

episode in the pre-history of opera, competently approached from the perspective of literary theory and poetics.

RENATA PIERAGOSTINI

Cambridge

doi:10.1093/ml/gcv054

© The Author (2015). Published by Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.

*St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics.*

By Michael Alan Anderson. pp. xvii + 345. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 2014. £65. ISBN 978-1-107-05624-4.)

Michael Anderson's book exposes the ferment of art and politics within the French, Habsburg, and Burgundian sphere around the turn of the sixteenth century by examining the way nobility called upon the intercessory powers of St. Anne. There are, of course, other books that treat these rich artistic traditions. What makes Anderson's hermeneutic unique, though, is his interdisciplinary approach and his emphasis on the lives of women: Anne of Cyprus (later Anne of Savoy); Anne of France (daughter of Louis XI); Anne of Brittany (wife of Emperor Maximilian I, Charles VIII, and Louis XII); Anne of Bohemia and Hungary (wife of Emperor Ferdinand I); but also Marguerite of Navarre (sister of King Francis I); and above all Margaret of Austria. With scrupulous attention to detail, Anderson shows that these women relied on musicians, artists, and scribes to channel their political and domestic ambitions through devotion to St. Anne. Scrutinizing noble women's harvest of St. Anne's benevolence enables Anderson to connect ritual music in public spaces to the privy of women's concerns for literacy, marriage and widowhood, and the problems of maternity, especially as related to women's sense of duty to secure their dynastic inheritance through progeny. As a result, every chapter offers a fascinating blend of music criticism and storytelling.

The lives of noble women in Renaissance Europe were often complicated by marriages of state and child rearing, which would have fit them naturally as devotees of St. Anne. Anderson reviews the apocryphal *vita* of St. Anne and its reception among medieval exegetes in chapter 1, emphasizing those attributes that made her appealing to women. Anne was thrice married—to Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome (henceforth known as the *Trinubium*)—and bore each husband a

daughter named Mary, who, in turn, each married and gave birth to children who would figure prominently in the New Testament (p. 7). As the mother of the Virgin Mary, St. Anne was the *Mater matris* and the grandmother saint of auspicious progeny, and she would be venerated as the matriarch of the 'Holy Kinship', whose power could be conjured to support the dynastic ambitions of her devotees. And because Anne's marriages were successive, devotees also found solace in her dignified model of widowhood—particularly Margaret of Austria, who was twice a widow, and Anne of Brittany, who was thrice married and widow of Charles VIII.

Anderson opens his study of music in chapter 2 with some persistent sleuthing for the origins of the Turin Codex (Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, MS. J.II.9). It yields connections that extend from the Lusignan court in Cyprus to the ruling families of Brescia and Savoy. The manuscript (dated no earlier than 1413) includes 334 musical items—a full gamut of chant, including the offices of St. Anne and St. Hilarion, and French polyphonic songs. Through them, Anderson explores the broad relevance of music devoted to St. Anne within a rather tightly knit community of patrons in the Habsburg-Burgundian sphere.

To prove his assertions about music, Anderson makes effective use of visual art at several key stages. Witness, for example, Bernhard Strigel's *Portrait of Maximilian and Family* in 1515 (Figure 1.4, p. 18), which identifies the emperor and family allegorically as members of St. Anne's holy family. Installing this visual allegory early in the book establishes the Habsburgs as key players in the cult of St. Anne. Margaret of Austria, for example, surfaces frequently in Anderson's narrative. Chapter 3 is devoted almost entirely to Margaret of Austria's role in propagating La Rue's *Missa de Sancta Anna*. Details about her patronage and biography in music take up the last twenty pages of the chapter. Adding to his argument the depiction of Margaret and her mother, Mary of Burgundy, kneeling at the St. Anne altar before a 'St. Anne Trinitarian', in the Church of St Nicholas in Ghent (Figure 3.2, p. 82), underscores Anderson's assertion that Margaret's veneration of the saint began early and was pervasive. The origin of the tenor in the *Missa de Sancta Anna* remains elusive, though. The manuscript copy of the Mass in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.15496, copied at the workshop of Petrus Alamire before 1516, includes a reference to 'Felix Anna', which leads to an extensive search

for a source among various chant and polyphonic sources.

The harvest of St. Anne's benevolence is on view again in Lucas Cranach's *Altarpiece of the Holy Kinship* from the castle church of Wittenberg (Figure 4.3, p. 114), this time favouring Frederick the Wise, Duke of Saxony, a surrogate of the Habsburg court and a supporter of Maximilian's dynastic ambitions. This artistic connection helps Anderson entwine the visual allegory with Frederick's collection of St. Anne relics to yield a context for his patronage of liturgical music at the castle church, including La Rue's *St. Anne Mass* (p. 116), and three cycles of polyphonic Propers (e.g. *Lucis huius festa; Celebramus devotissime; Introit Gaudeamus omnes in Domino; Alleluia. O Maria dei genetrix;* and sequence *Gaude mater Anna gaude*, pp. 119–36). Chapter 4 concludes with a brief evaluation of the decline of the St. Anne cult in Wittenberg following Martin Luther's reforms. Although his arguments seem rushed, Anderson makes some incisive observations about Luther's influence on his noble protector (Frederick), while exposing a remarkable irony. Both men seem to have benefited from St. Anne's intercessions, but Luther would later denounce excessive adoration of saints, Anne in particular (p. 141), and condemned sanctoral veneration through relics and pilgrimages as idolatry. Hence, by 1523 Frederick no longer displayed his relic collection, and weekday masses at the castle church ended in 1524. In its stead, Luther promoted a new kind of music at the university and castle church led by Johann Walter, Frederick's court composer.

Anderson's search for meaning behind Jean Mouton's motet *Celeste beneficium* in chapter 5 begins with Margaret of Austria but then shifts to the extraordinary life of Anne of Brittany. Both women had good reason to seek comfort from St. Anne. They were each caught up in the nuptial machinations of various monarchs—one of whom they shared (Charles VIII)—and, hence, were frequently betrothed, married, and widowed. Anderson is appropriately cautious when asserting that *Celeste beneficium* is based on the antiphon by the same name. He is somewhat less circumspect, though, when speculating about the biographical meaning behind the motet. Uncertainty about the 'precise circumstances that spurred the composition of Mouton's *Celeste beneficium*' (p. 163) soon yields to certainty that the motet had done 'devotional work for Anne of Brittany in her struggle to produce a male heir around 1508' (p. 164). Nevertheless, the variety of evidence he produces demonstrates rather convincingly how the court

chapel and this motet played an integral part in projecting Queen Anne's maternal anxieties (pp. 157–8).

Margaret of Austria reappears in chapter 6 as the patron of yet another book from the Alamire workshop (London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G.vii), this one of motets, including Mouton's *Celeste beneficium*. Margaret appears to have commissioned the book for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon as an expression of sympathy for her sister-in-law's miscarriages (p. 178). The chapter, though, is largely devoted to Petrus Alamire's compilation of the 'Palatini Partbooks' (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Palatini Latini 1976–9), created between 1528 and 1534 for Anna, Queen of Bohemia and Hungary. The partbooks include a large number of motets dedicated to St. Anne. By the time one reaches these motets, one finds oneself reading their texts through Anderson's eyes, looking for passages that could be construed as having to do with the dynastic aspirations of the families who commissioned them. For example, Anderson suggests that both *Nesciens mater* and *Adjutorium nostrum* express the urgent need of a male heir. Anderson expands on Herbert Kellman's hypothesis that the 'Palatini Partbooks' provide a 'little chronicle of significant events in the lives of Anna and Ferdinand in the years 1526–31' (p. 197). Yet he later argues against Kellman's reasoning, because it privileges the significance of certain motets. If one chooses to align them with events that can be dated securely before 1531, then the others must conform to events that occurred earlier; and this is clearly impossible, as Anderson shows (pp. 202–3). Instead, Anderson posits his own 'Anne' reading, adding that Margaret of Austria might have been the commissioner of the 'Palatini Partbooks' on account of her intimate understanding of the 'multivalent meanings that could be "harvested" from St. Anne' (p. 205). He does agree with Kellman, though, that the 'Palatini' motet collection may be understood in terms of a devotional sequence akin to the recitation of a Rosary, and in particular the popular genre of the 'Pseudo-Rosary of St. Anne' (p. 207). As a spiritual model, Anderson finds Erasmus of Rotterdam an appealing match. Erasmus was a passionate devotee of St. Anne and had ties to both the court of Ferdinand and Anna, and to Margaret's court in Mechelen, where Erasmus served as tutor to Charles V (pp. 208–10).

Visual representations of 'St. Anne Trinitarian' figure prominently again in chapter 7 in connection with the 'Royal Trinity' of King Francis I, his mother Louise of Savoy, and

sister Marguerite of Navarre. He reveals their similarity by comparing Andrea de Sarto's *Holy Family with Angels*, and Raphael and Giulio Romano's allegory *Holy Family of François I*, with Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Although Leonardo painted the panel before leaving Italy, it was in his workshop when he served Francis, and became part of the king's collection in 1517 (p. 218). Connecting these images from the late 1510s allows Anderson to develop a political context for a variety of music associated with the royal family. Most important among them is the monophonic mass (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1035) composed in honour of St. Anne in 1518–19 (p. 243) and dedicated to Marguerite. Anderson identifies the mass as a 'document in the life of Marguerite of Navarre' (p. 239). The Propers seem to Anderson 'tailor made for Marguerite', as they emphasize matters of maternity (p. 231), which was a constant source of anxiety, judging from Marguerite's correspondence (p. 241).

Although Anderson goes to great lengths to cast the mass in the light of French biblical Humanism, the mass Propers reflect a conservative view of Saint Anne. Theologians like Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Francis du Moulin, a Franciscan, had refuted the popular Christian tradition of St. Anne's *Trinubium* (pp. 223–4). Their views were current at the court of Francis I, particularly as Du Moulin was one of Louise of Savoy's advisers, but the St. Anne mass does refer to the three husbands of St. Anne. Based on his interpretation of the dedication miniature, Anderson also proposes a Franciscan provenance for the mass, but the evidence he offers is uncertain. The miniature shows a tonsured figure, wearing a grey garment, offering the book to Marguerite (Fig. 7.4). Anderson points out that Franciscans often wore grey or brown habits (p. 227 n. 44), but he is not wearing the knotted rope belt, which artists seem to have considered obligatory in visual representations of Franciscans. 'Les Cordeliers' was the common name for the Franciscans in France, on account of this most distinguishing feature. Franciscan identity had certainly been in a state of turmoil for more than half a century before this period, as the two streams of reformers (Coletans and Observants) vied with Conventuals over control of the Order in France. The Coletan friars (and Colettine nuns whom they served) were popular among the nobility in Burgundy, and they had been very successful in reforming convents there. In fact, the Coletans reformed Le Grand Couvent in Paris in 1502, but it was

the Observants who emerged victorious in 1517, when the papal bull of Pope Leo X, *Ite vos in vineam meam*, required all reformed friars to join the Observants. As Anderson writes, 'all three members of the Royal Trinity, especially Marguerite, were specifically interested in reform of the Franciscans' (p. 245). Indeed, he suggests that the Franciscan theologian Jean Thenaud (c.1480–1542), a favourite of the king and his mother, may have contributed to the mass. The evidence seems tenuous, though, at least as presented here. Anderson asserts that the king's fascination with Kabbalism, on which Jean composed two treatises, might provide a background to the author's obsession with the number seven in the Preface to the St. Anne mass. But, of course, the number seven is also important in other contexts, notably Marian theology.

To conclude, Anderson reviews the model of female literacy and maternity through the lens of music devoted to St. Anne. He also cites other compositions that would benefit from similar evaluation, namely John Dunstaple's motet *Gaude felix mater Anna / Gaude mater / Anna parens* and Jacquet of Mantua's motet *Ave mater matris*.

PETER V. LOEWEN

Rice University

doi:10.1093/ml/gcv053

© The Author (2015). Published by Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.

*Barocco padano e musicisti francescani: L'apporto dei Maestri Conventuali. Atti del XVI Convegno internazionale sul barocco padano (secoli XVII–XVIII)*. Ed. by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan. Barocco Padano, 8. (Centro Studi Antoniani, Padua, 2014. €55. ISBN 978-88-85155-98-5.)

For four decades the Como branch of the association *Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi*, headed by the commanding figure of Maurizio Padoan, has regaled us with volume after volume of conference proceedings in which north Italian music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a thematic constant, but always with an additional element to create the kind of tight focus guaranteeing that if one article proves of interest, there will also be several others. The dual-language (English-Italian) conference of 2013 giving rise to the twenty-two contributions surveyed here was held jointly with another highly productive body, the Centro Studi Antoniani attached to the Basilica di Sant'Antonio (familiarily called 'Il Santo') in Padua. The conference's apposite