II THE BRUSSELS *BASSE DANSE* MANUSCRIPT IN CONTEXT

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The "Brussels *basse danse* manuscript" (Brussels, KBR, Ms. 9085, henceforth "Br9085") has long epitomised Margaret of Austria's love of music and luxurious artworks. However, the origins of the book remain unclear, despite intensive musicological and historical investigation over more than a century. This chapter proposes a new hypothesis on the book's origins, taking its contents and ownership inscriptions as a point of departure. It argues that Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) did not commission the book, but that it was more likely a gift from Françoise of Luxembourg (c. 1482–1523), an avid bibliophile and music lover, like her husband Philip of Cleves (1459–1528). This chapter also explores the place of the *basse danse* within the wider culture of dance at the Habsburg courts of Burgundy and Austria. It uses contemporary sources—including *Freydal*, a chivalric manuscript commissioned by Margaret's father Maximilian, court chronicles and diplomatic dispatches—to flesh out the possible performance contexts for the dances in the Brussels manuscript. It also examines the surviving financial documentation from the Burgundian court to establish the instrumental forces available for dances there around 1500.

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THE CULTURE OF THE *BASSE DANSE* AS TRANSMITTED IN BR9085

The *basse danse* was an elegant, highly formalised dance popular at courts in the second half of the fifteenth century. Visual representations of the *basse danse* emphasize its stately, processional nature (▶ Fig. II.1). Such images indicate that it was typically performed in a courtly context, usually in a hall (▶ Fig. II.2). Its movements were elegant to the point of being mannered; many illustrations suggest that men adopted an unnatural posture in which they leaned back on slightly bent knees (▶ Fig. II.3). Those who performed the *basse danse* wore rich clothing that added to the spectacle. The music was usually accompanied either by pipe-and-tabor (played by one person) or flute and drum (played by two), or by a standard ensemble ("alta cappella") comprising two shawms with a slide trumpet or bombard. These elements contrasted with rustic dances, which—as far as we can tell from the stylised and romanticised view of country life presented in manuscript illuminations—was characterised by less formalised choreography, performance in the open countryside, extravagant movements of arms and legs, a less sophisticated instrumental accompaniment (often only a bagpipe), mismatched and rather more utilitarian clothing, and the intervention of disruptive elements such as leaping dogs (▶ Figs. II.4–II.5). All these factors contrast with the artificiality, control and poise of the *basse danse*.

▶ p. 206
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The Brussels manuscript falls into two parts. The first comprises a theoretical treatise, which describes the principles and steps of the *basse danse*. The second includes a collection of fifty-eight dances, given in choreographic and monophonic musical notation. (See the chapter by Bregman and Gilbert in this volume). Much of the same content is also transmitted in the printed collection *Sensuit lart et instruction de bien dancer* (henceforth "Toulouze"), which we shall explore in Chapter 5. Both Br9085 and Toulouze derive independently—at one or more removes—from a lost archetype. The text of the treatise in Br9085 is written in Picard, the northern dialect of French, typified by phonetic features such as "chinq" for "cinq", or "commenche" for "commence". As we shall see, the many references to the Burgundian court in the names of the dances suggest that the lost archetype was probably written in the region where this dialect was standard. Claude Thiry (1989) concluded that the linguistic and stylistic usage of the treatise is not sufficiently distinctive to reveal the identity of the author. In the text

printed by Toulouze, most Picard features have been accommodated to a Parisian dialect. Toulouze or his editor also abbreviated the text of the treatise at some points, not always happily, and introduced some careless errors.[1]

Most of the dances in Br9085 and Toulouze are monophonic melodies ("tenors") notated in long notes, which form the basis for polyphonic elaboration. The researches of Van der Linden, and more recently, of Bregman and Gilbert in the present volume, have localised many of the dance tenors to a Burgundian origin between about the late 1440s and approximately 1470.[2] On this basis, Crane (1965) argued that Br9085 was compiled around 1470.[3] Closson (1912), noting that some of the dances in Br9085 refer to persons and events from the time of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433–77) and his daughter Burgundy (1457–82), suggested that the manuscript should be called the "dance book of Mary of Burgundy" rather than the "dance book of Margaret of Austria".[4] However, Closson's proposal fails to account for several details. Firstly, the catalogues of the libraries of the Burgundian dukes from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (dating from 1420, 1467–69, 1485–87, and 1504) do not list an item matching Br9085, as we would expect if such an exquisite object had been commissioned by a member of the princely house.[5] There is no evidence that the *basse danse* manuscript was present in the libraries of Margaret of York or of Mary of Burgundy.[6] Moreover, a production date for Br9085 of around 1470 would not account for the inclusion of three dances in the book—*La danse de cleves*, *La danse de Ravestain*, and *La franchoise nouvelle*—which stylistically seem to belong to the end of the fifteenth century rather than to its third quarter.

1 Thiry, "Le texte de *L'Art et instruction de basse danse*", 26–28; Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 6.

2 Van der Linden, "La musique dans les Chroniques de Jean Molinet", 175–80; Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 7; see Bregman and Gilbert in this volume, 31–32.

3 Crane, "The Derivation of Some Fifteenth-Century Basse-Danse Tunes", 184.

4 Closson, *Le manuscrit dit des basses danses*, 6.

5 See Falmagne and Van den Abeele, *The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*. Closson, *Le manuscrit dit des basses danses*, 6, noted this fact but dismissed its importance. There is furthermore no reason to connect this manuscript with the Alamire workshop, the most famous atelier for musical manuscripts patronised by the court of Margaret of Austria. Alamire was already documented in the Low Countries (specifically, at 's-Hertogenbosch) in 1496, so there is no watertight chronological reason why he could not have written the manuscript. However, the script does not match that in any of the extant manuscripts from the Alamire workshop. For Alamire's life, see Schreurs, "Petrus Alamire"; for a synopsis of scripts from Alamire manuscripts, see Warmington, "A survey of scribal hands", 47–51.

6 On the library of Margaret of York, see Barstow, "The Library of Margaret of York"; on manuscripts that can be associated with Mary of Burgundy, see Madou, "Marie et l'héritage de Bourgogne"; Thanks to Ann Kelders for her assistance with these two collections.

(These dances, absent from Toulouze, were not a later addition to the manuscript, but an integral part of its planning.) In any case, the lost archetype from which Toulouze and Br9085 descend, the source of the treatise and all the dance tenors except for the three more modern ones included in Br9085, was evidently compiled sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Some of the dances transmitted in Br9085 were already old by the time the book was copied; others were still current in the 1490s. For example, the dances *L'esperance* and *Roti bouilli joyeulx* are attested as early as 1449, when Antoine Girard, a student at Avignon, engaged the Jewish cloth-dyer Mosse of Lisbon to teach him how to play several pieces on the lute and harp, including "Sperance" and "Rostit bollit joyeux *a contre*". (This could mean that Girard learned to play both the tenor and a contratenor part simultaneously on one instrument.)[7] In the 1460s, Martial d'Auvergne, procurator at the Parlement of Paris, wrote a work, *Arrêts d'Amour*, in which minstrels play the *basse danse* called *Je languis* (№ 11).[8] Four dances transmitted in Br9085 are mentioned in the satirical poem *Les nouveaulx droitz* by Guillaume Coquillart (c. 1450–1510), written probably in the 1480s: *Le petit Rouen* (№ 16), *Filles a marier* (№ 17), *Maistresse* (№ 18) and *Le grant Thorin* (№ 51). Coquillart ends another work, the *Monologue de la botte de Foing*, by asking the pipe-and-tabor player to strike up *Le petit Rouen*.[9] By contrast, Coquillart elsewhere complains facetiously that young men, including students ("Latins") had abandoned dances such as *Le Petit Rouen* for love songs.[10] The song *Marchon la dureau*, which forms the basis for a dance in Br9085, was sung by French soldiers during the invasion of Arras in 1492.[11]

Many of the tenors are derived from sophisticated polyphonic songs transmitted in chansonniers (song books) that derive from a courtly

7 Mullally (ed. and trans.), *The Brussels* Basse danse *Book*, 63.

8 d'Auvergne [c. 1500], e3^{r}: "Et comme ledict galant fust couche en attendant ses estraines lesditz menestriers commencerent a iouer la basse dance de Je languis & de lardant desir." The modern editions erroneously give "Le Languis". Cf. Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 8–9. I cited here from the earliest printed edition, which appeared some years after the work was written.

9 Coquillart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Prosper Tarbé and d'Héricault, vol. 1, 299: "Tabourin, a mon appetit! || Beau sire, le petit Rouen." Cf. Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 11.

10 Coquillart, *Sensuyuent les droitz nouueaulx*, F1^{r}: "Son ioue peut estre la carriere || Petit rouen le grand tourin || La gorgiase la bergiere || Ilz se courroucent au tabourin || Telles dances ne sont plus en train || A noz mignons du commun cours || Car soit ou francoys ou latin || Ilz ne veullent dancer que amours." Modern ed. in Coquillart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Prosper Tarbé and d'Héricault, vol. 1, 113.

11 Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 12–13; Mullally (ed. and trans.), *The Brussels* Basse danse *Book*, 72.

milieu.[12] Indeed, Br9085 resembles these chansonniers in many respects: its diminutive dimensions; its high-quality pen work; and its aura of exquisite taste. It is likely that the transformation of these songs into dance tenors occurred in a courtly environment.

PEOPLE AND PLACES IN THE TITLES OF THE *BASSES DANSES* IN BR9085

Some dances in Br9085 are named after places or people. The names of dances such as *Le joieux de Brucelles* suggest that some of these adaptations and arrangements originated at the Burgundian court, which was usually resident at Brussels or Bruges, though the names of others (*Avignon*, *La rochelle*, *Le petit rouen*, *Le grant rouen*, *Bayonne*, *La potevine*) point to the French court. The titles of yet other dances refer to Portugal and Spain. Indeed, the names of many dances reflect the international aristocratic networks of marriage and diplomacy that connected the ruling houses of Burgundy, France, Spain, Portugal, England and—after 1477—Austria.

Closson suggested that certain titles of dances refer to the locations of significant incidents in the Hundred Years War (1337–1453): Orléans (№ 15), Rouen (Nºs. 16 and 32), Angoulême (№ 3) and Alençon (№ 21). (The Dukes of Alençon fought in the battles of Crécy in 1346 and Agincourt in 1415.)[13] However, those episodes in the war long antedate the development of the *basse danse* and the composition of these tenors in the middle of the fifteenth century.[14] Claude Thiry posited an explanation for these French names that fits better with the localisation of this repertoire to the mid fifteenth-century Burgundian court. Philip the Good of Burgundy brokered the liberation of the aristocrat and poet Charles of Orléans, and arranged his marriage to his niece, Marie of Cleves, in 1441. Charles's brother was Jean of Angoulême; Charles's son-in-law was Jean IV of Alençon, an ally of Philip the Good, condemned for treason in 1458. *Lesperance de bourbon* (№ 56) refers directly to the motto of the Dukes of Bourbon ("Esperance"). Isabelle de Bourbon (c. 1434–65), who married Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1454, adopted this motto to express her hopes for an heir, which

12 See Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*.
13 Closson, *Le manuscrit dit des basses danses*, 44, followed by Mullally (ed. and trans.), *The Brussels* Basse danse *Book*, 59, 67, 68. In proposing the origins of some tenors, for example *Avignon* (Nº 10), Mullally reaches back even further than the Hundred Years' War.
14 See Bregman and Gilbert, 24–39, on the development of the *basse danse*.

were finally realised with the birth of Mary of Burgundy in 1457.[15]

We can plausibly relate yet more of the dances to the network of the Burgundian court in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. *La portingaloise* (№ 22) might refer to Isabel of Portugal (1397–1471), third wife of Philip the Good of Burgundy, or to her niece Beatrice of Coimbra (1435–62), wife of the Burgundian nobleman Adolphe of Cleves (1425–92). *La margarite* (№ 5) is perhaps named after Margaret of York, third wife of Charles the Bold (1446–1503). *La basse danse du roy despaigne* (№ 9) may refer to Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516), father-in-law of Margaret of Austria and Philip the Fair. *La basse danse du roy* (№ 44) could refer to Maximilian, crowned as King of the Romans in 1486, but it could equally refer to another king, such as one of the Kings of France. It is possible that at least some of the individuals named in the titles of dances invented them. Alternatively, it is possible that the musicians or dance-masters who devised these dances dedicated them to their respective patrons.

THE HABSBURGS AROUND 1500

Given that Br9085 belonged to Margaret of Austria and her Habsburg heirs, it is necessary to know something about her life, her dynasty and its ambivalent relationship with the Burgundian aristocracy. We shall argue that the manuscript was probably commissioned by Philip of Cleves and his wife Françoise of Luxembourg, two important but controversial figures at the courts of Maximilian I, Philip the Fair and Margaret herself. An account of their role in the Habsburgs' contested accession to the Burgundian inheritance will provide background to the creation and movements of Br9085.[16]

In the 1470s, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, were engaged in delicate political negotiations. Charles the Bold wanted Burgundy to be elevated to the status of a kingdom, a constitutional change that only the emperor could bring about. Frederick wanted his son Maximilian to marry Charles's only child, Mary

15 Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 8.

16 For Margaret's biography, see Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie*, and Tamussino, *Margarete von* Österreich. On Margaret's library, see Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*. On Margaret's activity as patron and collector of art, see Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst Wirken durch Kunst*. For a recent cross-disciplinary view of Margaret's reign, see Eichberger (ed.), *Women of Distinction*. For a one-volume survey of the life of her father Maximilian I, see Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.* On Philip of Cleves and Françoise of Luxembourg, see De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*.

of Burgundy, hoping thereby to curb the territorial ambitions of France, and bring liquidity to the cash-strapped Habsburgs. Negotiations stalled repeatedly, and were still incomplete when Charles was killed in battle against the Swiss in January 1477.

Soon after Charles's death, the cities of Flanders wrung privileges from his helpless daughter Mary, and the French mobilised troops, planning on invading and absorbing what they considered their territory. The long-planned marriage between Maximilian and Mary was hastily compacted by proxy, thus providing Flanders with a viable ruler. After Maximilian arrived in the Low Countries, he repudiated the privileges extorted from Mary, and set about consolidating his power. Of their three children, two reached maturity: Philip (1478–1506) and Margaret (1480–1530). However, after Mary's death in a riding accident in 1482, the cities of Flanders refused to recognise Maximilian any longer as their legitimate sovereign, and at best suffered him as Philip's regent until the young Archduke should take power. In 1486, Frederick III arranged to have Maximilian elected and crowned King of the Romans, the first step along the path to the imperial crown. Yet even this was not enough to secure Maximilian's authority in the Low Countries. On 1 February 1488, the rebellious citizens of Bruges took him prisoner, keeping him captive for fourteen weeks until he could negotiate his release.

Following Mary's death, Maximilian's only hope of exercising authority in the Low Countries was through his children. He promised his daughter Margaret to Charles VIII of France, and sent her to the French court to be raised until of marriageable age. Their eventual union, he hoped, would guarantee peace between France and Flanders, and permit the Habsburgs to maintain power in the Low Countries. However, in 1491 Charles VIII repudiated Margaret and married Anne of Brittany, who had been promised to Maximilian. This double insult set off a new stage in the fighting between Maximilian and France. In 1490 Maximilian had taken control of the Tyrol from his cousin Sigismund, who lacked legitimate issue. In 1494 he finally ceded power in the Low Countries to his son Philip, and largely retreated from direct involvement in the politics of Burgundy to concentrate on Austria and the rest of the Empire.

Maximilian further cemented the Habsburgs' place in international politics by negotiating a double marriage between his children and those of Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504), Juan and Juana. The marriage contracts were finalised by proxy

on 5 November 1495, and ratified on 3 January 1496. Philip and Juana were formally married at Lier on 20 October 1496. Margaret and Juan were married at Burgos on 3 April 1497, but Juan died only six months later, on 4 October. By early 1498, Maximilian was already planning to have Margaret marry Philibert II of Savoy, hoping that a Habsburg presence on the pass over the Alps would block the French from crossing into Italy and threatening the Habsburgs' allies, the Sforza of Milan. The marriage was celebrated at Geneva on 3 December 1501, but on 10 September 1504, Philibert too died before producing any children with Margaret. After Philip the Fair died in 1506, Maximilian appointed Margaret as governor of the Low Countries, a task she performed with skill until her premature death in 1530.

DANCE AT THE COURTS OF MAXIMILIAN I AND PHILIP THE FAIR

Dance played an important role at court, both as a diversion as a physical manifestation of political realities. It was an indispensable part of court spectacle, along with feasting, jousts and stylised combats. It provided a chance for individuals to socialise, to display their physical prowess and grace, and to affirm their own group identity through participation in, or observation of dances named after other groups, such as *Welscher Tanz* (Italian dance) or *moresca* (Moorish dance).

The many symbolic functions of dance at Maximilian's court are described in three semi-autobiographical works: the verse romance *Theurdanck*, the prose romance *Weißkunig*, and the chivalric picture-book *Freydal*. Maximilian began to plan these works between about 1502 and 1505, and then again more intensively from 1512, commissioning their execution from a team of ghost-writers and artists. In these books, Maximilian presented his life, from his time at the Burgundian court onwards, as a chivalric adventure of courtly love, military prowess and triumph over adversity. These writings were intended to complement other memorial works, including his *Genealogy* and *Triumphal Chariot*. Maximilian planned to publish these works, but only *Theurdanck* was printed during his lifetime. For the *Freydal*, a written text and 255 images were prepared.[17] The preparatory drawings (some rough drawings now in the

17 Matter, "Der Textentwurf zum Freydal".

Vatican and watercolour sketches in Washington) and the finished illuminations survive, completed by several unnamed artists.[18] Maximilian commissioned Albrecht Dürer to turn the illuminations into woodcuts. Dürer finished five, but the project stalled and was never completed.

Unfortunately we have no sources of comparable detail from the courts of Maximilian's children Philip and Margaret, but we can use sources such as *Freydal* to extrapolate something of the magnificence, multiple significance and variety of dance there. The sources from Maximilian's court also show that the culture of dance there was not monolithic, but included a cluster of dances, from the *basse danse*, the embodiment of elegance and restraint, to the more vigorous round dances, and finally the *moresca*, a vigorous dance involving wild contortions and outlandish costumes.

The events in the *Freydal* are arranged in groups of three, held on the same or subsequent days: a joust, a hand-to-hand combat, and a dance. Fifty-nine images include scenes of dances, providing an unrivalled impression of the splendour, fantasy, humour and grace of such events. Some dances were participatory: pair dances, with up to three pairs; and round dances. Some were presented by trained dancers or by sportive aristocratic amateurs for the amusement of the onlookers, such as the acrobatic *moresche*; or masquerades and processions in which the participants were disguised as Turkish soldiers, giants three metres tall, or fantastic bird-men.[19] In the *Weißkunig*, Maximilian (through his secretary and scribe Marx Treitzsaurwein) explained that he set out to outdo all other rulers in the splendour and inventiveness of such masquerades, in which he actively took part. In the *Freydal*, Maximilian is usually depicted in a robe of cloth of gold and silver, with a red beret crowned with ostrich feathers, a torch in his hand, and sometimes a sword at his hip. The importance of dance and display to Maximilian's self-presentation is illustrated vividly by the *moresca* dancers on eight of the eighteen reliefs on the Goldenes Dachl in Innsbruck.[20]

18 Pokorny, "Die Maler der Wiener Freydal-Miniaturen".
19 Kelber, "'Mit den pangeten und mumereyen'".
20 The *moresca* has recently been the subject of several studies: Welker, "Moresca und Moriskentanz"; Franke and Welzel, "Morisken für den Kaiser"; Wald-Fuhrmann, "Ikonographisch-musikalische Repräsentationspolitik". The reliefs from the Goldenes Dachl are reproduced in Terjanian (ed.), *The Last Knight*, 92–93. However, since the *moresca* is not at the centre of the present investigation, we shall not discuss it in detail here.

We must treat iconographical evidence such as the illustrations from the *Freydal* with caution, since it is possible that the artist did not depict a real situation, but one dictated by his fantasy or the directions of a patron.[21] (Maximilian for one intervened actively and often in the creation of his commissions.)[22] It is possible that the artist imported visual elements from earlier works or even from pattern books. For example, one illumination for the *Freydal* (▶ Fig. II.6) is apparently based on Israhel van Meckenhem's engraving *The Dance of the daughters of Herodias* (▶ Fig. II.7).[23] Furthermore, it is dangerous to universalise individual images to other times or places. But despite such potential sources for misinterpretation, iconographic representations can still provide important evidence for the performance of music and dance, especially when they are consistent with other sources, such as written documentation.

▶ p. 211

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Even if the images of dances in the *Freydal* depict festivities mainly within the bounds of modern Austria and Germany rather than the Low Countries, even if they date from a few years after the time when Margaret likely received the dance book, and even if they were executed by artists who were probably not present at the events they represented, these images nonetheless provide a vivid impression of the physical realisation of the kinds of dances transmitted in Br9085. Even though the exploits depicted in *Freydal* seem exaggerated, they were apparently intended to give the impression of verisimilitude. For example, many of the images bear the names of those individuals depicted, which suggests to the reader that these images record real events. Indeed, some of the tournaments and dances depicted in the *Freydal*, and others closely resembling them, are described in contemporary chronicles. Such chronicles and eyewitness reports provide important information about the circumstances in which various kinds of dances were performed.

For example, on 10 January 1485 at Cologne, two German warriors in the retinue of the Duke of Baden engaged in a joust. The same evening, Maximilian hosted a "very sumptuous banquet" ("vng bancquet fort sumptueux") for eleven or twelve noble ladies in his quarters. Several kinds of dances were performed: "beautiful dances", masquerades or

21 A similar warning was expressed by Gstrein, "Tanzmusik-Ensembles", 85–86.
22 See Zajic, "Rex idiographus".
23 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer Inv. Nr. P 5073, fol. 235; repr. Krause (ed.), *Freydal: Medieval Games*, 404–5, with reference to Meckenhem.

mummeries, athletic dances such as *moresche*, songs, games, and other kinds of entertainments ("belles danses mommeries morisques chanteries jus et esbatemens de diuerses fachons").[24] On 12 January, Maximilian jousted against the Marquis of Baden. In the evening he gave a rich banquet at the town hall of Cologne for the assembled lords, ladies and notable bourgeois of Cologne, who were served in the style of Picardy. (The chronicler Jean Molinet does not specify what was specifically Picard about the style of dining.) After dinner, a dance was held. Maximilian, Wolfgang von Polheim and another knight "in a costume of a strange kind styled the fashion of Picardy" performed a "very beautiful masquerade very well regarded and estimated highly by the German princes and the noble ladies there" ("en habit destrange mode tirant sur le Picardie firent vne fort belle momerie bien regardee et fort prisie des princes dalemaigne et des nobles dames illec estans").[25] On 15 January, the Duke of Cleves—Molinet does not specify whether it was Adolphe or his son Philip—hosted a large banquet in honour of Maximilian and the ladies, "where there was much dancing" ("ou jl y eubt grandes danseries").[26]

On 16 February 1486, Maximilian was elected as King of the Romans at Frankfurt am Main. Between 21 and 24 March 1486, lavish celebrations were held at Frankfurt to mark the occasion, as Jean Molinet recorded (▶ Figs. II.8–II.9). Johann van de Melle hosted a banquet attended by Emperor Frederick, Maximilian, the Archbishop of Cologne and many other dignitaries. After dinner there was a "very beautiful masquerade" ("vne fort belle momerie"). On a pavilion were singers and instrumentalists "who sang and played very well". A couple danced in the Turkish manner. After their dance, they returned to the pavilion before emerging with children on their shoulders, who were dressed as monkeys and pulled amusing grimaces. They then performed a *moresca*. A scene quite like this—though apparently with real monkeys—is depicted in one of the illuminations for the *Freydal* (fol. 96). Maximilian then took part in a "small dance" ("vng petit") with some ladies wearing fantastic costumes and high buskins. They then performed a *Franchoise*, perhaps the dance

▶ p. 213, p. 214

24 Brussels, KBR, Ms. 5438, 304^{v} (291^{v}); ed. in Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Doutrepont and Jodogne, vol. 1, 478.

25 Brussels, KBR, Ms. 5438, 305^{r} (292^{r}); ed. in Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Doutrepont and Jodogne, vol. 1, 478.

26 Brussels, KBR, Ms. 5438, 305^{r-v} (292^{r-v}); ed. in Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Doutrepont and Jodogne, vol. 1, 478–79.

of this name transmitted in Br9085. After this masquerade followed a group dance in which the "princes, lords, ladies and maidens" participated. The popularity of such Franco-Burgundian *basses danses* in the German-speaking world east of the Rhine is attested in sources such as the "Lohengrin" manuscript created in the workshop of Ludwig Henfflin at Stuttgart in about 1470 (▶ p. 215 ▶ Fig. II.10).

After Maximilian's coronation at Aachen on 9 April 1486, his party returned to Cologne. Johannes Reuchlin attended the coronation and the surrounding events as ambassador of the Duke of Württemberg. On 24 April 1486, he was invited to a dance in Cologne, held after a joust. In his brief notes on the occasion, Reuchlin recalled that before the *moresca* was performed, two "heathen" musicians performed a heroic poem ("abentur"). These exotic individuals were probably courtiers in disguise, just as *moresca* dancers were routinely courtiers in exotic costume. Indeed, the heraldic arms on one of the *moresca* dancers on the Goldenes Dachl in Innsbruck identifies him as the courtier Michael von Wolkenstein-Rodenegg.[27] Two musicians then played positive organ and harp. There then followed an allegorical performance involving three women: one with a mirror, one with a ring and the third with an apple. After this, an old man with a grey beard danced. Several noblemen then performed a group dance, before retiring to supper.[28] In a more extensive description of the same event, Reuchlin noted that the beginning of the dance was announced by trumpets. The first dance was a *moresca*, accompanied by a drum and flute. The first dancer was a fool who danced out of a tent erected as a kind of dressing-room for the musicians, and then danced his way back in again. Then appeared a man dressed as a young lover "with a golden face" ("jnn ainem guldin antlitt"), then a Moor, then a small boy dressed as a young Indian woman with a tall pointed hat, then another two Moors, who danced a *moresca* in the French style. (Unfortunately Reuchlin does not supply any specifics about this dance.) After the dance, a group of singers appeared, with a boy on the uppermost line, supported by a cornetto. Then a tall man appeared with a blue mesh mask and a pointed nose, and took a beautiful woman by the hand. The drummer then played a French dance. One of the fools from the

27 Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden*, 100.
28 Stuttgart, Hauptstaatsarchiv, A 602 Nr 4628/9, [1]^{v}–[2]^{r}; ed. in DRAMR, vol. 1.2, 837.

moresca danced again, followed by another French dance. Maximilian then emerged from the tent in disguise, with a silver mesh mask and a long nose like a stork's beak, wearing a small beret with a white feather. He danced some Italian dances with a beautiful woman. He then took off his mask and led the woman in a French *bransle*. This was followed by a group dance involving some forty people, who performed German dances until about three in the morning.

On 17 September 1503, during the state visit of Philip the Fair and Juana of Spain to Maximilian's residence at Innsbruck, a dance was held after dinner. As the Burgundian court chronicler Antoine de Lalaing recorded, "all the women there performed dances in the German style, with Swiss drums and trumpets."[29] Another dance was held on 1 October. Here Maximilian danced with one of the ladies, and Philip the Fair danced with the queen. (Lalaing does not specify whether he meant Juana or Maximilian's wife Bianca Maria). This was followed by a torch dance for all the great lords ("tous les grands maistres a torses"), and finally "a dance called a *bransle*, in the German fashion, with Swiss drums and trumpets" ("vne danse appellee vng bransle a la mode dallemaigne aux tambourins de suysses et a trompettes").[30] The following day, Count Julian von Lodron and the lady-in-waiting Apollonia Lang were married in Innsbruck. Maximilian and the rest of the court attended the wedding feast, which was followed by more dancing.[31]

On 23 June 1505, during the imperial diet, the city council of Cologne hosted a torch dance attended by Maximilian. The chronicler Martin Fucker states merely that the last dance was a "round dance" ("eynen Ronden dantz"), a kind of dance depicted several times in the *Freydal*, as well as in Burgundian and French sources (▶ Figs. II.11, II.12). The music was provided by the players of the assembled princes, an astonishingly large ensemble of thirty-four trumpeters and eight kettle-drum players, as well as two pipers from Cologne and Aachen.[32]

▶ p. 216, p. 217

On 30 June 1507, a banquet was held as part of the Diet of Constance. After dinner there was a dance, at which the brass players ("bosawner") of Maximilian and the Duke of Württemberg played. About forty members

29 Brussels, KBR, Ms. 7382, 85^{r}; ed. in Gachard and Piot (eds.), *Collection des voyages*, vol. 1, 314.
30 Brussels, KBR, Ms. 7382, 87^{v}–88^{r}; ed. in Gachard and Piot (eds.), *Collection des voyages*, vol. 1, 319–20.
31 Brussels, KBR, Ms. 7382, 88^{r-v}; ed. in Gachard and Piot (eds.), *Collection des voyages*, vol. 1, 320.
32 Fucker, *Dit is der koninglicher richsdach*, B5^{r}–6^{r}, ed. in DRAMR, vol. 2, 1137–38.

of Maximilian's household participated in a masquerade, dressed in red costumes in the Turkish manner. This is perhaps the event depicted in one of the illuminations for the *Freydal* (▶ Fig. II.13). ▶ p. 218

On 22 November 1507, Maximilian attended a dance at the city hall of Augsburg. Mercurino Gattinara reported to Margaret of Austria that those attending the ball wore deliberately archaic costumes reflecting the fashion of the early fifteenth century. Maximilian and two of his companions took their wives and danced a *basse danse*. Maximilian then danced a *basse danse* alone ("et vindrent le Roy et deux aultres de ses compagnons a la premiere entree prendre ses femmes et dancerent une basse dance; despuys le Roy danza une basse dance tout seul"). Afterwards, all the rest danced corantos in the German fashion. The music was provided by trumpets and clarions. Gattinara was particularly impressed by Maximilian's imposing and graceful physical presence during the dance: "the King your father showed that he had a sound body and that he was purposeful in his person" ("le Roy votre pere se monstra quil havoit bon corps et quil estoit bien delibere de sa persone").[33] Gattinara's letter provides important evidence of Maximilian's knowledge of the rules of the *basse danse*, which he presumably encountered at the Burgundian court. Gattinara's description of Maximilian's performance of a solo *basse danse* is something new: the choreographies of the dances in Br9085 are all for two (or in one case three) dancers. However, this dance could have been a specifically princely performance. Other monarchs—notably Elizabeth I and Louis XIV—also danced solo at court to express their political and physical centrality in the court and polity.[34]

Such sources provide rich evidence for the multiple roles of dance at Maximilian's court, either in one of his residences or while he was on progress around the Empire. These reports remind us that any examination of dance must also consider the context in which it was performed. Court dances were often associated with war games, such as jousting and hand-to-hand combat. They usually followed feasts, at which multiple intersecting networks at the court were laid bare: the hierarchy connecting the members of the court, as they danced in a strict sequence and particular combinations; hierarchies between different courts,

33 Kooperberg, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk*, 363.
34 I am indebted to Darren Royston for this last point.

represented by visitors and ambassadors; and the intersecting hierarchies of secular and ecclesiastical power, especially when archiepiscopal electors or other prince-bishops were present. Just as military games were a means to display and negotiate hierarchies of masculine power, the dance was an arena in which power and dominance between the sexes were constantly renegotiated, even if the dominance of men was ultimately restated.[35] The instruments used to accompany dances also revealed hierarchies, as we shall see below.[36] The written and visual descriptions of dances highlight both their exotic and performative elements. When performing *La basse danse du roy d'Espaigne* or a *moresca*, one temporarily acted the part of the King of Spain or a Moor, or even in a sense identified with them. Dancing a French *bransle* or an Italian *ballo* was a way of identifying with, and appropriating, the foreign.[37] The flexibility and artificiality of these categories is revealed in such unexpected combinations as the "*moresca* in the French style" performed before Maximilian in 1486. Finally, the written descriptions reveal that the *basse danse* was only one of several kinds of dance at court. The descriptions of ambassadors and chroniclers indicate that it could be performed either as a social dance, in couples, or even as a solo performance piece, as when Maximilian himself danced before the guests assembled at the town hall in Augsburg in 1507.

A COMPARATIVE APPROACH: DANCE AT THE FRENCH COURT IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Some perspective on the place and nature of dance at the Habsburg courts in the Low Countries and Austria may be gained through comparison with other courts. The importance of dance at the court of the young François I is revealed in the diplomatic dispatches of Statio Gadio, secretary of Federico Gonzaga, who spent the years 1515 to 1517 at the French court. Gadio mentions the performance of *moresche* and other costume dances regularly. For example. on 24 January 1516, at Marseilles, a group of female dancers dressed as wild folk appeared before the court, followed by others in costume who rode pantomime giraffes

35 Kelber, "'Mit den pangeten und mumereyen'", 66.
36 Further, see Chapter 1 in this volume, 62–69.
37 Cf. Kelber, "'Mit den pangeten und mumereyen'", 66.

and camels.[38] During a performance before the court at Arles on the evening of 2 February 1516, four men in disguise and two women in rich costumes and gold chains performed a dance while one of the men played the lute; after this, a boy performed a *moresca*.[39]

Dances and their associated music at the French court often expressed national identities, characters, and mores. Discussion amongst courtiers contrasted "French license and Italian modesty".[40] Such contrasts were probably reflected in styles of dance associated with various nations or in the playing of groups of musicians from particular places. On 24 February 1516, a group of pipers from Italy accompanied a dance in the chamber of the Queen of France.[41] On 6 and 25 July 1516, there was dancing in the Italian style in Italian costume, accompanied by pipers, perhaps the Italian ensemble mentioned in February.[42]

Dances performed before the French court sometimes had a political element. On 4 February 1516, a group of Jews "dressed in Moorish costume" danced before the king and queen at Avignon. They were followed by others, including two in Swiss and Spanish costume, who sang a piece of polyphony in praise of the king.[43] On 5 February 1516, the French court was entertained by a performance in which four *moresca* dancers were dressed as the Emperor and the Kings of Spain, England and France. A young woman disguised as Wisdom sat on the shoulders of another man, holding a golden ball in her hand. The four dancers vied to take hold of

38 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 288^{r}–289^{v}, at 288^{r}: "La sera uenero alcune donne di Marsilia <ad> far moresche nanti il Re, et Regina, in habito di persone habitatrici de boschi con homini saluadici al uestir lor/ esse donne, et homini hanno fatto diuerse fogie in strauestirsi hora che pareuano caualcar giraffi, hora camelli, et hora altri habiti, et tutti in fogia di moresche dicendo alcune parole in laude dil Re et Regina."

39 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 292^{r}–293^{v}, at 293^{r}: "Tertio giunsero quatro homini in maschara uestiti di ueluto cremisino et gialo con due donne molto belle et ben adobate de uestimenti et cadene doro et in testa berette di ueluto con gioei preciosissimi dentro, et fecero una dansa con uno leuto che uno de lor mascare sonaua, asetate le donne, uno putino uenne ad fare la morescha et la fece galantamente secondo la eta."

40 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 309^{r}–310^{v}, at 309^{v}, 25 February 1516: "Heri […] mattina […] molto è laudata temperando la licentia francese con la modestia italiana […]."

41 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 309^{r}–310^{v}, at 309^{v} (25 February 1516): "Sua Maesta uolse chel signor mio si facesse seco in mascara et molti altri di strauestorno chi con mascare chi con capucini et andorno alla camera de la Regina et Dansorno con li piffari uenuti de Italia."

42 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 360^{r}–361^{v}, at 360^{v}: "[…] finita la cena si comincio ad dansar alla Italiana ne altri che maschare, et le donne acconcie alla Italiana dansorno, et li piffari sonauano […]." Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 372^{r}–374^{v}, at 373^{r}: "Il Veneri a mezo giorno si danso in camera de la regina alla italiana con li piffari, et danso il Signor mio."

43 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 296^{r}–297^{v}, at 296^{v}: "La sera doppo cena gli Judei con alcuni Judei giouini uestiti alla moresca feceno una dansa nanti il Re, et Regina, poi uennero alcuni maschari uestiti di ueluto cramesino et raso gialo con alcune donne ben abiliate, et ornate, et fecero una dansa. Vltimo comparsero quatro con forbesi finti di legno in mani, loro in zupone, et dui altri luno finti per uno suizero laltro per uno spagnolo, et quelli quatro dissero alcune parole, poi ca<n>zorno il spagnolo et suizero, cantando in canto figurato una canzone in laude dil Re, qual era strauistito sulla festa, et Danso […]."

the golden ball, but Wisdom granted it to the King of France alone. At the end of this performance, the dancers presented the king with six golden balls like those on the Florentine—that is, the Medici—arms.[44] Likewise, on 26 July 1516 at Molins, five pairs of dancers, dressed in the manner of Spain, England, Germany, Italy, and France, danced in the fashion typical of those countries. After their performance, the dancers explained that they wanted to show that François had made the Empire, England, Spain, and Italy dance, "and then he danced".[45] Such performances thus clearly projected the king's position as protector of the Jews and his ambitions to master neighbouring nations, particularly the Swiss, Spain, England, Italy, and the Empire, and the currency of dance as a metaphor for political life.

Against the context of the dances and disguisings recorded by Gadio at the French court, those performed at Maximilian's court, while luxurious and bizarre, do not seem unusual. Rather, they reflect the fashion for creative court ceremonial observable at other major courts, which often represented various nations in what was perceived as typical costume. Furthermore, events such as the *moresca* of the Four Kings performed before the French court suggest that the titles of *basses danses* named for individuals such as the King of Spain may have been more than simply arbitrary, but might be associated closely with a real prince, or with his avatar in court performances. The presentation of other princes as symbolic characters in a drama driven by the authorial protagonist is also found in the *Weißkunig*: there Maximilian is represented by the "white" (or "wise") king, while the Blue King represents the King of France, the Green King the King of Hungary, and the King of Fish the Republic of Venice. It is significant that in both the *Weißkunig* and the

44 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 296^{r}–297^{v}, at 297^{r-v}: "Heri […] sera […] il Re, Madama et la Regina erano uenute in sala, si principio ad dansar, et allhora giunse una moresca de alcuni quali erano finti per il Re di Spagna, Re de Romani, Re di Angliterra, et Re di franza, et una giouine [297^{v}] assimilata alla sapientia era sopra le spalle duno, et teneua una balla doro in mani, quelli finti Re faceano la moresca, a torno alla sapientia, et ciascuno di loro porgeua la mani per tuor la balla, ma lei non la uolse dar se non al Re di franza/ Finito questo gioco, e moresca, presentorno al Re sei ballette doro masizo alla similitudine de balle fiorentine […]."

45 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 372^{r}–374^{v}, at 373^{r-v}: "[…] doppo cena si fece ancor una farsetta, et uno uestito alla spagnola con la sua donna uestita alla spagnola danso a quella fogia/ un altro uestito alanglese con la donna similmente uestita danso alanglese/ Il tertio uestito [373^{v}] alla Alemana, con la donna habiliata alla Alemana danso al modo accommodato al habito/ vno Italiano ancor fece il medemo con la sua donna/ vltimo in francese con la donna francese danso molto richamente uestiti tutti/ et dicono che hanno uolute figurar chel Re christianissimo ha fatto ballar Imperator, Angliterra, Spagna, et Italia, et lui ultimamente ha ballato."

masque performed before the French court in 1516, wisdom is presented as the exclusive preserve of Maximilian and the François I respectively.

INSTRUMENTAL FORCES ACCOMPANYING DANCES IN THE *FREYDAL*

The miniatures in the *Freydal* presents several combinations of instruments played during dances. Sometimes the instrumentalists stand in a gallery, sometimes on the floor with the dancers. Sometimes they are dressed in regular livery, sometimes in costumes and masks matching those involved in the masquerade. In a few illuminations, the musicians are not visible, though their presence can be inferred from the dancing. In one illumination (fol. 168), painted by an accomplished master, we see an intimate scene like that in a Netherlandish painting, in which the dignified stepping and chaste embraces of the dancers are accompanied by a single transverse flute and drum (▶ Fig. II.14).[46]

▶ p. 219

TABLE 1. Instruments and ensembles depicted in the illuminations from *Freydal*

INSTRUMENTS AND ENSEMBLES	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	NUMBER OF PLAYERS
transverse flute and drum	32	2
pipe-and-tabor	3	1
bladder pipe	2	1
three trumpets	1	3
two trumpets and shawm	1	3
two shawms and one bombard	1	3
trumpet and cornetto	1	2
transverse flute and trumpet	1	2
two bladder pipes	1	2
two transverse flutes	1	2
shawm and drum	1	2
pipe-and-tabor and bladder pipe	1	2
pipe-and-tabor and fiddle	1	2
fiddle	1	1
crumhorn	1	1
shawm	1	1

46 Krause (ed.), *Freydal: Medieval Games*, 304–5. On the painter ("Hand XVII"), see Pokorny, "Die Maler der Wiener Freydal-Miniaturen", 53, 58.

As Table 1 shows, the combinations most frequently depicted in the *Freydal* are transverse flute and drum, and pipe-and-tabor.[47] Such monophonic performances could have articulated the long notes of the tenors into smaller rhythmic units. Alternatively, they may have played more recognisably melodic dances such as the three non-tenor dances in Br9085: *La danse de cleves*, *La danse de Ravestain*, and *La franchoise nouvelle*. The *Freydal* also includes more unusual ensembles. In one miniature, a pipe-and-tabor and a fiddle play together (fol. 136). In other, a transverse flute is accompanied by a slide trumpet (fol. 255). Another miniature (fol. 96) seems to show two slide trumpets and a shawm, though the artist's attempt to rework the miniature has obscured the precise identity of the instruments.[48] Such combinations would have permitted the performance of polyphonic arrangements of *basse danse* tenors. When *alta* ensembles of shawms, slide trumpets, and trombones were engaged to play at court dances, they were sometimes drawn not from the ranks of the permanent court musicians, but from the city "waits" (pipers). Their involvement was a further means for reinforcing the links between court and city, a relationship that often involved a struggle for dominance.

One illumination from the *Freydal* (▶ Fig. II.15) shows a dance accompanied by trumpets. As we have seen already, Antoine de Lalaing mentions the use of trumpets and drums to accompany dances at the Hofburg in Innsbruck, while Martin Fucker mentioned a band of trumpets and drums more than forty strong accompanying dances at the imperial diet in 1505. Since the right to maintain a trumpet corps was a princely privilege, the presence of trumpets at a dance emphasized the noble status of the participants.[49]

▶ p. 220

Literary sources confirm the importance of the flute and drum (or pipe-and-tabor) in court dances. Several drummers are documented at the Burgundian court during the time of Maximilian, Philip the Fair and Margaret, and we may assume that leading the dance constituted an important part of their activity. In 1480 Maximilian employed the German drummers Antoine Pyper and Coppin Stain.[50] They were probably

47 My totals are slightly different from those of Gstrein, "Tanzmusik-Ensembles", 89.
48 Krause (ed.), *Freydal: Zu einem unvollendeten Gedächtniswerk*, 306–7 (Nr. 1964.8.1761); idem (ed.), *Freydal: Medieval Games*, 196–97.
49 Gstrein, "Tanzmusik-Ensembles", 88.
50 Lille, ADN, B 2121, 411^{r}; 2124 (1481), 191^{v}, 215^{v}, 223^{v}, 236^{v}; B 2127 (1482), 187^{v}, 193^{r}, 207^{v}.

involved in domestic music, since they are listed apart from the drummer attached to the trumpet corps, Bernard Taillandier.[51] Mary of Burgundy had three drummers of her own, who played for her after dinner.[52] From 1488, Maximilian's drummers were Antoine Pyper (or Foustere) and Jacquelin.[53] In 1497, Jean Portier is documented as drummer at the court of Philip the Fair.[54] Juana brought her own drummer from Spain, documented in her entourage in August 1497 as "Alonce de Chors, Espaignart".[55] By 1500 he had been replaced by a certain Charles de Lachy, called "Monseigneur".[56] In November 1500, Lachy's wife gave birth to a child; Philip had his master of revels ("seigneur de la Folye") act as the child's godfather, and gave the boy his own name, Philip.[57] Philip the Fair also employed a duet of two Germans, a flautist (Hans de Phiffre) and drummer (Joachim, Josse or Jonathan de Tromslagher), who travelled with him to Spain in 1501.[58] When Margaret of Austria went to Spain in 1496, her household included one instrumentalist, the drummer Colinet de la Hamedye.[59] As she returned to the court of Philip the Fair in 1499, she sent Colinet ahead to bring news of her imminent arrival, a task for which he received a gratuity of 36 livres.[60] On 9 June 1505, Margaret's drummer (perhaps Colinet, though he is unnamed in this account) performed before Philip the Fair and his court.[61]

It is likely that these drummers, such an important part of the provision of music at the Burgundian court, did not simply tap out rhythms. Rather, they regularly accompanied a flautist, or even played the one-hand tabor-pipe at the same time as beating the drum. The letters by Reuchlin summarised above mention the use of a drum and flute to accompany a *moresca*. In his *Naufrage de la pucelle*, which relates the misfortunes of Mary of Burgundy after the death of her father in 1477,

51 Lille, ADN, B 2127 (1482), 201^{v}, 232^{r}; B 2142 (1491), 8^{r} (back payments to 1483).
52 Lille, ADN, B 2124 (1481), 191^{v}; B 2127 (1482), 211^{v}, 226^{v}; B 4123 (1487), 108^{v}.
53 Lille, ADN, B 2136 (1488), 81^{r}; B 2151 (1495), 214^{v}.
54 Brussels, AGR, Audience 22bis, 12^{r}.
55 Lille, ADN, B 2159 (1497), 199^{r}. Alonso appears in the Burgundian accounts only here.
56 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 135^{r}; B 2186, N° 73335; B 2191 (1505), 282^{r}; Brussels, AGR, Audience 22, 205^{r}. In 1505 he was described as "tamburin du roy," and on 30 November 1505 Philip the Fair granted him the right to bear heraldic arms, with a silver drum as his device; Lille, ADN, B 2191 (1505), 306^{r}, 328^{r}.
57 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 147^{r}.
58 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 47^{r} ("Jonathan Dromslaghen tamburin almant"), 137^{v} ("Josse Dromeslagher et Hans Seiller tamburins"); B 3334 (Joachim and Hans), 9^{r}; B 2185 (1504), 171^{v} (Joachim and Hans), 175^{v} (Joachim and Hans).
59 Lille, ADN, B 2156, N° 70831.
60 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 151^{r}.
61 Lille, ADN, B 2191 (1505), 289^{v}.

Jean Molinet describes how the young duchess was tossed on the waves of misfortune and deprived of the normal pleasures of the court, "and instead of dances to the drum, was cast upon the sea to the sound of the wind".[62] In his *Debate between a soldier and a lover* (*Debat du gendarme et de l'amoureux*), Molinet has the *homme armé* declare:

> Mon flaïollet ne vault plus riens
> Et mon bedon ne voeult plus tendre;
> Au pot et au hanap me tiens,
> A grand peine je me soustiens
> Sus mes pattes, pour moy estendre;
> Le basse danse doulce et tendre
> Est hors de mon commandement.[63]
>
> My tabor-pipe has been rendered useless, and my drum no longer wishes to be light; I keep to my mug and my tankard; I keep myself up with great difficulty on my feet when I want to stretch out; the sweet and tender *basse danse* is beyond my will.

INSTRUMENTAL FORCES AT THE BURGUNDIAN COURT IN 1500

The images in the *Freydal* depict several instruments and instrumental combinations that correspond closely to the instrumentalists documented in the financial records of the Burgundian court. The records of payments to instrumentalists at the Burgundian court for the year 1500—which, as we shall argue below, was likely the year in which Br9085 came into Margaret's possession—provide an impression of the forces potentially available for dance music.

In 1500, the Burgundian Habsburg court maintained a trumpet corps of six trumpeters and one drummer.[64] Several other instrumentalists were on the regular payroll of the court. The names of many indicate that they came from the Low Countries or Germany. At this time, the

62 Molinet, *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Dupire, vol. 1, 86: "La plus des plus desconfortee, tres doulce fleur de jeunesse, fille et espouse de roy, souef nourrie en chambre roialle, accompaigniee de dames et damoiselles, branllant seullette en la mer, nagant entre undes et roches cruelles, au lieu de danses au tambourin navioit au son du vent marin […]."

63 Molinet, *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Dupire, vol. 2, 620.

64 Brussels, AGR, Audience 22, 122^{v}.

outstanding cornetto-player and lutenist Augustin Schubinger of Augsburg, normally employed by Maximilian, was on temporary loan to Philip the Fair, who paid him a generous annual salary of 270 livres.[65] None of the other instrumentalists were paid a salary remotely comparable to his. Guillaume Terro, Philip's bagpipe player, received 82 livres a year; the German drummer Jonathan de Dromslagher 55 livres; the German flautist Jean Chiellier 55 livres; and Mathieu de Wildere, player of lute and viol, 52 livres. In 1500, Henry Bredemers took up the office of Philip's court organist following the death of Fleurquin de la Grange. Although his duties were principally in the chapel, he was probably involved in providing secular entertainment and perhaps also music lessons. In November 1495, Gouvart Nepotis, one of his predecessors as court organist, received 20 livres for various services, including instructing Margaret of Austria on several instruments.[66] Written descriptions sometimes mention the participation of singers in court dances and entertainments. These might be drawn from the court chapel, or might be one of the ladies attached to the court.[67]

OCCASIONAL PAYMENTS TO MUSICIANS BY THE BURGUNDIAN COURT IN 1500

Besides the regular salaries of the musical establishment at the court, occasional payments were made for one-off appearances before the court, or gifts to help cover living expenses. Other payments were made to local musicians who performed before the court while it was on progress. Many of these payments could have involved the provision of dance music, though the documents—accounting records rather than descriptions of the musical specifics of the performance rewarded—do not often provide us with the kinds of details we would like to know. Payments to local instrumentalists or singers who provided music for the

65 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 41r. On 22 October 1500, Schubinger received a further 30 livres as a gift; B 2169, 156r.

66 Lille, ADN, B 2151 (1495), 228r: "A maistre gouuart nepotis organiste de la chappelle dommesticque de mondit seigneur/ la somme de vint liures dudit pris Pour don que mondit seigneur lui en a aussi fait de grace especial pour vne fois/ En consideracion des bons et aggreables seruices quil lui auoit fais/ et faisoit encoires journellement en plusieurs & diuerses manieres/. mesmement pour et en recompense/ des peines et labeurs quil auoit a apprendre ma dame marguerite daustrice/ de plusieurs jnstrumens de musicque./ et pour jcelle emploier en achat dune fourure/ afin quil feust de tant plus honnestement en point en son seruice." See also Eichberger in this volume, 127.

67 In some years, though not in 1500, payments were made to female singers who performed before the court on its travels.

mass before the duke may provide evidence that the court did not always travel with the full chapel or a large group of players.

On 1 January 1500, several musicians received New Year's gifts, either for appearing at court to pay their respects on that day, or for faithful service through the year: the trumpeters and minstrels of the city of Ghent; Philip's trumpeters; a Swiss drummer; Charles "Monseigneur", Juana's drummer; Michelet, the drummer of Anne of Burgundy.[68] In March, the drummers Joachim de Dromeslagher and Hans Seiler received a gift of 12 livres to help them meet their living expenses.[69] On 1 April, a lutenist of the Duke of Milan received 7 livres 10 sols for playing at dinner before Philip.[70] In April, the bagpiper Guillaume Terro received a gratuity to help him cover living expenses in Ghent, and to accompany Philip to Artois.[71] Some unnamed musicians played before Philip at dinner on 21 May.[72] On 25 May, the city waits of Béthune played before the court.[73] On 2 June, the musicians of Saint-Omer performed for Philip; on 8 June it was the minstrels of Dunkirk; on 9 June the "porters" of Gravelines and some trumpeters and players of Henry VIII of England; on 11 June the city waits of Nieuwpoort; on 12 June the singers of Ostende, who sang at mass before Philip; on 15 June, the city minstrels of Aalst; on 24 June some instrumentalists of Henry VIII. Later in June, some German flautists performed before the court. On 24 August, the court was feted by the trumpets of the Marquis of Baden. On 27 August, it was the minstrels of Dordrecht, the next day those of Delft. On 20 September, the court was entertained by the city musicians of Bergen op Zoom.[74] In November, an Italian tightrope walker entertained the court at Brussels, including Archduchess Juana and Margaret of Austria, by performing a *moresca* on a rope and other amazing tricks.[75] On 1 December, the court once again thrilled to the sound of the trumpeters of the Marquis of Baden.[76] In this one year of 1500, there were thus many opportunities when dances might have been performed at the Burgundian court, accompanied

68 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 135^{r}.
69 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 137^{v}.
70 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 137^{v}.
71 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 138^{v}.
72 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 139^{v}.
73 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 139^{v}.
74 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 140^{r}–145^{r}.
75 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 147^{v}, 191^{r}.
76 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 148^{v}.

either by Philip the Fair's salaried musicians or by local musicians who performed for the court as it travelled through the Duke's territories, and received of the court's largess for their trouble.

THE ORIGINS OF BR9085

Having reviewed the evidence for the importance of dance at the Habsburg courts in the Low Countries, Austria and France in the decades around 1500, for the contexts in which dances were held, for the variety of dances current at court, and for the instrumental forces that could have been involved in dancing at court, it is time to return to Br9085. The circumstances surrounding the creation of this manuscript are unclear. No payment for the production of this manuscript has yet been found in the financial records of the Burgundian court. However, the manuscript contains several pieces of evidence that reveal moments in its history. Firstly, the book bears an ownership inscription referring to Margaret of Austria; this has led to the widespread assumption that the book was written for her. However, some evidence suggests otherwise. On the front paste-down are three inscriptions (▶ Fig. II.16).[77] ▶ p. 221 According to Marguerite Debae (1995), the two lines of the ownership inscription are written in Margaret's hand, which she characterised as clumsy. These two lines state that the book belonged to the Princess of Spain ("Se liures est a laprincese despaigne").[78] At some stage someone tried to erase or alter the word "despaigne", probably after Margaret married Philibert of Savoy. However, multispectral imaging confirmed that "despaigne" was the original reading. A further comment is added below: "and the robe [belongs] to my lady of Ravenstein" ("et la robe amadamme de rauestain").[79] Although at first sight this line appears to be in a different hand from that immediately above, comparison with Margaret's autograph ownership mark on the rear flyleaf of KBR, Ms. 9503–04 (▶ Fig. II.17) is instructive. ▶ p. 221 That inscription contains several features that also appear in the inscriptions in Br9085, including the "de"

77 The hands of the inscriptions do not match those of Françoise of Luxembourg (Paris, BnF, Ms. français 15538, 102ᶠ) or Philip of Cleves (Paris, BnF, Ms. français 2812, 4ᶠ); on these letters, see De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 65, 330.

78 Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 459.

79 Closson, *Le manuscrit dit des basses danses*, 1, misread this as "Se livre est a laprincesse de Saingne et la robe amadame de ravestein," and provided no interpretation of its possible meanings; cf. Heartz, "The Basse Dance", 317–18.

digraph, which confirm that both lines of the ownership inscription in Br9085 were written by the same hand, that of Margaret. A third hand, roughly contemporary with the others, evidently that of one of Margaret's librarians or keepers of jewels, added a note to the front pastedown of Br9085, giving the location of the book in her library: the second place in the trelliswork cabinet ("du trailly de fer le ij^{e}"). (See the chapter by Eichberger on the arrangement of Margaret's library).[80] The fourth inscription ("23 feuilles") evidently dates from around the time of the rebinding in the nineteenth century, and suggests that one of the folios was already missing by this time. (Since such books were made from bifolia, one would expect an even number of leaves, unless a single leaf were removed or bound in.) The only other visible ownership mark is the printed bookplate of Mary of Hungary on the front flyleaf, designed in a mannerist Antwerp style. After Margaret's death in 1530, Charles V gave most of her books to Mary.[81] However, by that stage, the dances in the manuscript were slowly going out of fashion, and the book probably remained more a beautiful heirloom than an object of practical use.

These inscriptions provide several suggestive clues to the early history of the manuscript. Margaret received the title "Princess of Spain" on 5 November 1495, when she married Juan of Spain at Mechelen (by proxy). Margaret travelled to Spain to meet her husband in late January 1497, and married Juan formally at Burgos on 3 April 1497. Juan died on 4 October the same year, and Margaret returned to the Low Countries in late 1499. Margaret exchanged this title for that of Duchess of Savoy when she married Philibert of Savoy on 26 September 1501. The inscription in the book was therefore made between 1495 and 1501.[82]

As already mentioned, the second inscription records that the book's protective covering ("la robe") belonged to "madamme de Ravestain". This "robe" was presumably a cover of precious cloth intended to protect the textile binding, a so-called "chemise-binding," such as we see covering a book of hours held by Mary of Burgundy in an illumination in her own book of hours (▶ Fig. II.18). Another miniature from the same ▶ p. 222

80 An analogous marking in the same hand is found on the front endpaper of KBR, Ms. 11239, item N° 19 in the trelliswork cabinet ("du trailly de fer le xix^{e}"); thanks to Ann Kelders for drawing this inscription to my attention.

81 Lemaire, "Les Basses Danses de Marguerite d'Autriche", 13–14; Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof*, 179–81.

82 Lemaire, "Les Basses Danses de Marguerite d'Autriche", 15; Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 4.

manuscript (▶ Fig. II.19) shows another book of hours with a chemise binding of black velvet (or perhaps silk), large enough to serve as a bookmark when the book was laid aside. In both of these examples, the chemise appears to be attached to the binding, or is at least made from the same textile as was used to cover the boards. One of the few surviving examples of chemise bindings, made of red velvet with decorative tassels on the corners, and held to the boards by the nails of the clasps, envelops a book of hours now held by the Royal Library of the Netherlands (▶ Fig. II.20). The fact that this rather more modest chemise is not as capacious as the examples illustrated in the hours of Mary of Burgundy may explain why it has survived intact.[83]

▶ p. 223
▶ p. 223

Valuable textiles—such as those used to cover books—were sometimes recovered from older objects. For example, in 1511, Maximilian I assigned some damask robes from the wardrobe of his late second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza, to be reworked into mass vestments for the chapel in the castle of Wiener Neustadt.[84] In 1525, Margaret of Austria had two black velvet cushions that had begun to show some wear ("deux coussins de velours noir bien usez") to be refashioned into covers for some small books in her library ("a la couverture d'aucuns petis livres, estans en la librairie").[85] Such measures were not simply thrifty; they also created a personal, tangible connection between an individual, represented by cloth that had once been in intimate contact with their body, and festive occasions (such as the celebration of the mass) or luxurious objects (such as a book destined for personal use). It is even possible that the "robe" that accompanied the *basse danse* manuscript was made from a textile object previously owned by the lady of Ravenstein. The personal associations of such an item could explain why Margaret thought to list the "robe" separately.[86]

83 Bollen, "De laat-middeleeuwse buidelband", 109–12. Alternatively, but less likely, the "robe" could have been an example of a so-called "girdle book", in which the leather (or more rarely, the cloth) of the binding on the bottom edge of the book was extended to form a kind of attached tail terminating in a knot that allowed the book to be attached to the user's belt for ready reference. Such bindings are most often found on breviaries and other books that were consulted constantly. However, the fact that the "robe" of Br9085 was evidently detachable from the book suggests a chemise binding rather than a girdle book, and one that was sufficiently precious to warrant recording as a separate item.

84 Vienna, HHStA, RK Maximiliana 23-4-54, 73^{r-v}. Further on this tradition, see Madou, "Marie et l'héritage de Bourgogne", 99.

85 Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, xvii–xviii.

86 I am indebted to Ann Kelders for this point, and for her help more generally with the question of the binding and the "robe" of this manuscript.

Jackman (1964) suggested that the "madamme de Ravestain" who owned the manuscript's "robe" was Anne of Burgundy, wife of Adolphe of Cleves.[87] However, Anne was known after the death of her husband Adolphe of Cleves in 1492 as the dowager lady of Ravenstein.[88] Between 1492 and 1521, the ruling "madamme de Ravestain" was Françoise of Luxembourg, wife of Philip of Cleves.

Several details in Br9085 point towards Françoise of Luxembourg and Philip of Cleves as the commissioners of the book. Firstly, the manuscript contains three dances not included by Toulouze or any other extant source: *La danse de Ravestain* (№ 30), *La danse de cleves* (№ 57), and *La franchoise nouvelle* (№ 58). These three dances were not added later, but are an integral part of the plan of the manuscript, written by the same scribe as the other pieces. Although *La danse de cleves* and *La franchoise nouvelle* appear at the end of the reconstructed order of pieces, *La danse de Ravestain* appears between two other long-note tenor dances. All three are written in a musical style similar to each other, but different from that of the other dances in the manuscript. These three dances are notated in white mensural notation, in note values smaller than those of the other dances (semibrevis, minima, and semiminima rather than breve and longa).[89] *La danse de cleves* and *La franchoise nouvelle* contain a new dance step, the *double demarchant*, which distinguishes them from the other dances in the manuscript.[90]

Daniel Heartz (1958) suggested a possible connection between these dances and Philip of Cleves and Françoise of Luxembourg, though he did not draw out the full implications of this insight.[91] The presence in the manuscript of these three dances, evidently written for Françoise of Luxembourg and Philip of Cleves, or named after them, seems to provide

87 Jackman, *Fifteenth-Century Basse Dances*, ii; followed by Lemaire, "Les Basses Danses de Marguerite d'Autriche", 15; Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 6; Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 459; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 292–93.

88 See for example Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 135ʳ.

89 *La danse de cleves* is furthermore the only dance in the book with a marked accidental (a flat at the beginning of the second system). While not decisive evidence, this could provide some evidence that it came from a source with notational priorities different from those of the archetype shared by Br9085 and Toulouze.

90 *La danse de Ravestain* appears to be incomplete. Between the fourth and fifth lines from the bottom of the staff is a custos, almost entirely concealed by strip of paper added during the nineteenth-century restoration, but the dance does not continue on the next page. It seems therefore that the leaf containing the rest of this dance has been lost. See also the commentary by Bregman and Gilbert, 301.

91 Closson, *Le manuscrit dit des basses danses*, 45, suggested that the *Danse de cleves* was named after Philip of Cleves, but did not draw any further conclusions from this observation. Heartz, "The Basse Dance", 317–18, noted that Philip of Cleves was married to Françoise of Luxembourg, and pointed out the connection to the inscription in the book.

circumstantial evidence that they commissioned the book, or were its original owners. If so, they could have had the scribe add "their" dances to the stock transmitted in the archetype. If Françoise of Luxembourg or Philip of Cleves then gave the book to Margaret, this would explain the otherwise puzzling detail that the book's protective and decorative "robe" belonged to the "lady of Ravenstein". As the book of hours in The Hague shows, chemise bindings might be held in place by the nails that attached the clasps to the boards. Alternatively, they could have slipped loosely around the book to protect a delicate textile binding, to be removed easily if required. This could explain why such bindings are so rare; indeed, the chemise binding in The Hague may have survived precisely because it was attached firmly to a valuable book. The 1523–24 inventory of Margaret's library makes no mention of any "robe" stored on or with this manuscript, which suggests that it may have been already returned to the lady of Ravenstein. Indeed, the fact that the entry in the catalogue corresponds so closely to the wording of the label attached to the front board of the binding suggests that the label was no longer covered by any "robe" by the time the inventory was made, and was clearly visible to the cataloguer. It is unclear why Françoise wanted the "robe" back. Perhaps it was particularly valuable; perhaps it had sentimental value. We can only guess.

The financial records of the Burgundian treasury document a specific occasion at which the book might have been presented to Margaret. The accounts record a payment of 6 livres to the drummer of the lady of Ravenstein for performing "certain new songs and dances before my lord [Philip the Fair] and my lady the archduchess [Juana] his spouse for their pleasure" on the evening of 18 February 1500.[92] Margaret was in the Low Countries at this time, and may have been present at this performance. Soon afterwards, Françoise left the Low Countries to join her husband in Genoa, arriving in May 1500.[93] The appearance of Françoise's drummer before the court represents an ideal moment at which Françoise could have given Br9085 to Margaret, perhaps under the condition that she would reclaim the "robe" when she returned from

92 Lille, ADN, B 2169 (1500), 136v: "A vng tamburin de la dame de Rauestain la somme de six liures didit pris Pour don que mondit seigneur lui en a fait de grace especiale pour vne fois quant le xviije jour dudit mois de feurier il joua vne soir certaines nouuelles chansons et danses deuant mondit seigneur et ma dame larchiduchesse sa compagne pour leur plaisance."

93 d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, ed. de Maulde la Clavière, vol. 2, 78; De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 291.

Genoa. The absence of *La danse de cleves*, *La danse de Ravestain*, and *La franchoise nouvelle* from Toulouze suggests that they were not present in the archetype, and thus could plausibly have been described as "new dances" in 1500.

A further aspect of the manuscript that has not received much attention is its practical purpose. The same question hangs over many surviving musical sources from this time, especially those prepared at great expense: was a particular source intended for practical use, or was it a beautiful object meant primarily for display? None of the images from the *Freydal* depict an individual consulting a book during the dance. This suggests that those who used such a book memorised the steps in private, perhaps under the instruction of a dancing master. Again, none of the illuminations in *Freydal* depict the musicians reading from notation, so it is unlikely that this manuscript was intended to be used by players in performance. Rather, the evidence suggests that it was used for private study and memorisation of the dances, that is, for a ruminative, recursive style of reading similar to that recommended in the middle ages for engagement with devotional texts, and implicit in the copying of many medieval song manuscripts.[94] Indeed, dancing masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries unanimously emphasized the importance of memory as one of the fundamental skills of a dancer.[95]

THE CAREERS AND COLLECTIONS OF FRANÇOISE OF LUXEMBOURG AND PHILIP OF CLEVES

The inscriptions in Br9085 attest to the relationship between Margaret, Françoise, lady of Ravenstein, and, by implication, Françoise's husband, Philip of Cleves. Having presented the hypothesis that Françoise presented this book to Margaret, perhaps in February 1500, I would like to explore the nature of their friendship, which was evidently close, but which was placed under considerable strain by the tensions between Philip of Cleves and Margaret's father Maximilian. I propose that Françoise's imminent departure for Genoa to join her husband, who was serving as viceroy for Louis XII of France, Maximilian's sworn enemy, may have motivated Françoise to present Margaret with the *basse danse* manuscript.

94 Mertens, "Visualizing Performance?".

95 McGinnis, "Moving in High Circles", 80–82. The presence of a dancing master is documented in the household of Mary of Hungary at Innsbruck in 1518; Innsbruck, TLA, Cod. 2470/II (olim Maximiliana IVa, Nr. 149), 66^{v}.

The Dukes of Cleves had long been major players at the Burgundian court, and several had married members of the Valois dynasty, to which the Kings of France and the Dukes of Burgundy (until Maximilian) belonged.[96] The marriage of Adolphe of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein (1425–92) and Infanta Beatrice of Coimbra (1435–62) was brokered by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and his wife Isabel of Portugal, Beatrice's aunt. Of the two children of Adolphe and Beatrice, only Philip of Cleves (1459–1528) reached adulthood. In 1470, following Beatrice's death, Adolphe married his cousin, the widowed Anne of Burgundy, an illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good. When Charles the Bold set off for war in 1475, he appointed Adolphe as his governor general. After Charles's death in 1477, his daughter Mary of Burgundy confirmed Adolphe's position. Adolphe joined the resistance against Maximilian, and between 1483 and 1485 he was a member of the first Flemish regency council. However, after 1485 he had a change of heart, and encouraged the Flemish estates to reconcile with Maximilian.

Mary of Burgundy had known Adolphe's son Philip since childhood. After the death of Charles the Bold, Mary appointed Philip of Cleves as a commander in her army to resist the French push into the Burgundian Low Countries. After Mary of Burgundy married Maximilian of Austria in 1477, Philip of Cleves was entrusted with further military and administrative commands, and fought several times alongside Maximilian. Both Adolphe and Philip of Cleves participated in Maximilian's Joyful Entrance to Mechelen on 9 January 1478. Philip's closeness to Mary and Maximilian was reflected in his presence at several important moments in the family: the baptism of Philip the Fair on 22 June 1478; the baptism of Margaret in January 1480, where he acted as one of her godparents; and the funeral of Mary of Burgundy at Bruges on 3 April 1482.[97] Two miniatures in *Freydal* depict Maximilian and Philip of Cleves in hand-to-hand combat and as jousting partners (fols. 27, 85). In 1486, when Maximilian travelled to Frankfurt and Aachen for his election and coronation as King of the Romans, he left the Burgundian government in the hands of Philip of Cleves, Engelbert of Nassau and Jean Carondelet,

96 Biographical data on Philip of Cleves are taken from De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, unless otherwise stated; see also Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 287–309.

97 Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Oratio, in funere Diuę Margaritae Austriacorum*, B3^{r-v}; De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 42, 44.

the chancellor. In late 1487, Maximilian brokered Philip's marriage to Françoise of Luxembourg († 1523), daughter of Pierre II of Luxembourg and Marguerite of Savoy. Maximilian's intention was evidently to draw Luxembourg under his control by binding the daughter of his late enemy, Pierre II of Luxembourg, to one of his most loyal servants, and giving this servant significant new land holdings and access to the network of the French crown through the house of Savoy.[98]

However, Mary's death and the rebellion of the Flemish cities against Maximilian proved a tipping point in this relationship. In February 1488, the citizens of Bruges took Maximilian prisoner. Philip of Cleves offered to take Maximilian's place as a hostage, on the understanding that Maximilian would then recognise the rights and privileges of the Flemish cities. But once free, Maximilian reneged on this promise. Philip, outraged by Maximilian's perfidy, vowed henceforth to defend the rights of the cities. He also sided increasingly with Charles VIII of France, who named Philip governor general of Flanders on 19 October 1491.[99] Philip's revolt against Maximilian lasted until October 1492, when he was forced to surrender. Maximilian accepted Philip's apology, and he was partially rehabilitated at court. Even if Maximilian vetoed the entry of Philip of Cleves into the Order of the Golden Fleece, Philip the Fair supported him in several ways. Françoise of Luxembourg attended Margaret of Austria for some of her time in France, and returned with her to Mechelen after Charles VIII repudiated her in favour of Anne of Brittany in 1493.[100] Philip of Cleves made a public declaration of his restored allegiance to the Dukes of Burgundy by taking part in the procession that led Margaret from her palace in Mechelen to St Peter's church in Mechelen for her marriage to Juan of Spain on 5 November 1496.[101] Despite these signs of reconciliation, Maximilian continued to curb Cleves's power at the court of his son. Nevertheless, Philip and Françoise maintained a profile at

98 De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 88, wrote that the couple married in 1485, but Haemers, "Philippe de Clèves et la Flandre", 42–43, argued compellingly that they were married in late 1487.

99 Haemers, "Philippe de Clèves et la Flandre", 71.

100 de La Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, vol. 3, 260: "Toutesfois les François veans que ce leur estoit plus de honte que d'honneur de tenir ceste noble princesse, la rendirent à monseigneur de Nassau; et la fit le Roy honnorablement accompaigner, et la ramener à son frere, qui la receut de bonne affection et voulenté. Et luy alla l'archiduc et la noblesse au devant bien une lieue; et descendirent tous deux à terre pour eulx bien viengner; et faisoit l'archiduc à sa seur tout tel et aussi grant honneur que s'elle eust esté Royne de France; et ainsi fut amenée à Malines et receue à grant joye, et l'accompaignoit madame de Ravestain, fille du conte Loys [*recte* Pierre] de Sainct Pol et d'une fille de Savoye [*sc.* Marguerite de Savoie]." Cf. De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 277.

101 Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Doutrepont and Jodogne, vol. 5, 54; De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 279.

court. They were amongst the party, led by Margaret of Austria, that greeted Juana of Spain upon her arrival in the Low Countries.[102] Philip of Cleves participated in a joust held as part of the celebrations at the wedding of Juana and Philip the Fair. Philip of Cleves was supposed to accompany Margaret to Spain and lead the Burgundian delegation during its return to the Low Countries, though the travelling party was later restricted for financial reasons to those who were to stay in Spain with Margaret. Soon afterwards, Philip was sent as Burgundian delegate to the consecration of his cousin Louis XII at Reims, and entered Paris in Louis's entourage. The accession of his cousin to the French throne placed Philip of Cleves in a position of some influence, and Louis ensured his loyalty by offering him a pension in addition to what he received from Philip the Fair. In July 1499, when Philip the Fair came to Arras to offer his fealty to Louis in his capacity as Count of Flanders, Artois and Charolais, three territories enfeoffed to the French crown, Philip of Cleves was present in the French party that welcomed his arrival.[103] From 1499 until 1506, Philip of Cleves acted as Louis's governor in Genoa, and even led a failed expedition against the Turks. Yet even while Philip of Cleves and Françoise were in Genoa, Philip the Fair maintained their relationship, and continued to pay Françoise the pension "which she most humbly requested of us" ("dont elle nous a treshumblement fait requérir").[104]

After his return from Genoa in 1506, Philip of Cleves would again play some role in Burgundian politics. At first Maximilian tried to prevent Philip and Françoise from returning to his territories, but Margaret defused the situation so skilfully that by 1509, Maximilian granted Philip the castle of Grobbendonck. Margaret continued to maintain good relations with Philip and Françoise, and visited them at their castles at Wynendale and Enghien.[105]

Margaret, Françoise and Philip of Cleves were joined by their love of valuable books. The library of Philip and Françoise, probably housed in the castle of Enghien, united newer books with items inherited from Adolphe of Cleves, and Louis and Pierre II of Luxembourg, Françoise's

102 De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 281.
103 Cauchies, "Philippe de Clèves en son temps", 17–18.
104 Lille, ADN, B 2170, N° 72004, cit. De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 291.
105 De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 332–34.

grandfather and father.[106] Many luxurious books from the collection of Philip and Françoise have survived; several were bound in velvet or satin, just like the dance manuscript.[107]

The inventory of Margaret's library, drawn up in 1523–24, lists at least one book that came from the library of Françoise of Luxembourg, the *Temple de Boccace* of Georges Chastellain (now Brussels, KBR, Ms. 10485), which she kept in her study.[108] The inventory described it as "a book on parchment, written by hand, covered in cloth of gold and silver, with the arms of Burgundy and of the lady of Ravenstein, containing several moral exhortations in the style of Giovanni Boccaccio" ("un livre en parchemin, escript a la main, couvert de drapt dor et dargent aux armes de Bourgogne et de Madame de Ravestain, de plusieurs remonstrances selon le stille de Jehan Bocace").[109] The description of this book attests to the taste for extravagant textile bindings amongst the Burgundian aristocracy.

There is further evidence of manuscripts passing between these two powerful women. Sometime before 1522, Margaret requested that Françoise return a manuscript "made by her own hand, mentioning her misfortunes, because my lady wishes to finish it" ("fait de sa main, faisant mencion de ses infortunes, pour ce que Madite dame desire le parfaire").[110] Other members of the family also shared books with Margaret and her brother. Anne of Burgundy, the dowager lady of Ravenstein, who belonged to Margaret's household between 1493 and 1497, gave her

106 Olivier, "Philippe de Clèves", 151; Korteweg, "La bibliothèque de Philippe de Clèves", 186–87. See also Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 302–3.

107 On the collections of Philip of Cleves and Françoise of Luxembourg, see Smeyers and Van der Stock (eds.), *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts*, 35 (Maurits Smeyers), 136–37 (Bernard Bousmanne); Korteweg, *Splendour, Gravity & Emotion*, 11, 83 (Cat. 35, Figs. 62–63), 90–91 (Cat. 39, Figs. 70–71), 92–95 (v. 40, Figs. 73–73), 102–3 (v. 43, Figs. 78–79), 106–7 (Cat. 45, Figs. 82–83), 108–9 (Cat. 46, Figs. 84–85), 120–22 (Cat. 51, Figs. 94–95), 208–10; Korteweg, "La bibliothèque de Philippe de Clèves"; Van Hoorebeeck, "Les bibliothèques"; Wijsman, "Politique et bibliophilie"; Goosens, "Enghien, 1505–1523". On the textile coverings of the books in Philip's library and their colours, see Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 298.

108 See Eichberger in this volume, 128.

109 Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 501–4, N° 372, identified this as KBR, Ms. II 5646, suggested that the book came from Anne of Burgundy; however, Korteweg, "La bibliothèque de Philippe de Clèves", 193, demonstrated that it came from the collection of Françoise of Luxembourg and Philip of Cleves. See also Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 292.

110 Lille, ADN, B 18927, N° 35970, Marguerite to "Madame de Veuge", undated notes in the hand of Barangier († 1522), cit. Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie*, 175; Heartz, "The Basse Dance", 317 (after Bruchet). Bruchet suggested that the manuscript was *Discours sur la vie et les infortunes de l'archiduchesse* (KBR, Ms. 10926, now INC B 1770), but this is a single printed sheet. Alternatively, he suggested that the manuscript in question was Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 2584, though this book was clearly copied by a professional scribe and illuminator, and bears no traces of revision. But even if Margaret did not share ÖNB Cod. 2584 with Françoise, she could have sent her a draft of this same work. On this manuscript, which was included in the 1523–24 inventory of Margaret's library, see Strelka (ed.), *Gedichte Margarethe's von Österreich*; and Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, 487–89. Thanks to Ann Kelders and Dagmar Eichberger for their assistance and advice with these questions.

a paper manuscript of Martin le Franc's *Champion des dames* of (now Brussels, KBR, Ms. 9281).[111] In around 1497, Philip of Cleves borrowed eight books from the Burgundian ducal collection—but neglected to return them.[112] Such attested examples of the exchange of books between the Habsburgs and the Cleves-Luxembourgs place the hypothesised gift of the *basse danse* manuscript into a broader context.

PHILIP OF CLEVES AND FRANÇOISE OF LUXEMBOURG AS PATRONS OF MUSIC

Further evidence to support the possibility that Br9085 was first owned by Philip or Françoise may be found in their love of music. Philip of Cleves was an active patron of music throughout his life. Of course this was not unusual; what is conspicuous is the fact that his patronage of music intersected at several points with the life of the Habsburg court. On 1 January 1487, two drummers in his service played for Maximilian's pleasure, and received 60 sols as a reward; Maximilian also gave Philip's old drummer another 20 sols.[113] In October 1490, during his rebellion against Maximilian, Philip summoned the famous composer and singer Jacob Obrecht, former master of the choirboys at St Donatian in Bruges, to perform for him at Sluis, along with four musical companions ("una cum quatuor sociis de musica").[114] On 27 January 1499, the drummers of Philip of Cleves played before Philip the Fair during dinner, and received a reward of 54 sols.[115] In January 1504, Gillet, the drummer of the lady of Ravenstein, received payment for entertaining Philip the Fair when Françoise was visiting Brussels.[116] In September 1504, Philip of Cleves visited the court at 's-Hertogenbosch. On 13 September, his trumpets and those of the city played before Philip the Fair at dinner. The next evening, two drummers in the service of Philip of Cleves, and one in the service of the lady of Hornes, played before the court during dinner.[117] On 7 June 1505, Philip

111 Korteweg, "La bibliothèque de Philippe de Clèves", 190; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 292.
112 Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 301.
113 Lille, ADN, B 2135, N° 69495: "Et premierement aux deux tamburins de messire Phelippe de Rauestein qui ont le premier jour de lan joue deuant mondit seigneur lx s. Item au viel tamburin de monseigneur de Rauestein pour le semblable ledit jour xx s."
114 De Schrevel, *Histoire du Séminaire de Bruges*, 51–52; Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 39–40; Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 158–59.
115 Lille, ADN, B 2165, 194^{r}: "[…] et aux tamburins du duc de cleues liiij s./ quant ledit xxvij^{e} jour dudit mois de januier jlz jouerent tous deuant mondit seigneur a son disner pour sa plaisance."
116 Lille, ADN, B 2185, 149^{v}.
117 Lille, ADN, B 2185, 160^{v}.

of Cleves's minstrels played before the Burgundian court.[118] In 1527, Philip of Cleves sent his singers to Mechelen to sing polyphony for Margaret of Austria.[119] Having his musicians perform in the presence of the ducal court was a way for Philip to advertise his taste and magnificence.

Philip of Cleves also experienced the latest trends in music and dance beyond the Burgundian court. On 28 September 1516, he attended a feast at Amboise, seated at table with François I and the Grand Bailli of Hainault. As they ate, they were entertained by players of violins, flutes, viols, drums and cornetti, and finally by a band of pipers. After dinner a dance was held. Fifteen of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, dressed in the Italian fashion, danced in the Italian style to the sound of the pipers, while François, Federico Gonzaga and several other men danced in masks.[120]

Such evidence can of course not prove that Br9085 was a gift to Margaret of Austria from Françoise of Luxembourg or her husband. However, such cumulative evidence shows that it is certainly quite plausible that the book could have been an affectionate gift between fellow lovers of music and books, the three new dances serving as reminders of the lord and lady of Ravenstein while they were stationed at Genoa, and the "robe" serving as a further reminder of the intimacy between Margaret and Françoise during their separation.[121]

CONCLUSION

Margaret kept her precious *basse danse* book under lock and key in the latticework cabinet in her library. Dagmar Eichberger shows in Chapter 3 below that this was where Margaret kept books with particular

118 Lille, ADN, B 2191, 289^{v}.

119 Lille, ADN, B 2339: "20 carolus aux chantres de M. de Ravestain qui sont venus plusieurs fois de Bruxelles à Malines chanter de chose faicte devant Madame." Digest in Desplanque et al. (eds.), *Inventaire sommaire*, vol. 8, 3; cf. De Fouw, *Philips van Kleef*, 16.

120 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 633, fasc. V, 407^{r}–410^{v}, at 410^{r}: "La sera il Christianissimo tenne seco alla tauola sua/ monsignor di rauastin et monsignor il Gran Baili di Eno honorandoli assai: et mentre stettero à tauola, si sono di uiolini, di fiuti, di uiole, di tamburini, di cornetti, et ultimo de piffari. Dopo cena si fece una festa nella sala grande oue <er>ano la Regina et Madama con tutte le lor damigelle, tra quale erano quindeci uestite alla italiana, et solo quelle dansorno alla italiana con li piffari, ne altri se non mascharati, et il signor mio si mascharo in compagnia dil Re, et ballo molti balli, con gran piacer."

121 It is true that Br9085 does not bear the signs of ownership seen in some of the books of Philip of Cleves, such as his signature, his heraldic arms, his motto ("A james") or his emblems (a winnow, violets, a crowned "Q"); see Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 296. However, such marks, if ever present, might have been present on the leaf that it now missing from the book, may be covered by the ex libris of Mary of Hungary, or may have been present on the missing folio 24. In any case, if the book was owned by Françoise, it perhaps never contained the typical marks of Philip's ownership. In either case, such considerations must remain speculative in the lack of further evidence.

significance to her, especially those she received as gifts, inherited from her mother, or acquired as a result of her marriages to Juan of Castile and Philibert of Savoy. In this secure cabinet she also kept such precious items as the so-called *Petit Album* (KBR, Ms. 11239), which may have been a wedding gift from her beloved late husband Philibert.

The Brussels manuscript preserves a body of *basse danse* tenors from a lost source whose existence can be inferred from the transmission of very similar content in Toulouze's *Sensuit lart et instruction de bien dancer*. The three dances not included by Toulouze, which were presumably absent from the lost archetype, can all be plausibly related to Philip of Cleves and Françoise of Luxembourg, who could have had these dances specially included in the manuscript. If the manuscript was a gift from Françoise of Luxembourg to Margaret, perhaps made on the occasion when her drummer entertained the Burgundian court with "certain new chansons and dances" on 18 February 1500, this exchange could represent an attempt to assure Margaret and Philip the Fair that she and her husband would remain friendly to the Burgundian Habsburgs, even as Philip of Cleves served as French governor in Genoa.

If the manuscript was originally commissioned or owned by Françoise of Luxembourg and Philip of Cleves, this would undermine the claims of those who have sought to connect the black vellum of the manuscript with the famously sombre tone of Margaret's court after the death of Philibert of Savoy.[122] However, this colour would be perfectly consistent with the luxurious Burgundian taste of Philip of Cleves, who had nearly half of his books bound in precious black cloth.

This book then, whose contents lay bare the international courtly milieu of the *basse danse*, and which chronicle the development of its choreography and music, can be interpreted convincingly as an attempt by an ambitious aristocratic couple to retain the favour of the Habsburg dynasty through the ritual of gift-giving, even as they participated in the unpredictable dance of international political alliances.

122 For example Gavenda, "The Brussels *basses danses* manuscript", 68, who however acknowledges the possibility that the collection was not originally made for Margaret; Lemaire, "Les Basses Danses de Marguerite d'Autriche", 18; Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 10.