

REVIEWS

RICHARD FREEDMAN, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France*. Eastman Studies in Music. Rochester, NY, University of Rochester Press. 2000. xxiv + 259 pp.

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JEANICE BROOKS, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France*. Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press. 2000. xvi + 560 pp. DOI:10.1017/S026112790222207X

Two recent books have filled in many of the gaps in musicologists' understanding of French song and its place in sixteenth-century society. Although they deal with different repertoires, both Jeanice Brooks's *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* and Richard Freedman's *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* address similar issues: what these songs meant to the people who sang them, what they signified to French society as a whole, and how our understanding of them is enhanced by a close examination of the cultures in which they flourished. The books also offer complementary views of the artistic creations of other prominent figures in the late Renaissance. Brooks's book provides detailed information that tells the reader more about the career of Lasso, for example, while Freedman's treatment of Protestant contrafacta gives a more complete picture of the reception of the poetry of Pierre de Ronsard, a pivotal figure in Brooks's monograph. Both works are the fruits of extensive research and provide transcriptions of primary sources, some of which were heretofore unavailable. They examine styles of music that have received relatively little musicological attention, either because they were considered corruptions of greater works (the Lasso contrafacta), or because they were less complex stylistically than a better known

genre (the *air de cour* as opposed to the polyphonic chanson repertoire). Both books have earned a spot on the shelves of those interested in music and society in the sixteenth century.

The reader who picks up a copy of Richard Freedman's book might easily be misled about its contents, for the title on the book jacket differs from that found on the title page of the book itself, and suggests a different sort of study than what Freedman presents. Freedman's monograph is not intended to be a comprehensive study of *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*, as the title appears on the jacket, but rather *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners*. This is an important distinction, since Freedman's book deals primarily with the alterations Protestant editors made to Lasso's chansons in order to render them appropriate for pious music lovers to enjoy without risk of exposure to profane or lascivious texts. Freedman begins with an exploration of the importance of the book in Calvinist thought. Many printers in French-speaking areas were Protestant, and the printed word (or Word) was important in Huguenot communities as a way to bring souls to Christ. Calvin subscribed to the Neoplatonic view of music as reflecting the harmony of a smoothly functioning society, and while he limited its use within the liturgy to settings of the Psalms, he approved of music-making in the home as a sign of spiritual harmony.¹ Following Calvin, Protestant printers harnessed what he described as music's 'secret and almost incredible power to move our hearts in one way or another'.²

Lasso in particular was known for his fine music, much of which in the eyes of Protestant publishers was unfortunately soiled with evil texts. In the opening chapter, Freedman introduces several printers who managed to marry Calvin's acceptance of domestic music-making with Lasso's splendid music by producing editions of his chansons that were purged of all sensual or otherwise un-Christian lyrics. These publishers included Thomas Vautrollier of London (*Recueil du mélange d'Orlande*, 1570), Pierre Haultin's firm in La Rochelle that published contrafacta with texts by Jean

¹ On Calvin and music in the Reformed church, see A. Dunning, 'Jean Calvin (Cauvin)', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn [hereafter *New Grove II*] (London, 2001).

² J. Calvin, preface to T. de Bèze and C. Marot, *Pseaumes octantetrois de David mis en rime françoise* (Geneva, 1551), cited in Freedman, p. 9. Translation in O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. L. Treitler (London and New York, 1998), p. 366.

Pasquier (*Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*, 1575) and Simon Goulart of Geneva (*Thrésor de musique d'Orlande*, 1576). The collections, which combined original Lasso chansons with contrafacted versions, were popular enough to prompt multiple editions. Freedman lists these works in his table of abbreviations that appears immediately before chapter 1, but I would have appreciated a more clear and detailed discussion of the prints, their contents and how they related to each other, perhaps with a diagram. Freedman does provide a list of the prints' contents in his seventh chapter, in which he discusses tonal types and modal organisation of the collections. A complete list, including such things as the authors of the original texts and publication information for both Lasso's original works and the contrafacta, would have been helpful.

Freedman makes an interesting and important point in his first chapter, comparing the making of Protestant contrafacta to the Calvinist's claiming of Catholic spaces. He cites Catharine Randall's recent work on how Calvinists transformed traditional Catholic sites like churches to serve a new religious aesthetic.³ In addition, Reformed literature of the time emphasised interior spaces that were loci of prayer and contemplation. Freedman likens the hearing or performing of the Reformed chanson texts to the creation of such an internal space, allowing the soul a special place outside of daily life where it could meet the divine. He writes, 'Like the grottos, caves, and contained spaces that figure in the Calvinist view of buildings and cities, these songs make room for the expression of attitudes central to Huguenot piety. But we can also view the books of *contrafacta* themselves as "containers" that make room for the articulation of spiritual frames of mind.' Freedman could perhaps have made more of the similarities between Calvinists' appropriation of Catholic spaces and their revision of profane songs. Moreover, it is not entirely clear whether Lasso's own Catholicism was something the editors of his chansons wished to revise as well; I shall return to this issue below.

In his second chapter, 'The Chansons and their Listeners', Freedman begins to explore the processes by which chanson texts were made more fitting for Protestant ears. Most interesting here are his comments on the extent of editorial changes in the texts,

³ C. Randall, *Building Codes: The Aesthetics of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 1999).

which varied even within single collections. Some lyrics appeared without change from the Parisian prints that were the models for the *contrafacta* collections, usually because their content was morally unobjectionable. In other cases, such as that of Lasso's setting of Clément Marot's 'Monsieur l'Abbé', the anticlericalism of the model text was acceptable to a community that was quite willing to see a Roman Catholic abbot as a drunkard. But Freedman cautions the reader against viewing the Lasso *contrafacta* as 'purified' chansons, noting that different editors had different ideas about what made a song text appropriate or inappropriate. Furthermore, rather than simply slapping together a new text, some, like Simon Goulart, took great pains to write revised lyrics that preserved the grace and beauty of Lasso's original marriage of music and text. He did this by retaining formal structure, including syntactic divisions and enjambments, and by carefully considering the musical motifs Lasso paired with phrases of text in order to find new words most fitting for the melodies.

Freedman's third to sixth chapters focus on the process of *contrafaction* as seen in individual songs. He centres each of these chapters on a particular category of song, those dealing with ideas of courtly love (chapter 3), those based on the poetry of Marot (chapter 4), songs dealing with personal contemplations of the divine (chapter 5), and those utilising the poetry of the most prominent of the Pléiade figures, Pierre de Ronsard (chapter 6). By providing scores, original texts with English translations and *contrafacta* texts with translations for each work discussed, Freedman makes his points about the relationship between Lasso's music and the various texts easy to comprehend.⁴ One might occasionally disagree with certain details of interpretation, but on the whole, Freedman's analyses of Lasso's songs and the *contrafacta* texts are insightful, and they make apparent his deep and intimate knowledge of the body of Lasso's chansons. One quibble I have with the book is that the layout of the discussions of music can be confusing. Freedman is careful to include the texts of the songs under consideration in the body of his text, also providing very helpful English translations. The song texts, however, are

⁴ Very few examples lack scores. These are generally chansons for which Freedman only wished to make a point about the textual changes, such as in Lasso's *Quand mon mari*, discussed on pp. 63–4.

generally not integrated with the prose, and might have been more clearly set as tables accompanying Freedman's text.

Having written a book, all authors find themselves dealing with the reviewer's complaint that 'it's not the book I would have written', and even reviewers with the best of intentions often cannot help but wish for a little more treatment of their own interests. In his review of *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners*, for example, Peter Bergquist called for Freedman to put his extensive knowledge to work on a study of the chansons in their original forms.⁵ I would echo that request, since a full study of the Lasso chansons is a lacuna in the literature on this towering figure. For my own part, however, I should like to read more of Freedman's views on the social and cultural contexts in which the contrafacta appear. The sixteenth century was a time of great turmoil in France, especially after the murder of seventy-four Protestants attending a sermon near Vassy opened the first of several Wars of Religion.⁶ The St Bartholomew's Day massacre of 23–4 August 1572 resulted in the deaths of 4,000 Huguenots. Afterwards, political theorists began writing treatises defending the right to resist leaders who committed crimes against the people, making Henri III's inheritance of the French crown in 1574 a more unstable event than it would have been under more peaceful conditions. Indeed, Henri III would be murdered in 1589. These political events certainly would have had a profound effect on a Calvinist publisher in the 1570s and 1580s.

Freedman addresses these issues obliquely. For example, he speaks of the city of La Rochelle, whence the Haultin press hailed, as a 'Protestant stronghold' (p. 1) and as 'besieged' (p. 181), but does not explain why. From the late 1550s on, Geneva-trained ministers preached the Reformed faith in La Rochelle, and Calvinist works were published there in the 1560s.⁷ A Reformed church was organised in 1557; the following year, the newly established consistory enforced church discipline. More significantly, iconoclastic

⁵ P. Bergquist, review of R. Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners*, forthcoming in *MLA Notes*. I am grateful to Professor Bergquist for sharing his review with me before its publication.

⁶ A concise account of the state of France in the sixteenth century appears in E. Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 372–6.

⁷ See J. P. Meyer, 'La Rochelle', in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1996).

riots raged there in May 1562, and the city increasingly became a symbol of Protestant resistance to royal authority. The king's forces besieged the city from December 1572 to June 1573, but the peace treaty was highly favourable to the Protestant residents. La Rochelle remained a sore point with the monarchy until it fell to a year-long siege orchestrated by Cardinal Richelieu in 1628.

Pasquier refers to this situation in his preface to the 1575 *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*, a statement to which Freedman draws attention on page 5 of his text: 'Madame, After retiring to this place, in order to save myself from the miseries and calamities of this most difficult and dangerous age, for fear that I not be found wasted or useless in the church of God, I decided to make music my calling . . .'.⁸ Freedman does not elaborate on what made the times so 'difficult'. The very real physical dangers faced by the French Calvinists paralleled the spiritual dangers inherent in the worldly chansons. The first editions of each collection (Vautrollier's, Pasquier's and Goulart's) all appeared in the tumultuous 1570s; certainly this was a factor in their publication. A little more historical background would have made the position of an editor like Pasquier even more clear, and might have added to Freedman's already excellent analyses of the songs.

Likewise, I hoped for more detail in Freedman's chapter 4, in which he addresses a number of chanson settings of poems by Marot. In this instance he could have delved a bit more deeply into Marot's biography, which makes him a particularly interesting subject for a study of contrafacta. A prominent courtier under François I, Marot was famed for his elegant, witty poetry. His chanson texts are clever, suggestive, irreverent and even bawdy; witness the lyrics of the seductive and instructive 'Fleur de quinze ans':

Fleur de quinze ans si Dieu vous sauve et gard'
 J'ay en amour trouvé cinq poins exprès:
 Premierement il y a le regard,
 Puis le devis et le baiser après,
 L'atouchement suit le baiser de pres,

⁸ 'Madame, Apres m'estre retiré en ce lieu, pour me sauver des miseris et calamitez de ce tems tres difficile et dangereux, de peur que ne fusse trouvé oysif et inutile en L'eglise de Dieu, Je me deliberay y faire profession de la Musique . . .'. J. Pasquier, dedication to *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus contenant plusieurs chansons, à quatre parties desquelles la lettre profane a este changée en spirituelle* (La Rochelle, 1575), cited in Freedman, pp. 5 and 190.

Et tous ceux le tendent au dernier point
Qui est—qui est?—Je ne le diray point,
Mais s'il vois plait en ma chambre vous rendre,
Je me mettray volontiers en pourpoint
Voire tout nud pour le vous faire apprendre.⁹

Reformation scholars know Marot better as the French translator and versifier of the Psalter. As Freedman notes, he lived for at time at the court of Renée de France, spouse of Duke Ercole II d'Este in Ferrara. Renée's Protestant associates and her views were a source of stress in her marriage, to say the least, and the presence of another Calvinist like Marot must have been a consolation to her.¹⁰ Marot's personal service to the Reformed faith included his rhymed, metrical translations of thirty Psalms, published in Antwerp in 1541.¹¹ A far cry from his earlier poetry, these texts provided the Reformed church with appropriate musical material for worship, following Calvin's own dictates that only the Psalms be sung in the sacred service. The following year he took up residence in Geneva as a religious refugee, and translated additional psalms that were published with a preface by Calvin himself. Marot's 'lively person', as historian Owen Chadwick described it, was however 'not well suited to Geneva', and he left the city in 1543. Exiled in Turin, he died a year later.

Freedman comments that 'Marot's poem, with its explicit air of seduction, apparently offended a fair number of sixteenth-century readers and listeners, Calvinist and Catholic alike'. While it seems clear what it was about Marot's text that cried out for 'reformation', one must be careful not to suggest that it was beyond the pale of polite discourse in the sixteenth century. As we shall discover below, Jeanice Brooks describes many examples of eroticism in lyrics intended for the most elegant of courts, though of course these were more political than religious institutions. Still, late

⁹ 'Flower of fifteen (may God preserve and keep you) I have found in love these five main points: First comes the glance. It is followed by talk and then by the kiss. Kissing yields to caressing without delay. And all the above brings us to the last point, which is—which is—I won't say exactly. But if you'd like to come to my chamber I'll be more than happy in my doublet or even better in the nude to teach you.' Translation by Freedman, p. 62.

¹⁰ On Renée de France and her husband's efforts to use music to force her to conform to Catholic practice, see G. Nugent, 'Anti-Protestant Music for Sixteenth-Century Ferrara', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), pp. 228–91.

¹¹ See F. Dobbins, 'Clément Marot', in *New Grove II*. Marot also published thirteen psalm translations anonymously in Strasbourg in 1539.

medieval and early modern cultures did not shy away from discussions of sexuality, and I was curious about the evidence that this work was indeed seen as offensive. Marot's own personal history makes one wonder whether Pasquier, Vautrollier and Goulart saw his poetry as particularly appropriate for revision. He had himself turned from being a courtier, a part of an institution that was criticised in the sixteenth century for its licence and debauchery, to a follower of Calvin who devoted his manifold talents to the facilitation of the praise of God through music. What better tribute to his efforts than to 'rescue' his earlier sensual poems from the eroticism in which they wallowed?

And then we come to Lasso. The religious and political turmoil of late sixteenth-century France leads me to wonder what role, if any, Lasso's Catholicism played in his reception in Europe. While there is little evidence that Lasso was a zealous Catholic, he certainly spent most of his life at a court that practised some of the most visible Catholicism around, that of the Wittelsbach family in Bavaria.¹² Le Roy & Ballard prints from the 1570s prominently identify Lasso as a composer at the Bavarian court in Munich, and the 1571 Parisian print *Moduli quinis vocibus nunquam hactenus editi* is dedicated to Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria.¹³ Did this affect how his French Huguenot audiences perceived his music? The popularity of these collections seems to show that his music transcended these confessional barriers, especially since, as Freedman hypothesises (p. 176), those who bought the contrafacta prints were in many cases already owners of the Le Roy & Ballard collections that contained the chansons in their original forms. But I wonder if any of the appeal of the contrafacta prints came from a satisfaction at correcting the wayward texts chosen by a Catholic. The prefaces, which Freedman provides with translations in his appendix A, sug-

¹² On the Wittelsbachs and their prominence as militantly Catholic rulers, see P. M. Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993).

¹³ The full title page reads: 'Superius. Moduli quinis vocibus nunquam hactenus editi Monachii Boioariae composite, Orlando Lasso Auctore. Lutetiae Parisiorum. Apud Adrianum le Roy, & Robertum Ballard, Regis Typographos. sub signo montis Parnassi. 1571. Cum privilegio Regis ad dece[n]nium.' *Moduli quinis vocibus nunquam hactenus editi (Paris 1571)*, ed. P. Bergquist (Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets, 8; Madison, Wis., 1999), plate 1. The dedicatory preface appears in plate 2, and is transcribed and translated on p. 3.

gest in a few cases that this might be so. Pasquier dedicated his 1575 collection to Catherine de Partenay, known for her family's protection of the Huguenot cause, writing:

Among all the musicians of our century Orlande de Lassus appears (and has good right) to deserve good standing, for the excellence and admirable sweetness of his music. Seeing this nevertheless employed in chansons so profane, so salacious and impudent that chaste and Christian ears must recoil in horror, I thought that I might do my Christian duty by purging these very graceful and pleasant chords of such evils and filth with which they have been soiled.¹⁴

If 'Christian ears' recoil in horror, then what of Lasso's ears? Simon Goulart used similar wording in his 'volume of the chansons of Orlande de Lassus, so altered that one may sing them or play them upon instruments without soiling the tongues or offending Christian ears'.¹⁵ Goulart goes on to address those who might complain about changing the text ('inasmuch that Orlande designed it according to the words'), but he is satisfied that any who might disapprove of his contrafacta already have hearts soiled with 'filth and lewdness'. Did Goulart include Lasso himself among those who might disapprove of the new versions? Finally, Goulart called for Lasso to create new chansons with content acceptable to pious people: 'It would be good to wish that Orlande use his graces, which the Holy Spirit has adorned in him above all, to recall and magnify the one from whom they derive, as he has done in several Motets and Latin Psalms. I deeply wish that these chansons might provoke the urge in him, so that we have a chaste French Music.'¹⁶ While other congregations like the Evangelical (or Lutheran) church retained the use of Latin, one wonders whether 'Motets

¹⁴ 'Et pource qu'entre tous les Musiciens de notre siecle, Orlande de lassus semble (et a bon droit) devoir tenir quelque bon lieu, pour l'exellence et admirable douceur de sa Musique: Voyant icelle neantmoins employee à des chansons si profanes, si sales, et impudiques, que les oreilles chastes et chrestiennes en ont horreur: J'ay pensé que je ferois devoir de Chrestien, si repurgeant ces tresgracieux et plaisans accords de tant de villenies et ordures, dont ilz estoient tous souillez . . .'. Pasquier, preface to *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* (1575), cited in Freedman, pp. 190–1.

¹⁵ 'asavoir, Les chansons d'Orlande de Lassus, tellement changées, qu'on les peust chanter de la voix et sur les Instruments, sans souiller les langues ni offenser les oreilles Chrestiennes'. S. Goulart, preface to *Thrésor de musique d'Orlande contenant ses chansons à quatre, cinq et six parties* ([Geneva], 1576), cited in Freedman, pp. 193, 194–5.

¹⁶ 'Il seroit bien à desirer qu'Orlande emploiait ces graces dont le S. Esprit l'a orné par dessus tous, à reconoistre et magnifier celui de qui il les tient, comme il l'a fait en quelques Motets et Pseaumes Latins: et je desire grandement que ces chansons lui en puissent donner la volonte: à fin que nous aions une chaste Musique Française.' Goulart, preface to *Thrésor de musique d'Orlande*, cited in Freedman, pp. 194, 195.

and Latin Psalms' suggested Catholicism to the late sixteenth-century reader. Goulart did not wish to keep his *contrafacta* from Lasso's eyes; rather, he hoped that in seeing them, Lasso might literally be *inspired* to create songs appropriate for Reformed use through the workings of the Holy Spirit.

One of the interesting side questions Freedman raises is that of Lasso's reaction to the *contrafaction* of his chansons. As he rightly comments, the impetus behind the Protestant rewordings of Lasso's work was the same as that which prompted Lasso to revise motets and chansons into the splendid imitation masses and Magnificats.¹⁷ The recognition of something of value in another piece of music, even in a profane chanson, spurred many a composer to create a new and sometimes better version of the original work. While Lasso's techniques for producing words *ad imitationem* were much more sophisticated than those used by Goulart, Pasquier and Vautrollier, both types of music made use of the ideas of imitation, emulation and competition; both attempted to refine sacred gold from a secular or profane ore. Would Lasso have known of the *contrafacta*, and would he have recognised the likeness to his imitation works at their core?

I would be interested in reading Freedman's views on Lasso's reception of the *contrafacta* collections. In his final chapter, he discusses the legal implications of music publishing as they related specifically to Lasso in the late sixteenth century. In 1571, Charles IX granted Lasso a royal privilege for the printing of his own music, allowing him to control who printed his works and under what terms.¹⁸ While such privileges were not unusual for authors by the end of the century, Lasso was one of the first musicians to receive the rights to control the distribution of his own work. As a rule, he continued to publish with the Parisian firm of Le Roy & Ballard; Adrian Le Roy was a personal friend of Lasso, as well as the royal printer. What might Lasso have thought about the *contrafacta* prints? Freedman writes, 'there is good reason to think that he would have objected to these publications as an infringement upon his right of intellectual property alone' (p. xvi). Well, did he? A surprising amount of Lasso's correspondence survives,

¹⁷ Freedman, p. xv; on the imitation Magnificats see D. Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, 1994).

¹⁸ Freedman discusses the privilege on pp. 177–80.

reproduced in Horst Leuchtman's thorough *Orlando di Lasso: Briefe*, but he makes no mention of the contrafacted chansons.¹⁹ Given the other actions he took with respect to the publication of his works, however, we might speculate on his views.

As Freedman points out, two of the three printers most involved in the publication of the contrafacta volumes were active in London and Geneva, beyond the reach of the French royal privilege and even the Imperial printing privilege that followed in 1581. While the La Rochelle firm of Haultin lay in French territory, it was also a besieged Huguenot stronghold that 'could hardly have cared at all whether they violated royal copyright or not' (p. 181). In other words, if he even knew of the contrafacta's existence, Lasso would have had little legal recourse if he wished to stop the publication of the volumes. But it is not clear that he would have wanted to. While it is true that Lasso was once entangled in a lawsuit over the rights to print his music, he was not the plaintiff and did not seek to limit publication of his works. In 1582, the Munich printer Adam Berg filed suit against Katharina Gerlach, a Nuremberg printer who had recently published a collection of Lasso motets, some of which were culled from volumes previously issued by Berg.²⁰ Though Berg and Lasso had a close working relationship comparable to that Lasso enjoyed with Le Roy, the composer rallied to the side of Gerlach, writing a letter on her behalf to the judges on the Nuremberg town council.²¹ It is important to note that Lasso did not stop publishing with Berg after this incident; he did not choose Gerlach *or* Berg as a printer, but rather Gerlach *and* Berg, resulting in a wider web of distribution. Lasso was probably not dissatisfied with the quality of the original Munich publications, since the motets in question had in many instances been published under his direct supervision. Gerlach, too, had a long-standing business relationship with Lasso that dated back to the 1560s, when her press belonged to her first husband Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber.²² I suggest that in the Berg v. Gerlach

¹⁹ H. Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Briefe* (Wiesbaden, 1977).

²⁰ On the Gerlach case, see my introduction to *Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum (Munich, 1582)* (Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets, 12; Madison, Wis., 2001), pp. xi–xiii.

²¹ H. Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 195–6.

²² On the history of Gerlach's firm, see *Motets for Four to Eight Voices from Selectissimae cantiones (Nuremberg, 1568)*, ed. P. Bergquist (Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets, 6; Madison, 1997), pp. xii–xiv. Note that it was Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber who

case, the composer was more interested in seeing his work distributed widely than he was concerned with defending his intellectual property. If this is the case, then Lasso may not have minded the contrafacta editions, which would have made his music acceptable to an even wider audience. Lasso was an astute businessman, one who would have recognised the opportunity to increase his fame. His own works *ad imitationem* display a willingness to see a musical creation as something flexible that can be altered in certain circumstances. Perhaps the reason we hear so little complaint about the contrafacta volumes from Lasso, or on his behalf from Le Roy & Ballard, is that he had no quarrel with those who changed the texts of his chansons in order to promote their further distribution. In Goulart's contrafacta publications, for example, the editor strove to retain as much as possible of the original poetry, using the same words whenever he could and even making efforts to preserve the original rhyme scheme.²³ It seems plausible that Lasso might not have minded the contrafacta, and might have seen them as a tribute to his skill and fame that only spread the latter farther across Europe, into the Calvinist homes where his typical Munich, Nuremberg or Parisian prints might not reach. It is impossible to say whether Lasso would have approved, but I should have liked to see Freedman tackle this issue in greater depth.

Of particular interest is Freedman's chapter 7, 'Lasso's Chansons in Printed Sets', in which he analyses the modal organisation of the contrafacta collections. Lasso and his publishers frequently arranged collections according to the tonal type of the composition, that is to say, according to presence or absence of a flat in the system, the set of clefs and the lowest pitch of the final sonority of the piece.²⁴ Freedman is especially concerned with the collections in which editors rearranged the order in which the chansons appeared in the model prints by Le Roy & Ballard, such

published Lasso's 1562 motet collection *Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum*, not Adam Berg of Munich, as Freedman states on p. 147.

²³ See, for example, Freedman's comparison of Goulart's text with Marot's for 'Qui dort ici?', pp. 72–3.

²⁴ On tonal types, see S. Hermelink, *Dispositiones modorum: Die Tonarten in der Musik Palestrinas und seiner Zeitgenossen* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 4; Tützing, 1960), and H. M. Brown, 'Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 428–70.

as Goulart's later editions of *Le Trésor de musique d'Orlande*. In these (published in 1582 and 1594), Goulart superimposed his own organisation by tonal type in such a way as to represent the eight modes. He also managed to fit all Lasso's chansons into the modal system, including some anomalous ones that Le Roy & Ballard had left outside the organisational system they used (p. 164). Freedman's statement that the modal organisation, 'for Goulart, assumed a significance nearly as important as the chansons it framed' might be an exaggeration, but he makes a good argument for this point. Such an organisational system, encompassing all the chansons and not just those that fit tidily into a typical pattern of modal representation (for example, a flat system, high clefs and a G final indicating transposed mode 1), would have fit well with the dominant Neoplatonic philosophies of the power of music: every chanson had its ordained place in the musical order. But although editors like Goulart or Pasquier found places for the anomalous works, it is important to note that Lasso and the editors with which he worked the most closely intentionally left them outside the modal system; thus Freedman's statement (p. 149) that 'the modal identity of an individual chanson can change depending on the context in which it appears' is inaccurate.²⁵ The chanson, and its modal identity, remained the same; what differed was the editors' interpretations of it.

Freedman's book is a valuable study of music and religious culture in the sixteenth century. I should have liked more emphasis on how the song fitted into Reformed society, but his efforts to show that the contrafacta are valuable compositions in their own right are very important to Lasso studies. Freedman's book was interesting and enjoyable to read. I should mention that I was surprised at the number of typographical errors that slipped past the editors, all very minor but that nevertheless detract from an otherwise fine book. While there is little point in listing the mistakes, I found seven without really looking for them. Particularly when a book contains a section of transcriptions (such as Freedman's appendix A, with the prefaces to the contrafacta collections), an error-free text is important to give the reader confidence in the transcribed texts that would otherwise be unavailable. Freedman's

²⁵ I thank Peter Bergquist for drawing this comment to my attention.

knowledge of the secondary Lasso literature is superb, and his thoughtful analyses of the contrafacted chansons demonstrate a clear understanding of how Lasso used the music to express the text, and how others used Lasso's music to their own ends.

Jeanice Brooks's new book also addresses a repertoire little studied in its own right, that of the *air de cour*. General music textbooks on the Renaissance hardly mention its existence, preferring to concentrate on the polyphonic chanson as created by composers like Lasso or on *musique mesurée*, and even suggesting that the *air de cour* did not exist until the seventeenth century.²⁶ Brooks pulls the *air* from oblivion and places it at the centre of courtly society.

Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France is, as the title indicates, more concerned with the function of music within the peripatetic royal courts of the grandfather François I, the son Henri II, his spouse Catherine de Médicis, and their children François II, Charles IX and Henri III. In the first major section of her book, comprising chapters 1 to 3, Brooks provides an introduction to the Valois courts in the sixteenth century, followed by a discussion of professional and amateur music-making at those courts. The second section includes three chapters that could stand alone as individual studies, one of the role of women and their voice in the *air de cour*, one on Italian influences and echoes in the song repertoire, and one on the meaning of pastoral tropes in the courtly song. The book has already earned special praise from the Sixteenth-Century Studies Conference, which awarded it the 2001 Roland Bainton Prize for Art and Music History. The book itself is lovely to behold, with an attractive font and appealing 'illuminated' initials beginning each chapter. I prefer footnotes to endnotes, so Brooks's method of documentation was convenient. The decision to place all musical examples at the end of the chapter thus seems a bit paradoxical, as it results in the same sort of flipping around that one avoids with footnotes.

²⁶ Allan W. Atlas discusses the polyphonic chanson in detail and devotes two paragraphs (and one anthology example) to *musique mesurée* in *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York, 1998), p. 624. In her revision of Howard Mayer Brown's *Music in the Renaissance* (2nd edn; Upper Saddle River, NJ, 1999), Louise Stein mentions that the influence of Jean de Baïf's Académie de poésie et de musique 'extended even to the strophic *airs de cour* of the early seventeenth century' (p. 335).

Brooks begins by orienting the reader to the French court of the sixteenth century, and what precisely was meant by an ‘air de cour’ and by ‘court’. Those less familiar with this institution tend to imagine a fixed location, such as the Louvre palace in Paris, where courtiers visited to manage their affairs and press for benefits from the king or queen. The image of Louis XIV’s late seventeenth-century court springs immediately to mind, but Brooks describes a court that was more a way of living than a specific place. The French royal court of the last Valois was peripatetic, making short visits to different chateaux and even travelling away from Paris and the Loire valley for years at a time (p. 3). Thus ‘court’ was defined not so much by its location, but by the activities that took place around the persons of the royal family and their entourage. Brooks provides a through introduction to the courts of François II, Charles IX, Henri III and Catherine de Médicis, the mother of three kings and a mighty figure in her own right. She describes the personal households such as the *hôtel du roi*, a group that included both nobles and servants and grew to almost 4,000 people in the 1580s, and provides helpful comparisons between the sizes of the French courts under different rulers. As France moved towards absolutism in the late sixteenth century, maintaining a presence at the court – wherever it may have been – became increasingly important for nobles, and the court continued to swell. This growth, along with changing philosophies about royalty and government, eventually lead to the type of court we more typically imagine, that of Louis XIV and the palace of Versailles.

Those seeking the favour or patronage of the royal family distinguished themselves in various manners, among them music. As Brooks comments, ‘The Florentine Catherine de Médicis was well aware of the importance of the arts as a political tool. Her understanding of magnificence as an element of governance was expressed in an often-cited letter to her son Charles IX, advising him to ensure that his courtiers were continually occupied with *divertissements*’ (p. 10). Just as the increasing size and importance of the Valois court led directly to the institution under Louis XIV, Catherine’s views about music and the arts as techniques of rule seem to foreshadow the political uses to which the Sun King put music and dance. For him, the courtly diversions of Versailles were a method to keep French nobles so occupied with learning the

latest elegant dance steps that they were unable to spend time in less agreeable pursuits such as plotting against the monarchy.²⁷ Music, then, was more than a simple pastime: it both shaped and reflected courtly society.

As expected, Brooks also spends part of her opening chapter discussing the genre of the *air de cour*. Although the term itself appeared only rarely before the 1590s, similar light works had circulated earlier as *voix de ville*, ‘city voices’ as opposed to ‘court airs’. The pieces in question differ from the more often studied polyphonic chansons in a number of ways: they are strophic settings of secular French texts, with a prominent melody in the highest voice, and with lower voices that serve primarily as accompaniment. Standard bass patterns, many drawn from Italian vernacular song such as the *romanesca* or *passamezzo*, were common. The term *air de cour* emphasised the many connections this song repertoire had with the French court, including their publication by the royal printer, Le Roy & Ballard, the number of composers with close ties to the court and the popularity among them of texts by Pléiade poets, especially Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay, Jean de Baïf and Philippe Desportes.

Brooks was faced with a challenge in defining what, exactly, was courtly about these songs. Were they necessarily pieces performed at court, or in a certain style, or were they ‘courtly’ in that their poetry was that of court-sponsored poets like the Pléiades? Although Brooks does define a style for the *air*, she points out that the same song could exist in several versions. The first use of the term *air de cour* was in a 1571 print by Le Roy & Ballard, the title of which describes the *airs* as being ‘set to the lute’.²⁸ Other prints present polyphonic versions of the same *airs*, but frequently there are variations between different settings of the same *air*, slight

²⁷ While Catherine saw music as a reflection of a harmonious society, under Louis XIV Neoplatonic imagery served more to emphasise the social order that supported an absolutist monarch. Cardinal Richelieu began to reshape Neoplatonic ideas of music to these ends under Louis XIII, and they were further developed by Jules Mazarin under Louis XIV. It was Mazarin who first had the idea to guard nobles (including the young Louis XIV) from mischief by keeping them busy with music and dancing. See M. Allain’s entry for ‘Jules Mazarin’ and W. H. Cobb’s entry for ‘Cardinal Richelieu’ in *Research Guide to European Historical Biography: 1450–Present*, ed. James A. Moncure (Washington, DC, 1992); further information from personal correspondence with Professor Georgia Cowart, 21 January 2002.

²⁸ A. Le Roy, *Livre d’airs de cour miz sur le luth* (Paris, 1571).

differences that suggest these, too, are arrangements (p. 30). Brooks suggests that the format of the music was less important than the cultural context of the *air*, and she spends the rest of the book examining the role the *airs de cour* played in defining the court itself and the relationships between noble members of the court, the royal family and paid musicians.

Brooks's second chapter explores the positions of musicians within the royal household and at court, and while she focuses primarily on professional musicians, she also pays close attention to the role of music in advancing the careers of nobles. The patronage system here extends to include the intricate relationships between people of varying social levels and the bonds of loyalty and protection, of service and payment that existed between them. Brooks expands the definition of patronage provided by Sharon Kettering to include musicians within the royal household.²⁹ Musical talent became 'a commodity growing in value and . . . musicians involved in song performance and publishing were increasingly able to profit from the court's opportunities' (p. 74). Thus not only did musicians gain benefits from their abilities, but noble courtiers found that a knack for singing airs allowed them to attract the attention of patrons and helped to secure a favourable position at court. In this chapter, Brooks's exhaustive archival work provides the most complete picture yet of the money and other benefits that flowed towards those with musical talent. Her examination of several sources allows her to see how musicians profited from appointments to multiple positions, religious or secular, while only occupying one. French kings had gained the right to distribute a number of prebends without papal interference in the Concordat of 1516, and they used this right to reward court musicians and help them to supplement their incomes. Although the practice of holding multiple benefices was supposedly forbidden by the Council of Trent,³⁰ Brooks's research indicates that it continued in the 1580s. Surprisingly, she does not mention the Tridentine ban or other religious-political issues that

²⁹ See S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986), p. 197.

³⁰ See W. M. Plöchl, 'Benefices', in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967–2001), and G. Alberigo, 'Trent, Council of', in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1996). Alberigo describes the battle over benefices and bishops' rights to fill them as 'the most serious crisis of the entire council'.

might have affected court musicians; I shall return to this issue below.

Companions to chapter 2 are the meaty appendices with which Brooks completes her book, pages containing transcriptions of documents relating to the payment of musicians and an amazing list of all musicians mentioned in court documents for a period of thirty years. Her 'Appendix 2' (the roll of musicians) alone is over one hundred pages, and provides a level of detail that bears witness to years of attentive archival work. The appendix contains the name of the musician, including alternative spellings, the archival source for the information, a brief description of the source, its date, the terminology it used to describe the musician, the amount of any payments recorded, and notes on the entry. This arrangement makes it easy to locate information on how and when a well-known composer like Jacques Arcadelt was paid (a total of 500 *livres tournois* over the course of two years, from the household and treasury accounts of François II). The structure of the appendix also facilitates assessment of the relative importance of particular composers and performing musicians for the French royal courts. The three entries for Arcadelt, for example, are easily compared with the far more extensive list of payments and appointments for the Italian-born Balthazar de Beaujoyeux. *Valet de chambre* to Queen Catherine, Beaujoyeux came to France in 1555 as a lowly violinist called Baltazarin, but by successfully learning the ways of the courtier, he became a man of substantial property and a member of the urban elite *bourgeoisie de Paris*.³¹ His prominence at court is witnessed by the twenty-one appearances his name makes in the various court documents Brooks studied. Her 'Notes' column frequently contains interesting details: sons granted survivors' benefits to annual wages earned by their fathers, benefices requested and denied, a young boy whose pension was paid to another (a teacher, perhaps?) while he was learning a new instrument.³² The appendix is fascinating to read, and is an

³¹ Brooks, pp. 106–7; archival records on Beaujoyeux are described on pp. 421–2.

³² Brooks, appendix 2. Mathurin Dugué's yearly wages were to be assigned to his son as survivor (in Bibliothèque nationale de France [F-Pn], fr. 21451, fol. 367^r, as well as in other sources); Gilles Ferreau requested the first prebend to fall vacant at the church of Notre Dame de Loche but was denied the post (in F-Pn fr. 21480, fol. 72^v); François Bunel, 'one of the little singers of [Catherine de Médicis]', ceded his pension to Thomas Champion, called Mithou, for the first trimester of his training to play the epinette (in F-Pn fr. 26160, pièce 581).

extremely valuable source of information on the musicians serving the French courts of the late sixteenth century.

In chapter 3, Brooks addresses the changing image of nobility in the early modern era, and how music helped to define nobility in a time of uncertainty. Once based on military prowess, nobility in the sixteenth century faced challenges brought about by the changes in European society. The 'valorous knight on horseback' became less important in war as strategies that made use of infantry became more common; furthermore, as the bureaucracy of the court expanded and became more complex, many nobles who had inherited royal offices found that they were incapable of performing the duties required of them. Finally, saleable letters of patent called into question the very foundations of the noble class; if nobility could be purchased, what makes one noble? The answer, Brooks explains, was virtue and education, and the discourse of the day debated the relative merits of Arms and Letters. Arms, or valiant warfare, was dependent on Letters (including song) to preserve their glory for later generations, but Letters needed Arms to provide the subject matter. The *airs* performed at court reflected this symbiotic relationship while emphasising the close ties between virtue and military action. Strophic song approximated the bardic ballads that celebrated the deeds of Achilles and bestowed on the singers and listeners a small measure of the virtue of the warrior-heroes of old, while 'sonic images of battle' (like Janequin's famed *La guerre* or Clereau's strophic *Ores qu'on voit de toutes pars*) allowed the hearers to partake vicariously in the world of war (pp. 122–3).

Letters gradually became more important as the century progressed. Castiglione advocated noble participation in Letters, and '[a]fter Henri (II)'s accidental death in a tourney in 1559, actual tests of strength and military prowess such as jousting were increasingly replaced by *cartels* and staged combats, and balls and festivals multiplied at the expense of chivalric entertainments' (p. 124). Musical ability, then, was increasingly important to the successful courtier. Brooks details how the Neoplatonic ideals espoused by Catherine de Médicis helped to place music at the centre of court life, since courtiers, educated in both Arms and Letters, could use their knowledge of music to show their fitness for noble life. As the emphasis on actual physical combat lessened,

solo song increasingly became a ‘weapon in the warfare of love’, as Brooks states. Here she begins to turn towards the role of women in the court, for the triumphant warrior in this sphere was the one who could please the ladies the most with his song (p. 155).

Women played a prominent role in courtly music-making. By singing songs that defended their honour in the wars of the heart, they earned a place in the world of Arms. This leads nicely into Brooks’s fourth chapter, ‘Women’s Voices’. With such a strong feminine presence at court as Catherine de Médicis, it is not surprising that music would be accepted as an appropriate pastime for noblewomen. As Brooks writes, ‘Musical skill became an attribute of the ideal female courtier, her song among the ornaments and graces that embellished her physical beauty’ (p. 199). For women, however, music-making was fraught with dangers. Members of both sexes had to take care not to be *too* good at music, which would make them appear to be professional musicians, but women who displayed too much proficiency might also be seen as courtesans rather than ‘courtiers’. Thus even females who were professional musicians, like Violante Doria, were described in payment records as ‘ladies-in-waiting’, or were paid in their husbands’ names.³³ Most interesting to me in this chapter was the section on Catherine de Médicis and women’s laments, drawn in part from Brooks’s earlier work on the late Renaissance lament.³⁴ After the death of her husband Henri II, Catherine began to promote an image of herself as a new Artemisia, the ancient queen who constructed the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in honour of her dead spouse, then drank a daily potion made up of her tears mixed with the ashes of her husband’s cremated body in order to give him an even more worthy resting place. The sculptures Catherine commissioned for Henri’s and her tomb portray her not as a *transi*, wasted by the ravages of death and time, but as a lovely woman who thus symbolically buried her sexuality. Catherine thus created a powerful image for the French people, who would see her reign

³³ Doria, for example, was married to one of the most successful musicians at court, Girard de Beaulieu. Of the thirteen entries her name has in Brooks’s appendix 2, all but one mention Beaulieu. Frequently Doria is not even mentioned by name, but rather is included in payments to Beaulieu ‘et sa femme’ (pp. 463–4).

³⁴ ‘Catherine de Médicis, *nouvelle Artémise*: Women’s Laments and the Virtue of Grief’, *Early Music*, 27 (1999), pp. 419–35.

as regent for her young sons, and the laments published in the female voice reinforced this image through their text and music. For example, the *romanesca* repeated bass pattern used in the lament *Mon coeur ma chere vie* reminds the listener of the faithfulness of the maiden Bradamante (from Ariosto's epic *Orlando furioso*), whose letter to Ruggiero was typically sung to the *romanesca*. Musically, the repetition of the bass line is a literal display of the constancy practised by the singer of *Mon coeur ma chere vie*, whose beloved asks her to bury love in the tomb with him.

Neoplatonism also figured in women's lives at court. Human love, as described by Castiglione or Marsilio Ficino, was a step towards divine love; thus the courtly love tropes enacted by the *air de cour* were not merely titillating, but were an appropriate part of courtly discourse (pp. 229–31). Even overtly sexual texts were acceptable, granting men and women the opportunity to practise human love in an innocent way (they were, after all, only singing the songs at court), and women then had the chance to prove their virtue by refusing the advances of amorous men. Brooks also describes how the Neoplatonic views of women and music often intertwined, conflating both into a 'component of a pure and transcendent ideal' (p. 230).

One of my few disappointments in Brooks's book was the lack of examination of the role of the court and the *air de cour* in sixteenth-century France as a whole. Although she generally does an exemplary job of placing the *airs de cour* in French courtly society, I would remind the reader again of the precarious and troubled state of the country, especially in the period *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* covers. The Neoplatonic ideas of Catherine de Médicis and her courtiers seem to make a good deal of sense at court, but much of French society was falling apart at this time, torn by religious disputes and wars. Brooks does mention anti-court literature, but I think that it is important to consider this repertoire in the light of the historical events traumatising France, lest one get the wrong impression of a country peacefully rolling along in harmony with the spheres and the songs of the court. Music and dance decidedly did not bring peace and order to the realm, as was dramatically proved in the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. Ironically, this occurred shortly after Catherine had sponsored a grand court *divertissement* entitled *Le Paradis d'amour*

for the wedding of Henri of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois; the entertainment emphasised the Neoplatonic idea of music bringing harmony to society.³⁵ The court was not that insulated from daily life. For example, Brooks mentions a reference to the Huguenot city of La Rochelle in a book that likened Catherine to Artemisia; the city appears as Rhodes in an illustration depicting the ancient queen's capture of that city (p. 211).

Brooks's chapter 5, 'Dialogues with Italy', demonstrates how the French both emulated Italian models and attempted to surpass those models and prove themselves the true heirs of the culture of Antiquity. She pays close attention to Charles de Lorraine, Cardinal de Guise, whose frequent trips to Italy resulted in much Italian music coming to France (as well as many ancient Roman artefacts). Charles was also responsible for the arrival in France of Jacob (or Jacques) Arcadelt, whom he lured away from the papal choir. Brooks explores Arcadelt's relationship with Pierre Clereau, whose secular *airs* show a great deal of Italian influence (pp. 271–2). She pays particular attention to Arcadelt's settings of Horace's odes, homophonic chansons that link sixteenth-century France with the Antiquity they claimed to inherit. The Protestant polemicist Louis Régnier de La Planche attributed the fashion for singing Horace to Charles de Lorraine, and complained that from those lascivious odes the court moved to the silly love songs of Pierre de Ronsard and other Pléiade poets. Another connection with Italian practice is the poetry of Ronsard, who credited contemporary Italian musical practice with providing inspiration for his own odes (p. 280). Even the term *air* was borrowed from the Italian *aria*, and became the most common term for French strophic song in the 1550s. French writers of the time seemed frequently to conflate the Greece and Rome of Antiquity with Italy of the sixteenth century; Italian singers like the brothers Ferrabosco took on the musical guise of the ancient bards though they performed contemporary Italian music.

Brooks ends this chapter with a section exploring the relationships between *musique mesurée*, Jean de Baïf's Académie and the

³⁵ Henri de Navarre was a Huguenot leader, and Marguerite the sister of the king, thus their marriage might have given some hope for unity and stability. On *Le Paradis d'amour*, see J. R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, 2nd edn (New York, 1978). I thank Georgia Cowart for drawing this performance to my attention.

Italian *villanella* genre. Poets at the time were particularly inspired by the works attributed to Anacreon; others, like Baïf, closely mimicked *villanella* poetry. How closely he followed Italian models came as a surprise to me.³⁶ Brooks compares nine of Baïf's poems to the works that inspired them, placing the French and Italian texts side by side and making the similarities unmistakable. Likewise, the *musique mesurée* settings of these poems bear likeness to the *villanella*, though the musical similarities are not as striking as the textual ones. In this way, composers looking to recreate the power of ancient music again used sixteenth-century Italy as the window through which to view Antiquity. Brooks makes a very interesting point that while prints of *musique mesurée* present polyphonic works, her research has shown that this did not preclude monophonic performance. A prominent melody in the top voice could just as easily have been performed by a soloist accompanied by a chordal instrument like a lute, as the *air de cour* repertoire was, and as Italian monody was (pp. 311–12). In other words, there is no clear distinction between the Italian monodic emulation of the ancients and the French 'polyphonic' style.

Brooks's final chapter, 'Pastoral Utopias', explores the recurrence of pastoral themes in the *air de cour* repertoire and how they reflected the court's ideas of its own identity. Pastoral romances allowed sexual themes into the court without posing a threat to courtly standards of behaviour: shepherds and shepherdesses participated in erotic adventures, and courtiers did so only in rustic settings, often with pastoral partners. Since country estates were the basis for the wealth of most of the nobility, the juxtaposition of rustic and courtly life was something they experienced regularly. Brooks shows how images of the pastoral in the *air de cour* helped the nobility to define who they were and to assert their authority over country life (and country folk). Though courtiers played at being shepherds in palace gardens, their pastoral games were a sign of 'newly opening gulfs' between high and low cultures (p. 376).

Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France overlaps Freedman's book slightly in the discussions of the music and career of Lasso.

³⁶ Brooks gives credit for the discovery of Baïf's use of Italian models to F. Dobbins, 'Les madrigalistes français et la Pléiade', in *La chanson à la Renaissance*, ed. J.-M. Vaccaro (Tours, 1981), p. 170.

Though he served at the Bavarian rather than the Parisian court, Lasso was a favourite of the French royalty, especially Charles IX. Brooks quotes Charles's court preacher Arnauld Sorbin, who stated that Lasso's 'music delighted [Charles] so much that he could hardly sample any other that pleased him in every regard' (p. 11).³⁷ The high esteem in which the French king held Lasso was evidenced by the granting of the 1571 privilege discussed above. Surprisingly, Brooks's appendix only lists two payments to Lasso, both made not by Charles IX but by his successor Henri III (p. 490). She notes the pension that Lasso was granted in 1574 by Charles; a record of this transaction apparently can be found in the *état des pensionnaires* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Dupuy 127. It was this pension that Adrian Le Roy announced to Lasso in a 1574 letter. The source for this payment had erroneously been dated at 1560, though Brooks shows this date to have been impossibly early (p. 98 n. 66).³⁸ I am not sure why the Dupuy 127 entry does not appear in her appendix table, however.

Lasso's music was also important as a stylistic foil to the *air de cour*. As mentioned, the term *air de cour* first appeared in print in 1571 in Adrian Le Roy's *Livres d'airs de cour miz sur le luth*. In the preface to this collection, Le Roy contrasts the 'difficult and arduous' chansons of Lasso with the 'very much lighter songs of the court' contained in his present volume.³⁹ Though Le Roy was referring specifically to an earlier volume of Lasso's chansons he had published, it seems that Lasso's work was seen as a general representative the more complicated polyphony of the late sixteenth-century chanson.

Jeanice Brooks has created a fine example of what musicology can be: interesting, culturally grounded and full of new information about the music itself. Thus my criticisms of *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* are few. Brooks assumes fluency in the French and Italian languages, and the texts in most of the musical examples are untranslated, as are the quotations with which she begins each chapter. Occasionally phrases within the

³⁷ Curiously, Brooks does not document her source for this quotation.

³⁸ She notes that the incorrect date, which has been repeated in later Lasso literature, first appeared in F. Lesure's 'Les premiers rapports de Roland de Lassus avec la France', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 3 (1949), p. 242.

³⁹ Adrian Le Roy, *Livres d'airs de cour miz sur le luth* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1571), cited in Brooks, p. 14.

body of the text are in French as well; while most of them are clear enough for one with a basic reading knowledge of the language, occasionally I needed to pull out my dictionary to follow her argument. It would be especially nice to have translations of the poetic headings to the chapters, even if only in a footnote, and translations would have been helpful for the *air de cour* lyrics found in the music examples.

I also wonder whether there might be more political content to the *airs de cour* than Brooks reveals. As mentioned above, French society was not particularly stable in the late sixteenth century; were the nobles all so satisfied at court? Did any expressions of discontent make their way into the *air de cour* repertory? Of course such types of lyrics would probably have not been printed by the likes of the royal printers Le Roy & Ballard, but perhaps other sources might reveal a less unified view of courtly life. Yet these are minor criticisms; both Brooks and Freedman have done fine work in examining little-studied repertoires and placing them in their cultural contexts. Both books are welcome additions to the literature on French music of the sixteenth century.

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ERIC CHAFE, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas*. New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000. xviii + 286 pp.
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Eric Chafe's most extensive study on Bach appeared in 1991.¹ Since then he has published a shorter work on Bach, much of which is absorbed and revised in the present book, and – most significantly – an award-winning book on Monteverdi's tonal language.² This has clearly broadened his experience of the tortuous developments in tonal and modal thinking throughout the seventeenth century and thus brings a more developed historical perspective from which to view Bach's achievement. *Analyzing Bach Cantatas* focuses on a relatively small number of cantatas, which are generally

¹ *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991).

² *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York, 1992).

treated as wholes. Thus the book comes a little closer to the form of a standard guidebook on Bach cantatas by first setting out the theoretical and theological background and then providing commentaries on complete works.

Chafe's use of the term 'analyzing' is immediately controversial. 'Analysis' can mean many things, of course, but as it developed in twentieth-century musical discourse, it came to refer to a range of approaches relating to how music works in and of itself; if analysis revealed ingenious aspects of musical construction, these were generally viewed at arm's length from the composer's wishes or from the meaning and sense conveyed by the music. More often than not, its aim was to confirm a greatness in the music that was already presumed rather than to rescue works that were undervalued (or to reveal the inadequacy of a cherished piece). This attitude often occasioned considerable censure from those who felt that analysis lacked a necessary critical edge.

Chafe's approach is something quite different: while there is considerable reference to aspects of tonal and modal theory and the way Bach might have exploited the various inconsistencies and ambiguities in the system he inherited, the primary aim is to show how the music articulates theological propositions and nuances within an orthodox Lutheran context. In proposing that analysis should be a process rather than a closed task, and one that 'involves the interaction of musical and extra-musical qualities' (p. ix), Chafe might seem to come close to self-proclaimed 'postmodern' forms of musical analysis. Moreover, he shuns the 'quasi-objective' approach of traditional analysis that assumes the pre-eminence of absolute music, and he claims to retain the term 'analysis' precisely to show that it should *not* be rigorously segregated from extra-musical factors (p. xiv), presumably because there is to him no such thing as a 'pure', unmediated musical experience. To use some other term for his discipline, such as 'interpretation', would thus leave the analysts unchecked in their erroneous ways. He clearly entertains the thought of Bach as an actual human being with real aesthetic and historical choices since he is so closely concerned with the composer's interaction with the musical-theological context of the age. Indeed, he believes that the very essence of Bach's genius lies in his complexity of thought that is manifested as much in allegorical procedures as it is in tone

relationships; greater knowledge of the 'local' thus somehow feeds into the 'universal' value of Bach's music (pp. 239–40). In all, then, much of Chafe's terminology seems to resonate with the concerns of fashionable 'new musicology', yet the overriding intention is remarkably traditional (even reactionary in today's context): understanding the composer in his own context is to be the means of proving his enduring genius.

One problem with Chafe's 1991 book was that it presented a whole range of nested assumptions, many of them impossible to prove or disprove, and the reader felt somewhat trapped into either accepting the entire edifice or becoming sceptical of every stage in the argument. Chafe has developed a rather more critical tone in the present instance, asserting that 'the attempt to set up one-to-one correspondences between musical events and theoretical pronouncements is rightly viewed with suspicion' (p. 41). To him, it is likely that Bach would have indulged in a richly hermeneutic approach to composition because his musical thought is itself so self-evidently complex. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out at this stage that Bach's credentials of complexity have almost always been gained within the outlook of autonomous, absolute music; a complexity of theological thought does not automatically follow from this. Chafe is obligingly open to a wide range of readership, intending that the book should bring more music lovers to appreciate Bach and his music (p. xvi); the book is designed so that most sections can be read independently – thus any parts proving intractable to any particular reader can be omitted. Certainly, Chafe's prose is considerably easier to tackle than in his earlier writings, although it is still comparatively opaque.

The new book improves on the older one with its rather broader frame of reference: the major–minor connotations of the *dur* and *moll* terminology are acknowledged rather more. Previously, Chafe tended to underplay these at the expense of the older system of hexachords, translated in Bach's time into comparative degrees of sharpness or flatness. Now, both conceptions, together with Chafe's consideration of modality, give a richer, multi-layered perspective from which to analyse both individual movements and complete works. Another development is Chafe's greater awareness of history, both viewing Bach's works in a richer historical context and tracing the development of historical thinking within

the Lutheran tradition. He intuits something of Bach's own awareness of historical texturing and is alert to historical change, even within the relatively short Lutheran tradition. This is best demonstrated in a fascinating chronicle of the changing modal inflections in the chorale *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot* (p. 166–70).

We learn more of the necessity of history in revealing God's plan, particularly in the way the less complete revelation of the Old Testament is furthered in the New and how the various forms of interpretation in Bach's time imbue biblical history with new levels of meaning (p. 4). This conception of history is, perhaps, useful in helping us understand Bach's attitude to time and history as more a realisation of what is already there than as the notion of 'progress' that would develop in the later eighteenth century and beyond. It also lays the foundation of the way Bach's cantatas themselves work in – and use – time, as Chafe himself shows in his consideration of complete cantatas. He also links this issue to the structure of the liturgical year, in which the coming of Christ and his earthly ministry (Advent to Pentecost) is followed by the time of the church (Trinity) and the anticipation of eternity (the final weeks of Trinity; see p. 14). One direction in which this could lead is the way in which Bach might subtly encompass the need for temporal progress within God's necessary eternity, but this would go beyond the brief of the present book. Chafe's most elegant formulation of Bach's conception of time and history is that Bach's 'unique achievement was to mold rather than to defer to tradition, to bring past and present together as if in a contrapuntal interaction whose ultimate outcome was to forecast a future that very few in his time could foresee' (p. 95).

Central to Chafe's view of Bach's theological thinking is Luther's analogy of faith, by which descent (man's failure in the light of God's law) is followed by ascent (the promise of the Gospel; see p. 5); faith thus works only once the transgression and hopelessness of the human condition have been recognised. This conception neatly accounts for virtually any dualism to be found in Bach's music, whether in terms of its temporal progression (most simply, by following the *katabasis–anabasis* model of flattening followed by sharpwards movement, as in the first movement of Cantata 77) or stylistic contrasts. Sometimes, as in the case of the chorale melody 'Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot', a flattening

might occur right at the end (corresponding with the *Kyrieleis* that ends each verse), leaving us with a reminder that God's mercy is indispensable (pp. 173–4); Chafe shows that the whole of Cantata 77 displays a tonal weakening towards the final *cantus mollis*, as a way of demonstrating that humankind cannot love as God demands without his aid (summed up in the final plea, *Kyrieleis*, pp. 189, 218–19). Thus one model can provide an analogy of the hoped-for salvation, the other the incompleteness of our present condition and the need for God's support. The one drawback of this approach is that virtually any type of tonal shift in Bach's works can be interpreted as theologically meaningful even if there appear to be inconsistencies. As with the previous book, I develop the feeling that the more Chafe tries to explain, the less convincing the method becomes. For instance, he gives us a virtually literal description of the opening choral theme of Cantata 77 (rising fourth, followed by a descending sequential pattern), and, given that the opening ascent is constant throughout the section while the decorated descent is variable, this must 'mirror the manner in which love bridges the distance between God (the straightforward ascending fourth) and humankind (the decorated descent)' (p. 191). Such a process is so ubiquitous in Bach's compositional style that it is difficult to accept such a meaning in the absence of a much more sophisticated theory of musical signification.

Bach's modal chorales have been subject to detailed scrutiny before,³ but Chafe considers the ways in which he may have exploited to theological ends what were already archaic elements of modality. This is particularly striking in the cases where there is a 'disparity between the "correct" modal final and our tendency to hear it as a dominant' (p. 54). Tonality, as represented in the quality of hearing, can thus be a metaphor for our inability to fulfil God's demands (as represented by the 'correct' final; p. 88). This is especially evident in the case of Cantata 77, where our tonally oriented hearing of the end as 'wrong' reflects the inevitability of human weakness from the ideal modal standpoint (p. 217). The word 'our' is of course telling, and it might be impossible for us to imagine what this really sounded like in an age when

³ Lori A. Burns, *Bach's Modal Chorales* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1995).

not only did the modal system sound ‘old’, but the tonal system was still ‘new’. Moreover, it is difficult to be certain that Bach would have heard the ‘correct’ modal final as an unattainable ideal rather than as something productively archaic. Again, the more detail Chafe provides, the more difficult it is to believe him: the final cadence for the second chorale in Cantata 153 apparently shows the believer accepting his own weakness because the metrical placement somehow makes us hear the end correctly as a Phrygian final, ‘despite its dominant sound’; the ‘dualistic quality is subtly suggestive of the distinction between God’s goal and the believer’s tormented condition’ (p. 121). Another odd assumption appears in Chafe’s remark that around 1700 ‘key relationships and modulatory principles were often not well understood’ (p. 30), as if the tonal system were something just waiting, fully formed, round the corner, rather than something that was still in the process of being invented through the countless, contingent interactions of music culture.

Chafe’s basic claim is that modal qualities of chorales often reflect texts and, moreover, that Bach amplifies these qualities in relation to the cantata as a whole. This is exemplified, for instance, in Cantata 38 (based on the Phrygian chorale ‘Aus tiefer Not’), where the melodic and tonal features of the melody influence the tonal descent by fifths in the first five movements and the return ascent for the final movement. The subdominant tendency thus reflects the believer’s increasing despair (p. 88). There is certainly a point here, particularly if we take Chafe’s view (developed from Dahlhaus and his own study of Monteverdi) that there was a ‘dominant dynamic’ in music after 1600, so that subdominant movement should really be heard ‘against the grain’. Chafe sometimes considers the history of chorales that had been modally ambiguous: for instance, ‘Es ist das Heil uns kommen hier’ was originally a Mixolydian melody and various versions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries preserved this modality (at least in the key signature) while sharpening the leading notes at cadences. Bach, however, uses an Ionian signature in Cantata 9, while preserving the Mixolydian seventh only for the first line, where it coincides with the word ‘uns’. Thus ‘uns’ acquires a quality of humility, while the next phrase, modulating to the dominant, presents the anti-theological quality of God’s strength. There is certainly a point here,

even if it seems to contradict Chafe's other assertion that modality often represents a hidden, unattainable truth, and also if, in this melody, the flattened seventh is impossible to avoid (without allowing an ugly melodic tritone).

Chafe's attention to subdominant movement, in both small- and large-scale plans, sometimes causes him to develop a rather strange notion of tonality. For instance, in his examination of the final chorales of Cantatas 2 and 46, he notes the prominence given to the subdominant in the final phrase, as though this 'weakens' the ultimate cadence. However, it was quite commonplace, even in Bach's age, to use subdominant colouring towards the end, presumably to balance the initial tendency towards the dominant. Without this compensatory flattening, the tonic will perhaps sound dull in comparison to the dominant. Thus, some forms of subdominant colouring, far from weakening the tonic, actually helped to strengthen it. Elsewhere, Chafe sometimes seems to have an unorthodox understanding of tonality: the ritornello opening Cantata 77, which, to my understanding, begins in an unproblematic C major, with transitory modulations to D minor and A minor and a move back towards C, Chafe describes as a ritornello that 'does not clearly articulate a single key but, rather, remains basically in a diatonic white-note region' (p. 194).

Chafe may have good reason to turn his back on the mainstream of Bach scholarship, which over the last forty years has tended to eschew an overtly theological or interpretational approach. There is no doubt that his comparative isolation has brought benefits and forms of insight that might otherwise have been curbed. Nevertheless, some of his points could surely have been strengthened if he had engaged more with the existing literature: his view that the fourteen trumpet interjections relate to the idea of alpha and omega in the Greek alphabet (and how 14 can mean alpha as well as omega, the fourteenth letter, is unclear) needs to be placed in the context of Ruth Tatlow's work on number alphabets, in which she expresses caution about the ubiquity of 'natural-order' alphabets (where a = 1, b = 2, etc.).⁴ Chafe's view that the *tromba da tirarsi* part for the aria 'Ach, es bleibt in meiner Liebe lauter Unvollkommenheit' is designed to capitalise on the 'imperfection'

⁴ Ruth Tatlow, *Bach and the Riddle of the Number Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991).

of certain notes for the natural trumpet could productively be substantiated by Michael Marissen's similar analysis of this movement.⁵ More reference to established source studies would also refine certain points: Chafe observes that Bach did not include a text for the final chorale of Cantata 77 in his autograph score, as though he were searching for the perfect text or had a specific intention that we should try and discern (pp. 180–1). In fact, it was quite common for Bach not to write the final chorale text in his score (and often, neither text nor notes) and to specify these later in the performing parts. Presumably the chorale was chosen (by Bach or the preacher?) later in the compositional process in order to relate to specific readings or to the sermon.⁶ Thus the only reason we do not have the text for this specific cantata is because the original parts are lost. Furthermore, the absence of figures in the choral cantus firmus in the bass line of the opening movement of the same cantata (p. 185) does not necessarily mean that Bach intended it to be played *tasto solo* since – again – we do not have the more specific directions that Bach would normally have included in the original continuo part.

In all, there is no doubt that Chafe alerts us to a side to the historical Bach that we might otherwise miss, and we do not necessarily have to accept his more far-fetched points. It would be difficult to argue that his insights are an absolutely crucial element in Bach appreciation, given that the composer has been more than adequately appreciated without them (and – generally – shorn of much of the religious context). If a theological approach along the lines that Chafe pursues *were* to contribute to the aesthetic appreciation of Bach (and one of Chafe's prime objectives is to unite the aesthetic and the historical; see p. 182), we would need a form of criticism that addressed more directly the quality and uniqueness of Bach's music. At the very least, we would want to come away from the study somehow thrilled. Theological analysis alone does not necessarily engender the most inspired form of musical analysis.

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⁵ Michael Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 3–4.

⁶ See Robert L. Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1972), i, pp. 66–8.