

THE MUSICAL EDUCATION AND INVOLVEMENT  
OF THE SIX WIVES OF HENRY VIII:

Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn,

Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves,

Katherine Howard and

Katherine Parre

A THESIS IN MUSICOLOGY

Presented to the Faculty of the University of  
Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF MUSIC

by  
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Kansas City, Missouri  
2017

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HENRY VIII

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University of Missouri- Kansas City, 2017

ABSTRACT

The first half of sixteenth-century England was a land permeated by religious upheaval and political instability. Despite being a land fraught with discord, it was a time of great advances in education, theology, and the musical arts. Henry VIII, king of England during this time, married six different women during his reign, which lasted from 1509 to 1547. Each queen experienced a different musical education, which resulted in musical involvement that reflected that queen's own background and preferences. By and large, each of the reasons discussed in this thesis; religious, financial, social, sexual and even at times political, circle back to the idea of the manifestation and acquisition of power. Inadvertently, the more power the queen or queen in training gained as she climbed the social ladder, the better her chances of her survival were compared to her lower- class counterparts.

Spanish born, Katherine of Aragon was raised at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where she was educated in both singing and instrumental performance, as well as dance. Katherine's music education was meant to prepare Katherine to showcase her

fertility, which inevitably in her marriage, she failed to provide the kingdom with a male heir. Anne Boleyn, Henry's second queen, was raised in the English countryside in Kent, and then travelled to the posh courts of Northern Europe, where she too learned singing, dancing, and instrumental performance. Anne's musical involvement had a seductive quality which led to a rapid ascension through the ranks of Tudor court society but adversely led to her ruination. Jane Seymour, raised on the country estate of Wulfhall, in Wiltshire, had a simple music education through her Catholic upbringing. Jane's musical involvement, or lack thereof, was a direct reaction to Anne Boleyn's detrimental musical involvement and her minimal involvement was meant to showcase her chastity rather than her charisma. German-born Anne of Cleves was raised in the Protestant belief that music education impinged upon a woman's purity. Anne's musical involvement demonstrates the transition not only into English society, but also how a woman's musical involvement changed with the change in marital status. As a single woman, Anne was free to pursue the musical education she never had in her conservative Protestant German upbringing. As the fifth wife, the young Katherine Howard received music education specifically for her families, and her own, upward social mobility. In turn, she gained the king's attention and earned the most advantageous marriage possible. However, as queen, like she failed to make the transition to the more serious role of musical patroness, and continued living as if she were still a young girl at Lambeth, immensely enjoying dance. Katherine Parre, Henry's final and sixth wife, received a musical education much modeled after Katherine of Aragon's ideas for her own daughter, Mary. Under Maude Parre's supervision, Katherine Parre received training in instrumental music, singing, and dance, at her families' northern country estate. As

queen, Katherine's musical involvement encapsulates pieces of each of the preceding queens in addition to enhancing her own sense of majesty and prestige. In turn, Katherine Parre's involvement would inspire future Tudor monarchs, Elizabeth and Edward, to do the same.

## APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the Conservatory of Music and Dance have examined a thesis titled “The Musical Education and Involvement of the Six Wives of Henry VIII,” presented by Brooke C. Little, candidate for the Master of Music degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first and foremost thank my advisor, Dr. Alison DeSimone, for her generous support throughout this project. Thank you for the letters of recommendation for the research trips. Thank you for believing in me, and pointing me to the endless sources, both personal and academic that made this entire thesis possible. Thank you for championing my Tudor interests, kindness, and for your patience with my footnotes. I could not have asked for a better advisor and mentor.

I would like to thank Dr. William Everett, who pointed me to the UMKC Women's Council, supported me in letter writing, and acted as my first supporter in my interest in Tudor women's music education at UMKC. Thank you for being a catalyst on my journey and setting me on my path.

Thank you to Dr. Sarah Tyrell, who has served on my thesis committee, and has supported my project through encouraging me through grammar, comps, coffee, and advanced research methods.

I would also like to thank the UMKC Women's Council and the Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies department for their generous financial support, without which both of my archival research trips to London would not have been possible.

I would like to say thank you to the illustrious Dr. Linda Voigts, without whose support, knowledge, and time, my work with the early English paleographic references would not have been as achievable. I am so grateful for your time and kindness, and that you have shared your great experiences with early modern England with me.

Thank you most of all to my husband Ryan, who has travelled with me and has supported my dreams of studying a subject that fulfills my life and soul. Thank you to Dr.



Quinn Medicine Woman starring Jane Seymour of the Open Hearts Collection, boxed wine, and Mustache and Birthday for the emotional support needed during this thesis process.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

A set of seven tapestries called *Victory of the Virtues Over the Vices*, currently hangs in the Great Watching Chamber at Hampton Court Palace.<sup>1</sup> The set of Flemish tapestries was purchased by Thomas Boleyn (1477-1539), diplomat and father of Anne Boleyn (1501-1536), in the early 1520s, then given as a gift to Cardinal Wolsey (1473-1530), Henry VIII's (1491-1547) chief minister, who hung them both in and outside of his private apartments at Hampton Court. Of the series of seven selections of woven art, two tapestries in particular depict women making music. The first, coined *Tapestry of the Dance*, depicts pleasure-loving humanity. A group of six musicians including three female singers and three men play large, almost oblong recorders, accompanying scantily attired dancers whose sphere has been invaded by the character of Lust. Verses are woven beneath and the names of some of the allegorical personages are marked beside them.<sup>2</sup>

The second and perhaps more significant, tapestry is entitled *The Last Judgment*. On the far right, a lady plays the organetto, while female musicians gathered around her play long pipe and tabor, lute and harp. To their right, three figures play two wide-bore recorders, both large and small. The central figure is the female Justice, who flashes a savage sword, while pursuing a musician who attempts to defend himself with a duct flute (flageolet or recorder). Additionally, a further retreating musician has discarded his

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty-Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

flute, only the head of which is visible, the beak of which is strangely featured. Elsewhere in this tapestry, two three-holed aerophone instruments are recognizable because of the fingering placement and the evidence of a tabor.<sup>3</sup>

Here, several curiosities concern the nature of female music making and the connection with Cardinal Wolsey, who claimed proud ownership over these works of art. From the title of the tapestry set alone, the sixteenth-century courtier might associate music making with “vices”, “judgment”, “danger” and even “scandal”. In the early sixteenth century, a woman making music in public (especially with phallic shaped instruments like the recorder) might have associated her with an entertaining courtesan.<sup>4</sup> A proper lady-in-waiting’s music making was to be done in the private sphere, primarily to be enjoyed by the queen for her pleasure. Why, then, would Cardinal Wolsey have had these tapestries purchased and placed so close to his private apartments? As a man of the cloth, and Henry VIII’s chief administer, it was also his duty to see to affairs of the state, but in the 1510s and 1520s it was his duty to provide the court and English people with a moral compass. Why then would a clergyman boast ownership of such a controversial subject as female music making?

The women participating in music making in these tapestries are finely dressed in court attire, giving insight into the financial status of women who participated in music making. They are also involved in making music with the opposite sex, which may hint that they were married. Furthermore, while crafted in Belgium, this tapestry may be

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<sup>3</sup> *The Victory of the Virtues over the Vices: Humanity Surprised by the Seven Deadly Sins (Tapestry of the Dance)* (1519–1524), tapestry, woven in Brussels. Saragossa: Museo de Tapices de la Seo.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Freedman, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), 124.

reflective of the nature of female music making in England. Since these tapestries were created and displayed during the first half of the sixteenth century, and since they depict noblewomen playing, they can aid in deciphering the musical educations of the six queens of Henry VIII; Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536), Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour (1508-1537), Anne of Cleves (1515-1557), Katherine Howard (1523-1541), and Katherine Parre (1512-1548).

Of all of Henry's wives, the largest body of musicological focus has been placed on Anne Boleyn. She has long been considered one of the more controversial female figures of both the sixteenth century and of English history in general. Scholars have questioned issues of ownership and chronology surrounding the MS 1070, coined the "Anne Boleyn Songbook". This has spawned a body of research surrounding Anne's musical education.<sup>5</sup> While Anne's life and musical study has given scholars a peek into the slice of life of a sixteenth-century aristocratic woman, each of Henry's wives offer a unique perspective on the make-up of sixteenth-century female musical education. At a time when the quality of a woman's education was marked by her studies in music and domesticity, a woman's social fortunes could expect to rise or fall by means of how that education might have been employed.

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<sup>5</sup> See for example, Lisa Urkevich, "Music Books of Women: Private Treasures and Personal Revelations," *Early Modern Women* 4 (2009): 175-185. Eric W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (UK: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 238. Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Linda Phyllis Austern, "Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England," *Early Modern Women* 3 (2008): 137. Each of these early music and English historian scholars, in some way addresses Anne's youth and education.

My thesis will discuss the musical educations and practices of Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Katherine Howard and Katherine Parr. Using each queen's musical education, I will explore the idea that individual training in music led to social advancement and ultimately contributed in placing each of them in the elevated state as queen. In terms of musical practice, I will explore the ideas of each of the queens as an audience member and patroness, activities that are an expansion of the sixteenth-century woman's education. These two activities in particular, reflected a woman's musical education after she withstood the transition from single woman to married. For the early sixteenth-century English aristocratic woman, education was often as good as the musical training she received as a young girl. Her schooling as a single woman focused on her ability to entertain an audience, which would ultimately gain her a marriage.

### **Female Education in Sixteenth-Century England**

Before considering the specific details of literature surrounding the musical interests of Henry and his six wives, it is necessary to consider the body of both musicological and non-musicological scholarship surrounding women's education of the Renaissance era. By and large, the most prominent body of research concerns a man's education, especially in Tudor England. A. F. Leach *The Schools of Medieval England* illustrates the structure of English education leading up to the Renaissance, the influence of humanism on education, and even discusses schools under Henry VIII.<sup>6</sup> Jane Flynn, in her dissertation *A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book—Music Education in Sixteenth*

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<sup>6</sup> A.F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 235-290.

*Century England*, considers musical education for non-aristocratic males in Tudor England through English chantries and singing schools.<sup>7</sup> In terms of a focus on education for women in general, one of the best sources was written by Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) in 1524 called *De institutione feminae christinae*. The work gives a sixteenth-century perspective on the content and religious purposes of education for Tudor women.<sup>8</sup> For a more contemporary sources on women and education, a collection of essays from 2010 called *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Russell Eugene Murray, offers information both on male and female music education for the early modern era.<sup>9</sup> This book describes several case studies of early modern female music education, including that of wealthy merchants' daughters in Antwerp, nuns as both music teachers and students in a Spanish convent, and even upper-class women in early seventeenth-century Scotland.<sup>10</sup> What each of these studies have in common is that the women receiving music education had both the social and financial support to obtain the training.

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<sup>7</sup> Jane Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book—Music Education in Sixteenth-Century England" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1993), 239.

<sup>8</sup> Juan Vives, *Education of a Christian Woman* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2000), 12.

<sup>9</sup> Cynthia Cyrus, Susan Forscher, and Russell Murray, eds., *Music Education of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Kristine Forney's chapter, "A Proper Musical Education for Antwerp's Women," describes specific songs and pedagogical practices of the time. Colleen Baade's chapter, "Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students in Early Modern Spain," describes the dual roles must have had in terms of spiritual and musical training. Finally, Gordon Munro's chapter, "Sang Schwylls" and 'Music Schools': Music Education in Scotland 1560-1650," primarily describes the music education young men received, but also mentions female training as well.

## Henry VIII

With the revived interest in Tudor England that began in 2007, there has since been a copious amount of research on Henry VIII, including both scholarly and popular history books and various media dramatizations. As with many of Henry's queens, non-musicological sources help to fill in the gaps. Many biographers have written on Henry's education and the influence that early female companionship had in his later life.<sup>11</sup> Further, there is a large body of biographical research that focuses on how, as younger brother to Arthur Prince of Wales (1486-1502), and heir to the English throne, his education prepared him for a life as an upper nobleman rather than king.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the plethora of biographies written on Henry, many periphery primary sources exist as well. Henry's life was well documented by relatives like grandmother Margaret Beaufort and court chroniclers like Edward Hall (1497-1547) and Raphael Hollinshed (1529-1580).<sup>13</sup> However, it is biographer Alison Weir's work that contains the most significant mention of Henry's musical life. She contends that both Elizabeth and Henry VII, Henry VIII's parents, provided Henry VIII with high quality instruments and private instrumental instruction.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Alison Weir, *Henry VIII* (New York: Random House, 2008), 4-11.

<sup>12</sup> Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 38.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle Containing The History of England During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs To The End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, In Which are Particularly Described The Manners and Customs of Those Periods*, (London: Johnson and Livingston, 1809); Raphael Hollinshed, *The First Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: Reyner Wolfe, 1577).

<sup>14</sup> Alison Weir, *Henry VIII* (New York: Random House, 2008), 8. Weir mentions that Henry "showed early on that he had inherited the family aptitude for music" and that "in 1498 his father bought him a lute."

Three primary musicologists have studied Henry VIII and music at his court: David Fallows, Raymond Siemens and Deitrich Helms. Fallows, a scholar of early sixteenth-century music, focuses primarily on musical analysis of works possibly composed by Henry VIII found in the MS 31922, or the “Henry VIII” songbook. Deitrich Helms’ work also focuses on the same manuscript, but his article, “Henry VIII’s Book: Teaching Music to Royal Children,” focuses on the educational purposes of the manuscript.<sup>15</sup> Helms supposes that the pieces found in the MS 31922 were instrumental in teaching music to Henry VIII’s children: Mary(1516-1558), Elizabeth (1533-1603), and Edward (1537-1553).<sup>16</sup> Siemen’s work also discusses Henry as a composer; however, he analyzes Henry’s ability as a lyricist.<sup>17</sup> He argues that the poets Henry patronized at court greatly influenced his own writing style.<sup>18</sup>

Despite this corpus of scholarship on Henry and music making, a large gap in scholarly research still exists concerning Henry’s own childhood musical education and how his education influenced his fondness for music, both as an audience member and performer. My thesis will address Henry’s own musical education set the stage for his six wives musical involvement and how the company of women may have affected his future affinity for music as king. Further, I will address how the influence of humanists like Erasmus (1466-1536) and Thomas More (1478-1535), both of whom mention Henry’s musical involvement in personal letters, may have affected Henry’s championing of female education, and more specifically the music education of his own children.

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<sup>15</sup> Deitrich Helms, “Henry VIII’s Book: Teaching Music to Royal Children,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92, nos. 1-2 (2009): 118-135.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Raymond G. Siemens, “Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92, nos. 1-2 (2009): 136-166.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



## **Katherine of Aragon**

Like Henry VIII, the musical information concerning Henry's first wife, Katherine of Aragon, originates from both musicological and non-musicological sources. Several of Katherine's biographers have researched her education in Spain, her early musical education, and her involvement with music at the English Tudor court. Biographer Patrick Williams tells Katherine's story from the English perspective.<sup>19</sup> Another, Julia Fox, hones in on Katherine's Spanish upbringing and how growing up in Spain influenced her actions at the English court.<sup>20</sup> Fox, in her book *Sister Queens: The Noble, Tragic Lives of Katherine of Aragon and Juana, Queen of Castile*, even provides an example of plainchant that Katherine may have sung in her Catholic upbringing.<sup>21</sup> Like the Spanish book *El destino tragico-Los Reyes Catholicos*, written by Marquez de la Plata, there are many other important Spanish books written that provide pertinent information Katherine's education.<sup>22</sup> After having consulted the National Archives of Spain, De La Plata described specific instruments Katherine played as a child, like the castinets, and documented and inventoried the instruments found in both her and her siblings' collections.<sup>23</sup> Most significant is Michelle Beer's dissertation *Practices and Performances of Queenship*.<sup>24</sup> Beer's argues not only into the societal perceptions of

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<sup>19</sup> Patrick Williams, *Katherine of Aragon* (Gloucestershire: Amberly Publishing, 2013), 50-52.

<sup>20</sup> Julia Fox, *Sister Queens: The Noble, Tragic Lives of Katherine of Aragon and Juana, Queen of Castile* (New York: Random House, 2011), 205.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 409.

<sup>22</sup> Vincente Marquez de la Plata, *El tragico destino de los hijos de los Reyes Catholicos* (Spain: Random House Groupo Editorial España, 2012), 94.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 23-24.

<sup>24</sup> Michelle Beer, "Practices and Performances of Queenship: Catherine of Aragon

Katherine's education but how as queen, Katherine played a unique role in cultivating a female musical circle in her private chambers at the English court.

In terms of musicological research, Tess Knighton focuses on the musical works found in the manuscript, Kings MS 8 G VII, coined the "Katherine of Aragon songbook".<sup>25</sup> Her article, from the essay collection *The Renaissance from the 1470s to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century* edited by Iain Fenlon, conveys the relationship between the works of the MS 8 G VII and the miscarriages Katherine experienced during the early years of her marriage to Henry. I will focus on how Katherine's musical education supported her in a life as heir maker to the English throne and how the works in the Katherine of Aragon songbook directly reflect specific events in Katherine's reproductive life, as well as her similarities with Anne of Brittany (1477-1514).

### **Anne Boleyn**

Five scholars have contributed to our knowledge of Anne Boleyn and her musical practices: Edward E. Lowinsky, Retha Warnicke, Eric Ives, Lisa Urkevich and Linda Phyllis Austern. Although some of these scholars are historians rather than musicologists, each has shaped the content of current research on the musical life of Anne Boleyn. Lowinsky was the first musicologist to establish the MS 1070, or the "Anne Boleyn Songbook", as a prominent musical manuscript of the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> British historian Eric Ives was the first to compose a full survey of the late queen's life, outlining

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and Margaret Tudor, 1503-1533" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2014), 14.

<sup>25</sup> Tess Knighton, "The Spanish Court of Ferdinand and Isabella," in *The Renaissance from the 1470s to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Princeton, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), 157-169.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Lowinsky, "MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 96 (1969-1970): 12.

important information concerning her musical education.<sup>27</sup> Warnicke followed Ives with a biography on Boleyn; however, she challenges some of Ives's arguments asserted in his biography.<sup>28</sup> Lisa Urkevich was the first to provide a full inspection of Anne's musical life including an in-depth look at her education in the northern courts of Europe, further inspection of the MS 1070, and consideration of the impact music had on the courtship between Boleyn and Henry VIII.<sup>29</sup> Finally, Linda Phyllis Austern, a prominent scholar of sixteenth-century music and gender studies, considers the social impact that Anne's musical life had on her time at court and in the greater community of England.<sup>30</sup>

Lowinsky's 1970 article "MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music in London" is first to consider Anne Boleyn's musical life and education. Further, it is the first to assert that Boleyn was the former owner of MS 1070, rather than any other continental monarch as argued by previous scholars. He also surveys the contents of the manuscript, and describes the physical qualities and discusses the origins of the manuscript. Lowinsky points out the small signature found on one of the pages, "Mrs A. Bolleyne- now thus," which directly links the manuscript to the late queen.<sup>31</sup> However, he asserts that despite the fact the signature includes her father's motto ("Now thus") the manuscript was presented to Anne during her queenship and not prior to her coronation. He does argue,

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<sup>27</sup> Eric W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (UK: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 238.

<sup>28</sup> Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>29</sup> Lisa Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn, A Music Book and the Northern Courts of Europe" (Ph.D. diss. University of Maryland, 1997), 153-155.

<sup>30</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, "Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England," *Early Modern Women* 3 (2008): 137.

<sup>31</sup> Lowinsky, 12.

however, that the manuscript is continental in origin considering that many continental composers, like Josquin (1455-1521), are present in the manuscript.

Ives's biography *Anne Boleyn* was published in 1986. It stands as the first full biography on the queen and provides a chronological consideration of the major events of her life including education, her rise to power, the courtship with Henry through the art of courtly love, her triumphant coronation, the birth of Elizabeth and finally the events leading to her downfall and execution. Although not primarily a musicologist, Ives presents several examples of musicological evidence. Ives mentions the importance that music and dance played in the education she received at the courts of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) and Queen Claude of France (1499-1524). Ives also negates Lowinsky by arguing that the MS 1070 was presented to Anne before she became queen in the 1530s.<sup>32</sup> Ives supposes that the name "Mrs Anne" is a label Boleyn would have only been referred to prior to becoming queen, before 1529. Ives argues that after 1529, one way that Anne asserted herself as queen was through her self-identification and referral as such. Ives is also the historian advocating for the placement of Anne's birth year as 1501.<sup>33</sup>

Warnicke offers a countermove with the book *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, published shortly after Ives's in 1989, shortly after Ives's. Warnicke even gives nod to Ives's work in the forward, praising his diligence as giving her something with which to work.<sup>34</sup> Like Ives, Warnicke is not primarily a musicologist but an English historian; however, like Ives, Warnicke makes several musical contributions to the body of Anne

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<sup>32</sup> Ives, 238.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, 9.

Boleyn research. For example, Warnicke is the first to acknowledge Anne's significance as a musical patroness. Warnicke also confirms Ives's musical suppositions that music was a large part of Queen Anne's education in her youth at the courts of Northern Europe.<sup>35</sup> However, in direct contradiction to Ives's theories, Warnicke offers up a later birthdate of 1507 for Anne instead of 1501, thus altering the entire perception of Boleyn's major life moments.<sup>36</sup> She also asserts her complete innocence throughout her downfall, an approach that is inconsistent with Ives's views on the Queen's trial and execution.<sup>37</sup>

With her dissertation "Anne Boleyn, A Music Book and the Northern Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music, London", Urkevich is essentially the second researcher to specialize in the area of Boleyn and music, but she is the first to give a full salute to the gamut of musical activities in the life of the musical queen. The dissertation covers Anne's musical education at both courts, including the naming of specific lute tutors at the court of Margaret of Austria, firsthand accounts of Anne's time at the court of France, socio-cultural analyses of the courts of England and France, Anne's female musical influences, and further analysis of the MS 1070. Where Urkevich diverges from Lowinsky is her forensic analysis of the manuscript and from the findings of three different watermarks throughout the manuscript. Urkevich establishes firmly that the MS 1070 is a continental manuscript and that it must have been presented to Anne

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>36</sup> Ives, 13-14.

<sup>37</sup> Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*.

prior to her 1529 coronation. In fact, she asserts that Anne must have been possession of the manuscript when she returned to England in the early 1520s.<sup>38</sup>

The most recent musicologist to treat Anne Boleyn is Linda Phyllis Austern. In 2008, Austern published the article “Women’s Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England” in the periodical *Early Modern Women- An Interdisciplinary Journal*. Not only does Austern cover the musical involvement of Boleyn, but she also discusses the other women of Henry VIII’s life such as Katherine of Aragon, Jane Seymour, and even his daughter Mary Tudor. What is most significant is how Austern incorporates the idea of new musicology into older musicological research. Austern gives an overall perspective of what musical life was like for an aristocratic woman of the sixteenth century, and then addresses the socio-economic implications of a woman having an education in music.<sup>39</sup> She also covers the influence Henry, himself a musician and composer, must have had on the women of his court. Further, Austern solidifies Anne’s position as a performer (singer and dancer) by referencing a primary source account of French diplomat Lancelot De Charles (1508-1568) in 1545: “She knew well how to sing and dance”.<sup>40</sup> Finally, Austern confirms Urkevich’s findings that the MS 1070 must have been presented to the queen prior to her queenship in England and even addresses Lowinsky’s original arguments.<sup>41</sup>

My thesis will focus specifically on Anne’s musical education in terms of both group and private instruction as well as education in dance, as well as vocal and instrumental performance. While the above sources have treated Anne as a musician herself, none have fully tackled Anne’s musical upbringing and how that influenced her

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<sup>38</sup> Urkevich, “Anne Boleyn,” 153-155.

<sup>39</sup> Austern, “Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England,” 139.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 139-140.

later patronage of the arts and music during her queenship. I will argue that the education Anne received in France aided Anne in moving up the social ladder at court, so much so that she was able to maintain the king's attention through musical performance and eventually gain the throne. My thesis will argue that Anne was given musical education for the purpose of enhancing her personage, which in turn offered her the opportunity to gain a more advantageous marriage.

### **Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves**

Few historical or musicological sources exist on either Jane Seymour or Anne of Cleves. These two queens had the shortest marriages of the six, with Jane's marriage to the king lasting just over eighteen months and Anne's lasting only six months. An article found in the *Folk Music Journal* by Alistair Vannan addresses the cult following that Jane gained after giving birth to Henry's sole legitimate male heir, Edward—the future Edward VI.<sup>42</sup> Vannan contends that there was an expansion of ballad literature written to pay homage to Jane, for her contributions in providing England with an heir to the throne.<sup>43</sup> This is the most specific musicological source I have been able to find concerning either Jane or Anne of Cleves. With the exception of work by Elizabeth Norton, who mentions that Jane was educated privately at home, no one has studied her educational upbringing.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the body of research for Anne of Cleves is minimal,

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<sup>42</sup> Alastair Vannan, "The Death of Queen Jane: Ballad, History and Propoganda," *Folk Music Journal* 10, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 347-369.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Norton, *Jane Seymour: Henry VIII's True Love* (Gloucester, UK: Amberly Publishing, 2009), 32.

although as the only queen to receive burial at Westminster, she is mentioned in several primary source accounts like the sixteenth-century *Book of Heraldry*.<sup>45</sup>

For the purposes of my thesis, this chapter focuses on comparing and contrasting sixteenth-century women's musical education from a religious standpoint. I will address Jane's education in the Catholic faith, accomplished by a family chaplain or perhaps through the chantry located in the same parish as Jane's childhood home, Wulfhall. I will compare this to Anne's Protestant education in Germany and how music may have, or in this case may not have had, a significant role in her early education.<sup>46</sup>

### **Katherine Howard**

Similarly, to Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves, the musicological literature on Katherine Howard, fifth wife of Henry VIII, is scarce, although currently her life is attracting more historical attention. In the last five years, Conor Byrne and Gareth Russell have each written a significant scholarly biography. Byrne's *Katherine Howard: A New History* considers her life from a modern perspective.<sup>47</sup> He also describes the musical education she received at Lambeth under the watchful eye of the Duke (1483-1554) and Dowager Duchess of Norfolk (1475-1545). The most recent biography is Gareth Russell's *Young & Damned & Fair: The Life and Tragedy of Catherine Howard at the Court of Henry VIII*, which provides a much more extensive version of her life.<sup>48</sup> Russell's account gives more specific details of the criminal proceedings and testimony

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<sup>45</sup> Egerton MS 2642, *The Booke of Heraldry*, British Library: London, f. 200.

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Norton, *Anne of Cleves- Henry VIII's Discarded Bride* (Gloucester, UK: Amberly Publishing, 2010), 47.

<sup>47</sup> Conor Byrne, *Katherine Howard: A New History* (Oxford, UK: Made Global Publishing, 2014), 51-69.

<sup>48</sup> Gareth Russell, *Young & Damned & Fair: The Life and Tragedy of Catherine Howard at the Court of Henry VIII* (Oxford, UK: Harper Collins, 2017), 31-46.



of Katherine's private music teacher Henry Manno. However, the greatest contribution to this chapter will be the primary source materials found in the National Archives of London, where the original criminal proceedings reside. Russell reinterprets these transcripts with her tragic downfall in mind, but not necessarily by considering the significance of the testimony as evidence of her musical education. My work will focus on Katherine's music education as a case study of sixteenth-century private instrumental instruction, and how the skills she learned in private lessons helped her to advance socially at court, even as it may also have been the cause of her ultimate downfall. This chapter will give musicological consideration to the practices of private music instruction in sixteenth-century England in terms of pedagogy and specific literature that may have been played during lesson time.

### **Katherine Parre**

Like the other queens featured in my thesis, there is a limited amount of historical consideration for Katherine Parre,<sup>49</sup> and an even smaller amount of musical attention given to her life.<sup>50</sup> Fenno Hoffman's article, "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters" from the *Huntington Library Quarterly* was the one of the first to mention Katherine's education.<sup>51</sup> Written in 1960, and therefore dated, the article considers the influence humanism played in Katherine's education. Hoffman takes the position that as a lady-in-waiting to Katherine of Aragon, Katherine's mother, Maude Parr (1492-1531), modeled

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<sup>49</sup> As the spelling of names are not standardized in the sixteenth century, I am choosing this spelling of her name as a reflection of the influence Katherine of Aragon had on Maude Parre, Katherine's mother.

<sup>50</sup> Fenno Hoffman, Jr., "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Aug 1960): 352.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 355.

her daughter's education after Katherine of Aragon's education of her daughter Mary I.<sup>52</sup> He contends that like Katherine, Maude included private instrumental instruction as a significant part of Katherine Parr's education. No musicologists have written on Katherine's life, although there is evidence she contributed significantly to the musical environment at court through patronizing musicians and encouraging the music educations of Elizabeth (later Elizabeth I) and Edward (the future Edward VI).

### **Conclusion**

Women in the sixteenth century had very little education compared to today. However, it was this time in history that women were beginning to have even the opportunity to receive education. Further, these opportunities were solely offered to wealthy, high- status women. Typically, aristocratic women were educated in embroidery, husbandry, domesticity, household management and finally music education. I will argue throughout my thesis that a measure of a woman's power in society was as good as the music education she received as a single woman.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 357.



## CHAPTER 2

### HENRY VIII: HUMANISM AND MUSICAL EDUCATION

#### AT THE EARLY TUDOR COURT

As king, Henry VIII's musical education, interest, and involvement, would ultimately set the stage for the education and involvement of each of his six wives. As monarch, especially a male monarch, Henry's interests greatly shaped the artistic tastes of the time and would communicate to the court what was socially acceptable and even in some cases, required. Each of Henry's wives would in some way look to Henry as a musical leader, which in turn would shape their own educations, or even the fact that they would receive one. Without Henry's involvement with music, for better or worse, the musical involvement of his queen's may not have been possible or permissible. Henry's own education and involvement gives context to what music education was comprised of generally speaking. Female music education was a largely based on the male model, yet modified to fit the social expectations of proper courtly female behavior.

Music education for young aristocratic men in early sixteenth-century England is well documented by scholars such as Jane Flynn, who wrote a dissertation on the subject of music education in sixteenth-century England.<sup>1</sup> For regal young men like Prince Henry, the expectation to succeed in music was even greater. Further, sources like Baldassare Castiglione's (1478-1529) *Il Libro Del Cortegiano* mention specifically that in order to be a successful courtier and courtly lover, the male courtier must have a working knowledge in music, both in terms of performance, and in the ability to converse

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<sup>1</sup> Jane Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book-Music Education in Sixteen Century England" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1993), 124.

on the subject.<sup>2</sup> For Henry specifically, this was even more the case. As second son, and second in line to the throne, Henry's role as a young prince was to entertain at his father's court, rather than undertaking the serious education as king-in-training. This meant that Henry's capacity and enjoyment in music as a pastime was formed at a very young age. His fascination with music, both performance and even collecting, is an obsession that remained with him through adulthood, kingship, and for the entirety of his reign. His great interest in music inspired his courtiers to pursue similar passions. Henry inadvertently encouraged a new generation of women in musical education: female English courtiers needed to possess a similar love for music in order to fulfill their primary duty in life: pleasing the king.

### **Henry's Early Musical Education**

Remarking on the education of male children in the Middle Ages, historian David Starkey claims that, "[i]nfancy and babyhood are in the hands of women, boyhood and youth were the responsibility of men".<sup>3</sup> For Prince Henry, son of Henry VII (1457-1509) and the future Henry VIII, this was certainly the case. Prince Henry was born in 1491 and was the second son of dually reigning monarchs, Elizabeth of York (1466-1503) and Henry Tudor. Elizabeth and Henry's marriage in 1485 effectively ended a civil war in England between the House of York and the House of Lancaster. Their union not only brought about a more peaceful England, but also resulted in children who were

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<sup>2</sup> Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Libro Del Corteggiano* (Torino: Cura di Giulio Preti, 1965), 15,19, 81. The text mentions that a courtier must play "instrumenti musici d'ogni sorte" or "instruments of every sort".

<sup>3</sup> David Starkey, *Henry—Virtuous Prince: The Prince Who Would Turn Tyrant* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2008), 129.

undisputed heirs to the throne.<sup>4</sup> Prince Henry's older brother, Arthur, received an education fit for the future king of England, while Prince Henry was given an education more befitting the next in line to the throne, rather than the heir to the crown. Whereas the young Arthur would have been given his own establishment as the Prince of Wales, surrounded primarily by the company of men, the young prince Henry remained in the royal nursery in the company of women. As future king, Prince Arthur left the company of women at age two, to join a primarily male household, whereas Prince Henry was surrounded by women well into early adolescence.<sup>5</sup>

There are several women whose presence would have permeated Henry's time in the royal nursery, including members from his family and the palace staff.<sup>6</sup> As a baby and young toddler, Henry probably spent time only in the company of his female sisters at Eltham Palace.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the staff of the royal nursery would have employed only women, including his wet nurses, the royal "rockers", and even perhaps his first tutor, his mother Elizabeth of York.<sup>8</sup> Comparative handwriting samples between Henry's adult handwriting and Elizabeth's indicate a similar distinctive manner. In fact, Starkey cites this distinctive similarity between Henry and Elizabeth of York's capital letter H's as possible evidence suggesting Elizabeth may have been Henry's first teacher.<sup>9</sup> In addition, a song entitled *The Song of Lady Bessy* describes Elizabeth of York as a very well-

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<sup>4</sup> Arlen Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 33-41.

<sup>5</sup> Starkey, 121.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>7</sup> Starkey, 69. Although there were several instances of infants being removed from the royal nursery due to early death, Henry's older sister Margaret was always present in his life, even from his time in the royal nursery.

<sup>8</sup> Alison Weir, *Henry VIII* (New York: Random House Inc., 2008), 6.

<sup>9</sup> Starkey, 119.

educated woman who had knowledge of English, French and Spanish.<sup>10</sup> In addition to possessing education in language, Elizabeth was well educated in instrumental and vocal music.<sup>11</sup> In a biography on Elizabeth's life, Arlen Nayer Okerlund writes that "[s]inging, dancing and music surrounded this lady princess in her youth. She herself learned to dance, to play instruments and to love the music of the 13 minstrels retained by Edward IV for entertaining court festivals."<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth played the clavichord as well as other instruments like the lute. She may have not only persuaded her husband Henry VII to purchase lutes for their children,<sup>13</sup> but may also have encouraged the younger Henry in his own creative experimentation on the new instrument. As Prince Henry and Elizabeth shared a household at Eltham, they may have passed the time together in music listening or collective music performance.

In addition to Elizabeth, Henry's grandmother, the formidable Lady Margaret Beaufort (1441-1509), also possessed considerable amount of influence on Prince Henry's education. In fact, it was Lady Margaret who oversaw much of Henry's education and even appointed Henry's early tutors.<sup>14</sup> She even refined the rules to set about the running of the royal nurseries following the protocols set by Edward IV on the regulations of the royal household.<sup>15</sup> Lady Margaret was an educated woman herself, having been tutored by the great Reverend Fischer (1469-1535) (a man later executed in

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. Starkey cites J.O. Halliwell, "The Most Pleasant Song of Lady Bessy" *Percy Society* 69 (1847), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Alison Weir, *Elizabeth of York, A Tudor Queen and Her World* (New York: Random House, 2013), 43.

<sup>12</sup> Okerlund, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Matthew Spring, *The Lute In Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 52.

<sup>14</sup> James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 6-7.

<sup>15</sup> Weir, 6.

1535 alongside Sir Thomas More).<sup>16</sup> Lady Margaret, in addition to having knowledge of Latin, was the patroness of Cambridge, and often supported scholars who studied there.<sup>17</sup> Lady Margaret's formidable presence in Henry's life continued on into adulthood, when she acted as regent for several weeks between the reigns of her son Henry VII and her grandson Henry VIII.

One of the first tutors Lady Margaret appointed for Henry was John Skelton (1463- 1529), a graduate of Cambridge. Under Skelton's tutelage, Henry received his first formal education, being taught Latin and improving his skills in English. In addition to exposing the young prince to the art of composing verse, Skelton had Henry memorize a series of proverbs including one that stated "[a]thletes are two a penny, but patrons of the arts are rare".<sup>18</sup> Skelton probably worked with Henry until his pupil reached the age of eleven or twelve; after that, he would have continued to support the musical environment that Henry would have been exposed to in the royal nursery. In *The Complete English Poems*, Skelton wrote, "I yave hym drynke of the sugared welle, Of Eicons waters crystalline, Aqueintyng hym with the Musys nyne".<sup>19</sup> Included among the nine muses of whom Skelton speaks is Euterpe, the muse of music. Euterpe's symbol, the aulos or double flute, may have been one of Henry's earliest association between music and sexuality, as the literal meaning of the Greek name means the "giver of much

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<sup>16</sup> McConica, 78.

<sup>17</sup> Weir, 6. Lady Margaret Beaufort was the foundress of Christ's College and St. John's College at Cambridge.

<sup>18</sup> Starkey, 127.

<sup>19</sup> J. Skelton, *The Complete English Poems*, ed., J. Scattergood (Place of pub: Publisher, 1983), 312-58. "I gave him drink of the sugared well, of Helicon waters crystalline, acquainting him with the Muses nine."



pleasure”.<sup>20</sup> Regardless, Skelton’s encouragement likely motivated the young medieval prince to pursue becoming a true renaissance man.

King Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth of York kept a large musical retinue at court which included minstrels who played bagpipes, organs pipes, tabors, trumpets, sackbuts, fiddles, harps, recorder and horns.<sup>21</sup> Placing such importance on the pleasure of listening and performance, the monarchs supported young Prince Henry in learning instrumental music by providing various musical tutors. Giles Duwes (d. 1535) also taught Henry’s languages, as he himself was a native French speaker, and he also became Henry’s lute teacher. Henry’s father purchased a lute for the seven-year-old prince in 1498, and according to Starkey, was largely self-taught prior to Duwes’ arrival at court.<sup>22</sup> Duwes’s role as primary music teacher began in 1501, prior to Prince Arthur’s death, and as Starkey puts it, the teacher assisted Henry in “polishing” Henry’s self-taught skills.<sup>23</sup>

Henry also learned how to play stringed instruments and had a “school master of pipes”.<sup>24</sup> In addition to employing a personal lute teacher, the court also hired a woodwind tutor called Guillam (N. D.). This private winds instructor may have taught him recorder and other aerophone instruments.<sup>25</sup> Having received a broad musical education on a variety of instruments, Henry’s own experience may have set precedence

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<sup>20</sup> Warren Anderson and Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Muses," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed October 22, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.umkc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/19396>.

<sup>21</sup> Okerlund, 137.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Penn, *Winter King: Henry VII and the Dawn of Tudor England* (London, Great Britain: Penguin Books, 2011), 183.

<sup>23</sup> Starkey, 178.

<sup>24</sup> Lauren Johnson, *So Great A Prince: The Accession of Henry VIII: 1509* (London, Great Britain: Head of Zeus, 2016), 18.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

for what was expected of the musical education of royal children. Furthermore, the gift of the lute from Henry's father may have unconsciously persuaded King Henry VIII to gift his own daughter Mary with a lute as well.<sup>26</sup> Sebastian Guistinian, the Keeper of the King's Instruments, mentioned that as an instrumentalist, Henry played "on almost every instrument performing well on the lute and virginals."<sup>27</sup> To have had this kind of versatility as an adult, Henry likely had a broad and in-depth instrumental music experience in his young age.

In addition to instrumental education, the young prince Henry would have learned how to beguile both women and the public at a young age, especially through musical performance. There are several accounts of Henry performing music or dance in public as a child. The first was at a political court gathering where Henry was so much the center of attention that it has been compared to the performance of a play.<sup>28</sup> In Edward IV's Hall at Eltham Palace, when Henry was nine years old, an ambassador remarked on Henry's ability to entertain an audience. Sir Thomas More noted that the young Henry could take an ordinary political event or court gathering and turn it into a performance with his charisma and charm.<sup>29</sup> Next, at his older brother Arthur's wedding to Katherine of Aragon, Prince Henry performed a dance solo, much to the delight and entertainment of the court and wedding guests. As well as dance, Raphael Holinshed, a court chronicler, noted Henry's wide variety of musical activities saying, "He exercised himself dailie in shooting, singing, dancing, wressing, casting of the carre, plaieing at the recorders, flute,

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<sup>26</sup> Jane Bernstein, "Phil Van Wilder and the Netherlandish Chanson in England," *Musica Disciplina*, 33 (1979): 59.

<sup>27</sup> Weir, 130.

<sup>28</sup> Starkey, 134.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

virginals, in setting of songs and making of ballades.”<sup>30</sup> In his youth, Henry danced, sang, performed and began to experiment with musical composition.<sup>31</sup> A combination of the influence of his mother’s encouragement in musical enjoyment, John Skelton’s education in verse, and Henry’s own personal satisfaction in impressing the court through music performance are influences that joined together to enhance Henry’s musical creativity and skill.

### **Henry’s Circle of Humanists at Court**

Although Henry did not directly support women’s education himself, he was part of a circle of humanists who changed a long-held view that women’s education was not only improper, but also dangerous.<sup>32</sup> Henry kept three main advisors close to him with whom he would discuss politics and the ideas of humanism; these included Erasmus, Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Wolsey. The support these three had for the ideals of humanism changed women’s accessibility to education in academic subjects like Greek and Latin; more importantly, they also supported other subjects like women’s musical education, creating a philosophy at Henry’s court that female performance could be socially acceptable and even desirable.

In addition to improving in musical skill, part of Henry’s informal education consisted of spending time with scholars, like the Dutch-born Desiderius Erasmus

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<sup>30</sup> Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII* (London: Routledge, 2009), 40. Casting of the carre is a gambling game from the early Tudor court. In his youth, Henry was active in pursuits of pleasure rather than matters of state.

<sup>31</sup> Okerlund, 137.

<sup>32</sup> Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (New Hampshire: Croom Helm, 1968), 219. The idea persisted that women were naturally weak in body and mind. Therefore, giving women knowledge through education might tempt them into worldly sins.

Roterodamus. Erasmus, one of the great humanist supporters at the time, was first introduced to the royal children in 1499, when Prince Henry was around eight years old. He visited England several times, with one trip lasting from 1509 to 1514.<sup>33</sup> During this time, he became a close confidant to Sir Thomas More. Erasmus believed in the edification of every human, no matter their station, through means like education and even health.<sup>34</sup> This in turn helped to bolster a culture where women, already much humbled in society, had the opportunity for certain kinds of elevation, like access to education. Henry would have seen these beliefs being played out in his work and politics. Erasmus argued that educating the layperson was morally correct, and without a gentlemen's possession of education, society becomes less moral; in other words, society becomes less enlightened.<sup>35</sup> Much later in 1515, Erasmus noticed the King's own education on display and describes the King as a "[y]oung Man divinely gifted, and initiated to some degree of the elegance of humane studies."<sup>36</sup> Humanist studies in the early quarter of the sixteenth century would have included music, which emulated the education model of the ancient Greeks. Erasmus believed that one must first look back to the studies of Classical antiquities, and then subsequently take up biblical studies.

Sir Thomas More, a close friend to Erasmus, resided at Cambridge in the early 1510s and may have been a professor of theology to Henry's grandmother, the Lady

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<sup>33</sup> McConica, 32.

<sup>34</sup> Sir Thomas More, *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More-Including Roper's Letters of More and Letters of More and His Daughter Margaret* (New York: Walter Black Inc., 1947), xxxviii. Campbell mentions in her introduction that Utopia that More emphasizes care for the sick in 'beautifully appointed' hospitals and education for both men and women.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>36</sup> Dowling, 11.

Margaret Beaufort.<sup>37</sup> One of the brightest political and philosophical minds of the country, More was one of the first to educate his own daughters in Latin, mathematics and even some scientific studies.<sup>38</sup> In his book *Utopia* (1516), he describes an ideal world and justifies his choice to educate his daughters:

I do not see why learning in like manner may not equally agree with both sexes; for by it, reason cultivated and (as a field) sowed with the whole seed of good precepts, it bringeth forth excellent fruit-----But if the soil of a woman's brain be of its own nature bad, and apter to bear fern than corn, (by which saying many to terrify women from learning) I am of opinion, therefore, that a woman's wit is the more diligently by good instructions learning to be manured, to the end, the defect of nature maybe redressed by the industry.<sup>39</sup>

Here, he compares educating a woman to that of either a fruitful or fruitless agricultural endeavor: if a woman be the innocent field, then it is up to the elements, both natural and man-made, to shape the field in a manner to ensure a successful harvest. However, he also points out that by nature the field is flawed, weak and in need of the farmer's guidance. It was this line of thinking that perhaps set a precedent for other leading men in England, including the King, to open their minds to the idea that it was possible and proper for a woman to be educated.

In addition to Thomas More, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey was another humanist figure who was a part of Henry's inner circle. Like More, Wolsey was born a layman and became a disciple of Erasmus, and he gradually worked his way through the ranks of the church until becoming the most powerful clergyman in England. Under his service to Henry, he helped to establish educational institutions like Cardinal College at Oxford, a

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>38</sup> McConica, 77-80.

<sup>39</sup> More, 287.

seminary of humanism.<sup>40</sup> This center was responsible for educating England's bright young minds in humanistic ideals, which sped the process of disseminating those ideals across England. As well as founding Cardinal College, he also founded one at Ipswich, the town of his birth. He may have founded the latter in order to bring significance to the small town, which in turn elevated his own birth.<sup>41</sup> In terms of supporting musical education, prior to 1524, Cardinal Wolsey's endowments at St. Frideswide's Priory supported not only theologians, but also thirteen chaplains, twelve lay clerks, sixteen choristers, a music teacher, and twenty-three servants.<sup>42</sup> The cardinal also financially supported vocal performers, and a music teacher who ensured performers could continue to grow in musical skill.<sup>43</sup> While there is no evidence that his support of musicians and educators had any direct effect on women at court, the timeline of his support of the musicians at St. Frideswide directly coincided with Henry's daughter Mary's education with private lute instructor Philip Van Wilder (1500-1554).<sup>44</sup>

Like Wolsey, the young Henry VIII had the financial means and desire to support the growing cause of education in England. Between 1499 and 1524, Henry fully funded seven grammar schools himself.<sup>45</sup> Prior to his reign, schools were sponsored by a variety of institutions, in addition to the crown. There were elementary schools, town schools (where students would learn a particular trade or skill), and even ecclesiastical schools

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<sup>40</sup> Dowling, 77.

<sup>41</sup> McConica, 77-80.

<sup>42</sup> Tracey Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morrison 1513-1556* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 14.

<sup>43</sup> Dowling, 78.

<sup>44</sup> Jane Bernstein, "Philip Van Wilder and the Netherlandish Chanson in England," *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979): 55-75.

<sup>45</sup> Dowling, 79.

that included chantries and training in liturgical music.<sup>46</sup> As well as providing financial support, Henry sponsored public Greek lecturers in the year 1517. This helped more students gain accessibility to Greek education, whereas before only the top echelon of the English aristocracy could expect to benefit from formal education. The work and support Henry demonstrated in his early reign led him to become a great supporter of the creation of both grammar and singing schools in the late 1530s. These institutions held forty children per singing school where the children would learn Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well as singing and playing.<sup>47</sup> Later on he even drew up a new act of parliament to make churches more efficient: “Whereby God’s word might better be set forth and children brought up in learning.”<sup>48</sup> While initially, Henry may have more outwardly supported boys’ education, it seems through his reign he became more accepting of women possessing education in academic subjects and music, as long as that female was able to remember her place both in the world and at home.

The King MS 31922, also called the *Henry VIII Songbook*, is a collection of early sixteenth-century songs, featuring primarily secular works that circulated at Henry’s early court. What is significant about the manuscript itself is not only that it features composers that were favorites of the English court, but also that many of the secular works are attributed to Henry himself.<sup>49</sup> One such song is a piece accredited to Henry called “Some Say Youthe Doth Rule Me”. The lyrics may communicate Henry’s mindset between 1510 and 1520, when the manuscript was compiled. The lyrics shed light on his views on the

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>47</sup> Dowling, 124.

<sup>48</sup> Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 65.

<sup>49</sup> John Stevens, “Carols and Court Songs of the Early Tudor Period,” *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*, 77 (1950-1951): 59-60.

plight of youth, religion, virtue, his marriage, and in turn where his support for women lay the time. A selection of the lyrics of the piece is as follows;

Pastimes of youth sometime among, None can say but necessary. I hurt no man, I do no wrong, I love true where I did marry, Though some saith that youth ruleth me.

Then soon discuss that hence we must. Pray we to God and Saint Mary That all amend, and here an end, Thus saith the king, the eighth Harry, Though some saith that youth ruleth me.<sup>50</sup>

These two stanzas appear at the end of the piece, accompanied by a wide leap in the voice, melodic repetition, and melismas emphasizing words like “youth”, “marry”, and “Harry”.<sup>51</sup> Further, the last phrase of the line, consistent in every stanza of the work, is sung twice at the end. The original manuscript itself is written for unaccompanied solo voice; however, the last verse stands alone without written notation as if the poetry is to speak for itself without music. Throughout the song Henry claims that others, perhaps older than he, accuse Henry of acting in accordance to his youth. He also throws back an accusatory challenge to his elders asking how well they handled the decisions of their own childhoods. He says that despite his youth, he has only dallied in the ways that all young men do. However, despite this he has remained honorable prince and held the woman he loves in high regard, both by loving her and by marrying her. Further, he has been a faithful servant of the church through prayer and devotion.

“Some Say Youthe Doth Rule Me” was written at the exact time that Henry was surrounded by his humanist circle of Thomas More, Erasmus, John Fisher, and Cardinal

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<sup>50</sup> “Henry VIII Songbook, 1510-1520,” King’s MS 31922, The British Library, London, UK. f. 71.

<sup>51</sup> Alamire, “Henry’s Music-Motets from a Royal Choirbook Songs by Henry VIII,” directed by David Skinner, recorded 2009, CD 705, Obsidian Records.



Wolsey. It is as if this song is a self-proclamation of Henry acting wisely beyond his years and Henry almost congratulates his own decision-making ability. The transcription and notation of this piece would have also coincided with his support of bringing public Greek lecturers to King's College Cambridge, the funding of several grammar schools, and even perhaps the support of his wife Katherine's educational decisions for their young daughter Mary.<sup>52</sup> Henry says to his audience, perhaps as a quip, that his humanist counsel, his wife, his church, and his country can trust him because he himself is so self-assured of his own wisdom and authority as King.

### **Henry's Court and Women's Musical Education**

Prior to the humanist movement, views on women's education were narrow-minded and inconsequential. A woman's purpose in life revolved around three primary markers: marriage, motherhood, and widowhood.<sup>53</sup> Of course, those three events were bookended by life and death as well. A woman's education, therefore, was meant to prepare her for a life in one of those three roles unless she took an alternative path, like joining a childless life in a convent. Therefore, skills in which a woman might have been educated may have included household operations, embroidery, husbandry or other domestic skills. Music education was provided occasionally, but only to entertain each other in the company of other women, and to occupy a sound space.<sup>54</sup> It was believed that

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<sup>52</sup> Dowling, 124.

<sup>53</sup> Merry Wisner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>54</sup> *The Supersizers Eat-Medieval*. Produced by Alannah Richardson. Hosted by Sue Perkins and Giles Coren. England: BBC Two, 2009. Documentary. Conductor Sue Perkins refers to medieval female music making as a way to occupy silence. She also comments on how women during this time believed if you were silent,

if a woman was to sit in silence, not listening to or making music, then she had a less than desirable melancholic personality. However, through these new lines of thinking a woman's education began to leave the private sphere and took on a more professional quality, through the hiring of professional male private music tutors.

There were two main objections to women receiving a more complete education. First was that women are naturally frail and prone to vice, and therefore would be susceptible to the negative influences of worldly literature, in this case secular song.<sup>55</sup> Juan Vives himself, humanist tutor to Princess Mary, cautioned both the King and Queen Katherine in exposing the young princess to frivolous secular court song.<sup>56</sup> This seemed to be a primary concern in educating young impressionable single women. Next, and perhaps on the more academic side, scholars were concerned that wives, if educated, would become much too familiar if they were too converse in Greek and Latin.<sup>57</sup> A wife especially, was only to converse familiarly with her husband and children. A married woman conversing with single priests was too great a temptation for a woman to bear, so it was thought best for women to remain in the dark of such knowledge. However, while there are few Greek sacred works, with the exception of the Kyrie, the majority of sacred works during this time would have been performed in Latin anyway. Therefore women, prior to direct instruction in Greek or Latin, would have been able to familiarize herself with the languages simply through mandatory weekly attendance of the Catholic mass.

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you brought too much melancholy to a space and it was considered disruptive to the humors.

<sup>55</sup> Dowling, 219.

<sup>56</sup> Carlos Noreña, "Juan Luis Vives and Henry VIII," *Renaissance and Reformation* 12, no. 2 (1976): 85-88.

<sup>57</sup> Dowling, 219.

Thomas More explained to his daughter's tutor William Gonnell (d. 1560) the necessity of educating women:

For what is more fruitful than the good education and order of women, the one half of all mankind and that half also whose good behavior or evil thatches giveth of bereveth the other half almost all the whole pleasure and commodity of this present life, besides the furtherance or hindrance further growing thereupon concerning the life to come?<sup>58</sup>

More explains that to educate women is to better the whole of society. For More, educating women should not be a fearful obstacle for men, but something that could eventually benefit them and their posterity.

As the door began to open to the idea of the possibility that women could be taught, a woman's musical education changed and expanded as well. Respectively, these changes seemed to have taken place first with the women of the English upper class, who had the time, energy and, most of all, financial resources for such pursuits. For each of Henry's six queens, music education was an individual experience that was through to prepare each lady for the prospect of either queenhood or perhaps a grand elevation in social status. A well-rounded musical education in singing, instrument playing, and dance then became the mark both of a woman well-born as well as of her family's wealth and prosperity. Further, it may have been their musical educations, in part, that attracted Henry to each of them in the first place. Henry, the center of women's attention since infancy, grew into a young man in pursuit of music learning as a renaissance prince, who as a King dazzled the European stage with his charisma, compositional skills, musical talent and ability to captivate women and the court on the stage. The skills he prized in himself extended to the women who populated his court.

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<sup>58</sup> More, 63.



## CHAPTER 3

### KATHERINE OF ARAGON: MUSIC, THE POMEGRANATE, AND SONGS OF CHILD LOSS

Katherine of Aragon was arguably one of the most musical queens to sit on the English throne. She was an accomplished instrumentalist, active singer, graceful dancer, great appreciator as well as patron for the larger court. She also cultivated a musical circle amongst the small community of her attending ladies.

A small portrait, found on the walls Hampton Court Palace, the home of Cardinal Wolsey, depicts a young Isabella of Castile (1454-1501), the mother of Katherine of Aragon. The accompanying placard, found alongside the portrait, compares the similarities found in both Katherine and Henry's education. Katherine's mother Isabella emphasized her daughter's education, and singled out music as one of the most important components of Katherine's training as a princess and future queen of England.<sup>1</sup> The musical education Isabella gave Katherine was not only to prepare her for the role of female consort of England, but also to showcase her daughter's physical wellness and therefore her fitness to bear children.

#### **Isabella, Katherine, and the Music of the Fifteenth-Century Spanish Court**

Katherine of Aragon's parents, Isabella and Ferdinand (1452-1516), were the monarchs credited with issuing in a massive expansion of the Spanish court. They accomplished this first by Ferdinand's arrangement of political marriage alliances for their children. Next, they annexed Moorish lands in the battles leading up to the

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick Williams, *Katherine of Aragon* (Amberly Publishing, Gloucestershire, 2013), 50-52.

Inquisition. This process continued with the patronage of explorers like Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), who helped to discover new trade routes. Lastly, they encouraged a renaissance of the Spanish court that brought about innovations in education, architecture, art and most of all music. Like the Burgundians, the Catholic monarchs saw the benefit of uniting music with propaganda. Tess Knighton points out that, “It was not until the reign of the Catholic monarchs that the splendor of the court of the Dukes of Burgundy was deliberately emulated and exploited for its political effects: the enhancement of royal prestige and the establishment of stability.”<sup>2</sup> In order for Isabella and Ferdinand to continue the expansion of their power, they needed to equip their children with the tools of education and a knowledge of a wealth of music.

While little evidence remains for Isabella’s own musical training, receipts from Isabella’s accounts describe the high monetary value she invested in surrounding herself and the court with stylish sound. This was especially reflective in the area of sacred polyphony in the Castilian royal chapel. The accounts state that Isabella took care to ensure her musicians had the physical items they needed for music making, including books of both sacred chant and polyphony.<sup>3</sup> It seems that Isabella’s encouragement of music practices within the chapel went as far as correcting syllabic placement during chant rehearsal, in order to perfect the singing of both her chaplains and choirs. Lucio Marineo Siculo (1444-1533), an Italian humanist at the Spanish court, noted this practice saying, “If anyone of those who were saying or singing the psalms, or other things of the church, made any slip in diction or in the placing of a syllable, she heard and noted it and

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<sup>2</sup> Iain Fenlon, ed., *The Renaissance From the 1470s to the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 343.

afterwards—as a teacher to pupil she emended and corrected it for them.”<sup>4</sup> For Isabella the church acted as the great moral teacher for the predominately illiterate Spanish people, and she ensured that her people were being instructed correctly in religion through the practices of sacred music.

While Isabella’s father, Juan II of Castile (1405-1454), was a noted musician, Isabella was the first monarch to precipitate the crown as an esteemed source of music authority. The practice of monarchical correction of choral music continued into the future generation of the Spanish crown during the reign of Hapsburg Charles V (1500-1558). It was said that he would not only correct the syllabic placement of chant, but he also took musical criticism a step further and even shouted at his choirs for singing incorrect notes.<sup>5</sup>

Isabella inherited a throne and was queen of Castile in her own right, and her marriage to Ferdinand united the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. She was marked for her powerful leadership in military strength and her keen sense of political savvy, as well as forging one of the most artistically cultured courts in all of Europe. Further, Isabella supported a new school of thought, humanism, which called for equal opportunity for girls to have access to the education that young men were receiving at the time.<sup>6</sup> She appointed humanists like Pedro Martir (1457-1526), Lucio Mariedo Siculo, and Alejandro Geraldini (1455-1524) as private tutors to her children. Juan Vives, future tutor to Katherine’s daughter Mary, later lauded the exemplary education Isabella

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion* (New York: Boydell Press, 2012), 42.

<sup>6</sup> Peggy K Liss, *Isabella the Queen: Life and Times* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 285.

afforded her daughters saying, “[...] they are honest exercises that remain to us from that golden century of our predecessors.”<sup>7</sup> Educators and philosophers discovered that young women were not only just as capable of retaining knowledge as boys but at times even surpassed them in discipline and demonstration of applied information.<sup>8</sup>

While neither Ferdinand nor Isabella instructed their children, the monarchs, particularly Isabella, had a direct hand in overseeing their children’s musical education through the intentional selection of singing tutors. Each of the five children, Juana (1479-1555), Isabella (1470-1498), Juan (1478-1497), Maria (1482-1517), and Catalina (Katherine), were instructed at an early age by a singer from the Royal Chapel, such as Juan de Anchieta (1462-1523).<sup>9</sup> Accounts of Katherine’s own private singing education do not survive. However, Spanish court chronicler Fernandez de Oviedo (1478-1557), recalls Katherine’s brother Juan’s own singing practices. Oviedo states,

My Lord Prince Juan was naturally inclined to music and he understood it well, although his voice was not as good as he was persistent in singing; but it would pass with other voices. And for this purpose during siesta time, especially in summer, Juan de Anchieta, his chapel master, and four or five boys, chapel boys with fine voices (among whom was Corral who later became an excellent singer and *tiple*) who went to the palace, and the prince sang with them for two hours or however long he pleased to, and he took the tenor, and was very skillful in the art.<sup>10</sup>

Katherine may have had similar experiences with musical education for several reasons. First, as Isabella oversaw the singing education of each of her five children, this may have provided some continuity in terms of those individuals employed as tutors in royal

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. This quotation refers to exercises in letters later employed by Vives in educational counseling of young women

<sup>8</sup> More, *Utopia*, xxv-xxvii. The forward explains that Erasmus, who has spent a great deal of time with the More family, thought the “new” example in women’s education had been so successful that others would surely imitate it.

<sup>9</sup> Williams, 50-52.

<sup>10</sup> Fenlon, 344.



service, specific suggestions for instrumental education, and even certain musical educational methods. As a ruler in her own right, Isabella may not have sought to differentiate their instruction, since each of her children was being trained to be rulers. Finally, Katherine was the youngest child, and although Isabella was a believer in humanism, Katherine was still a female child at a time when the actions of a princess were not as carefully scrutinized as those of a prince, or future king. Therefore, what was documented about her musical education can be assumed to be like that of her brother, because court chroniclers would have been so highly focused on recording the actions of her older siblings who had higher social rank and precedence.

All of Isabella's children were said to have enjoyed singing.<sup>11</sup> There are few mentions of specific works, whether secular or sacred, that were sung, with the exception of an example of a Castilian antiphon found in the MS. 794. The work is mentioned as an example that both Katherine and her sister Juana may have sung. The song is a piece that was sung following the reading of psalms in their late fifteenth-century Spanish upbringing.<sup>12</sup> In terms of expressed secular songs that Katherine may have possibly learned, it was said that Juana's household patronized a large group of flamenco singers or *cantores flamencos*. Pedro Martir (1457-1526), humanist tutor to the royal children, commented that, "[...] Se complacía oyendo a los musicos y cantores flamencos."<sup>13</sup> Although Katherine may not have expressly participated in such singing, she would have

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<sup>11</sup> Marquez de la Plata Vincenta, *El tragico destino de los hijos de los Reyes Catolicos* (Madrid, Spain: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial España, 2012), 94.

<sup>12</sup> Julia Fox, *Sister Queens: The Noble, Tragic Lives of Katherine of Aragon and Juana, Queen of Castile* (New York: Random House, 2011), 205.

<sup>13</sup> de la Plata Vincenta, 93. "It pleases her to listen to music and to the flamenco singers."

certainly been aware of such styles and very much enjoyed listening and acting as a connoisseur of prominent secular genres.

In addition to Isabella overseeing the singing education of her children, court records indicate that each household employed instrumentalists appointed by Isabella herself. Juan possessed an extensive instrument collection, showing Isabella's encouragement of instrumental education. Chronicler Oviedo noted that "Juan's chambers were filled with instruments of all kinds, including the first claviorgan ever seen in Spain, and he knew how to play them well."<sup>14</sup> However, although Juan and Katherine may have not had an entirely dissimilar instrumental education, it is important to note that Juan was being brought up as the future King of Spain, and not as the future consort of a foreign nation. According to Katherine's biographer, Patrick Williams, "[t]he girls studied music and learned to play the clavicord and other instruments."<sup>15</sup> This attests to the fact that each of Isabella's daughters was acquainted with techniques on more than one instrument.

Further evidence of Katherine's extensive background in instrumental music education can be found in the Spanish book *El tragico destino de los hijos de los Reyes Catolicos*. While Oviedo commented on the impressive inventory kept by Katherine's older brother, Juan, this book makes note of the collections held by Katherine's older sister Juana. Further, this source offers explanation of Juana's education, mentioning that Juana was educated in subjects including Greek, Latin, canonical law, dance and music.<sup>16</sup> Among the instruments listed in Juana's collection, *un llaviorgano, un monocordio, un*

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<sup>14</sup> Fenlon, 346.

<sup>15</sup> Williams, 50.

<sup>16</sup> de la Plata Vincenta, 90.

*templador de monocordio, una vihuela y dos cajitas con unos aljofaríos,*<sup>17</sup> were mentioned in the list. While there is no mention of Juana herself ever playing each of these instruments, she kept them in her collection. Therefore, it would not be far-fetched to imagine that she might have had a basic knowledge of these instruments as it was said that each of Isabella's daughter knew how to play one or more instruments.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to her musical training in both vocal and instrumental music, another vital component of Katherine's education was her instruction in dance. Katherine would have been educated in dance, first and foremost, in order to demonstrate her position and social status. Next, as an unmarried woman, Katherine's dancing abilities would have testified to the public, and possible future suitors, about her health, vitality and ability to bear children. Finally, in preparation for her future regal status, Katherine would be required to act as host for social occasions at court and therefore would have needed to be prepared to act as leading lady at any court festivities. The way Katherine learned to dance was in keeping with the traditions of fifteenth-century dance traditions. Like the dances featured in the fifteenth-century Gresley manuscript, gestures were primarily based on gliding movements. There are several continental dance manuals, which contain steps, rules and choreography in English dance.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 95. These instruments are, in English, a claviorgan, a monochord, a templador for the monochord, a vihuela, and two caskets with pebbles (or the early form of maracas).

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 94.

<sup>19</sup>Emily F. Winrock, "'Performing' Gender and Status on the Dance Floor in Early Modern England," in *Worth and Repute: Valuing Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Kim Kippen and Lori Woods (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011), 453.

Dance was a performance not only of Katherine's nobility but also an exhibit featuring her demure and grace and thus, her femininity. As such the movements in dance featured gliding movements that diverted any of Katherine's many layers of skirts from lifting. Further, her dance movements avoided any jumps or leaps, which would have not only been sexually inappropriate, but also were considered 'masculine' movements.<sup>20</sup>

Katherine's musical education, through practice in vocal and instrumental music making and dance, were vehicles that showcased Katherine as both a well- rounded princess and a woman who was fit to bear children. All three manners of musical performance were the physical observable evidence that Katherine was healthy and that she had been given the best education possible.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Presentation of a Princess**

As the king of the fledgling Tudor dynasty, Henry VII was anxious to secure his eldest son and heir, Arthur, a marriage that would place him amongst the ranks of the most powerful princes of Europe. Henry chose Katherine of Aragon for his son, the youngest child of the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. The negotiations for Katherine and Arthur's marriage betrothal began in 1487, when Katherine was three.<sup>22</sup> As such, Katherine, like her elder two sisters, was educated with the expectation that she would someday act as queen consort. Katherine's education, especially her musical

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 455.

<sup>21</sup> Michelle L. Beer, "Practices and Performances of Queenship: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor 1503-1533" (PhD diss., University of Illinois-Champaign Urbana, 2014), 194.

<sup>22</sup> Williams, 81. The final agreement was settled in 1496 with a promise of a dowry of 200,000 escudos, when Katherine was eleven.

education, would play an important part in not only in introducing herself to England as its future queen, but also prove crucial during her reign.

In 1501 Katherine arrived on the shores of England where she was presented formally to her future father-in-law Henry VII and was officially contracted in her marriage to Arthur. Part of her first presentation before Henry entailed a ceremony where Katherine was “unveiled”, thus confirming to Henry that Katherine was not cripple. In effect, the dowry he was exchanging would be securing the future of the Tudor dynasty through child birth on Katherine’s part. After formal ceremonies the couple was introduced in a large group including each of their own entourages. *The Receyt of Ladie Kathryne* details some of the first musical experiences the young couple would share:

[...] with the Lord Prince visited the Ladie in her owne chamber. And then she and her ladies let call their mynstrelles and with right goodly behavior and manner they slacid theymself with the disportes of daunsyng.<sup>23</sup>

One of Katherine’s first tasks upon arriving to England was a public dance performance and the demonstration of her Spanish ladies’ musical talents through singing. While the account does not describe the exact dance Katherine and Arthur performed, it does illuminate the precise manner of their dancing. Katherine was able to perform in way that communicated to her new subjects her grace and manners rather than ostentatiousness. As mentioned, dancing was one way in which Katherine could prove her health and vitality to the king, and therefore her ability to bear heirs to the throne.

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<sup>23</sup> Gordon Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of Ladie Kateryne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 8.

After their marriage both Arthur Prince of Wales and Princess Katherine moved to Wales. Tragically, they both came down with sweating sickness, and Arthur died less than a year after the couple was married. Katherine spent the next seven years in England, waiting. There were further negotiations between Ferdinand and Henry VII concerning the payment of the second half of Katherine's dowry. It was determined the second half would be paid upon Katherine's second marriage to Arthur's younger brother, Henry, Duke of York. Henry was five years younger than Katherine and a special papal dispensation had to be granted in order for Katherine to marry Henry. However, after much deliberation, Henry VIII's first action as king was to marry Katherine in 1509. They were given a grand joint coronation just a few weeks after the wedding and began their life as king and queen of England.

### **Queen as Audience Member, Host, and Patroness**

As Katherine's life role changed from betrothed to married, her musical involvement transformed as well. Katherine moved from a musical role where she had to prove her fecundity through performance to that of an active audience member and musical host. As queen Katherine was responsible for hosting diplomats in her private chambers.<sup>24</sup> It was therefore her duty to ensure that her ladies in waiting had the skills necessary to entertain visiting dignitaries. The King would often conduct business or political proceedings in the queen's chambers. Kate van Orden suggests that it was music making in private monarchical spaces worked first as a civilizer of nobles negotiating

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<sup>24</sup> Beer, 12.

conflict.<sup>25</sup> As such the queen's entertainment not only acted a lovely distraction but also allowed her to demonstrate both monarchs' magnificence. Finally, the queen's private chambers were a more intimate space for mixed company to interact socially.

The pageants and festivities of the larger court were places for the queen to act as audience member. Katherine was rarely alone. Composers, performers and dancers would perform to please the queen, and often looked to her for approval to gain legitimacy in their own status as creators.<sup>26</sup> The court also looked to Katherine's reaction of performances to gauge their own delight. Her presence also acted as a place for her to become the chivalric object of a performer's attention, such as in her participation in court spectacles, like jousting. It was the queen's responsibility to pass out prizes won in jousting tournaments, following the day's events. Awards would have been distributed in the queen's chambers and were often accompanied by the presence of minstrels and dancing.<sup>27</sup>

Katherine often patronized court composers and musicians for her private chambers, which was attended by her many ladies-in-waiting. As lady-in-waiting it was her job to serve the queen in her private life as well as participate with the queen at public social occasions. As her ladies were an extension of herself and her magnificence, she ensured that they each were appropriately dressed and educated in music. Katherine even paid for her ladies to receive private instrumental education so they might accompany themselves. Her ladies-in-waiting would have needed to have these musical skills for

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<sup>25</sup> Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2005), 7-8.

<sup>26</sup> Beer, 208.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

times when the queen's chambers included only her and her staff, rather than mixed company.

As Merry Weisner-Hanks points out in an article about the female life cycle during the early modern era, pregnancy and childbirth was one if not the main purpose of marriage.<sup>28</sup> For Katherine and Henry, childbirth not only fulfilled Katherine's purpose as queen, but also was the physical representation of the alliance of two countries, England and Spain. Childlessness was especially hard on women, because it was almost invariably seen as the woman's fault if a pregnancy failed to come about to fruition.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, because of the dangerous nature of childbirth, superstitious traditions often accompanied a woman during her confinement or "lying-in". For each of her pregnancies, Katherine would have withdrawn from the court to her birthing chamber. An all-female staff would have attended to her, and the room would have been made to simulate the appearance of a womb. Windows needed to be shut so as to cover light and keep out fresh air, and the walls were covered with tapestries, the floors with rich carpets.<sup>30</sup> She would have received an administering of spiced wine and efficacious herbs for medicinal purposes.<sup>31</sup> Katherine, as a highly pious and devout Catholic, would have surrounded herself with prayers, chants, crosses and candles to ensure a safe delivery of an heir. The midwives, who were responsible for the queen's physical and spiritual well-being in the birthing chamber, were there to act as both doctors and priests.

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<sup>28</sup> Weisner-Hanks, 65.

<sup>29</sup> Williams, 112.

<sup>30</sup> Helen Castor, *Medieval Lives: A Good Birth*, Documentary, produced by the British Broadcasting Company (London: BBC, 2004).

<sup>31</sup> Weisner-Hanks, 32.



Few items better demonstrate Katherine's sole purpose in life as mother to the nation and heir to the throne than her own personal symbol, the pomegranate. Such symbols for monarchs were chosen to act as visual short hand for a largely illiterate public.<sup>32</sup> The choice of her personal badge can be traced back to her upbringing in Spain. The pomegranate was first used to symbolize Ferdinand and Isabella's victory over the Moors at Granada, or pomegranate, in 1492. After which, pomegranate was a symbol that was not only incorporated into many Spanish coats of arm, but it also seems as though the badge was part of a marketing tool used to highlight her fertility, during marriage negotiations, to her future English in-laws.<sup>33</sup> Examples of Katherine's pomegranate ciphered with the English Tudor rose date back as far as 1509, the year of Katherine's second marriage to Henry VIII. The pomegranate, with its many seeds, is an emblem meant to remind the English subjects of Katherine's fecundity, potency, and her potential role as mother to the future King of England.

The Royal MS 8G VII is a musical manuscript that reinforces Katherine's responsibility to provide England with an heir to the throne, through its depiction of Katherine's symbol of the pomegranate, its fertility themed texts, and its polyphonic settings of Marian praise. The collection was compiled in the workshop of Petrus Alamire in southern Netherlands. Alamire's workshop is associated with the Mechelen court of Margaret of Austria, Katherine's sister-in-law and friend.<sup>34</sup> It is possible that the manuscript was given as a gift from Margaret to Katherine, and was meant to reflect not

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<sup>32</sup> Hope Johnston, "Catherine of Aragon's Pomegranate, Revisited," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 13, No. 2 (2005): 154.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

only their close personal connection but also their parallel life trials and circumstances.<sup>35</sup> The British Library places the manuscripts origin in the year 1513, although it is unclear whether that is the date of presentation to Katherine or the manuscript's creation in Brussels.<sup>36</sup>

It is important to place the songbook in context with Katherine's own personal reproductive journey. Prior to 1513, Katherine had experienced at least three documented infant losses, two of which were still-born and one that was the loss of the seven-week-old heir to the throne, Prince Henry. In the latter half of 1513, Katherine and Henry lost yet another heir to the throne, which again coincides with the date associated with the songbook's origin. Following 1513, Queen Katherine underwent a series of other losses including another male heir and a still-born princess. The only surviving child of Henry and Katherine was Princess Mary (Mary I) who was born in 1516.

The first song of the collection is the most ornately decorated of the manuscript. Immediately the viewer is greeted with a large initial letter combining the royal coat of arms, surrounded by the motto of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, betwixt both Katherine and Henry's personal badges, the pomegranate and the Tudor rose. The second page of the song is also beautifully and colorfully elaborated with a picture of a combined pomegranate and rose, which symbolizes the permanency of Henry and Katherine's union, as well as restating their personal representations.

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<sup>35</sup> Jennifer Thomas, "Patronage and Personal Narrative in a Music Manuscript: Marguerite of Austria, Katherine of Aragon and London Royal 8 G. vii," in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women*, ed. Thomasin Lamay (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 340.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 342.



The first piece of the manuscript is a benediction titled *Celeste Beneficium* by Jean Mouton (1459-1522). There are several reasons why this piece may have been highlighted with such fanciful illuminations. The piece primarily acts as a blessing over Katherine, by comparing the blessing of Christ’s birth through Mary, to perhaps the divine gift of a prince from Katherine’s womb. Further, the text of this song reminds the listener, perhaps Katherine, of how the Lord has blessed generations of women before her with children and therefore enhancing the possibility of being granted the same circumstance.

The translation of the Latin text of the polyphonic work reads as follows:

A divine favour entered into Anne through whom the Virgin Mary was born to us. O blessed one, pleasing to God, the mother’s mother born of the Father, Anne, with your daughter, reconcile us with Christ.<sup>39</sup>

Tess Knighton points out that this motet was originally presented to Anne of Brittany and her second husband, Louis XII of France (1462-1515), for their wedding.<sup>40</sup> As fate would

<sup>37</sup> The Western Manuscripts Collection. Kings MS 8 G VII. British Library, f. 2v.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Alamire, *The Spy’s Choirbook-Petrus Alamire & the Court of Henry VIII*. English Cornett and Sackbutt Ensemble. David Skinner. CCLCD712, 2014.CD. Liner notes by David Skinner and Gawain Glenton.

<sup>40</sup> Tess Knighton, “The Spanish Court of Ferdinand and Isabella,” in *The Renaissance From the 1470s to the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*. ed. Iain Fenlon (Princeton, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), 343.

have it, Anne had also suffered a series of failed pregnancies and was not able to provide her country with the needed male heir. The mention of Anne here may very well refer to Anne of Brittany as well as Saint Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary. Saint Anne gave birth to the blessed mother of Christ, or the heir to the Kingdom of Heaven. The message of the text is that the miracle of birth could bring about our own redemption from sin as well as an heir to an eternal crown.

While the first piece of the King's MS 8 G VII describe the joys and gifts associated with birth, the second piece, *Aditorium nostrum*, along with other works, speak to the pain of loss associated with miscarriage. While miscarriage alone was both physically and emotionally painful for Katherine, the circumstance was not only a personal loss. The loss of a pregnancy or infant for a queen represented a personal failure to perform as was expected, and exposed England to the possibility of civil war, leaving the country with no clear idea of who would be its next leader. Katherine and Henry were born of a generation of monarchs whose crowns had been achieved through political violence. Henry VIII's father, the Lancastrian Henry VII, obtained the English crown through victory over the House of York at the battle of Bosworth. Henry VIII's mother was Elizabeth of York and her marriage to Henry VII united the long warring factions of the House of Lancaster and the House of York. Similarly, Katherine's father, Ferdinand was the King of Aragon and Katherine's mother Isabel was the Queen of Castile. Ferdinand and Isabella's marriage also pacified the warring Spanish nations of Aragon and Castile. For both the English and Spanish thrones alike, the newly unified nations

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were secured through the birth of a male heir to the new throne.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, both the king and queen would have been well aware of the dangers of leaving the country without a suitable heir.

The second piece of the manuscript best communicates the grief Katherine must have survived in losing three potential male heirs. Like the *Celeste Beneficium*, *Adiutorium nostrum* by Antoine de Févin was originally composed for Anne of Brittany. However, in this particular piece Anne's name is replaced with Katherine, and Louis becomes Henry. The translation of the Latin text reads;

Our help is in the name of the Lord. Who will not be confessed to you? Katherine prays, weeps, and pleads for herself; praying, we beseech you, act that we might be helped quickly by your clemency. O most blessed George, King Henry cries to you; I beg you, hear our voice.<sup>42</sup>

The text of this piece conveys an immense depth of loss. Words like “prays”, “weeps”, “beseech”, “help”, “beg” and even “cries” are a few verbs that communicate desperation. Each of these powerful words is reinforced with altering melismatic passages between the voices. For example, the countertenor glides through the word *exorat*, or “pleads”, longer than any other word in the section. In the following page, the word *clemencia*, “mercy” or “clemency”, is brought out of the texture not only through melismatic passages but also through repetition. The tenor line repeats the word twice as if to communicate true begging for relief.

The powerful characters portrayed and the coloration of ink used in the piece also reinforce the grief endured in the loss of future heirs. St. George, the patron saint of

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<sup>41</sup> Liss, 51. Isabella was queen of Castille in her own right, as Ferdinand was king of Aragon in his. Through a civil war their marriage created a united Spain between the separate feuding nations.

<sup>42</sup> Alamire, *The Spy's Choirbook-Petrus Alamire & the Court of Henry VIII*.

England, is called upon to aid the King and Queen in their hour of despair. Every miscarriage on Katherine's part represented an uncertain England, unstable political future, and the possibility of unrest. George's name is evoked three times in the tenor line, representing the most textual repetition in the piece. In the manuscript itself, the names Katherine, Henry, and even George are written in a brown ink, so as to distinguish the names apart from the other words in black ink. The brown ink may even be a faded purple, further establishing the king and queen's royalty.

Yet another song, which describes the responsibilities of queen is found in the *Sancta et Immaculata Virginas*. In addition to her procreational duties, it was also Katherine's charge to act as the female moral leader to the nation. One manner in which she set an example of exemplary behavior was through demonstrating her chastity. Katherine showed the English people that she was a queen to be emulated through her commitment to Catholicism through church attendance and participation in prayer. The translation of the text of this piece reads:

Holy and Immaculate Virginitly, I do not know with what praises I should extol you; For you have borne in your womb him who the heavens could not contain.<sup>43</sup>

Here, the line between the characters of Katherine of Aragon and the Virgin Mary is blurred. The verbiage used could describe the experiences and character of both women. Katherine was careful to draw those similarities to herself and Mary, through prayer, piety and devotion to Henry. Even Katherine's personal motto, "Humble and Loyal", describes the characteristics that were most important for her to be demonstrative of in their marriage and in her role as queen. The song also contains reference to the womb of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

Mary that could be seen as yet another reference to Katherine. Katherine's womb, as the growing place of an heir, was also seen as sacred. She was to bear the heir to the throne of England, as Mary bore the heir to the kingdom of heaven.

The themes of holiness and purity are brought out in the music as well. In each of the voices the word "Sancta" or "holy" is executed on declamatory repeated whole tones. Next, the word "Immaculata" or "immaculate" is highlighted through flowing melismatic passages, creating intricate beautiful polyphony. The word pair is given further precedence through the utilization of red ink, separating the phrase from the remaining text of the song. With the exception of the countertenor voice, a rising figure is featured on the word "Caeli" or "heaven," thus employing word painting. This technique is reinforced even more by displaying the highest note in the piece, in the tenor line, on the same word. All of these items musically linked the ideas of purity and heavenly reign to Katherine herself.

No other piece in Kings MS 8 G VII pays homage to Katherine's fertility better than the piece *Descendi in hortem meum* attributed to Josquin de Prez. Like the other works of the manuscript, the best representation of this nod is found in the lyrics. The English translation of the Latin lyrics read;

I went down into my garden so that I might see the  
fruits of the valley and see whether the vine had  
flourished and the pomegranates budded. Return,  
return, O Shulamite, that we might look upon you. Alleluia. <sup>44</sup>

First, the text references horticulture numerous times, including, "garden", "fruits of the valley" and "flourishing vines," which all point to Katherine's ability to bear the fruit of

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

England's womb. Next and perhaps most obvious is the direct mention of the pomegranate and the attaching of the verb "budded" to Katherine's symbol. Finally, is the reference to a Shulamite, who is the alluring female protagonist found in the Old Testament book of the Song of Solomon. Referencing the Song of Solomon was considered scandalous by religious officials, as it included direct references to sexuality and anatomy. However, the inclusion of this piece, with its references to fertility and sexuality, may have been specifically prescriptive for Katherine's behavior. What was most important to the English people, Henry and Katherine was that she obtained a successful pregnancy.

The last two pieces of the songbook convey not only the themes of grief and loss but also communicate a sense of hopeless devastation. The famous piece *Absolom fili mi est* by Josquin may have been placed in the manuscript as a consolation to Katherine herself. Not coincidentally, the piece describes the loss of King David's son, prince Absolom as Katherine too, had lost two princes, in still-birth, miscarriage and in infant mortality. The British Library dates the manuscripts compilation from between 1513 and 1544 and what is uncertain is when Alamire may have placed specific pieces in the manuscript. As this piece is nearly at the end, one may assume that it was maybe this piece added after Katherine's own death in 1536. Therefore, the purpose of the inclusion of this work may be altogether different than Katherine's loss of children.

Finally, and perhaps most poignant, is the piece that ends the manuscript, *Tribulatio et angustia invenerunt me* also attributed to Josquin. The text reads:

Tribulation and anxiety have come over me, for my thoughts are of your commandments. I have come upon tribulation and sorrow, and have invoked the name



of the Lord.<sup>45</sup>

This text may insinuate not only Katherine's failure to produce a male heir, but also nod to the pain and suffering that she underwent surrounding "The King's Great Matter". In Katherine's life this included her husband's seven-year courtship to one of her ladies-in-waiting, Anne Boleyn, her lengthy and public divorce trial proceedings, the eventual loss of her crown and title, separation from her only surviving child Mary I, banishment to The More (an estate in the Welsh marshes), and the eventual upheaval of the nation's religious order and Katherine's own personal faith. While the exact dates of the manuscript's compilation remain unclear, what can be certain is the disappointing outcome of the queen's child-bearing years.

A pair of early nineteenth-century paintings by British artist Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859) depicts the last days of Katherine accompanied by multiple mediums of musical participation. The first portrait depicts a distressed Katherine, seated in humble surroundings and listening to the gentle sounds of her maid's lute playing. She has been disrobed of her queenly attire or accouterments. Thus, the artist depicts some of her final days still acting as the great audience member, albeit a melancholy one. Next, ushering her into death are three human figures and two musical instruments. Both the lute and the organetto, an early form of the keyboard, are mentioned in the listed in her instrument collection and as instruments she was known to have played. Even though this painting was created several hundred years following her death, artists and the public alike continue to imagine Katherine as a great musical queen.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.



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Katherine's musical journey began as a demonstration of her personal grace, her mother's demonstration of Spanish power, and the certainty of her fertility. However, her journey ended in the manifestation of musical mourning of her lack of heirs through the works of the Kings MS 8 G VII. Up to eight years after Katherine's 1536 death, musical works continued to be added to the manuscript. Even today her grave at Peterborough Cathedral is honored with tokens of the pomegranate to remember this illustrious woman, whose suffering will not be forgotten.

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Robert Leslie, *Katherine of Aragon and her Maid Patience*, Victoria and Albert Museum: British Galleries, Room 120, 1842.

<sup>47</sup> Charles Robert Leslie, *Katherine of Aragon in her Bedchamber at Kimbolton Castle*, Christie's, 1823.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANNE BOLEYN'S MUSICAL EDUCATION AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCE:

#### THE MAID, THE MARQUESS, AND THE QUEEN

Farewell, most gentill kyng; farewell my loving make,  
Farewell the pleasant Prince, flower of all regally,  
Farewell most pitiful, and pitie on me take;  
Regarde my dolorous woo marcyfully with your eye,  
Howe for myn offences most mekely here I dye:  
Marcy, noble prynce, I crave for myn offence;  
The sharped sword hathe made my recompence.<sup>1</sup>

This poem is the last stanza of a verse composed in tribute to Anne's execution written by her alleged former lover, court poet Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542). It comes from a series of poem written for those individuals tried and condemned for treason and adultery with Queen Anne in 1536, including Henry Norris (1482-1536), Will Brereton (1487-1536), Mark Smeaton (1512-1536), and George Boleyn (1503-1536).<sup>2</sup> For the past five centuries, Anne Boleyn has been a source of fascination for historians, researchers and musicologists alike. Of Henry's six queens, she has been the most written about in the world of musicology and English history.<sup>3</sup> Although few primary accounts survive of her music making, she was also the queen whose musical attributes are most mentioned, both contemporaneously and posthumously. Even Thomas Wyatt, who was accused of adultery and treason alongside Anne, joined those who after her death, mused over her life through the poetic arts. Although musicology may remember her tragically, through

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers* (Amberly Publishing: Gloucestershire, 2013), 318. Cavendish State Papers V, pt. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 315-319.

<sup>3</sup> Please see the introduction and literature review for scholars who have treated Anne Boleyn and music.

her association with court musician Mark Smeaton, and her questionable authorship of a tower composed song on her own death, there is little musicological focus on how music factored into her everyday life. The continental musical education Anne received at the Northern European courts of Belgium and France prepared her for grand culminating performances of social ascension through her creation as a Marchioness and finally her coronation as queen of England.

Although scholars such as Erik Ives and Retha Warnicke disagree on the year in which Anne was born, most scholars agree that the Boleyn family seat between 1501 and 1507 (both dates in question) was Blickling Hall, in Norwich.<sup>4</sup> She was the daughter of English gentry, Thomas Boleyn, ambassador to France for King Henry VIII, and the Lady Elizabeth Howard (1480-1538), daughter of the second Duke of Norfolk. Very little is known of Anne's time there, although Anne's siblings Mary (1500-1543) and George were born there as well. Ives places Mary as the eldest daughter being born in 1500, George as the youngest child born in 1504 and Anne as the middle child born in 1501.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Boleyn inherited Hever Castle, in Kent, in 1505 and moved his wife and family to the manor. Like her time at Blickling, Anne's time at Hever Castle is also not well documented. It was Thomas Boleyn who sponsored the creation of a second story to the castle, and in turn added a "minstrel's gallery" to the great hall. As a member of the King's council, Thomas would have been expected to entertain an aristocratic audience

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<sup>4</sup> Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, 2005), 15-17. See also Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991), 9. The controversy in differing birth dates lies in the question of Anne's birth order compared to Mary, her sister as well as Anne's age when she began her time at the Flemish court in 1513.

<sup>5</sup> Ives, 17.

often, and music would have been a central part of ensuring his guests were pleased by the pastimes at Hever. A French governess named Simonette, who instructed Anne in music, is mentioned in a 1900 publication of *The Athenaeum*. Simonette was charged with overseeing Anne's education, more importantly her governess instructed Anne in music: "Besides all the usual branches of virtuous instructor, they have her teachers in playing on musical instruments, singing, and in dancing, in so much that when she composed her hands to play and her voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance, that three harmonies concurred; likewise when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion."<sup>6</sup> This source, although several centuries removed from Anne's lifetime, may also be inaccurate. Lisa Urkevich points out that Symonette was the name of the tutor Anne received while under the tutelage of Margaret of Austria, at the Flemish court.<sup>7</sup> Anne herself even mentions the name Semonette in a letter to her father Thomas.<sup>8</sup>

### **Anne and Music-Making in Mechelen Palace**

As foreign ambassador to the King, Thomas Boleyn had the connections necessary to place both of his daughters in prominent positions at foreign courts during their formative years. Both Anne and Mary began their educations as *dames d'honneur* to Margaret of Austria in the Netherlandish court of Mechelen Palace in 1513. Anne would

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<sup>6</sup> John Francis, *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, The Fine Arts, Music and the Dram* (London: Atheneum Press, 1900), 818.

<sup>7</sup> Lisa Urkevich, "Anne Boleyn, A Music book and the Northern Renaissance Courts: Music Manuscript 1070 of the Royal College of Music London" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1997), 109.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* The letter was possibly written from Margaret of Austria's summer palace at Vure or possibly at her home at Hever. Anne wrote that the original letter was part of an assignment to be performed in French.

have arrived at court around age thirteen, and in addition to receiving musical training, which will later be discussed later, she would have learned the art of conversation, French, and possibly household management.<sup>9</sup> In addition to practical skills for the aristocratic Tudor woman, Anne would also have learned other skills by observing Margaret of Austria, including the appreciation of fine art, humanist ideas, and new religious concepts, and she would have been surrounded by some of Europe's brightest minds and most talented artists and composers.<sup>10</sup> In the early sixteenth century, Margaret of Austria kept a large retinue of musicians for both secular and sacred purposes. Musicians would have accompanied nearly every group gathering at court including banquets, dances, masques, private chambers, private meals, mass, processional ceremonies and pageants.<sup>11</sup> At the time, the Northern court boasted one of the largest musical presences in Europe and was comparable to those at courts in France and Italy.<sup>12</sup> Margaret of Austria herself patronized many musicians including Pierre De La Rue (1452-1518) and Gaspaar Van Weerbecke (1445-1516).<sup>13</sup> In addition to patronizing composers themselves, as well as ensuring the salaries of her chapel and court musical staff, Margaret of Austria supported her ladies-in-waiting with a broad musical education necessary for a young stylish Renaissance woman highly involved in court life.

Anne received formal education in singing, dancing, and instrumental music at Margaret's court. There are several candidates who could have possibly been Anne's private instrumental music instructors, including Henry Bredemers (1472-1522), Antoine

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 176-178.

<sup>13</sup> Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 29.

Divitis (1470-1530), Marbrianus De Orto (1460-1529), or Govard Nepotis (1450-1499).<sup>14</sup> Henry Bredemers has been the most popular assumption, as he taught the royal children of the court the manicordium and other instruments from 1508-1510.<sup>15</sup> However, this date does not line up with Anne's age of commencing studies at the court by age twelve, if she was born in 1501. Furthermore, Martin Picker emphasizes that Bredemers primarily taught the royal children and professional musicians in training.<sup>16</sup> As a newly arrived foreigner, Anne may not have yet had the social capital necessary to secure a prestigious teacher like Bredemers, who had also taught Philip the Fair. Bredemers, like many musicians, may have linked his own social status to that of his student clientele and therefore accepting a student of lower social standing, like Anne, may not have been as appealing to him. Lisa Urkevich and Nichole Ottjes seem to agree that Bredemers was Anne's private instrumental teacher; however, it is highly possible that another from Margaret's retinue may have been responsible for instructing her ladies-in-waiting.<sup>17</sup> Bredemers was the official organist of the chapel and of court and would have primarily instructed keyboard instruments. There is evidence that he also instructed on stringed instruments like the lute.

There are possibilities that an alternate instructor may have musically tutored Anne at the Flemish court. Antoine Divitis and Marbrianus De Orto were probably not Anne's instructors, as court records do not identify either specifically as a music teacher,

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. Manicordium, or manicordum, is a small keyboard instrument, much like a miniature version of the virginals.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Nicole Ottjes, "Recomposing Anne Boleyn: The Musical (After) Life of a Legendary Queen" (M.M. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 2005), 20; and Urkevich, 177.

although both musicians overlapped with Anne's time at the court.<sup>18</sup> However, Govard Nepotis, or possibly his younger relative Fleurquin Nepotis, may have assisted the young Anne in her musical education.<sup>19</sup> An organist, Govard Nepotis was a music teacher to Margaret of Austria herself, and in 1495 he received payment for instructing her in "many instruments of music".<sup>20</sup> However, since Govard Nepotis instructed Margaret of Austria, it is highly unlikely he would have also taught a *dame d'honneur*. Therefore, Fleurquin Nepotis should be considered as a possibility. First, Flouring had been "raised and taught music and other studies" under the supervision of Margaret.<sup>21</sup> Next, he was later appointed as Henry Bredemers' assistant in 1516, which coincided with Anne's time at court.<sup>22</sup> Further, Margaret required Feruling to give both singing and clavichord lessons to her court fool or "sotte" which she mentioned in a letter, along with his dissatisfaction of having to teach someone of such low birth.<sup>23</sup> As the daughter of an Englishman at a foreign court, Anne would have been among the lower tiered courtiers on the social ladder, although still above the status of the court jester.

Surrounded at court by a large population of both vocal and instrumental performers and instructors, Anne would have been educated in both types of music making, including the clavicord, manicordium, lute, and other "melodious instruments".<sup>24</sup> In addition to learning to perform on instruments, Anne would have learned court dance, and more specifically dances that integrated theatrical performances. Dancing and

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<sup>18</sup> Picker, 13.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 28.



participating in court dance was one of the primary duties of the *filles d'honneur*. The Mechelen books of dance from this period include music for one of the most common dances for couples at the time, the basse dance. <sup>25</sup>It was said that, “To dance it, one moves tranquilly, without agitation, in the most gracious fashion one is capable of.”<sup>26</sup> In addition to learning specific dances, Anne also learned the art of courtly love through the pageantry and masques that accompanied dancing festivities. Often, the courtiers would perform dramas in costumes, like knights and damsels in distress, alongside music and dance.<sup>27</sup> The themes of these dramas often centered around an epic battle between male and female courtiers.<sup>28</sup> It was here at the court of Margaret of Austria that Anne began her early formal musical education and had her first introduction into incorporating dance to the art of the female courtly love performance.

### **The Court at Blois**

After a year spent in Mechelen, both Anne and Mary were recalled to assist Mary Tudor in her marriage to the French King at the court at France. There is very little, if any, contemporary evidence of either woman’s time in France. There is a “Mademoiselle Boleyn” who is mentioned in the 1514 retinue of Mary Tudor’s (1496-1533) wedding to Louis XII, although it does not say whether the young lady was Anne or Mary. However, Lancelot de Carles, a French ambassador, published a poetic pamphlet in 1536 following the tragic events of Anne’s execution, which details more specific events of Anne’s time

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<sup>25</sup> Ives, 20. Ives mentions the Mechelen books as being “well-thumbed” and that the basse dance was a well-known dance staple.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

in France. *Épistre Contenant le Procès Criminel Faict à l'Encontre de la Royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre* is a one-thousand-line poem describing Anne's character from his own observations and his perspective as he witnessed Anne's execution and downfall.<sup>29</sup> A few lines in particular describe some of the musical skills Anne demonstrated and presumably acquired while in France:

Elle scavoit bien chanter et dancier, Et ses propose saigement adiancer, Sonner de  
lucz et daultres instrumens, Pour diverles tristes pensemens.<sup>30</sup>

There are several problems with confirming this specific account of Anne's musical education. First, this poem was written in late 1536 which dates between fifteen and twenty years after Anne's time of education in France. Second, De Carles may not have had first-hand experience in attending a performance of Anne's, whether instrumental, dance or vocal music. If not, he would have gotten his information from second-hand accounts. As lady-in-waiting to Queen Katherine in England, Anne's duties may have included performing for visiting dignitaries as part of her duties.<sup>31</sup> However, in France, Anne may not have sung or played instruments publicly in mixed company, as De Carles' account implies. Under the service of Mary Tudor, which lasted just a short time from October 1514 to January 1515, both Mary and Anne would have participated in the wedding festivities and other political events of both the English and French courts. It is

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<sup>29</sup> Lancelot De Carles, *Épistre Contenant le Procès Criminel Faict à l'Encontre de la Royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre* (1545).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Translation of the French: "She knew how to sing and dance, and she proposed to be seduced by the sound of sound and other instruments, to divert her sad thoughts." Translation by Susan Walters Schmidt, pg. 55.

<sup>31</sup> Michele Beer, *Practices and Performances of Queenship: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503-1533* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2014), 29.

possible that at this time that Anne may have acted as an interpreter at the Field of the Cloth of Gold summit between the two great European powers.

Another later source, quoted by Agnes Strickland in *Lives of the Queens of England*, describes Anne Boleyn and her musical talents as told through the perspective of Viscount Chateaubriant, who was a courtier at Francis I.<sup>32</sup> The Viscount conveys Anne's infinite musical charms saying:

She possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sun[g?], like a second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive. She like-wise danced the English dances, leaping and jumping with infinite grace and agility. Moreover, she invented many new figures and steps, which are yet known by her name, or by those of the gallant partners with whom she danced them. She was well skilled in all games fashionable at court. Besides singing like a siren, accompanying herself of the lute, she harped better than King David, and handled cleverly both flute and rebec.<sup>33</sup>

The French courtier made several observations concerning Anne's musical ability. First, he praised not only her talents in music but also in poetry and dance composition. He lauded her abilities to captivate an audience, even captive animal onlookers. A seductive undercurrent runs throughout this observation, as he commented on her "jumping" and "leaping" which at the time such movement would have been highly scandalized for a female to perform in public.<sup>34</sup> He even compared Anne to a "siren" whom by nature were dangerous creatures who lured sailors to rocky shores with their enchantment and music. Even more, Chateaubriant portrayed Anne playing the phallic shaped flute, an instrument

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<sup>32</sup> Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England From the Norman Conquest* (Blanchard and Lea: Philadelphia, 1840), 571.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Emily Winerock "'Performing' Gender and Status on the Dance Floor in Early Modern England," in *The Sacralizing of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World*, ed. Jennifer Mara De Silva (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 240.

insinuated iconic sexual connotations for female performers.<sup>35</sup> In addition to pointing out the advantages in securing sexual attraction in men through female music making, particularly in mixed company, certain ideas existed about music making being dangerous, seductive or even evoking witchcraft.<sup>36</sup> In Anne's case, this certainly seems to be true, as evidenced in both De Carles' testimony and how her music making contributed to her downfall and execution. Lastly, De Carles insinuated that he has heard Anne perform, meaning that Anne would have been performing publicly for mixed company, a practice that would have linked Anne's reputation to that of a courtesan.<sup>37</sup>

Whether or not these primary source accounts are verifiable, what is certain is that it was during this time that Anne's musical tastes were developing. She was being shaped by the tastes of both Margaret of Austria and Queen Claude of France at the French court. Margaret was educated at the French court as well, so this may have further enriched Anne's own taste in secular chansons and French dances like the pavane and galliard. At the French court, Anne would have continued to build on the musical and social skills she would have acquired at the court of Margaret of Austria. However, Queen Claude was a highly religious, somewhat reclusive monarch, so Anne's role as lady-in-waiting would have been primarily in attending on the queen's needs through her many pregnancies.<sup>38</sup> Although perhaps Anne may have performed for Queen Claude to entertain and amuse her, Claude in turn may not have been a strong model to emulate for musical

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<sup>35</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, "Sing Againe Syren: The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature," *The Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (1989): 430.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 420-422.

<sup>37</sup> Richard Freeman, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2013), 126.

<sup>38</sup> Beer, 29.

performance. However, Anne would have been surrounded by the artistic environment of the French court, which also served as a great teacher. Anne may have encountered musicians like Jean Mouton or Pierrequin de Therace (1470-1528) or even figures like Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519), who was at the French court in 1516.<sup>39</sup> She would have had eight years to observe how female rulers used music to convey their own piety, to influence the court through the composers they patronized, or how to entice others through the court dance.

### **MS 1070: The Anne Boleyn Songbook**

Few possessions of Anne's still survive to this day. What does survive are three Books of Hours that gradually become more religiously progressive the later in life she owned them. Most importantly, an early sixteenth-century manuscript called the MS 1070, also controversially called the "Anne Boleyn Songbook" by modern scholars, includes both secular and sacred vocal works that are primarily in Latin and French. Earlier researchers like Edward Lowinsky speculated about the specific time Anne owned the manuscript, arguing she may have owned it after becoming queen; he even hypothesized alternative owners of the manuscript.<sup>40</sup> Some twenty years later, Lisa Urkevich has confirmed through watermark study that Anne did, in fact, own the manuscript prior to her queenship.<sup>41</sup> More important than the timeline of Anne's ownership of the manuscript is the collection of songs contained inside. While the content of this songbook may reflect Anne's piety, it also imitates the pervasive musical tastes of

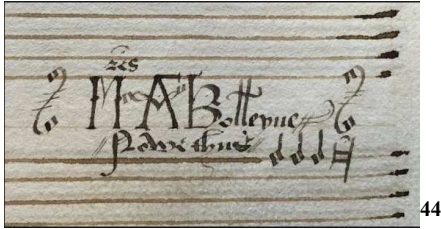
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<sup>39</sup> Urkevich, 144.

<sup>40</sup> Edward Lowinsky, "MS 1070 of the Royal College of Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 96 (1969-1970): 1-28.

<sup>41</sup> Urkevich, 152.

the French court. Furthermore, the small size of the manuscript indicates that it would be used for domestic music making, for either solo or small ensemble use.<sup>42</sup> Musicians like Jean Mouton, Antoine Brumel, Loyset Compère, Claudin de Sermisy, and even the famous Josquin De Pres make up the vast majority of works found in the manuscript, and each either served with Louis XII or Francis I.<sup>43</sup>



### **Anne's Debut In The Chateau Vert Pageant**

After Anne completed her formal education at the continental Northern courts of Europe, she was recalled back to England. She was to act as lady-in-waiting to England's queen, Katherine of Aragon. The first recorded court event in which Anne participated was the Chateau Vert pageant, at York Palace in 1522.<sup>45</sup> In this event, Anne would have had to demonstrate all the skills her European education had afforded her, especially in calling upon her prior knowledge of the courtly love game. At this point, Anne had spent her formative years in foreign courts, and as Lancelot de Carles wrote, she could have been mistaken for a native French woman.<sup>46</sup> As such, Anne's manners, behavior, dress,

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<sup>42</sup> MS 1070, Royal College of Music Manuscript. The measurements of the document are 287 x 190 mm which would be the perfect size for a handheld manuscript.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> MS 1070, Royal College of Music Manuscript. This is a picture from the manuscript signed "Mistress Anne Bolleyne: Now Thus". "Now Thus" was the Boleyn family motto.

<sup>45</sup> Ives, 35.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 45.

conversation, and style would have set her apart from Katherine's other ladies-in-waiting who had spent their entire lives on English soil.

William Cornish (1465-1523), the master of music at court, was responsible for providing the visiting diplomats with entertainment for the day, which would have included the activities of the Chateau Vert pageant. A selection of the king's gentlemen, including the king himself, played knights, and the queen's ladies played characters of either evil or good, like Desire, Jealousy or Danger; Anne played the part of Perseverance. This may have been the first time that Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn first interacted, through musical activity and dramatic play.

Then the lordes toke the ladies of honor as prisoners by the handes, and brought them doune, and daunced together verie pleasauntly, which much pleased the straungers, and when thei had daunced their fill then all these disuisered themselves and wer knowen: and then was there a costlv banket, and when all was done, the straungiers tooke their leaue of the king and the Cardinal and so departed into Flaunders, geuyng to the kyng mucche commendacion.<sup>47</sup>

While Thomas Boleyn may not have intended for his daughter to meet the king, he certainly might have used this occasion to place Anne in the proximity of other eligible aristocratic men at court. In this case, music, and more specifically dance, would have showcased the sophisticated skills that Anne acquired at the Northern courts of Europe. Anne had prior experience with court dance, pageants, and elaborate masks at the court of Margaret of Austria. Therefore, she would have been in a familiar environment, able to demonstrate her ease within such a display. Anne's musical interaction and movement would have increased her sexual allure and desirability, possibly inviting

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<sup>47</sup> Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle Containing The History of England During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth in Which are Particularly Described The Manners and Customs of Those Periods. Carefully Collated With the Editions of 1548 and 1550* (London: Johnson and Livingston, 1809), 798.

offers from multiple, noble suitors.<sup>48</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern points to several sources that show that parents raising young girls were aware of the sexual attraction men felt to women in music making.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, parents of young aristocratic women purposefully arranged their daughter's music education in order to create opportunity for more financially advantageous marriages. Later in the sixteenth century, Robert Burton commented on this particular phenomenon saying, "A thing nevertheless frequently used, and a part of a Gentlewomans bringing up, to sing, to daunce, and play on the Lute, or some other instrument, before she can say her Pater Noster, or Ten Commandments, 'tis the next way their parents think to get them husbands, they are compelled ot leane and by that means *incestos amores de tenoero maditatur unque*.'Tis a great allurement as it is often used, and many are undone by it."<sup>50</sup>

Anne's presence at such an event would have been enough to raise her social status; however, it was her participation and musical performance that set her up for a future of further gains of social capital. The Chateau Vert pageant is the first recorded event on English soil with both Henry and Anne in attendance that included musical performance.<sup>51</sup> Little did Anne know that this event would prepare her for many other important and significant musical events when she became queen.

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<sup>48</sup> Austern, "Sing Againe Syren," 430.

<sup>49</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, "Alluring the Auditorie to Effeminacie": Music and the Idea of the Feminine in Early Modern England," *Music and Letters*, 74 (Aug., 1993): 343-354. Austern mentions on page 347 several sixteenth-century sources linking sexuality to female music making, including John Case's *The Praise of Musicke*, Thomas Morley's *Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke*, and Thomas Ravenscroft's thoughts on Plato's opinion that music has "the unique ability to express the powerful passion of love".

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 431.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*



Henry, as one of the more musical kings of English history, had a great collection of instruments and dabbled in composition skills with pieces like *Pasttime With Good Company*. Historians have suggested that it was Henry's great interest in music that possibly attracted him to the musical Anne Boleyn.<sup>52</sup> David Starkey suggests that the two may have played instruments together as part of the courtship.<sup>53</sup> There is very little surviving evidence confirming any duet performances between Henry and Anne, or what role, if any, music played in their relationship prior to marriage. What can be confirmed is the length of their courtship and how music was used in the ceremonies during Anne's rise to power. During their seven years of courtship, Anne's musical involvement transformed from entertaining Queen Katherine with lute performance as a lady-in-waiting, to her own performance, both as a participant and as an audience member, for the various ceremonies associated with her social rise at court.

### **Madame de La Marquise**

In preparation for Anne and Henry's trip to France to meet King Francis, Henry also wanted to solidify Anne's position at the English court by granting her peerage. In a lavish ceremony on September 1, 1532, Anne was confirmed as the Marquise of Pembroke, a title that had been previously held by Henry's uncle, Jasper Tudor (1432-1994). This elevation in status from a lady to marquise positioned Anne as the lady of highest rank in England, and the fifth highest of any person at court, following the king, the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, and Anne's father Thomas.<sup>54</sup> The last time Anne had

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<sup>52</sup> David Starkey "Music and Monarchy", BBC Documentary, 2004.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ives, 158.

been in France, she had acted as lady-in-waiting to Francis I's wife, Queen Claude.

Henry wanted to ensure that the woman he was introducing to King Francis was a woman worthy of high honor and social standing. Anne would have engaged her prior knowledge of musical performance to demonstrate that she was a woman worthy of such a rank.

The musical events of the celebration were all ostentatious examples of Henrican pomp and circumstance. Music, along with ceremony, was used to display Henry's own power, demonstrating to his subjects his will and might to his subjects. Taking place at Windsor Castle, the ceremony began with a procession that included several ladies of the court including Anne's cousin, Mary Howard. In attendance were the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, and La Pommeray, or the French ambassador.<sup>55</sup> Anne had at one time gifted the ambassador with a hunting horn to showcase her goodwill towards France.<sup>56</sup> Anne was costumed in abundant jewels, sumptuous crimson velvet with her hair hanging loose, which was considered a symbol of fertility.<sup>57</sup> She arrived before the king, where a coronet was placed upon her head and the patent of her nobility was confirmed upon her. An eighteenth-century transcription of the ceremony, found in the British Library, details some of the exact musical events of the ceremony itself. The log indicated that bell ringers were hired for the occasion along with trumpeters. The account describes how Anne's recession from the ceremony was marked by brass players: "And with trumpets aloud sounding, departed".<sup>58</sup> Trumpets were loud, or "haute," instruments that were typically used in court occasion held out of doors. This illustrates how eager Henry was to broadcast his elevation of Anne, the future queen of his realm.

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<sup>55</sup> Ives, 157.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> British Library-London, MS Hargrave 497, f. 22.

Following the official service, many more musical events occurred. Henry retreated to St. George's Palace at Windsor where he attended a high mass led by Bishop Gardiner (1483-1555).<sup>59</sup> The mass continued, announcing plans for Henry and Anne's travel to Calais as well as renewing an English-French political alliance against the Turks.<sup>60</sup> The mass concluded with the celebratory singing of the *Te Deum*, which was the custom for court religious festivities. Accompanying the grand singing of the *Te Deum* were trumpets and even an orchestra.<sup>61</sup> Both the genre of music as well as the abundant instrumentation worked together to demonstrate Henry's majesty and his pride in conveying his future bride-Anne's rise. The evening concluded with a court feast, which no doubt included dancing and further English pageantry.

## **Calais**

In October 1532, Anne and Henry travelled to Calais, which at the time was England's last remaining territory in France. The purpose of their journey was so that Henry might have the opportunity to present Anne to Francis I as the future queen of England. Over two thousand members of the court accompanied them.<sup>62</sup> In her peerage ceremony, Anne's musical involvement was primarily as a participant; in Calais, however, she performed. Below is an account of Anne's official presentation to Francis I, as recorder by court chronicler Edward Hall:

After supper came in the Marchiones of Penbroke, with. vii. ladies in Maskyng apparel, of straunge fashion, made of clothe of gold, compassed with Crimosyn

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<sup>59</sup> Ives, 159.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 159. Two thousand of the company were men from Henry's court, while Anne was accompanied by only twenty to thirty ladies.

Tinsell Satin, owned with Clothe of Siluer, liyng lose[loose] and knit with laces of Gold: these ladies were brought into the chamber, with foure damoselles appareled in Crimosin satlyn[satin], with Tabardes of fine Cipres[cypress lawn]: the lady Marques tooke the Frenche Kyng, and the Countes of Darby, toke the Kyng of Nauerr, and euery Lady toke a lorde, and in daunsyng[dancing] the kyng of Englande, toke awaie the ladies visers, so that there the ladies beauties were shewed.<sup>63</sup>

Eric Ives comments that, “Anne had a great sense of theatre, and was reserving her entry as the climax”.<sup>64</sup> As Anne had already made an appearance on the English stage through her reception of the title of Marquise, this event was Anne’s debut on the greater stage of all of Europe. As the account above describes, the room for the banquet, and the stage itself, was decorated with gold bejeweled wreaths and draped with cloth of silver. Twenty different silver gilded candelabras, one of which could hold one hundred candles, provided the light for the performance. Each of the many ladies who performed in the masque dance were costumed with precious cloths like crimson satin and laced cloth of gold. Anne was the centerpiece of the choreography, as she was of the highest rank among the ladies present and invited the man of highest rank, the king of France, to join the dance.

Since Anne had spent much time in France in her youth, and since the English were in Calais, they may have performed a selection of French dances like the pavane, a basse dance, or galliard, with which the men of the French court would have been familiar. It is possible that Anne may have shared her knowledge of French dance with her co-performers, as she was the only English lady educated in France. The ladies continued to dance several more dances with their esteemed partners, perhaps to build up the moment of climax when Anne would finally reveal her identity to Francis. Although

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<sup>63</sup> Hall, 798.

<sup>64</sup> Ives, 159.

it is unknown how much involvement Anne would have had in the selection of music to which the ladies danced, or if she had any input at all in the choreography of the dance, it is certain that Anne knew how to make an entrance.

Many scholars believe that Calais was the place where Anne and Henry chose to consummate their relationship. Early in 1533, possibly on January 25, they were married in a secret service and shortly thereafter Anne found herself pregnant.<sup>65</sup> Katherine of Aragon was reduced to the title of Dowager Princess of Wales on Wednesday of Holy Week.<sup>66</sup> By Easter Sunday 1533, Anne was addressed and received for the first time as queen as for the first time. At Easter Sunday services, she was dressed in cloth of gold and attended on by sixty ladies, as was due her now publicly recognized new station.<sup>67</sup> Prior to this experience Anne had been queen in all but name, having been given the queen's apartments, jewels, and highest seats of honor next to Henry. However, without an official coronation as queen, some people questioned the infant's legitimacy. Therefore, all haste was made to ensure Anne's coronation happened quickly and in as grand a fashion as could be done. Anne's coronation was not only a demonstration to the English people that Anne was to be their queen, but it also showcased Henry's might of will. One of the more prominent means of communicating both of these facts was through the use of verses and music as propaganda that accompanied the coronation celebrating Anne's victory and queenship.

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<sup>65</sup> Ives, 159.

<sup>66</sup> Ives, 159.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

### **Come, My Love! Thou Shalt Be Crowned!**

Several factors for Anne's coronation set the ceremony apart from queens who had been crowned in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England. First, unlike Katherine of Aragon, this was solely a queen's ceremony. Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII received a joint coronation in 1509. Anne's coronation as queen in her own right set a precedent for future queens Mary I and Elizabeth I to be crowned as such. Furthermore, after Katherine of Aragon, Anne would be the only queen of Henry's wives to receive a coronation; a fact that supporters of Elizabeth I exploited later on when wanting to place her on the throne as queen.<sup>68</sup> Finally, this coronation included an extremely lavish set of festivals, accompanied by scores of musicians at every different location of Anne on the coronation route. Edward Hall recorded the details of both Katherine of Aragon's and Anne Boleyn's coronations and the difference in musical presence is astounding.

Anne's coronation procession began May 29, 1533 and lasted for four days filled with celebrations, ceremonies, feasts, and pageants. At this time, Anne was nearly six months pregnant with whom all believed was the king's son and the future king of England (the baby girl would become the future Elizabeth I). The first day, Anne was escorted from the palace down the river Thames to her newly refurbished apartments at the Tower of London.<sup>69</sup> She was surrounded by fifty barges, each of which were decorated in Anne's badges and emblems, shields with coats of arms, and banners with ciphers of Henry and Anne's intertwined initials.<sup>70</sup> Every kind of musician filled the

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<sup>68</sup> Alison Weir, *The Life of Elizabeth I* (New York: Random House, 2013), 33.

<sup>69</sup> Hall, 798.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 799.

barges, including shawm players, recorders, viols, shagbushes, divers, and possibly even virginals.<sup>71</sup> The instrumentalists themselves were concealed by hanging cloth of gold and silver, increasing both the luxury of sound and giving the sound a more ethereal, heavenly appeal. Eric Ives points to an observer's testimony of the events: "Also the trumpets blowing, shawms and minstrels playing, the which were a right sumptuous and a triumphant sight to see and hear all the way as they past upon the water, to hear the said marvelous sweet harmony of the said instruments, the which sounds to be a thing of another world".<sup>72</sup> Even Anne's personal emblems centered around music. One smaller boat featured Anne's white falcon, sitting in a golden tree atop a hill surrounded by "virgins singing and playing sweetly".<sup>73</sup> A larger boat containing a mechanical fire-breathing dragon led the procession of barges and men dressed as fantastic monsters who threw out fireworks from the vessel.<sup>74</sup>

As with her elevation to marquise, a great many trumpeters were present on each barge, declaring to the people of London of the coming coronation of their new queen. A great company of trumpeters and minstrels were included on the second barge, which also held Anne's secondary ladies-in-waiting.<sup>75</sup> Many vocalists must have been present on the barge in order to create music with volume enough for the people to hear. Courtier Winkyn de Worde's 1533 pamphlet, *The Noble tryumphaunt coronacyon of Quene Anne*,

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 798. Shagbushes are a sackbut-like instrument, an early predecessor of the trombone.

<sup>72</sup> Ives, 174.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>74</sup> Hall, 800.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 801.

*wyfe unto the most noble kynge Henry VIII*, confirms that, “great barges comly besene and euery barge hauvyne mynstrels makynge greate and sweete armony”.<sup>76</sup>

The second day of the celebrations were devoted to court rituals, mainly for the appointing of the knights of the Order of the Bath, each of whom would have a significant role in escorting and maintaining the safety of the queen during the coronation.<sup>77</sup> While little is recorded concerning the events of the second day, what is known is that Anne’s coronation, as with all royal coronations, took place on a Sunday, which also happened to be a feast day. Anne was to be crowned on Whitsonday, or the feast day of Pentecost. As the namesake implies, the feast takes place fifty days after Easter and is the celebration of the fulfillment of the promise that Jesus left before his ascension into heaven after his resurrection. Jesus promised the disciples that although he was leaving earth to join his father in heaven, he would send “The Comforter”, or the Holy Spirit, to descend upon them in his stead.<sup>78</sup> Anne’s coronation date and the synchronizing of this significant feast day was no coincidence.

Although Anne’s most significant performance would come on the fourth day of processions, her performance on the third day of celebrations could be considered as equally significant. Anne now was to act officially as an audience member, giving her approval and praise to the throngs of musical pageants she would pass along the coronation procession route. All songs and performances praised her and were planned not only to please her ear, but also to please the king and to satisfy his will. Strict

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<sup>76</sup> Wynkyn de Wordes, *The Noble tryumphaut coronacyon of Quene Anne, wyfe unto the most noble kynge Henry VIII* (Privately Printed: Edinburgh, 1884), 20. “Great barges comly seen and every barge having minstrels making great and sweet harmony.”

<sup>77</sup> Ives, 172.

<sup>78</sup> *The Bible*. Junior Bible Quiz: My mind, 1993.



instruction was given to the Mayor of London to prepare the city in a manner that honored both the king and the new Queen Anne.<sup>79</sup> Edward Hall's recollection begins with describing the luxurious textiles that each of the procession participants wore. The entourage was costumed in fabrics like crimson velvet for the Lord Mayor, footmen clothed in red and white damask and velvet and silk for the constables.<sup>80</sup> Even the city itself was clothed in rich arras, and draped in scarlet, gold and tapestries, and carpets.<sup>81</sup> The queen, as the centerpiece, wore white cloth of gold, an ermine mantle, and her hair hung loose encircle by a bejeweled coronet. Around her was a canopy made of cloth of gold and hung with silver bells.<sup>82</sup>

In addition to planning specifically the costumes and scenery of the route performances, certain verses and songs, called ditties, were put together especially for the occasion. The job of composing these songs and overseeing the pageants was given to two men, Nicholas Udall (1504-1556) and John Leland (1503-1552). Both men had strong connections with the Boleyn family and were possibly commissioned by Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540) and or Lord Thomas Howard (1473- 1554), Anne's uncle.<sup>83</sup> It is possible that because Anne's family members personally supported and selected these two men for their musical involvement in the procession, Anne may have had a hand in personally selecting them as well. John Leland was the royal library keeper as well as the former tutor to Lord Howard; he also had prior experience composing verses for the

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<sup>79</sup> Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 62.

<sup>80</sup> Hall, 799.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 800.

<sup>83</sup> Hunt, 64.

pageants of 1522 welcoming of both Charles V and Henry VIII into London.<sup>84</sup> Nicholas Udall was an acquaintance of Leland, and it suggested that through this connection Udall became involved in Anne's coronation.<sup>85</sup>

The first pageant mentioned in Edward Hall's rendition took place in Fanchurch, or Fenchurch, where children performed music. The children were Anne's first stop as she entered the city limits. Dressed as merchants, the children gave two separate greetings of honor or two proper prepositions in both French and English.<sup>86</sup> As this was Anne's coronation, perhaps the verses acted as a nod to her lengthy time in France and her command of the French language.

Next, Anne's procession arrived at Gracechurch, or Gracious church corner where more specific music details are mentioned in both renditions of the accounts. As Alice Hunt points out, both Udall and Leland utilized both humanist and classical themes in their coronation verses.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps these themes were chosen to marry the idea of glorifying Anne as a goddess with the modernity of individualistic approachability. The performances at Gracechurch made these ideals are most recognizably apparent. De Words's account says:

And so passed for the to Grase churche where was a right costly pagent of Apollo with the nyne muses amonge ye mountaynes syttyng on ye mount of Pernasus and euery of them hauvyng theyr instruments and apparayle acordyng to the description of poets and namely of Uirgyll with many goodly verses to her great prayse and honour.<sup>88</sup>

Edward Hall's account description of the same event reads:

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Hall, 801.

<sup>87</sup> Hunt, 65.

<sup>88</sup> Wynkyn de Wordes, 27.

From thence she roade to Gravius church corner, where was a costly and maruuilous connyng pageaunt made by the marchauntes of the Styllyarde for there was the mount Pernasus with the countayne of Helycon, which was of white about the fountain, which fountain ranne abundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountain satte Appollo and at his feete satte Calliope, and on euery side of the mountain satte iiii. Muses playiing on seueral swete instruments, and their feet Epigrammes & Poyses were written in golden letters, in the whiche euery Muse according to her propertie praised the Quene.<sup>89</sup>

While the differences between these two retellings are quite obvious, one important similarity is the ostentatious musical involvement of the nine muses. Furthermore, both mention a highly diverse instrumental musical presence at the pageant. Melodic instruments like harp, zithers, flutes may have been used to reinforce the ideas of Anne's divinity as well as setting the scene akin to ancient Greece mythology. Performers dressed as immortal beings, singing and playing musical praise to the queen, not only reinforced the idea of linking Anne's identity to the heavens, but also physically placed her above the deities.

The next station's pageants were performed at Leaden Hall, where even more heraldic symbolism was employed and a great deal of praise was heaped on Anne, blessing her fertility. Rather than using Greek mythology, Anne's own heraldic symbol, the white falcon surrounded by white and red roses (the Tudor family symbol) was crowned by an angel singing a "great melody".<sup>90</sup> The children of Saint Anne followed the crowning of the falcon by again praising Anne herself and the fruitfulness of her womb. One costumed child proclaimed in verse:

Behold and see the Falcon White! How she beginneth her wings to spread, And for our comfort to take her flight. But where will she cease, as you do read? A

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<sup>89</sup> Hall, 800.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 802.

rare sight! And yet to be joyed. On the Rose; chief flower that ever was, This bird to 'light that all birds doth pass.<sup>91</sup>

These verses, composed by Nicholas Udall, publicly praised Anne's purity, her exceptionality, and her future success as queen. As Henry had recently parted from his first queen of twenty-seven years, perhaps Udall and the Boleyn family felt the London people would be in need of convincing of Anne's own virtues. As Anne departed the pageant at Leland to move on to the next pageant, a ballad again praising the white falcon heralded in song:

This White Falcon, Rare and geason, This bird shineth so bright; of all that are No bird compare, May with this Falcon White.....Of body small, of power regal, She is, and sharp of sight; Of courage hault No manner hault is in this Falcon White.  
In chastity, excelleth she, Most like a virgin bright: And worthy is To live in bliss Always this Falcon White.  
Whereon to rest, and build her nest; GOD grant her, most of might! That England may Rejoice always in this same Falcon White.<sup>92</sup>

Anne left the second pageant as the hope of England, with the proclamation that her reign was not only to be fruitful but also that it was God's will.

From Leland the coronation parade processed to Cornhill, where the pageants returned back to the theme of classical antiquity. Here, the three graces each professed Anne's regality and each gave their gifts of grace. From Cornhill, they processed to Chepe where there was a great fountain of free-flowing white wine and claret, banners of coats of arms surrounded her, and she again acted as audience member as she listened to the "sweet armony of both song and instrument".<sup>93</sup> The distinction between song and instrument may signify a difference between vocal and obviously instrumental genres, or

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<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth Norton, *The Anne Boleyn Papers* (Gloucestershire: Amberly Press, 2013), 185-186.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>93</sup> Hall, 800.

perhaps in referred to vocal music accompanied by instruments. As the wine flowed, Anne listened to “great melody with speeches”.<sup>94</sup> Again, Anne would have had the significant challenge of behaving appropriately as an audience member, for many hours, out-of-doors while quite pregnant. For Anne to behave in a gracious, receptive manner as an audience member would have been quite a successful first performance as queen.

From the performance at Chepe, she processed through the recorder of London who handed her a purse of gold and presented her with great speeches as she made her way to Alderman.<sup>95</sup> She also listened to yet more pageants in passing at the “lesser condyt” where an obviously rich and costly pageant was performed for her. There she heard “goodly armonye of musyke and other minstrels syngyng”.<sup>96</sup> The performers sang dressed in costumes of Juno, Pallas, Mercury, Venus, Paris and other gods.<sup>97</sup> The performers then handed her a large gold ball, joined with children performers, and continued singing a ballad to Anne. On tablets, each performer had sayings in Latin written praising and foretelling of Anne’s prosperity as queen.

Next, Anne and her ladies, dressed in crimson velvet and ermine, processed to Poules Gate where virgins in costly attire serenaded them. In the Poules churchyard, a scaffold had been erected where yet more children recited poetic verses. Then the queen processed to Ludgate, where yet more sumptuous music and surroundings continued. Here, the backdrop was arrayed with gold where “asure with swete armony of ballades to her greate prayse and honour with dyuerse swete instruments”.<sup>98</sup> Sweet instruments might

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<sup>94</sup> Wynkyn de Wordes, 29.

<sup>95</sup> Hall, 802.

<sup>96</sup> Wynkyn de Wordes, 31.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Hall, 802.

again mean instruments capable of more melodic lines. Anne observed yet more music and singing by a choir of men, as well as children singing ballads of praise at St. Martin's Church. Anne passed through Fleetstreet and arrived at Standarde where four tourettes were decorated and yet more instrumentalist accompanied singing children's voices.<sup>99</sup> After all these pageants on a lengthy procession route, Anne arrived at the Palace at Westminster where she and her ladies would stay the night before Anne Boleyn would become queen.

Anne was crowned queen of England on Sunday, the feast day of Pentecost, after three full days of music and celebrations. Anne processed into Westminster, dressed in a violet velvet cape trimmed in ermine, to the sounding royal trumpeters dressed in cloth of gold.<sup>100</sup> Along with music, other symbols further established Anne as queen in her own right. For example, in addition to being seated on St. Edward's throne, the coronation chair, Anne was crowned with St. Edward's crown, which was normally reserved for the monarch, not the consort.<sup>101</sup> After receiving her crown, scepter, and orb, the choir sang a celebratory *Te Deum*, possibly by Robert Fayrfax (1464-1521), an early Tudor composer for whom Henry VIII had paid money to provide him with clothes to wear at state occasions.<sup>102</sup> Fayrfax also was the head of singing men for Henry's own coronation.<sup>103</sup> The mass continued through the singing of the Agnus Dei, after which Anne went to the shrine of St. Edward. From there, Anne left Westminster, crowned as queen, and recessed

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<sup>99</sup> Wynkyn de Wordes, 33-34.

<sup>100</sup> Hall, 802.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 805.

<sup>102</sup> Grattan Flood, "New Light on Early Tudor Composers. IX. Robert Fayrfax," *The Musical Times* 61, no. 928 (1920): 384.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

with her ladies to rest for the celebratory feast and dancing that would take place later that evening.

After resting, the pregnant Anne attended her coronation feast and balls which began with a presentation of different dishes; her uncle Lord Thomas Howard and the Duke of Suffolk (1484-1545) also made entrances in Westminster hall on horseback. The trumpeters were once again present “playing melodiously” although at the window at the other end of the hall from Anne, who was front and center.<sup>104</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Unlike her predecessor, Katherine of Aragon, Anne’s greatest association with music was not her possession or patronage of musicians, but rather her performances. More than any other of the six queens, her musical performance has been speculated about, mused over, and written on. Even in the varying court chronicler accounts Anne’s musical activities contain a certain vivid theatric flare that is unique to only her as queen.

Anne Boleyn was executed May 19, 1536 on charges of incest, adultery and treason. She was beheaded on a scaffold by a swordsman from Calais, the same town where she made her poignant musical and social debut to the French king as the future queen of England. Along with Anne, her brother George, the musician Mark Smeaton, and three others were executed alongside her. The queen whose reign was so elaborately celebrated for her purity, grace, and fertility would die in disgrace on charges so opposite to the ideals of her musical coronation. Her musical talents became a double-edged

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<sup>104</sup> Hall, 807.

sword: they helped her gain attention in her rise to power, but they were the very traits that history would blame on her unfortunate end.<sup>105</sup>

There is very little confirmable physical evidence of Anne's musical presence, talents, or identity, with the exception of the MS 1070 music manuscript and a set of virginals housed at the Victoria and Albert Museum rumored to have belonged to Anne.<sup>106</sup> The instrument includes the same crowned white falcon on the body of the virginals and dates back to the middle of the sixteenth century, suggesting that she could have owned them.<sup>107</sup>

In 1558 a Catholic courtier named William Forrest (fl. 1581) wrote the following poem in defense of his Catholic queen, daughter of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, Mary I.<sup>108</sup>

At tyme of canvasine this mateirso,  
In the cowrte (newe entred) theare dyd frequen  
A fresche younge damoyzell, that cowlde trippe and go,  
To sing and to dance passinge excellent  
No thatches shee lacked of loves allurement;  
She cowlde speak Frenche ornately and playne,  
Famed in the Cowrte (by name) Anne Bullayne.

No lylte towards her was hys longeing luste,  
Oute of his presence he coulde suffer her scace,  
At his commandment she daunce and singe muste,  
Only above allshe stooode yn hys grace,  
Which sundrye and many adnoted the case,  
That well they wiste thy woulde togeathers knytt,  
What soeauer law dyd oughtys prohybyt.

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<sup>105</sup> Neville Williams, *Henry VIII and His Court* (London: Macmillan, 1971), 56.

<sup>106</sup> Lisa Urkevich, "Music Books of Women: Private Treasures and Personal Revelations," *Early Modern Women* 4 (2009): 175-185.

<sup>107</sup> Williams, 56.

<sup>108</sup> Nicole Ottjes, "Recomposing Anne Boleyn: The Musical (After) Life of a Legendary Queen" (M.M. thesis, University of Minnesota, 2005), 20.



Forrest was present during the divorce proceedings of Mary's mother, Katherine, and seems to characterize Anne negatively, as a bewitcher of Henry and Katherine's usurper. Many of the details used to convey this are the personal musical details of Anne's experience. Forrest linked her singing and dancing as aiding her sexual allurements. Even further, Forrest paints the picture of Anne singing and dancing at the King's commandment, contributing to her wantonness and image as a courtesan. These rumors, along with unflattering altered portraits of Anne and accounts of Anne as a whore, have created a complex identity to a woman whose musical character musicology is currently rediscovering.

## CHAPTER 5

### TRAINING IN THE SPIRIT: RELIGION AND MUSIC IN THE LIVES OF JANE SEYMOUR AND ANNE OF CLEVES

The years 1536-1540 were arguably the most tumultuous of Henry's reign, both politically and religiously. Having officially separated from the Pope and the Catholic Church in 1533, through marrying Anne Boleyn, the English people were forced to choose loyalty between their king or their church. In addition, England would see in these four short years the coming and going of five queens. Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn died in 1536, Jane Seymour died in 1537, Anne of Cleves was divorced July of 1540, and finally Katherine Howard's reign began in late July of that same year.<sup>1</sup> Not only did the English people have to contend with the constantly changing and confusing fidelity to a female monarch, but they also had to navigate England's fraught relationship to Rome. Events such as Thomas Cromwell's dissolution of the monasteries and northern England's pilgrimage of grace, both of which occurred during the reign of Jane Seymour, are both examples of religiously traumatic events with which the queen would have had to contend during her reign.<sup>2</sup> Musically, as queen, this would have affected the composers, artists, and performers she patronized at court, and would have also shaped her own personal musical involvement.

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<sup>1</sup> Suzannah Lipscomb, *1536: The Year That Changed Henry VIII* (Oxford: Lion Hudson plc, 2009), 19-21.

<sup>2</sup> Antonia Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Orion Books, 2002), 279-327.

## **Jane's Wiltshire Education**

Of all of Henry's wives, Jane Seymour is the queen about whom we know the least, especially in terms of her education and childhood. She was one of ten children raised in a country estate southwest of London in Wiltshire, called Wulfhall. Her father, Sir John Seymour (1474-1536), was a member of the English nobility and fought alongside Henry in the Battle of the Spurs. Jane was Sir John and Lady Margery Seymour's (1478-1550) eldest daughter (although the fourth or fifth child).<sup>3</sup> Her education was perhaps overseen by Lady Margarey and she may have also been taught by Sir John's chaplain. James, as he is referred to in Wulfhall house account books, would have educated Jane in literacy and in spiritual knowledge.<sup>4</sup> The Seymours, a prominent Catholic family, ensured that their children were raised properly in the faith. Being educated by a family chaplain, Jane would have become acquainted with the musical customs of the Catholic church, although she had no knowledge of Latin.<sup>5</sup> It is also possible that Jane may have been tutored in reading and writing at a local nunnery in the company of all female peers from other noble houses.<sup>6</sup>

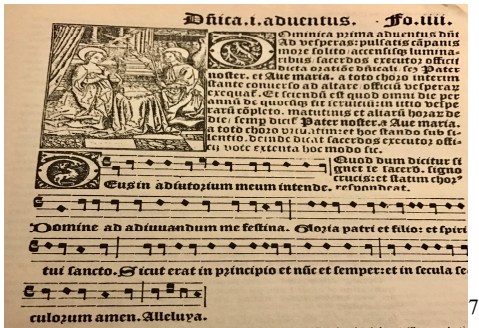
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<sup>3</sup> David Loades, *Jane Seymour: Henry VIII's Favourite Wife* (Gloucestershire, UK: Ameberly Publishing: 2014), 25.

<sup>4</sup> Pamela Gross "Jane, The Queene: The Uncrowned Unicorn, A Study of Queen Jane Seymour, Third Consort of Henry VIII" (PhD diss., University of New York at Buffalo, 1983), 10.

<sup>5</sup> Loades, 26

<sup>6</sup> Jane Flynn, "A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book: Music Education in Sixteen Century England" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1993), 124.



There are several parish churches near Wulfhall in Wiltshire; however, Great Bedwyn Church is where the Seymour family would have attended mass.<sup>8</sup> The church holds great significance for the Seymour family as the location of Sir John's tomb. In addition, the walls and windows are decorated with the Seymour family crest and symbols, the lion. The local parish church would have also been the site of a small chantry, where a priest would have been paid to sing masses over the souls of the Seymour's deceased relatives, in effect singing them out of purgatory.<sup>9</sup> In Wiltshire alone seven rural chantries still existed in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> As a pious young Catholic woman, Jane may have attended and listened to such singing. By doing so, Jane would have learned the association between music and religion through her private education and spiritual surroundings.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 11. This image shows an example of responses at vespers of the First Sunday in Advent (Sarum Antiphonal, STC 15790, [British Library, London], 1519, fol. A 4r).

<sup>8</sup> Pamela Gross, *Jane, The Quene, Third Consort of King Henry VIII* (Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 36.

<sup>9</sup> Alan Kreider, *English Chantries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 38.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

Above is an example of the type of responsorial Jane may have sung when participating musically in her hometown parish church at Great Bedwyn.<sup>11</sup> The antiphon would have been sung at the evening service of Vespers, marking the first Sunday of Advent. While historians note that Jane did not know Latin, she likely knew the Latin text used in responsorial singing, simply by means of rote learning and familiarity, even if she did not know the exact translation of the words. Although polyphony (pricksong) may not have been typical of small parish churches like Great Bedwyn, wealthy aristocrats, like the Seymours, may have patronized more skilled musicians and music for special occasions like the season of Advent.<sup>12</sup>

### **Jane Seymour-Lady-In-Waiting**

In the early 1530s, Jane obtained a position at court; her mother, Lady Margery, was a lady-in-waiting to Katherine of Aragon, so Jane may have obtained the post through her mother's connection to the queen's household.<sup>13</sup> During this time, Katherine of Aragon, the Dowager Princess of Wales, was banished to the Welsh marshes, and Queen Anne Boleyn had just been crowned in June of 1533. With her minimal music education, Jane would have utilized her skills in embroidery and service in the queen's household. More importantly, her service to Anne allowed her to observe the queen's behaviors. As discussed in Chapter 4, the musical Anne Boleyn was known for her

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<sup>11</sup> Temperley, 7. "The hymns at the daily offices were musically simpler and could possibly have been sung by the people."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 8. There was a growing support for the endowment of chantries during this time, including support from aristocrats and wealthy merchants.

<sup>13</sup> Gross "Jane, The Queene," 12.

dancing, singing and lute playing skills.<sup>14</sup> Like Katherine, Anne may have entertained in her private chambers, and Jane could easily have leant her talents to the celebrations and entertainments for visiting nobles. Unfortunately, no mention of Jane's individual musical performances or talents survive from either her life before arriving at court nor after beginning her courtly duties.

Only a few hours after the execution of Queen Anne, Jane and Henry announced their engagement. Jane Seymour married Henry on May 30, 1536, eleven days after Anne's death. Again, while it is certain that music and entertainment played a large part of Queen Anne's reign, no sources survive concerning Jane entertaining in her chambers, either musically or otherwise. The lack of music may have been an intentional choice on Jane's part, who may have learned from the cautionary example of how music played a role in the former queen's downfall. Anne was accused of adultery and executed along with five other men including Mark Smeaton, a virginalist on staff in Anne's privy chambers. Jane's personal motto, "Bound to Obey and Serve," directly contrasted Anne's motto of "The Most Happi". As Jane was responsible for selecting her own motto, it seems as though the theme of her reign and personhood was compliance, avoiding the musical ostentatiousness for which Anne set a precedent.

While there are no documents associating Queen Jane and musical performance, we do know that she owned musical instruments. A 1542 inventory of Whitehall Palace by Phillip Van Wilder, keeper of palace instruments, notes that:

Item oone peir of doble regales of Latten with iij stoppes of pipes coverid with purple vellat enbraudred alover with damaske Pirles and vince gold And the cover

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<sup>14</sup> Michelle Beer "Practices and Performances of Queenship: Katherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503-1533" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2014), 167.

therof thinner parte coverid with crymsen vellat likewise enbraudred with damaske pirls, having a steele Glass in the same, the kings Armes *and Queen Janes Armes* likewise enbraudred with a cover over the pipes coverid with crymsen and purple vellat likewise enbraudred, having a rose crownyd vpon the same.<sup>15</sup>

The regals are a small organ where the sound is manufactured by two sets of beatings reeds, and no resonators.<sup>16</sup> As the name suggests, the regals were often a musical gift given to royal or “regal” person. Jane may have played the instrument herself in her private chambers. Like Anne Boleyn, whose personal emblems and the Boleyn family crest adorn a virginal now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the regals mentioned in the 1542 inventory list also featured Queen Jane’s own cipher and her personal arms.

The same inventory suggests several possible rooms in which the regals could have been located in 1547, during the reign of Katherine Parre, including the withdrawing chamber at Greenwich Palace, or the long gallery or the Queen’s table at Hampton Court Palace.<sup>17</sup> With the exception of the long gallery, the locations for the regals would have been primarily private settings.

### **Musical Celebrations for the Birth of an Heir and the Death of a Queen**

From pregnancy, to childbirth, to her death, religious music ran as a constant thread through Queen Jane’s role as the bearer of heirs and queenship. This music not only fortified her spiritually for the formidable journey of childbirth, but it also

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<sup>15</sup> Maria Hayward, trans., *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and its Keeper* Vol. II (London: Illuminata Publishers, 2004), 100.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Williams. "Regals." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 02, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.umkc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23059>.

<sup>17</sup> Hayward, 24-25.

showcased her purity as a Marian queen to the English people. In early 1537, at the conclusion of the Christmas holidays, Henry and Jane conceived a child. By spring the King and Queen attended a mass at St. Paul's Cathedral for Trinity Sunday, where a *Te Deum* was sung giving thanks for the advancing royal pregnancy.<sup>18</sup> In several other locations, a celebratory *Te Deum* was performed in honor of Jane's pregnancy.<sup>19</sup> In addition to St. Paul's, other performances occurred in June of that year, in Calais, accompanied by bon fires and limitless wine.<sup>20</sup> The same events occurred in a small town, called Guynes. Further, the Duke of York, recorded that similar customs and rejoicing took place in York with the singing of a *Te Deum*.<sup>21</sup>

Several composers may have composed these *Te Deums*, including John Taverner, Robert Fayrfax, and Thomas Tallis. John Taverner, as organist at Christ Church Oxford, primarily composed liturgical music in the late 1520s the 1530s, placing him at the exact time of the reign of Jane Seymour.<sup>22</sup> Taverner composed both the *Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas* and *Te Deums*. The *Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas* was a mass especially for Trinity Sunday which the King and Queen attended specifically in to give thanks to God for their expected future child. Taverner's *Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas*, included a transcription of his famous *In nomine Domini*, which was an contemporary English genre.<sup>23</sup> Taverner's *Te Deum* is a Latin polyphonic work that is based on the cantus

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<sup>18</sup> Loades, 76.

<sup>19</sup> Gross, *Jane, The Quene*, 64.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>22</sup> Colin Hand, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1978), 11.

<sup>23</sup> Roger Bowers, et al. "Taverner, John," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.*, Oxford University Press, accessed October 22, 2017,



firmus of England's *Western Wind* tune. Much like the *L'homme armé* masses, which featured the popular French tune that helped to familiarize illiterate audiences to the grandiose Catholic polyphony, *Western Wind* was a popular tune recognizable to the English lay-person. In addition to John Taverner (1490-1545), English composer Edmund Staunton (N.D.) also composed works for Trinity Sunday. His work *Ave Maria Ancilla Trinitas*, from his, *Gloria Tibi Trinitas*, contains an antiphon that is featured in the Arundale choir book, one of the few surviving choral manuscripts from the early Tudor period.<sup>24</sup> For both composers, this early sixteenth-century work features glorious Catholic sound, points of imitation between the voices, and melismatic passages flowing throughout. One surviving *Te Deum* showcases primarily homophonic rhythms and is performed in English. Both of these characteristics point to the more protestant Anglican tendencies of early hymn tunes.

In September of 1537, Queen Jane took to her lying in, retreating to the Great Chamber for her confinement. In the Tudor era, with high infant and female mortality rates due to childbirth, giving birth was treated as a superstitious and ritualistic process.<sup>25</sup> Aristocratic women “took to their chambers” to give birth, where they were confined to a single room. The chamber floors were spread with fine carpets, the curtains were drawn, and religious symbols and candles decorated the room. The queen also attended a special Catholic service, called the “divine service”, where she and her ladies would pray both to

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<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.library.umkc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/27571>.

<sup>24</sup> Edmund Staunton, “Ave Maria Ancilla Trinitatis” MS. 1, *The Arundale Choirbook*. Lambeth Palace Library, London. Ff 59v-63cf.

<sup>25</sup> Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 64-66.

Mary and the Lord, asking for assistance in the child birthing process.<sup>26</sup> Jane's entire confinement and childbirth happened in the queen's chamber at Hampton Court Palace, in rooms that had only recently decoratively been converted to suit former Queen Anne Boleyn.<sup>27</sup> Jane's emblem, the panther, had replaced Anne's leopard, and the woodcarvings around her contained the cipher of Henry and Jane's initials.

On October 2, Henry visited Jane for the last time while in her confinement.<sup>28</sup> Almost a week later the queen's labor began, which was a long and arduous process. Both midwives and the king's doctors were on hand in queen's chambers.<sup>29</sup> Henry was careful to ensure that his son was born healthy, and sent his physicians to oversee the female-dominated environment of the childbearing room. On October 12, 1537, Queen Jane gave birth to a healthy baby boy and heir to the English throne. Once again, *Te Deums* were performed in nearly every London parish.<sup>30</sup> In addition to regular celebrations, like bonfires and special services of thanks, Henry provided special musical entertainment to proclaim their new arrival. Pamela Gross notes that "[t]o make the occasion memorable to the realm, the King's musicians performed, guns were fired in a 'great peel' from the Tower of London, and a great feast served at the doors of St. Pauls' for the people to commemorate the great moment."<sup>31</sup> Adding further musical punctuation

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<sup>26</sup> Gross, *Jane, The Quene*, 69.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>28</sup> In this period, confinement was meant to be only for women, so it is significant that Henry visited Jane during this period

<sup>29</sup> Gross, *Jane, The Quene*, 67.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

to the birth announcement, church bells rang until ten in the evening and a two thousand gunfire salutes sounded.<sup>32</sup>

Edward's birth confirmed to Henry that he had been right in discarding his previous two brides and that God did, in fact, smile upon his marriage with Jane. Not only did Henry oversee celebrations throughout England, but he also ensured that the country's future heir had the most lavish christening of any future monarch. Although the christening itself was the height of English pageantry, Jane's part in the ceremony was quite minimal. Lords, ladies, cardinals, bishops, and Edward's sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, all processed through Hampton Court palace to the Chapel Royal displaying their finery and affirming their support of the new English heir.<sup>33</sup> Jane, however, was quite weakened from the birth and greeted three hundred guests in her private chambers while sitting poised on a pallet of pillows showcasing her familial coat of arms, dressed in royal ermine.<sup>34</sup> Trumpeters sounded for over two hours guiding the christening procession from the chapel to her chamber, quite near her person.

Music also followed Jane in her death following Edward's birth. The day after the christening service, perhaps due to the physical stress of childbirth compounded by the ceremonial expectations, the queen contracted a cold. Her health continued to worsen and two days following Edward's christening, Jane Seymour was accorded the last rites of the church. Following her last rites, Jane seems to have recovered just to slip into what the king's doctors called a "natural lax" or bowel loosening.<sup>35</sup> Finally on October 24, 1537, Queen Jane Seymour died of what many researchers now suppose is a bacterial infection

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 69.

of the placental site, or failure to completely evacuate the placenta from the womb after birth.<sup>36</sup>

Henry had put extraordinary effort into proclaiming the queen's pregnancy and birth through the singing of *Te Deums*; similarly, he ensured that her death would be honored musically, celebrating her as a true Catholic queen. He sponsored the singing of twelve hundred masses throughout the city of London.<sup>37</sup> Jane was the only queen of Henry's six wives to have been given the honor and funeral rituals of a queen. After the queen's body was embalmed, her entrails were seared, spiced, and interred in the Royal Chapel.<sup>38</sup> The Catholic Princess Mary was declared Jane's chief mourner, who led others in the grieving for Jane's life.<sup>39</sup>

Musically speaking, Jane's death and funeral processions differed greatly from the joyous *Te Deums* performed in honor of her pregnancy. Whether in life or in death, the musical customs of Jane's reign remained strictly Catholic. One ceremony, which took place on All Saint's Day over a week after she had died, saw the Chapel Royal draped in black. The queen's almoner, the Bishop of Carlisle (d. 1559), performed two ceremonies: including sensing the body with holy water and a *De Profundis*.<sup>40</sup> All prayed for the soul of the queen and both the choir and priests sang a "dirige" or dirge.<sup>41</sup> Following the service on October 31, a twenty-four hour watch was kept over the queen's body. The next day Princess Mary led prayers and processions and attended masses and

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<sup>36</sup> Loades, 79.

<sup>37</sup> Gross, *Jane, The Quene*, 75.

<sup>38</sup> Being given a full queen's funeral, Jane's corpse would have been on display for several weeks if not more. The spicing of Jane's intestines would have been an act of preservation for the purposed of the service, and to avoid giving off odor.

<sup>39</sup> Loades, 82.

<sup>40</sup> A *De profundis* is a hymn for the dead

<sup>41</sup> Gross, *Jane, The Quene*, 75.

internment ceremonies. These masses, corpse vigilance, and ceremonies continued in the chapel at Hampton court palace for the next eleven days.<sup>42</sup> On November 12<sup>th</sup>, the court prepared for the procession of the queen's body from Hampton Court to her final resting place at Windsor Castle. The aristocrats of the funeral procession were organized by the ranking of their peerages, which marked their position in society, with the dukes processing before the lords, respectively. Like Edward's christening, Jane's funeral afforded the nobility of England to process in fullness of symbolic English pageantry. On November 13, 1537, after the final masses had been sung, the queen's body was finally laid to rest. The same 1542 inventory list that noted Jane's instrumental ownership also notes that Queen Jane's badges remained in the chapel after her death through to the reign of Katherine Parre.<sup>43</sup> Her life continued to be memorialized in the chapel, a sacred place that marked the importance of faith in Jane's life. Through polyphonic Latin mass she brought life into the world, and with the fanfare of the mass she departed it.

After Edward's birth, a large coalition of writers began composing works honoring the queen's life and her contribution and sacrifice she made giving birth to the king of England. Several sixteenth-century contemporaries memorialized her life in verse and song. In 1575 one such writer, Ulpian Fullwell (1545-1586), an English printer, published *The Flower of Fame*, a work that honored Henry's reign, and gave light to certain characteristics of his six queens, including Jane.<sup>44</sup> A ballad, printed in 1560 and attributed to John Sampson (N. D.), is another such artistic contribution to English folk song memorializing the queen's life. The work has been given multiple titles through the

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Hayward, 127.

<sup>44</sup> Alastair Vannan, "The Death of Queen Jane: Ballad, History and Propaganda," *Folk Music Journal* 10, no. 3 (2013): 348.

centuries, including *The Wofull Death of Queen Jane, Jane Was A Neighbor, Queen Jeanie, The Doleful Death of Queen Jane* and *The Death of Queen Jane*.<sup>45</sup> The folk song was popular in northern England and Scotland, where the primarily Catholic population may have championed the Catholic queen. While no musical score exists for the song, a selection of the words appear as follows:

Queen Jane was in travail, for six weeks or more, till the women grew tired,  
And fain would give o'er, 'O Women, O women', Good Wyves if ye be  
Go send for King Henrie and bring hime to me'

King Henry was sent for, He Came with all speed, In a gownd of green velvet  
From heel to the head, 'King Henrie, King Henrie, If kind Henri you be,  
Send for a surgeon, And bring him to me.

The Surgoen was sent for, He came with all speed, In a gownd of black velvet  
He gave her rich caudle, But death sleep slept she, Then her right side was opening,  
Some where you comment on, Their description I seem to recall.  
And the babe was set free, The Babe was christened, and put out and nursed,  
While the royal Queen Jane, She lay cold in the dust.

So black was the mourning, And white were the wands, Yellow, yellow the torches,  
They bore in their hands, The bells they were muffled, And the mournful did play  
While the Royal Queen Jane, She lay cold in the clay

Six knyghtes and six lorded, Bore her corpse through the gorounds,  
Six dukes followed after, In black mourning gownds, The flower of Old England,  
Was laid in cold clay, Whilst the royal King Henrie, Came weeping away.<sup>46</sup>

These lyrics, possibly based off a 1570 account of Queen Jane's death, have been passed down through the centuries, in part by being incorporated into contemporary folk songs.<sup>47</sup> The text communicates a version of the events of the birth leading up to the queen's death. The birth begins as expected, with Jane surrounded by the company of

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 349-351.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 353-354.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 356. Contemporary arrangements of the piece include works by folk artists Oscar Isaac and Loreena McKinnit.

female midwives; next, she is overseen by the King's barber surgeons, who were responsible for cutting surgeries at court. This song suggests that Jane died from caesarian section with the words "her right side was opening" and "the babe was set free", which contributed to the discrepancies of the exact causes of the queen's death. Further, the mention of birth by caesarian section may have been a religious attack on Catholicism, as such a practice was considered by the church to be taboo, and that those performing the surgery may risk being cursed.<sup>48</sup> However, the theme of these words conveys a human Henry, the basic story of man, woman, of love and of loss. While historically Jane may be remembered as the queen who gave Henry his long desired male heir, musically she was memorialized for her elaborate funeral procession, an audience member of the Catholic mass, and the queen with whom Henry chose to be buried at Windsor Castle.

### **Search for a New Queen**

Following Jane's death in 1537, King Henry spent time mourning in isolation at Whitehall Palace. However, his first minister Thomas Cromwell wasted no time in seeking candidates for Henry's fourth marriage. Possible candidates included Christina of Denmark the Duchess of Milan (1521-1590) who famously remarked "if she had two heads, she would gladly wed the king but alas she only had one."<sup>49</sup> But it was in the house of Cleves, with one of the two sisters of the Duke of Cleves, Anne and Amelia (1517-1586), where the most successful negotiations would occur. While contemporary

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 364. Caesarian section on live women was forbidden while performing the surgery on dead women, was long thought of as acceptable.

<sup>49</sup> Retha Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 37.

views of Anne portray her as an ardent protestant, examining Anne's education and musical life align her more closely with the Catholic faith rather than German Lutheranism.

Unlike Anne and Jane, who were Henry's subjects and members of the English aristocracy, Anne of Cleves, like Katherine of Aragon, was a princess of a foreign royal court. Very little has been written about Anne's early life and education. Like Jane, Anne was raised in an extremely religious upbringing that later influenced her character and behavior at the English court.<sup>50</sup> She was raised in the Julier-Cleves court in Düsseldorf, the daughter of John III, called the Simple (1490-1539), and Maria (1491-1543), an heiress to the area of Juliers.<sup>51</sup> Evidence of her religious beliefs can be found in her musical involvement as an audience member, a musical ceremonial participant, supporter, and even as a performer.

The German ambassador, Nicholas Wotton (1497- 1567), detailed some of Anne's favorable attributes, including mentions of her education and skills.<sup>52</sup> Like a marital resume, Anne's characteristics were featured in such a fashion as to entice the king into marriage, shedding light on the education of early sixteenth-century women. Duchess Maria, Anne's mother, oversaw her education by training her primarily in domestic skills such as embroidery and needlepoint. Wotton also mentions that Anne could speak and write in informal German, and thought she might be able to quickly learn

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<sup>50</sup> Mary Saaler, *Anne of Cleves: Fourth Wife of Henry VIII* (London: Rubicon Press, 1995), 11-14.

<sup>51</sup> Warnicke, 63.

<sup>52</sup> Saaler, 15.



English upon arriving at court.<sup>53</sup> In terms of her character traits, Wotton praised her gentle nature, and that unlike her countrymen she was ill-inclined in the drinking of spirits. Very telling of her musical involvement as a child, he noted that Anne could not, “[s]ing or play any instrument, for they take it here in Germany for a rebuke and an occasion of lightness that great ladies should be learned or have any knowledge of music.”<sup>54</sup>

Many of the recorded aspects of Anne’s education reflect conservative Protestant ideologies. Unlike Jane, who was raised conservatively Catholic, there is no recording of Anne possessing a knowledge of Latin. Rather, she read and spoke in German, so that she might better read biblical texts such as the Lutheran Bible in her native tongue. Her mother ensured that the primary purpose of Anne’s education, through teaching religious devotions, was to shape Anne’s pious character and ensured her virginal purity. Her lack of a musical education may also reflect conservative protestantism. Similar to the dissolution of the monasteries, where all artful distractions such as beautiful stained glass, paintings, innately carved altar carvings, and glorious Latin polyphony were stripped and replaced with bare walls, Lutheranism privileged homophonic hymns in the congregation’s native tongue, as well as a focus on the gospels. For Anne, those superfluous “worldly” skills, like music, were never incorporated into her education to begin with.<sup>55</sup> However, there is evidence that the Duchess patronized Jacob von

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<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth Norton, *Anne of Cleves: Henry VIII’s Discarded Bride* (Gloucestershire, UK: Amberley Publishing Inc., 2009), 11.

<sup>54</sup> Warnicke, 88.

<sup>55</sup> Norton, 11.

Hochstraten, dean of a Dominican order, who supported the arrest of a humanist who betrayed the Catholic Church.<sup>56</sup>

Although there is no record of Anne being musically educated, this does not mean the Julier-Cleves court was completely devoid of musical enjoyment. A record in the *Archivalische Forschungen zur Geschichte der Musik an den Hofen der Grafen and Herzoge von Kleve-Jülich* confirms that the Juliers-Cleve court supported an eight- to ten-member orchestra with additional singers and that the Duchess herself tended to favor the music of the harp.<sup>57</sup> Within these musical surroundings Anne would have been versed in the importance of her role as an audience member. It was through her attendance at performances that Anne would have acquired the listening and intellectual skills necessary to converse about music, once she learned English, with her famously musical future husband, Henry VIII.

In 1538, King Henry commissioned his court painter, Hans Holbein, to go to Germany to paint a portrait of the young Anne of Cleves. He warned the painter that he must portray her accurately.<sup>58</sup> Upon receiving the portrait after Holbein's return, the French ambassador Charles Marillac (1510-1560) noted that Henry produced several musical celebrations in honor of the charm and beauty of Anne's portrait: "The formerly pensive king was appearing on the Thames in the evening where harpists and chanters were entertaining him. He was said to be taking great pleasure in the painting and embroidery and had sent abroad for masters of these arts and for more musicians."<sup>59</sup> It

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<sup>56</sup> Norton, 11.

<sup>57</sup> Warnicke, 92.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-88.

seems that Henry was so captivated by Anne's looks that he was inspired to patronize further entertainments and musicians at court.

Negotiations for the marital union between Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves concluded in September 1539. Even from England, Henry sponsored a lavish banquet with court entertainments for the visiting German dignitaries, on September 23, celebrating the conclusion of negotiations.<sup>60</sup> The travelling party expected to be received well by the English people, and documents mention the musical expectations of a triumphal processional entry to English shores.<sup>61</sup> Anne's brother-in-law loaned her thirteen of his own trumpeting musicians, which were to announce her arrival to each town the party passed along the way.<sup>62</sup> The Court of Cleves, and similar foreign courts, would hire an increased number of musicians to prepare for ceremonial processional like Anne's, thus adding to their spectacle and prestige.<sup>63</sup> Anne's reception at Antwerp was particularly popular, according to updates given by Wotton, to Cromwell, who updated the king on Anne's progress through Europe.<sup>64</sup> However, later in 1540 Richard Pate informed the king that the pageants that had been rehearsed and prepared for Anne's arrival had to be canceled because of inclement weather.<sup>65</sup> Thus, Anne's trumpeting entourage was solely responsible for gaining attention and royal prestige as she travelled to her new home.<sup>66</sup> Anne's processional escort was comprised of two hundred sixty-three

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<sup>60</sup> Saaler, 22.

<sup>61</sup> Warnicke, 87-88

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 115

<sup>64</sup> Retha Warnicke, "Henry VIII's Greeting of Anne of Cleves and Early Modern Court Protocol," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 28, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 566.

<sup>65</sup> Saaler, 40-43.

<sup>66</sup> Warnicke, *The Marrying*, 120.

people and two hundred twenty-eight horses, including the German trumpeters, who requested to accompany Anne to England.<sup>67</sup> Even before arriving on English soil for the first time, Wotton approved a request from Southampton to welcome Anne with trumpet music led by English musicians.

Anne and her entourage finally landed on English shores quite close to Christmas 1539. They had waited in Calais due to calamitous weather, where Anne used the time to familiarize herself with English customs and manners.<sup>68</sup> She issued several invitations to dine with English aristocrats, like Sir Thomas Seymour (1508-1549), so that she might better see “English men at their meat”.<sup>69</sup> She was also entertained with card playing. However, the two weeks spent waiting to cross the channel was not enough time to become acquainted with the customs of courtly love practiced at the English court or for that matter, masques.<sup>70</sup> On New Years’ Day 1540, Henry rode to Bishops Palace, where Anne was being entertained, appeared in a disguise, and attempted several romantic gestures towards Anne. The entertainments would have included music, feasting, and dance, as was the custom of court masques. Anne did not recognize the king, as he was in costume, nor could she speak English, and she unintentionally rejected her king. The king left insulted from that first meeting where he famously compared her to a “Flanders Mare” and communicated to Cromwell that “he liked her not”.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 121. It was here that Anne learned card playing, a pastime that she enjoyed well into her life in England.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. In addition to English pastimes, Anne issued invitations so that she might better observe English table manners. She may have been informed of King Henry’s love of food and would have wanted to be prepared.

<sup>70</sup> In 1513, Henry surprised Catherine of Aragon by ambushing her and her ladies in the queen’s apartments dressed as Robin Hood, and his gentlemen, his merry men.

On January 2, Henry and Anne began their progression together towards London where they would be married. In addition to the fanfare of trumpeters advertising Anne's arrival and upcoming marriage to the King, several other musical events accompanied her along the way. As Anne and Henry processed near the Thames, she could see and hear the people playing instruments and singing on barges that were decorated with colorful banners. However, Anne's musical reception from the people of London upon her entry would have been less extravagant than Katherine of Aragon's for several reasons. As Anne arrived in the New Year, it would have been an inconvenient time for performers to prepare for her arrival because the church forbade marriages during the season of Advent. Next, because of difficult weather conditions, Anne's arrival date changed and therefore musicians had less time to prepare and were themselves less inclined to perform outdoors, with inclement weather conditions being present.

### **Dynastic Musical Marriage**

Anne and Henry's Epiphany marriage took place January 6, 1540, and was accompanied by music, dancing, song, pageants and banquets. Following her entry into London, this would have been Anne's second performance as a musical audience member. However, with an elevated status as queen, her participation as a musical audience member would have been that much more important to the composers, performers and dancers who were looking to her for approval and prestige. Upon completing their marriage vows at Greenwich Palace, using the Sarum Rite, a liturgical text later used in Katherine Parr's wedding, and Edwardian prayer books, the king and new queen attended mass in his privy closet. The Mass of the Trinity was a form of mass ordinary traditionally performed to celebrate special occasions. Following the mass,

Anne would have briefly retired to her private chambers to change into her wedding feast clothes, and then attended an evensong service to honor Epiphany. Anne would have listened to and sung hymns, plainchant, songs, and psalms in honor of her new marriage, the holiday and perhaps to spiritually prepare for consummating her marriage later that evening.

The music performed at the wedding feast was secular in nature. In traditional secular fashion, the wedding feast would have included pageantry, masques and disguising costumes. Anne would have needed to draw upon her prior knowledge from her first meeting with the king, and known to accept an invitation to dance by the masked king at the wedding feast.

Following the custom of *morgensgabe*, where the queen received gifts from the king as a token of thanks for consummating their marriage, their wedding celebrations would have continued the next day with jousts and more banquets. Musically, the events of the day following the marriage were significant for several reasons. Even more so than on her wedding day, Anne would have been expected to attend events that included music for her to demonstrate pleasure in. Her role as musical audience member would have become more solidified. Further, as Anne was a German-born princess, she would have been less familiar with English chivalric customs, and these jousting celebrations would have acted as an introduction to English courtly love culture. Warnicke confirms this phenomenon saying, “Women’s attendance at the games soon led their producers to introduce them into pageantry, music and disguises in imitation of romantic literature.”<sup>71</sup> The court chronicler Edward Hall noted that the noise and music of the jousts at least

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<sup>71</sup> Warnicke, *The Marrying*, 168.

pleased the German envoys who accompanied Anne to England.<sup>72</sup> If Anne's ambassadors were pleased by what they were hearing, Anne herself would have demonstrated that she herself was even more pleased with English customs and music, as she would have been attempting to please the king and gain acceptance from her new husband.

In Anne's short marriage to the king, there are only a few recorded instances of musical involvement or demonstrations of her musical surroundings. Much like Anne's first trip to London on the Thames, her second musical encounter on the river took place by barge about a month after their marriage. The King and Queen processed publicly down the river, flying banners, to the percussive sounding of cannons and according to Hall with the "replenishing of minstrelry".<sup>73</sup> Anne's civic procession down the Thames was triumphant and accompanied by both vocal and instrumental music genres. The other recounting of Anne's musical involvement during her marriage would also be her last musical audience event as queen. The May Day celebrations, which like her celebratory wedding jousts, would have included minstrels, sounding drums and trumpeters broadcasting tournament winners. At the May Day festivities, the German ambassadors comforted Anne's anxiety of the King's involvement with one of her ladies: the future queen Katherine Howard. With the blasting of trumpets Anne processed through Europe to meet her groom, entered English soil, and with their music it almost declared the end of her marriage and reign as queen.

After Anne's divorce from the king, she was given a handsome financial settlement, a title as the king's sister, and estates across England, including Hever Castle, the former childhood home of Anne Boleyn. As one of the highest female rankings in the

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>73</sup> Warnicke, *The Marrying*, 175.

land, next to the new queen Katherine, Anne was free to explore pleasurable pursuits in keeping with the trappings of a great lady. One such musical pursuit that Anne made a study of following her divorce was dance. As a German princess and then English queen, Anne's involvement in dance was quite minimal. However, separation from the king gave her the time to learn pastimes that were considered frivolous during her education in Germany. On New Year's Day 1541, the Lady Anne, as she was styled, was presented before the King and Queen at celebrations. After being presented to their highnesses, King Henry left the festivities to rest in his private chambers and both Queen Katherine and the Lady Anne were left to host the New Year's festivities at court. Gareth Russell indicates that, "Katherine and Anne danced a duet together before the revellers were invited to join them."<sup>74</sup> The account describes Lady Anne and Queen Katherine choosing men from the king's private chamber staff to dance with, while attired stylishly in the popular English court fashions. This event would have taken place exactly a year after Anne's first arrival to England. Anne's transition from Wotton's account of her having no knowledge of music, singing or dance to a richly dressed woman, leading others in a court dance would have been a drastic change.

Egerton 2642, coined "The Booke of Heraldry" is a sixteenth-century manuscript that was compiled during the late reign of Queen Elizabeth I and even into the beginning of the reign of James I. It is a collection of prescriptions for various court and sacred ceremonies including creations, heraldries, proclamations, verses, and finally

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<sup>74</sup> Gareth Russell, *Young and Damned and Faire: The Life and Tragedy of Catherine Howard at the Court of Henry VIII* (London: Harper Collins Publishing, 2017), 190.



processional orders for funerals. Significantly, this late sixteenth-century manuscript contains musical information on the funeral and internment of the Lady Anne of Cleves.



While Warnicke argues that a traditional Catholic requiem mass was performed in honor of Anne’s life as former queen, the Egerton manuscript gives a more detailed picture of the procession and musical events of Anne’s funeral.<sup>76</sup> First, it is important to note in the eleventh line that a “noble qoyar of men” followed behind the corpse as the body processed to Westminster, actively “syngyng of solemn psalms”. The solemn psalms sung could be compared to those performed for Queen Jane at the time of her burial, as Jane too was buried in the Catholic tradition. Anne was the only one of Henry’s six wives to receive a burial in Westminster Abbey. Although Jane Seymour was the only wife to receive the full burial and mourning rites as queen, Anne life and death were highly honored as a former queen. As such the place of her burial and music performed in her honor reflected the respect of the English people, for a queen of England who only reigned a few short months.

While the Lady Anne may have begun her journey to England representing anti-papist leanings, there is no question of her choice to end her life in honor of Mary I’s Catholic England in the mid-1550s. Between Henry’s death in 1547 and Anne’s death in

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<sup>75</sup> British Library, Egerton MS 2642 f.182.

<sup>76</sup> Warnicke, *The Marrying*, 255.

1557, England experienced great religious reforms with each new Tudor monarch, including the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Anne demonstrated religious flexibility and followed the spiritual commands of the current reigning monarch. On her death-bed in 1552, at the age of forty-one, she expressly requested that she receive, “the suffrages of the holy church according to the Catholic faith wherein we end our life in this transitory world.”<sup>77</sup> Musically speaking, this required a specific set of masses and songs to mark her departure from this earth.

Consecutively reigning queens, Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves, ruled during four years of religious turmoil and political instability. However, it is the music that surrounded them that highlights their religious convictions. Jane Seymour participated as an unassuming audience member to the parish church plainsong, celebratory *Te Deums*, and solemn masses that honored her as queen of England. As a foreign-born bride, Anne of Cleves’s musical audienceship primarily featured trumpets, perhaps as an overcompensation for Thomas Cromwell’s support of an alliance with protestant Germany. The fanfare in Anne’s life communicated to England not only her majestic nobility, but advertised to the world a religious alliance to the world between England and Germany. Although both women’s religious convictions may have resulted in altogether different musical involvements during their lifetimes, both women met the same musical ends by the Catholic mass.

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<sup>77</sup> Warnicke, *The Marrying*, 255.



## CHAPTER 6

### KATHERINE HOWARD: MUSIC TO HER RISE, DANCING TO HER FALL

The sixteenth-century portrait *Mary Magdalene Playing A Lute* shows a finely dressed Renaissance woman playing the lute and reading the musical notation portrayed with her in the painting.<sup>1</sup> The song, in French, is *Jouissance Vous Donneray* and was composed by Claudin de Sermisy (1490-1562).<sup>2</sup> The painting not only conveys the lady's wealth and position, thereby explaining her musical literacy, but also specifies a genre that young women would have learned. The basse danse, *Jouissance Vous Donneray*, was a popular dance at many of the Burgundian courts of northern Europe, and in England as well.<sup>3</sup> The painting also alludes to the dichotomous nature of female musical involvement in the Renaissance. On the one hand, the image declares the woman's intriguing beauty, but on the other hand, as the title suggests, the woman's alluring nature is compared to that of Mary Magdalene, a biblical harlot.

For Katherine Howard, fifth wife of Henry VIII, musical education would prove, much like this painting, a scandalous dichotomy from which she would inevitably be unable to separate. Katherine's musical involvement brought her the prestige needed in her rise to power, but it also associated her with whoredom, especially in light of accusations that she had sexual relationships with her music tutors. Much like the two

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<sup>1</sup> Master of the Female Half Lengths, *Mary Magdalene Playing a Lute*, c. 16<sup>th</sup> Century, oil on panel, Private Collection. Found in H. Colin Slim, *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century: Essays in Iconography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 126.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Theodore Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Music Relations* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 23. The pageantry and processions of the festivities of the wedding between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon were emulated after the Burgundian pageantry style.

queens that preceded her on the English throne, virtually no scholarly work, whether musicological or historical, exists concerning the life and accomplishments of Henry VIII's fifth queen.<sup>4</sup> Her time on the throne was quite short, lasting only from July of 1540 to late November of 1541. While much of Henry's reign was tenuous, the two short years of 1539-1541 would prove to be extremely such, with the rapid rise and fall of two Tudor queens, including Katherine.

As a Howard, Katherine belonged to a very powerful political family who had long served the king. Like many women of her station, there are discrepancies surrounding Katherine's birthdate, although several scholars place her birth year around the year 1522 or 1523.<sup>5</sup> However, her upbringing was less than traditional, and she was raised with many other aristocratic children away from a family estate. Katherine was the sixth child between her mother, Joyce Culpepper, and Lord Edmund Howard. Lord Edmund served as a pageboy to Henry VII and later also served in Westminster at the coronation of Henry VIII.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Lord Edmund even participated and performed at some of the pageants of the early Tudor court, including one in which he played the part of a knight on horseback.<sup>7</sup> Like his daughter, Lord Edmund knew how to harness the art of musical spectacle. Many others from the Howard family also served at court and

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<sup>4</sup> There are four primary biographic works on Katherine Howard's life: Lacey Baldwin's Smith's *Catherine Howard: A Tudor Tragedy* (London: Pantheon Publisher, 1967), and more recently the works of Conor Byrne's *Katherine Howard: A New History* (Great Britain:Made Global Publishing, 2012), Josephine Wilkinson's *Katherine Howard: The Tragic Story of Henry VIII's Fifth Wife* (Great Britain: John Murray Publishers, 2016), and Gareth Russell's *Young and Damned and Fair: The Life and Tragedy of Catherine Howard at the Court of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Harper Collins, 2017). There are no current musicological works mentioning Katherine Howard.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Smith, *Catherine Howard*, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Russell, 32-33.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

contributed to building a family dynasty that would eventually sire two queens of England who would reign in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Like her father, Katherine would, in her upbringing, become equipped with the musical tools necessary to succeed at the Tudor court, under the supervision of the Dowager Duchess, Agnes Norfolk. The Dowager Duchess was the widow of the very powerful Duke of Norfolk, and was around fifty-four years of age when Katherine came into her care at Chesworth. The Duke of Norfolk was uncle not only to Katherine, but also to Anne Boleyn, making Anne and Katherine first cousins by blood. Norfolk played a pivotal part of the administration that saw the Boleyn rise to power in later 1520's and early 1530s.<sup>9</sup> Ironically, he also played an important role in the Boleyns' demise, as the judge who sentenced Anne to the scaffold. Norfolk may have overseen Anne's upbringing in the courts of Northern Europe, observing the benefits that humanistic and musical educations would have had in Anne's life. As one of Henry's courtiers, he also would have been more than familiar with the king's musical passions. Therefore, Norfolk may have encouraged Anne's father Thomas in fostering his daughter's musical gifts to entertain and beguile the king. In Tudor England, the correlation between obtaining family fortunes through finding favor with the king, including through the medium of their daughter's musical education, were inextricably linked.

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<sup>8</sup> The Duke of Norfolk was still a prominent official at court during Katherine's reign as well.

<sup>9</sup> Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 108.

## **Musical Training at Chesworth and Lambeth**

Early in Katherine's formal education, music may not have played a primary role. Rather, her studies would have covered the importance of manners and graces, like the art of the curtsy, how to sit, speak, stand, and behave in public.<sup>10</sup> For noble girls like Katherine, instructions, like the following from the MS Ashmole 61, were memorized and were to be followed to the letter of the law:

Arise from bed, cross your breast and your forehead, wash your hands and face, comb your hair, and ask the grace of God to speed you in all your works; then go to Mass and ask mercy for all your trespasses. When ye have done, break your fast with good meat and drink, but before eating, cross your mouth, your diet will be better for it. Then say your grace- it occupies but little time- and thank the Lord Jesus for your food and drink. Say also a Pater Noster and Ave Maria for the souls that lie in pain.<sup>11</sup>

The passage advises piety, cleanliness, and even participation in daily mass, which would include listening to music and perhaps even daily singing. Great emphasis was placed on the development of devout character and graciousness as part of learning to be a proper young Tudor lady.

In addition to religion, etiquette, household management, embroidery, and training in social graces, Katherine received extensive musical training through private instrumental instruction. The first documented account of Katherine receiving music lessons dates from 1536, when she would have been about thirteen years old. Many young women would have typically started music lessons much earlier at age six or seven and therefore is possible that Katherine may have had some lessons prior to 1536.<sup>12</sup> However as, Gareth Russell points out, Katherine's formal education was largely

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<sup>10</sup> Russell, 50-51.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 61.

neglected, as evinced by her lack of training in penmanship and literacy, and it is possible that the 1536 occurrence may well have been the commencement date of Katherine's first formal music lessons. Typical of noble Tudor women, she was trained on both the lute and virginals. These instruments were chosen specifically for young women as there was very little reason for either to insinuate any kind of sexual act or innuendo.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, when played, both of these instruments projected the ideal volume level for entertaining indoors in small spaces, like the ones found in the queen's apartments at court.<sup>14</sup>

There are several reasons why Katherine would have received a musical education. First, and foremost, for the Howard family especially, Katherine's music education prepared her to serve in the household of her cousin, Queen Anne Boleyn. The Dowager Duchess of Norfolk was fairly unconventional in that she raised Katherine in a house with many other children much like herself, discarded aristocratic children that either through financial difficulties or bastardhood had been sent to live with the Dowager Duchess. Conor Byrne points out the lack of evidence that any of the other girls received music lessons, suggesting that the Duchess may have singled Katherine out to receive such education. Perhaps she was chosen because of her character and looks,

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<sup>13</sup> "Imagin with your selfe what an unsightly matter it were to see a woman play upon a tabour or drum, or blow in a flute or trompet, or anye like instrumente: and this is because the boisterousnesse of them doeth cover and take away the sweete mildnesse which setteth so furth everie deed that a woman doeth." Quoted in Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Sing Againe Syren': The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, No. 3 (Autumn, 1989): 430.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Freeman, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2013), 230. Freeman emphasizes that these instruments were specifically used for private or accompanimental performances.



which were meant to please the queen.<sup>15</sup> Katherine may have been selected for her beauty, grace, or pleasing manners, valuable assets enhanced by musical education. The duchess needed to ensure that, in addition to pleasing countenance and behavior, Katherine would have the musical skills necessary to entertain the famously musical queen. Giving Katherine musical skill was also possibly a ploy to heighten Katherine's sexual allure, which in turn may have enhanced her prospects of finding an advantageous marriage.<sup>16</sup> Her music lessons would have represented a considerable financial investment on the Duchess's part, as she would have supplied not only the instruments necessary for Katherine's instruction, but also music books.<sup>17</sup> In return for the Duchess's financial investment, she would have expected Katherine marry in a way that would enhance the social status of the Howard family as a whole.

On the tantalizing power of the female voice on the sixteenth-century male psyche, some argue that aristocratic guardians used this mindset to their daughter's social and economic advantage. Linda Phyllis Austern has cited Robert Burton (1577-1640), a sixteenth-century writer, as to exactly why women were musically educated in Tudor England:

*Tanta gratia famam conciliabit* saith Petronius in his fragment of pure impurities, I mean Satyricon, *tam dulcis sonus permeulcebat aera, ut putares cantare Syrenum concordiam*, Shee sang so sweetly that shee charmed the Aire, and thou wouldest have thought thou haddest heard a consort of *Syrens*. . . . To heare a fair young Gentlewoman to play upon the Virginals, Lute, Viall and sing to it, which

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<sup>15</sup> Byrne, 54.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 14. He points out that giving her music lessons "made her more attractive to potential suitors who favored such attributes in well-born maidens".

<sup>17</sup> Retha Warnicke, *Wicked Woman of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats, and Commoners* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 50.

as Gellius observes *lib. L. cap. Ll*, are *lascivientium delitiae*, the chiefe delights of lovers, must needs be a great entisement.<sup>18</sup>

Although Robert Burton's quote dates from the late sixteenth century, the practice of music performance enhancing a woman's sexuality and possibilities for an advantageous marriage also pertained to early sixteenth-century aristocrats with young female wards. Music in this case was not expressly for the specific benefit of the girl as an individual, although it may have benefitted her positively. Rather, the primary purpose for the musical education of young girls was to promote the social standing of the family as a whole. This was true especially in Katherine Howard's case; her musical education allowed her to seduce Henry, a decidedly musical monarch.

Like the woman portrayed in the painting discussed at the beginning of the chapter, Katherine probably learned from instrumental transcriptions of four-part vocal music, as well as basse dances or even allemandes. This would have been a typical practice whether Katherine was receiving instruction on either the lute or the virginals. For example, a 1577 contract from an Italian merchant family called Battista recorded the exact genre specifications they required their Dutch school master to teach their daughters. Gian Battista Compostin (N. D.) wrote "[e]ngaged school master Hans Van den Bossche to tutor his daughter Franchoise in reading, writing, rhetoric, arithmetic and playing the harpsichord. A contract of 2 January 1577 specifies that Franchoise must learn to play a repertory of dances; five or six allemandes, three or four galliards, three

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<sup>18</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 448. Quoted in Austern, "Sing Againe Syren," 433.

passamezzi and three or four rondes or branles.”<sup>19</sup> Like the merchant daughters of Venice, Katherine too would have learned various dances in instrumental instruction that she would apply to her later experiences at court.

Like the *basse danse* portrayed in *Mary Magdalene Playing the Lute*, the *allemande* was a fashionable popular dance at Renaissance courts throughout continental Europe, including England. In fact, one such *allemande* called “*Allemande Prince*,” composed anonymously, is featured on the early music group Music Reservata’s 1968 album *Music to Entertain Henry VIII* and was a well-known dance at Henry’s court.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, Katherine herself may have learned such a dance in private music instruction so that she might have been in a better position to gain notoriety at court. Featured below is the same “*Allemande Prince*” that was transformed into a pedagogical virginal exercise

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<sup>19</sup>Antwerp, Stadsarchief, N 525 (N. Cleys Van Loeme, 1576-78 II), fol. 27. Quoted in Kristine Forney, “*Nymphes gayes en abry du Laurier*: Music Instruction for the Bourgeois Woman,” *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995): 164.

<sup>20</sup> Purcell Consort & Grayston Burgess & Musica Reservata & Michael Morrow. 1968. “*Music to Entertain Henry VIII*,” Decca Music Group B0018NQ1E2. CD.

for young female students.

The image shows a musical score for two pieces. The first piece is titled 'Almande prynce' and the second is 'VII Allemaigne (1551)'. The score is written for a lute or similar instrument, with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is in a 3/4 time signature. The first system shows the beginning of the 'Almande prynce' piece, with a melodic line in the treble and a homophonic accompaniment in the bass. The second system shows the beginning of the 'VII Allemaigne' piece, which has a more complex melodic line with some grace notes and a similar accompaniment. The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

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The excerpt above, while appearing to be double staffed, actually includes two separate allemandes, called the *Almande Prynce* and the *VIII Allemaigne*. The top staff features a highly melismatic soprano voice, with fairly homophonic accompanimental voices. Further, the melismas move sequentially and in primarily stepwise motion, which would be ideal for students learning faster moving passages. Harmonically, the piece begins and ends around G, with a single leading tone cadence at the end, typical of works towards the mid-sixteenth century. Katherine, who was both literate and had private music instruction, would have at least had familiarity with such written notation. Further, as this was a popular piece at the Tudor court, Katherine was probably familiar with this particular work.

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<sup>21</sup> John Ward ed. *Almande prynce*, from British Library MS 29485, no. 14 and *VIII. Allemaigne* from *Het derde muskyck boexken* (Antwerp, 1551). Found in *The Dublin Virginal Book*, rev. ed. (New York: Schott, 1983).

## **Moving Up the Social Hierarchy: Music and Seduction**

The Duchess's plans for Katherine to attend upon Queen Anne would not come to pass, as Anne's downfall and execution happened the same year as Katherine's formal music training probably began. Shortly after, Katherine was caught in an inappropriate relationship with Francis Dereham, secretary of the Dowager Duchess' household, and thus she was sent to court.<sup>22</sup> In late 1539, Katherine received her first payment as a lady-in-waiting, as preparation for the arrival of England's newest queen, Anne of Cleves.<sup>23</sup> Speaking to the expectations of the duties of a royal maid of honor, historian Conor Byrne comments, "Maids were expected to dress fashionably, maintain a modest and proper demeanor in court functions, have musical capability, escort the queen in functions such as processions, and sing and dance well."<sup>24</sup> Music was a highly prized skill at the Tudor court precisely because it pertained to the private life of the queen's chambers as well as public ceremony. In service to Anne of Cleves specifically, Katherine would have used her musical knowledge and training on a daily basis. Her musical skills also allowed her to gain the king's attention at court.

In 1540, Katherine participated in the processions and pageants associated with welcoming Anne of Cleves, and even performed in the January wedding ceremony, processions, church services and wedding night banquets with dancing.<sup>25</sup> Since Katherine arrived at court prior to Anne's arrival from Germany, it's possible that this may have been the time when Henry may have first noticed her. In February of 1540, Katherine

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<sup>22</sup> Wilkinson, 52.

<sup>23</sup> Russell, 89.

<sup>24</sup> Wilkinson, 76.

<sup>25</sup> Russell, 101-120.

accompanied Anne of Cleves in the water procession down the Thames from Westminster to the Palace of Greenwich.<sup>26</sup> Water processions included a barge of trumpeters and firing cannons, so Katherine would have simply listened and participated passively, exhibiting an understanding of a lady-in-waiting's social etiquette as she passed by the people of London.

On a day-to-day basis, Katherine would have been responsible also for entertaining the queen, which she may have done either through vocal or instrumental performance. Since Katherine was training in both lute and virginals, she may have performed on both instruments in Anne of Cleves's private chambers. As mentioned previously, Anne of Cleves was not educated in instrumental performance, as such arts were considered unnecessary and frivolous at the German court.<sup>27</sup> As an English maid of the queen's chamber, Katherine would have been inadvertently responsible for modeling appropriate behavior of Englishwomen and therefore helping the queen assimilate into English culture, including music. The demonstration of musical performance within private chambers would have helped Anne of Cleves please her new, musical husband.

Katherine would have also been responsible for accompanying the queen to the daily mass services in the small room off the queen's gallery that held an altar and a *prie-dieu*.<sup>28</sup> In attendance would have been the queen, several priests and several of the queen's ladies in waiting. Musically speaking, Katherine would have participated by listening to the liturgical chants performed in the small space and echoing back through

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<sup>26</sup> Wilkinson, 64.

<sup>27</sup> Russell, 106.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 92. A *prie-dieu* is an individual piece of furniture used to support kneeling prayers during mass worship.

the song of responsorial singing.<sup>29</sup> She also would have accompanied the queen to the Chapel Royal on holy days, such as Easter, where the queen would have attended mass with Henry.<sup>30</sup> The singing of religious song during mass services was a more socially acceptable place for both men and women to perform together as a congregation always involved mixed company. Henry's own mentor, Erasmus, had opinions on the types of songs that were acceptable for young women to sing and cautioned against singing worldly songs.<sup>31</sup> Henry may have noticed Katherine's singing of sacred songs, which would have enhanced her purity, virginal appearance, and sexual allurements.<sup>32</sup>

The extensive number of festivals and ceremonies gave Katherine the exposure and access that she needed, and music was a large part of what may have led her to outshine the other ladies at court. Prior to May of 1540, Henry had demonstrated his interest in young Katherine through land grants and gifts of cattle as well as frequenting the Thames with private trips to Lambeth Palace.<sup>33</sup> It was at Lambeth where Henry would be able not only to meet with Katherine privately, but also to begin unofficial marriage negotiations with the Howard family and together enjoy "feasting and entertainments".<sup>34</sup> However, the May Day festivities of 1540 provide the first documented account of Queen

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<sup>29</sup> Judith Blezzard, ed., *The Tudor Church Music of the Lumley Books* (London: A-R Editions Inc., 1985), ix.

<sup>30</sup> Wilkinson, 70.

<sup>31</sup> Erasmus, *Christiani matromonii institution* (Basel: Frobe, 1526), 17-18. "In some countries these days new songs are published for the girls to learn. They all have similar themes: a husband deceived by his wife, a girl escaping her parents' vigilance, a secret tryst arranged with a lover.....The style in which these poisonous tales are told is so foul, so full of innuendo and suggestiveness, that pure filth could not be filthier." Quoted in Forney, 153.

<sup>32</sup> Austern, 423.

<sup>33</sup> Wilkinson, 76.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

Anne of Cleves noticing Henry's special attention toward Katherine Howard.<sup>35</sup> May Day events celebrated the coming of spring, life and, most importantly for Henry, vitality and fertility. The day was marked with feasts where the king and queen were surrounded by the entire court, and all dined on "delicious meats and drinks so plenteous as might be, and much melody of minstrelsy."<sup>36</sup> It was at these events that Katherine would have listened to music, performed instrumentally and vocally, and danced popular court dances, thus enticing her more to the aging king.

Following months of attendance and participation of various musical events at court, Katherine Howard married King Henry VIII on July 28, 1540, just a few weeks following Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves. The marriage took place at Oatlands Palace, a country estate in Surrey, in the small chapel.<sup>37</sup> It was here that the new Queen Katherine Howard declared her personal motto "*non autre volonte que la sienna*" or "No Other Will Than His".<sup>38</sup> This motto was chosen purposefully to communicate her obedience, submissiveness and loyalty to her new husband, the king. While this was Katherine's chosen personal motto, her musical involvement as queen would demonstrate independent enjoyment rather than following a tradition of wifely musical meekness.

### **Music and Katherine's Fall from Power**

Typically, when women of this period married, their musical roles shifted from performer to appreciator, and for queens especially, to musical patroness. In the case of Katherine Howard, there seems to be little evidence of this transition. Although Katherine

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 72.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.



was equipped in dress, looks, behavior, and the music-making of Tudor court life, because of her youth and very short experience in Anne of Cleves's household, she had virtually no practical experience or skills necessary for the duties of queen.<sup>39</sup> While there are accounts of Katherine advancing family members by giving them court positions and patronizing a new chaplain, there are no accounts of Katherine patronizing musicians.<sup>40</sup> Failing to make the behavioral transition from single woman to wife was true of both her musical and personal life, and would lead eventually to her downfall. Lacey Baldwin Smith points out that, "[u]nfortunately, Catherine did not see fit to spend her days in the sober administration of her house and in duties becoming her wifely station. Instead, she was 'the most giddy' of the King's wives and spent her time dancing, rejoicing, and enjoying the riches of the moment".<sup>41</sup> While many of the instances of Katherine's love of dance occurred in the privacy of her own apartments where she "did nothing but dance and rejoice," she also danced in the public sphere of the greater court—an inappropriate space for a queen to so exhibit herself.<sup>42</sup> As a married woman of the nobility, Katherine was expected to retire from public display so that she could focus her efforts on the private sphere of domestic, family life.

A perfect example of Katherine's inability to put away public performance came about during the New Year's celebrations of 1541. As discussed in the previous chapter, the recently discarded Anne of Cleves came to court to celebrate with both Henry and Katherine. Prior to her arrival she presented the newlyweds with a pair of fine horses.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Byrne, 54.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, 149.

<sup>42</sup> Russell, 236.

<sup>43</sup> Wilkinson, 101.

Anne appeared formally at an evening ball, where she publicly declared herself as a “person of no importance”.<sup>44</sup> This submission allowed the new queen Katherine the freedom to assert her own authority as queen and as the king’s new wife. This idea was reinforced when Katherine and Anne of Cleves performed a dance duet after Henry had retired for the evening. Gareth Russell describes the instance saying, “Catherine and Anne danced a duet together before the revelers were invited to join them. For the second dance, Catherine and Anne each chose a young man from the king’s privy chamber staff as a partner. The privy chamber’s gentlemen could be relied upon to know the steps and to keep up the steady flow of pleasant conversation as the musicians played into the night”.<sup>45</sup> Katherine, as queen, would have presided over all public court festivities, so it is likely that the duet between herself and Anne would have occurred largely, if not precisely, at her initiation. This would have demonstrated Katherine’s acceptance and welcoming of the Lady Anne of Cleves, as she was then styled, to court. Furthermore, this event continued to characterize Katherine as a lively and vivacious queen with a love of music and dance.

This performance may, however, in fact have contributed to the negative public opinion surrounding Katherine. Former court tutor to Mary I, Juan Vives cautioned young women against any type of public performance saying that, “music and dancing enflamed passions,” and therefore women should not make a public display of either

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<sup>44</sup> Russell, 107.

<sup>45</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewster, et al. (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1862-1932), XVI, 374. Quoted in Russell, 190.

art.<sup>46</sup> Katherine's duet performance was not only a public dance performance, but also a performance in the absence of the king that she herself initiated. Inciting the other courtiers to dance would not only have been considered "inflaming passions" as Vives suggests; it was the kind of behavior that as a queen of England would have worked to disassociate her with the sacred position of the crown. Further, the queen's public performance may have given her a more harmful association with that of a courtesan, rather than a consort.<sup>47</sup>

Musical education and participation were some of the tools that were at Katherine's disposal as she rose through the ranks of Tudor society to become queen. However, as many warned, female musical involvement could quickly bring about associations of lust, debauchery, and ribaldry.<sup>48</sup> These characteristics were considered sinful and unacceptable for the ordinary Tudor woman, but for a Tudor queen they were dangerous and illegal. Katherine's inappropriate musical involvement with musicians Henry Manox (b. 1515), Francis Dereham (1513-1541), and Thomas Culpepper (1514-1541) would ultimately lead to her downfall as well as theirs.

In Katherine's youth, the duchess called upon the services of a neighbor, Henry Manox, to provide Katherine with private music lessons. He was employed to teach her

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<sup>46</sup> Juan Vives, *De Institutione Feminae: The Education of a Christian Woman* (Basel: Winter, 1538). Quoted in Forney, 152-153. The French reads: "Se le corp est eschauffe, le desir inflame, le cueur palpate."

<sup>47</sup> Freeman, 126.

<sup>48</sup> William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastic: The Players Scourge or Actors Tragedy* (London, 1633), 267. "Filthy, and unchristian defilements, which contaminate the soules, effeminate the minds deprave the manners, of those that here or sing them, exciting, enticing them to lust, to whoredome, adultery, prophanes, wantonnese, scurlity, luxury, drunkenness, excesse". Quoted in Austern, 444.

private instrumental lessons in both lute and virginals.<sup>49</sup> Henry was the younger son of a neighbor. Therefore, it would be reasonable to conclude that the Dowager would have known of Henry's character and would have trusted him in teaching Katherine music in an appropriate manner. However, Henry Manox was hired in tandem with another music instructor called Barnes (N.D.). There is no evidence whether Barnes or Manox acted as primary instructor. However, the two musicians were hired simultaneously to provide the Dowager Duchess with the peace of mind that the young, beautiful, Katherine Howard would have a constant chaperone and would not have been left alone in the sole presence of male company.

It was this and other musical events that possibly facilitated the illicit relationships Katherine had apart from King Henry. It is entirely possible that Katherine selected Thomas Culpepper, one of the young men on the king's chamber staff, as a dance partner during the New Year's Day duet with Anne of Cleves. Like the ladies of the queen's staff, the gentlemen of the king's chambers were expected to have a working knowledge of music, singing and dance.<sup>50</sup> Culpepper was no exception and routinely demonstrated his musical competency. As groom to his majesty, Culpepper one of the servants in the closest proximity to the king. Culpepper, like Manox, would also initiate an inappropriate relationship with Katherine. In 1541, Henry was ill and separated from Katherine, which was specifically noted by the absence of music by the French diplomat. The French ambassador Marillac noted that Henry "[s]pent Shrovetide without recreation, even of music, in which he used to take as much pleasure as any prince in

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<sup>49</sup> Conor Byrne, *A New History*, 54.

<sup>50</sup> Alison Slim, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Tudor England* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), 45-50.

Christendom”.<sup>51</sup> The affair continued on through the spring and into the summer when Katherine and Henry went on their “Great Pilgrimage of Forgiveness” through Yorkshire. The king returned to health and was reunited with the queen in musical procession. It was at Lincoln Cathedral, on September 16, 1541, that Katherine processed down the aisle with the king, while the great cathedral choir of Lincoln sang a *Te Deum*.

In the midst of their summer progress, at Pontefract Castle, Katherine reinitiated contact with Francis Dereham by appointing him as a gentlemen usher to her chambers.<sup>52</sup> Like Manox and Culpepper, Dereham was a man who trifled in music and was a lutenist himself. His appointment in Katherine’s household, coupled with specific musical evidence, would be the foundation for his incrimination and downfall. Katherine and Henry returned to London that fall and later celebrated mass. At an All Souls’ Day mass, where Katherine and Henry would have sung together, Henry publicly praised his new queen, celebrating her as the redemption he was looking for in his ill-fated marriages.<sup>53</sup> At this service, a letter was placed on his seat in the Chapel Royal, denouncing Katherine’s actions with Henry Manox and Francis Dereham, whom the queen had recently accepted into her household.

There are several reasons behind the Howard family’s objection to the affair with Katherine’s previous music teacher, Henry Manox. As young women were often married

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 197. Shrovetide is the pre-Lenten season. This season would have typically been spent in celebrations to prepare for Lent, where music and certain foods are abstained from as a form of devotion to Christ.

<sup>52</sup> Wilkinson, 145.

<sup>53</sup> William Ashby’s Confession ff 17-18. In "Henry VIII: December 1541, 6-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 16, 1540-1541*, ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), 660-671.

The day before, by order of the king, the Bishop of Lincoln had declared from the pulpit to give “Thanks with him for the good life he led and hoped to lead with her.”

at a young age, even as young as thirteen, their age difference was not an obstacle. Musicians at the time occupied a rather strange social position between the lowly servants and gentlemen of the house. They often served and were in the company of the most noble members of society. However, they were still considered much lower than the aristocrats they served. In fact, Manox, according to Henry Herbert, a late nineteenth-century writer on Katherine, commented on Manox's social status as a musician saying: "He was a musician... a group of people who participated in all the most disgraceful intrigues of the day."<sup>54</sup> In addition, there was a widely held belief that the intermixing between social classes was physically detrimental. When Manox was approached by one of the servants carrying a token from the young Mistress Howard, she apparently warned him that, "She is come of a noble house and if thou should marry her some of her blood would kill thee."<sup>55</sup> The young music teacher replied, "Hold thy peace woman, I know her well enough."<sup>56</sup> Katherine heard of Manox's bold declaration and went on to absolve herself both of lessons and the relationship with Henry. However, the relationship between Katherine and her private music instructor would come back to haunt her.

A letter describing Katherine's inappropriate involvement with Manox not only mentioned specific details of Katherine's musical instruction, but also accused the queen of "dissolute living" prior to her marriage to the king. The letter mentioned Manox specifically, as well as Francis Dereham, whose prior romantic relationship with Katherine would leave him suspect for current adultery with the queen as a member of her household. As queen, Katherine should have disclosed her entire sexual past, as there

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<sup>54</sup> Warnicke, 46.

<sup>55</sup> Smith, 56.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

could be no question of paternity, should she produce an heir to the throne. As part of the investigations of misconduct, Dereham, Manox, the Duchess, and Katherine were taken into custody for questioning. Dereham's damning evidence was found in a large pile of music, hidden in a chest containing his private belongings. Below is a testimony from the Duchess, recalling her searching through Dereham's personal possessions.

That my lady of Norfolk said she would see what writings were in Dereham's chest meet to be sent to the Council, and there took certain writings and papers of ballads and a ballad book with notes for playing upon the lute. Stood with the candle at the end of the chest, and she cast back into the chest the writings she liked not, but kept those she called ballads by themselves "and another sort apart from them." One was, she said, the bill that was laid in her pew in Lambeth church and stolen by Katharine Howard out of her gilt coffer while she was in bed. She then said that for that bill Dereham and she fell out, about the beginning of the King's progress, and she commanded him out of her gates. Told her it would do no good to keep it and that she might burn it. She laid it with the ballads, and, when she had seen all, carried them to her chamber. About eight o'clock one night she gave me a handful of bills rolled together, which she named ballads, to carry to my lord of Norfolk. Long ago she said to me that she mistrusted Katharine Howard and Derham, and I said I saw "no such cause."<sup>57</sup>

This confession is musically significant for several reasons. First, this is one of the first musicological accounts linking Dereham to playing the lute. The account also claims that the ruinous corroboration of Dereham's relationship with Katherine is found amongst the "books with notes for playing upon the lute", which could possibly be pedagogical texts for lute education. Furthermore, the account mentions four times finding "ballads" in Dereham's coffers. This could possibly allude to the fact that Dereham may have also dabbled in composing. Since Manox and Dereham were in such

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<sup>57</sup> William Ashby's Confession ff 17-18. In "Henry VIII: December 1541, 6-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 16, 1540-1541*, ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), 660-671. *British History Online*, accessed July 9, 2017, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol16/pp660-671>.

close proximity, and Dereham was aware of the relationship between Manox and Katherine, perhaps he took up lute playing and composition. In seeing the power that music had over Katherine, Dereham may have in fact emulated Manox's musical approach in winning Katherine's heart and physical affections. Regardless, evidence of their physical relationship was found amongst these ballads, and proved enough to prosecute Dereham and sentence him to execution by hanging, drawing, and quartering in November of 1541.

Under investigation conducted by Archbishop Cranmer (1489-1556), Manox recalled the events between himself and Katherine during their music lessons. This confession gives specific poignant details on some of the exact practices of private music education in early Tudor England. Henry Manox was questioned and was recorded as saying:

When he came to the old duchess of Norfolk's service, five years past, he and one Barnes were appointed to teach the Queen, then Mrs. Katharine Howard, to play the virginals. He fell in love with her and she with him, but the Duchess found them alone together one day and gave Mrs. Katharine two or three blows, and charged them never to be alone together after. Then Deram, who was the Duchess's kinsman, and also loved Mrs. Katharine, and Edw. Walgrave, who loved a maiden named Baskerville, used to haunt her chamber rightly and banquet there until 2 or 3 a.m.; so Deponent and Barnes wrote an anonymous letter to the Duchess (tenor given), warning her that if she would rise half an hour after going to bed and visit the gentlewomen's chamber she would be displeased. The Duchess thereupon stormed with her women; and Mrs. Katharine afterwards stole the letter and showed it to Deram, who suspected Deponent to have written it and called him knave.<sup>58</sup>

It was the verbal confession of Barnes, the other music teacher hired at Lambeth, that ultimately led to the Duchess discovering the sexual relationship between Dereham and Katherine. Manox also confirmed that it was his own involvement with Katherine that led

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 605-613.



to the Duchess's rather violent castigation of Katherine. Manox did not deny his relationship with Katherine, but rather admitted his love for her. Although Katherine was his social superior, as his music student, she was also, as a woman, bound by social and spiritual hierarchy to follow the directions and commands of her male teacher. Henry Manox surfaced from this scandal unscathed, whereas Culpepper was beheaded.

During the investigations, Katherine and her maid-of-honor, Jane Boleyn, sister-in-law to Anne Boleyn and known as Lady Rocheford (1505-1542), were confined to the queen's apartments. It is during this time that Katherine famously said, "Now is not the time for dancing" when the court musicians arrived at the door for their usual duties as entertainment for their queen. Musically, her statement was poignant because it demonstrates the prominent daily role music played in Katherine's daily life and activities. Typically, Katherine would have listened to music, danced in her private apartments, and as a result may have favored specific musicians with whom she was familiar with, who would have performed for the queen. The French ambassador Marillac confirmed this was the case saying, "Whereas, before, she did nothing but dance and rejoice, and now when the musicians come they are told that it is no more the time to dance."<sup>59</sup> For Katherine, her history as a student musician and performer incriminated her and sentenced her to death.

Katherine Howard was beheaded on February 13, 1542 alongside the Lady Rocheford, on Tower Green, the same place where her cousin, Anne Boleyn, received the same fate.<sup>60</sup> In total Katherine was officially queen for sixteen months. However, performance even found its way into the proceedings of Katherine's time on the scaffold.

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<sup>59</sup> Russell, 307.

<sup>60</sup> Wilkinson, 243.

Just as she had rehearsed the steps and music necessary for court life, she requested the execution block be brought into her cell the evening before, so that she might rehearse the physical movement of dying well.<sup>61</sup> Katherine's final speech was well performed, and she was praised for the poise in her words of resignation and actions on the platform.

Katherine's musical story began as a young, lively, performer, who seemed never to tire of the passion for music entertainment or entertaining. Katherine's musical life was the ultimate example of the double-edged sword that was musical involvement for the female Tudor courtier; it contributed to both her rise and fall.

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<sup>61</sup> Russell, 365.

## CHAPTER 7

### KATHERINE PARRE: BORN TO SIT IN THE HIGHEST SEAT OF “MUSICAL” MAJESTY

Following the downfall and execution of Katherine Howard in 1541, the king spent time in isolation, in sorrow and lamentation. His spirits remained low until early 1543, with a feast and celebrations presided over by his daughter Mary Tudor. It was here, in a palace filled with string music, that Katherine Parre, then styled the Lady Latimer, first appeared at court to beg for pardon for her dying husband from the charge of treason. She would become Henry's sixth, and final, wife. While Katherine Parre displayed her magnificence through cultivating a court of musical majesty, her most significant musical contribution was to encourage the musical enlightenment of the Tudor rulers yet to come.

#### **Education**

Although the last of Henry's six wives, Katherine Parr's musical education reflects the culminating feminine influence of Henry's first wife Katherine of Aragon. As a lady-in-waiting at the early Tudor court, Lady Maude Parre, Katherine Parre's mother, was a first-hand witness to the newfound educational advances being given to young women. Maude observed the musical education of Katherine of Aragon's daughter, later Mary I, and even noticed the education given to Sir Thomas More's daughters.<sup>1</sup> Such

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<sup>1</sup> Linda Porter, *Katherine the Queen: The Remarkable Life of Katherine Parr, the Last Wife of Henry VIII* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin Publishing, 2010), 32-34. According to Katherine and Thomas More women could learn just as effectively as men, which were part of the new humanist principles circling court at the time. Maude Parr modeled the education of her own family after these views.

observations made a considerable mark on the education Maude gave her young daughter Katherine. Not only did Maude emulate Katherine of Aragon in educational matters, but Katherine Parre was named after Katherine of Aragon; the former queen was also proclaimed her spiritual advisor, as she became Katherine Parre's godmother.<sup>2</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, Katherine of Aragon was a champion of female, and in particular her daughter's, musical education, and she made sure that Mary received private lute instruction.

Katherine Parre, daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Maude Parr, was born in 1512 in Westmorland, or current day Cumbria. Sir Thomas Parr served in Henry VIII's household, during his coronation procession celebrations, and was inducted into the Knights of the Order of the Garter.<sup>3</sup> Although Katherine's education, like other young girls of her station, was particularly centered around domestic skills, music became a poignant part of Katherine's training. In addition to lessons in vocal music, where Katherine performed in many languages, she was also well versed in instrumental music.<sup>4</sup> According to C. Fenno Hoffman, Jr., Katherine demonstrated, ".skillful playing in three instruments; viol, lute, and virginals."<sup>5</sup> The skills Katherine received in her education would have prepared her for a life at court, serving the queen in her private chambers. Maude Parr ensured that Katherine acquired the skills necessary for Katherine to make a success in the queen's domestic sphere, much as she had done.

### **Queen Katherine Parre**

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<sup>2</sup> Susan James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Shroud, Gloucestershire: History Press Limited, 2011), 60.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, 12.

<sup>4</sup> C. Fenno Hoffman, Jr., "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1960): 353.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 352.

Katherine Parre married Henry VIII in late 1543 in the Privy Closet at Hampton Court Palace. As queen, Katherine participated in various musical activities including dancing (which she loved), instrumental ownership, the patronizing of ensembles, and the encouragement of others to look for their own musical enjoyment.<sup>6</sup> Katherine had a large household establishment, mostly overseen by women of the court. Again, one of the duties of a lady-in-waiting was to entertain the queen in her private chambers. The Lady Anne Bassett (d. 1557), who was in the queen's household from 1543 to 1546, was noted as a maid-of-honor to queen Katherine.<sup>7</sup> Lady Bassett was educated abroad, in France, much like Anne Boleyn, and had a broad musical education that included both vocal and instrumental training.<sup>8</sup> A number of other servants of the queen's household had musical skill including several of the gentlemen employees. Two men, Walter Erlse (1515/20-1581) and Robert Cooch (N. D.), were said to have been quite skilled. Robert Cooch, who was steward of the wine cellar, in particular was praised by the Bishop Parkhurst, who said that Cooch was "a very accomplished man, and well skilled in music."<sup>9</sup>

Katherine fully embraced her new role as queen by dressing the part, surrounding herself with exotic diversions and finery, and through the music and musicians she employed. As regal queenly garments were quite rare and expensive, Katherine ordered fur-lined garments that had once belonged to the deceased Katherine Howard to be

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<sup>6</sup> James, 5. James comments on Katherine's love of dance and music as well as to comment on her skill level in dancing as being "excellent".

<sup>7</sup> Dakota L. Hamilton, "The Household of Queen Katherine Parr" (PhD diss., Somerville College, 1992), 124.

<sup>8</sup> James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 93.

<sup>9</sup> James, 110.

brought to her from Baynard's Castle.<sup>10</sup> Katherine also kept a large retinue of parrots in her household, which she fed with hempseed.<sup>11</sup> However, what may have most promoted her status were the various musical entertainments for which she called. One of the first ensembles she added to her household was a company of Venetian minstrels, the Bassano brothers.<sup>12</sup> Italian musicians were very fashionable, especially during this time, and they were a particular favorite at the Tudor court.<sup>13</sup> Later, she hired yet another Italian string ensemble.<sup>14</sup> Katherine owned her own consort of viols played by these musicians from Milan and Venice, and she paid them eight ducats daily. Furthermore, Katherine patronized Nicholas Udall, a playwright, lyricist, and musician, who was also famous for his musical verses that accompanied the coronation celebrations of Queen Anne Boleyn.<sup>15</sup> Udall wrote a play called *Ralph Roister Doister*, which featured a number of musical interludes and songs that accompanied the texts.<sup>16</sup> Udall's musical talents were not only supported financially through Katherine's patronage; an account book of Katherine's household found in the National Archives notes that Katherine later gifted Udall with a financial reward.<sup>17</sup> Katherine's support for music and musicians went well beyond simple patronage; in this particular case, it seems as though she wanted to bless Udall with honors and elevated status.

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<sup>10</sup> Alison Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: The Bodley Head, 1991), 314.

<sup>11</sup> James, 111.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Porter, 133.

<sup>14</sup> James, 110.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>17</sup> British National Archives-Kew, "Payments and Rewards-Catherine Parr" E 315/340, f. 18v.

Through these measures Katherine cultivated an image of a splendid Tudor queen and demonstrated her power by creating a cult of majesty. Like Jane Seymour, Queen Katherine Parr also owned a set of regals. A 1547 inventory of Hampton Court Palace notes that in the “Quene’s galorie” there was a “payre of Regalles in a case of lether”.<sup>18</sup> One component that distinguishes Katherine from Jane is where they each placed their instruments. Jane Seymour’s regals, from the 1542 inventory list of Whitehall palaces, notes that her regals were in her privy chamber, whereas Queen Katherine gave the instruments a more prominent public place for the musical instruments by placing them in the gallery.<sup>19</sup> The gallery, or hallway, would have been a passageway used by both herself and members of her household to move between chambers or to larger areas like the great hall.

Musical performance, through dance, also enhanced Katherine’s prestige, especially among members of the court and foreign ambassadors. The Spanish Ambassador Eustace Chapuys (1490-1556) reported back to Spain in 1544 that Katherine, despite feeling “slightly indisposed”, still appeared at the court festivities that evening to dance “for the honour of the company”.<sup>20</sup>

The Queen entered with the Princesses and ladies, and having seated herself, she commanded the Duke to sit down, and musicians with violins were introduced. The Queen danced first with her brother, very gracefully; then the Princess Mary and the Princess of Scotland danced with other gentlemen, and many other ladies did the same. Among danced a Venetian of the King’s household some gallardas so lightly, that he appeared to have wings in his feet.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Hamilton, 69.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>20</sup> Antonia Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Orion Publishing, 1992), 451.

<sup>21</sup> Porter, 178.

This account describes not only the sumptuous atmosphere Katherine cultivated as host for the honored Duke of Najera (1504-1558), but also Katherine's skill as a graceful dancer. Katherine was the tallest of Henry's wives, so the sight of her dancing would have been all the more commanding and regal. Furthermore, after addressing the duke himself, Katherine thought it important enough for the foreign visitors to be aware of the violinists.

There has been some recent speculation in terms of Katherine's possible compositional collaboration with Thomas Tallis (1505-1585) and the lyrics of the work *Gaude Gloriosa dei Mater*.<sup>22</sup> The piece was written during the 1544 Henrican campaign against France. As Henry was away in battle, Katherine was appointed regent, and this work is thought to have been part political propaganda for the campaign as well as spiritual encouragement for Henry himself.<sup>23</sup> Katherine, who studied Latin with Nicholas Udall during her time as queen, also became a published author during her reign, writing the anti-papal works *Lamentations of a Sinner* in 1547, *Prayers and Meditations* and *Prayers and Psalms*. The latter work was published in 1544, the year coinciding with the campaign at Bologne, and contains similar phrasing between the literary and the musical work by Tallis.<sup>24</sup> The text matches that of the ninth psalm found in Katherine's work *Prayers and Psalms*, called "Agaynst Ennimies". David Skinner argues that this work

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<sup>22</sup>Hannah Furness, "King Henry VIII's sixth wife collaborated with Thomas Tallis to Write Music to Rally her Husband for War", *The Telegraph*, accessed June 15, 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/12/king-henry-viiiis-sixth-wife-collaborated-thomas-tallis-write/>.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Brigit Katz, "Did Catherine Parr write a propaganda song for Henry VIII?" *The Smithsonian*, accessed September 10, 2017. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/did-katherine-parr-write-propaganda-song-henry-viii-180962552/>



was featured in an elaborate church service, to rally the troops leaving London for war, and that Katherine was responsible for helping Archbishop Cranmer plan the service.<sup>25</sup> Skinner suggests that Parr was able to work with Thomas Tallis to support her husband and the campaign through an anonymous submission of the prayerful military text.<sup>26</sup>

While the discovery of this work, as detailed by these varying articles, is compelling, more research will need to be conducted to confirm that it was in fact Katherine Parr who wrote the text for this piece. Many of these articles on this “hidden work” coincide with the release of Alamire’s album *Thomas Tallis, Queen Katherine Parr & Songs of the Reformation*. Currently, no scholar has published on the exact details surrounding the performance of the piece, nor its rediscovery from the walls of Oxford in the 1970s. The theory that Parre penned this work is similar to the speculation surrounding the song “O Death-Rock Me to Sleep,” which musicologists and historians have attributed to Anne Boleyn. However, it is not entirely out of the realm of possibility, and therefore this discovery warrants further attention and study.

### **Katherine Parre As a Musical Educator**

As queen, Katherine helped to educate Henry’s children, and devoted her resources especially for their musical education. When Katherine married Henry, his eldest Mary was just over three and a half years her junior, Elizabeth was ten, and Edward, the future king of England, was just over six years. Katherine’s involvement with Mary’s musical pursuits can be described more as a mentor. In a letter dating from September 1544, Katherine wrote to Mary and referred to the letter bearer as a man who

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Furness.

was skilled in music.<sup>27</sup> In her letter, Katherine noted that his musical skill made him more acceptable because, like herself, Mary took “as much delight as myself” in the musical arts.<sup>28</sup> This confirmation is not surprising, as both Katherine and Mary were greatly influenced by Katherine of Aragon’s courtly musical pursuits, both in terms of education and enjoyment. Katherine inadvertently encouraged Mary’s own performance, especially in terms of dance. In an event honoring the visiting Duke of Najera, Katherine first introduced her musicians, took to the dance floor with the Duke himself, and then invited the Princess Mary to dance.<sup>29</sup> Mary emulated Katherine’s performance, and through Katherine’s modeling, received appropriate instruction in the proper relationship between regal women and music performance in the public sphere. Edward, however, cautioned both ladies in such a display, saying that they must not “attend [any] longer to foreign dances and merriments which do not become a Christian princess.”<sup>30</sup>

In contrast with Mary, Katherine’s fervent Protestantism affected her approach to the education of both Elizabeth and Edward through the protestant tutors she appointed for them. Prior to 1543, Edward lived “among the women.”<sup>31</sup> Katherine often wrote Edward, praising his diligence in his studies. She encouraged him in the wide variety of scholarship saying, “[w]ith what great diligence you have cultivated the muses.”<sup>32</sup> In 1543, under Katherine’s supervision, Richard Cox (1500-1581) was appointed as Edward’s official tutor, and educated him in subjects such as literature and Latin. Edward

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<sup>27</sup> Hoffman, 351.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> James, 110.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (Norfolk, Great Britain: St. Edmundsbury Press, 1999), 33.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 119.

was educated with other boys from noble houses, where they would also learn dance and music along with their other studies.<sup>33</sup> Cox also led Edward into contact with musician and music master Christopher Tye (1505-1573). Tye later composed *Acts of the Apostles* in 1553, which is a collection of educational Protestant hymns, now found in the Lambeth Palace Library. The work was dedicated to Edward, and features four-part vocal works written in English that also convey various biblical stories, including the New Testament account of Annanias and Saphira.<sup>34</sup>

Katherine Parr's most significant relationship was with Elizabeth. Unlike Edward, who had his own household and establishment away from court, Katherine suggested that Elizabeth take up her lodgings in the court, instead of at Hatfield House. Katherine also supervised her education, and later chose a tutor with close connections to the Parre family, Roger Ascham.<sup>35</sup> Katherine also approved of the continual presence of Kat Ashley, Elizabeth's governess at court. Kat was responsible for educating the princess in a number of subjects including dancing and music. Perhaps Katherine's most significant musical contribution to Elizabeth was in modeling a cult of majesty, created by surrounding herself with en vogue musical resources. The young Elizabeth would have witnessed Katherine's Venetian minstrels, her consort of viols, and the other musical ensembles that followed the queen around at court. It is no coincidence that, in turn,

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<sup>33</sup> Porter, 178.

<sup>34</sup> Christopher Tye, MS 1160 *Acts of the Apostles* (1553). Found in the Lambeth Palace Library, London.

<sup>35</sup> James, 122.

Elizabeth used music and musicians for propaganda during her own reign, especially to bolster the illusion of her own super natural queenly powers.<sup>36</sup>

### **England's First Regal Protestant Burial**

King Henry died in 1547 and Katherine remarried, eventually dying of complications from childbirth following her re-marriage to Thomas Seymour, brother-in-law to Jane Seymour. Musically speaking, her funeral marked a true transformation in terms of Protestant reform, which she herself championed.<sup>37</sup> She was the first English queen to be given a regal, and also Protestant, burial.<sup>38</sup>

When the corpse was sent within the rails, and the mourners placed, the whole choir began and sung certain psalms in English and read three lessons... The sermon done, the corpse was buried, during which time the choir sung a Te Deum in English.<sup>39</sup>

Her final request, as the dowager queen, was that the music of her services be performed in her own native tongue. Her passion for the psalms, the gospels, and music all met together as she was laid to rest at Sudeley Castle Chapel.

### **Conclusion**

Katherine Parr's musical education and involvement can be viewed as a culmination of the musical influences of each of Henry's previous five wives. The beginning of Katherine's life and education points to the command of Katherine of

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<sup>36</sup> Of the countless sources on Elizabeth and her use of image building through propaganda music, one of the more recent is: Katherine Butler, "By Instruments her Powers Appeare" *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2012): 353-384.

<sup>37</sup> James, 181.

<sup>38</sup> Here a protestant burial refers to the English text setting in all musical works, whereas in Catholic funerals of this time all musical works were celebrated in a Latin requiem mass.

<sup>39</sup> Porter, 332-333.

Aragon's direction toward humanistic learning, and the schooling of young aristocratic women in a variety of subjects, such as instrumental music. Anne Boleyn's Protestant touch can be felt in Katherine's literary and compositional works found in Thomas Tallis's *Gaude Gloriosa dei Mater*. Even the music of Katherine's funeral would not have been possible without the relationship between Anne Boleyn and Henry and the schismatic religious events of 1533. Like Jane Seymour, Katherine Parre too, owned, and possibly performed on, musical instruments. Anne of Cleves understood the importance of musical spectacle, and as did Katherine Parre, who included musicians around her person in every aspect of her life at court. Finally, Katherine Parre emulated Katherine Howard, whose reign may be characterized by musical enjoyment through dance, by participating herself in dancing as social display. Although each queen's romantic attachment to Henry was not permanent, the presence of music in each of their lives left an important mark on women's musical education in Tudor England. Music enhanced their social statuses—in certain instances even giving them the skills necessary to place them in front of the king. This, in turn, gave each woman the power to earn an advantageous marriage and therefore a prominent place in English history.

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MS Hargrave 497: "The Creation of Anne Boleyn-Marquess of Pembroke. Collections relative to Coronations; but mixed with other Heraldic Matters, Processions, &c." 15<sup>th</sup> century-1767.

Egerton MS 2642: "The Burial and Enternment of the Ladye Anne of Cleves. The Booke of Heraldry and other thynges together with the Order of Coronations of Empoerours, Kynges, Prynces, Dukes, Byshoppes, earles, and other Estates: withe the maner of their burrials and enterrement and of the first yere." Late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Landsdowne MS. 979: "The History of The Reformation of the Church of England " ff. 62, 111,122 155, 1735-1805.

Royal MS 18 A XIV: "Verses and Ditties made at the coronation of Quene Anne."1533.

Royal MS 8 G VIII: "Katherine of Aragon's Songbook." 1513-1525.

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Cotton MS. Augustus I-Vol. II: "Map of Anne of Cleves's Sea Journey to London." 16<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Royal College of Music, London

MS 1070: "Anne Boleyn's Music Book." (Early 16<sup>th</sup> century). Ff. 1-102.

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MS 1: *Arundale Choir Book Facsimile*. Ff. 1-95. Early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

MS 1160: "Christopher Tye's Song Book for Edward VI." Ff. 1-100. 1553.

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E 315/340 "Payments and Rewards-Catherine Parr." Folio 18v.

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MS Ashmole 61: "Codex Ashmole 61." 14th-15<sup>th</sup> century. f. 20.

## VITA

Brooke Little is a Kansas City native, and holds a Master's degree from the University of Missouri-Columbia in Vocal Music Education, which she obtained in 2008. She also holds a Bachelor's of Music degree in Vocal Performance from the University of Missouri-Columbia (2005). She spent seven years teaching choral music in primarily urban schools for students in kindergarten through grade twelve throughout the Kansas City area. She is a Spanish speaker, and was able to act as a part of Kansas City's Latino community, through teaching middle school choir in the Argentine area.

Brooke has been a private voice in and piano instructor in Kansas City for the past five years and runs an active studio of over forty students, ages four through adult learners. As a performer, Brooke has worked as a soloist in various jazz ensembles, and has performed locally in many churches. She is a former member of the Kansas City Symphony Chorus, where she had the privilege of performing for the opening concert of the Kauffman Center for the Performing Arts, alongside Placido Domingo and Itzak Perlman.

Her interest in Tudor England, began during her time teaching in Kansas City Kansas, where she began sharing Henry VIII's works with her students. From there, she began studying musicology at UMKC, where she solidified her interest in women's music education of Tudor England. Her work has taken her twice to London, where she has conducted research in institutions like the British Library, The National Archives, The Royal College of Music, the National Portrait Gallery, Hever Castle, and the Lambeth Palace Library.

