quod honor sit Edwardo regi probo prelilii [sic]	And may the lily be in harmony with the leopard In this way honor will come to Edward, and the king's worthiness will be proven.

The copyists' error may have been influenced by the composer's choice not to emphasize musically the internal rhyme scheme. Unlike the interstitial melismas that divide the first two lines of each stanza, which do rhyme, from the third, the internal rhyme is almost totally obscured by the musical setting.

[69] After ibid.; Frank Ll Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders, and Peter M. Lefferts, eds., *English Music for Mass and Offices (Ii) and Music for Other Ceremonies*, vol. 17, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monoco: Éditions de l'oiseau-lyre, 1986).Here I follow the paleographic convention of indicating expanded abbreviations with an underline.

Preliminary Interpretations

The text of *Singularis laudis digna* might, at first glance, seem self-explanatory: as a hymn addressed to the Virgin Mary, it is hardly unique among polyphonic compositions of this period, save for the references to Old Testament figures and Edward III**.** The opening phrase uses the rhetoric of *ritual embassy*, in which flattery acts an opening gesture for negotiation and supplication.[70] The singers hail the Virgin Mary (*Singularis laudis digna…sumas ave gratie*), humbly request her attention and compliment her on her "sweet and kindly" nature (*mater dulcis et benigna*). The melody then repeats, this time accompanied by new text in which the author elaborates on his praise of the Virgin. Although she is never named as Mary, the addressee's identity becomes clear through the inclusion of hagiographical details: she gave birth to Jesus Christ (*Deum paris expers paris*) and she ascended into Heaven (*loco parens glorie*)**.** The references to the topoi of the Virgin as *Stella maris* and *Maria regina*, Queen of Heaven in the second and fourth stanzas further confirm that the text is Marian in subject.

The second section opens by reminding the audience—and, presumably, Mary—of Queen Esther's intercession with her husband Ahasuerus on behalf of her people, the Jews.[71] A scribal error obscured the reference to Judith in the following line: "Iudith" was misread as "vindex" until Page's intervention, creating the impression of a bungled continuation of the Esther narrative.[72] The choice of these two Biblical women is not random, nor is their being cited

[70] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*, 84-85. Nosow defines embassy as "the art of presenting one's interests, honor, and party in the most positive way." He notes that the "praise and request" technique of *political* rhetoric was an integral part of the *Ars dictaminis* and appeared in the Latin devotional motet as a way of connecting with and petitioning divine power.

[71] 8 Esther: 3-7.

[72] Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 14n7.

together. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 1, Judith and Esther often appear in Middle English literature as model figures for royal women, and even figure prominently in the coronation *ordines* for English queens.[73] Furthermore, the coronation of the queen was a potent source of symbolic power and *Singularis laudis digna* draws on its imagery to underscore the importance of queenly intervention. John Carmi Powers describes several meaningful symbolic gestures within the coronation ritual, including repeated emphasis on virginity—and thereby the importance of dynastic purity. These include the visual sign of the new queen's loose hair and the spoken allusions within the coronation prayers, including the opening invocation of the five prudent virgins, described by Parsons as a "fertility prayer." In addition, as discussed in Chapter 1, the first prayer said by the Archbishop of Canterbury during the ceremony reminded the queen of Judith and Esther in addition to Rebecca, Sara, Rachel, and later, Leah.[74] For reference, the Fourth Recension of the ordo, made ca. the late fourteenth-century, gives the prayer as follows:

> Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons et origo toc*i*us bonitatis qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando auertis, sed dignanter comprobando pocius eligis, et qui infirma mundi eligendo forcia queque confundere decreuisti, **quique eciam glorie uirtutisque tue triumpham in manu Iudith femine olim Iudaice plebe de hoste seuissimo dignare uolutisti.** Respice quesumus ad preces humilitatis nostre, et super hanc famulam tuam N[omine]. quam supplici deuocione in reginam eligimus bene+diccionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tue potencie semper et ubique curcumda, sitque umbone tui numinis undique firmiter protecta, quatinus uisibilis seu inuisibilis hostis nequicias triumphaliter expugnare ualeat, **et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, Lira [Lya], Rachel beatisque reuerendis feminabus fructu uteri sui fecundari**, seu gratulari mereator ad decorum tocius regni, statumque sancte dei ecclesie regendum per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui ex intemerate Marie beate uirginis aluo nasci, uisitare ac renouare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum uiuit et gloriatur deus in unitate spiritus sancti per immoralia secula seculorum Amen.

[73] Parsons, "The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood," 46.

[74] "Ritual and Symbol," 62-65.

> [Almighty and everlasting God, fountain and origin of all goodness, who by no means rejects women for the fragility of their sex, but rather chooses and enfolds them, and who by choosing the weak things of the world confounds those who are strong, **who did cause thy ancient people the Jews to triumph over a cruel enemy by the hand of Judith**, a woman. Hear us, we humbly implore you, and above all hear thy handmaiden [name of queen], who in humble devotion we have chosen as Queen, and multiply your blessings upon her, in order that she may triumph over all enemies, visible and invisible, **and may she be one with Sarah and also Rebecca, Leah, and blessed Rachel and may her womb be as fruitful as theirs,** for the honor and glory of the whole kingdom, and the condition of the Holy Church of God through our Lord Christ, who was born of the inviolate Blessed Virgin Mary, so that he might visit and redeem the world, who lives and reigns with you O God, in unity with the immortal Holy Ghost, forever and ever. Amen.][75]

The two prayers are nearly identical (barring the changes in orthography and updated grammar highlighted in Chapter 1), demonstrating that, contrary to Strohm's argument that queenly intercession lost some of its potency between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries,[76] in fact little change took place in the official, Church-sanctioned delineation of the queen's role that took place during the coronation ceremony. The most significant difference between the two is that Jacob's wife Leah has been added to the litany of righteous women, placing her in the company of Mary, Judith, Esther, Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel. Each of these women represented different aspects of the ideal Christian wife and queen. Fertility is foregrounded in the second group of women (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah), but it is a miraculous fertility granted by divine intervention, rather than the (arguably) "ordinary" fertility of the everywoman.[77] The

[75] Ullmann and Turner, *Liber Regie Capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora*, 108-09. My emphasis.

[76] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 95.

[77] Music survives only in select manuscripts containing the coronation *ordines* for English kings. On this subject, see Andrew Hughes, "The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation," in *Coronations : Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

"fictive virginity" and "Marianizing" effect of the ritual further emphasizes the ultra-femininity required by the queen's public role.

Similarly, ultrafeminine queenship is emphasized in *Singularis laudis digna.* Page's correction of the text suggests that the fierce leader (*ducem ferum*) subdued by Judith through prayer in line 8 is Holofernes.[78] The author of the lyrics has chosen to omit Judith's seduction and murder of the enemy general, however, focusing instead on her dialogue with God. In omitting the violence of Holofernes' decapitation and deflecting attention away from the armed conflict that follows, the poet transforms Judith's weapon from the sword into rhetoric and prayer, emphasizing her femininity not only by diminishing any masculinity connoted by her violent actions, but also by associating her with the medieval topos of the "garrulous female."[79] The omission of Judith's slaughter of Holofernes from *Singularis laudis digna* reflects misogynist attitudes towards women's physical strength in the Middle Ages and anxieties about female speech stemming from Eve's errors in Genesis. Paradoxically, however, the poet's decision to focus on Judith's skilled and intense rhetorical address to God amplifies her ease of access to divine intervention through foregrounding her more stereotypically feminine attributes, specifically humility and faith. Moreover, highlighting Judith's acts of prayer in lieu of her act of slaughter underscores the association between Judith and Esther, whose powerful rhetoric was her route towards achieving intercession with her husband. The "internal contradiction" described by Strohm within the stories of Esther and Mary—abject humility juxtaposed with tremendous royal-cum-divine power[80]—is thereby inserted into the Judith story, feminizing the

[78] Judith 13: 5-10.

[79] Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, 15.

[80] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 97-98.

protagonist further. Indeed, Esther's intercession bears the many of the markers of femininity ascribed within le Bel and Froissart's narrative of Philippa's intercession at Calais, chief among them the image of the weeping queen on her knees before her king.[81] This sense of hyperfemininity serves, according to Strohm, to intensify the potency of the intercession ritual by activating the gender binary—rather than emasculating the king, the request for mercy from the prostrate, tearful, and (in Philippa's case) pregnant queen instead dramatizes their physical and emotional differences, allowing the seemingly-warlike king the leeway to change his mind.[82] In this way, reading "vindex" as "Judith" re-activates *Singularis' laudis digna*'s participation in a long cultural dialogue about femininity and masculinity, reaching as far back as the Anglo-Saxon *Judith* poems.

In the second half of this section, however, the subject changes, as does the tone: the poet transitions from praising the activities of queens of legend to direct exhortation of another queen: not any queen (*regina*), but a particular queen, perhaps one who is physically present, as indicated by the addition of the pronoun "tu" (***tu,*** *regina* [my emphasis and punctuation]). The poet implores this queen—a queen-consort rather than a sovereign in her own right—to mediate with the king and save her people "from the peril of the sea" (*maris in periculo*). This peril is symbolic as well as real—the author does not only fear the sea itself, but also the far-off danger of something—or someone—*across* the sea.

As the third section of poetry unfolds, it becomes clear that the danger to which it alludes emanates from a rival kingdom—in this case, the one located across the Channel. At last, the

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[81] 8 Esther: 3: "And not content with these things, she fell down at the king's feet and wept, and speaking to him besought him, that he would give orders that the malice of Aman the Agagite, and his most wicked devices which he had invented against the Jews, should be of no effect."

[82] Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 101-04.

poet explicitly names France as the source of the aforementioned peril (*Cesset guerra iam Francorum*). The poet extends a request for intercession in the war between England and France, represented by the heraldic figures of their monarchs: England's leopard and France's fleur-de-lis. The text is clear: the prayer contained within is not merely for the war to cease, but more importantly, for it to end with England reigning supreme, as symbolized by the poet's desire for the English king's to claim the lily as his own symbol (*cum decore lilii*). The text concludes by praising a King Edward's (*Edwardo regi*) military prowess, although *which* King Edward is meant remains unspecified. I read this final stanza as yet another Old Testament reference within this text; in this case, the poet's choice of words calls to mind King David, the archetypal warrior-king, who figured prominently in the medieval discourse of kingship (alongside his foil, Solomon, the subject of the fifth item in *NYpm 978*, *Salamonis inclita mater*). Like Judith and Esther, both David and Solomon also appear in the coronation *ordines* for English kings.

Identifying *Edwardus Rex*

The identity of the King Edward of *Singularis laudis* digna has been the subject of some debate. Frank Harrison was the first to identify the "Edwardus" of the text as Edward III, an argument supported by the notation in *NYpm 978*, which he dated to ca. 1350-70. With the manuscript positioned inside the dates of Edward III's reign, Harrison posited that *NYpm 978* had likely originated with a chapel belonging to the king, either St. Stephen's at Westminster or St. George's at Windsor Castle.[83] Following Harrison, Ernest Sanders interpreted the *Singularis laudis digna* as an allegory for a specific political event: the pardoning of the Burghers of Calais by Edward following the conclusion of his siege there in 1347. As detailed above, at the end of

[83] Harrison, "Polyphonic Music for a Chapel of Edward Iii," 412.

the trial, Edward III's consort, Philippa of Hainault reportedly prostrated herself and begged her husband to spare the lives of the Calais citizens who had been scapegoated for the affair. On the basis of this perceived connection, Sanders gave *Singularis laudis* digna a *terminus post quem* of 1347. For Sanders, this date was confirmed by the quartering of the French lily with the English leopard on Edward III's arms after 1340, following his decision to assert his dynastic claim to the title of King of France.[84] Similarly, these heraldic devices were also represented in Philippa's arms after her coronation as Queen of England and her concurrent assimilation into the monarchy. For Sanders, the image of the peril from this sea (*maris in periculo*) in line represented Edward's victory over the French navy, also in 1340. He concluded that the lyric reference to the Biblical Queen Esther was an example of literary allegory, comparing Philippa's intercession on behalf of the Burghers to that of Esther with her husband Ahasuerus on behalf of the Jews.

Roger Bowers also viewed *Singularis laudis digna* as allegorical, although he took a rather different view than Sanders as to which King and Queen the allusions might signify. While not disputing the resonance of Edward III in the text, Roger Bowers argued that the conductus was composed a later date. For Bowers, the imagery of the lily joining with the leopard was a reference not to the addition of the lily to the English king's arms in 1340, but to its inclusion in the arms of Edward III's son, Edward the Black Prince.[85] For reasons opaque to the present author, Bowers concluded that the figure was an allegory not for Edward III or the Black Prince, but the husband of King's daughter Isabella, Enguerrand VII, Count of Soissons

[84] Ernest Sanders, "English Polyphony in the Morgan Library Manuscript," ibid.61, no. 2 (1980): 173.

[85] Roger Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," ibid.71, no. 3 (1990): 316.

and lord of Coucy.[86] Isabella of Coucy was not only Edward III's eldest surviving daughter; she was also his favorite. A recent article by Jessica Lutkin depicts the lavish wedding arranged for Enguerrand and Isabella at Windsor Castle on 27 July 1365.[87] Isabella did not marry until she was thirty-three years old, an unusually late age for women, particularly princesses, to wed during the fourteenth century. The delay of Isabella's matrimony was the fault of the Hundred Years War: five prior attempts at marriage negotiations on the princess' behalf had failed due to tensions between England and the other European nation. It may be that Isabella eventually married for love and not political advantage. Sadly, her marriage did not end happily: Enguerrand, a French noble, chose to support his liege lord over his father-in-law, and he returned to France after Edward's death in 1377. The two remained separated until Isabella's death in 1382.

In describing Isabella and Enguerrand's wedding, Lutkin notes that a group of minstrels were paid one hundred pounds for their services. In my opinion, however, *Singularis laudis digna* cannot have been one of the pieces they performed, in large part because of *Occ 144*'s likely origin point at the monastery of St. Albans. It also seems unlikely that a musical work—even a paraliturgical one not identified with any particular religious feast day—with such specific political significance would be appropriate fodder for instrumental performance at a wedding feast. Moreover, Isabella is a wholly unlikely representative for mediation. Although

[86] Bowers seems to have been inspired by the work of popular historian Barbara Tuchman. Specifically, Bowers refers to Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*, 1st trade ed. (New York: Knopf, 1978)., in which Enguerrand of Coucy plays an anachronistically large role due to his long life, rather than his influence. Despite her accolades and achievements, Tuchman's work incurred criticism in part because she was not a professional historian but also because of her affluent upbringing.

[87] Jessica Lutkin, "Isabella Da Coucy, Daughter of Edward Iii: The Exception Who Proves the Rule," in *Fourteenth-Century England Vi*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2010), 137-39.

she was not alone in her excessive spending, as Lutkin argues, she was exceptional in this area alone. Lutkin explains her purpose in describing Isabella's wedding as a basis for comparison: "life as a princess can be used as model by which to judge other princesses, showing the greater extent to which the role could be stretched under unusual circumstances."[88] The "greater extent" achieved by Isabella of Coucy, however, seems to have been purely financial. Bowers interprets Isabella's marriage as one of conflict, in which her "potentially hostile husband" needed to be convinced not to go to war against England (and thereby violate his oath of fealty to the French king) in May 1369.[89]

Perhaps this is a correct summation of Enguerrand's relationship with Isabella; however, it is not concrete grounds for connecting Isabella with Esther and Judith. Bowers' reading seems unlikely for three reasons: first, as Lisa Colton succinctly states, Isabella was "only a princess."[90] Esther, on the other hand, was a Queen. The difference in rank would have been significant and highly visible to medieval audiences. Second, although Isabella did act as a mediator between her husband and her father, her accomplishments in this area did not share the political and theological resonance of those of a biblical mediatrix like Judith or Mary. Finally, there is a more likely figure to map Esther and Judith onto readily available in Philippa, Isabella's mother, whose mediatory prowess had already been demonstrated—and perhaps more importantly, for whom intercession remained a responsibility integral to her sacred duties as Queen of England.

[88] Ibid., 137.

[89] Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 316.

[90] Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England," 164-86.

The queen who rules the king: Isabella of France

One alternative to Philippa and Isabella of Coucy as the addressee of *Singularis laudis digna* that has not yet been explored is Isabella of France, Edward III's mother. As noted above, Isabella occupied a fraught position within medieval historiography. Many medieval English chronicles border on propaganda, problematizing the trustworthiness of the author(s) while also revealing their prejudices.[91] Accounts of Isabella's complex relationship with her husband Edward II are unreliable, clouded in both the past and the present by their problematic posthumous reputations. In their remarks about Isabella, some authors betrayed their anxiety about the idea of a female ruler, while others castigated Edward II for homosexual activities he may or may not have undertaken. Given that many of those learned enough to write these chroniclers were clergy or monks, it is perhaps not surprising to find misogynist and homophobic undertones in their work.[92] For these writers, Edward III presented an opportunity to reassert the English monarchy's masculinity, while Philippa became perceived as a soothing alternative to Isabella. The later queen's brood of children provided ample evidence not only of her fertility, a key responsibility of hers as consort, but also of Edward II's sexual interest in women. Contrary to assertions that the story of Edward III's alleged rape of the Countess of Salisbury in 1344 was pro-French propaganda, I posit that the anecdote—like Edward's public relationship with his mistress Alice Perrers following Philippa's death—could have been part of a deliberate program

[91] Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 153-213.

[92] On misogyny in the medieval church, see Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, 37-92, passim.

of heteronormativity designed to rebrand England's kings as unquestionably heterosexual.[93] Perhaps this desire on the part of the crown to re-inscribe normative gender roles explains why Philippa was sometimes portrayed as dowdy and frumpy where Isabella seems glamorous and chic; provincial where Isabella appears cosmopolitan; fertile where Isabella's children numbered few; chaste where Isabella was unfaithful; and meek where Isabella was aggressive. Although Philippa was likely overweight at the time of her death, it is unclear to what extent her weight was due to the illness that killed her—and to what extent attempts to undercut her influence in her own time affected the few descriptions of her that survive. Perhaps modern Western beauty standards have also had a part to play in painting Philippa as matronly.[94]

Although Edward is perhaps best remembered for his reputed homosexuality, recent scholarship has challenged the theory that he favored male sexual partners. For example, Jochen Burgtorf argues that the debate surrounding Edward's sexuality stems from unsubstantiated claims made by scholars during the 1970s, who he claims misinterpreted primary sources out of a desire to recast the king's reputation as a practitioner of homosexual sex acts into a fully realized identity as a gay man.[95] According to Burgtorf, however, no sources written during

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[93] On heteronormative propaganda and English kingship, see Ian Mortimer, "Sermons of Sodomy: A Reconsideration of Edward Ii's Sodomitical Reputation," in *The Reign of Edward Ii: New Perspectives*, ed. Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval Press, 2006); W. M. Ormrod, "The Sexualities of Edward Ii," ibid.; Lisa Benz St. John, "In the Best Interest of the Queen: Isabella of France, Edward Ii and the Image of a Functional Relationship," in *Fourteenth Century England Viii*, ed. J. S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014). Antonia Grandsen proposed that the account of Edward's assault on the Countess, first reported by Jean le Bel (and vociferously disputed by Froissart), was inspired by Livy's account of the rape of Lucretia, was invented by the French as anti-Edwardian propaganda. See Antonia Gransden, "The Alleged Rape by Edward Iii of the Countess of Salisbury," *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 343 (1972).

[94] On beauty as currency, see Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women* (New York: W. Morrow, 1991). Although Wolf's argument pertains to the weaponization of beauty as a political tool and a way of undermining feminist movements of the twentieth century, it is germane to my critique of 19th and 20th century historiography, especially historians' portrayal of female aristocrats.

[95] Jochen Burgtorf, "'With My Life, His Joyes Began and Ended': Piers Gaveston and King Edward Ii of England Revisited," in *Fourteenth-Century England V*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2008), 34-37.

Edward II's reign describe Edward favorite Piers Gaveston as the king's sexual partner; the term "amasius" ("lover") is applied to Gaveston only in Henry Knighton's *Chronicon* and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* (a text that draws heavily on Knighton as a source), both sources from the latter half of the fourteenth century. A third source for this term is the *Chronicle of Meaux*; however, *Meaux* was written ca. 1400, long after Edward II was overthrown, during the reign of Henry IV, and could be read in this case as anti-Lancastrian propaganda.[96] Only the *Annales Paulini* refer to Gaveston as Edward's adoptive brother; Burgdorf posits that since there is no concrete evidence of any formal adoption, the concept of brotherhood refers to the closeness of Edward and Gaveston's relationship.[97] Moreover, the use of the term "sodomite" to describe Edward may not refer to his sexuality as we understand it today, but rather his general moral character—specifically, a pattern of inebriation and promiscuous behavior with *women*.

Part of the problem seems to have been that it was considered taboo to treat a man who was not an ordained king as a king's equal. Burgtorf contends that Edward's barons disapproved of Gaveston not because of his relationship to the king was sexual in nature, but rather because they were jealous of the friendship (and favors) bestowed upon him by their monarch. Burgtorf's reading of the dynamic between Gaveston and Edward's barons is supported by a letter from the Pope which describes a longing for platonic embraces and kisses—acts of symbolic courtly, rather than physical or sexual affection—to be given by Edward to his courtiers. Finally, Burgtorf suggests that Edward famously ignored Queen Isabella at their wedding feast (and elsewhere) because of the discrepancy between their ages, not because his new spouse was the

[96] Ibid., 40.

[97] Ibid., 34.

"wrong" gender.[98] (Isabella was twelve when they married. Edward was twenty-three, nearly twice her age.) As for conspiracy theories involving the queen, while some scholars have contended that, together with Edward's mother, the Dowager Queen Margaret, and Philip IV, Isabella conspired with Edward's barons to preempt Gaveston's influence, St. John argued that a propaganda newsletter attesting to this alleged conspiracy has been misinterpreted and in fact is only conclusive proof that Queen Margaret disapproved of Gaveston.[99] There is evidence to suggest that the monks of Westminster Abbey believed that Isabella would support replacing Richard Kedyngton, the abbot elected in 1308, because of her resentment of Gaveston; however, as St. John has noted, this is only evidence of the monks' perceptions of the Queen's intent, not what Isabella herself felt.[100]

Part of Edward's barons' objection to the king's preference for Gaveston also derived from the political responsibilities the king bestowed upon his favorite. While in France for his wedding, Edward appointed Gaveston as his surrogate (*custos regni*), to the dismay of the other nobles, not because of his rank—Burgtorf observes that Gaveston, a Gasconian noble, was neither technically foreign nor a commoner, as later chronicles would have us believe—but because they envied the choice.[101] In light of the expectations of queens discussed above, however, Gaveston's role as mediator could be read as coded feminine.[102] Perhaps this explains the charges of homosexuality, for while the relationship between the king and his favorite may not have been sexual, it certainly seems to have queered the standards of royal conduct. The

[98] Ibid., 49.

[99] St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, 39.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Burgtorf, "Piers Gaveston and King Edward Ii of England Revisited," 41-44.

[102] Ibid., 47.

language used to describe the king in chronicles written after Edward's death demonstrate their authors' discomfort. The Chronicle of Meaux, for example, compares Edward to Reheboam, the son of Solomon who destroyed his kingdom financially and troubled biblical sexual and gender norms by socializing and engaging in sexual activity with male prostitutes.[103] Could it be because Edward II, the archetype of King David, took the unprecedented act of elevating a member of the gentry to the status of David's brother Jonathan?

While Isabella may not have had any personal reason be jealous of Piers Gaveston, she cannot have been pleased that Gaveston's influence on her husband exceeded her own. In light of the contemporary understanding of the role of the queen-consort in governance, it would have been an insult to Isabella that the King of England neglected to give more precedence to his wife, the daughter and sister of kings of France. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that Isabella's frustration with her role as Queen of England motivated her pursuit of the thrones of England and France, resulting in the deposition of her husband and her regency on behalf of son Edward, actions which would cause her to be branded as a "she-wolf" four centuries later by Thomas Gray.[104] Edward III's early reign was so troubled by his mother's actions that once he attained majority, he summarily executed Isabella's accomplice (and probable lover), Roger Mortimer. Isabella saw herself removed from power, although by comparison to the consequences for Mortimer, her punishment of fines and brief imprisonment amounted to a mere slap on the wrist.

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[103] Ibid., 46.

[104] Thomas Gray, "The Bard", 2.1, line 9. This theme has been much explored in fiction, theater, and film as well as biography. See for example Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II* (play, 1593), *Braveheart* (film, 1995), *World Without End* (TV, 2012). In the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the relegation of stories about English queens to the romance section has been compounded by the popularity of lurid historical fiction by the likes of Philippa Gregory and Alison Weir, obscuring the seriousness of the queen's role. The original "She-Wolf" was Shakespeare's infamous epithet for Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, and a central antagonist within the Bard's eponymous history play (3 Henry VI, 1.4.111).

Despite the difficulty her desire for overt control had caused him, Edward III valued his relationship with his mother. By 1337, he had restored her lands and revenue, returning her income to the level of a queen-consort. Until her death in 1358, Isabella continued to act as queen dowager, maintaining her cultural and political influence at home in England and abroad. Even as dowager, however, by the 1330s, Isabella would no longer have been an appropriate candidate for public appeals for intercession. It seems far more likely that *Singularis laudis digna* functioned as part of a larger campaign of kingly heteronomativity designed to repair the damage done by Edward II, a hypothesis I explore in the remainder of this chapter.

Conclusions

With Isabella dismissed as the addressee of *Singularis laudis digna*, we must return to Edward III and Philippa for answers. While Sanders' suggestion of the events at Calais as a catalyst for composition of this piece is attractive, it does not explain the repeated allusions to "the peril of the sea" or the invocation of Mary as its Star in stanzas 2 and 4. Nor does Sanders' theory take into account the emphasis on Edward's heraldic devices of leopard and fleur-de-lis. As discussed above, in 1340, Edward proclaimed himself King of France on the basis of his descent from Philip IV (his maternal grandfather). Philip's son Charles IV had died without a direct heir and, with the support of his privy councilors, Edward was prepared to volunteer himself. W. Mark Ormrod has argued that Edward never intended his claim seriously, nor did he plan initially to defend the title with a costly war; rather, his intent was to avoid doing homage to the new king, an event that would have proved expensive.[105] Still, a discussion began in January 1337, perhaps in response to repeated incursions on the English coastline by French raiding parties during

[105] Ormrod, "The Sexualities of Edward Ii," 90.

1336. Rumors of a French invasion swirled among the populace, with the sense of "imminent Scottish and French attack" taking hold in 1337. In 1340, after Philip VI seized Ponthieu and the Aquitaine from Edward, he finally publicized his claim to the French throne. Between 1337-1340, however, Edward instituted a campaign of anti-French propaganda, painting himself as a mythic king in the mold of Arthur. Edward's preoccupation with Arthuriana famously took hold with the founding of his Order of the Garter in 1348, but his interest appears to have sparked at least ten years earlier. His third son, Lionel ("little leopard"), born in 1338, was named not only for the king's heraldic device, but also for Sir Lionel, a knight of the Round Table.[106] In the same year, Edward commissioned a new Great Seal, which featured the leopard prominently; the same figure would appear on new coinage in 1344.[107] If the leopard of *Singularis laudis digna* was meant as a reference to the Black Prince, as Bowers posited, would not Lionel have taken offense to such a slight?

Plans for the defense of England's eastern coast drawn up during the late 1330s refer to Edward as "lord of the sea of England," an appellation that seems designed to imply a claim to the Channel in its entirety.[108] In this context, *Singularis laudis digna*'s repeated references to a danger emanating from the sea imply a specific military (rather than natural) threat: the French raids of 1336-1340 would seem to fit this description. With this evidence in mind, the apocryphal Burghers of Calais story seems wholly unsuitable as an event for the composition of *Singularis laudis digna* (although given that there is more than one copy, I cannot deny the possibility that the piece was performed again in 1347). It seems much more likely that this conductus took

[106] Ibid., 99.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ormrod, *Edward Iii*, 188.

shape as part of Edward's propaganda campaign in 1337-1340. I propose that *Singularis laudis digna* was commissioned by Edward or someone close to him as a way of demonstrating a shared, (falsely) organic desire from his subjects for royal intervention on the coast. Rather than simply declaring his intention to act against France, Edward chose to generate a *demand* for action from his subjects. By commissioning the piece as a prayer for salvation from the French threat, Edward could then fulfill the role of savior in a way that satisfied this not wholly artificial desire.

With this new interpretation in mind, Bowers' interpretation of the role of women in *Singularis laudis digna* seems increasingly dubious, but his reading of the story of Esther is perhaps more troubling. Bowers associates medieval perceptions of nationality with Biblical constructions of race:

> In the Book of Esther, a queen born of *our* race intercedes with a husband of *alien* and hostile race to save *our* people from his enmity, with which the Enguerrand-Isabella story is an exact match. The Philippa story fits not at all. In that, a queen of *neutral* nationality […] interceded with her husband *our* king, to save the lives of a small group of people of a race alien from both of them.[109]

While his reading of the French as mapped onto the Book of Judith's "alien race", although uncomfortable, seems logical; however, I see several further problems with this statement. Most immediately, Philippa was hardly "neutral." While she maintained good diplomatic relationships with her family of origin, as Queen of England, she was firmly allied with the English realm on a physical and spiritual level first through the rituals of coronation and marriage—which established her informal and unofficial power while also reassuring others of

[109] Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 316n10. Bowers' italics.

her "modesty and submissiveness"—and on a continued basis through entry pageants, childbearing, funerals, patronage, and targeted intercession.[110] Through these multivocal, ritualized activities the queen-consort possessed much greater influence than any of her daughters—influence that Bowers mischaracterizes and underestimates. According to Theresa Earenfight, queens were "highly visible to their contemporaries," a point that has been obscured by decades of male-centric historiography.[111] Queens operated both within and without the sphere of the king's power—and they were enabled and authorized to act by their physical proximity to his physical and political bodies.[112]

Parsons confirms that the role of queenly intercession in medieval English politics was significant and obvious to the onlooker. Mediation was necessitated by a growing gap between the king and subjects, caused by administrative growth. When Eleanor of Castile heard petitions at St. Albans, the plaintiffs evoked Mary in their requests. The importance of intercession was not lost on the queen: entry pageants for newly minted queens frequently included intercession modeled in tableaux, in order to demonstrate the duties that were expected of her.[113] With the importance of Marian imagery to medieval English politics so outlined, it becomes difficult to entertain Bowers' argument that

> despite the not uncommon equation in medieval theology between the Old Testament figure of Esther and the New Testament figure of Mary, it seems on balance unlikely that in this instance these allusions are merely referential, rather than allegorical representations of actual events. For the former interpretation to carry conviction, the

[110] Parsons defines *ritual* as "repetitive, socially standardized behavior, secular or religious, that takes place at locations and times that have symbolic meaning." Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol," 60, 69.

[111] Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 2.

[112] Ibid., 6.

[113] Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol," 66.

> second half of [the second stanza of *Singularis laudis digna*] would have to contain an appeal to Mary explicitly to procure the defeat of the French (to maintain the parallel with Esther and Judith as procurers of the confounding of their foreign foes), rather than the merely general appeal to guide the king and protect his people.[114]

As discussed above, the practice of intercession combined with an association between Mary, Judith, and Esther were hardly "uncommon." Leaving aside the unclear distinction between allegory and reference, it cannot be a coincidence that allusions to Judith and Esther were included in what is ostensibly a piece of Marian polyphony. The framework for this interpretation is introduced in the incipit of the conductus with the salutation "singularis laudis digna / mater dulcis et benigna". The reference to Mary is unmistakable and must be therefore understood to continue to resonate *throughout* the piece.

Until recently, Bowers' reading of *Singulars laudis digna* remained uncontested; however, in her dissertation, Lisa Colton challenges both Bowers' and Sanders' readings of *Singularis laudis digna.* Colton offers a broader analysis whereby the Esther and Judith named in the *conductus* refer solely to the Virgin Mary, rather than acting as allegories for any particular historical queen. I suggest, however, that the reference in the second iteration of the second stanza to an unnamed queen exerting power over the king (*Tu regina regis regem*) can thus be read either as a reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary or, on an allegorical level, as a specific citation of the present Queen-consort of England's influence over her husband. Indeed, it is possible to see the allegory as a kind of conceptual, ephemeral paratext visible only to members of a privileged audience such as the English nobility, whereby both referential and allegorical meanings are active simultaneously. A dualistic reading such as this, in which the queen and Mary become

[114] Bowers, "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," 316n10.

allegories for one another, is impossible should Princess Isabella be the intended subject, as demonstrated above. Sanders' original observation that Philippa must be the queen whose intercession is requested in *Singularis laudis digna* must therefore be restored. Thus this conductus can be understood as containing a complex web of multivocal symbols, all of which operate at once. At the same time as Edward's King David-like military strength is celebrated, the Virgin Mary is praised—with the same words and music that laud Queen Philippa. Similarly, the words and music that implore Mary to intercede with the Heavenly King on behalf of the singers and their countrymen also reinforce Philippa's role vis-à-vis Edward. The exact meaning of the piece could thus be seen as not exact at all, but rather, flexible—not singular, but multivalent. The meaning at the forefront depends on the context in which it is read as well as who the interpreter is. If we suppose that meaning exists not in the work itself but in the mind of the listener, then rather than choosing a single "correct" interpretation, we could instead decide that these three meanings may exist latent in the work until the time of reception, whether visually (on the page) or aurally. This phenomenological view of "meaning" would allow new interpretations of other works having to do with queens in England and elsewhere.

Chapter Three: "Recording Angels:" History, Heritage, and Historiography in the Old Hall Manuscript

Introduction

In *The Heritage Crusade and the Writing of History*, David Lowenthal argues that until the nineteenth century, historiography was viewed by its practitioners as an unimpeachably objective pursuit. Historians saw themselves as neutral conduits of truth or "recording angels [of] *speculum vitae humanae*, impartial mirror[s] of human actions and duties."[1] As Lowenthal demonstrates, however, the image of historiography as the act of "recording angels" was itself not an "impartial mirror," but rather an ideal that grew out of Enlightenment attitudes towards not only the concept of truth, but also men's (always men's) capability for detachment.[2] It is tempting to impose these thought patterns on writers of the even more distant past, particularly given the persistent fiction that the Middle Ages was a time period devoid of deep, logical thought; however, medieval historians were themselves rather less concerned with absolute historical "facts" than their early modern successors. Medieval historical literature, although distinct in a general sense from scripture, romance, and other written works, was not a cohesive, uniform genre—indeed, the profession of "historian" had yet to be invented. Although as Given-Wilson observes "truth was a word much used by medieval chroniclers," historical truth then, as now, was a manifold concept, passing as authentic and authoritative but rarely if ever achieving either.[3] In the present time, many historians accept that, as a general rule, even academics come

[1] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 107.

[2] Ibid., 105-26.

[3] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England*, 1.

to their subject with inherent biases. As a result, it is generally agreed that no account of history can genuinely be deemed "true" in its entirety—after all, we are scholars, not time travelers.[4] But how can scholars cope with cultural narratives that are repeated so often that they begin to *seem* true?

To address this concern, Lowenthal proposes a separate apparatus for formulating the past hitherto relegated to non-scholarly discourse. This is *heritage*, a liminal zone in between fact and fiction, which, as Lowenthal explains, is sustained by the bias that hobbles history. Unlike history, heritage need not neither be empirically proven nor demonstrated as true in order to function; its only requirement for existence is persistent and unrelenting belief.[5] It is heritage that is responsible for King Arthur's enduring legacy in fiction, and heritage that propels Geoffrey of Monmouth to incorporate the mythic king into his chronicle of England's history. Similarly, an unremarked-upon heritage often encroaches upon modern scholarly writing, prolonging the life of factitious theories that have long been debunked, and legends that are demonstrably fictional. This is particularly true if not unique in musicology, a field whose output remains troublingly rife with sexist, racist, and nationalist tropes born out of both history and heritage accounts of the history of western classical music.[6] It is heritage, for instance, that promulgates the

[4] On this point, see also David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country—Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Paul Ricœur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).; Bruce Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

[5] Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 138-24.

[6] Tamara Levitz, "In the Shadow of the Zoot Suit Riots: Racial Exclusion and the Foundations of Music History" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, 6 November 2014).

musicological canon, advancing figures such as Josquin and Bach to a degree that is demonstrably ahistorical.[7] While the disciplinary boundaries that separate musicology from the rest of humanistic scholarship seem increasingly porous, heritage narratives linger in our libraries and classrooms, obscuring if not historical truth itself—whatever that means—then at least a thicker description in the ethnographic sense of the human behavior that shaped the musical works that are the objects of our inquiry.[8]

One of the most enduring regulatory fictions of musicological scholarship is the impermeable divide between sacred and secular cultures, a condition not unique to musicology but one that remains troublingly difficult to shake. Art historians Walker and Luyster address this problem in their recent edited volume *Negotiating the Sacred and Secular in Medieval Art* (2009). Walker and Luyster argue that imposing the categories of sacred and secular—terms coined in the seventeenth century—on medieval art "always risks anachronism."[9] Separating these two categories depends on their characteristics being distinct—or perceived as distinct—but at the same time, the categorization of art objects inevitably results in a loss of context. As a result, Walker and Luyster argue that the categories need to be understood as 'having "fluidity."[10] The binary opposition promoted by Durkheim and Eliade's sacred/profane dichotomy continues in the binary opposition established by historians between church and court

[7] On the notion of canonicity as applied to early music, see Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin Des Prez."; Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 9-44.

[8] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5-10.

[9] Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster, "Introduction, Mapping the Heavens and Treading the Earth," in *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art: Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist*, ed. Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 1.

[10] Ibid., 3-4.

cultures.[11] Because ecclesiastical records, musics, and notations have tended to survive where similar traces from other classes have not, musicological scholarship has perhaps understandably privileged these sources. As a result, church music—and in particular, the music of the cloister—has become "normative," while all other music, particularly that which takes inspiration from church music in the form of *canti firmi*, etc., is too often understood as "parasitic."[12]

Moreover, as Walker and Luyster observe, because of the nature of the ephemera that survives, "secular" has often meant "royal."[13] And as Upton notes, as the upper echelons of society became increasingly unfashionable objects of study during the New Musicology, interest in works of music created for these audiences also declined. The answer, however, is not to reclassify sacred works as secular—or vice versa—but instead to re-consider the porousness of the boundary between these two areas and to re-interrogate liminal works such as paraliturgical motets.

In this chapter, I apply Lowenthal's concept of heritage to two parallel modes of thinking about history: the first examines the role played by female virgin martyrs in English historiographical media of the late Middle Ages, while the second surveys the heritage narrative constructed by musicologists of the twentieth century that casts the music composed for these same virgin martyrs as purely devotional. Specifically, this chapter traces the establishment of a tradition of musical veneration of St. Katherine of Alexandria with works composed in England from the thirteenth century, concluding with an analysis of a motet from the fifteenth-century

[11] See Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1959).

[12] Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages*, 135.

[13] Walker and Luyster, "Introduction, Mapping the Heavens and Treading the Earth," 3.

manuscript BL Add MS 57950 ("Old Hall"), Bytering's *En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ Sponsus amat sponsam*. I argue that medieval norms of courtly female behavior were at once projected and celebrated through the simultaneous veneration in music of both queen-consorts and St. Katherine of Alexandria. Katherine motets were part of a larger program of Anglicization of saints of particular significance. In the same way that historical and literary figures were incorporated into English history, these saints, male and female, were subsumed into English heritage narratives. Through the public spectacle provided by these musical works, royal women were explicitly linked with Katherine, and just as St. Katherine was Anglicized through musical and artistic assimilation, England's foreign-born queen-consorts in turn were assimilated into their new nationality and its heritage.[14] Despite the importance of these motets to programs of literature, visual art, and music in the construction of royal brides' national identity, musicologists have given short shrift to polyphonic works with female saints as their subjects. Without being fully contextualized into the discourse of queenship and female sanctity that pervaded the experience of English queens and their subjects, these motets cannot be fully understood. And although not every motet can be attached to a specific historical event, even paraliturgical motets must be situated in the context of a lengthy, orthodox tradition of ritual and ceremony in order to be fully interpreted.

Locating St. Katherine of Alexandria: The Passio

To begin with, it will be useful to establish a general summary of Katherine's vita. The key details are as follows:

[14] Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 98-99.

Katherine is born daughter to King Costus of Alexandria during the reign of the Emperor Maxentius (traditionally, in 307 AD). As a young woman, she converts to Christianity after observing Maxentius' abuses of the Christian people, including mass human sacrifices. She confronts Maxentius, who is amazed by her confidence and the articulate nature of her speech. Aware that he cannot challenge her rhetorical skill, the Emperor summons the fifty most learned men in the empire to debate Katherine. Having heard about the debate, Katherine prays to God for strength, promising to convert all fifty of the philosophers. An angel appears to Katherine and affirms her belief. Katherine debates the philosophers and wins; defeated, they all spontaneously convert to Christianity. Enraged, Maxentius orders that the philosophers be put to death by burning, but although they die, the flames do not so much as singe their bodies or their garments. The Emperor imprisons Katherine, denying her food while he leaves the city to attend to other business.

Meanwhile, the prison warden, Porphyrius, accompanies Empress Augusta, Maxentius' wife, to Katherine's cell, where the three talk all night. Augusta and Porphyrius leave as Christians and Christ sends a dove from heaven to nourish Katherine, since she is still being denied food. In a vision, God appears to Katherine and assures her of His presence. Maxentius returns and is once again furious that Katherine has withstood his test; however, this time he promises to set Augusta aside and marry Katherine if she will renounce Christianity. Her only other option is torture. Katherine refuses, saying that the only husband she will accept is Jesus Christ himself. Maxentius sentences Katherine to be tortured upon a wheel with razors, spikes, nails and other sharp implements attached to its spokes, but Katherine prays to God for deliverance, and an angel destroys the wheel. Augusta chides her husband but finds herself the

object of his rage; Maxentius orders her beheaded and her breasts torn off. Porphyrius retrieves Augusta's body and together with his soldiers, announces that they have converted. Maxentius again asks Katherine to give up Christianity and marry him, and again, she refuses. At last, Maxentius orders Katherine executed by beheading. Knowing her time on Earth is coming to an end, she prays to Jesus, not that she be spared, but that he look kindly upon those who remember her. In response, Katherine hears Jesus' voice acquiescing to her request and entreating her to join him in Heaven. Katherine is executed, but instead of blood, milk flows from her wounds. Before her corpse can be tampered with or otherwise defiled, angels remove Katherine's body from the site of her execution and bury it at Mount Sinai, where an oil with healing properties is said to leak from her bones.[15]

The Cult of St. Katherine in England

In order to formulate a narrative framework from within which to interpret polyphonic music dealing with St. Katherine of Alexandria, we must first establish a context for the saint's English cultus. An oft-repeated trope about St. Katherine ideas is that she appealed to European worshippers because of her "exotic origin;" this presumption is based on the incorrect assumption that because her vita places her in Alexandria Katherine was a Coptic saint. Katherine's appeal in the West is further obscured by her popularity in the Byzantine and Orthodox Churches. Katherine's true origin story is complicated by the fact that there is no evidence that any such Alexandrine princess ever existed. It is possible that Katherine emerged as an amalgam of early Christian virgin martyrs such as Saints Perpetua and Apollonia.[16] As I

[15] Adapted from Jacobus de Voragine, "Legenda Aurea," in *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. Eamon Duffy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[16] Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2000), 46-47.

touched on above, one of the difficulties of writing an objective history of a constructed saint is that her biography is traceable not to history but rather to heritage. As a fundamentally constructed saint, Katherine's *cultus* may have proved attractive precisely because of her vita's malleability; without a real biography, there was no danger of distorting truth. And because her hagiography was an inherited narrative, Katherine's *passio* was easily adaptable to the agendas of theologians, nationalists, and poets.

Katherine of Alexandria's traditional date of martyrdom is usually given as 307 AD. Many of the details in her vita have become corrupt over time. For example, over time Emperor Maximinus was replaced by Maxentius, and his wife is only given the name "Augusta" in later versions. Intriguingly, some of these modifications seem to have taken place in the service of Anglicizing Katherine. For instance, her father Costus is identified as Constantine's elder half-brother in the Middle English prose life.[17] This figure is the same Anglicized Constantine described by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who gave the general a new genealogy tying him to both Rome and Britain. The Constantine of the prose life is born in Roman Britain, the son of Constantinus and his wife the Welsh saint Helen (Elen). Through this heritage genealogy Geoffrey constructs a direct link between Katherine and England.[18]

According to Walsh and Lewis, Katherine's cult spread north and west from Sinai, with early visual evidence traceable to the visual representations of her found in an eighth-century Coptic church.[19] According to Walsh, however, Katherine was known in England long before the Norman Conquest "introduced via the Roman liturgy that Augustine brought with him to

[17] Ibid., 45.

[18] Ibid., 45-46.

[19] Walsh, *Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, 7-22.

England in 597."[20] Although other virgin martyrs were venerated in Anglo-Saxon England, Katherine quickly outstripped them in popularity. The only other foreign female martyr saint to reach comparable popularity was Margaret of Antioch, but even Margaret did not achieve the heights of Katherine or the BVM. Despite the presence of Agnes, Agatha, and Cecilia in English worship, during the Middle Ages, these female martyrs were never as popular as either Margaret, Katherine, or Mary Magdalene. Katherine may have appealed to medieval worshippers due to the consistent thematic elements of her vita such as royalty, virginity, and the rejection of worldly goods and status; in this her way was paved by earlier models in the form of these Anglo-Saxon queen saints. As Christine Walsh explains, Katherine had much in common with local queen-saints, whose vitae also "emphasize themes of royalty, virginity and a rejection of worldly riches which closely parallel the themes of Katherine's *Passio*, ensuring that, when Katherine's cult began to spread, resonances would have occurred with this pre-existing tradition."[21]

Because her body was brought to Mount Sinai by angels and entombed there, the locus of Katherine's cultus remained in the Holy Lands and her tomb became a major pilgrimage site, persisting in its appeal even after relics belonging to Katherine arrived in Rouen ca. 1030. Katherine's cult was not initially spread through literature; early hagiographical storytelling took place through the promulgation of liturgy, presumably through sermons and now-lost visual art, such as the eighth-century Coptic images. The earliest written hagiography of Katherine appears to be the Greek *Passio* by Simon Metaphrastes (c. 960-4), which includes the main elements that appear in the later Latin versions. An early version also appears in a legendary that was written in Munich ca. 800-840. After a brief period of dormancy, Katherine's cultus experienced a

[20] Ibid., 98.

[21] Ibid.

renewal in the eleventh century, perhaps spurred by the Crusades. From this point her cult appears to have spread north from Italy, along with the cult of St. Margaret of Antioch, another virgin martyr saint from the east. Ironically, although Katherine was said to have explicitly requested that her body *not* be made into relics, believers did so anyway, leading to "the inventio of her relics on Sinai" and her cultus' spread across Europe through their transmission.[22]

French interest in the cult of Katherine was strong by the eleventh century, particularly in the northern regions. Walsh argues that a monastic center "with a vested interest in promoting the saint" was vital to the growth of her cult in Normandy. According to Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, some of Katherine's fingers were brought by St. Simeon of Trier to William the Conqueror's father Robert, although this story is likely factitious.[23] The mid-eleventh century also saw the composition of a new vita by Ainaird, a monk of Ste Catherine à la Trinité au Mont. Ainard's vita would becomes the source for the Anglo Norman vita, which itself only survives in fragments. At the same time, the Vulgate Life emerged, also written in Normandy, most likely Rouen, where the Norman dukes established a secondary locus of the cultus. It is unclear why the Normans might have wanted to lay claim to Katherine, as physical evidence indicates she was known in England pre-Conquest.[24] Lewis implies that the William himself may have commissioned the Anglo-Norman vita with the intention of amplifying Katherine's cult within his new territory.[25] Walsh counters that the Normans were likely not the originators of the cult in England, in large part because of the evidence of earlier insular Katherine worship, and a parallel

[22] Ibid., 96; Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 47-49.

[23] *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 49-51.

[24] Walsh, *Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, 100.. Walsh does not support the theory that Katherine's cult came to Europe via the Crusades.

[25] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 52.

resurgence in interest ca. 1030, but also because not all the clerics involved were themselves Norman.[26]

Walsh's argument that Katherine was rendered English through "a gradual process of 'Anglicization'" puts paid to the argument that Katherine's intrigue stemmed from her foreign origin.[27] According to Flete, Edward the Confessor, along with relics of other female saints, gave a phial of oil supposedly exuded from her bones to Westminster. This suggests a possible early link with the English royal family and St. Katherine.[28] The existence of this secondary relic—the oil from her bones—is indicative of a general lack of primary relics in the case of St. Katherine, perhaps due to the fact that the body supposedly found at Mount Sinai was not itself a genuine relic. Walsh explains that this "pattern of development is atypical of the general development of saints' cults in England" which in the case of both "indigenous" and foreign saints, normally began with the veneration of relics.[29] The creation of "fictitious genealogy" to support this re-written history was not the only example of literary naturalization. In *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Margery's visions of Katherine communicate with her in English, suggesting that the narrative choice of language might reflect naturalization or the vision-haver's subjectivity.

St. Katherine of England: Royal Foundations

As is well known, by the later Middle Ages, the adoption of patron saints by royals was an established practice. Because the cult of Katherine of Alexandria had increased in size and

[26] Walsh, *Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, 100.

[27] Ibid., 99.

[28] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 52-53.

[29] Walsh, *Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, 97.

intensity in England after the twelfth century, Lewis contends that the English cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria spread through the kingdom from the upper echelons of society and from the urban centers of government out into rural areas. In other words, English worship of Katherine worship in England may have begun as a particular devotional interest of the royal family, and spread from there down through the lower classes, and from London out into the northernmost countryside[30]. Given Katherine's own social and spiritual status as the daughter of a king and bride of Christ, the royal family's affinity for such a socially elevated saint seems appropriate. Evidence from the twelfth century suggests Katherine had achieved the critical mass of popularity within the English royal family necessary to become a preferred choice for patronage. In 1148, for example, King Stephen's (1092/6-1154) wife Matilda of Boulogne made donations to the church of St. Katherine-by-the-Tower in Aldgate. Although it is unclear precisely when the church acquired St. Katherine of Alexandria as its patron saint—in other words, whether or not Matilda was responsible for that choice—Matilda's association of Katherine with a hospital reflects both the saint's growing identification with medicine as well as with the interest she held for the English royal family.[31] At some point during the years 1158-1163, a Katherine chapel was founded at Westminster Abbey, likely by then-Abbot Lawrence. An unusually expansive space, large enough to accommodate Henry II's court in 1163, the Westminster chapel was located in the Abbey's infirmary, and incorporated a nave, five bays, an aisle, and a chancel).[32]

[30] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 63.

[31] Ibid., 55.

[32] Walsh, *Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, 136-37.

St. Katherine's affiliation with the royal family continued into the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) and Eleanor of Provence, who seem to have had a particular affinity for the saint. In addition to adding images of Katherine to chapels that were dedicated to other saints in royal palaces such as the chapel of St. Peter in the Tower of London, Henry founded several chapels in the saint's honor, as well as ordering that existing chapels devoted to the saint at Guildford, Nottingham, and Winchester have their decorations refreshed.[33] It is likely that Katherine of Alexandria was Eleanor's patron saint;[34] in the same year they were married (1236), Henry ordered Eleanor's personal apartments at Clarendon Palace decorated with scenes from the life of St. Katherine.[35] Eleanor also assumed responsibility for Matilda's chapel and hospital foundation in Katherine's at Aldgate, ensuring that, in spite the efforts by the prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, the hospital would remain under the patronage of the current and all future English queens.[36] The first member of the royal family to be named for St. Katherine was Henry and Eleanor's youngest daughter, born on the saint's feast day (November 25) in 1253. Lisa Colton has suggested that the relative abundance of English music directed at St. Katherine in this period may have begun following this Princess Katherine's death at age four.[37] Henry III erected an extravagant tomb for his daughter at Westminster, including a silver effigy of the princess, and arranged that a chaplain

[33] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 63-64.

[34] Howard Colvin, ed. *The History of the King's Works* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963), Vol II, 859-62.

[35] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 63-64.

[36] Ibid., 65-66.; Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 284-86.

[37] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 64.; Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England.", 196.

sing prayers for her soul.[38] It is possible that some music on Katherine texts from the mid-thirteenth century was composed for this purpose.

Beyond the royal family's individual patronage, St. Katherine's popularity seems to have been encouraged by monarchy and church alike in large part because she provided an ideal model for young royal women, particularly the brides of English kings.[39] Texts of motets from this period with Katherine as their subject focus on characteristics considered innate in the ideal medieval woman: piety, deference, fertility, good breeding, and beauty. While much has been made of some medieval writers' apparent disdain for women and femininity in general, we know little of how women conceived of themselves, because the disparity between genders in medieval authorship is so great.[40] As discussed in the previous two chapters, although medieval women appeared to lack the agency we now think of as crucial to selfhood, they were not always strictly powerless. Depending on their marital status, many women wielded a certain amount of power over the men in their lives. As opposed to a queen-regnant, a queen-consort, while not fully invested with the absolute powers of a monarch, could and did influence her husband's decision making, both personal and political. Moreover, many consorts served as *de facto* rulers when their husbands were unavailable due to illness or travel, not as an exception to the rule, but rather as a matter of course. Royal women also actively curated their own public images. For example, John of Gaunt's third wife Katherine Swynford actively cultivated Katherine of Alexandria as her personal saint, even going so far as to adopt three Katherine wheels as her personal heraldic

[38] Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 101-02.

[39] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 66.

[40] On medieval misogyny, laywomen and reading, and women's roles in the production of books, see Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*.; Sandy Bardsley, *Women's Roles in the Middle Ages* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007).; Jennifer C. Ward, *Women in England in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

device.[41] Because she was Gaunt's mistress before he married her and legitimated their four children born before their wedding in 1396, Katherine Swynford had a vested interest in "cleaning up" her image. By appropriating St. Katherine's emblem, she also sought to appropriate the traits traditionally associated with the saint: purity/chastity, good breeding, and intelligence. Swynford clearly hoped she would be able to avoid the stain of having been a married man's mistress for nearly twenty years, thereby improving her lot, and that of her children by Gaunt.

The Coronation of Katherine of Valois

The importance of St. Katherine to the monarchy is underscored by the saint's prominent place in the celebration of the first crowned English queen to be named Katherine. Following their marriage at St. Peter's Church in Troyes, Henry V and Katherine of Valois arrived at Dover at Candlemass of 1421. By February 14th, they were at Eltham Palace. From there, they perhaps moved separately; the Great Chronicle of London describes how Katherine departed Eltham and was met at Blackheath by the city's mayor and the guild masters. From Blackheath, Katherine was brought to London Bridge, where she was feted with "dyvers paigantes and minstrelse", both sadly described. After the pageantry at the bridge, Katherine arrived at the Tower of London, where she remained until February 24th. On the date of her coronation, Katherine rode through the city on horseback, attended by a procession of noblemen and women, lead by the Mayor, the Lord Constable, and the Marshal. At Westminster, the Archbishop of Canterbury

[41] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 69.

celebrated the coronation mass in the Abbey. Katherine and her party then repaired to the Great Hall of Westminster Palace, where a feast in her honor was prepared.[42]

By custom, an English king did not attend his queen's coronation banquet, so Katherine attended the feast without Henry. The company, however, was not without its luminaries: Katherine dined with clergy and aristocracy alike. On the queen's right hand sat the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, while putative hostage King James I of Scotland sat to her left. Next to James were seated the wives of two of Henry's most trusted generals at Agincourt: Philippa de Mohun, Duchess of York and widow of Edward of Norwich, and Elizabeth of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV and wife of John Cornwall sat to her left.[43] Although Henry himself was not present, the inclusion of his prized royal hostage-cum-guest, King James, as well as that of the widow and wife of two of the leaders at Agincourt provided a reminder of the absent king's military might.

As the feast proper began, so did the coronation pageantry. The menu was primarily fish and seafood, as the season was Lent—the first course, for example, included trout, cod, and large crabs. Each of the three courses was accompanied by a sotelte—sculptural, often inedible food

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[42] A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, eds., *The Great Chronicle of London* (London: George W. Jones, 1938), 115-16."qwene kateryn removyd from ethalm ye xiiij day off february & ws mett att blake hethe with ye mayre and his brithern & all ye cheffe crafftes all clad yn white garmentes with redde whoddes embrowderyd with bagges off teir craftes & so she was broght over london bridge where were dyvers paigantes & minstrelse, & so conveyyd to ye tower. "And ye xxiiij day of ye same monethe she rode throrowgh ye cite where were dyvers pagiantes made & all ye citie Richely haungid with clothe off gold & arres ye citizens standyng yn orer yn ye stretes & ye conditties Rynnyng wyne * the mayre Ridyng next beffore ye lord constable * marshall with hys mace & so with many nobles & ladyes she cam to Westminster."

[43] Ibid. The chronicler mistakenly identifies Elizabeth as the Countess of Huntingdon, a title which was a holdover from her long-annulled previous marriage.

displays, intended to impress rather than to be eaten—wrought with symbolic meaning.[44] The first sotelte is described in the *Great Chronicle of London* as follows:

> A sotilte called pellycan on his nest with briddes And an Image of seint kateryn with a boke in hyre hande dysputing with the hethen Clarkes havyng this Reson in hyre hande
> Madame la Reigne
> The pellican answering
> Ceste enseigne
> The briddes answering
> Est duroy pur tenire Joy A tou gent il mette sentent.[45]

This sotelte accomplishes three rhetorical gestures by presenting two individual tableaux and then placing them in dialogue. First, the image of the pelican and his offspring recalls the medieval belief that pelicans used their beaks to pierce their own breasts in order to feed their young. This myth was often invoked as an analogy for the Eucharist, through which Christ was seen as nourishing his followers with his own flesh and blood. Second, St. Katherine is depicted debating the philosophers, a gesture affirming not only her intelligence and capabilities as a converting saint, but also her unique gift among female virgin martyrs of speaking with authority on matters of both state and religion. The two images are connected through the dialogue depicted in the soteltes' reasons (poetic captions). The dialogue breaks the fourth wall of the sotelte pageant by directly addressing the queen ("Madame la Reigne") and informing her of the nature of the sotelte. That is to say, the reasons form a dedication from the king. Freely translated, they read, "This sign is sent by the king in order to provide joy. He sends his best to everyone." By sending his best regards in absentia, the king's speech, therefore, unambiguously

[44] Katherine of Valois' coronation feast is discussed in Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 70-72.

[45] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 117.

connects Katherine with an image of the Eucharist, subtly implying that the feast they are consuming is on par with the Heavenly Feast in terms of its significance.

The second course's sotelte also included a sculpture of St. Katherine accompanied by animal. This time, it was a panther:

> A sotilte A Pantere with an Image of seynt Kateryne on the same tarage an a whele in hire hande And a Reson in hire ther hande the Reson is this
> la Roygne ma file
> The pantere answering
> En cest Ile
> Another beste answering with this Reson
> Be alyon[46]
> Another beste answering
> Avez Renoun[47]

This sotelte consists of a tarage (shield) depicting a panther, one of the symbols of Henry V and the House of Lancaster.[48] Next to the panther is a likeness of St. Katherine holding her emblem, the razored wheel. Like the previous sotelte, this reason depicts direct speech from an individual to the queen. Unlike the first sotelte, however, the reason comprises a message ostensibly delivered by St. Katherine to her namesake, Queen Katherine. A free translation renders Katherine's address thusly: "O queen, my daughter, on this island, be a lion, and achieve renown." The sotelte presents both panther and saint as newly joined emblems—and protectors, mythical and spiritual—of the House of Lancaster.

The third course included yet another reference to St. Katherine. This time it was four angels arranged to form a Katherine wheel and made of "a mete in paste," perhaps a sort of paté.

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[46] "Be alyon" appears to be an incorrect transcription or an error in typesetting. With the B replaced by Þ, the phrase reads more coherently as "þe alyon" ("thee alone").

[47] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 118.

[48] {Siddons, 2009 #741@s.vv. "Henry V"; "Panther"}

The reason read, “Il est escrite pur voir & dit par mariage pure, ce guerre ne dure.”[49] The reason roughly translates as follows: “It is written [here] for [you] to see and say [that] through [this pure marriage, this war will end [lit. “not last”.]” One of St. Katherine's major devotional functions was as a “marriage-broker” of sorts—medieval women prayed to her for a good match much as noblewomen might entreat their queen to assist them in marrying well. In the case of Katherine and Henry, the saint was understood through the wedding feast imagery to have brokered a marriage between nations as well as individuals.[50]

The final sotelte provides a kind of coda in the form of a parable. The sotelte depicts a tiger looking in a mirror. Meanwhile, a man rides on horseback, carrying a tiger cub and throwing more mirrors to distract the mother tiger. There are two reasons. The first supplies the dialogue for the horseman, “Per force sanz droit / Jay pris cest beste” (“By force, not right, I take this beast”), while the second gives the tiger's reply: “Gyle de myrrour ma fait descour.”[51] I translate this second reason roughly as follows: “The mirror's guile has taught me a lesson.” This final sotelte appears to counsel the audience against becoming distracted by one's own image, lest they lose what is most important to them. Much as Narcissus drowns in the image of his own face reflected by a pool of water, the tiger is too distracted looking at her reflection to realize that her cub has been abducted. Meanwhile, the abductor seems to have known her weakness, and taken advantage of it. The sotelte-parable could be read as a caution to the new queen, advising her not to become overly concerned with her new status at the cost of her responsibility to her future children.

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[49] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 118.

[50] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 73.

[51] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 19.

In addition to the emblems already described in the soteltes, there was no shortage of heraldic imagery within the edible parts of the feast itself. The first course included "leche lumbard [a sort of spiced meat loaf] florysshed with colores of esses and bron coddes with the armys of the kyng and the quene departed." The second course commenced with a jellied dish ("gele") "florysshed with columbyn floures of white potages," the columbine being a symbol of both Christ and the Holy Trinity.[52] This course also included a quotation of the king's motto, "Un saunz pluis" awritten in white on a "leche damaske."The third course included a "flampayn florysshed with a scochon Roiall therein iije corounes of gold and planted we floures delys of gold and floures of Camamylle wrought of confeccions." The flampayn, or meat pie, was decorated with a royal coat of arms ("scochon") containing three gold crowns, gold fleurs-de-lis, and chamomile flowers made of "confeccions," likely sweet pastries.

St. Katherine's English Literary Heritage

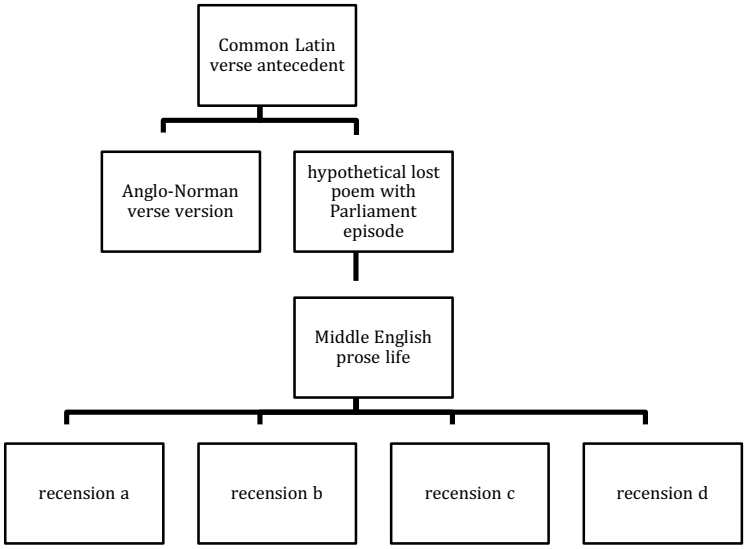
The popularity of St. Katherine of Alexandria in England is attested to by the prevalence of verse and prose versions of her legend in both Latin as well as vernacular sources. At least twenty-seven versions of the life of St. Katherine with insular provenance survive from the period covered by this study. Twelve are written in Latin, three in Anglo-Norman, and fourteen in Middle English, many of them from the larger legendary collections such as the *South English Legendary*, most of them heavily influenced by Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. By comparison, only eleven Middle English lives of Margaret of Antioch and ten of Mary Magdalene have been identified.[53] The earliest insular vernacular vita is an Anglo-Norman verse

[52] Riklef Kandeler and Wolfram R. Ullrich, "Symbolism of Plants: Examples from European-Mediterranean Culture Presented with Biology and History of Art: May: Columbine," *Journal of Experimental Botany* 60, no. 6 (2009).

[53] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 2.

Life dating from the fourteenth century (BL MS Add 40145, ff. 1-6v). From here the transmission of the legend is slightly fuzzy, as the Middle English version is not a direct translation of the Anglo-Norman life. Because the Anglo-Norman poet claimed his version was a translation of a (now-lost) Latin antecedent, Kurvinen suggested that this lost Latin poem was the point of origin of both the Anglo-Norman verse vita as well as the Middle English prose versions. At some point in between the Anglo-Norman version and the earliest Middle English recension, an additional episode (the Parliament, discussed below) was added, suggesting there may have been yet another intervening antecedent in between the two versions.[54]

Figure 3.1: Stemma of English vitae of St. Katherine of Alexandria, after Kurvinen



[54] Auvo Kurvinen, "The Life of St. Catharine of Alexandria in Middle English Prose" (University of Oxford, 1960), 193.

Kurvinen identified twenty-two manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century alone containing the Middle English prose life.[55] From these, Kurvinen identified four distinct recensions of the life, identified in chronological order as **a**, **b**, **c**, and **d**. Recension **a** survives in six manuscripts, **b** in thirteen, **c** in one, and **d** in three.[56] Having dated recension **a** to the early fifteenth-century, Kurvinen argued that **a** constituted the initial Middle English translation from which the others derived.[57] Kurvinen further divided the Middle English recensions into six episodes or themes from Katherine's life, not all of which appear in every recension. Kurvinen outlined the six episodes as follows:[58]

i. Prologue (found in versions a, b, d)
ii. Genealogy (b, d)
iii. Birth (b, d)
iv. Youth, including Coronation and Parliament (a, b, d)
v. Martyrdom (a, b, c, d[59])
vi. Katherine's body is found at Mount Sinai (b, c, d)

According to Kurvinen, recension **a** is a composite translation derived from two texts: a now-lost Latin text comprising episode **iv** (Youth) and Jean de Vignay's translation of the

[55] One of these is BL Harley 4012, which Kurvinen mistakenly dated to the sixteenth century but in fact dates from the 1460s. See Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 23. and Jacqueline Jenkins, "St. Katherine and Laywomen's Piety: The Middle English Prose Life in London, British Library, Harley Ms 4012," in *St. Katherine of Alexandria : Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003).. Jenkins argues that Harley 4012 was intended for laywomen's audience, specifically its owner Anne Wyngefield.

[56] The manuscripts are as follows: a (BL Cotton Titus A xxvi, Manchesther, Chetham's Library 9009, National Library of Scotland Advocates 19.3.1, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales Porkington 10, Oxford Corpus Christi College 238, and one other); b (); c (BL Harley 4012, and d (Cambridge Gnville and Caisus 390/610), BL Add 33410, Harvard, University Library Richardson 44). For descriptions, see Kurvinen, pp…

[57] Kurvinen, "Life of St. Catharine of Alexandria," 1-6.

[58] Ibid., 169-78.

[59] The martyrdom episode in d is a different version which Kurvinen identified as a direct translation from the Vulgate Life. See ibid., 188..

Legenda aurea (episodes **i** and **v**, the prologue and Katherine's martyrdom). The author remains anonymous, but was likely a Londoner, to judge by his dialect.[60]

The incipit of the primary manuscript of recension **d** (Cgc 390/610) reads "sent bi a discrete maister unto the Kyng Henry the Vte."[61] Presumably this means Henry V was still alive while the manuscript was in preparation. As Kurvinen realized, if the manuscript was made prior to Henry's death in 1422, then recension d cannot have been written later than this date. This further means that Versions a, b, and c were all created prior to 1422. Kurvinen suggested that Cgc 390/610 was therefore likely made between the marriage negotiations in 1419-1420 and Henry's death in 1422, and further, that Henry's marriage to Katherine of Valois was the occasion for writing this newest recension of the prose life.[62]

In addition to the external evidence, the manuscript tradition for Katherine's vita features several markers of Englishness. As discussed above, markers of Englishness are found in the legend at least as early as 1129. Katherine's descent from Constantinus and his British wife, St. Helen, daughter of Coal is mentioned in Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle. Her genealogy is also featured in the chronicles of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew Paris, Layamon, Langtoft, Capgrave, Bartholomew, Walter of Coventry, among others.[63] However, Kurvinen was the first to observe the particular Englishness of episode iv, which includes Katherine's Coronation and Parliament. Kurvinen argued that the Parliament theme originated with English authors because all three surviving versions that include this theme were copied in England. While the

[60] Ibid., 214.

[61] Cited in ibid., 216.

[62] Ibid., 214.

[63] Ibid., 205-07.

continental sources describe the event as a "king's council," the insular sources specifically refer to the coronation as connected to a "Parliament", a feature that was unique to the medieval English government.[64] As Lewis argues, the increasing Englishness of St. Katherine is marked by Capgrave's inclusion of a parliament and parliamentary-style speeches, particularly those scenes where the saint participates in debate. Lewis claims that "in addressing her parliament, St. Katherine is deliberately constructed as a fifteenth-century English monarch."[65] By situating St. Katherine in the role of English Queen, Capgrave perhaps intended to allude not only to then-King Henry VI's mother—the aforementioned Katherine de Valois—but also to the present consort, Margaret of Anjou, herself a forceful stateswoman.

From the thirteenth century, Katherine's vita became enriched by new details in the Middle English prose lives. These included expanded narratives comprising Katherine's early life, her conversion, and her mystic marriage to Christ.[66] The mystic marriage appears to have been unique to Katherine, and as it developed over time, this aspect of her legend grew in complexity and authenticity. The marriage episode usually proceeds as follows: After Katherine is crowned, her mother instructs her to marry. Katherine refuses. Her uncle supplies four reasons intended to change her mind. She refuses again, this time offering a description of her ideal husband. Her mother relents as Katherine once again insists she will marry her chosen husband. Although Katherine has not yet converted, her imagined husband's description includes characteristics that are strikingly similar to those of Christ.[67]

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[64] Ibid., 200.

[65] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 79.

[66] Kurvinen, "Life of St. Catharine of Alexandria," 197.

[67] Ibid.

Initially, the marriage theme appeared to be purely theoretical, describing a metaphysical union, rather than a physical one. By the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth century, however, the marriage scene became literal rather than figurative. Kurvinen noted a similarity between the language in early versions of the marriage theme and the ordination rite for Dominican nuns, suggesting that early recensions of the legend including the marriage episode might have been intended for devotional reading in a Dominican nunnery. Later versions, such as Capgrave's however, are more vivid, even realistic, as if the author were describing a real event to which they were witness.[68]

By the fifteenth century, St. Katherine of Alexandria had utterly eclipsed other female virgin martyrs in popularity, and the growth of complexity within her vita continued to reflect the admiration felt for her by the English. Although the lives consistently feature images found in other hagiographical "epic passion"/virgin martyr narratives found in the Legenda aurea, such as that of St. Christina, there are additional miracles that are unique to Katherine's vita. Like Christina, Katherine's vita consistently depicted a rhetorical victory, milk flowing from the virgin's wounds, burial by angels, and miracles occurring at the martyr's tomb. Five additional miracles, however, are unique to Katherine. These are the following:[69]

1. Angels visit Katherine in her cell, tell her what will happen next and heal her wounds;
2. An angel breaks the wheel, saving her from torture;
3. Christ sends a dove to feed Katherine in prison because she is being starved;
4. Christ appears to her in her cell;
5. A voice from heaven responds to Katherine's final prayer.

[68] Ibid., 192-97.

[69] Ibid., 167.

The unique, mystical relationship shared by Jesus Christ and Katherine of Alexandria reflected in these details further made her an appropriate choice for royal patronage.

As reading proficiency and the availability of books increased, the legend of Katherine continued to expand its narrative complexity and richness. The mid-fifteenth-century *Lives* written by and John Capgrave (1445) and Osbern Bokenham (1447) are especially representative. Capgrave and Bokenham's characterizations of Katherine and Maxentius are three-dimensional and realistic portrayals of human beings, rather than stock portrayals of virtuous virgin-martyr and evil pagan. Capgrave's Maxentius for example, questions his own actions, while his version of Katherine performs an "informed, intellectual Christianity," rationalized by the understanding that her behavior as a crowned queen has significant personal as well as political consequences.[70] Capgrave is also explicit about Katherine's rank: he describes her as second only to the Virgin Mary, writing "after the lady whose bliss exceeds all others goes the virgin we call Katherine."[71]

Bokenham also signals his understanding of social hierarchies, but he does so by acknowledging earthly, rather than spiritual status. His *Legend* lists the names of his patrons, all members of the nobility, many of them women with royal connections, including Isabel Bourchier, Countess of Essex, a great-grandchild of Edward III, and the aunt of Edward IV and Richard III.[72] Isabel commissioned a life of Mary Magdalene from Bokenham, while another of his patrons, Elizabeth Vere, Countess of Oxford, was responsible for his life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Delany argues that the corpus of Bokenham's text is modeled on Chaucer's *Legend of*

[70] Karen A. Winstead, introduction to Capgrave, "The Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria," 6-8.

[71] Ibid., 19.

[72] Sheila Delany, Introduction to Bokenham, *A Legend of Holy Women*, xiii.

Good Women as evident from its order and subjects, demonstrating that medieval boundaries between sacred and secular literature were as fluid in literary contexts as they were in historical ones.[73]

St. Katherine in English Music

Katherine's popularity in textual literature is complemented by her popularity in devotional music. All together, Lefferts, Losseff, Everist, and Colton have identified at least fifteen insular polyphonic works with Katherine as their subject from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. To this we should add three additional works: the anonymous bilingual motet *Pura placens pulchra/ Parfundement plure Absolon*, and two Latin works by Dunstaple, a cantilena and an isorhythmic motet.

[73] Delany, introduction to ibid., xix-xx.

Table 3.1: Late-medieval English polyphony with texts on of St. Katherine of Alexandria

Date	Incipit(s)	Source(s)	Composer, if known	Genre	Number of voices
13th c.	*Virgo sancta Katerina*	Lbl 978		"Item dupplici cum littera"	unknown
13th c.	*Katerina lex divina*	Lbl 978		"Item dupplici cum littera"	unknown
13th c.	*Clericorum sanctitate*	Lbl 978		"Item dupplici cum littera"	unknown
13th c.	*Katerina progenie*	Lbl 978		Conductus	probably 2
13th c.	*[Virgo…] manet lux/ T. Virgo flagellatur*	Cjec 5		"Whole chant" motet	2
13th c.	*Virgo regalis fidei*	WO		Voice-exchange motet on a pes	3
13th c.	*…recolet ecclesie Katerine/ Virgo sancta Katerina/ T. [pes]*	WO		Motet on a pes	3
13th c.	*…na angelorum agmina*	WO		Conductus (cantilena)	?
14th c.	*O laudanda virginitas*	Ob 591		Conductus (cantilena)	3
14th c.	*Rota versatilis*	Lbl 24198; Lbl 40011B; Ob 652; Lbl 4909		Motet	3
14th c.	*Virginalis concio/ Contratenor/ T. Virgo flagellatur*	DRc 20		Motet	3
14th c.	*Flos regalis triumphalis/ Tenor*	Lbl 400011B		Motet	4
ca. 1320	*Virgo sancta Katerina/ De spineto/ T. Agmina*	Onc 362		Motet	3

ca. 1336-1355	*Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ T.*	Lbl 978, Cgc 512/543		Motet	3
ca. 1340	*Pura placens pulchra/ Parfundement plure Absolon/ T. Concupiscit*	Ob 7		Motet	3
1420-1421	*En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ T. Sponsus amat sponsam*	OH	Byttering	Isorhythmic motet	3
?1440s	*Gaude virgo Katerina*	ModB	Dunstaple	Conductus (cantilena)	alternating 3 and 2
?1440s	*Salve schema sanctitatis/ Salve salus servulorum/ Cantant celi agmina/ T. [Virgo flagellatur]*	ModB	Dunstaple	Isorhythmic motet	4

From the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries alone, Lefferts identified thirteen polyphonic works with insular provenance. This number is exceeded only by the number of polyphonic pieces written for the BVM (37). After Katherine, follow Peter and Paul, counted together because of their joint feast day (9). The nearest comparable saint is Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas Becket)— intriguingly, both an insular and an antimonarchical saint. Nicholas was often presented as an analogous masculine figure for monastic houses; this perhaps explains his presence on this list. Katherine also far outstrips her competition among the Fourteen Holy Helpers; of the other two central female virgin martyrs, Margaret of Antioch is the subject of four surviving pieces, while Barbara features in just one. There are no extant polyphonic works for Ursula, nor are there any English polyphonic works for Elizabeth of Hungary. To my knowledge, just one piece for Saint Anne survives, and this only in a Continental source from the fifteenth century. This is of course Dunstaple's isorhythmic motet *Gaude felix mater Anna*, which is unique to *ModB*. Interestingly, several polyphonic works for insular and local saints do survive, as outlined in the following table.

Table 3.2: Insular saints honored in polyphonic works, 13th-14th centuries

Saint	Gender of honoree	Total number of works identified by Lefferts
William of York	male	1
Eadburga	female	1
Winifred	female	1
Augustine of Canterbury	male	2
Simon de Montfort	male	2
Edward the Confessor	male	3
Edmund	male	4
Thomas of Canterbury	male	8
	Total	22

Among these is *Virgo regalis fidei*, which has alternate text for the Anglo-Saxon princess and saint Eadburga, and is discussed below. The pages that follow provide much needed context for tracing the history of music for St. Katherine written in England. Of the pieces listed in Table 3.1, I exclude only those thirteenth-century works which are largely fragmentary: *...manet lux / T. Virgo flagellatur* (Cjec 5), *...recolet ecclesie/ T. Virgo sancta Katerina* (WO), and *...na angelorum agmina* (WO). Because much of this chapter is concerned with the poetic language employed by the composers and its relationship to the mythos of St. Katherine, rather than cobbling together interpretations based on incomplete texts, it is more useful to focus on those pieces that survive in entirety, or close to it.

1. The Harley Index and Miscellany

British Library MS Harley 978 is a polylingual miscellany dated to the mid-thirteenth century whose contents include a variety of texts: the Lais of Marie de France, the Song of Lewes celebrating Simon de Montfort's victory there, satirical Latin Golliardic verse poetry, an

Anglo-Norman treatise dealing with hawking, and a calendar for Reading Abbey. The miscellany also includes music for only five pieces; of these, *Sumer is icumen in*, *Duce creature*, and their alternate texts in Latin are the best known to musicologists, although it remains unclear which of the Latin or vernacular texts were contrafact.[74] The manuscript also includes a lengthy and intriguing catalogue of polyphonic music composed at Reading Abbey organized by genre. The index names five pieces presumably composed in honor of St. Katherine, three of which appear under the inscrutable heading "*Item cum duplici littera*." These are *Virgo sancta Katerina, Katerina lex divina*, and *Clericorum sanctitate*. One "Cunductus," *Katerina progenie,* is also listed. Sadly, the music for all four pieces, as well as the others listed in the index, is for the most part lost (or as yet unidentified). William of Winchester's name appears on this folio, and Andrew Taylor has identified him as an, if not the first, owner of the manuscript.[75]

2. Thirteenth-Century Fragments

Aside from these lost polyphonic works, a number of fragmentary works in honor of Katherine are extant. These include *[Virgo…] manet lux/ T. Virgo flagellatur* (Cjec 5), ***a*** "whole-chant motet" which seems to be the first surviving insular work with *Virgo flagellatur* as its tenor. *Virgo flagellatur* is usually recognized as an office respond; however, it also appears in the Sarum Processional for use on the Feast of St. Katherine of Alexandria. Several fragmentary Katherine compositions appear in the Worcester fragments. These include . . . *Nunc in celis Katerina fluens deliciis* . . . (Worcester Add 68, fol. Av), a two voice motet seemingly on the

[74] Wolfgang Obst, "'Svmer Is Icumen In': A Contrafactum?," *Music & Letters* 64, no. 3/4 (1983).

[75] For the contents and ownership history of Harley 978, see Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 76-136.

topic of Katherine's afterlife. An partial example of a three-voice motet on a pes also survives in the Worcester Fragments: . . . *recolat ecclesia Katerine/Virgo sancta Katerina/T. [pes]* (Ob Lat Liturg 20).

2a. Virgo regalis fidei

Virgo regalis fidei is a 13th-century voice-exchange motet on a pes, found in the Worcester Fragments. The technique of voice exchange is ideally suited to the style of "round composition" described by Margaret Bent in *Rota versatilis.*

> Virgo regalis
> fidei merito specialis
> et iubar in tenebris
> Katerina refulsit in arvis.
>
> Hinc animo forti
> pro Christo subdita morti
> celorum castris
> glomerata choruscat in astris
>
> [The royal virgin Catherine, outstanding in the merit of her faith, has shone throughout the lands like a heavenly light in darkness. Strong in soul she as delivered to death for Christ; therefore she was formed into a sphere in the castles of heaven and glitters among the stars.]

Virgo regalis fidei is one of the few documented examples of a motet known to have been used on more than one occasion. A marginal notation in the MS gives the alternate text for the lines three through five: "Ut iubar in tenebris **Eadburga** refulsit in arvis."[76] Why should

[76] Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 177; Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England," 217-33. My emphasis.

Katherine and Eadburga have been considered interchangeable in this case? Lefferts suggests it was because both names belonged to female martyr-saints and had four syllables.[77] An alternate explanation is that the motet is not merely "more or less appropriate for any virgin-martyr with a four-syllable name"; rather, it is actual the similarities between the two saints that provoked this comparison. Like Katherine of Alexandria, Saint Eadburga of Pershore (d. 960) was born royal, the daughter of Edward of England and his wife Eadgifu.[78] Unlike Katherine, however, Eadburga never ruled as sovereign queen; instead, her half-brother Athelstan (ca. 894-939) inherited the crown, while Eadburga took vows at Nunnaminster. After her death, a cult developed around Eadburga and her remains became a site of pilgrimage.[79] Several Latin and vernacular versions of her vita from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries survive, beginning with a Latin verse life by Osbert de Clare.[80] Moreover, as Colton suggests, Edburga's connection to Westminster via a relationship between Pershore Abbey, where she was abbess, and Nunnaminster. Colton argues that by associating Edburga and Katherine in music, the author of the dedication to the former sought to emphasize a cultural continuity between the English nobility and their Anglo-Saxon predecessors as well as to develop what Colton terms an "overall

[77] Peter M. Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century" (dissertation, Columbia University, 1983), 177.

[78] Eadburga is the not to be confused with the Wessex queen of the same name. That Eadburga was the daughter of King Offa of Mercia and his wife Cynethryth. After she accidentally murdered her husband, King Beorhtric of Wessex, Eadburga fled to Francia and joined a convent, from which she was eventually expelled on suspicion of fornication. Unlike that of Katherine, however, the existence of Eadburga—as well as her status as English—is verifiable: in the 730s, she and her sisters witnessed and signed a charter. And unlike Katherine, Eadburga was not only disliked by her subjects, she was actively despised by them.

[79] In fact there are at least four English Saints Eadburga, all of whom seem to have been princesses: Edburga of Bicester (7th c.), Eadburga of Southwell (d. 700?), Edburga of Minster-in-Thanet (d. 751), and Eadburga of Winchester. The Eadburga of *Virgo regalis fidei* is most likely to be the last of these to judge by the number of vitae composed in her honor.

[80] Laurel Braswell, "Saint Edburga of Winchester: A Study of Her Cult, A.D. 950-1500, with an Edition of the Fourteenth-Century Middle English and Latin Lives," *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971).

royalist programme of veneration".[81] Had the syllable count and the general identity of the virgin-martyr in question been the only motivating factor, the marginalist might have provided the names "Barbara" or "Margareta" in addition to "Eadburga." Instead, it was Eadburga who was important enough to the owner of the manuscript to be singled out in this way.

3. Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ T. ?Tu es qui venturus es

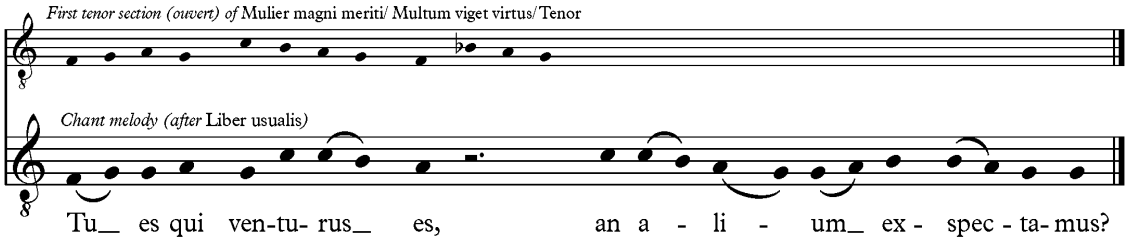
Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ Tenor is a three-voice motet unique to Cgc 512/543, ff. 246v-247, dated by Harrison to ca. 1336-1355.[82] Lefferts describes the text as written in "language similar to that of her legend."[83] Indeed, the upper voices of this motet focus on the same theme in Katherine's vita: specifically, her successful conversion first of the fifty philosophers sent by Emperor Maxentius to debate her and then of Maxentius' wife and the captain of the guard, Porphyry.The hitherto unidentified tenor appears to be slightly modified or corrupted melody of *Tu es qui venturus es an alium*. This antiphon for Vespers of the Third Sunday in Advent is a quotation of Matthew 11:3, in which the imprisoned John the Baptist sends two disciples to ask Jesus, "Are you the Messiah we've been expecting, or should we look for someone else?" The quoted Latin text forms the chant from which this tenor is drawn.

[81] Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England," 224-25.

[82] Frank Harrison, "Ars Nova in England: A New Source," *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967).

[83] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century," 239.

Musical example 3.1: Tenor of Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus compared with plainchant antiphon *Tu es qui venturus es*



The above example supplies a comparison of the tenor of *Mulier magni meriti* with the first section of *Tu es qui venturus es.* With repeating pitches combined, including the repetitive the passage between "-turus" and "exspectamus" elided, the simplified chant melody could be a match. If accurate, this tenor cooperates with the duplum and triplum in depicting Katherine as converting saint. Indeed, by eliminating the text underlay "es an alium", John's question becomes a statement: "You are the Messiah we have expected." A loose paraphrase of the question posed rhetorically by many non-Christians on the edge of conversion, the statement echoes the question posed by the Emperor Maximinus that leads to Katherine's debate with the fifty pagan philosophers. It is, in effect, the question that is answered by Katherine so thoroughly that the philosophers find themselves convinced and converted. With the identity of this tenor restored, we may reclassify this motet as a *cantus firmus* motet, rather than one built on a pes, as Lefferts initially presumed.

4. O laudanda virginitas

O laudanda virginitas is a three-voice conductus-rondellus found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Wood 591, ff. 2r-2v, a once-lavish music manuscript of which only four leaves remain, having been rebound as flyleaves to a sixteenth-century printed copy of William Painter's *The*

Pallace of Pleasure Beautified (London, 1569). The early provenance of the leaves yet unidentified; however, their original source appears to have been a music manuscript of the late fourteenth century produced in England. The manuscript leaves measure 197 x 145 mm. at their present size and are made of thick parchment with initials alternating red and blue, the largest of which were richly decorated with gold leaf. The initials are further embellished with intricate penwork in red and blue, including trailing lines and j-bands at the left margins. The music is professionally written in the *ars nova* notation on neatly ruled, red, five-line staves, arranged in score format without amendation; in short, these four leaves were almost certainly only a portion of a larger choirbook for a wealthy foundation, perhaps even a presentation copy.[84] How the leaves came to be a part of the Painter book is unknown, but a clue may lie in their contents.

The three-voice conductus-rondellus *O laudanda virginitasis* is one of seven works preserved in the flyleaves, of which all but one appear to be settings of Marian texts. These are the three-voice conductus *O benigna preces audi* (f. 2v); *Salve rosa venustatis*, a three-voice conductus with caudae at beginning and end (f. 1v); a fragment of the three-voice conductus-rondellus *Salve mater misericordie* (ff. 1-1v); two complete two-voice conducti, *Beate virginis fecundat viscera* (ff. 3-3v) and *Ista dies celebrari promentur* (ff. 3v-4v), and the two-voice conductus fragment *Virga Iesse regio flore* (f. 4v).[85] The dominance of Marian imagery as well as

[84] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th Century*, 578-79; Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 27-28, 60-61, 100-09; Peter M. Lefferts, "Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions," School of Music (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012).

[85] All are edited in Ernest H. Sanders, ed. *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, vol. 14, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979); Gordon Athol Anderson, "Notre-Dame and Related Conductus," (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1979).

the style of the music suggests that even before the Reformation, these works would have been considered old-fashioned.

O laudanda virginitas follows the standard conductus-rondellus structure in that each of its two sections are book-ended by a rhythmically active cauda, creating a aBaCa structure:

cauda → conductus → *cauda* → rondellus → *cauda*

The conductus section is through-composed and roughly homophonous in texture while the rondellus is an imitative canon. The repetition central to the rondellus structure can prove an illustrative musicotextual gesture, as it does here. *O laudanda virginitas* is broadly-speaking preoccupied with the corporeal aspects of martyrdom; the incipit foregrounds Katherine's virginity, and the next phrase emphasizes that it is a virginity born of physical abstemiousness:

> O laudanda virginitas
> eras sexualis conditio
> dum Katerine castitas
> decertat in martyrio
>
> [O praiseworthy virginity, / Youth and the condition of womanhood!/ For Katherine's chastity / Strives even unto martyrdom.]

Indeed, it is almost as if it is the very physical state of virginity and not Katherine herself that is being praised in the first two lines. Katherine appears only in line three, rather as if the author has suddenly remembered that she is the pretext for the lyric. The stanza finishes by describing the astonishment of the executioner as Katherine's wounds flow with milk rather than blood. The sense of liquid flowing is carried forward by the *cauda* that concludes the *conductus*.

The *rondellus* section begins with a time jump; from Katherine's death, her body has disappeared and reappeared at Mount Sinai, where an oil with healing powers seeps from her bones. The oil here seems to gush forth, rather than seep, conveyed inexorably forward by the

movement of the *rondellus*, its motion itself reminiscent of the emblematic Katherine wheel. The closing *cauda* brings the oil at last to a halt—perhaps, symbolically, into a receptacle, such as the phial in which Edward the Confessor was said to have brought the relic to Westminster, in the ancestral sense, or, in the embodied sense, into the ears of the listener, whose soul could be repaired not only by grasping Katherine's *Passio* but also by emulating her striving towards martyrdom (*decertat in martyro*, line 4).

5. The Fountains Abbey Fragments (Lbl 40011B, strips 1-8)

5a. Rota versatilis

At least two works for St. Katherine of Alexandria survive in Lbl 40011 B "Fountains Abbey Fragments". These include *Rota versatilis*, portions of which have also been identified by Bent in Lbl Add 24198, Lbl Add 4909, and Bodley 652. The latter work has been reconstructed in part by Bent, who notes that, despite its name, *Rota versatilis* is itself not a rota in form; rather, it is a four-voice rondellus.[86] The upper two voices carry the primary melodic material, which they exchange between them. The two lower tenors, separated by the range of approximately a fifth, state and repeat their own melody, which Bent describes as "freely-composed," five times, creating a corresponding five distinct sections within the work.[87]

Rota versatilis is suffused musically, lyrically, and materially with the chief emblem of St. Katherine: the spiked wheel upon which she was to be tortured, had God's angels not intervened. The wheel makes its immediate appearance in the material aspects of the manuscript, codicological and paleographical. Bent suggests that at least one of the source manuscripts was a

[86] Bent, "Rota Versatilis—toward a Reconstruction."

[87] Ibid., 65.

parchment roll or "rotulus". The notation itself is pervaded by the use of small circles, none of which, Bent claims, refer to a change in mensuration from *tempus imperfectum* to *tempus perfectum*. Instead, Bent finds three alternative uses for the circular marks in the manuscript: the first, a cut-circle, was used to indicate repetitions in the tenor not entered by the first scribe; the second, a circle within or dot above the staff, indicates a change in mode; and the third, where necessary, indicates the repeated material and section breaks in the tenors, discussed above.[88] The melodic material also operates in "round" fashion. The upper two voices, for example, trade material, creating the effect of a canonic *rota* without needing to adhere its strict constraints.[89] Bent claims that the shifts in mode and rhythm give the impression of a "demonstration piece or a didactic essay," a view furthered by Robertus de Handlo's use of a snippet of *Rota versatilis* in his 1326 treatise, *Regule*.[90]

It is in the text of *Rota versatilis* that the emblem of the wheel makes itself felt most strongly. Each stanza has four lines of text, varying from eleven to fifteen syllables in length. These are divided roughly in half by means of a caesura, corresponding to the internal rhyme scheme.

[88] Ibid., 79.

[89] Ibid., 80.

[90] Ibid., 83. Handlo's treatise is ed. and trans. together with Hanboys' *Summa* by Peter M. Lefferts (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

Table 3.3: Text, translation, and structure of *Rota versatilis.* [91]

Section I	Rota versatilis // rubens versucia… [remainder lost]	The revolving wheel, reddening with wiliness…
Section II	Orbis dominacio // vertitur in rota eius et elatio // quasi gleba vota virginis oratio // potenti devota rotam vertit odio // que se perit tota.	The lordship of the world is being turned on a wheel, and its final disposal is just as a votive clod of earth. The holy prayer of the virgin turns [her] wheel with powerful malevolence, and it disintegrates totally.
Section III	Rota Katerine // fit sevissima rota mundi bine // fraudis pessima clause patent fine // sub nequissima verse sunt ruine // vi potissima.	The wheel of Katherine is made most cruel, a most evil wheel of a world of twofold deceit. Enclosed [organs] lie open under a most vile death; 'the ruins have been overturned' with most remarkable force.
Section IV	Katerina spe divina // tormentum divcerat ut certantes disputantes // sola iam concluserat in ardore flatus rore // clericos consulerat et amore suo more // christo laudes solverat.	[Fortified by divine hope, Katherine had vanquished her torture, just as—alone—she had already confounded the disputants contenting [against her]. In the burning heat the breeze had comforted the clerks with dew, and in its fashion, had rendered praises to Christ with love.
Section V	Virgo perduxerat // reginam et porphirium quibus promiserat // perhennis vite gaudium postquam oraverat // seve subit martyrium lac emanaverat // virgo poscit palacium.	The virgin had converted the queen and Porphyrium *[sic],* to whom she had promised the joy of eternal life. After she had prayed, she undergoes savage martyrdom. Milk [had] flowed forth. The virgin demands [admission to] the palace [of heaven].

[91] Translation by Roger Bowers. Aside from line 17, the brackets that appears here are his. Cited in ibid., 86-87.

The emblem of the wheel, rather than the person or even body of the saint, is at the forefront of each section. This arrangement gives the impression that the entire piece takes place in the final episode of Katherine's vita, and reflects the period in which the text was composed. Early medieval lives of St. Katherine tend to focus on the violence suffered by the virgin martyr, emphasizing Katherine's Passion as a type of *imitatio Christi*.[92] The marriage and parliament themes, which humanize and Anglicize Katherine, do not emerge until the late-fourteenth century.[93]

Bent argues that the thematic similarity between *Rota versatilis* and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (1326) suggest a composition date for the rondellus of the late thirteenth century. There is no reason to disagree on musical grounds; however, the *Legenda,* although immensely popular in its time, is by no means an original work. In order to write his opus, Jacobus drew on earlier legends compiled or composed by fellow Dominicans Jean de Mailly and Bartholomew of Trent.[94] As such, comparison with the *Legenda aurea* is an insufficient means by which to establish a date. Indeed, the amount of dialogue Jacobus assigns St. Katherine would rather discourage any alignment between the two works.[95] Jacobus' vita is dense, lively, and eventful and his Katherine is more than capable of speech. The Katherine of *Rota versatilis* is silent; it is only the wheel whose voice is heard. Perhaps a more fruitful comparison could be found in the vita found in the so-called Katherine Group (MS Bodley 34).

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[92] Karen A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 3, 12-17.

[93] Kurvinen, "Life of St. Catharine of Alexandria," 195-207.

[94] Eamon Duffy, Introduction to Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), xi.

[95] Ibid., 720-27.

This manuscript was written nearly one hundred years before Jacobus and contains only the martyrdom of the saint, omitting the early years of Katherine's life prior to her conversion. The Katherine Group was intended for study by anchoresses rather than laypeople, who would have had cause to meditate on the manner and meaning of Katherine's death.[96]

5b. Flos regalis triumphalis

The second identifiable work in Lbl 40011B begins *Flos regalis triumphalis*; it is unclear to me on at this juncture what basis the fragments have been identified with *Flos regalis Katherina/ Maxentius rex prospere*. Whereas *Rota versatilis* is totally preoccupied with the emblem of the wheel, the author of *Flos regalis Katherina* appears to have been more interested in the other thematic elements of the saint's vita. Consider, for example, the image of the healing oil said to seep from Katherine's bones. The poet also took care to acknowledge Katherine's accomplishments as an intellectual, describing her as "magistra doctorum".

A motet found in the Fountains Fragments (Lbl 40011B), this piece has been in my view incorrectly identified with a similar work in Torino J.II.9, *Flos regalis Katerina/ Maxentius rex prospere*. Compare the surviving text from Lbl 400011B with the triplum of the Torino motet:

[96] See Emily Rebekah Hubert and Elizabeth Robertson, "Introduction to the Katherine Group, MS Bodley 34," *Teams Middle English Texts Series* <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/huber-robertson-the-katherine-group-introduction> Accessed 6 May 2016.

Table 3.4: Fountains Katherine motet text compared with Torino motet text

Lbl 40011B	Torino J.II.9
Flos regalis triumphalis	Flos regalis Katerina
honorum catholicorum	Celi vernans officina
cum mortis in hora	Virginalis yerarchie
magistra doctorum	Arcem tenet post Marie
pro nobis implora	Decus virgo virginum
puella decora	Rosa, martir, purpurea
rege …	Violaque virginea
[remainder lost]	Doctris gaudet aureola
	Tripla pausans areola
	Regionis luminum
	Artium dyaletice
	Rethorice philisce
	Varia per argutia
	Precluditur astucia
	Vanis oratoribus
	Transmitti per martirium
	Hos Christoque Porphyrium
	Reginam cum quiritibus
	Celi fruamur sedibus
	His intercessoribus.

Aside from the obvious similarities in the incipits, and the common theme of Katherine's passio, there is little to connect these two works. Even the rhyme scheme cannot be compared. *Flos regalis Katerina* falls easily into four five-line stanzas with a rhyme scheme aabbc aaaac bbaad ccddd and lines of 8-8-8-7 syllables in length. Indeed, the duplum follows the same schema, indicating that these voices were likely composed together, if not by the same poet. *Flos regalis triumphalis*, on teh other hand, is not so neatly arrayed. Granted, the text and music are largely destroyed; the Fountains Fragments are in fact only eight strips of parchment recovered from the binding of a fifteenth-century treatise written by a Thomas Swynton of Fountains Abbey, each comprising no more than an individual staff, some of which are rather clumsily

trimmed.[97] While the Torino motet and the Fountains piece may have moments of musical concordance, they cannot be ruled the same work on such fragmentary and disparate textual evidence.

6. Virgo sancta Katerina/ De spineto rosa crescit / T. Agmina

Virgo sancta Katerina/ De spineto rosa crescit/ Agmina is a three-voice motet found in *Onc 362*. The triplum uses the text from the Matins antiphon for the Office of St. Katherine, while the motetus text treats the legend of Katherine more vividly, opening with the image of a rose being plucked from a thorn bush. The image of a rose emerging from a brier was common in virgin martyr hagiographies because it represents the birth of a Christian from pagan parents.[98] It also resonates, however, with the troubadour practice of opening a song by comparing one's lady to a flower, which in the case of Marian lyrics, as Rothenberg and Sylvia Huot observe, blurs the line between sacred and secular.[99] As explored above, the idea that sacred and secular might not be as binary a distinction as once thought has recently taken hold among art historians, and has interesting implications for future musicological scholarship. In the case of these Marian and Katherinean lyrics, the idea of sacred and secular having some overlap would allow for some paraliturgical pieces to be read as deliberately manipulating the sacred to serve the secular—and perhaps vice versa.

This motet shares a tenor with other motets for Saint Katherine, including the thirteenth-century motet *De la vierge/ Quant froidure/ Agmina milicie/ T. Agmina*. Everist describes this

[97] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th Century*, 14-15; Bent, *The Fountains Fragments*.

[98] Capgrave, "The Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria," 26.

[99] Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 1-19; Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 85.

motet as "strictly hagiographical"; however, it is a peculiar sort of hagiography in that the texts mix references to St. Katherine with allusions to the BVM. The motet employs a fragment of chant from the end of the Marian alleluia *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis* as its tenor.[100] Most of the other double motets that rely on this tenor are paired with *Agmina milicie* as their duplum. Many of these, like *De la vierge*, also integrate emblems of Saint Katherine, such as the wheel, with imagery used to depict other virgin martyrs. *De la vierge* appears to be the only work among the Agmina motets that is polylingual; however, it is not the only motet among these works to be marked with traces of cultural exchange between insular and continental sources.[101]

Virgo sancta Katerina has the distinction of mentioning not one but two nations: the first is of course Greece; the opening stanza paraphrases the plainchant antiphon *Virgo sancta Katerina*, which continues with the text "*Grecie gemma, urbe Alexandria Costi regis erat filia*."[102] The question of nationality resurges again in lines 15-16, which refer to the "*Galliarum artis*"—here, the "French art" of debate and speaking well, a tradition for which the poet credits Katherine with founding by defeating the Persian rhetoricians. The reference to France also appears in the duplum, which refers to "the salvation of France" (*saluteque Gallie*). Could this motet perhaps be an example of Katherine of Alexandria as an analogue for an English queen who never truly renounced her French nationality, such as Isabella of Valois?

[100] Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 135.

[101] Ibid.

[102] "The holy virgin Katherine, jewel of Greece, was the daughter of Costus, king of the city of Alexandria."

7. Pura placens pulchra/ Profundement plure Absolon/ T. Concupisco

Few of the motets, cantilenae, and conductus discussed above contain texts that mix metaphors, allegories, or literary references, but those that do, do so intentionally. For example, in *Pura placens pulchra/ Profundement plure Absolon/ T. Concupisco*, a bilingual, three-voice motet of the late fourteenth century, Mary is venerated in the Latin triplum, while the French motetus compares an unnamed lady's virtues to those of Helen, from Greek mythology (beauty), the Old Testament heroine Esther (faith), and St. Katherine (wisdom).[103] As Peter Lefferts observed, the text of this motetus bears a strong resemblance to the lyrical style of so-called courtly love poetry, which calls into question its status as purely sacred, let alone liturgical.[104] It would be possible to read the motetus, at the very least, as a secular poem that was co-opted for sacred use, as argued by Rothenberg in the case of purely Marian motets. In some cases, however, queen-consorts and other royal women were placed either explicitly or implicitly in relationship to female saints in devotional artworks that served the dual function of venerating the Brides of Christ and venerating the wife of the King. Through textual and musical emphasis, the characteristics desired of an ideal queen were reflected to an earthly princess who was expected to emulate them.[105]

On the basis of the inclusion of two motets with texts venerating St. Edward the Confessor, Harrison concluded the manuscript belonged to Bury St. Edmond's; however, given the close association between the English royal family and the saint, it is also possible that it

[103] The description of this "Helen" as preoccupied with her appearance is unlikely to refer to the Welsh St. Helen, Katherine's apocryphal ancestor.

[104] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century," 387.

[105] For example, Philippa of Hainault and her daughters were depicted opposite from Edward III and their sons and beneath scenes from the birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi in wall paintings at the chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, renovated during the 1330s.

belonged to a mid-fourteenth-century chapel royal. Harrison dated *Ob mus e. 7* to ca. 1340, at which point Isabella was already the Queen Dowager.[106] As discussed above in Chapter 2, however, Philippa of Hainault was a model consort, as well as a Francophone. In addition, despite the problem posed by primogeniture, Isabella was reluctant to waive her son Edward II's claim to the French throne. With this context in mind, it possible to read *Pura placens pulchra* as yet another example of ritual embassy intended for of England's many Francophone queens.[107]

8. [Virgo sancta Katerina]/ Virginalis concio/ [T. Virgo sancta Katerina]/ Contratenor de virgo sancta Katerina

Found in the manuscript Durham Cathedral C.I.20, *Virginalis concio* is one of the few works in this chapter to derive from an unequivocally monastic source. The manuscript is a large miscellany of some 340 folios, the majority of which comprise Huguitio's *Summa super derivationibus* and Isidore's *Etymologies*. The music is preserved on eight flyleaves, four at the beginning and four at the end, in which survive eighteen individual works of polyphonic music. Of these, five appear to be French in origin, three of which may be the work of Philippe de Vitry. The quality of the flyleaves hints at an alternative source for this music, however, and the incipit of a motet *Musicorum collegio in curia / In templo Dei posita / T. Avete* (ff. 338v-339r) is, to my mind, suggestive of a courtly context, whether ecclesiastical or royal, it remains to be seen.

Virginalis concio preserves only two of a hypothetical four original voices, the duplum and an untexted contratenor likely written below the tenor. Based on the manuscript's description

[106] Harrison, "Ars Nova in England: A New Source," 75.

[107] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*.

of the contratenor in relation to St. Katherine, the respond *Virgo sancta Katerina* was proposed by Lefferts as a potential tenor melody. The motet was panisorhythmic, with a bipartite structure augmented by an introductory section and coda.[108] The duplum offers an intriguing paratext: it comprises a lone concordance for the text of the Old Hall motet *En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ T. Sponsus amat sponsam*, although the melodies are not the same. Since it survives in no other manuscripts, *Virginalis concio* was likely a newly-composed text at the time of this earlier motet's composition. Either additional pieces setting this text are now lost, or Byttering must have known this motet, in some form.

This is not necessarily evidence that the Durham manuscript originated in a different location. Nor does this concordance disprove the established provenance of *Drc 20*. Durham Cathedral was a major center of sacred cultural production, particularly polyphony. As Colton observes, Durham's monastic affiliations are not a reason to dispense with the Katherine motet as an exemplary work. Although *Virginalis concio* focuses on the virginity of a female saint, this does not mean that this version of Katherine was intended as a purely feminine exemplar.[109] Virgin martyrs—male or female—were often presented to monastic communities as emblems of chastity, so Katheriene's gender need not be understood as restrictive in this case. Like *O laudanda virginitas*, *Virginalis concio* foregrounds the issue of virgins, here suggesting that a "throng of virgins" is assembled to worship Katherine and praise her "constancy" (*constancia)*. This opening salutation strongly suggests the cloister as a context for the duplum text, if not this particular motet as a whole. It is possible that the *Virginalis concio/ T. Virgo flagellatur* complex

[108] Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century," 251-52.

[109] Colton, "Music and Sanctity in England," 209.

supported more than one three- or four-voice composition. It is to just one such composition that we now turn.

The Old Hall Manuscript

The Old Hall Manuscript (Lbl Add MS 57950; hereafter OH) is so-called after the location of its first archive at St. Edmund's College in Hertfordshire, where it was donated in 1839 by E. W. Tordiffe.[110] OH is considered a central artifact of the history of English music for three reasons. First, the manuscript is attractive, ornamented with major initials decorated with gold leaf, foliate penwork and flourishing in a variety of colors. Some of these have sadly been excised. The pages are clean and mostly unmarked and the notation legible and unambiguous. Second, and more significant, Old Hall is one of the only complete codices of English music, aside from the Winchester Troper, to survive the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Finally, the manuscript represents the earliest instance in an insular source of a large repertory of musical pieces with named, identifiable composers: these include Leonel Power, Pycard, Typp, Byttering, and Dunstaple, among others.[111]

Intriguingly, the manuscript also includes two works by a "Roy Henry", initally believed to be Henry VI or IV, but now understood to be the work of a young Henry V.[112] The manuscript's modern value is attested by the degree of protection afforded by the British Library,

[110] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th Century*, 675.

[111] On Lbl Add MS 57950, see Bent, "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript."; W. Barclay Squire, "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Sammelbäde der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 2, no. 4 (1901); Bent, "Sources of the Old Hall Music."; A. Ramsbotham, H. B. Collins, and Anselm Hughes, *The Old Hall Manuscript*, 3 vols. (Burnham, UK: The Plainsong & mediæval music society, 1933); A Ramsbotham et al., "The Old Hall Manuscript,," (Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Bucks.: Plainsong & mediæval music Society, 1933); Hughes and Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript*; "The Old Hall Manuscript," *Musica disciplina* 21 (1967); Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript."

[112] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*.

which acquired it in a private sale in 1973. Researchers wishing to view the manuscript must specify the specific folio they wish to view and the rationale for doing so, down to the notehead.

Of undeniable importance to the history of English music, Old Hall has deservedly been the subject of much excellent scholarship, primarily focused on its ownership and the identies of the composers within the manuscript. It is now associated with Henry V's brother, Thomas Duke of Clarence, and is presumed to have passed to Henry after Thomas' death in 1421. This association was made by Bowers, who identified Leonel Power as one of the musicians belonging to Thomas' chapel.[113] Changes in the layout between score format and choirbook format have obscured the history of the manuscript, while also suggesting that two different groups of scribes and musicians were involved in creating the codex. It is now gernerally accepted that following the death of the the Duke of Clarence death, the remaining members of his chapel—together with the new members of Henry V's chapel, between which there may have been overlap—made their own additions to the repertoire, creating what is now known as the second of the two layers of the manuscript. Bent suggested that 121 folios were planned for the first layer, of which 98 survive. An additional sixteen folios were later inserted, making the intended total 137 folia. Of these, fourteen survive, leaving today a total of 112 folia. Bent reconstructed the manuscript, arranging it into seventeen gatherings of eight fascicles. Old Hall is roughly organized by genre, beginning with mass movements (*Gloria, Credo, Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*) and concluding with isorhythmic motets and two Deo gratias substitutes. In between the mass movements are interpolated antiphons and sequences, these errors in layout owing to blank staves having been filled in later with new compositions.

[113] Roger Bowers, "Some Observations on the Life and Career of Lionel Power," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 102 (1975).

The second layer contains a single motet for Katherine, Byttering's *En Katerine solennia / Virginalis contio / Sponsus amat sponsam*. *En Katerina solennia* is a three-voice motet of the type usually called "isorhythmic".[114] We know almost nothing about Byttering—even his first name is in question. He may be the same Thomas Byteryng who was a canon at Hastings Castle from 1405-1408 and a rector in London in1414, but the identification remains unconfirmed.[115] Given his presence in OH, however, we do know that he was most likely a member of prototypical Chapel Royal of Henry V. No other works by Byttering were copied in OH. He is also unique in that he is one of the few composers to have supplied a paraliturgical work; out of 147 pieces, just twenty-six are motets. Moreover, Byttering's motet is one only three pieces in OH to honor a saint aside from the BVM. The only other saint addressed is George, patron saint of England, and likely personal patron saint of Henry V, which places Katherine alongside Anglicized saints and signals a royal and nationalist rationale for her inclusion.

Table 3.5: Contents of Old Hall by genre[116]

Genre/Honoree	Number
Gloria	**35**
Credo	**35**
Sanctus	**24**
Agnus Dei	**19**
Deo gratias substitute	**2**
BVM	**22**
St. George	**2**
St. Katherine of Alexandria	**1**

[114] Despite the recent resurgence of scholarship questioning the nature of the term "isorhythm," first coined by Ludwig, for the purposes of this chapter, I will leave the merits of the term aside and simply use it as shorthand to refer to a motet that has a tenor which repeats and manipulates musical material borrowed from another source. On this point, see Margaret Bent, "What is Isorhythm?" (2008), Anna Zayaruznaya, "What is a *talea*?" Paper presented at AMS Pittsburgh, November 2013; an up-to-date summary may be found in Zayaruznaya, "The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet", 3-5.

[115] Margaret Bent, "Byttering," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,* (Oxford University Press).

[116] Hughes and Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," 136,47.

Although the specifics—location, date, and place within the festivities—of the original performance of this piece remains obscure, I contend that *En Katerine solennia* was commissioned specifically for one (or possibly both) of two events, where it was at the very least performed: either (1) Katherine of Valois and Henry V's 1420 nuptials in Troyes, or (2) the procession and pageantry that accompanied the new queen's entry into London. Based on the Anglicization that took place over the preceding two centuries, and operating in conjunction with the anglicizing gestures of Katherine of Valois' coronation, I conclude that the most likely occasion for this work was as a ritual embassy during Katherine's coronation.

En Katerine solennia/Virginalis concio/T. Sponsus amat sponsam

A sense of forward motion is provided by diminution in the entire piece. The three sections are audibly separated by changes in prolation: the tenor is stated three times, each with two taleae, in the diminution 1: 2/3:1/3. The increased speed in the tenor—first by 1/3, then by 2x—echoes the sensation of the razored wheel spinning faster and faster. Because the isorhythm occurs in all three voices, the beginnings and endings of each section coincide, leaving the composer room to play with intertextual resonance. For example, the opening of the third section juxtaposes the triplum and duplum texts both of which directly address the saint (or queen) by name: "O Katerina." A similarly neat juxtaposition also occurs bewtween the upper voices at perfections 49-53. Here the words "feri carnitas rotarum machinamina" (whose body [did not fear] the cruel rotating machine) in the triplum are juxtaposed with a reference to Jesus ("Dei Filio") in the duplum, preceding and ending after the triplum's phrase (perfections 48-54). This

could be understood as reference to Jesus' intervention in Katherine's torture—the seemingly-inexorable turn of the razored wheel is effectively halted by God's response to Katherine's prayer.

The image of the dove reflects the thick imagery described in the Great Chronicle at the coronation feast. Could *En Katerina solennia* have been a newly-composed text designed to complement the pageantry-in-food? Paired with existing Katherine texts, carefully chosen to emphasize those aspects of and events within the saint's life that reflected the virtues and experiences of the bride, this motet would have made a splendid statement of devotion and Englishness at Katherine's coronation feast.

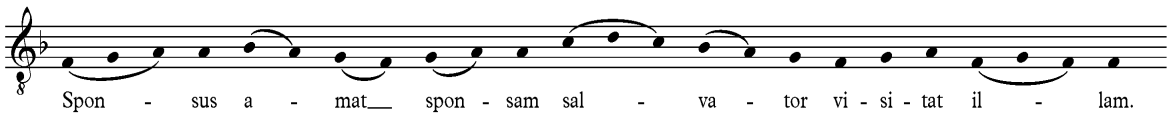
The tenor of *En Katerine solennia* is drawn from the respond *Virgo flagellatur*, discussed above as both a respond for the matins office of St. Katherine as well as a processional—a fitting choice for an occasional motet. Tellingly, the section chosen by Byttering is not the incipit of the plainchant; rather, he begins with the versus, whose text "Sponsus amat sponsam" (the husband loves the wife) refers to the sacred marriage between St. Katherine of Alexandria and Jesus Christ. As discussed above, said marriage, invented in the later middle ages, took place as both a consequence of and reward for Katherine's martyrdom. A simple conclusion would be to take this choice of tenor at surface level, and to conclude that *En Katerine solennia* operates as a hymn for St. Katherine of Alexandria and nothing more. An intertextual perspective, however, interrogates this tenor in the context of external evidence, revealing a double meaning for its selection. The Anglo-Norman verse vita includes what appears to be the first example of this chant integrated into a literary text: "Sponsus amat sponsam" is sung by angels following the marriage of Katherine and Christ.[117] This gesture is later repeated in the Capgrave *Life*. After

[117] Kurvinen, "Life of St. Catharine of Alexandria," 195.

Katherine temporarily ascends to heaven for her mystical marriage to Christ, and the groom sets a symbolic chalcedon ring on Katherine's finger, the sound of music is heard:

> Then a wonderful song resounded throughout heaven, the most splendid notes that anyone might hear, accompanied by the most fitting ad devout words. The song they sang, if you'd like to know, was this same *sponsus amat sponsam* that begins, 'Salvator visitat illam.' It seems appropriate that this song was first sung by angels and saints in heavenly bliss.[118]

That *Sponsus amat sponsam* was known both before and after the construction of Old Hall as a chant associated with Katherine's mystic marriage indicates that its choice was no accident. Biterying might have selected the beginning of *Virgo flagellatur* or the more common *Virgo sancta Katerina* as his tenor melody, but it is clear that he intended to evoke a marital paratext.

Musical example 3.2: Versus of respond Virgo flagellatur

Other uses of the versus *Sponsus amat sponsam* as a chant tenor are difficult to locate.; however, there is one particularly notable exception in Robert Fayrfax's fifteenth-century Missa *Sponsus amat sponsam*. Like *En Katerine solennia*, Fayrfax's mass on this *cantus firmus* may have been commissioned for a royal wedding. Hughes and Edwin Warren agreed that this mass was most likely written for the wedding of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon in 1510.[119] It is also possible, however, that Missa *Sponsus amat sponsam* was intended for the 1503 wedding of

[118] Capgrave, "The Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria," 93-94.

[119] Anselm Hughes, "An Introduction to Fayrfax," *Musica Disciplina* 6, no. 1/3 (1952); Edwin B. Warren, "The Masses of Robert Fayrfax," ibid.12 (1958).

Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur, Henry's older brother, who, as Katherine later claimed, had died before the marriage was consummated.[120]

As Hughes and Warren observed, the choice of "Sponsus amat sponsam" as the basis of the mass is telling—indeed, unlike *En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ T. Sponsus amat sponsam*, Warren and Hughes' argument for the meaningful usage of a *cantus firmus* in the context of a mass has brooked no argument (that I am aware of). While the *cantus firmus* is suggestive on its own, coupled with the name of the bride and the new evidence outlined above confirming the purpose of *En Katerine solennia*, the choice of this tenor as the source of this new work cannot be a coincidence. Given Fayrfax's known relationship to the royal family—of which more in Chapter 4—it is almost certain that the extent of their patronage of this particular composer reaches far beyond the conclusions musicologists have reached.

Text, Subtext, Intertext, Paratext

The triplum and motetus of the motet *En Katerine solennia* each set a different devotional text for St. Katherine of Alexandria: in the duplum, *Virginalis concio* (concordance in DRo 20 no. 10), and in the triplum, the seemingly-newly composed text *En Katerine solennia*. In the upper voices, the polytextual nature of the motet allows the aforementioned complementary hymns for Katherine/Katherine be sung simultaneously, amplifying the praise therein, all the better to reach the saint's—and the queen's—attention. As Sylvia Huot has demonstrated in vernacular motets with more than one text, the lyrics of each voice often have a complex

[120] Robert Fayrfax, *Regali, Albanus and Sponsus Amat Sponsam*, Early English Church Music (London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer and Bell, 2010).

relationship of interdependence. The same potentially holds true, I think, of sacred Latin motets such as this. As Huot explains, interpreting a motet with multiple texts relies on

> the reader's recognition of a relationship between overt and covert patterns of signification: between the "foregrounded" language and imagery the text presents and the "background" text or context that prompts a reevaluation of the textual surface.[121]

Interpreting paratextual references, Huot argues, requires a "leap of faith," a suspension of disbelief. If we take this leap of faith, then Byttering's piece at once praises the new queen and her name saint; implying not only their close association, but also making it plain that, for the purposes of public image at least, the daughter of the French King possessed the same attributes of chastity, faith, and good breeding as the ancient Greek princess.

Text, structure, and historiation in the triplum

As noted above, the motet is divided into three sections, corresponding not only to the isorhythmic tenor but also to the poetic form of the triplum. In spite of the increasing diminution in the tenor, each section of the triplum provides a sense of coherence with the whole. The tonal plan affirms the mode, each begining and cadencing on F, with medial transitions to A.

Table 3.6: Tonal plan of *En Katerine solennia*

Section	**Measure**			
I	**mm. 1**	**26**	**28**	**53**

[121] Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 11.

I	F	A	b-g-A	F
II	**55**	**65**	**66**	**76**
II	F	A	A	F
III	**77**	**81**	**82**	**87**
III	F	A	A	F

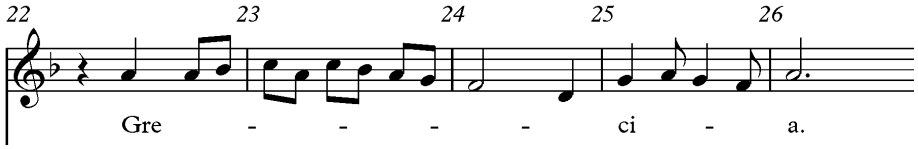
Additionally, the three sections are divided into sections in *ouvert-clos* or antecedent-consequent pairs; each melodic idea begins with a rising third and ends in the opposite way, with a complementary falling third.

Table 3.7: *Ouvert-clos* musemes in the triplum of *En Katerine solennia*

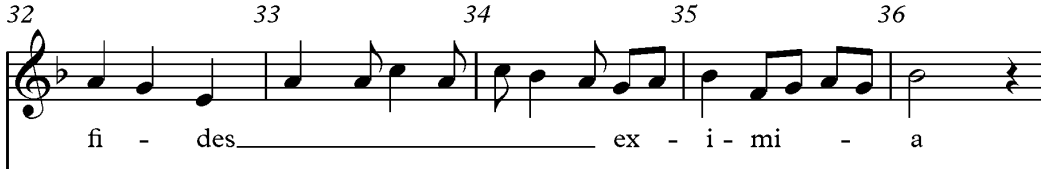
Section	Rising 3rds	Falling 3rds
I	mm. 1	28
II	53	66
III	77 (interrupted by passing tone)	82

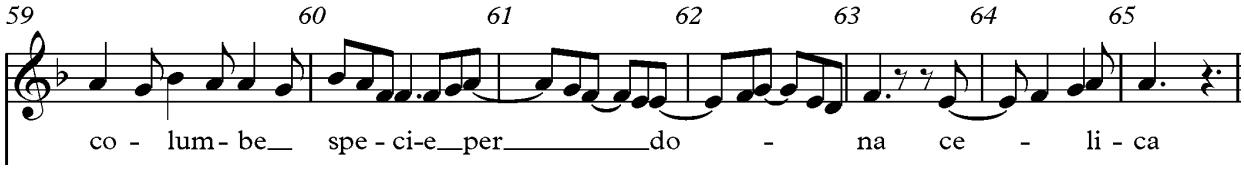
The composer has highlighted each of the motet's three sections with a special musical idea also designed to illuminate or decorate significant words from the uppermost voice. This practice, a form of proto-wordpainting, is analogous to historiated initials: each "historiated melody" tells a small piece of the story. Each musical illustration in *En Katerine solennia* is designed to draw the listener's attention back to the story of the saint, and, in the context of a

performance in the queen's presence, to invite the audience to admire her purity, grace, and lineage.

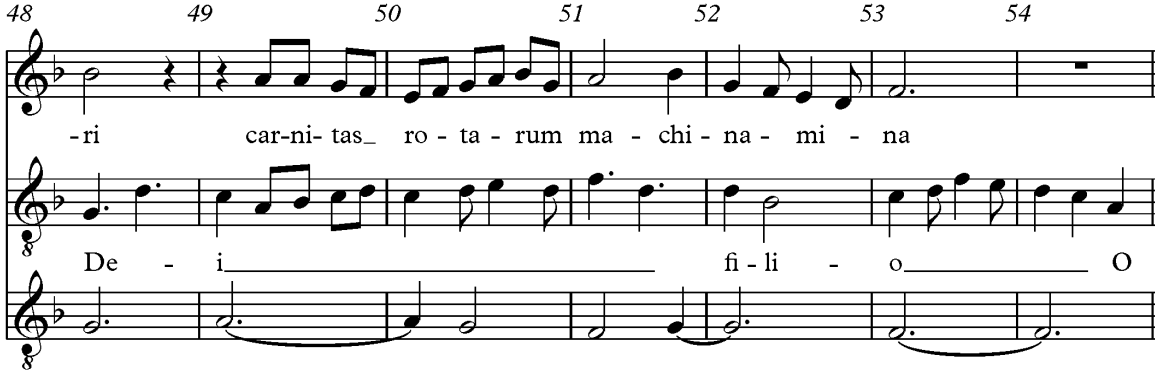
Musical example 3.3: En Katerine solennia, mm. 22-26, triplum only

"Graecia" (Greece) is highlighted by a long melisma of five perfections, in the edition, mm. 22-26. In the context of Katherine of Valois' coronation, her heritage becomes conflated with that of her name saint, allowing Biblical Greece to act as an allegory for medieval France. The reference to "Greece" in the triplum text could therefore be interpreted as a celebration of England's recent conquest on the Continent, or, darkly, to England's mythical association with Troy, Greece's ancient enemy.

Katherine's exemplary faith is illustrated by yet another melisma in mm. 32-34 ("fides"), with the melodic idea continuing into mm. 35-36 along with the modifying adjective "eximia" ("extraordinary").

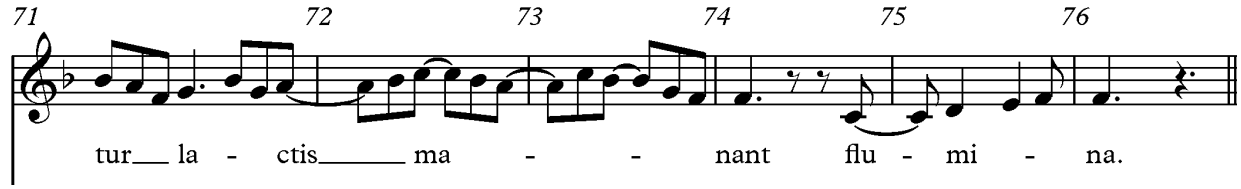
Musical example 3.4: *En Katerine solennia,* mm. 32-36, triplum only

In the second section, a melisma highlights the words "specie per dona," literally "the gifts of heaven." Within the legend, however, the gifts sent from above to Katherine in her sent are the nourishment sent from God and carried by a dove, also an emblem of the Holy Ghost.

Musical example 3.5: En Katerine solennia, mm. 59-65, triplum only

This image is particularly significant if the intended performance location was Katherine's coronation feast. In combination with the visual devices of the soteltes and the queen her self, the motet's reference to divine norusihment would have provided a multisensory experience of the Katherine legend.

In the second section, the words “carnitas rotarum machinamina”—the Wheel itself upon which Katherine was martyred—are illustrated with a melisma that falls from A to E, rises to B, and then turns back on itself, rotating like a wheel to arrive on F, the final of the mode.

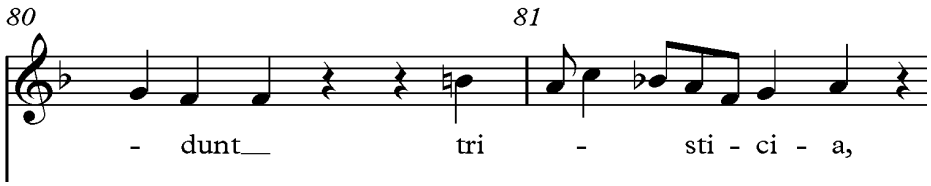
Musical example 3.6: *En Katerine solennia*, mm. 49-54, all voices

At the end of the third section, the milk that seeps from Katherine’s wounds (“lactis manant flumina”) is set to a melisma that wavers between three notes, almost as if the music itself was trickling from the vein.

Musical example 3.7: En Katerina solennia, mm. 71-76, triplum only



Finally, in the fourth section, a lone accidental appears—the only one written in the motet manuscript—which per a close examination of the manuscript indicates is original. This accidental is a sharp on the first syllable of the word "tristicia" ("injuries"), which refers to Katherine's injuries at the hands of her torturers. The sharp is immediately preceded by a melisma illustrating the word "ledunt" ("grievous"). To literally interpret the sharp would be to argue that it represents the spikes on the emblematic Katherine wheel referred to in the previous stanza ("mortis jacula"/"the spikes of death"); however, the legend suggests instead that the most "grievous" of Katherine's injuries was not physical, but rather the pain of being unable to convert Maxentius.

Musical example 3.8: En Katerine solennia, mm. 80-81, triplum only



The level of attention to detail demonstrated by the cooperation between words and music in the triplum suggests it may have been newly composed, perhaps for a specific occasion such as the above-discussed coronation of Katherine of Valois.

The musical iconography of *En Katerine solennia* may also be read as a musical version of what Lewis describes as "an instrument of social control."[122] Regardless of her private tendencies, the Queen's public person was required to possess the same virtues as those Saint Katherine possessed. As Lewis argues, the role of exemplary literature such as virgin martyr hagiographies was often regulatory. Such literature reinforced social hierarchies including hegemonic masculinity, regulated women's conduct, and provided exempla of piety for laywomen and religious women alike.[123] And as Catherine Sanok notes, "exemplarity is, on the surface, a regulatory fiction: saints' lives present idealized feminine behavior and encourage female audiences to adopt it."[124] In other words, *En Katerine solennia* could be read not only as a celebration of England's newest queen and an explicit assimilation of her into English culture and society, but also as a reminder to Katherine that she was not allowed to stray beyond the confines of gender norms.

In light of the lengthy tradition of Katherine worship explored in the previous section, *En Katerine solennia* represents an apotheostatic commingling of the various ways in which Katherine was worshipped in music. While the sheer volume of Katherine pieces is a testament to the importance of her cultus in medieval English devotional culture, because of the Katherine imagery at the coronation at Katherine of Valois' coronation, the significance of this motet's place in the Old Hall manuscript cannot be ignored. Although Hughes and Bent translated the incipit of the triplum as "Behold the services on the Feast of St. Catherine," the term "solennia"

[122] Lewis, *Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, 6.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Sanok, *Her Life Historical*.

(solemnities) need not refer to a solely *religious* feast.[125] As demonstrated in Chapter 1, a medieval wedding—particular one with the weight and significance of two nations joining together—was not only an occasion for paraliturgical celebration but also one for religious solemnities. Like *Ex te lux oritur* and *Singularis laudis digna* before it, this motet was devised as a ritual embassy—but it is not an embassy between nations. Rather, *En Katerine solennia* serves as embassy from a royal husband to his bride, on behalf of himself and his subjects. Much as the feast in honor of Katherine of Valois' coronation was redolent with imagery of Henry and Katherine's houses, so is *En Katerine solennia* suffused with traces of spiritual heraldry.

A Question of Necessity: The Old Hall MS and Musicological Scholarship

Why has the coronation feast of Katherine of Valois been overlooked as a possible occasion for the performance of *En Katerine solennia*? I suspect this oversight is due in at least in part to a elusive lacuna in musicology. To paraphrase Marx, the spectre of liturgical use haunts the study of English fifteenth-century sacred music. In 1972, Geoffrey Chew remarked,

> [i]n recent years it has become fashionable to approach the history of fifteenth-century sacred music largely from a liturgical point of view. This approach may ultimately prove a mixed blessing, since it may tend to deflect the attention of the historian from the music itself, but there is no doubt that it is still useful in defining chronology, the diffusion of music and other such matter.[126]

[125] Hughes and Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript*.

[126] Geoffrey Chew, "The Early Cyclic Mass as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy," *Music & Letters* 53, no. 3 (1972): 254. My emphasis.

Chew might have easily penned the same words some forty-five years later, for at the time of this writing in 2016, the same could still be said of scholarship on English sacred music. In 1967, Margaret Bent had written of the Old Hall manuscript:

> There are no strong grounds for associating any of the motets in the first layer with specific occasions. 1420 is clearly too late for the composition of Byttering's motet 'En Katerine' (No. 145), which has been linked with the wedding of Henry and Catherine Both in this case and in that of the motet on St. Thomas of Canterbury (No. I43) **no occasion other than the saint's day seems necessary**.[127]

But many of these works cannot be dispensed with so simply as Bent suggests. Indeed, as Bent herself demonstrates in the article just quoted, two works of the Old Hall manuscript may be connected to the celebrations of Henry V's victory at Agincourt in 1415. Although the Agincourt ceremonies involved ritualistic pageantry infused with Christian imagery, they did not comprise an exclusively liturgical occasion. Chew argues that many fiftteenth-century English cyclic masses present programmatic elements consistent with the royalist leanings of Bent's Agincourt motets, suggesting that the *canti firmi* of masses such as Dunstable's *Missa Rex saeculorum* point to their usage not in the context of Christ the king but rather in honor of the English king.[128] As Chew observed, despite the tug-of-war between the houses of Lancaster and York over the English throne, there were hardly enough coronations in the fifteenth century to merit quite so many cyclic masses. For that reason, the masses might have been used on any of a number of other occasions having to do with the royal family (although as to what these might be, he does not speculate). As such, these works should at least be considered not only in their historical context but also with any eye to their cultural paratexts.

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[127] Bent, "Sources of the Old Hall Music," 27.

[128] Chew, "The Early Cyclic Mass as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy," 256; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*. Harrison notes that Frye's *Missa Nobilis et pulchra* is for St. Katherine.

Bent's statement regarding the "necessity" of any particular interpretation strikes me as peculiar. The very notion of "necessity" outright dismisses the validity of any other interpretive work. At the same time, it begs the question, is any meaning or interpretation of a musical work truly necessary? In the case of the motets to which she refers, *En Katherine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ Sponsus amat sponsam* (OH no. 145) and *Carbuncles ignites lilie* (OH no. 143), it is curious that the potential subjects might be ignored, given the much-discussed contributions of "Roy Henry" to OH.[129] The very nature of Thomas of Canterbury and St. Katherine of Alexandria's relationships to the crown—in the former case adversarial and in the latter patronal—would seem a reasonable jumping-off point for inquiry. Indeed, one might argue instead that to discard cultural context out of hand distorts the history of these works, rendering the interpretation entirely *necessary*.

Andrew Hughes' brief description of *En Katerine solennia* is similar to Bent's in its dismissive tone. He writes:

> Byttering's isorhythmic motet *En Katherinae sollemnia/Virginalis* [sic], No. 145, is based on the tenor *Sponsus amat sponsam*, the verse of the Respond to St. Catherine. That the work was written specially for the marriage of Henry V to Catherine of Valois in 1420, as often suggested, does not seem likely: the text, relating in gory detail the sufferings of the Virgin martyr St. Catherine of Alexandria, is hardly suitable for a wedding. Moreover, both stylistically and from a comparison with other dates, 1420 appears somewhat late. Despite continental use of isorhythm chiefly for such special occasions the English seem rarely to have set texts with political or laudatory intentions, and **I do not think an event other than the Saint's Feast Day necessary for the motet.**[130]

[129] Anselm Hughes, "Background to the Roy Henry Music: An Essay in Reconstruction," *The Musical Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1941); Bent, "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript."; Squire, "The Old Hall Manuscript."; Bent, "Sources of the Old Hall Music."; "The Old Hall Manuscript."

[130] Hughes and Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript*, 105-06. My emphasis.

Yet in the paragraph immediately following these extraordinary statements, Hughes argues that Thomas Damett's motet *Salvatoris mater pia/O Georgi deo caro/Benedictus marie filius* (OH no. 111) comprises a prayer to the BVM to remember the ailing Henry IV and his heir, the future Henry V. Why was it so inconceivable to Hughes that such a prayer might be made on a King's behalf, but not on a queen's?

Hughes goes on to justify his rejection of the Katherine of Valois interpretation as follows:

> [I]f an occasion be sought, the marriage of John of Gaunt to Catherine Swynford, 1396, is as likely as any, and that of his daughter by a previous marriage, Catherine of Lancaster, to Enrique III in 1388 is perhaps worth remembering. A marriage is certainly implied: the mystical marriage of the martyr St. Catherine of Alexandria to the infant Jesus, a legendary event whose story gained popularity in the late fourteenth century and formed the inspiration for several Renaissance paintings. A composition date of about the turn of the century, shortly after the renewed popularity of the story, would agree better with the musical style.[131]

Hughes' conclusions regarding the suitability of particular Katherines will be dealt with below. First, a word must be said about mid-century musicologists' preoccupation with so-called style criticism.

As Elizabeth Randell Upton and Rachel Mundy have asserted, the style criticism once advocated by Guido Adler is a problematic technique of musicological scholarship, that ascribes undue authority to subjective value judgments.[132] Moreover, as one paloegrapher wryly observed, pinpointing an unsigned manuscript's date to within thirty years of its creation is effectively impossible. If even the material traces of medieval music resist dating, can we really

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[131] Ibid.

[132] Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages*, 19-22; Rachel Mundy, "Evolutionary Categories and Musical Style from Adler to America," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 3 (2014).

be so confident in the ephemeral evidence provided by "style"? It is a given that a modern composer's style reflects his or her own training, aesthetics, and idiosyncracies—why should the same not be true for a medieval musician? The way in which musicologists write about music reveals what Janet Levy terms their "covert," often unexamined biases and preoccupations that inform their scholarship.[133] Recent critiques of medieval studies demonstrate that, like the arts, academic scholarship itself is a discourse (in the Foucauldian sense) that is informed and influenced not only by its historical moment but also by the lived experiences of individual scholars.[134] For example, many early studies of medieval manuscripts focused entirely on composer biography, typically in the service of discovering authorial intent. To Barclay Squire, for instance, "The most interesting feature of the [Old Hall] Manuscript [was] that it presents us with a number of compositions by named English musicians, the greater part of whom [were in 1901] unknown to historians."[135] Although Levy's argument is not unsound, Squire's concern with the mysterious composers of Old Hall in some ways says more about the state of turn-of-the-century music scholarship than it does about his personal views on music. Nineteenth-century musicological scholarship frequently placed the composer at the center of their inquiries as the sole authority on a work's meaning, creating a serious obstacle for those scholars working on pieces of anonymous or uncertain authorship. By directing the focus on the work inward rather than outward, musicologists indirectly erased the lived experiences of listeners of the

[133] Levy, "Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music."

[134] On personal experience and scholarship, see for example Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*; Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition*; Spiegel, *The Past as Text*; Louise D'Arcens and Juanita Feros Ruys, eds., *Maistresse of My Wit: Medieval Women, Modern Scholars* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004).

[135] W. Barclay Squire, "Notes on an Undescribed Collection of English 15th Century Music," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 2, no. 3 (1901).

distant past, privileging the "genius" of (typically white, male) composers and reifying the organicist narrative central to nineteenth-century beliefs about artistic creation.[136]

Similarly, scholarship can also reveal the prejudices harbored by scholars, as in the case of the "mutilations" suffered by Old Hall. For Squire, the person who excised several of the manuscript's initials was a "Goth"; to Bent, the responsibility lay with a "madwoman," namely the daughter of the manuscript's former owner, John Stafford Smith. Bent claimed that owing to the absence of the letter "S" from OH, the odds were high that either Stafford Smith or his daughter, Gertrude, was responsible for their removal. As in the case of the Carmelite Missal's owners, the Hanrott family, Bent surmised that the owners had taken the letters that corresponded to their own initials.[137] Bent writes,

> It is highly unlikely that [Gertrude's] father was responsible for the mutilation. Equally, it seems quite plausible to suggest that, as her mental powers declined in the early I840's, she may have been tempted to cut out her initials (perhaps turning the C of fo. 009 into a G) and possibly also those of friends, either for use as bookplates or labels, or with no apparent purpose.[138]

In other words, only a lunatic or a barbarian could be so irrational as to deface what continues to be thought of as a priceless work of Western art.

This is not to say that Old Hall is valueless—indeed, this chapter is, at its core, concerned with the manuscript's worth. However, in order to re-situate OH in its historical context, we must come to the endeavor with an understanding that the values embraced by scholars of previous generations are reflected in the aspects of the manuscript and the music within that they chose to

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[136] Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin Des Prez."; Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 9-44.

[137] Margaret Josephine Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal; an English Manuscript of the Late Xiv Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

[138] Bent, "Initial Letters in the Old Hall Manuscript," 228.

emphasize. Bent and Hughes' preoccupation with "necessity" is but one instance of such privileging.

Conclusion

As Elizabeth Upton has suggested in the case of Dufay's notoriously allegory-rich *Nuper rosarum flores*, it may have been standard practice to provide a handout of the text or texts being sung, when a motet was particularly complicated and understanding its complexities was key to appreciating its complexities. In the case of Katherine motets, in addition to wall paintings, soteltes, and illuminated *legenda*, the queen herself could have acted as a visual mnemonic. Based on this new evidence, it is possible that the paraliturgical motet *En Katerine solenni*a was intended for performance not in the context of a church service, but rather, at the banquet or another event within the coronation festivities. Although it is not unlikely that such a motet would have been suited to the earlier wedding between Katherine and Henry V (via surrogate) in Troyes, given the ample imagery evoking St. Katherine of Alexandria featured prominently during the coronation pageantry, this is the most likely location for its first performance. Re-reading *En Katerina solennia* as intended for a specific occasion, rather than general devotional use, opens the door to reassessments of works such as Dunstaple's *Gaude virgo Katerina*, a three-voice cantilena-style piece found uniquely in *ModB*. *ModB* was itself created for the chapel of Leonello d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara from 1441-1450. This courtly context situates its contents within the liminal sphere of paraliturgy and courtly spectacle not unique to Ferrara. Although no English source survives for the two devotional works by Dunstaple in *ModB*, *Gaude sancta Katerina* and another piece for a female exemplar, *Gaude felix mater Anna*, given the destruction of English music during the Dissolution of the Monasteries, there is no reason to believe these

works were not written during Dunstaple's service to the royal family. Could they have been commissioned by Henry IV's second wife, the Dowager Queen Joanna of Navarre?

Umberto Eco argued that the aesthetic pleasure of medieval art was bound up in deciphering coded references and allegories. If he was correct, then *En Katerine solennia* must have been a delight to its audience. And if we attempt to hear the music with a situational ear, its potential meanings and ceremonial purpose come through more clearly. Situated in its intended context, what emerges from the text of Byttering's piece is an emotionally resonant and evocative description of a religious event that was meaningful and important to its audience of Christian aristocrats.

Chapter Four: Holy Kinship: Subversive Patronage in a Motet by Robert Fayrfax

Introduction

The previous three chapters of this dissertation have dealt exclusively with queens who adhered to normative gender roles and standards of conduct. Scholars have typically presented the role of hagiographies in establishing and regulatory fictions as prescriptive and non-negotiable; royal women with agency have generally been viewed as extraordinary. But what happens when queens subverted these fictions for their own use? In this chapter, I turn my attention to the end of the fifteenth century, and to a queen who undermined the authority of her husband by turning the language of musical hagiography to her own advantage. I will examine the five-voice motet *Eterne laudis lilium* and explore how and why Elizabeth of York commissioned this piece of music from Robert Fayrfax ca. 1502, situating it in the context not only of Elizabeth's life but also of an older motet by Gilbert Banester, *O Maria et Elizabeth*. I argue that the explicit purpose of *Eterne laudis lilium* was twofold: first, to request the aid of the queen and her family's personal patron saints in conceiving a child following the fatal illness of her eldest son, Arthur, who died four days after the motet was commissioned —and second, to assert Queen Elizabeth's claim to the throne of England—a claim that her husband Henry VII had relied upon to legitimate his ascendance to the throne, yet summarily dismissed throughout their marriage. By amplifying her claim to the throne, Elizabeth also emphasized the matrilineal source of her children's claim to the English throne. Placed in the context of a larger tradition of veneration of the Holy Kinship by Elizabeth of York and her mother Elizabeth Woodville,

consort of Edward IV, *Eterne laudis lilium* can be read as a companion piece to Gilbert Banester's motet *O Maria et Elizabeth* and a commentary on the importance of family in both the personal as well as the political lives of the royal family.

Elizabeth Woodville, an unexpected queen

In 1464, Edward IV (1442-1483) surprised his council and court by announcing that he had secretly married Elizabeth Grey (ca. 1437-1492), née Woodville, the widowed mother of two sons, Thomas and Richard Grey.[1] The king's marriage to the elder Elizabeth was controversial for reasons directly related to her sexual status: not only was the new queen five years older than her second husband, but her late husband John Grey had been a supporter of the Lancastrian cause, as were her parents, Richard Woodville and Jacquetta de Pol. (Fortunately for Elizabeth, her father was eventually swayed to the Yorkist camp.) Even more problematic, Elizabeth Woodville lacked any financial capital in the form of lands, inheritance, or dowry, and there was no political gain to be had as a result of the match. Nevertheless, Elizabeth Woodville was crowned Queen-consort of England in May 1465, much to the dismay of Edward IV's advisors, who had hoped he would make a politically advantageous match. Before Edward took matters into his own hands, there had been some discussion of Edward marrying a foreign princess such as Isabella, sister to Henry IV of Castile, or the Earl of Warwick's preferred candidate Bona of Savoy, Louis XI's sister-in-law and the great-granddaughter of Jean II of France.[2] Now, the point

[1] The date of this marriage is traditionally—and almost certainly erroneously—given as May 1. In this course of action they echoed Elizabeth's own parents, Richard Woodville, later Earl Rivers, and Jacquetta of Luxembourg, the widow of John, Duke of Bedford and Henry VI's uncle and regent, who had also married in secret in 1437, and were fined as a result.) Laynesmith argues that Mayday was retroactively selected as the official date of the wedding in order to associate the union between Edward and Elizabeth with love. See Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 67.

[2] David MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville: A Life* (Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2013), 38-39. Isabella would go on to marry Ferdinand of Aragon.

was moot and the kingdom had to contend with a new, unwanted queen who would never entirely rehabilitate her reputation. With the succession still in question, Edward and his bride could get down to the business of generating heirs to the throne. They had at least ten children: Elizabeth (1466-1503), Mary (1467-1483), Cecily (1469-1507), Edward (1470-ca. 1483), Margaret (b. and d. 1472), Richard (1473-ca. 1483), Anne (1475-1512), George (1477-1479), Katherine (1479-1527), and Bridget (1480-1517). A noted womanizer, Edward reportedly also had at least two illegitimate children through his numerous extramarital affairs.[3]

The Feast of the Visitation

Throughout her lifetime, Elizabeth Woodville was closely associated through name parallel not with the recently canonized princess-saint Elizabeth of Hungary, but instead with the Biblical St. Elizabeth who was a cousin of the BVM and mother of John the Baptist.[4] The Feast of the Visitation of the BVM (2 July) originates from Luke 1:39-56; the Book of Luke is primarily taken up with the subject of Elizabeth, Zechariah, and the birth of John the Baptist. The events are as follows: While pregnant with Jesus, Mary leaves Nazareth and travels to a city in the hill country called Judah in order to visit her cousin Elizabeth. Although she is of an advanced age, Elizabeth is also pregnant, and as soon as Mary greets her cousin, Elizabeth feels the fetus jump inside her uterus; although she is six months pregnant, she interprets this movement as a sign from God, having recently had her own visit from the angel Gabriel. Elizabeth feels herself overcome by the Holy Ghost and exclaims to Mary that she is blessed and delighted to have the mother of the Messiah in her home. Mary responds with her own prayer,

[3] Rosemary Horrox, "Edward IV(1442–1483)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed., edited by David Cannadine, September 2011. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8520 (accessed July 3, 2016).

[4] Elizabeth of Hungary's life appears in Voragine, "Legenda Aurea," 688-704.

the text of which is known as the *Magnificat*. (For this reason the *Magnificat* was nominally reserved for celebrations of the Visitation, although in practice it could be sung on any Marian feast day and was a major part of the Little Hours.) Mary stays with Elizabeth for the remaining three months of Elizabeth's pregnancy and she is delivered of a healthy baby boy, the future John the Baptist. Mary's own child would be born six months later.

These children represent not only the next generation of an individual family, but also that of the theological concept known as the Holy Kinship. Central to this idea was the *trinubium*, or the theory that Mary's mother Anne had married not once, but three times, each relationship producing a daughter, all three of whom were called Mary. By this logic, the BVM descended from Anne's first marriage with Joachim, and after his death, Anne married Cleophas, producing Mary Cleophas. The third Mary, Mary Salome, was thus the product of Anne's final marriage to a man named Salome. These other Marys are the same as those mentioned in John 19:25 and Mark 16:12. The theory of the trinubium also enfolded Jerome's theory that the "brothers" of Jesus described in Mark 6:3 and Matthew 13:55-56 were not Joseph's children from an earlier marriage but actually his cousins and second-cousins through Mary Cleophas, Mary Salome, and Anne's niece, Elizabeth, the daughter of her sister Ismaria.[5]

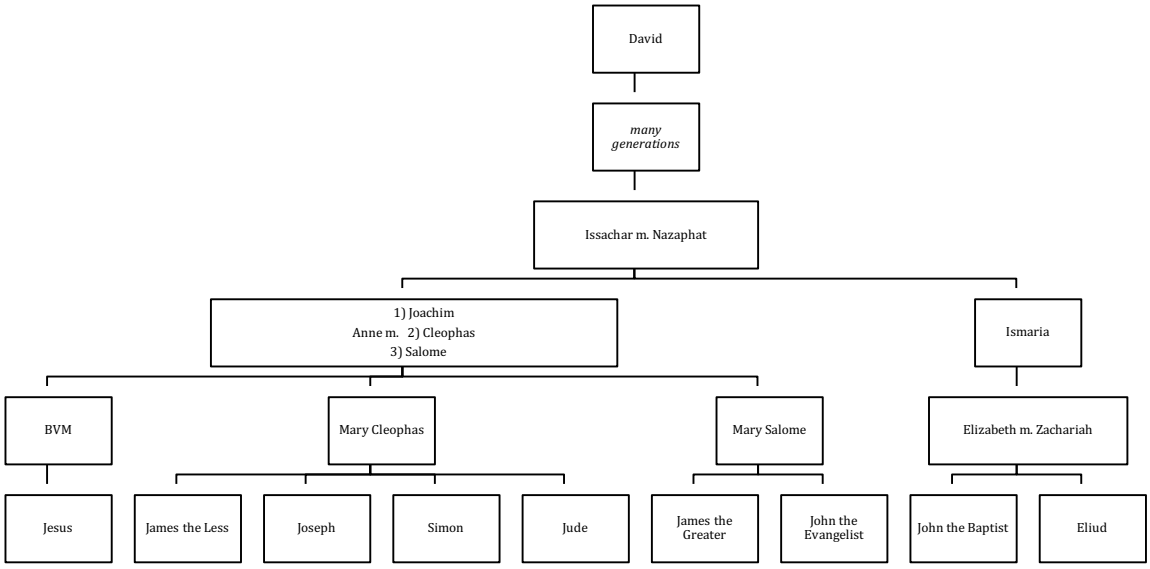
Although initially the province of the Eastern Church, by 1300 the cult of St. Anne and the celebration of her lineage, which was now traced back to David, had pervaded Europe and insular traditions. By the end of the thirteenth century, Anne was worshipped widely throughout England by both monastic and laypersons, and at least five monastic houses claimed to possess

[5] The story of Anne's family originates with the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James*, which dates to the second century CE. On this point, see Sherry L. Reames, ed. *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, Teams Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2003), 249.

her relics.[6] Jacobus de Voragine included Anne's lineage in his version of the birth of the BVM told in the *Legenda aurea:*

> Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias,
> Quas genuere viri Joachim, Cleophas, Salomeque,
> Has duxere viri Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedaeus.
> Prima parit Christum, Jacobum secunda minorem,
> Et Joseph justum peperit cum Simone Judam,
> Tertia majorem Jacobum volucremque Joannem.
>
> [Anna is usually said to have conceived three Marys, whom [her] husbands Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome begot. The Marys were taken in marriage by Joseph, Alpheus, and Zebedee. The first Mary bore Christ, the second, James the Less, Joseph the Just with Simon and Jude, the third, James the Greater and John the Winged.][7]

Figure 4.1: Family tree of the Holy Kinship



[6] Ibid.

[7] Voragine, "Legenda Aurea," 536.

Laynesmith argues that queens need to be considered not "primarily on the grounds of their personal political influence but instead considered in terms of their broader role in sovereignty."[8] The condition of motherhood that was so central to queens' political and personal roles, however, has often been used unjustly—and inaccurately—to exclude these women from political histories and criticism. As Benz argues, "motherhood was not an inferior role, but a complementary role to the king, and integral to the future of the crown."[9] And in Laynesmith's view, "It is apparent that motherhood was not only a potentially enormously empowering role for a queen, but also a role which impacted significantly upon the wider political community."[10] Motherhood conferred "symbolic power" upon queens that "required little active involvement in manipulating" one's children.[11] "The birth of an heir was so important to medieval society that a queen could become influential just by giving birth."[12] So it is no wonder that royal children were not only personally but also politically wanted and, sometimes, longed for, as in the case of Richard II and his consort Anne, who produced no children at all. The importance of motherly exemplars, therefore, cannot be overstated. As Duffy explains, St. Anne and the three Marys

> provided a symbolic affirmation of the rootedness of the Incarnate Christ within a real human family. At a time when much in the cult of the saints militated against a positive valuation of human sexuality and the realities of marriage and childrearing, the cult of Anne provided an image of female fruitfulness which was maternal rather than virginal, and her thrice-married state […] was an unequivocal assertion of the compatibility of

[8] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 22.

[9] St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, 131.

[10] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 26.

[11] St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, 130.

[12] Ibid.

> sanctity and married life. She represented both the notion of the family and the principle of fertility.[13]

In other words, women like Elizabeth Woodville made use of the cult of Anne both for personal reassurance as well as for public image maintenance. As long as Anne, the three Marys, and Elizabeth were available to them as widely accepted exemplars, royal women whose sexual status was compromised—whether by age, infertility, or as in the case of Elizabeth Woodville, previous relationships—had recourse to defend themselves from challenges to their reputation.

The biblical episode of the Visitation would become an image integral to Elizabeth and her daughters' public personae. At her coronation in 1465, for example, Elizabeth Woodville was welcomed by a series of pageants including one on London Bridge in which she was greeted by "St. Pol" (St. Paul), a punning reference to her mother, Jacquetta de St. Pol. She was then addressed by Saint Elizabeth, the mother of St. John the Baptist and Mary Cleophas, mother of four disciples, including James and John. Laynesmith suggests that "the presence of two such important mothers as St. Elizabeth and Mary Cleophas was probably used to draw attention to the queen's role as mother."[14] This was especially appropriate in the case of Elizabeth Woodville, since she did not come to her marriage with Edward IV a virgin but proven fertile as the mother of two sons from her first marriage. In this context, the new queen physically embodied the BVM accompanied by her cousin and half-sister; "when Elizabeth Woodville arrived beside them, very probably with her blonde hair loose beneath a jeweled coronet (as was the custom in the procession on the eve of the coronation) she would immediately have reminded onlookers of the virgin Mary depicted with her sister and cousin in altarpieces and windows familiar to

[13] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 181-82.

[14] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 87.

them."[15] By depicting Elizabeth Woodville as the embodiment of Mary and Elizabeth's fertility, the royal family was able to repurpose her sexual status as the mother of two sons as a positive indication of her fertility instead of a negative reminder of her previous marriage.

While on a solo progress in 1469, during Edward's imprisonment by his now-enemy Warwick, Elizabeth Woodville visited Norwich, accompanied by her young daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. The exact date is unknown, but their formal entry into Norwich likely took place about 13th July. The queen and her daughters entered the city through Westwyk Gate and were greeted there by the mayor. Just beyond the gate, a stage had been prepared and decorated with the king and queen's arms, as well as royal emblems of crowns, roses, and *fleurs-de-lys*. The stage was ready for entertainments orchestrated by Parnell of Ipswich that included figures from myths religious and legendary—giants, apostles, patriarchs, and virgins—and singing by the town's clerks.[16] The piece-de-resistance was a pageant written and introduced by one Gilbert Spirling and entitled "Salutation of Mary and Elizabeth,"[17] the title of course referring to the Visitation as well as the parallel names of the queen and her daughters. It appears there was more pageantry to be had, for outside the local Dominican house—appropriately dedicated to St. John the Baptist—the Dominicans had collaborated with the Franciscans and the local confraternity of St. Luke to entertain the queen and her daughters with "a vocal performance by one 'Fakke' and his boys."[18] The nature of this performance is unknown, but it could have been an occasional motet such as those discussed below.

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[15] Ibid., 88.

[16] The Norwich pageants are described in MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville*, 73-74.

[17] Arlene Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, ed. Charles Beem and Carole Levin, Queenship and Power (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4.

[18] MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville*, 74.

Elizabeth of York: A series of unfortunate engagements

The oldest of ten children, Elizabeth of York was born on 11 February 1466 to Edward IV and his queen Elizabeth Woodville.[19] At age four, Elizabeth was betrothed as part of a peace agreement between Edward IV and Warwick that was intended to resolve Warwick and Clarence's ongoing rebellion. Her husband-to-be was George Neville, Warwick's heir and nephew. The peace, however, would not last. In 1470, the king fled to the Netherlands, leaving a pregnant Elizabeth Woodville and their children to seek sanctuary at Westminster Abbey, where they remained for over six months until Edward's return.[20]

Another engagement took place in 1474, when Edward negotiated a new treaty with the French king Louis XI. The treaty's terms included a betrothal between nine-year-old Elizabeth of York and the Dauphin Charles, which would have cemented an alliance with France once Elizabeth became queen-consort of France and her younger brother Edward king of England. In 1480, however, when Elizabeth reached the marriageable age of twelve, Louis XI changed his mind, deciding he no longer wished to pay Edward the large dowry they had negotiated. Louis swiftly negotiated a new agreement with the duchy of Burgundy, the terms of which had Charles marry the duke's daughter Margaret. Broken engagements among royalty were not entirely unusual—Edward's third daughter Cecily, who was supposed to marry the Scottish king's son James, found herself suddenly un-betrothed in 1482 after hostilities erupted between the two

[19] The most recent and now standard biography of Elizabeth of York is Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*., a thorough yet fundamentally flawed text which nonetheless trumps the fictionalized, romanticized account in Nancy Lenz Harvey, *Elizabeth of York, the Mother of Henry Viii* (New York: Macmillan, 1973)..

[20] Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 5.

kingdoms—however, Elizabeth of York has often been portrayed as heart-broken, even resentful, of these rejections.[21]

After her broken engagement to Dauphin Charles, Elizabeth's fortunes did not improve; indeed, she was about to experience an extended period of personal loss and trauma. In November of 1481, Prince Richard's child bride Anne Mowbray died, and the following year, Elizabeth's fourteen-year-old sister Mary also passed away. Although Mary had been engaged to the King of Denmark and would have left England soon, the siblings had been close, and the loss was undoubtedly made doubly difficult by the loss of Anne Mowbray, a family friend. Then on 9 April of 1483, Edward IV himself died of a sudden illness, leaving the family personally and politically devastated and endangered.

Without her father, Elizabeth's marriage prospects were now dim.[22] Her twelve-year-old brother Edward, should have been crowned king as Edward V, which in turn would have ensured that Elizabeth and her siblings would continue to have good marriage prospects. But on April 30, Edward IV's brother Richard Duke of Gloucester executed a coup, acceding the throne and arresting both the young Edward as well as the children's uncle Anthony Rivers, head of the Woodville family. Fearing for their safety, Elizabeth Woodville and her children hastily retreated to Westminster Abbey for sanctuary. Numerous charges were now leveled against the queen dowager: that she had attempted to poison Gloucester, and worse, that she and her late husband had been guilty of bigamy as well as adultery, meaning that Elizabeth and her siblings were illegitimate. Finally, bizarrely, Richard's camp alleged that the late king had been illegitimate, an illogical charge given that Richard was Edward's brother, as well as a claim that cast aspersions

[21] Particularly egregious on this point is Harvey, *Elizabeth of York*.

[22] Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 22.

on Richard's own mother. Yet by claiming that his elder brother had been illegitimate, Richard portrayed himself as the rightful heir to the throne, and further negated the young Edward V's right of succession.[23]

In June, Prince Richard was removed from his mother's custody at Westminster and arrested. Prince Richard joined his brother Edward in prison at the Tower of London. Soon after, Anthony Rivers was executed, along with Elizabeth Woodville's younger son by her first husband, Richard Grey. At last, on July 6, Richard III was crowned. Unsurprisingly, the Woodville family were not allowed to attend. Eventually, the imprisoned princes disappeared, leaving Elizabeth Woodville and her surviving children in sanctuary yet at sea.

Frightened for her family's safety, and faced with the prospect of a life lived in the tenuous security of Westminster Abbey, Elizabeth Woodville now took matters into her own hands. Together with her friend Margaret Beaufort, Elizabeth decided her eldest daughter Elizabeth of York (or, if she were unavailable, her next surviving daughter, Cecily) should marry Margaret's son Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond and rival claimant to the throne through his descent from John of Gaunt, his great-great-grandfather, and the house of Lancaster.[24] Aged twenty-six, Henry was already was preparing to invade England from exile in Brittany. Eager to shore up the legimacy of his claim to the throne, even if it was through marriage, Henry agreed to the deal with the Woodvilles.

Meanwhile, Richard III pushed Parliament to issue the edict *Titulus regius*, which assigned him the title of King of England (the "*titulus regius*" in question) as well as asserting

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Polydore Vergil, *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537*, trans. Denys Hay, Camden Third Series (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950), 16-19.

the illegitimacy of his niece and her siblings and completely disinherited them.[25] In March, after some urging and with a sworn promise in hand from Richard that he would arrange suitable marriages for Edward and Elizabeth's five surviving daughters, the Woodville women emerged from Westminster Abbey. Elizabeth of York returned to court, now eighteen and by all accounts, as beautiful as her mother. Scarcely a month later, Richard and Queen Anne's son Edward of Middleham—their only child—died, eliciting rumors that Richard was considering divorce. Queen Anne's health was fragile and she was now unlikely to carry a child to term.[26]

It is unclear to what extent the rumors about Richard's prurient interest in his niece represent a truthful account of the king's feelings. It does, however, seem odd that Richard would consider such a liaison given the trouble he had gone to in declaring Elizabeth and her siblings illegitimate in the service of attaining the crown. Perhaps he thought that now her brothers were dead, he could revoke the *Titulus Regius* and seek a Papal dispensation to evade the concerns of consanguinity. Nevertheless, the rumor persisted through the early modern period and often appears in modern historiography. Speculation regarding Elizabeth and Richard's relationship can be traced from Vergil to George Buck's 1619 *History of Richard III*. Described by Okerlund as a "vigorous apologist for Richard III," Buck had discovered a letter allegedly written by Elizabeth to John Howard Duke of Norfolk in February 1485 in which "Elizabeth" describes her enthusiasm for Richard.[27] Buck only provided a summary of this letter, and the manuscript he

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[25] Richard III (1452–1485)," Rosemary Horrox in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, May 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23500 (accessed July 28, 2016).

[26] Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, eds., *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations, 1459-1486* (London: Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1986), 175. On the dubious nature of the Yorkist version of these events, see Alison Hanham, *Richard Iii and His Early Historians, 1483-1535* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

[27] *Richard Iii and His Early Historians, 1483-1535*, 19.

claimed to have discovered was damaged by fire and restored with questionable accuracy by Buck's nephew. As a result, current scholars are in agreement that the letter is almost certainly a forgery.[28] Additional credence was given to these rumors by Elizabeth's inscriptions in two of her own books, a copy of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* (BL MS Royal 20.A. xix, fol. 195) and a copy of the Roman de *Tristan* (Harley MS 49), marked "sans remevyr Elyzabeth" on fol. 155). The latter was once owned by Richard while Duke of Gloucester, a title he held from 1461-1483, as evidenced by his inscription on the same page, " Iste Liber constat Ricardo Duci Gloucestre." Some historians have taken this signature as evidence of Elizabeth's romantic feelings for Richard; however, I would posit that it represents a kind of do-it-yourself colophon—in other words, a declaration of ownership, and an especially poignant one, given how much disenfranchisement Richard had already caused Elizabeth, although her inscription "sans remevyr" has yet to be translated satisfactorily. Elizabeth's name also appears alongside that of her sister Cecily in an illuminated manuscript written in Old French and containing three texts from the Lancelot-Grail Prose Cycle (BL Royal MS 14 E.iii). The inscription must have made done prior to Elizabeth's marriage to Henry VII as well as her coronation because the sisters each followed their names by writing "the kyngys dowther".[29] It The book originated with Charles V, passed to Charles VI and was acquired (purchased) by John Duke of Bedford. The book then passed to Richard Roos, who left it to his niece Eleanor Haute. The Hautes were cousins of the Woodvilles, which perhaps explains how this book came to the queen and her children. It next passed to Joan/Jane Grey, née Woodville, and finally found a home in the

[28] Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 36-38.

[29] Ibid., 8.

English Royal library at Richmond Palace. It is perhaps at Richmond that Richard III himself added his own motto "loyalte me llye" in the manuscript.

Mudan Finn observes that the story about Richard plotting to kill Anne Neville in order to marry his niece shows up in numerous official historical documents as well as their "more literary offshoots:" Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, The Crowland Chronicle, the Great Chronicle of London, and an incomplete speech in which Richard vigorously denied the claim.[30] It appears the story was sanctioned if not concocted by Henry Tudor, because it "serves the dual purpose of slandering the previous king and eliciting pity for Elizabeth."[31] In doing so, the tale was also designed to silence rumormongers on the Continent who claimed that Elizabeth was pregnant with Richard III's child in 1484. As Mudan Finn explains, Tudor propagandists during and after Henry VII's reign portrayed Richard as "progressively more monstrous," while "the Yorkist claim elided through Elizabeth of York [was] transformed into the divinely inspired cojunction of York and Lancaster."[32] This post-Henry VIII narrative has complicated the image of Richard immensely and often without question. For example, Elizabeth's recent biographer Arlene Naylor Okerlund relies heavily on Polydore Vergil's chronicle in addition to the works of antiquarian John Leland (ca. 1503-1552), a poet and antiquarian in the employ of Henry VIII until the kimg's death in 1547.[33] These sources were not only written long after the events in question, but they were, as history so often is, composed with clear propagandic intent. Henry VIII had every

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[30] Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre, and Historiography, 1440-1627*ibid. (2012), 38.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 39.

[33] James P. Carley, "Leland, John (*c.*1503–1552)." James P. Carley In*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed., edited by David Cannadine, May 2006. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16416 (accessed July 6, 2016).

interest in validating his father's claim to the throne while upholding his mother's, and none at all in portraying his great-uncle Richard III as a legitimate or capable ruler.

Feminist historiography and the problem of succession

The historiography of the Tudor period has not only distorted the events of Richard III's reign; it has also caused obscured the true nature of the women involved in the conflict. As Laynesmith observes, both Anne Neville and Elizabeth of York "remain the scarcely mentioned, idealized, but shadowy partners to ruthless and controversial kings. The only major disputes in their reputations have been whether or not their marriages were happy, the conclusion usually depending upon the particular author's bias towards Richard III or Henry VII."[34] The effect of idealization has also played its part in biographies of Elizabeth Woodville. For example, David MacGibbon describes "the spotless purity of Elizabeth's life in a Court of unexampled corruption, the dignified self-restraint with which she endured innumerable wrongs, the constancy which clung to associations of lowlier but happier years, together with her deep maternal devotion, reveal glimpses of a soul which often concealed itself from curious eyes."[35] MacGibbon's panegyric is delivered without irony, on the same page as he accuses Prévost of adding "highly romantic details" to Elizabeth's biographical "on no apparent authority" to a biography of Margaret of Anjou.[36] Mudan Finn describes biographies of queens as "a form of literary necromancy."[37] She notes that there remains even in recent years a preoccupation among

[34] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 20.

[35] MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville*, 166.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, 14.

biographers of queens with portraying their subjects as tragic, and that biographers such as Okerlund and Weir "repeatedly and stridently denouncing the majority of fifteenth-century source material as propagandistic and untrustworthy."[38] Mudan Finn's priority is not to question whether the sources are wrong or biased—she is well aware, for example, that chronicles written before 1484 tend to privilege the Yorkist perspective—her inquiry explores the place of these sources within larger discourses of queenship and politics.[39]

Most historians have maintained that Elizabeth of York was an attractive, well-liked, generous, and capable queen, with the notable exception of Harvey, who writes that "Elizabeth through her reign would be a subtle force behind the policies of her husband."[40] Similarly, Crawford describes her as "probably everything a fifteenth-century Englishman could have hoped for in his queen."[41] Numerous rumors about Elizabeth generated in her own time, however, were propagated through propagandic and sensationalized chronicles and poetry, as in the persistent yet nonsensical rumor that the princess actually wanted to marry her own uncle. Another particularly egregious example of sensationalism was "The Song of the Lady Bessy," a political ballad that portrays Elizabeth as "a major participant in the plot to replace Richard with Henry of Richmond."[42]

Henry Tudor's claim to the throne came through the maternal line: his mother Margaret Beaufort descended from John of Gaunt's relationship with Katherine Swynford, first his mistress, then his third wife. Although Katherine Swynford's children by John were later

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 14-15.

[40] Harvey, *Elizabeth of York*, 148.

[41] Crawford, "The King's Burden?," 53.

[42] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 21.

legitimated by Boniface IX in 1396 and Richard II in 1397, they were born prior to their marriage and thus the claim was questionable. Moreover, Henry IV altered the patent with the words “excepta dignitate regale”, rendering them legitimate, but unable to inherit the crown.[43] The Beaufort-Tudor claim was further problematized in Henry’s case by his Welsh heritage, particularly those members of his family who had supported the Welsh rebel Owain Glyndŵr. Although Henry’s grandfather Owen Tudor had managed to curry favor with Henry IV, he had married Katherine of Valois in secret after she was widowed following Henry V’s untimely death. The marriage jeopardized Tudor's relationship with the crown because it displeased the new Henry VI, Katherine’s son by her first husband. That marriage of course conferred no claim on the throne to Katherine and Owen’s children, but Henry VI did create both his half-brothers earls: Edmund became Earl of Richmond and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke. In 1452, Edmund married his ward Margaret Beaufort, heir to the duchy of Somerset, a match that may have been traumatic for the young bride. Edmund died in prison, leaving their only child (born posthumously) Duke of Richmond.

Although he had little in the way of military experience and he was on unfamiliar ground, on 22 August 1485 Henry Tudor won the Battle of Bosworth with the aid of machinations by Richard III's own commanders. As his commanders held their troops back, Richard charged forward and attempted to kill Henry himself, but in the fracas, Richard was killed instead, leaving Henry free to claim the throne.[44] The new king was clever, conniving, and spendthrift. As king, Henry VII made it illegal to have fought against him at Bosworth by backdating his reign

[43] Cited in Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 42.

[44] Ibid., 43.

to August 21, allowing Parliament to confiscate those lords' lands and assets, and won popular support by forbidding his troops to commit war crimes. He also restored Elizabeth of York's residency in London, arranging for her to be escorted to live with her mother.[45] Some biographers seem confused as to the reason Elizabeth herself did not take the throne as queen-regnant; for example, Okerlund claims that neither Elizabeth nor Margaret Beaufort were crowned because "England was not ready for a female monarch."[46] In Margaret's case this is patently untrue—as her male heir, Henry superseded his mother's claim. Despite her adherence to the principles of good queenship, after her husband's deposition at the hands of Richard III, Elizabeth Woodville found herself unwanted in any role except that of grieving mother; her bid for the throne (as regent) after her husband's death was rejected, but she was accepted with open arms when presented as the mother of two slain boys.

A further complication to the succession was that Elizabeth was still legally considered illegitimate; only Parliament could rescind Richard's *Titulus regius*—the decree regarding his nieces' and nephews' illegitimacy—a task the legislative body could not complete until convened. It is likely that Henry deliberately delayed the Parliament, because once restored, as Edward IV's eldest surviving heir, Elizabeth would have been first in line for the throne. Parliament would not meet until 7 November; in the intermitting weeks, determined to "reign as a Tudor—not as an adjunct of the house of York," Henry had himself crowned on October 30.[47] For his coronation, he used the same *ordines* as those written for Richard and Anne, probably because of "insufficient time, initiative, or intelligence" on the part of whichever court official

[45] Ibid., 44.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

was tasked with this responsibility.[48] Finally, Parliament met and agreed to restore Elizabeth's legitimacy, along with that of her siblings. In addition, the attainders against Elizabeth, her mother, and Jasper Tudor were all reversed. Parliament also endorsed Henry's plans to marry Elizabeth. First he needed to secure a papal dispensation for consanguinity as the two were related in the double fourth degree; in fact, he requested and received two additional dispensations, even though he had already obtained one in 1484.[49] Okerlund hypothesizes that Henry's seeming obsession with securing papal approval of his marriage was due to his own circumspectness with regard to his claim to the throne; Henry Tudor would not have the throne wrested from him because he failed to have his paperwork in order.[50]

At long last, on 18 January 1486, Elizabeth of York and Henry VII were married by the archbishop of Canterbury. Both the English king and the Pope commissioned propagandic literature praising the match from Bernard Andre, Henry VII's historian, and Giovanni de Giglis, the Papal Collector. In addition, Okerlund describes "an unfinished oration intended for delivery before the Pope and cardinals by Henry's ambassador suggests that Henry deliberately chose Elizabeth, rather than a more politically profitable foreign bride, to end England's civil conflicts."[51] In all of these poems and speeches, the end of civil war is attributed to Henry VII's decision to marry Elizabeth, since her father's rights were invested in her—but the lion's share of the credit for the end of the hostilities is conferred upon Henry, rather than his consort.[52] Henry was clearly preoccupied with his relationship with the Vatican; he secured a fourth papal

[48] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1997), 13.

[49] Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 48-49.

[50] On Henry's preoccupation with papal dispensations, see ibid., 48-53.

[51] Ibid., 52.

[52] Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 20.

dispensation issued after the ceremony and solemnized on March 2, which defended the right of Henry's heirs to the English throne. A papal bull issued on 23 July affirmed that the marriage was legitimate; as with the marriage itself, Henry was determined that he would not be challenged as to the legitimacy of his heirs.

These legal details of the marriage between Elizabeth and Henry comprise the majority of its historical record. As Anglo observes, it is peculiar that so few details of the actual marriage celebrations and ritual survive, given its relative importance.[53] Unlike the wedding of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, which was repeatedly romanticized after the fact, for example by inaccurately dating the ceremony to May 1, the month traditionally associated with romance and by depicting Elizabeth Woodville with long hair and blue clothing--literally clothing her in the guise of the Virgin Mary,[54] it seems likely that any pageantry celebrating Elizabeth of York's wedding was erased.

In a much remarked upon divergence from custom, Elizabeth was not crowned until November 1487, long after she had already delivered a male heir to the throne. It is possible her coronation was delayed so long after the wedding because Henry wanted to be sure she could produce children. Late-fifteenth-century English coronations took place in five stages: the journey to the Tower of London; pre-coronation processions from the Tower to Westminster on the eve of the ceremony; at Westminster, the coronation itself including anointing and crowning; a banquet immediately following the coronation ceremony; and a tournament lasting anywhere from one to three days.[55] Elizabeth and Henry came to Westminster via St. Albans, where they

[53] Ibid., 19.

[54] Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, 19.

[55] Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 88.

kept All Soul's Day. Having arrived, with a royal procession to escort them, the king and queen lodged separately, the queen staying in Bishop's Gate before moving to Greenwich.[56]

On the Friday before St. Katherine's day, Elizabeth left Greenwich for the Tower of London by barge, the water procession apparently being the new and exciting thing. The much remarked-upon "Bachelor's Barge" was also part of the procession, decorated as a red dragon and likely an analogue for the king himself. Arriving at the Tower, the young queen was formally greeted by her husband. The next morning, Elizabeth was escorted to Westminster via an extravagant litter. Riding in the procession were the mayor, the newly anointed Knights of the Bath, some earls, and Jasper Tudor and his wife, the queen's aunt Katherine Woodville, plus Roger Cotton. On Sunday 25 November, the Feast of St. Katherine, she was crowned at Westminster Abbey, followed by a lavish coronation banquet at the White Hall. As at Katherine of Valois' coronation, the king would not have been present, but interestingly, the Dowager Queen was also not in attendance. Although no record of the coronation banquet entertainment survives, a menu from the occasion describes soteltes adorned with "balades," the text and perhaps music of which sadly went unrecorded. The Great Chronicle is similarly mute on the subject, recording only that the coronation took place and that a longer summation would follow. (It didn't.)[57] It seems likely, however, that these soltetes were meaningful constructions of

[56] Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 75.

[57] "In the begynnyng of thys mayers tyme (Wylliam Horn, 1488) was Quene Elyzabeth Crownyd at westmynstyr upon the dey of Seynt katharyn or the xxvtti day of November, whereof to telle all the Cyrcumstaunce wyth the Royate of the ffeest, It would axe a long leysour, But ffor I entend to sett the Ordour of oon Coronacion In fine libri I ovyrpasse thys as I have doon many moo." Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 241.

heraldic and allegorical symbolism, just as the soteltes at Katherine of Valois' coronation banquet some sixty-five years earlier had been.[58]

The Tudor propagandist

Henry VII's posthumous and modern reputation is as a "unifier of a war-torn land," a king who competently governed, bringing an end to decades of instability in England abroad. In his own time, however, Henry VII was thought of rather differently. Penn describes Henry as "an avaricious Machiavellian king who inspired not love but fear."[59] As Penn notes, there is no Shakespearean hero to shape our modern understanding of England's pre-modern royalty; the bard omitted him entirely from his cycle of history plays—probably, as Penn suggests, because portraying the present monarchs' grandfather in a positive light would have been too difficult.[60]

Perhaps Henry was aware that his personality and style of rule did not inspire love on the part of his subjects, for he now began to enact a large-scale program of royal propaganda. Although he was hardly the first monarch to enact such programmatic and propagandic entertainment in the liminal space between sacred and secular, Henry was perhaps the most ingenious. For example, at Twelfth Night in 1494, Henry held a feast celebrating the knighthood of the mayor of London. After the mayor was knighted, at 11:00 in the evening, the king, his consort, and her ladies, along with the French and Spanish ambassadors joined the company. After a short entertainment by the king's players, another figure appeared, costumed as St.

[58] The coronation and banquet are described in Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 75-86.

[59] Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England* (London: Allen Lane, 2011), xxv.

[60] Ibid., xxv-xxvi.

George, accompanied by "a ffayer vyrgyn attyrid lyke unto a kyngys dowthyr." The actor was probably William Cornysh the Younger (d. 1523), Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and composer, poet, actor, and dramatist at Court from at least 1493.[61] The "princess" led by a silken leash a red dragon spitting fire. When Cornysh finally stood before the king, he made a speech "in balad Royall" (i.e., rhyme royal), after which he sang "this antempn off Seynt George, *O Georgi deo Care*, whereunto the kyngys Chapell which stood ffast by answerid *Salvatorem Deprecare, ut Gubernet Anglicam*, And so sang owth alle the hool antempn with lusty Corage." This display was followed by vigorous dancing.[62]

The "anthems" *O Georgi deo care* [O George, beloved of God] and *Salvatorem deprecare ut gubernet anglicam* [Pray to the Savior that He may guide England] do not survive, but despite the similarity of the texts, they are probably not the same as those of Thomas Damett's motet *Salvatoris mater pia/ O Georgi deo care/ T. Benedictus marie filius* (OH, no. 111). Regardless, their singing in the decidedly aliturgical context of a courtly "disguysyng" are certainly evidence that sacred Latin texts and music were used for non-liturgical purposes without risk of impropriety or heresy. The appearance, too, of the personification of England (St. George) together with an anthropomorphized Wales (the red dragon) subdued, presumably by the saint, and led by a virginal princess—perhaps St. Katherine?—supplies a romantic vision of Wales and England brought together by Henry's reign.

In addition to the sacred emblems of English saints, the "wholly contrived" Tudor rose now became the subject of much royal imagery including numerous pageants, particularly those

[61] David Greer and Fiona Kisby, "Cornysh," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06536pg3 (accessed July 6, 2016).

[62] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 251; Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 120-21.

that took place during the first Tudor progress in 1486.[63] For example, Henry was received at York with a series of pageants beginning with a scene at the city gates featuring the commingling of the red rose of Lancaster and white rose of York as its theme.[64] The Tudor rose rapidly proliferated as a symbol of the new royal house, increasing its potency with the birth of every Tudor child.[65] At the same time, Henry VII was himself mythologized and incorporated into the legendary royal British lineage and heritage narratives of Geoffrey of Monmouth et al. as, variously, the savior king prophesied by an angel to Cadwalader, the red dragon envisioned by Vortigern as vanquishing the Saxons' white dragon, and a direct descendant of Ebrank, the mythical founder of York.[66] When Queen Elizabeth gave birth at their first child on September 19/20 of 1486, she did so at Winchester, a location then believed to be the location of King Arthur's Round Table, and the newborn heir to the throne was christened Arthur. Henry's red dragon standard was set aloft to announce the birth, the emblem calling to mind Cadwalader's prophecy.[67]

Queenly iconography continues to develop: from Katherine to Elizabeth

By the end of the fifteenth century, the iconography of English queenship had developed and solidified so as to deploy age-appropriate exemplars with suitable sexual status. While still a princess, the young Elizabeth of York was often compared to St. Katherine of Alexandria. For example, describing Elizabeth in captivity, Polydore Vergil wrote,

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[63] *Elizabeth of York*, 53.

[64] Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 23-24, 36.

[65] Ibid., 36-37.

[66] Ibid., 21-46.

[67] Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 55.

> Detained in the same fortress [as Edward, earl of Warwick, I.e. the Tower of London] was Elizabeth, elder daughter of King Edward whom Richard had kept unharmed with a view to marriage. To such a marriage the girl had a singular aversion. Weighed down for this reason by her great grief she would repeatedly exclaim, saying, 'I will not thus be married, but, unhappy creature that I am, will rather suffer all the torments which St. Catherine is said to have endured for the love of Christ than be united with a man who is the enemy of my family.'[68]

Vergil's comparison continues implicitly; he describes Elizabeth as "a woman indeed intelligent above all others, and equally beautiful."[69] As Elizabeth grew older, however, it seems St. Katherine of Alexandria was no longer an appropriate exemplar for the queen, particularly after her status as the newest royal bride transitioned to a new princess. The November 1501 wedding of Elizabeth and Henry's son and heir Arthur to the Spanish princess Katherine of Aragon was rife with imagery of St. Katherine. The "authentically" British St. Ursula was paired with St. Katherine, a pairing designed to usher Princess Katherine into her new nationality.[70]

Katherine and Arthur arrived in London on Tuesday, November 9th. As his father had before him, Prince Arthur rode down Fleet Street to St. Paul's Cathedral and was lodged at Blackfriars. Princess Katherine was escorted to Lambeth, where she was lodged at the Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following Friday at about 2:00 in the afternoon, Katherine, sumptuously garbed and accompanied by lords and ladies, rode from Lambeth to Southwark, and from there to London Bridge, "where was ordeynyd a costlew pagend of vorvy werk peyntid & gyldyd." The pageant stage had a cast of virgins, St. Katherine and St. Ursula, accompanied by

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[68] "Erat in eadem arce Elisabetha filia maior natu Edwardi regis, quam Ricardus ad connubiu sibi seruauerat. quod puella in primis abominabatur eqque de causa ingenti dolore affecta quotidie uociferabatur inquiens non ita maritabor, sed misera patiar potius tormena omnia, quae feruit diua, Catherina ob amorem Christi tulisse, quam coum homine proprii sanguinis hoste coniungar." Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, 2-3.

[69] "[M]ulierem profecto tam ultra alaias prudentem quam pulchram." Ibid., 6-7.

[70] The pageants are described in Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*, 298-312; and analyzed in Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 56-97.

"many othir ffayer vyrgynys," and as in earlier royal pageants, roses were a major feature of the decoration. This first pageant for Katherine of Aragon consisted of a dialogue between St. Katherine and St. Ursula. St. Katherine's speech bade Katherine welcome to London, and promised her "ayd, assyst, & comfort." Katherine acknowledged that she was Catherine's name saint, deliberately juxtaposing the earthly and the heavenly as she described Christ as her first spouse and Arthur as her second. The "saint" instructed the princess on appropriate behavior, admonishing Katherine of Aragon to love Christ first and her husband second and assuring the princess that she would be rewarded for conforming "wyt the secund, an honour temporall / And wyth the ffyrst, Glory perpetuall." After Katherine's speech came that of St. Ursula, in which she described herself and Katherine both as royal descendants of the House of Lancaster, as well as of the same nationality ("As two cummyn owth of oon Cuntrey").[71] Ursula further explains that Prince Arthur is the successor to the mythical King Arthur, while Katherine is Ursula's own successor:

> As Arthur yowir spowse, than the secund now
> Succedyth the ffyrst, Arthur In dygynte
> Soo In lyke wyse, madame katharyn yow
> As secund ursula shall succede me.[72]

Anglo explains that "As a British saint, [Ursula] could be entrusted with allusions to Katharine [of Aragon]'s descent from John of Gaunt whose daughter, another Katharine, had married Henry III of Castile. Here Ursula acts as spokeswoman for the Tudor dynasty whose

[71] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*. For Ursula's biography and the story of her 11,000 virgins, see Voragine, "Legenda Aurea," 642-46.

[72] Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle*.

Lancastrian descent is the obvious counterpoise to that of the Spanish princess."[73] An obscure name parallel meant that Ursula was also part of the pageant for reasons astrological: because of her name, she represented the constellation Ursa Minor, which along with Ursa Major was thought to be guarded by the star Arcturus, the brightest star visibile in the Northern Hemisphere, and itself thought by some to be the origin of the King Arthur's name. The physical proximity of Ursa Minor and Arcturus was understood as an allegory for the intimacy of Arthur and Katherine's new relationship. In addition, Arcturus was seen as an emblem of the Universal Church, making its three meanings a complex confluence of hermeneutical maneuvering. As Anglo explains, "The notion of the constellation as the sum of all the Virtues was a deep-rooted one, and a contemporary English writer had no doubts whatever as to the propriety of lumping together the Prince, the constellation, and the symbolization, into a single concept."[74]

A second pageant featured "The Castle of Policy, Noblesse, and Virtue" with these three virtues personified. The joins of the portcullis of the castle were adorned with roses. The theme of the roses also persisted in the staging of the third pageant, adorning the seat upon which the characters of Job, Boethius, and Alfonso the Wise reclined.[75] The image of the zodiac was also picked up in this pageant; the stage depicted the zodiac's twelve signs "in a volvell" (a wheel chart) accompanied by the phases of the moon. This pageant was explicitly directed at Katherine of Aragon's sexual status; its introduction featured an actor costumed as the archanagel Raphael advised her against fornication, instructing her that sexual relations with her husband were for

[73] Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 61.

[74] Ibid., 64.

[75] According to Anglo, the astrological emphasis in the pageant program also explains the presence of Job in the third pageant. In his *Moralia in libros beati Job*, Gregory the Great discussed Arcturus in relation to the ninth chapter of the book of Job. Ibid., 61-63.

procreation only. The remainder of this pageant included three astrologers: the personified Job, the astronomically-minded philosopher Boethius, and the astronomer-king Alfonso X of Castile, author of a renowned treatise on astrology, who as Katherine's ancestor symbolized both her royal genealogy as well as the trope of the philosopher king.[76] "Alfonso the Wise" discussed the virtues of Katherine's zodiac sign, Sagittarius, an emblem that was significant in the context of this wedding for three reasons: first, that the sun was presently in Sagittarius (it had entered on the morning of 13 November); second, that "in ancient times" England's badge was Sagittarius, and finally, the shared zodiac sign of both Katherine of Aragon and the feast-day of her name saint, Katherine of Alexandria.[77] Following the sixth and final pageant, Katherine rode through St. Paul's churchyard, where she returned to her temporary lodgings at Lambeth Palace.

Finally, on the following Sunday, the Feast of St. Erkenwald (November 14th), a two hour mass took place during which Katherine and Arthur were married. The occasion may have been marked by a piece of music, the Missa *Sponsus amat sponsam*, composed by Robert Fayrfax.[78] The mass survives only in incomplete form—all but one (the triplex) of the original five voices remains.[79] In light of my argument in chapter 3 of this dissertation, Fayrfax's choice of *cantus firmus* seems as if it can have been no accident. Given the composer's close association with the royal family, he was perfectly placed to have written a liturgical work appropriate for the celebration of Arthur's wedding to Katherine.

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[76] Ibid., 68-69, 75.

[77] Ibid., 72. The observation regarding Katherine of Alexandria's putative zodiac sign is my own.

[78] Fayrfax, *Regali, Albanus and Sponsus Amat Sponsam*, xi-xii.

[79] Roger Bray's reconstruction of the Mass Sponsus amat sponsam may be found in ibid.

Table 4.1: Masses by Fayrfax, their sources and subjects

Mass title	Manuscript sources	Date	Number of voices	Subject of source chant
Missa Albanus	Peterhouse Partbooks: Henrician Set, Cgc MS 667/760, Llp MS 1	late 1490s?	5	St. Alban (*O albane deo grate*) or BVM (O *Maria deo grate)*
Missa O bone Jesu	D-Ju MS 9, Peterhouse Partbooks: Henrician Set, Cgc MS 667/760, Llp MS 1	1507?	5	Jesus (hymn *O bone ihesu*)
Missa Regali ex progenie	Cgc MS 667/760, Llp MS 1	1490s?	5	BVM (chant not used)
Missa O quam glorifica	GB-Oas SR59 b 13, Peterhouse Partbooks: Henrician Set, Cgc MS 667/760, Llp MS 1	1511	5	
Missa Sponsus amat sponsam	Lbl Add 34049, R.M.24.H.11, Lbl Add 29246, Tenbury MS 354, Chelmsford MS D/DP Z6/2	1501[80]	5 (4 survive)	St. Katherine of Alexandria; respond of *Virgo flagellatur*
Missa Tecum principium	Peterhouse Partbooks: Henrician Set, Cgc MS 667/760, Llp MS 1	1508/1511?	5	Ps 109:3

Robert Fayrfax, royal composer

Robert Fayrfax was born 13 April 1464 in Deeping Gate, Northamptonshire to William Fayrfax (d. 1498) and Anne Tanfield. Fayrfax was the sixth of twelve children, and among those,

[80] Although Bray claims that the evidence is "not conclusive" and provides Henry VIII's coronation in 1509 as an alternative date, I disagree. See ibid., xi-xii.

the fourth son. His parents were minor gentry and their landlord was Margaret Beauchamp, Duchess of Somerset. When the duchess died in 1482, her property was inherited by Margaret Beaufort. This may be the origin of Fayrfax's relationship with the royal family. Fayrfax's early career remains something of a cipher, but by December 1497, he had become a member of the royal household chapel under Henry VII, a post he retained into the reign of Henry VIII and until his death in 1521. He received degrees from both Cambridge and Oxford; from Cambridge he took the BMus (1501) and MusD (1504) and from Oxford the DMus in 1511.[81] No trace of his doctoral thesis from Oxford survives, but his Cambridge thesis appears to have been the Mass *O quam glorifica*, as attested to by a legend in one of the mass manuscripts (Lambeth Palace MS 1, f. 8v) written in a hand distinct from the scribal font and which reads "O quam glorifica. Doctor ffeyrfax for his forme in proceadinge to bee Doctor." Fayrfax maintained an association with the abbey of St. Albans throughout much of his lifetime; however, it is plain that he was not a monk there. Not only did he spend a great deal of time in London, as attested to by his 1502 membership of the confraternity of St. Nicholas, a guild of London parish clerks, including a number of professional musicians. Fayrfax was also married; his will names a wife, Agnes, and their tomb appears to have space for four children, although there is no further evidence of surviving children.[82]

Fayrfax's relationship with the royal family continued throughout his life. In 1502, he was paid twenty shillings by then-Queen Elizabeth of York for "an anthem of oure Lady and

[81] Nicholas Sandon, "Fayrfax, Robert," *Oxford Music Online/Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80:subscriber/article/grove/music/09392 (accessed 23 January 2013).

[82] Nicholas Sandon, "Fayrfax , Robert (1464–1521)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, May 2007, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9089 (accessed June 20, 2016).

Saint Elisabeth," which scholars agree must have been *Eterne laudis lilium*.[83] Henry VII's mother Margaret Beaufort also acted as Fayrfax's patron. Their relationship is attested to by two payments she made to him, the first in 1504 for an undisclosed service, and the second in 1507 for a new mass, possibly *Missa O bone Jesu*. Fayrfax's five-voice motet *Lauda vivi alpha et O* (Cambridge, Peterhouse Partbooks: "Henrician Set"; Peterhouse MS 31, tenor lost) concludes with a prayer for Henry VIII—ample evidence of his connection to the king on its own, and certainly appropriate for the king's coronation in 1509. Fayrfax was not only present at said coronation, he was named first among the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, eclipsing even the choirmaster. In addition to other formal events, Fayrfax was also in attendance for the Henry VIII's meeting in Calais with Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1521.[84]

Twenty-nine of Fayrfax's compositions are extant, although some of these are fragmentary. His corpus includes as many as six cyclic masses, twelve antiphons (including two Magnificats), eight vernacular part-songs, and three textless or instrumental pieces. Extramusical evidence suggests that he wrote many more pieces, including sequences, antiphons, and a setting of *Nunc dimittis*.[85] Although similar in style and structure to that of his contemporaries in that he wrote primarily for five voices and created multi-section works through contrasting texture and

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[83] Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth. With a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes* (London: W. Pickering, 1830), 2.

[84] Hughes, "An Introduction to Fayrfax."; Edwin B. Warren, *Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax, 1464-1521*, Musicological Studies and Documents (Dallas, TX: American Institute of Musicology, 1969).

[85] For the works generally, see Anselm Hughes, "The Works of Robert Fayrfax," *Music & Letters* 30, no. 2 (1949). On the masses, see Warren, "The Masses of Robert Fayrfax."; Thomas Messenger, "Texture and Form in the Masses of Fayrfax," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2 (1971); for the motets and canticles, see Edwin B. Warren, "Robert Fayrfax: Motets and Settings of the Magnificat," *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961).

meter, Fayrfax's music is often described as less elaborate and more restrained than that of other Tudor composers.

Robert Fayrfax, Eterne laudis lilium

As noted above, *Eterne laudis lilium,* a five-voice Latin motet venerating the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, has long been associated with the "anthem" for which Elizabeth of York paid Fayrfax on 28 March, 1503.[86] The connection is cemented by an acrostic which appears in the poetry, coding a dedication to "ELISABETH REGINA ANGLIE."[87] *Eterne laudis lilium* survives in five sources, distributed among six manuscripts, all of which are Tudor-era choirbooks or partbooks, and only two of which are complete. These are the Lambeth (Arundel) Choirbook (Llp MS 1, ff. 56v-59r) and the Scone Antiphonary (GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, also known as the Carver Choirbook, 151v-155). The better known of the two sources is certainly Llp 1, a choirbook containing nineteen pieces, of which five have been identified as Fayrfax's. A further five were written by Fayrfax's colleague Nicholas Ludford, one each by Sturton and Lambe, and the seven remaining are anonymous. The majority of these works are settings of Marian texts.[88] It is worth noting the close association between the Caius and

[86] Like other fifteenth-century English pieces, *Eterne laudis lilium* is often referred to as an "anthem," perhaps because this was the term often employed in primary sources. However, I will not be using this term for two reasons: first, because the term "anthem" has not yet been satisfactorily defined—in fact it seems to be an Anglicization of "antiphon" and is thus even more vague—and second, because I feel the terminology is unnecessary in that it falsely accuses English music of being especially different or backward by obscuring the similarities between insular and continental compositions practices.

[87] Robert Fayrfax, *Sacred Music from the Lambeth Choirbook*, trans. Margaret Lyon, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1985), ix. It appears this acrostic was first observed in modern scholarship by Margaret Lyon, who restored the first letter of the piece (E) only to obscure it again in her edition.

[88] Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c. 1460-1675.* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), 132-33; Roger Bowers, "More on the Lambeth Choirbook," *Early Music* 33, no. 4 (2005).

Lambeth Choirbooks: they were largely copied by the same person, an anonymous scribe hired by Edward Higgons. Higgons was made a canon at Westminster in by Henry VIII in 1518 and master of Arundel College after a career in law.[89] Although ordained, Higgons does not seem to have been a musician; rather, Skinner argues he was a patron, and the "formal presentation copy" of the Caius choirbook that Higgons gave to Arundel was so given not through his scribal labor, but his resources.[90] Lambeth, on the other hand, was a "working choirbook of Arundel College itself," although Skinner admits that aside from the sharing of a scribal hand between Caius and the Arundel roll, there is no "direct" evidence.[91] The Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Arundel seems to have been an active musical establishment from the college's inception in 1380 until its dissolution in 1544.[92]

The Scone Antiphonary or Carver Choirbook is described by Elliott as "the earliest and most extensive manuscript collection of sacred polyphony in Scotland."[93] It is so-called because of the large percentage of the music within which consists of four- and five- and six-voice mass movements by Robert Carver, including one movement à 10. Lambe, Cornysh, Nesbett, and Dufay are also represented. Two antiphons by Fayrfax are included: *Eterne laudis lilium* (no. 22, 151v-155) and *Ave Dei patris filia* (no. 23, 155v-161).[94] Per Elliott, the Scone repertory has close connections with the Eton choirbook; some of the compositions are included there, and the

[89] David Skinner, "Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks," ibid.25, no. 2 (1997).

[90] Ibid., 256.

[91] Ibid., 256-62.

[92] Ibid., 249.

[93] Kenneth Elliott, "The Carver Choir-Book," *Music & Letters* 41, no. 4 (1960): 349.

[94] Ibid., 350.

repertory is largely Marian,[95] although the latter condition is hardly unique among English sources of sacred music. The book is quite damaged and seems to be written in "three distinct forms of the same hand," which Elliott concluded suggested Carver had added music in three stages over the course of his career, between 1500-1546.[96] Per Elliott's re-arrangement of the gatherings, *Eterne laudis lilium* and the other Fayrfax motet would seem to have been added ca. 1510-1520.[97] This also explains the inclusion of Dufay's *L'homme armé* mass—perhaps Carver copied it as a student, in the way that young poets and lyricists (and scholars) often copy the works of those they admire

As Elliott noted, Scone is linked with other manuscripts connected to royal foundations, among them Lambeth and Eton, and on the basis of this royal context, Elliott suggested a similar provenance for Scone. James IV of Scotland did not establish his own Chapel Royal at Stirling until after 1501—the Choirbook could have been commissioned at any point following that time.[98] Indeed, Carver may have worked for the Scottish Chapel Royal, which would have allowed him opportunities to encounter musicians of the English Chapels Royal.

[95] Ibid., 352.

[96] Ibid., 353-54.

[97] Ibid., 355.

[98] Ibid., 356.

Table 4.2: Sources of *Eterne laudis lilium*

Manuscript	Date	Parts contained	Total number of works by Fayrfax contained
Llp 1	ca. 1502-1510	S, A, C, T, B	10: Five of the six masses, three motets, two Magnificat settings
Scone	1546	S, A, C, T, B	2: Two motets
Cp 40, 41, 31, 32	ca. 1540-1545	S, A, C, B	11: Five motets, four masses, two Magnificat settings
Cambridge Dd xiii*	ca. 1509-1547	C	6: Three motets, two masses, one Magnificat
Cambridge St. John's College 234*	as above	B	as above
Tenbury 1464	ca. 1574	B	6: Six motets; only one (*Gaude flori virginali*) is unique

* Part of the same choirbook set.

Eterne laudis lilium has no *cantus firmus*; its five voices have mostly equal weight, a shift in practice from earlier motets we have observed that reflects a change in trends in music composition during the fifteenth century, as well as Fayrfax's personal style.[99] In lieu of a *cantus firmus* melody or isorhythm as an organizing scheme, *Eterne laudis lilium* takes its structure from the poetry, resulting in a through-composed structure. The lyric has six four-line stanzas, each line having fourteen syllables, with a terminal rhyme scheme. Responding to the poetry, the overall musical structure is bipartitite, with an audible change between the first and second sections demarcated by a prolation shift from triple to duple, textural shifts, long melismas, and decisive cadences.[100]

[99] Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 123. Benham notes that Fayrfax seldom wrote a motet using a *cantus firmus*.

[100] Ibid., 39. The prolation shift typifies large-scale works of the late fifteenth century.

Although musical material is traded among the voices thought the motet, at particular points, Fayrfax uses the full complement of voices to highlight the bipartite structure of the anthem. The six stanzas of poetry are divided into two sections of three stanzas apiece, each highlighting one of the two saintly subjects of the anthem, first the BVM, then St. Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist. In the opening stanza, for example, Fayrfax highlights the three upper voices (Superius, Altus, and Contratenor), while the next stanza is sung by the three lower (Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus), with only the Contratenor uninterrupted. As the below table demonstrates, only two or three out of the full five voices normally sound simultaneously, creating a high level of registral contrast that both divides the text rhetorically and keeps the listener engaged.

Table 4.3: *Eterne laudis lilium* structure and texture

Section	Stanza	Measures	Text	Texture (SACTB)
I (mm. 1-104)	1	1-38	**E** terne laudis lilium, O dulcis Maria, **L** audat te vox angelica, nutrix Christi pia. **I** ure prolis glorie detur harmonia, **S** alus nostre memoria omni agonia.	SAC
	2	38-71	**A** ve radix, flos virginum, O sanctificata. **B** enedicta in utero materno creata. **E** ras sancta puerpera et inviolata, **T** uo ex Iesu filio virgo peramata.	CTB
	3	71-104	**H** onestis celi precibus virgo veneraris. **R** egis excelsi filii visu iocundaris. **E** ius divino lumine tu nusquam privaris. **G** aude sole splendidior virgo singularis.	Tutti
II (mm. 105-213	**4**	105-126	**I** ssachar quoque Nazaphat necnon Ismaria, **N** ati ex Iesse stipite qua venit Maria,	SC
	4	126-134	**A** tque Maria Cleophe sancto Zacharia, **A** qua patre [[	TB
	4	132-137	]] Elisabeth, [[	Tutti
	4 **5**	137-142	]] matre Sophonia **N** atus est Dei gratia [[	CT
	5	142-157	]] Iohannes Baptista. **G** audebat clauso Domino in matrice cista.	CTB
	5 **6**	157-170 170-199	**L** ineae ex hoc genere est Evangelista **I** ohannes. Anne filia ex Maria ista **E** st Iesus Dei filius natus in hunc mundum, cujus cruoris tumulo mundatur immundum. conferat nos in gaudium in evum iocundum, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto regnat in unum.	Tutti
	coda	196-213	Amen.	Tutti

[[ ]] indicates interrupted line of text

The first two stanzas are antiphonal: the first salutation in stanza 1 is sung by the upper voices, and the lower voices chime in with a secondary salutatio in stanza 2 ("Ave radix…"). The opening of the piece presents itself as chorus of angels, in the guise of the highest three voices:

> Laudat te vox angelica … Iure prolis loriae datur harmonia.
>
> [The voice of an angel praises you … Rightfully, a song is given to the glory of your child.]

In contrast, the lowest voices offer more earthly praises—the imagery of the root, the flower, the nursing mother, and her womb—all decidedly prosaic in the way that medieval Christianity converts the mundane into the extraordinary. Mary in particular is praised with floral imagery: "lilium" (lily), "radix' (root), "flos virginum" (flower of virginity).

The second section's beginning is signaled by a change in prolation (from ø to ¢) as well as a change in voicing. This section of text narrates the Holy Kinship, Mary's—and by extension, Christ's—descent from Jesse via Anne's parents, Issachar and Nazaphat:

> Issachar quoque Nazaphat necnon Ismaria,
> Nati ex Iesse stipite qua venit Maria,
> Atque Maria Cleophe sancto Zacharia,
> A qua patre Elisabeth, matre Sophonia
> Natus est Dei gratia Iohannes Baptista.
> Gaudebat clauso Domino in matrice cista.
> Linee ex hoc genere est Evangelista
> Iohannes. Anne filia ex Maria ista
> Est Iesus Dei filius natus in hunc mundum.
>
> [Issachar and Nazaphat as well as Ismaria were born of Jesse's stock, from which Mary,[101] and Mary Cleophas also came. From holy Zacharia, his father, and Elisabeth, whose mother was Sophonia, by the grace of God was John the Baptist born, who

[101] Either Mary Salome or the BVM.

> rejoiced while the Lord was still hidden in his mother's womb. John the Evangelist was also of the line of this family. From that Mary, daughter of Anne, was Jesus the Son of God born into this world.][102]

This extensive lineage is propelled forward by the musical setting. From the tutti-powered cadential arrival in the preceding section, Fayrfax now seems to begin again, the texture stripped down to only two voices: Superius and Contratenor. The topic is Elizabeth and Mary's shared lineage: both are here framed as part—one might go so far as to say "buds"—of the Tree of Jesse (*Nati ex Jesse stipite qua venit Maria*, etc.) Again, Fayrfax gestures towards antiphony with a textural change, now sped up from once every four lines to once every two lines; in other words, twice as fast. As the litany reaches the name Elizabeth, the missing three voices return. Once the bassus intones the four-note "Elisabeth" motive, it is joined in imitation, first by the Contratenor, then Superius, followed by the Tenor, and finally, the Medius emerges from a thirty-measure silence (mm. 105-135) to echo the motive, before receding into silence for yet another twenty measures (mm. 137-157). In addition to the coded visual reference in the acrostic, the audible allusion to the queen who commissioned the work is unmistakeable. Fayrfax highlights the name "Elizabeth" with imitative polyphony (mm. 132-137), the only use of textual repetition in the entire piece..

[102] Translated by Margaret Lyon in Fayrfax, *Sacred Music from the Lambeth Choirbook*. Translation modified slightly.

Table 4.4: Melismatic passages in *Eterne laudis lilium*

Section	Measures (inc. lead-up text)	Voices	Text (lead-up in square brackets)	English translation
I	28-39	SAC	*[omni] agonia*	All suffering
I	65-71	CTB	*[virgo peramata*	Most beloved virgin
I	95-104	SACTB	*[virgo] singularis*	Peerless virgin
II	108-112	SC	*Ismaria*	Anne's sister, Mary's aunt, and the mother of St. Elizabeth
II	117-126	SC	*Maria*	BVM
II	137-140	CT	*[matre] Sophonia*	[whose mother was Sophonia]
II	148-157	CTB	*[matrice] cista*	[the mother's] womb
II	194-199	SACTB	*[in] unum*	In one (i.e. the Trinity)
Coda	196-213	SACTB	*Amen*	amen

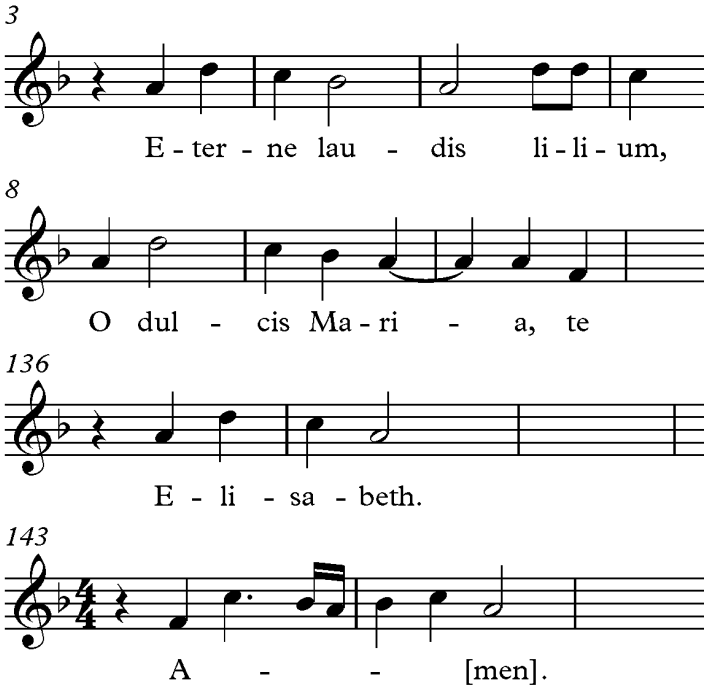
This moment also signals the return of the "lily" motif from the opening ten measures of the piece. Given the patroness, one might expect the rose instead of the lily to have symbolized both Mary as well as the Tudor dynasty, however, its absence may indicate a different focus than the programmatic pageantry described earlier in the chapter. The focus here is not on the artificially-legitimated male Tudor line and its equally artificial, constructed emblem in Henry VII's Tudor rose, but rather on the condition of motherhood, and specifically, of *Elizabeth's* motherhood. Both poet and Fayrfax have placed significant emphasis on the words and names of mothers in section II: "Maria," "Sophonia," and "cista" are all set to long melismas of nine, four, and six measures, respectively. Anne's sister Ismaria's name also receives a lengthy melismatic

treatment.[103] The male antecedents Joachim, Cleophas, Salome, and Joseph are not included in the genealogy, likely because the text seems strongly inclined towards the theme of matrilineage.

The acrostic together with the setting of "Elizabeth" could be enough to simply confirm the queen's association with Fayrfax, however, if we take into account the similarity between the four-note "Elizabeth" motive and the opening motive on "Eterne laudis" and "O dulcis Maria" the connection with Marian iconography becomes difficult to ignore. This musical idea—a motive that leaps by first a fourth, then in subsequent iterations, a fifth, and then descends stepwise—may seem simple, but it is loaded with meaning. In using the same musical idea to describe both Mary and Elizabeth, Fayrfax draws a clear connection between not only the two saints, whom we know from the litany to be blood-related, but on the allegorical level, between the Queen of Heaven and the Queen of Earth (or at least, England.) The gesture is echoed in the primary motive of the coda on "Amen," providing a sense of metaphoric as well as musical closure.

[103] These names all occur in insular sources: in addition to the *Legenda aurea*, Issachar and Nazaphat are named in Robert Reynes' commonplace book, while Ismaria is mentioned in *Cursor Mundi*.

Musical example 4.1: Iterations of the Mary/Elizabeth motif in *Eterne laudis lilium*



Benham describes Fayrfax's use of musical material with the usual adjectives: "restraint and economy."[104] In addition, he writes that Fayrfax was "an extremely thoughtful, discriminating composer who in particular achieved most subtle rhythmic effects very economically, and one who had little time for florid displays."[105] It is not economy, however, but rather directness and specificity of message and meaning that guides Fayrfax's composorial decisions. The choice to reuse melodic material in other words stems not from "economy" but instead from a keen understanding of the meaning the composer wishes to convey. The motives Fayrfax chose for *Eterne laudis lilium*'s most meaningful ideas are musemes in the Taggian

[104] Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 117.

[105] Ibid.

sense.[106] They communicate something clear and specific. As Levy argues, "The tendency among critics is surreptitiously to make economy a sufficient reason for value and not to distinguish it from its being, perhaps, a necessary one within a particular context."[107] Levy posits three origins of an *a priori* valued economy:

> 1) the ingrained, though perhaps mistaken, belief that nature itself is economical and that to mirror nature is a priori "good"; 2) the Protestant dictate of "waste not, want not" and the sequal to that, "a penny saved is a penny earned"; 3) the economic notion of getting the maximum return on a minimum investment.[108]

I suspect that, in the case of English medieval music, the second of Levy's reasons is the most likely to be applicable. Not only is the Protestant work ethic of the modern critic at fault, but there is also a fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between composer and musical work. The "economy" of Benham's era is not the musical economy of Fayrfax's day, when patronage was the musician's chief means of financial security. Fayrfax's decision not to diversify musical material is thus not an ethical or moral imperative in the Protestant sense but rather, entirely Catholic in its desire to convey religious meaning, as well as predicated upon a business model that privileges the desires of the patron over the artistic impulses of the composer. It is industrious surely but only in its efficiency and efficacy of conveying the patron's commission.

Eterne laudis lilium has long been attached to Elizabeth of York, and the allusion to its subject —"oure Lady and Saint Elizabeth—in the Privy Purse expenses of 1502 seems

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[106] Philip Tagg, "Analysing Popular Music: Theory, Method and Practice," *Popular Music* 2 (1982): 47-50.

[107] Levy, "Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music," 8.

[108] Ibid., 11.

unequivocal.[109] Lyons suggested that the motet was written for Elizabeth's stop at Saint Albans in 1502 while on royal progress,[110] presumably because Fayrfax was posted to St. Albans either as *informator chori*, organist, both, or not at all.[111] As we know, however, Fayrfax was also an official member of the Royal Household Chapel from at least December 1497, and on the occasion of Elizabeth of York's state funeral in 1503, he was granted the right to wear the Chapel's green and white livery.[112] The occasion of this grant would seem to suggest a stronger connection between Queen Elizabeth and Fayrfax than has previously been made.

Perhaps in part because *Eterne laudis lilium* is often misclassified as solely Marian, there has been little consideration as to why the queen might have commissioned such an anthem, beyond either a straightforward devotion to her name saint or pure ego. Surely Elizabeth of York was an active participant not only in patronage but also in what Duffy describes as, "the richness and complexity of the religious system by which men and women structured their experience of the world, and their hopes and aspirations within and beyond it."[113] The special attention paid to the name shared by saint and queen goes beyond what Stevens described as a **"**rather obvious but nevertheless charming compliment to the royal visitor."[114] Rather, as Williamson argues in the case of Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth*, the Fayrfax motet is concerned with the notion of dynasty, and specifically the kinship carried through and by mothers. This litany of *female*

[109] Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth. With a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes*, 2.

[110] Lyon, introduction to Fayrfax, *Sacred Music from the Lambeth Choirbook*, ix.

[111] W. H. Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers: Biographical Sketches of Thirty-Two Musicians and Composers of the Period 1485-1555* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925); Denis Stevens, *Tudor Church Music* (New York: Merlin Press, 1955); Fayrfax, *Sacred Music from the Lambeth Choirbook*, viii.

[112] Lyon, introduction to *Sacred Music from the Lambeth Choirbook*, xiii.

[113] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 1.

[114] Denis Stevens, "Prime Musician of the Nation," *The Listener* 57, no. 1460 (1957): 493.

lineage is analogous to Elizabeth's own Plantagenet lineage. Like the genealogical rolls commissioned for royals, and the genealogies found in hagiographical writings such as the Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, *Eterne laudis lilium* serves as a musical shrine to the notions of heritage and lineage.

Given its expense, the piece can be read as a donation to both Mary and Elizabeth in the name of Elizabeth of York and her mother. It is easy enough to imagine the close relationship between the two Elizabeths, especially in light of the tragedies that had befallen their family in the form of the traumatic loss of their husband and father, Edward IV, the mysterious disappearance of Elizabeth Woodville's two sons, and Elizabeth of York and her sisters' disinheritance at the hands of their uncle, Richard III. The year 1502 marked the ten-year anniversary of the elder Elizabeth's death—the simplest conclusion, should a deeper meaning for the work be sought is that *Eterne laudis lilium* might have been intended as a prayer for her soul. We might also consider the repeated frustration in Elizabeth's youth of cancelled engagements which made her the political pawn of her father and uncle, followed by the frustration of finally marrying only to be her husband's pawn After her brothers died, Elizabeth had the claim to the throne, so this motet may have been her way of reminding her husband (and herself?) that his legitimacy comes from her. Read in this light, *Eterne laudis lilium* represents a means coded in music of taking ownership of the tools used by men to constitute normative femininity, especially family members, the church, etc. To use the newest 'official' royal composer as the author was the queen's own masterstroke.

There is one additional impetus for the commission of *Eterne laudis lilium* which to my knowledge has yet to be considered: Elizabeth of York's final and fatal pregnancy with her

daughter Katherine (ca. 2 February-10 February 1503). Elizabeth died of postpartum complications on 11 February 1503, her thirty-seventh birthday. Assuming she carried Katherine to term, Elizabeth must have conceived in May or possibly June, but given the date of payment for *Eterne laudis lilium* (March 28, 1502), it seems more than likely that she and Henry were actively attempting to conceive during the first months of 1502. Their son Arthur and his new wife Katherine of Aragon had been ill through the early part of the year, likely of the so-called "sweating sickness."[115] Although Elizabeth of York was no stranger to child mortality, having already lost at least three children under the age of four to the vagaries of medieval childhood ailments, as Penn observes, "familiarity did not desensitize."[116] Having five living children was no guarantee that any, let alone all five, would survive. When their Arthur succumbed to his illness on 2 April 1502, his parents' fears were simply made manifest. As a result of the fundamental uncertainty of late medieval parenthood, it would be unsurprising had Elizabeth of York used her resources as queen to commission a devotional work that requested not only intercession from the BVM, perhaps with Arthur and Katherine's health in mind, but also that she share in St. Elizabeth's fortune and become a mother once again, however late in her reproductive life she might have been.

Gilbert Banaster (Banastre), "O Maria et Elizabeth" revisted

There is one possible musical antecedent for Elizabeth of York's commission from Fayrfax. *O Maria et Elizabeth* is a lengthy five-voice motet composed by Gilbert Banestre (Banester) which survives as a whole work uniquely in the Eton Choirbook (Eton College MS

[115] Penn, *Winter King*, 70.

[116] Ibid., 71.

178). One of the older works in the Eton manuscript, *O Maria et Elizabeth* is an unusual motet in two ways: the first is that it sets a prose text rather than a poem, and the second, that this text includes a prayer for an unnamed English king. From the context, appears that Banaster chose his text with the intention of celebrating or perhaps praying for to a successful royal pregnancy and birth—like *Eterne laudis lilium*, the first half of the motet venerates Mary and Elizabeth, with a strong emphasis on their fertility.

Banester was appointed to the Chapel Royal by Edward IV in 1469, the year before Edward temporarily fled to the Continent while Henry VI briefly reclaimed the English throne, and he continued in his post through the readeption of Henry VI, the return of Edward IV, Edward's death and his son Edward V's deposition by Richard III, and Richard's deposition by Henry VII, until his death in 1487.[117] Given his tenure through five reigns, however brief, it is perhaps unsurprising that the king's name in the Eton Choirbook version of *O Maria et Elizabeth* is given as ".N.", the abbreviation for "Nomine," allowing for the appropriate monarch's name to be filled in as necessary. Indeed, the absence of the name has seldom been viewed as practical—for example, Benham speculated that Edward IV's transfer of Eton College's "treasures" to St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle had provoked some kind of enmity in the scribe, who then declined to enter the text "Edwardum".[118] Williamson suggests that the scribe knew that Henry VII would soon be replaced by Arthur, and thus left a blank,[119] but this being the case, why should the scribe not have written "Arthurum"? Another, apparently hitherto-unconsidered possibility, however, is that the king's name was left indeterminate in the manuscript precisely

[117] Magnus Williamson, "Royal Image-Making and Textual Interplay in Gilbert Banaster's 'O Maria Et Elizabeth'," *Early Music History* 19 (2000): 241-42.

[118] Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 77.

[119] Williamson, "Royal Image-Making," 273.

because the motet—and indeed, the choirbook itself—was intended for use on more than one occasion, perhaps over a long period of time, not by reason of dynastic unrest but because the motet would only apply to a particular set of royal circumstances.

Williamson argues that Banester chose his *cantus firmus*, *Regnum mundi*, because it provided an opportunity for a complex intertextual relationship with the primary text, rather than because it coincided with the liturgical calendar.[120] The respond of *Regnum mundi*, *Eructavit cor meum*, includes an allusion to a royal wedding, which Williamson interprets as contextual evidence of a recent royal marriage. He also posits that the identity of the *cantus firmus* was obscured because Banaster edited out the portions that coincided with textual referenceas to rejecting earthly pleasures and wealth.[121] Instead, Williamson asserts, Banaster amplifies the "rhetoric of dynastic continuity and legitimacy" in order to obscure the "reality of the king's usurpation."[122] The primary text may have been written by Banaster, who had experience as an author and translator of Boccaccio's Decameron.[123]

Grattan Flood first suggested that *O Maria et Elizabeth* was composed for the wedding of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in January 1486[124], while Benham offered the possibility that the motet had been composed with Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville in mind. Harrison, on the other hand, theorized that the motet was intended for performance during Elizabeth of York's

[120] Ibid., 249.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid., 247.

[123] Ibid., 244-45.

[124] Flood, *Early Tudor Composers*, 15.; Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 76-77..

pregnancy with Prince Arthur, who was born September 19 or 20, 1486.[125] Williamson agrees with Harrison, noting that during the Feast of the Visitation (2 July) Elizabeth would have been halfway through her pregnancy.[126] Per Williamson's analysis of the motet, the royal couple in question would have had to fulfill four criteria:

1. The king had to be young;
2. His queen had to be named Elizabeth;
3. The queen had to be pregnant on or around July 2;
4. The current political situation needed to be troubled and/or the dynastic succession had to be unstable.[127]

Williamson argues that because the Feast of the Visitation, although invented in 1389, did not spread to England until at least 1475, and did not gain the status of a major feast day until 1480, the motet cannot have been intended for Elizabeth Woodville, nor can it have been composed long any earlier than 1480.[128] In that year, Elizabeth Woodville corresponded with Pope Sixtus IV about how to balance the celebration of the octave of the Visitation with other festal occasions. Williamson argues that this exchange is evidence that Elizabeth was newly devoted to the feast, on the grounds that if she was confused as to the mechanics of its celebration, she cannot have been celebrating the feast long.[129] Williamson claims that there is no evidence that Edward's household celebrated the Visitation before 1481; however, I would counter that if she needed papal guidance on how to celebrate it correctly, there could be any

[125] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 309. and repeated in Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 1, 193-94.

[126] Williamson, "Royal Image-Making," 267.

[127] Ibid., 265-67.

[128] Ibid., 268.

[129] Cited in ibid., 268-69.

number of reasons prompting her letter, including that the feast had already been celebrated in the intervening years and there was some debate in the household over how to do so properly.

More importantly, Elizabeth's Woodville's youngest child, Bridget of York was born in November 1480, so the queen was almost certainly pregnant in July. While no concrete birthdate for Woodville has been established, she is estimated to have een born in 1437, so at the time of Princess Bridget's birth, she was already forty-two or forty-three. On the basis of the queen's age at the time of her (probably final) pregnancy, Williamson ruled it out as a possible occasion for Banester's motet. However, his justification rests on a relatively distant partatext—the unheard psalm verse to which the *cantus firmus* alludes, *Eructavit cor meum* (Ps 45: 13-14):

> 13. …The princess is decked in her chamber with gold woven robes;
> 14. in many-coloured robes she is led to the king; behind her the virgins, her companions, follow.

If the motet in question set a text honoring St. Katherine of Alexandria, as those discussed in Chapter 3, I would be more inclined to agree with Banester's assessment; the text of Psalm 45 is certainly suggestive of a young woman's experience of marriage or motherhood, and his reading is a brilliant example of the way in which intertextual and paratextual references might function together in a late medieval motet. It is an example, however, that does not hold up to the primary text of the motet, which honors not a young royal bride, but rather, two women delivered of miraculous pregnancy—indeed, two women related through the Holy Kinship. This motet is certainly a celebration of dynasty and lineage, but not in the way Williamson imagines. I would suggest instead that Benham's suggestion of Elizabeth Woodville as honoree is the correct one, and that her pregnancy with Bridget, or perhaps an unrecorded later pregnancy that ended in miscarriage or infant death, was indeed the occasion for Banester's motet.

Although Elizabeth was delivered of ten children by Edward IV between 1466 and 1480, at the impressively regular rate of approximately one live birth every two years, no amount of heirs could have been sufficient to satisfy the needs of a royal dynasty. In 1480 Henry VI had been dead for ten years and Edward's grasp on the throne might have seemed secure. In hindsight,, the latter years of Edward's reign seem relatively calm when compared to the early years of Henry VII's reign, which were marked by a series of rebellions. But how secure could any fifteenth-century English king's grasp on the throne truly be? As Richard III, Henry VII, and even Edward himself so cruelly and mercilessly demonstrated, English kingship during the Wars of the Roses was a mercurial condition. The prayer in the second half of *O Maria et Elizabeth* need not be read as the entreaty for a young king to rule for a long time, but instead as a plea for stability:

> Protege quesumus tibi devotum athletam regem nostrum .N. graciam dans huberem qua clemens cum iusticia diu regnet
> Da virtutem illi in armis triumphantem hostesque rabidos iugo repmat iusto et prosperitatem nobis confirmet
> Et post felices grandevi patris annos succedant liberi regno in paterno et avito virtute antiquos exuperantes celebratos
>
> [Protect, we beseech you, the devout champion, our king, .N., giving copious grace whereby he might reign for a long time with clemency and justice. Give him triumphant valour in arms; may he subdue his raging enemies under a just yoke, and may he also increase our prosperity. And after the long-lived father's happy years, may his lineage succeed in their father's and ancestors' realm, surpassing in virtue their famous forebears.][130]

That the current king stay in power was surely significant not only to his family, but also to the musicians employed by him.

[130] Translation in ibid., 245.

As Williamson observes, *O Maria et Elizabet*h reflects not only Elizabeth of York and Elizabeth Woodville's devotion to their name saint, it also may be an outgrowth of Margaret Beaufort's affinity for the Visitation. He posits that one of these three women commissioned the motet in the same way that Elizabeth of York is now accepted to have commissioned Fayrfax's motet *Eterne laudis lilium.*[131] The earlier motet, as Williamson suggests, could be "one of the first cultural products of Henry VII's question for legitimacy."[132] Given the reference to royal ancestors within the text, Williamson argues that the woman responsible was almost certainly Elizabeth of York—but given that this reference comes in the second section, these ancestors could be Edward's, rather than his queen's. The younger queen's patronage of music is better documented than her predecessor or her mother-in-law, but as is well known, absence of documentation is not the same as proof.

There is a strong conceptual similarity between *O Maria et Elizabeth* and *Eterne laudis lilium*; as Williamson notes, both motets deal with similar themes, and both are examples of what he describes as "the elision of biblical and dynastic themes and the appropriation of devotional language for the purposes of late medieval statecraft."[133] On this point, we are in total agreement—indeed, the similarities do not end with the text. Both motets have five voices, and both deal with the Feast of the Visitation. Although these might seem superficial consistencies, I feel they can be no accident. Given the "polytextual unity" described by Williamson, as he asserts, and as I hope to have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the choice of text was very

[131] Ibid., 270-71.

[132] Ibid., 271.

[133] Ibid., 275.

much a deliberate move by Banester and Fayrfax.[134] The very commission of a motet, moreover, implies an intended audience for its performance. Could the audience have been much the same for the Fayrfax anthem as it was for the Banester motet? If so, we might read the second Elizabeth motet as a comment on the first. As Williamson explains, the "[t]hematic correspondences between the texts of *Eterne laudis lilium* and *O Maria et Elizabeth* are numerous: genealogy (and hence dynastic legitimacy), pregnancy, motherhood and, of course, redemption."[135] Yet these concordances could indicate not the same target audience, but rather, related audiences: a mother and daughter, both queens of England, both named Elizabeth, both part of a large and powerful dynasty either by marriage or by birth, and most importantly, like Mary's cousin Elizabeth, both delivered of children later in life, one successfully (Woodville's daughter Bridget) and one, sadly, not (Elizabeth of York's daughter Katherine).

Conclusion

Had Henry VII been responsible for commissioning *Eterne laudis lilium*, one might read the motet as a regulatory fiction with the goal of policing the queen's femininity, expressed through her role as the king's demure wife. Such constraints might have seemed necessary to Henry's continued assertions of legitimacy. I find it more compelling, however, to consider Elizabeth of York's position as a patroness as one of agency and, potentially, of subversion. The similarities between *O Maria et Elizabeth* and *Eterne laudis lilium* would seem to support a reading of the latter motet as a re-interpretation of the former. If Elizabeth sought a motet that celebrated her husband's role in her family history, or a motet ready for celebrating the Feast of the Visitation, she already had one at her disposal. So why would she commission a new motet

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid., 270.

with such a similar text, suitable for the same feast day as the first? I suspect that Elizabeth knew exactly what she was doing by having Fayrfax write her a new work. She wanted a new piece that eschewed the references to kingship found in Banester's motet. In contrast to *O Maria et Elizabeth*, *Eterne laudis lilium* has no *cantus firmus* and as such, no internal paratext to heighten its interpretive complexity. Rather, it is the Banester motet that provides an *external* paratext for Fayrfax's work. The Fayrfax motet focuses almost entirely on female sanctity, foregrounding Mary (first half) and Elizabeth (second half) in equal measure. The men involved here are sons—holy and blessed sons, to be sure, but children nonetheless. At its core, the Visitation celebrates not only John the Baptist's in utero recognition of Jesus, but also the friendship between two mothers, who meet while pregnant and, as sometimes happens, express their hope that their children will be friends. Because they were fetuses at the time and thus dependent on their mothers' bodies for transportation as well as nourishment, the mystical encounter between John and Jesus could not have happened had Elizabeth and Mary not also met. It would seem that for Elizabeth of York, the lineage of St. Elizabeth had the same resonance to the newly constituted Tudor dynasty as the Tree of Jesse (also evoked in the motet) historically did to the English crown. As Mudan Finn observes, "the image of Elizabeth of York [was] strictly controlled to the extent that she almost completely disappears from chronicle sources after being crowned."[136] A motet such as *Eterne laudis lilium* allowed Elizabeth to exercise her authentic voice through patronage, subverting the official narrative while also allowing her to project her embodied experience of motherhood through musical hermeneutics and onto the female exemplars St. Elizabeth and the BVM.

[136] Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, 39.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have explored the interrelatedness of insular music and lyric during the late Middle Ages. I have argued that music was an important means by which the normative gender roles assigned to English queen-consorts were constituted, and by which those same queens participated in constituting those norms. Each chapter has explored a different version of female exemplarity as applied to queenship: from the Old Testament paragons after whom Anglo-Saxon and Plantagenet queens modelled their access to authority, to the constructed saints Katherine and Elizabeth in whom individual fifteenth-century queens saw themselves.

In addition to interrogating the means by which medieval discourses of gender, power, and agency took place in music, I have also sought to interrogate the ways in which musicology has established its own discursive practices for studying music that occupies liminal spaces, whether they be inherent to the music's historical and cultural context, to the people involved in creating it, or even to the music itself. That the discipline itself enjoys its own particular historical quirks should come as no surprise to any scholar, but it is perhaps less clear how these heritage narratives have impacted the methods, techniques, and vocabularies through which we "do" scholarship. As insular music continues to undergo a critical reassessment, so inevitably will the scholarship that has formed the foundations of medieval musicology. In *The Iconography of Queenship*, I hope to have demonstrated one productive avenue towards such reassessments. Through intertextual close readings and cross-disciplinary contextualization between sources, this dissertation has rehabilitated early readings of medieval paraliturgical works while also revealing new interpretations and lines of inquiry that I hope to explore in future research. The story of Britain's queens has not yet finished, and there are many more

works, however fragmentary, in the medieval insular repertoire that have yet to receive serious scholarly attention. In the words of the anonymous author of *Adam lay ybounden* wrote some six hundred years ago, “therefore we mown syngyn, *Deo gracias*.”

APPENDIX: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Duce creature virgine Marie 299

Edi beo thu hevene queen 301

En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ T. Sponsus amat sponsam 304

Eterne laudis lilium 306

Ex te lux oritur 308

Miro genere 310

Missus Gabriel de celis 311

Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ [Tenor] 313

O laudanda virginitas 315

O Maria et Elizabeth 316

Pura placens pulchra pia/ Parfundement plure Absolon/ T. ?Concupiscit 318

Risum fecit Sare 321

Rosa delectabilis / T. [Regali ex progenie]/ Regalis exoritur 323

Rota versatilis 327

Salve sanctarum sanctissima 328

Singularis laudis digna 330

Stella maris singularis 332

Virgo regalis fidei 335

Virgo sancta Katerina/ De spineto rosa crescit/ T. Agmina 336

Duce creature virgine Marie
Source: GB-Lbl Harley 978, ff.9^{v}-l0^{r}
Edition: SIBS no. 83b, 83d; PMFC XIV 23b
Translation: PMFC XV, App 23b
Genre: Pes motet

Duce creature,
virgine Marie,
chaste, nette pure,
    et saunz villenie,
par vus est la dure
mort a ceus finie
ki humeine figure
    ont la dreite vie:

Vus estes la rose
d'espine nurie,
par ki est desclose
    la porte de vie,
k'a trestuz grant pose
fu par la folie
Eve e Adam close,
    ke plein furent d'envie.

Porte de salu,
vus estes refu,
garaunt et escu
    cuntre l'enemi,
vus estes le port,
solaz et confort
a ceus ki la mort
    urent de servi:

Pur çeo en chantant
e tut en plurant,
mere al rei pusant,
    de quer fin vus pri,
k'envers vostre enfant
me seez aidant,
k'il me seit garant
    eit de moi merci.

Sweet creature, virgin Mary, chaste, clean and pure, and without wickedness, by you is hard death brought to an end for those mortal creatures who have a righteous life: you are the rose

nurtured by a thorn, by whom is opened the gate of life, which for a long time was closed to everybody by the folly of Eve and Adam, who were full of envy.

Gate of salvation, you are refuge, protector and shield against the enemy, you are the port, solace and comfort to those who have merited death: therefore singing and weeping, mother to the mighty king, from a true heart I pray you, that in respect of your child you would help me, that he might be a protector to me [and] have mercy on me.

Edi beo thu hevene queen
Source: GB-Occc 59, f.113v (olim. GB-Ob 59), f. 113^{v}
Edition: SIBS no. 112; PMFC XIV no. 2
Translation: SIBS no. 112; PMFC XV no. 2
Genre: Hymn

1. Edi beo þu, hevene quene,
folkes frovre an engles blis,
moder unpemmed and maiden clene,
spich in porld non oþer nis,
on þe hit is pel eþ sene,
of alle pimmen þu havest þet pris,
mi spete levedi, her mi bene,
an reu of me ȝif þi pille is.

2. Þu asteȝe so þe daiȝ repe,
þe deleð from þe deorke nicht,
of þe sprong a leome nepe
þat al þis porld haveð iliȝt,
nis nonmaide of þine heope,
spo fair, so sschene, so rudi, spo bricht,
spete levedi, of me þu reope
and have merci of þin knicht.

3. Spronge blostme of one rote,
þe holi gost þe reste upon,
þet pes for monkunnes bote
and heroe soule to alesen for on,
levedi milde, softe and spote,
Ic crie þe merci, Ic am þi mon,
boþe to honde and to fote,
on alle pise þat Ic kon.

4. Þu ert eorþe to gode sede,
on þe liȝte þe heovene deuȝ,
of þe sprong þeo edi blede,
þe holi gost hire on þe seuȝ,
þu bring us ut of kare, of drede
þat Eve bitterliche us breuȝ,
þu sschalt us in to heovene lede,
pelle spete is þe ilke deuȝ.

5. Moder ful of þepes hende,
maide dreiȝ and pel itaucht,

Ic em in þine love bende
and to þe is al mi draucht,
þu me sschild, ȝe, from þe feonde,
ase þu ert freo and ȝilt and maucht,
help me to mi lives ende
and make me þið þin sone isauȝt.

6. Þuert icumen of heȝe kunne,
of David þe riche king,
nis non maiden under sunne
þe mei beo þin evening,
ne þat spo deme louiȝe kunne,
ne non spo treope of alle þing,
þi love us brouchte eche ȝunne,
ihered ibeo þu, spete þing.

7. Seolcudliche ure Loverd hit diȝte
þat þu, maide þið ute pere,
þat al þis porld bicluppe ne miȝte
þu sscholdest of þin boseme bere,
þe ne stiȝte, ne þe ne priȝte
in side, in linde, ne elles phere,
þat pes þið ful muchel riȝte,
for þu bere þine helere.

8. Þo Godes sune aliȝte polde
on eorþe al for ure sake,
herre teȝen he him nolde
þene þat maide to beon his make,
betere ne miȝte he, þaiȝ he polde,
ne spetture þing on eorþe take,
levedi bring us to þine bolde
and sschild us from helle prake. Amen.

Blessed are you, heaven's queen, folks' solace and angels' bliss; mother undefiled, pure maid, such as no other is in the world; on you it is fully evident, of all women you have the highest rank; my sweet lady, hear my prayer, and have pity on me if it is your will.

You arose as the daybreak that separates from the dark night, from you sprang a new light that has lit up the whole world; there is no maid of your complexion, so fair, so beautiful, so rosy, so bright; sweet lady, take pity on me and have mercy on your knight.

A blossom sprung of one root, the holy ghost rested upon you; that was for mankind's salvation and their souls to redeem in exchange for one; gentle lady, soft and sweet, I beg your mercy, I am your servant, both hand and foot, in every way that I know.

You are soil to good seed, on you alighted the heavenly dew, from you sprung the blessed fruit, the holy ghost sowed it in you; you bring us out of care, of the fear that Eve bitterly brewed for us, you shall lead us into heaven; very sweet is that same dew.

Mother full of noble virtues, patient maid and well taught, I am in your love's bonds and for you is all my desire; you shield me, yea, from the devil, as you are generous and willing and able, help me to my life's end and make me reconciled with your son.

You are come of high stock, of David the mighty king, there is no maid under the sun that may be your equal, none who did love so deeply, nor none so trusted by all, your love brought us eternal joy, praised be you, sweet thing.

Marvelously our Lord ordained it that you, maid without a husband, should bear from your bosom he who this whole world could not enclose, he caused you neither pain nor prick in your side, your loin, or elsewhere: that was entirely fitting, since you bore your saviour.

When God's son intended to alight on earth for all our sakes, he did not wish to unite himself [with one] higher than that maid, to be his mate: even had he wished to, he could not take a better nor a sweeter thing on earth; lady, bring us to your abode, and shield us from hell's punishment. Amen.

En Katerine solennia/ Virginalis concio/ T. Sponsus amat sponsam
Source: GB-BL Add MS 57950 ("Old Hall"), ff. 110^{v}-111^{r}
Edition: *The Old Hall Manuscript,* ed. Hughes and Bent, no. 145
Translation: *The Old Hall Manuscript,* ed. Hughes and Bent, no. 145
Genre: Motet

Triplum
En Katerina solennia
Cuius sunt vota celo perhennia,
Que Costi regis sola fuit filia
de cuius ortu tota gaudet Grecia!
O tante indolis fides eximia
Cuius constancie tanta stat energia
Dum scevi judicis non pavet devia
feri carnitas rotarum machinamina.

O Katerina, pasca in ergastulo
Columbe specie per dona celica!
Hinc judicatur ad mortis jacula;
Dum decollatur lactis manant flumina,
Que precebatur pro quibus ledunt tristicia.
Propiciatrix et consolatrix sit nobis per omnia.
Amen.

Motetus
Virginalis concio
virgini canonice
martirum constancia
martirem concinite
que martirum et virginum
constancia in bravium
floruit, prevaluit,
et viguit
astancia versucia
deleta en atleta
sine meta,
regni solio
gaudet cum dei filio.

O Katerina stabilis
fide laudabilis
progenie amabilis
in specie,
nos amari

collaudari
juva dei facie.
Amen.

Tenor
Sponsus amat sponsam, salvator visitat illam.

Triplum
Behold the festivities of Catherine,
whose prayers are eternal in heaven,
who was the only daughter of King Costus,
of whose origin the whole of Greece rejoices!
O the extraordinary faith of such a nature,
whose constancy retained its force
when her flesh did not fear the wicked contrivances
of wheels set up by the cruel, bestial judge.

O Catherine, the repast in the prison
through heavenly gifts brought in the likeness of a dove!
Hence she is sentenced to the spikes of death;
when she is beheaded rivers of milk run forth,
she who prayed for those who injured her.
May she be an intercessor and consoler for us forever. Amen.

Motetus
O maidenly gathering for the virgin who follows the rule of Christ, sing to the martyr about the constancy of martyrs. And her constancy flowered in the reward of martyrs and virgins, it prevailed and won over those standing near, who were destroyed by a trick but, behold, killed without a mark. She rejoices with the Son of God on the throne of His kingdom. O Katherine, steadfast in faith, praiseworthy in lineage, lovely in appearance, who is to be loved and to be praised: help us by your godly nature. Amen.

Tenor
The groom loves the bride, the savior visits her.

Eterne laudis lilium
Source: GB-Llp MS 1, ff. 56^{v}-59^{r}
Edition: *Sacred music from the Lambeth choirbook*, ed. Lyon, pp. 70-83.
Translation: *Sacred music from the Lambeth choirbook*, ed. Lyon, xxii.
Genre: Motet

E terne laudis lilium, O dulcis Maria, te
L audat vox angelica, nutrix Christi pia.
I ure prolis glorie detur harmonia,
S alus nostre memoria omni agonia.
A ve radix, flos virginum, O sanctificata.
B enedicta in utero materno creata.
E ras sancta puerpera et inviolata,
T uo ex Iesu filio virgo peramata.
H onestis celi precibus virgo veneraris.
R egis excelsi filii visu iocundaris.
E ius divino lumine tu nusquam privaris.
G aude sole splendidior virgo singularis.
I ssachar quoque Nazaphat necnon Ismaria,
N ati ex Iesse stipite qua venit Maria,
A tque Maria Cleophe sancto Zacharia,
A qua patre Elisabeth, matre Sophonia
N atus est Dei gratia Iohannes Baptista.
G audebat clauso Domino in matrice cista.
L inee ex hoc genere est Evangelista
I ohannes. Anne filia ex Maria ista
E st Iesus Dei filius natus in hunc mundum,
cujus cruoris tumulo mundatur immundum.
conferat nos in gaudium in evum iocundum,
qui cum Patre et spiritu sancto regnat in unum. Amen.

Lily to be eternally praised, O gentle Mary,
The voice of angels praises you, holy nurse of Christ.
Let music duly sound to the glory of your child,
His agony is the salvation of our whole life.
Hail, flower of maidens, our sacred foundation,
Blessed is the womb by which you were made a mother.
You are immaculate in holy childbirth,
Most beloved virgin of your Son, Jesus.
Virgin, you are worshipped with honest prayers of heaven,
You delight in the sight of your Son, the supreme King.
You are nowhere deprived of his divine light.
Rejoice, unique virgin, brighter than the sun.

Issachar, Nazaphat, and Ismaria
Were born of the stem of Jesse from which Mary,
And Mary Cleophas came. From holy Zacharia,
The father, came Elisabeth, daughter of Sophonia.
By the grace of God was John the Baptist born,
Who was alive while the Lord was in his mother's womb.
John the Evangelist was also of the line of this family.
From this Mary, daughter of Anne
Was Jesus the Son of God born into this world.
By the burial of His blood, He was purified against the world.
He brings us into joy and into everlasting happiness,
Who with the Father and the Holy Spirit reigns in One. Amen.

Ex te lux oritur
Source: S-Uu C 233, ff. 50^{v}-51^{r}
Edition: SIBS no. 115
Translation: SIBS no. 115
Genre: Monophonic sequence

1a. Ex te lux oritur, O dulcis scocia, qua vere noscitur fulgens Norwagia:
1b. Que cum transvehitur, trahis suspiria, tui subtrahitur quod regis filia.

2a. Cum pax accenditur que, sui gracia regnis indicitur, redit leticia:
2b. Applaudunt undique terrarum spacia tecum, sed utique congaudet Anglia.

3a. Ad regem mittitur Eyricum regia virgo, susicipitur summa cum gloria:
3b. Gens tota solvitur in plausus, eya cantus extollitur fiunt tripudia.

4a. Cleri celebriter occurat concio, orat salubriter sacra religio:
4b. Prodit celeriter omnis condicio, et sexus pariter resultans gaudio.

5a. Rex ducit virginem, dulce consigium, per mundi cardinem producit gaudium:
5b. Salvet compaginem Deus hanc omnium horum, propaginem det et in meidum.

6a. Regina residet in regni solio, iniuncta posidet coronam regio:
6b. In cultu presidet, digna fastigio sit, qui sic providet laus Dei filio.

7a. O quam laudabilis hec regis socia, mitis, affabilis, plena prudencia:
7b. Cunctis dat hmilis, pllet facundia, venustat n obilis quam contencia.

8a. Viro sit ut fuit Rachel amabilis, ut regi placuit Ester placabilis:
8b. Ut Lya genuit sit prole fertilis, degat ut deguit Susanna stabilis.

9a. Manentes iugiter Dei servicio, senescant taliter felici senio:
9b. Ut vite labilis decurso stadio semper durabilis sint digni bravio.

10. Ex te progreditur O dulcia Scocia qua late spargitur laudis materia.

1. From you, O sweet Scotland, the light rises with which gleaming Norway is truly familiar; which [light], when it is carried away, you draw sighs, because the daughter of your king is carried off.
2. When [that] peace is kindled which by grace is revealed to his kingdoms, happiness returns: the spaces of the world celebrate with you on every side, but England rejoices especially.
3. To Eric the king a royal virgin is sent, and is received with highest glory: the entire people dissolves into applauding, an “eye” song is raised, dances begin.

4. The assembly of clerics quickly takes place, it prays advantageously with holy rite: every arrangement proceeds quickly and results in joy for both sexes equally.
5. The king leads the virgin, sweet spouse; over the threshold of the world he leads forth joy: may God save this union of all these things, and may he grant progeny within it.
6. The queen sits on the throne of the kingdom, united with the royal [house] she possesses a crown: she rules with care, may she be worthy in the highest degree, she] a glory which thus provides for the son of God.
7. how laudable this companion of the king: mild, affable, filled with prudence: humble, she gives to all; eloquent, she is powerful; noble, how greatly she makes herself lovely with temperance.
8. May she be as loving as Rachel is to her husband, as pleasing as Esther may she be pleasing to her king: as Leah brought forth may she be fertile with child, may she pass her time as steadfastly as Susanna passed time.
9. Remaining continually in the service of God, may they thus grow old to happy old age: that with the race of fleeting life having been run, they may be always strong and worthy of the prize.
10. From you, O sweet Scotland, there is led forth [that woman] regarding whom the stuff of praise is widely scattered.

Miro genere
Source: GB-Llp 457, f. 192^{r}
Edition: PMFC XIV no. 10
Translation: PMFC XV App. no. 10
Genre: Polyphonic song

Miro genere
Sol de sidere
Suo luxit
De particular
Sine macula
Totum fluxit
Sic a domo
Summa pomo
Lapsum homo
Deus reduxit.

Hec virginitas
quam divinitas matrem fecit
per quam veterem
summum hominem
ius deiecit
a regina
sic divina
medicina lapsa refecit.

With the wondrous birth the sun has shed great light from its height; from a small particle the whole has come forth without blemish. Thus, from the highest house has God as man led back him who had come to grief through the apple.

This virginity, given motherhood by the Divinity, through whom the ancestral man has been driven out by the highest law, has thus restored him through the medicine that, once withdrawn, flows from the divine queen.

Missus Gabriel de celis
Source: GB-Otc 34, f. 15l[v]
Edition: SIBS no. 13
Translation: SIBS no. 13
Genre: Monophonic sequence

1a. Missus Gabriel de celis,
verbi baiulus fidelis,
sacris disserit loquelis
cum beata virgine:

1b. Verbum bonum et suave
pandit intus in conclave
et ex Eva format Ave
Eve verso nomine.

2a. Consequenter iuxta pactum,
adest verbum caro factum,
semper tamen est intactum
puellare gremium:

2b. Parens pariens ignorat,
et quam homo non deflorat
non torquetur nec laborat
quando parit filium.

3a. Signum audi novitatis,
crede solum et est satis,
non est tue facultatis
solvere corrigiam.

3b. Grande signum et insigne
est in rubo et in igne,
ne appropiet indigne
calciatus quispiam.

4a. Virga sica sine rore,
novo ritu, novo more,
fructum protulit cum flore,
sic et virgo peperit:

4b. Benedcictus talis fructus,
fructus gaudii non luctus,
non erit Adam seductus,

si de hoc gustaverit.

5a. Jesus noster, Jesus bonus,
pie matris pium onus,
cuius est in celo tronus,
nascitur in stabulo:

5b. Qui sic est pro nobis natus,
nostros deleat reatus,
quia noster incolatus
hic est in periculo.
Amen.

1. Gabriel having been sent from heaven, bearer of the faithful word, speaks with holy words with the blessed virgin: he extends a good and gracious word inward within the room and from Eve ['Eva'] makes 'Ave', with the name Eve reversed.
2. There will follow close together a covenant, the word made flesh appears, always, though, is intact the virginal womb: giving birth, she knows no equal, and she whom man does not deflower is not wracked nor does she labour when she delivers a son.
3. Hear the sign of newness, believe and [this] alone is enough, it is not of your means to unfasten the shoe-tie: a great and glorious sign is in the bush and in the fire, lest any sandal should unworthily approach.
4. The dry branch without dew, by a new rite, in a new manner, has borne fruit with flower, and thus the virgin has brought forth: such blessed fruit, fruit of joy not of grief, Adam will not be seduced, if he will have tasted from this.
5. Our Jesus, good Jesus, holy burden of a holy mother, whose throne is in heaven, is born in a stable: he who thus is born for us, let him erase our guilt, because our dwelling here is in danger.
Amen.

Mulier magni meriti/ Multum viget virtus/ [Tenor]
Source: GB-Cgc 1, f. 246^{v}-247^{r}
Edition: PMFC XV no. 25
Translation: PMFC XV no. 25
Genre: Motet

Triplum
Mulier magni meriti
iubar Alexandrie
arguit Maxencium
sine misericordia
persequentem christianum populum
dum fidem ecclesie
odit sacre falsum
coli issuit ydolum
sed virgo gracilis, Caterina,
ydolis contraria
Christi legem tenuit, docuit
et habuit in memoria
unde Maxencius furibundus
evitat talia.
O virgo candida, fulgida, graciosa
Linque hunc errorem
et deo nostro prebe favorem
aut retores ab omni mundi climate
parabo tuum ad honorem.
Quos convertebat
Christo dantes honorem
post machinatam totam rotam
in incredulorem vertendo dolorem
martiris fert florem.

Duplum
Multum viget virtus marcet vicium
dum Caterina pavipendit Maxencium
dum convertebat eius coniugem
atque ducem Porphirium a furia
ac disputando vicit rethorum
tam validum consorcium scietntia
dum rotas fregit quasque peregit.
Gens malivola dei amica pudica
quam regis inimica Maxencia celica
faciens terrestria non sapit.
Hinc benivola niphala gravida gaudia

in poli patria iam capit.

Triplum
The woman of great merit, radiance of Alexandria, confuted Maxentius, who was persecuting the Christian populace without mercy. Since he hated the faith of the sacred church, he commanded a false idol to be worshipped, but the virgin of grace, Katherine, opposed to the idols, upheld, taught, and kept in mind Christ's law, whereupon Maxentius, raging, forbids such things.
"O shining white virgin, gleaming, beloved, abandon this error, and offer obeisance to our god, or else I will provide rhetoricians from every region of the world in order to make you honorable."
She converted them, who thereby gave honor to Christ. After turning the wheel into the sorrow of the infidels, she bears away a martyr's flower.

Duplum
Virtue flourishes greatly, vice withers when Katherine belittles Maxentius, when she converted his wife and the Porphyry away from madness, and in disputing she triumphed over a most able consortium of philosophers through knowledge, when she broke the wheels she really smashed each one. Hence this kind young woman now grasps abundant joy in the heavenly realm.

O laudanda virginitas
Source: Ob Wood 591, ff. ii^{r}-ii^{v}
Edition: PMFC XIV no. 32
Translation: PMFC XV App. 32
Genre: Conductus

O laudanda virginitas
eras sexus conditio
dum Katerine castitas
decertat in martyrio
arridet rosa lilio
dum virgo cadit gladio
delusa stupet feritas
manante lactis fluvio

In syna patet veritas
olei testimonio
O felix depositio
passia regalis dignitas
iam regnat a supplicio.

O praiseworthy virginity, youth, and status of womanhood, as Catherine's chastity strives valiantly in martyrdom, the rose smiles at the lily, while the virgin is felled by the sword; deluded savagery is confounded at the flowing of the stream of milk. In Sinai truth is revealed, and the oil is the proof; O blessed burial, o royal dignity, having gone through suffering. But now, having been torture, she reigns.

O Maria et Elizabeth
Author: Gilbert Banester
Source: GB-WRec MS 178 ("Eton Choirbook"), 71^{v}-74^{r}
Edition: MB 11 no. 9
Translation: Williamson, "Royal Image Making". 245

O Maria et Elizabeth,
O fecunde cognate omnium matres matrum felices ex quibus deus noum commercium prolis educandi natura mirante specialiter operates est
Tu maria velut rubus moysi igne haud concupiscencie conbusta eundum filium et non alium quem pater ab eterno genuit ihuesum ex tempore mater et virgo peperisti
Et tu Elizabeth ut arida virga Aaron miro ordine florida cunctis sanctiorem prophetis procreasti sterilis iohannem
Sic ambarum ubera de cello plena Maria superplena de cuius plentitudine demones conculcantur homines salvantur angeli reintegrantur et quicquid partus Elizabeth boni habet ex donis gracie filii Marie est
O viscera celi rore omista quarum obsequiis devote salutando humilitatis invicem prestitis
Eve peccamina veteris abolita preconia trinitatis audita et nostre redempcionis primordial declarantur
Ac obstruis ventre creatorem servus regem salvatorem cognovits et more tripudii mutuo filii congaudebant
Matres quidam gratam societatem floridum aspectum ac colloquia celica cum dulcibus ad invicem osculis ad libitum habuerunt
Susipe igitur piisima mater has preces nostris et ad solium defer filii tui ubi iuxta se te ipsam posuit
Nam nephas est albigi te esse quam ubi sest id quod a te geniutum est
Protege quesumus tibi devotum athletam regem nostrum .N. graciam dans huberem qua clemens cum iusticia diu regnet
Da virtutem illi in armis triumphantem hostesque rabidos iugo repmat iusto et prosperitatem nobis confirmet
Et post felices grandevi patris annos succedant liberi regno in paterno et avito virtute antiquos exuperantes celebratos
Ac ecclesiam et regnum et fidem et pacem habeat populous amore timeat deum regem et legem et nobis peccatoribus det veniam et graciam immortalis deus tuus gloriosus filius Amen

O Mary and Elizabeth, O fruitful kindred, blessed mothers of all mothers, through whom God especially wrought the new work of bringing forth offspring, to the wonder of nature. You, Mary, gave birth to the same Son, and none other, that the Father begat from eternal into worldly time; just as the bush of Moses was unconsumed by the fire, you - a mother and a virgin - were in no way consumed with lust. And you, Elizabeth, although sterile, bore John, holier than all the prophets, like the barren rod of Aaron flowering by a miraculous order.

Thus these women's wombs were filled, Mary's indeed to overflowing, from heaven above: by whose fullness the demons are crushed, people saved, and angels restored; and whatever was good in Elizabeth's childbearing is given by grace of Mary's Son. O wombs, laden with the dew of heaven, by whose reverences in devout salutation the sins of the former Eve have been abolished, the announcement of the Trinity has been heard and the beginnings of our redemption are declared.

And, after the wombs were filled, the servant recognised the saviour-king, and the sons rejoiced together in a mutual dance; the mothers at their pleasure enjoyed a pleasant companionship indeed, a blooming countenance, and a heavenly discourse with sweet kisses in turn.

Therefore receive these our prayers, most gentle Mother, and convey them to the throne of your Son, where he placed you by his side: for it is contrary to divine order that you should be anywhere but next to the one to whom you gave birth. Protect, we beseech you, the devout champion, our king, .N., giving copious grace whereby he might reign for a long time with clemency and justice. Give him triumphant valour in arms; may he subdue his raging enemies under a just yoke, and may he also increase our prosperity. And after the long-lived father's happy years, may his lineage succeed in their father's and ancestors' realm, surpassing in virtue their famous forebears. And, as for the king's subjects, let the church, the faith, the kingdom and peace be their inheritance, and may they lovingly fear God, the King and the Law. And may your glorious Son, O Immortal God, give to us sinners grace and forgiveness. Amen.

Pura placens pulchra pia/ Parfundement plure Absolon/ T. ?Concupiscit
Source: GB-Ob 7, f. 535; F-PN n.a.f 23190 (“Trémoille”), f. xliv
Edition: PMFC XV no. 24
Translation: PMFC XV no. 24
Genre: Motet

Triplum
Pura, placens, pulchra, pia,
quis laudabit te, Maria,
vel qua laude hie in via?
Nullus nostra in natura.

Cedit ymaginativa
mens, omnis est defectiva
lingua et inexpressiva,
cuncta nostra transis iura.

Quis scit est quantus vel qualis
decor tuus corporal is?
Est, erit, nec erat talis
infra speram passivorum.

Omnis decor tibi favit,
Euclides te mensuravit,
et Pimalion formavit,
dulcis decens doctrix morum.

Natura dedit colorem,
Zephirus confert odorem,
super omnes fecit florem
te creator creature.

Sonus dulcis tibi datur,
Orpheus unde frustratur,
excellentem quern miratur
Pluto raptam reddens iure.

Omnis decor muliebris
videntem dam vexat crebris
motibus pravis et febris,
excepta te sola pura.

Tu delectaris videntes

constantes tenere mentes
aliud non inquirentes
fruuntur tua figura.

Duplum
Parfundement plure Absolon
le poil de son chief, e Iason
plaint de sa toyson la colur,
e le solail ad grant dolour
q'il ad perdu de sa clarte.
Hester regard humilite
e la simplete de regard,
e Helaine de l'autre part
tenue de honte sa fason.
En Katerine pert resonn,
e sens n'estut able maintens,
quant cele surement que ie veie
a parfaite, fors sulement
qu'ele ne daigne nulement
ne face de long temps par desir
son plus loal ame languir.

Triplum
Pure, pleasing, beautiful, pious
who will praise you, Mary,
or by what praise here on the way?
No one in our nature.

The imaginative mind gives up;
every tongue is defective
and inexpressive;
you transcend all the laws of our being.

Who understands the greatness and
quality of your corporeal beauty?
It is and will be, yet there was not
such in the realm of ordinary things.

All beauty gives favour to you;
Euclid measured you,
and Pigmalion fashioned you,
sweet seemly teacher of morals.

Nature gave colour,

Zephir brought odour,
the creator of creatures makes
you a flower over all others.

Sweet sound is given to you,
whence Orpheus is frustrated,
the excellent one whom Pluto sees
justly returning the stolen one [i.e. Euridice]

All beauty of women
secretly vexes him who sees it, with its
abundant, depraved, and feverish gestures,
with the exception of you alone, who are pure.

You delight viewers;
the souls that are tenderly constant
and asking for nothing else
delight in your sight.

Duplum
Absolon deeply bewails
the hair on his head,
and Jason laments
the colour of his fleece,
and the sun has great sadness
because it has lost its brightness.
Esther heeds humility
and the simplicity of appearance,
and Helen on the other hand
has a shameful bearing.
In Catherine sense shows itself,
and reason did not maintain apt conduct
when [we have seen] her that I surely consider
as perfect, save only
that she does not deign
not to make the soul most loyal to her
languish for a long time with desire.

Risum fecit Sare
Source: GB-BL MS Arundel 248, f. 201^{v}
Edition: SIBS no. 77
Translation: SIBS no. 77
Genre: Conductus

Risum fecit Sare
sue deus care
quo conrident omnia
Novum fecit mirum
plenum alvo virum
curcumdedit femina

Femina non quevis
non fallax aut levis
imo plena gracia
Cuius distillatur
nobis quicquid datur
ex gracie opia

Sane conridendum
plane congaudendum
cunctis matri gracie
ex qua puer natus
filius est datus
nobis patris glorie

O quam grande donum
quam precellens bonum
quam ingens remedium
Pro servis tuendis
immo redimendis
dedit pater filium

O vere beata
o felix et grata
deo virgo regia
Ex qua mortis fata
vicit incarnata
dei sapiencia

Dulcis mater Christi
Christum attraxisti
de supreno solio

Tam foretem tam magnum
mitem factum agnum
lactas foves gremio

Agnus inquam purus
qu nos redempturus
suo lavit sanguine
Morte passus dura
mortis vicit jura
salvato suo homine

Jesum ora pia
pro servis Maria
tibi famulantibus
Ut nos cum beatis
salve expurgatis
peccatorum sordibus
Amen.

God caused his beloved Sarah to laugh, and everything joins in her laughter. Then He caused a new miracle: a woman has His abundant seed inside her womb.

She is not just any woman; she is neither deceitful nor fickle; on the contrary, she is full of grace. From her copious grace ever so much is distilled and given to us.

And so everyone indeed should laugh and rejoice with the gracious mother, from whom a boy is born and the glorious Father's son is given to us.

O what an ample gift, what an eminent blessing, what a powerful medicine! To protect His slaves, indeed to redeem them, the Father gave His son.

O royal virgin, truly blessed, happy, and pleasing to God: from Thee God's wisdom incarnate has sprung and has vanquished the fate of death.

Sweet mother of Christ, thou hast drawn Christ from His heavenly throne. With thy bosom thou givest milk and warmth to Him, who, so strong and great, was made into a mild lamb.

And the pure lamb, which will redeem us, has washed us with His blood. Having suffered in harsh death, He has vanquished death's laws and thus has saved His mankind.

Kind Mary, pray Jesus for the servants who attend Thee that He cleanse us from the filth of our sins and preserve us together with the blessed. Amen.

Rosa delectabilis / T. [Regali ex progenie]/ Regalis exoritur

Source: GB-Onc 362, ff. 90^{v}-91^{r}
Edition: PMFC XV no. 10
Translation: PMFC XV no. 10
Genre: Motet

Triplum
[R]osa delectabilis
spina carens exoritur;
regina prenobilis
hec culpa carens nascitur.

Hec que Iesse virgule
de radice progreditur,
ex stirpe virguncula
David est que producitur.

Hec luna formosior
ut aurora progreditur;
sole speciosior
materiali cernitur.

Eius est amabilis
et Graciosa facies;
fit illa terribilis
velud astrorum acies.

Exorta conspicitur
ex regali progenie
virgo, que dinoscitur
reis spes alma venie.

Castis Dei filium
hec concepit visceribus,
quem pudoris lilium
servans lactat uberibus.

Via deviantibus
precor amore filii
sis virgo peccantibus
culpaque disperantibus
pia mater auxilium.

Tenor
[Regali ex progenie.]

Duplum
[R]egalis exoritur
mater decoris anima;
naturalis tollitur
honors amicicia.

Nova caro cernitur
emendate resurgere,
tali et suboritur
cuncta regens impendere.

Terre vita redditur
Eve salus in gracia;
nobis ac refunditur
eius pax excellencia.

Rex turbatur emitur
qui vitam orbi dederat.
Falso Iuda traditur,
pace reus omiserat.

Presta tuox excipe
regina tuis emulis;
conclamantes accipe
nos tibi vitam servulis.

Des viam laudantibus,
et cunctis te egregia
regina orantibus
bina enim remedia.

Tribus egentibus
peccato penitentibus,
ut qui culpa miseri
sunt hii pena sint liberi
fineque cives celici.

Triplum
A delectable rose
arises without a thorn;
this celebrated queen

is born without a blemish.
She who comes forth as a little twig
from the root of Jesse,
she is that sweet, dear virgin who is
produced out of the lineage of Davie.
She, more beautiful than the moon,
comes forth like the dawn;
she is perceived as more splendid
than the actual sun.
Hers is a loving and
gracious figure;
she becomes worth of awe,
just as the array of stars.
The virgin, arising from kingly
forebears, is admired;
she, who is known as the hope for
wrongdoers, the soul of kindness.
She conceived the son of God
in her chaste womb;
the lily of modesty, serving him,
suckles him at her breast.
I pray by the love of the son that
you, virgin, blessed mother, true
way to them who err,
be an aid to sinners and those
despairing in their guilt.

Duplum
The royal mother arises
the soul of comeliness
she is elevated by her love of true honor.

The new flesh is seen to
rise again, free from sin,
and to such a one is born in turn
one to oversee, ruling all.

Life is restored to earth,
and in grace the salvation of Eve;
and peace is restored to us by her excellence.

The king is troubled, is bought,
he who gave life to the earth;
he is betrayed by decietful Judas;

sinful man gave up piece.

O ready queen, rescue us from those who rivla you;
heed us who fcry to you,
and devote their life to you.

May you show the proper way to those giving praise, and O you excellent
queen, gie double remedy
to all who pray.

May you grant to the needy,
and to the penetent in their sin,
that those who suffer from some
fault may be free from punihsment,
and in the end, citzens of heaven.

Rota versatilis
Sources: Lbl 24198; Lbl 40011B; Ob 652; Lbl 4909 [fragments]
Edition:
Translation: Roger Bowers in
Genre: Motet

Rota versatilis // rubens versucia…
[remainder lost]
Orbis dominacio // vertitur in rota
eius et elatio // quasi gleba vota
virginis oratio // potenti devota
rotam vertit odio // que se perit tota.

Rota Katerine // fit sevissima
rota mundi bine // fraudis pessima
clause patent fine // sub nequissima
verse sunt ruine // vi potissima.

Katerina spe divina // tormentum divcerat
ut certantes disputantes // sola iam concluserat
in ardore flatus rore // clericos consulerat
et amore suo more // christo laudes solverat.

Virgo perduxerat // reginam et porphirium
quibus promiserat // perhennis vite gaudium
postquam oraverat // seve subit martyrium
lac emanaverat // virgo poscit palacium

The revolving wheel, reddening with wiliness…
The lordship of the world is being turned on a wheel, and its final disposal is just as a votive clod of earth. The holy prayer of the virgin turns [her] wheel with powerful malevolence, and it disintegrates totally.
The wheel of Katherine is made most cruel, a most evil wheel of a world of twofold deceit. Enclosed [organs] lie open under a most vile death; 'the ruins have been overturned' with most remarkable force.
[Fortified by divine hope, Katherine had vanquished her torture, just as—alone—she had already confounded the disputants contenting [against her]. In the burning heat the breeze had comforted the clerks with dew, and in its fashion, had rendered praises to Christ with love.
The virgin had converted the queen and Porphyrium *[sic],* to whom she had promised the joy of eternal life. After she had prayed, she undergoes savage martyrdom. Milk [had] flowed forth.
The virgin demands [admission to] the palace [of heaven].

Salve sanctarum sanctissima

Source: GB-Ob Bodley 343, f. x^r
Edition: SIBS no. 42
Translation: SIBS no. 42
Genre: Polyphonic sequence

1a. Salve sanctarum
    sanctissima:
1b. Ave piarum
    piissima.

2a. Stirps regia,
vite via,
laus sanctorum,
spes reorum,
    virgo Maria:
2b. Lux solaris,
stella maris,
clausus ortus,
vite portus,
    plena gracia.

3a. Nam illa seva
mulier, Eva,
descipi digna
    fraude maligna:
3b. Ius subit mortis,
abstulit sortis
prime gaudia,
    carens patria.

4a.Sed diram tulit mortem;
primam reddidit sortem
    virgo Maria,
4b. Conceptu sacro suo,
miroque partu suo,
    plena gracia.

5a. Namque regali
ac prophetali
stemate orta,
vite fit porta
    virgo Maria:

5b. Que sine viro,
ordine miro
genuit Deum,
hominem verum,
    plena gracia.

6a. Sed ut sol radio,
sic suo filio
    virgo Maria,
6b. Pulcrior videtur,
castior habetur,
    plena gracia.

7a. O qualis femina,
cunctorum domina,
7b. Post Deum unica,
spesque salvifica.

8a. Ergo tuorum
vota servorum
suscipe, pia
    virgo Maria:
8b. Dans prece pia,
data venia,
celi gaudia,
    plena gracia.

I. Hail most holy of the holy: hail most pious of the pious.
2. Royal root, road of life, glory of the saints, hope of sinners, virgin Mary: light of the sun, star of the sea, hidden garden, gate of life, full of grace.
3. For that savage woman, Eve, fit to be snared by malicious deception: the law of death approaches, it takes away firstly the joys of her lot, [she] being deprived of her homeland.
4. But it brought awful death; the virgin Mary restored the first condition, with her holy conception and with his marvelous birth, full of grace.
5. For, sprung from royal and prophesied stock, the virgin Mary be the gate of life: who without a man, in marvelous fashion, bore God, truly man, full of grace. 6. But as the sun seems more beautiful in its ray, thus the virgin Mary is made more chaste in her son, full of grace.
7. O what a woman, queen of all, alone after God, and saving hope.
8. Therefore receive the prayers of your servants, pious virgin Mary: by pious prayer, with mercy having been given, giving the joys of heaven, full of grace.

Singularis laudis digna

Source: US-NYpm M. 978, f. 1[r]
Edition: PMFC XVII no. 48
Translation: PMFC XVII no. 48, modified by this author
Genre: Conductus

1a. Singularis laudis digna
dulcis mater et benigna
sumas ave graci[e]

1b. Stella maris ap[p]ellaris
deum paris expers maris
loco sedens glori[e]

2a. Hester flectit Assuerum
Iuditti plectit ducem ferum [sic]
precis in oraculo

2b. Tu regina regis regem
et conserva tuum gregem
maris in periculo

3a. Cesset guerra iam Francorum
terra fit Anglorum
cum decore lilii

3b. Et sit concors leoperdo
per quod honor sit Edwardo
regi probo prelilii [sic]

Unique lady worthy of praise,
Sweet and kind mother,
Hail to you, of the highest grace

You are called 'Star of the Sea,'
Peerless lady who bore the son of God, seated in Heaven.

Esther prevailed upon Ahasuerus
and Judith overcame the fierce leader through prayer.

You, queen, can rule the king
And save your people

from the peril of the sea.

Let this war with France end
Let their lands come to England,
decorated with lilies

And may the lily be in harmony with the leopard
In this way honor will come to Edward,
and the king's worthiness will be proven.

Stella maris singularis
Source: GB-Cgc 240/126, pp. 4-5
Edition: SIBS no. 60b
Translation: SIBS no. 60b
Genre: Sequence

1a. Stella maris singularis,
claustris claris castillaris,
fecundaris nec fedaris,
fetasine semine:
1b. Expers paris prelicaris,
exsors maris marem paris,
gravidaris nec gravaris,
sancto fulta flumine.

2a. Tument queque femine
de virili semine
nec sine doloribus
vacuatur fetibus:
2b. Tu solo spiramine
grato tumes germine
et altis applausibus
flores, plena fructibus.

3a. Serpens Eve clam surrepit,
multa spondens quam decepit,
pomum gustans dum incepit
dare viro vetitum:
3b. Salutare cum hanc cepit
Gabriel, ista concepit
Christum, cruem qui suscepit
solveret ut debitum.

4a. Hec archa diluvii,
arcus testimonii,
nos a culpus expiat
et Deo conciliat:
4b. Civitas refugii,
lucerna consilii,
que viam iradiat
per quam quis repatriat.

5a. Hec est archa instaurata
mana, virga, tabulis,

prudens, recta, dulcorata
angelorum epulis:
5b. Hec est Judith, animata,
obvians periculis,
Hester, regi copulata,
pacem donans populis.

6a. Apis ista brevitatis
fructum dat suavitatis,
vallis hec humilitatis
dia gerit germina:
6b. Hec caminus caritatis,
clausus ortus castitatis
puteusque pietatis,
nostra lavans crimina.

7a. Tot habens beneficia,
quot tellus animata,
quot mare stillicidia,
quot ethera penata:
7b. Celi sedens in curia,
regina coronata,
confer nobis solacia
in valle desolata.

8a. Per te, mater pietatis,
mala tollat, donet gratis
regnum sue claritatis
nobis te laudantibus:
8b. Lex superne caritatis, verbis mestis propensatis,
iugis vox iocunditatis,
vacans Dei laudibus.
Amen.

I. Matchless star of the sea, you are defended with shining gates, you are made fruitful not defiled, pregnant without seed: without equal you are foretold, without a man you bear a man, you are impregnated not burdened, supported by the holy spirit.
2. And those women who swell from masculine seed are not vacated by their infants without sorrows: you alone swell with pleasing fruit by the inspiration [of the holy spirit] and you give birth with lofty applauses, filled with delights.
3. The serpent covertly steals in to Eve, promising many things as it deceives, while she, tasting the forbidden apple, undertakes to give it to the man: when Gabriel took it in hand to greet this one [Mary], she conceived Christ, who bore the cross that he might pay back the debt.

4. This one, the ark of the flood, rainbow of witness, purifies us from sins and reconciles us to God: city of refuge, lamp of counsel, who illuminates the road by which anyone might be returned home.
5. This is the ark restored by the manna, the branch, the tablets; prudent, upright, sweetened on the food of angels: this is Judith, spirited, meeting with dangers; [this is] Esther, coupled to the king, giving peace to the people.
6. This bee of brevity gives the delight of sweetness, this valley of humility bears the divine seed: this forge of charity, enclosed garden of chastity and well of piety, washing our sins.
7. Having as many kindnesses as the earth has living things, as the sea has drops of liquid, as the air has winged things: sitting in the court of heaven, crowned queen, bestow solace upon us in the desolate valley.
8. Through you, mother of piety, may the reign of his brightness remove evils, may it give freely to us praising you: law of celestial charity for those weighed down by sorrowful words, voice of perpetual pleasantness, having leisure for the praises of God. Amen.

Virgo regalis fidei
Source: GB-WO
Edition: PMFC XIV no. 51
Translation: PMFC XV no. 51
Genre: Pes motet

Virgo regalis/ fidei merito specialis
ut iubar in tenebris / Katerina refulsit in arvis
hinc animo forti/ pro Christo subdita morti
celorum castris / lomerata choruscat in astris.

The regal virgin Katherine, outsanding in the merit of her faith, has shone throughout the lands like a heavenly light in darkness. Strong in soul she was delivered to death for Christ; therefore she was formed into a sphere in the castles of heaven and glitters among the stars.

Virgo sancta Katerina/ De spineto rosa crescit/ T. Agmina
Source: GB-Onc 362, ff. 82^{v}-83^{r}
Edition: PMFC XV no. 7
Translation: PMFC XV no. 7
Genre: Motet

Triplum
Virgo sancta Katerina,
gemma nitens Grecie
orta veteri de spina
ro[sa fragrans] gracie

generosa, palatina
clare flos prospie
qui parentes ? rex, regina,
gr[andis] excellencie.

Pupa vergit ad divina
dans se clerimonie.

Ultra morem [femina]rum
fit magistra licterarum
fidei catholice.

Vicit rethores Persarum
g[erens bases] Galliarum
artis. In rethorice

victi, cedunt quinquageni
qui putantu[r esse] pleni
luminis sapiencie.

Igni dantur ut uraantur
hos non ledit hiis [concedit]
ignis set Uranie

spiritus sacri rore
madente gracie.

Duplum
De spineto rosa crescit
inter rampnos Grecie
stimulata non palescit

tribulo perfidie.

Laceratur dum fatore
fragrans flos prudencie
gens respirant ex odore
floris Alexandrie

De floreto flos regali
Katerina nascitur
ritu gencium dampnali
spreto fidem sequitur.

Tecta scuto puritatis
esse cincta castitatis
saluteque Gallie

iura sexus et etatis
vincens npehas dignitatis
arguit cesaree

Fide rethorum robusta
facta goors non adusta
moritur incendio

Demum cedit et Augusta
fitque martir post angusta
cesa cum Porfirio.

Triplum
Virgin Saint Catheirne,
shining jewel of Greece,
arisen from an ancient thorn-bush
the fragrant rose of grace,

well-born, of imperial breeding,
flower of a distinguished clan
who are her parents / a king and queen
of great excellence.

This little girl inclines to the divine
committing herself to the clergy.

Beyond the custom of women,
she becomes master of the

literature of the catholic faith.

She defeats the Person rhetoricians,
setting the foundations of the
French art.

Vanquished, in rhetoric, the fifty
yield, who [were thought to be]
full of the light of wisdom.

They are given to the fire to be burned,
but it doesn't hurt them; rather,
the fire gives way to them

by means of the dripping dew of
heavenly grace and the Holy Spirit.

Duplum
From the thorn-hedge a rose grows
among the thorn-bushes of Greece;
pricked by the thistle of treachery,
it doesn't blanch.

When the fragrant flower of prudence
is lacerated by a speaker,
the populace breathes in the odor
of the flower of Alexandria.

From the flower garden of the king
a flower, Catherine is born;
having spurned the ruinous rite of
the gentiles, she follows her faith.

Protected by the shield of purity,
girded by the sword of chastity
and the salvation of France,

Surpassing the rights of her sex and
age, she argued the evilness of the
imperial authority.

Made morally strong by the faith of
the orators, the company of soldiers
dies, unsinged, in the fire.

And then at long last Augusta yields,
and is made a martyr after tribulation,
having been killed together with Porphyrius.

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