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O QUELLE ARMONYE:
DIALOGUE SINGING IN LATE
RENAISSANCE FRANCE

François de Billon's *Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin* (1555) was among the most extensive contributions to the sixteenth-century polemic on the nature of women known as the *querelle des femmes*. In keeping with the military connotations of its title, Billon's 'impregnable fortress' is an exercise in bellicose rhetoric; his sallies are illustrated with woodcuts of roaring lions and fire-spitting cannons to heighten the effect of bravado. In the section on women's musical gifts, he vaunts the 'angelic sweetness' of the female singing voice, and claims that although male musicians more often win fame, women have always been better singers:

In [singing] nevertheless women have always been the very best. Whatever may be said by Sandrin, Arcadelt or Janequin, the most renowned musicians of Europe in our time, whom I would willingly ask, 'Where is it that one can find sweetness of vocal harmony, in general, if not in the musical throat of Woman, even if she puts forth only a little warbling?' And if they answered that in some men one finds more, could I not rightly reply, 'What is the reason, my friends, that so few men of your profession are married and that you all flee marriage, if not that through propriety [*honesteté*] you would be forced to bring your wives (instead of choirboys) into princely chambers to sing with you, or without you, which would be found so much sweeter than any childish voice? O what harmony, if you were all married in the normal fashion to beautiful women; if they were well instructed by you in the rules of music; and if in the aforementioned manner, you tuned yourselves well with them. The pleasure of listening to you would be double, the advantage triple, and thus, frequently nothing would be sung except in duo'.¹

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¹ 'En quoy ce nonobstant les Femmes se sont tousjours trouvées les Superlatives. Quoy qu'en sachent dire Sendrin, Arcadelt, ou Jennequin, de ce temps les renomméz Musiciens de l'Ëurope, Ausquelz je demanderois volontiers, la où c'est que l'on pourroit trouver

In this passage Billon aims his artillery at more than one masculine stronghold. He implicitly criticises the church, the institutional frame for the careers of most famous musicians of the day. Despite their involvement in secular music-making at court, Sandrin, Arcadelt and Janequin were all clerics, learned their trade as choirboys themselves and spent large portions of their lives holding ecclesiastical appointments that generally involved the supervision of boy singers. Billon's advocacy of marriage for men 'de vostre qualité' is thus disingenous at best, and his use of the notoriously slippery word *honesteté* in this context lends a moral tinge to his recommendation.²

Billon's main target, however, is the princely chamber, which in late medieval France had been an almost exclusively male preserve. The early sixteenth century saw radical changes to this tradition. With Anne de Bretagne's creation of the *maison de la reine* and its troop of ladies-in-waiting, aristocratic women had a permanent place in the court's structure for the first time, and under François I (d. 1547) these women played a vital part in the strategies of sociability through which courtiers impressed their superiors and each other. Courtly manners, a crucial element in the construction of early modern monarchy, relied heavily on the notion of woman as a necessary mirror for male achievement. Through their company and their pleasing attainments – conversation, music-making, dancing – well-born women provided the setting in which the perfect courtier's accomplishments could shine.

suavité de vocalle armony, en générale, fors qu'en la Gorge organisée de la Femme, soit qu'elle ne déploye que son petit Ramage. Et s'ilz me respondoient qu'en aucuns Hommes s'en trouve davantage, Pourrois-je pas bien replicquer, Qu'elle est la cause mes Amys, que si peu d'Hommes de votre qualité sont maryéz et que tous fuyéz Mariage, fors pour n'estre Sujets par honesteté (et au lieu d'Enfans de coeur) de mener voz Femmes es Chambres des Princes, tenir la Partie avec vous, ou sans vous, qui trop plus douce seroit trouvée que de toute autre Voix puérole? O quelle Armony si vous etiéz tous communement maryéz à belles Femmes: Qu'elles feüssent de vous bien instruytes des Reigles de Musique: Et qu'en la façon dessusdite, vous vous accordissiez bien avec elles. Le plaisir de vous écouter seroit double, le proufit triple, et si, bien souvent ne seroit chanté qu'en Duo.' F. de Billon, *Le fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin* (Paris, 1555; facs. edn. with introduction by M. A. Screech, Wakefield, NY and The Hague, 1970), fol. 156^v. Billon explains in the preface that although not published until 1555, the text was written in 1550 while its author was in Rome in the service of Guillaume Du Bellay; its descriptions of court life thus relate primarily to the reign of François I.

² *Honesteté* had a range of meanings from 'goodness' or 'loyalty' to more complex concepts of truthfulness, propriety, suitability, dignity, civility or elegance; the *Dictionnaire du moyen français: la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992) supplies no fewer than twelve definitions of the adjective *honneste* from which it is derived.

Backlash against this new role is a central component of the anti-female writing of the *querelle*; in their descriptions of female moral and intellectual inferiority, misogynist contributors to the debate focus almost exclusively on the activities and characters of courtiers.³ By championing women's cause against those who saw their influence as trivialising or pernicious, Billon aligned himself with the new courtly ideals. He goes much further, however, than simply endorsing the practice of music by aristocratic women as part of a suite of courtly attainments. He advocates the creation of a class of professional female musicians, women who share the social status of their husbands and who perform together with their partners in duos that provide a musical realisation of their relationship. At the same time, he proposes an innovative career path for the king's male singers, leading not through holy orders and the royal chapel but through marriage and the secular environment of the chamber.

It would be good to know what Arcadelt, Sandrin or Janequin thought of Billon's challenge; unfortunately, none responded, at least not in print. Billon's call for the replacement of choirboys in princely chambers with beautiful singing women went unheeded too, at least at the French royal court he frequented: payment records from the late sixteenth century continued to include two to three choirboys among the singers of the king's *musique de chambre*.⁴ The traditional career pattern for male musicians remained common, and many of the royal chamber singers of the second half of the century took orders and held positions in the polyphony chapel while simultaneously exercising functions in the secular arm of the court musical establishment.⁵ But in the

³ For a brief review of the *querelle* and its connections to courtly Neoplatonism, see L. D. Kritzman, 'The Neoplatonic Debate', in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. D. Hollier (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 187–9; Nancy Vickers's article 'Manners and Mannerisms at Court' in the same collection (pp. 148–54) traces connections between court etiquette, politics and literature under François I. For a recent evaluation of the vast literature on civility and early modern statehood, see J. Adamson, 'The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500–1750', in id. (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750* (London, 1999), pp. 7–41.

⁴ For transcriptions of extant royal *états de maison* (lists of household members) from 1559 to 1589, see J. Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago, 2000), pp. 393–412.

⁵ On career patterns for royal chapel and chamber singers, see *ibid.*, pp. 78–81, and ead., 'From Minstrel to Courtier: The Royal *Musique de Chambre* and Courtly Ideals in Sixteenth-Century France', *Musikalischer Alltag im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert = Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, 1 (Kassel, 2001), pp. 39–49.

decades after the appearance of Billon's book, the court also cherished a pair of singers who made a better match with the model he proposed: Girard de Beaulieu and Violante Doria, a married couple who were among the most successful musicians in France during the reigns of the last Valois kings.

Beaulieu and Doria belonged to a generation of singers whose activities are usually said to be instrumental in the development of the characteristic musical language of early seventeenth-century solo song. Though it is generally accepted that Renaissance performers played a vital role in the emergence of styles that were not consistently reflected in print until after 1600, we are only beginning to understand how the process may have worked, and relationships between singers' biographies, performance practice, musical style and cultural setting can be difficult to establish. Recent studies that have begun to redress this situation have focused exclusively on Italian singers and repertoires, and the particular case of singing couples has been addressed only in an Italian context.⁶ Yet the social and musical currents that shaped the careers of such Italian musicians were at work in other European centres as well. For France, study of these patterns has been impeded by the fragmentation of documentary sources and the distinctive conditions that obtain in French music printing in the late sixteenth century. These problems have obscured the parallels between the social and musical cultures of the royal court of France and those of better-known north Italian centres.

My purpose here is to trace the careers of Girard de Beaulieu and Violante Doria at the French royal court; abundant but previously unstudied archival material helps to document the new professional circumstances their lives exemplify. The establishment of their role in the creation of the *Balet comique de la royne* (1581) is a central point of my argument. The vocal showpiece they sang on

⁶ Studies of female singers include T. Carter, 'Finding a Voice: Vittoria Archilei and the Florentine "New Music"', in L. Hutson (ed.), *Feminism and Renaissance Studies* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 450–67, and L. Stras, 'Recording Tarquinia: Imitation, Parody and Reportage in Ingegneri's "Hor che'l ciel e la terra e'l vento tace"', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), pp. 359–77. Richard Wistreich, 'Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and Solo Bass Singing in Sixteenth-Century Italy' (Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), treats the career of the famous Neapolitan basso. The best-known example of a singing couple in Italy is no doubt Giulio Caccini and Lucia di Filippo Gagnolanti; the couple whose careers show the most striking parallels with those of Doria and Beaulieu was formed by Alessandro Striggio and Virginia Vagnoli (see below).

that occasion not only underlines their deployment of the technical skills that would come to characterise the ‘new music’ of the early Baroque, it is a solo dialogue, a genre usually considered typical of the seventeenth century. Their duo from the *Balet comique* was, in fact, the only solo dialogue to appear in print as such in France before 1611. Yet traces of other similar duo performances survive in contemporary polyphonic prints. When read against the documentary evidence of Beaulieu and Doria’s careers and interpreted in the light of the *Balet comique* and of later publications of solo song, late sixteenth-century musical sources suggest that the seventeenth-century solo dialogue had deep roots in the performance culture of the preceding decades. A mirror of changes in the milieu that produced it, the French dialogue of the late Renaissance symbolises the centrality of new concepts of civility to the fabric of the court and the musical practices and institutions it fostered.

BEAULIEU AND DORIA AT COURT, OR, WHO WROTE THE
BALET COMIQUE DE LA ROYNE?

Beaulieu’s name is usually invoked by modern scholars writing on the *Balet comique de la royne*, one of the entertainments performed during the October 1581 wedding celebrations for Henri III’s favourite, the duc de Joyeuse, and the queen’s sister, Marguerite de Lorraine-Vaudémont.⁷ Celebrated in its own time, the *Balet comique* occupies a no less eminent place in modern music-theatrical history. In accounts of French ballet, the *Balet comique* inevitably figures as the most important court spectacle of the late Renaissance; as the first such entertainment to feature a continuous narrative, it is normally characterised as a significant forerunner of French opera, and it has been accorded an influence over Italian dramatic music of the early seventeenth century as well.⁸ Yet despite the event’s iconic status, the question of who was responsible for the music remains vexed.

⁷ B. de Beaujoyeux, *Le balet comique de la royne, fait aux nopces de Monsieur le Duc de Joyeuse et madamoyselle de Vaudemont* (Paris, 1582; facs. edn. with introduction by M. M. McGowan, Binghamton, 1982). For a modern edition, see *Le balet comique de la royne, 1581*, trans. and ed. C. and L. MacClintock (Rome, 1971). On the wedding festivities, see F. A. Yates, ‘Poésie et musique dans les *Magnificences* au mariage du duc de Joyeuse’, in *Musique et poésie au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1954), pp. 241–64.

⁸ On contemporary reactions to the *Balet comique*, see McGowan’s introduction to Beaujoyeux, *Le balet comique*, pp. 39–42. News of the event was widely disseminated

The violinist Balthazar de Beaujoyeux described the genesis of the *Balet comique* in his preface to the print that appeared the year after its performance. According to Beaujoyeux, the queen, Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont, charged him with devising an entertainment for her contribution to the wedding festivities; his response was an innovative project that would ‘make the ballet speak, and the drama resound and sing’.⁹ After approving Beaujoyeux’s plans, Louise assigned Nicolas Filleul to write the poetry and the royal painter Jacques Patin to design and execute the scenery for Beaujoyeux’s scenario. For the music, Beaujoyeux says:

She commanded likewise the sieur de Beaulieu (who is one of her servants) to make and prepare in his home all that could be said to be perfect in music, based on the ideas that would be given to him by me, serving as subjects for the material. In which [task] he performed so well that he (whom the most perfect musicians say excels in their art) surpassed himself . . .¹⁰

through ambassadorial reports and even through popular song: the *Sommaire de tous les recueils des plus excellentes chansons* (Paris, 1583), fols. 2^v–5^v, contains a ‘Chanson nouvelle du mariage de Monsieur le Duc de Joyeuse . . . sur le chant, Quand ce beau printemps je voy’ with a description of the *Balet comique*. Modern discussions of the work are legion. It occupies a central role in histories of court ballet: H. Prunières, *Le ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully* (Paris, 1914; repr. New York, 1970) and M. M. McGowan, *L’art du ballet de cour en France 1581–1643* (Paris, 1963); it is a principal focus of recent studies in dance (e.g. T. M. Greene, ‘Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), pp. 1403–66). Beaujoyeux’s place in the title of J. R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, rev. edn. (New York, 1978) indicates his conviction that the *Balet comique* was the herald of a new musical era; he points out (p. 28) that the tradition of regarding it as central to the development of French dramatic music goes back to the mid-eighteenth century at least. Other typical accounts include articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1992), i, pp. 293–4, s.v. ‘ballet de cour’ by M. E. C. Bartlet (where the *Balet comique* appears as the most important early example, standing at the head of a tradition that stretches through to the eighteenth-century *opéra-ballet*) and ii, pp. 271–7, s.v. ‘France’ by D. Charlton with R. Langham-Smith (in which the main body of the article begins with the *Balet comique*, described as ‘the most celebrated of [late Renaissance] proto-operatic events’). Prunières and, more recently, Iain Fenlon have posited French court ballet and particularly the *Balet comique* as a model for Italian musical theatre (H. Prunières, *L’opéra italien en France avant Lulli* (Paris, 1913; repr. New York, 1971), pp. xxiv–xxvi); I. Fenlon, ‘The Origins of the Seventeenth-Century Staged *Ballo*’, in id. and T. Carter (eds.), *Conche soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song and Dance, 1580–1740* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 13–40; and I. Fenlon and C. MacClintock, s.v. ‘Beaujoyeux [sic], Balthasar de’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. S. Sadie (London, 2001; henceforth *New Grove II*). Interest in the *Balet comique* has recently led to a full-length collection of essays on the work: M. T. Dellabora (ed.), *‘Une invention moderne’: Baldasare da Belgioioso e il ‘Balet comique de la Roynie’* (Lucca, 1999).

⁹ ‘Ainsi j’ay animé et fait parler le Ballet, et chanter et resonner la Comedie . . . ? Beaujoyeux, *Le ballet comique*, ‘Au Lecteur’ (unfoliated prefatory material).

¹⁰ ‘Elle commanda pareillement au sieur de Beaulieu (qui est à elle), qu’il fist et dressast en son logis tout ce qui se pouvoit dire de parfait en musique, sur les inventions qui

Beaujoyeux adds that Beaulieu was aided by musicians of the *chambre du roi*, especially a certain ‘maistre Salmon’.

Later in the print Beaujoyeux describes a central moment of the *Balet comique*, the entry of a car representing a giant fountain drawn by three sea horses, carrying the queen and her ladies-in-waiting costumed as water nymphs. Seated at the base of the fountain were two musicians: ‘Above and behind the [sea horses] tails were two other thrones, in one of which was seated the sieur de Beaulieu, playing Glaucus, called by poets the god of the sea; and in the other, the *damoiselle* de Beaulieu his wife, holding a lute, likewise playing Tethys, the goddess of the sea . . .’.¹¹ In the accompanying engraving, we see the singers at the front of the car; ‘la damoyselle de Beaulieu’ is indeed playing a lute, while her partner is holding a bass bowed string instrument (Figure 1). The subsequent pages include music for a dialogue for bass and soprano in praise of the queen. Florid and vocally demanding solo interventions by Glaucus and Tethys alternate with a five-part vocal and instrumental refrain performed by royal chamber musicians representing tritons or sea gods.¹²

In nearly all modern histories and music dictionaries, the ‘sieur de Beaulieu’ of the *Balet comique* is identified as a ‘Lambert de Beaulieu’, an error apparently first made by François-Joseph Fétis in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. Fétis discovered a letter from the emperor Rudolph II, sent some months after Henri III’s assassination in 1589, in which Rudolph asked his ambassador in France, Auger Busbecq, to find and hire Lambert de Beaulieu, a bass who sang admirably to his own accompaniment and who had been in Henri’s service. Without any other documentary material

luy seroyent par moy communiquees, servants au sujet de la matiere. En quoy il s’est si heureusement comporté, que luy (que les plus parfaicts Musiciens disent exceller en cest art) s’est surmonté luy-mesme . . .’. Beaujoyeux, *Le balet comique*, fol. 3^r. Jacqueline Boucher has shown that the ‘sieur de la Chesnaye’ to whom Beaujoyeux attributes the poetry was the well-known poet Nicolas Filleul and not an otherwise unknown courtier, as has often been supposed. J. Boucher, *Société et mentalités autour de Henri III* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Lyon II, 1977; Paris, 1981), iii, p. 1053.

¹¹ ‘Au deçà et delà de leurs queues estoient deux autres chaires, en l’une desquelles s’asseoit le sieur de Beaulieu, representant Glaucus, appelé par les poetes Dieu de la mer: et en l’autre la damoyselle de Beaulieu son espouse, tenant un luth en sa main, et representant aussi Tethys, la deesse de la mer . . .’. Beaujoyeux, *Le balet comique*, fol. 16^r. The title *damoiselle* was used for gentlewomen not of the first rank; the word *dame* was reserved for the Virgin Mary, queens, princesses, and members of the highest nobility. Neither refers to marital status.

¹² Beaujoyeux, *Le balet comique*, fols. 19^r–21^r.



Figure 1 'Figure de la Fontaine' (detail) from B. de Beaujoyeux,
Le balet comique de la royne (Paris, 1581). Cliché Bibliothèque Nationale de France

to corroborate or contradict this information, Fétis reasonably supposed that the ‘Lambert de Beaulieu’ the emperor hoped to recruit was the ‘Sieur de Beaulieu’ cited in the print of the *Balet comique* as responsible for the music.¹³

Fétis’s identification has been accepted by generations of scholars, who have continued to ascribe the music of the *Balet comique de la royne* to the ‘Lambert’ of Rudolph’s letter.¹⁴ Yet no ‘Lambert de Beaulieu’ figures in any extant French royal account from the period 1560–90 or in any other contemporary document that has so far come to light. There are, however, dozens of payments and references in court documents to Girard de Beaulieu. Knowledge of some of these led Frances Yates to revise her own attribution of the *Balet comique* to Lambert, and to argue that Girard was the musician concerned; Jacqueline Boucher’s exhaustive research into French court archives led her to a similar conclusion.¹⁵ Music historians have continued to associate the *Balet comique* with ‘Lambert’, however, usually without noting the existence of Girard or else claiming that he was a different individual. For example, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* supplies separate entries for Girard and Lambert de Beaulieu; that under Girard’s name asserts that he was a music teacher and only possibly a composer, not to be identified with Lambert, the creator of the music for the *Balet comique*.¹⁶

¹³ F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1873; repr. Brussels, 1963), i, pp. 283–4, s.v. ‘Beaulieu’. The letter appears in Rudolph II, *Divi Rudolphi imperatoris, caesaris augusti epistolae ineditae . . .*, ed. Bernard, count de Pace (Vienna, 1771), p. 210; its text is reproduced in the Appendix. None of the letters in this collection has subsequently been re-edited, and the location of the count de Pace’s sources is unknown. No response appears in Busbecq’s published correspondence (C. T. Forster and F. H. Blackburne Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, 2 vols. (London, 1881)).

¹⁴ These include Dellabora, introduction to ‘*Une invention moderne*’, pp. 35 and 38; McGowan, introduction to Beaujoyeux, *Le ballet comique*, p. 38; *Le ballet comique*, ed. MacClintock and MacClintock, p. 11, as well as the vast majority of music dictionaries and textbooks. The only modern recording of the *Balet comique* (dir. Gabriel Garrido, K617080, rec. 1997) attributes it to Lambert de Beaulieu.

¹⁵ Boucher, *Société et mentalités*, iii, pp. 1057–8. In *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947; repr. with foreword by J. B. Trapp, 1988), p. 238, Yates followed the usual attribution of the *Balet comique* to ‘Lambert’; she revised this in ‘Dramatic Religious Processions in Paris in the Late Sixteenth Century’, *Annales Musicologiques*, 2 (1954), pp. 251–2. I asserted Girard’s authorship and performance of the *Balet comique* in *Courtly Song*, 200–1 and 234, but without presenting the detailed evidence discussed here to support my contention.

¹⁶ *New Grove II* s.v. ‘Beaulieu, Girard de’ and ‘Beaulieu, Lambert de’ by F. Dobbins. Dobbins also writes that Marin Mersenne attributed the *Balet comique* to Girard (though Dobbins discounts the attribution). This is not entirely correct: while Mersenne praised Girard

A look at the archival material summarised in the Appendix shows this hypothesis must be mistaken. Girard de Beaulieu was a prominent singer who occupied a central role in the musical establishment of the royal court from at least 1572 until his death in 1590. The court's records confirm that he was a bass; that he was initially attached to the queen's household, and gained a position in the royal *musique de chambre* under Henri III; that he was married to a Genoese singer, Violante (often called Yolande or Yolante) Doria, who was also a member of the queen's entourage; and that they were regularly remunerated as a couple.¹⁷ One account describes him as a singer to the *lire*, a word frequently used in contemporary French to describe the *lirone*, a bass bowed string instrument similar to the one Glaucus plays in Figure 1, widely used in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to accompany the voice.¹⁸ In the context of the *Balet comique*, the

de Beaulieu's excellent bass singing (see below), he did not explicitly connect him with the performance or composition of the ballet.

- ¹⁷ Beaulieu is identified as a bass in the records of the Puy d'Evreux for 1581 and on a list of royal household members in 1584. Violante Doria is identified by name as Beaulieu's wife in accounts of 1577 (where she is described as Genoese), 1580, 1582, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587 and 1588; in other accounts she appears only as 'sa femme'. Unless otherwise noted, locations and summaries for all archival documents cited are listed in the Appendix, where they can be found by consulting the entries under the relevant year.
- ¹⁸ Although Beaulieu is usually named in court records as a *chantre*, in accounts of 1572 he figures as a 'chantre et joueur d'instrumens', and in 1577 he is named as a 'joueur de lyre devant sa Magesté'; he and his wife together are called 'musiciens et joueurs de luth' on the queen's household accounts in 1584, suggesting that both regularly accompanied their own singing as they did in the *Balet comique*. On the *lirone* see especially *New Grove II* s.v. 'Lirone' by E. Headly; see also I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 179–80. Rudolph II's letter uses the Latin word *lira* to describe Beaulieu's instrument; Fétis translated this as a lute, but it seems likely that the *lire* (i.e., *lirone*) was what Rudolph intended. In literary works the French word *lire* can be ambiguous because of its employment in classical and metaphorical contexts, but in court archives the usage is clearer; secretaries differentiate the words *lire* and *luth* fairly consistently (as in treasury accounts of 1572, when Joachim Thibault de Courville was paid for the composition of pieces 'qui se reciteront sur la lyre et le luth'; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (henceforth BNF), Clairambault 233, p. 3598). The word *viole* also figures in such accounts, so that *lire* is probably more often a term for a *lirone* than a bass viol, despite the fairly loose nature of bowed string terminology in this period. Blaise de Vigenère's discussion of the ancient Greek lyre in *Les images ou tableaux de plate-peinture de Philostrate Lemnien Sophiste*, trans. and annotated by Vigenère (Paris, 1578) makes this clear: after remarking that many scholars claim that the ancient lyre and cithara were the same instrument, Vigenère says that others think the ancient lyre was like the modern *lire*, 'la lyre propre, celle dis-je de maintenant, faite à maniere de viole qui se joue avec l'archet' (the real lyre, I mean the lyre of today, made in the manner of a viol and played with a bow) (fol. 89^r). Mersenne's discussion of the construction of the *lire* (*Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris, 1636; facs. edn. with introduction by François Lesure, Paris, 1963), iii, pp. 204–8, simi-

most telling documents are those from the early 1580s, contemporary with the event's production: Girard de Beaulieu appears on both extant lists of royal household members from this period, those of 1580 and 1584 (along with Jacques Salmon, Beaujoyeux's 'maistre Salmon' of the *chambre du roi*); and receipts for payments to Girard de Beaulieu and Violante Doria together survive from 1580 and 1582.

Although royal documents do often refer to 'Beaulieu' or 'Monsieur de Beaulieu' without including a first name, the consistency of the payments (despite the fragmentary condition of court accounts, there are fairly continuous records from a period of nearly twenty years) and the frequent inclusion of his spouse render improbable the possibility that we are dealing with two different individuals. It is yet more implausible that the 'sieur de Beaulieu' named by Beaujoyeux could be another court singer with the same skills and identical surname who – despite being responsible for the music of the most famous court spectacle of the decade – left no traces in royal records of the period. The man who oversaw the musical component of the *Balet comique* and sang the part of Glaucus was certainly Girard de Beaulieu. While the description leaves several question marks over his exact role (how did Salmon and other musicians help him? did he devise any or all of the dance music as well as vocal numbers?) we can reasonably assume that he created most of the solo vocal music, and certainly the pieces he himself performed. Girard was also no doubt the singer Rudolph hoped to engage for imperial service, but when the emperor wrote to his ambassador he was far from Paris and probably going on hearsay. He may have been misinformed or simply made an error in the musician's given name, for a search of court records reveals no Lambert de Beaulieu in any branch of royal service at the time of Henri III's death.¹⁹

larly describes the late Renaissance *lire* as a *lirone* and distinguishes it from the viol (*viola*) to which it is related; Merseune states that the instrument is commonly used in France 'pour accompagner la voix et les recits'. See Brooks, *Courtly Song*, p. 312n, for other instances of *lire* as a term for a bowed string instrument.

¹⁹ Rudolph's informant may have been his sister Elizabeth of Austria, who had returned to the imperial court in 1575 following the death of her husband Charles IX of France. After a lapse of nearly fifteen years, Elizabeth or Rudolph may have confused Beaulieu with another noted musician, Lambert Du Fay, who was *maître de musique* for the king's brother François d'Anjou in the 1570s and still a member of his household in 1584 (Paris, BNF fr. 20614, fol. 74^v). Du Fay may also be the person referred to in Olivier de Magny's

Despite the confusion over his identity, Girard de Beaulieu has attracted some attention from modern scholars; the ‘damoysselle de Beaulieu’ has received virtually none. Yet the earliest record of a payment to the couple concerns a gift not to Beaulieu but to Violante Doria. Royal treasury accounts for 1572 register a present on 2 January to Doria for her *étrennes*, or New Year’s gift. Here she is identified as ‘la seignore Violante Doria l’une des damoiselles de la Royne’ (the *signora* Violante Doria, one of the queen’s ladies), indicating both her Italian origin and her position as a lady-in-waiting to the reigning queen, Elizabeth of Austria. A subsequent entry in the same account records a royal gift of 750 livres to Beaulieu and Doria together. The sum is generous, representing over three times the annual salary of most of the king’s chamber musicians in that year.²⁰ This gift is also highly unusual in the context of royal domestic accounts: Beaulieu and Doria’s payment as a couple – which occurs regularly in subsequent records – is unique in the entire *maison du roi* for the reigns of Charles IX and Henri III.

In the inscription of the 1572 gift, as in most later documents, Beaulieu is described as ‘chantre et joueur d’instruments’ of the king; Doria is not mentioned by name but simply characterised as ‘sa femme’. In general, the fashion in which she is described in royal records aligns neatly with the model Billon proposed in the *Fort inexpugnable*, where he posited a situation in which male singers had musical wives under their tutelage and control. In documents where Doria does appear independently, she is almost invariably called a lady-in-waiting rather than a musician. Such gestures in contemporary records pose serious difficulties for understanding the activities of professional women musicians in early modern France.²¹ The music provided for her in the *Balet comique* makes it clear that Doria must have been a singer of great skill, but there

Odes (1559) – in which Magny compared a musician named only as ‘Lambert’ to Arcadelt and Saint-Gelais as a singer to the lute – not ‘Lambert de Beaulieu’, as has sometimes been suggested (for example, in F. Lesure, *Musicians and Poets of the French Renaissance*, trans. E. Gianturco and H. Rosenwald (New York, 1955), p. 78; the poem is included in Magny, *Les odes amoureuses de 1559*, ed. M. S. Whitney (Geneva, 1964), pp. 10–14).

²⁰ With few exceptions, chamber musicians received 200 livres per year on the *état de maison* of 1572–4 (Paris, Archives Nationales (henceforth Paris, AN), KK 134, fols. 51^r–52^r; see Brooks, *Courtly Song*, pp. 395–8).

²¹ On the difficulty of interpreting extant records, see *ibid.*, pp. 200–2.

is no way of telling how and to what extent her talents were responsible for the considerable rewards the couple received from royal patrons (did she devise her own solo lines for the *Balet comique* duo, for example?). There is only the slimmest archival support for the *Balet comique*'s evidence that she was a musician: in 1584, she and Beaulieu appear together on the queen's chamber budget as 'musiciens et joueurs de luth' and on the royal treasury records as 'chantres ordinaires de la chambre [of Henri III]', the plural nouns confirming that both she and Beaulieu played and sang. Like the payment to Beaulieu and Doria as a couple, however, these two records represent a telling departure from previous practice: Violante Doria was the first woman to be paid explicitly for musical services in any royal account of the sixteenth century, including those of the queens and royal siblings as well as those of the treasury and *maison du roi*. In fact women were rarely paid for anything in the king's household, and even the queen's official entourage, despite the inclusion of ladies-in-waiting, was predominantly male. Doria's presence itself in the records – even when named only as Beaulieu's wife – is a sign of important changes not only in French musical culture but in the structures of the court it inhabited.

Despite Beaulieu's identification as a 'singer and player of [Charles IX]' in the 1572 gift payment, his absence from contemporary lists of the king's household suggests that both singers were primarily attached to the queen. An entry in the 1572 list of royal pensioners supports this impression: an annual pension of 200 livres was awarded to 'Beaulieu et sa femme valet de chambre de la royne' (Beaulieu, *valet de chambre* of the queen, and his wife). Elizabeth of Austria, who married Charles IX in 1570, had connections with a number of celebrated musicians, including Lassus, Philippe de Monte and Maddalena Casulana, both before and after her marriage.²² It is unclear whether Doria

²² When Lassus visited the French court in 1571, he carried letters for Elizabeth from her uncle Albrecht of Bavaria and his heir Wilhelm (see H. Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso* (Wiesbaden, 1976), i, pp. 155–7); Lassus' visit may have been partly due to her encouragement. In French treasury records of 1572, a gift of 500 livres to Casulana, who was visiting from the imperial court in Vienna, was made at Elizabeth's request (Paris, BNF Clairambault 233, p. 3471). Monte became master of the imperial chapel in 1568, two years before Elizabeth left for France; his secular motet *Maeror cuncta tenet* is apparently a lament on her departure (the text refers to the weeping of the Rhine and Ister rivers, and closes with the lines 'Huius maestitiae est et tanti causa doloris, Montibus his abitus Regia Nympha tuis' [The cause of this sadness, and of so much sorrow, is the depar-

and Beaulieu were already part of Elizabeth's household before she left the imperial court, and much remains to be learned about their activities before 1572.²³ But the singers' attachment to the queen's retinue is significant for more than sheer chronology, for it gestures towards the kind of music-making in which they specialised: performances appropriate for the entertainment of the queen's entourage and for occasions when the king and his male retinue visited the chambers of the queen and queen mother, Catherine de Médicis, for conversation and diversion. Such gatherings were the location for courtly behaviour of the type most famously described by Castiglione, whose *Book of the Courtier* enjoyed enormous success in France as elsewhere in Europe.²⁴ In this context it is worth noting that Castiglione reserved special praise for self-accompanied singing – particularly singing to a bowed string instrument, one of Beaulieu's specialities – as the best kind of music-making for his perfect courtier.²⁵ Accomplished women singers were also a feature of such gatherings at contemporary Italian courts, most notably in Ferrara, where the French king's cousin, Alfonso d'Este, placed virtuoso female singers in his wife's entourage and organised private musical entertainments in her chambers for honoured visitors.²⁶ And it is precisely in these

ture of the Royal Nymph from these your mountains], a play on Monte's name). The motet was published in Monte's only chanson collection, *Sonetz de P. de Ronsard* (Paris 1575), with a preface by the royal chamber musician Jacques Antoine de La Chappelle dedicating the volume to Elizabeth's brother-in-law, François d'Anjou.

²³ Neither musician appears on the list of names of those to be assigned to her *maison* on her arrival in France (Paris, BNF Cinq cents de Colbert 7, fols. 81^r–89^r and 391^r–412^r) nor on her *état de maison* for 1570–1 (Paris, BNF Clairambault 356, fols. 7 ff.). The Genoese Doria family was allied to the emperor Maximilian II, however, so a prior connection between Violante and Elizabeth seems possible. Beaulieu was certainly French: he is never described as a foreigner in contemporary notarial records (which because of French property law and the *droit d'aubaine* almost invariably specify the origins of non-French citizens). He and Doria probably married by 1565 at the latest, as they had a daughter of marriageable age in 1580.

²⁴ For a contemporary account of conversation in the queens' chambers, see P. de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. L. Lalanne (Paris, 1864–82), viii, pp. 376–7; Brantôme also comments on the excellent music offered to these gatherings by Catherine de Médicis's singers.

²⁵ J. Haar, 'The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music', in R. W. Hanning and D. Rosand (eds.), *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 174–5; Brooks, *Courtly Song*, p. 153. On Castiglione as a manual for French courtly behaviour, see P. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Courtier* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 42–5 and 73–5.

²⁶ Henri III apparently heard one such private concert in Ferrara on his way through Italy to take up the throne of France in 1574; his protégé Anne de Joyeuse was treated to a

contexts that the singing styles that would characterise the ‘new music’ in Italy were often deployed.

After the death of Charles IX in 1574 and the accession of his brother Henri III, the musicians became members of the household of the new queen, Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont.²⁷ Beaulieu may have served the troublesome youngest brother of the Valois clan, François d’Anjou, as well; he appears in the accounts of Anjou’s *écurie* in 1575 in a list of musicians to whom table expenses were owed. At that time he had not yet obtained an official position in the *maison du roi*: he does not appear among the chamber musicians in the household list prepared for the new king in 1575.²⁸ But he had gained a place as one of Henri III’s domestic officers by 1577, when receipts from the royal treasury include a record of Beaulieu receiving wages as a ‘chantre de la chambre du Roy’ at the normal rate of 200 livres per year. Another receipt from the same year records that ‘Girard de Beaulieu chantre de la chambre dudit seigneur et Yolande Doria genevoise sa femme, l’une des damoiselles de la royne’ (Girard de Beaulieu, chamber singer of [Henri III] and Violante Doria, Genoese, his wife, one of the queen’s ladies) received the substantial sum of 2,000 livres as payment of an annual royal pension.

From 1577 extant documents also begin to reflect Beaulieu’s close connections with other members of Henri’s chamber music group. In July and December 1577 he acted as procurator for two chamber singers, Thesée Du Port and Jehan de Valot, collecting portions of their wages for them. In September 1578, the royal organist Guillaume Costeley, then mainly living in Evreux, took advantage of a stay in Paris to swear out a power of attorney enabling Beaulieu and another keyboard player from the chamber, Nicolas de La Grotte, to receive payments from the royal

performance by Duke Alfonso’s famed *concerto* in 1583. See A. Newcomb, ‘Courtesans, Muses or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, in J. Bowers and J. Tick (eds.), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Urbana, Ill., 1986), pp. 94–8; and L. Stras, ‘Onde havrà ’l mond’esempio et vera historia: Musical Echoes of Henri III’s Progress through Italy’, *Acta Musicologica*, 72 (2000), pp. 21–4.

²⁷ Auger Busbecq wrote to Elizabeth’s father Maximilian II on 9 February 1575 that Catherine de Médicis had ordered Elizabeth to send nearly all of her attendants to wait thereafter on Louise, who married the new king on 15 February. See Forster and Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, ii, p. 52.

²⁸ Paris, BNF fr. 7007, fol. 125^{r-v}.

treasury on Costeley's behalf. Links with Costeley probably played a part in a trip to Evreux in November 1581, a month after the *Balet comique*, when Beaulieu and five other royal chamber singers assisted in performances for the Puy d'Evreux, the musical competition in honour of Saint Cecilia that Costeley had helped to found in 1575.²⁹ The same individuals figured in the creation of Henri III's penitential confraternity of L'Annonciation de Nostre Dame in January 1583. The manuscript listing the names of the founding *confrères* stipulates that the singers were responsible for providing music for the group's devotions and processions.³⁰ These men, the core of the king's chamber music ensemble, were the only singers retained in royal service in 1584, when Henri III cut large numbers of officers from the royal *état* in an effort to reduce the cost of his entourage.³¹ Beaulieu's continuing association with his collaborator on the *Balet comique*, Jacques Salmon, is confirmed by royal treasury accounts of 1586, when a New Year's gift of 200 écus was awarded to the two musicians to share between them.

The royal pension list of 1578 specified that Beaulieu and Doria were to receive 200 livres per annum as a pension from the king and 1,000 livres from the queen, suggesting that even after Beaulieu gained a post in the royal chamber the couple were still considered members of the queen's entourage. This idea is supported not only by Beaujoyeux's claim in the *Balet comique* that Beaulieu was one of Louise's servants, but also by Louise's *état de maison* from 1584, one of the very few documents from her household to have survived. Here the singers appear together – identified as 'musiciens et joueurs de luth de la Royne' – with joint yearly wages of 400 écus. In addition to wage payments, extant receipts indicate that their annual royal pension in the 1580s amounted to

²⁹ *Puy de musique érigé à Evreux, en l'honneur de Madame Sainte Cécile, publié d'après un manuscrit du XVI^e siècle*, ed. T. Bonnin and A. Chassant (Evreux, 1837), pp. 23–4. The others were François de Lorigny (bass), Jacques Salmon (taille), Claude Baliffre (hautecontre), Jacques Busserat and Mesme Jacquin (both castrati); they were joined by royal cornett player Nicolas Delinet. All were members of the royal chamber in the early 1580s (see the royal *états de maison* for 1580 and 1584, Paris, BNF Dupuy 127, fols. 91^r–92^r and Paris, AN, KK 139, fols. 33^r–34^r; transcribed in Brooks, *Courtly Song*, pp. 402–5).

³⁰ The group, augmented by the *taille* Martin Mingeon and the famous castrato Estienne Le Roy, was listed under the rubric 'Huict Musiciens de la Chambre du Roy'. Paris, BNF fr. 7549, fols. 4^r and 21^r.

³¹ Only seven adult singers were retained; of those listed above, Busserat was let go. Paris, BNF Dupuy 489, fol. 13^r.

666 écus, bringing their yearly income to over 1,000 écus even before any gifts or extra payments were bestowed.³²

Another gauge of their success is the advantageous marriage they arranged for their daughter. In December 1580, Marguerite de Beaulieu, identified as the daughter of 'noblehomme Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre ordinaire du roy et de damoiselle Violante Doria dame de la Royné', contracted to marry Anthoine de Minard, seigneur de Villemain, a nobleman and landowner, son of a financial officer of the *hôtel du roi*. Her dowry of 8,000 écus was well within the range common among the minor nobility at Henri III's court and far above the sums generally available for the daughters of musicians. The document is one of a handful to claim that Beaulieu was himself a minor noble, perhaps another factor in arranging such a match for his daughter. The marriage took place in the spring of 1581, and subsequent documents registered at the Châtelet of Paris along with the marriage contract deal with the payment of the dowry in instalments in 1581 and 1582. Two are notarial acts drawn up in Beaulieu's house, on the rue Champfleury in the parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The rue Champfleury ran at a right angle to the north wall of the main royal residence in Paris, the Louvre, and was parallel to the rue de l'Autruche, site of several large *hôtels* belonging to the wealthiest and most powerful members of Henri III's court. When the court was in Paris, Beaulieu and Doria were thus strategically placed in the centre of its activities.³³

While Marguerite de Beaulieu married a noble, another daughter, Claude de Beaulieu, followed in her mother's footsteps as a royal musician. The last payment record in which Violante Doria figures is a fragment of the treasury accounts for 1588, which includes a joint payment to Doria and Beaulieu of a portion of their annual pension. There is no further mention of Doria in royal records; she may have died, fallen ill or retired from service at

³² The écu became the main unit of accountancy after the 1578 monetary reforms, and the livre tournois (formerly the principal unit for expressing sums) became merely an accounting term for a third of an écu. The pension of 666 écus 2/3 was thus equivalent to 2,000 livres before the reform; a receipt from 1577 for that amount suggests that the singers' annual pension had in reality already reached that considerable sum, despite the pension list of 1578 awarding them only 1,200 livres in principle.

³³ On the street and the parish, see J.-P. Babelon, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: Paris au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1986), pp. 225–7; a contemporary map showing the rue Champfleury appears on p. 214.

court. In the queen's household list for the following year, her place was taken by her daughter: the joint position formerly occupied by Beaulieu and Doria was now awarded to Beaulieu and 'Claude de Beaulieu sa fille musicienne et jouëuse de lut de la reyne' (his daughter Claude de Beaulieu, musician and lute player to the queen) with the same yearly wage of 400 écus.

On 1 August 1589, in the same year that Claude de Beaulieu was included with her father on the queen's accounts as a lutenist, Henri III was assassinated and France plunged deep into civil unrest. The following May, Emperor Rudolph wrote to Auger Busbecq to request him to offer Beaulieu a post, probably highly attractive, given the appalling situation in France.³⁴ Busbecq may never have contacted the singer, however, or if he did, it may already have been too late, for Beaulieu himself died later the same month. The parish register of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs that recorded his funeral on 25 May 1590 identified him as *maître de musique* of the chevalier d'Aumale, a member of the Guise family, and specified that he was then living on the rue Saint-Martin in Paris.³⁵

The archival documents that preserve traces of Beaulieu and Doria's careers show how profoundly different their circumstances were from those of Arcadelt, Sandrin or Janequin and other 'renomméz Musiciens de l'Eürope' at whom François de Billon's rhetorical firearms were aimed. Though a few prominent musicians under François I were minor nobles, aristocratic status was the exception rather than the rule, and noble musicians were generally polyphony chapel members before their appointment to positions in the royal chamber.³⁶ Beaulieu was apparently a gentleman; he never took orders and was married to a woman who was herself probably from a noble family.³⁷ Though he must have

³⁴ De Pace includes Rudolph's letter among the dispatches sent on 8 May 1590 (Rudolph II, *Divi Rudolphi . . . epistolae ineditae*, pp. 209–11).

³⁵ Y. de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1535–1792: actes d'état civil d'après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1965), p. 26.

³⁶ The nobleman Antoine de Longueval, for example, was a chapel member as well as a royal *valet de chambre* under François I; see R. Sherr, 'The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding their Deaths', *Journal of Musicology*, 6 (1988), pp. 67–8, and Brooks, 'From Minstrel to Courtier'.

³⁷ My inquiries to the Doria-Pamphilij archive in Rome have so far yielded no information about Violante Doria's genealogy; I would like to thank Cinzia Ammannato for her research on my behalf. The name 'Violante', however, occurs in earlier generations of the branch of the Doria family that included the famous admiral Andrea, making it likely that the singer was related, even if distantly.

sung polyphony, and sometimes religious music (in Henri III's confraternities, and for table blessings and other similar occasions for which the king's chamber group was responsible) he never held a chapel position, and both he and Doria seem to have excelled primarily as self-accompanying solo singers. Both took starring roles in court spectacle as well as performing in more intimate settings.

Beaulieu and Doria's careers had much in common with those of contemporary Italian musicians who have received more consistent attention from historians;³⁸ the resemblance is hardly surprising, given the close dynastic, political and cultural links between the major European courts of the period. The singers' relationship is in many ways a mirror of the setting in which their careers unfolded: a Franco-Italian couple like Henri II and Catherine de Médicis, Beaulieu and Doria flourished at the courts of Italian-speaking monarchs who were well aware of fashions at the courts of their cousins south of the Alps and determined to match or exceed them in brilliance and sophistication. As in Italy, the importance of courtly *divertissements* and of 'private' settings and mixed-sex sociability (following the model of civility manuals) to the courtly aesthetic created a milieu in need of services that musicians such as Beaulieu and Doria could provide. Their success testifies to the rising value of chamber music; representing in

³⁸ The most striking parallels concern the lives of their near contemporaries Alessandro Striggio and Virginia Vagnoli. Scion of an aristocratic Mantuan family, Striggio spent most of his career as a courtier-musician in Florence. He was a frequent participant in court *divertissements*, and though principally celebrated as a performer on the lute and *lirone*, he enjoyed close links with the court at Ferrara and composed music reflecting the singing experiments associated with the Ferrarese *concerto* and with early monody. Virginia Vagnoli, who married Striggio in 1571, was a famed singer and lutenist, also of noble origin. Both musicians had connections with the imperial court and were the object of several (unsuccessful) recruitment efforts by the emperor Maximilian II, who in 1566 attempted to secure the services of Vagnoli for the entourage of the empress Mary of Spain. There is even a possibility that Beaulieu or Doria met Striggio in Vienna, Paris or Munich during Striggio's 1567 tour of European capitals. During the trip to Paris, Striggio was lavishly welcomed at the court of Charles IX, who offered handsome enticements to the musician to enter French service. Though Striggio refused the offer and eventually returned to Florence, the incident testifies to the assiduous efforts *c.* 1570 to recruit chamber musicians with his skills for the royal court. Further on Striggio and Vagnoli, see *New Grove II* s.v. 'Striggio, Alessandro (i)' by I. Fenlon; D. S. Butchart, 'The Letters of Alessandro Striggio: An Edition with Commentary', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), pp. 1–78; and F. Piperno, 'Diplomacy and Musical Patronage: Virginia, Guidubaldo II, Massimiliano II, "Lo Streggino" and Others', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), pp. 259–85.

essence a professionalisation of the attainments of the perfect courtier and the *donna di palazzo*, their careers set important precedents for the structure of the royal musical establishment in the following century.³⁹

LE PLAISIR DE VOUS ÉCOUTER SEROIT DOUBLE

Documentary sources preserve an array of fascinating material on the careers of these two singers; despite the inevitable gaps, the records permit the trajectory of their professional lives to be traced in more detail than has been possible for any but a handful of sixteenth-century musicians in France. But such documents almost completely fail to convey anything of what Beaulieu and Doria sang for their royal patrons or how they sang it. Contemporary printed musical sources can provide some answers to these questions, but like the archival records that obfuscate attempts to reconstruct Violante Doria's activities, contemporary prints in many cases obscure almost as much as they reveal. In the case of musical sources, however, it is Beaulieu's voice that is most often in need of recovery, for it is the bass singer whose distinctive contributions to contemporary musical style are most completely masked by the conventions of late sixteenth-century print.

Beaulieu and Doria's attachment to the secular realm of the court musical establishment suggests that vernacular chansons were one cornerstone of their repertory. The published music of Beaulieu's comrades in the *chambre du roi* consists almost exclusively of chansons, including some of the earliest examples of the strophic songs later known as *airs de cour*: most notably in the *Musique* of Guillaume Costeley (1570) and in Nicolas de La Grotte's *Chansons de P. de Ronsard* (1569).⁴⁰ La Grotte published a second collection of songs in 1583, and a few strophic *airs* by Jacques Salmon were included in the anthology *Vingtquatrième livre d'airs et chansons* of the same year.⁴¹

³⁹ See Brooks, 'From Minstrel to Courtier', and ead., *Courtly Song*, pp. 79–80.

⁴⁰ G. Costeley, *Musique de Guillaume Costeley, organiste ordinaire et vallet de chambre, du treschretien et tresvincible Roy de France* (Paris, 1570); N. de La Grotte, *Chansons de P. de Ronsard, Ph. Desportes et autres* (Paris, 1569). La Grotte's volume was the most successful strophic song print of the period, with four subsequent editions in 1570, 1572, 1575 and 1580.

⁴¹ N. La Grotte, *Premier livre d'airs et chansons à 3. 4. 5. 6. parties* (Paris, 1583); *Vingtquatrième livre d'airs et chansons à quatre et cinq parties* (Paris, 1583).

The handful of extant pieces attributed to Beaulieu himself are of the same type. They appear in Fabrice Marin Caietain's *Airs* of 1576, which contains four songs credited to 'Beaulieu' and three by another renowned court singer, Joachim Thibault de Courville, amid the pieces attributed to Caietain.⁴² Caietain, a Neapolitan composer in the service of the Guises, explained in his preface that since he was liable to make errors in setting French texts, he consulted Beaulieu and Courville in order to represent the stresses of the language accurately in his music. He praises both musicians for their excellence in singing to the *lire* as well as for their composition of *airs*, calling them the Orpheus and Arion of France.⁴³ A connection with Guise musicians fits with Beaulieu's welcome into the household of the chevalier d'Aumale after Henri III's assassination.⁴⁴ And the association with Courville suggests that Beaulieu was involved with one of the more remarkable humanist undertakings of the later sixteenth century, Jean-Antoine de Baïf's Académie de poésie et de musique. Courville was the fellow 'entrepreneur' who founded the Academy in collaboration with Baïf; its Sunday afternoon concerts were the venue for performances of *musique mesurée à l'antique*, settings of Baïf's French poems in

⁴² *Helas que me faut il faire*, *Rosette pour un peu d'absence*, *Blessé d'une plaie inhumaine* and *Si tost que vostre oeil m'est blessé* are attributed to 'Beaulieu' in Caietain, *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties* (Paris, 1576); for a modern edition, see Fabrice Marin Caietain, ed. J. A. Bernstein (The Sixteenth-Century Chanson, 4; New York, 1995). Two chansons, settings of obscene mock-rustic texts in a imitative polyphonic idiom, are attributed to 'Beaulieu' in the *Quart livre de chansons composées à quatre parties par bons et excelens musiciens* (Paris, 1553); given their early date (twenty years before any documentary evidence of Beaulieu's activities at court) it is unclear whether these are Girard's work or that of another musician (perhaps the Parisian Mathurin de Beaulieu cited in a parish record of 1574; see Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris*, p. 26).

⁴³ 'Et pour-ce que je suis de nation et langue estrangere je pouvoy manquer a bien approprier les Airs sur les lettres françoises, Mais comme ceux qui veullent profiter aux estudes hantent les lieux ou s'en fait la profession, Moy pareillement me defiant de mes forces, (car je n'ay aucune honte de le declairer,) ay frequenté l'escole de Messieurs de Courville et Beaulieu, l'ung [l']Orphée l'autre l'Arion de France, leur vertu et nostre amitié me permettent de les appeller ainsi, car ilz ne sont seulement excelents aux recits de la Lyre, mais tresdoctes en l'art de Musique, et parfaits en la composition des Airs, que les grecs appellent Melopoeie, suivant leurs avertissements et bons avis J'ay corrigé la plus part des fautes que J'avoÿ peu faire en n'observant les longues et breves de la lettres.' Caietain, *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties*, fols. 1^v-2^r; a facsimile appears in Fabrice Marin Caietain, plate 1. Caietain's comments provide further evidence that Beaulieu was a native Frenchman.

⁴⁴ Jacques Salmon too enjoyed Guise patronage: in 1577, he appeared on an *état de maison* for Louis de Lorraine, cardinal de Guise, as a chamber musician (Paris, BNF Clairambault 816, fol. 203^v).

imitation of classical metres. Caietaïn's *Airs* contains the earliest printed examples of *musique mesurée*, including the three songs by Courville as well as three others by Caietaïn himself.⁴⁵ Though Beaulieu's own *airs* are all settings of conventional rhymed verse by the court poet Philippe Desportes, the appearance of his music in the collection and the link between his name and Courville's suggest that Beaulieu (and probably Doria as well) was involved in the performance of the new measured music.

All the pieces attributed to Beaulieu and his circle – whether *musique mesurée* or conventional song – were published as vocal polyphony. But the majority are homophonic strophic *airs* suitable for performance by a solo singer, with the remaining parts arranged for lute or another instrument. Many of these pieces, and others like them, were regularly published as songs for voice and lute in the early seventeenth century. They also appear as lute songs in a few sixteenth-century manuscripts and a scattering of print sources. Virtually all the songs in Nicolas de La Grotte's *Chansons*, for example, appeared as arrangements in lute tablature with the superius line in white mensural notation in Adrian Le Roy's *Livre d'airs de cour miz sur le luth* (1571), the first book explicitly to connect this repertory of strophic songs to court usage. Although solo lute performance may have been the primary intention of Le Roy's collection, the inclusion of the texted vocal line and the information supplied in the preface leave little doubt that the pieces could be, and probably usually were, executed as accompanied song.⁴⁶ Three manuscript sources copied in the 1590s present similar songs in unambiguous versions for voice and lute.⁴⁷ The problem of aligning the tablature and the vocal part without using large amounts of expensive paper discouraged music printers from adopting the lute song format on more than a few occasions before 1600. But despite their usual publication format, it takes

⁴⁵ The standard source on the Academy remains Yates, *The French Academies*; on the relationship of Caietaïn's *Airs* to its activities, see also Bernstein's preface to *Fabrice Marin Caietaïn*, p. xiv. Beaulieu's association is discussed further in Brooks, *Courtly Song*, p. 240.

⁴⁶ On Le Roy's *Livre d'airs de cour*, see Brooks, *Courtly Song*, pp. 13–20. For a detailed examination of the performance issues raised by the book, see J. Le Cocq, 'French Lute Song, 1529–1643' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1997), i, pp. 11–20, and id., 'The Status of Le Roy's Publications for Voice and Lute or Guitar', *The Lute*, 35 (1995), pp. 4–27.

⁴⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. d.237 (c.1597); Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 429 (copied in stages, 1586–1606) and Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, MS 147 (203)-R312 (c.1600). See Le Cocq, 'French Lute Song', i, pp. 80–7.

no great leap of imagination to see such *airs* as an important part of the repertory of Beaulieu and Doria, who could perform these graceful strophic pieces to their own accompaniment for the entertainment of the queen's entourage.

Somewhat more difficult to trace are pieces they might have sung together. That they did so on at least one occasion, however, is incontestable: their participation in the *Balet comique*, the only documented instance of their performance of a specific piece of music, was as a couple, and their solo dialogue from the *Balet comique* can provide a springboard for exploring a larger repertory. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the designation 'dialogue' could be used for pieces in which voices or groups of voices alternate or contrast, or to refer to settings of texts in which two or more characters converse.⁴⁸ 'Dialogue' in the latter case is a function of the poetry rather than of compositional or performance style, and Don Harrán has argued that only settings of such texts should be considered as musical dialogues.⁴⁹ In what follows, I shall use 'dialogue' to refer to musical settings of dialogue texts, and 'performance in dialogue' to refer to performance practices featuring alternation between solo singers, whether or not the text they sing is strictly speaking a dialogue. French music prints from before 1600 contain a large number of dialogue texts, set in a range of musical styles: as through-composed chansons, as strophic *airs* or as sets of pieces linked in chanson-response pairs or longer cycles. All were published, however, as polyphonic works for four or more voices; the unique exception is the *Balet comique* dialogue performed by Beaulieu and Doria in 1581.

Yet performance in dialogue by self-accompanying solo singers had been a feature of French court life for at least fifteen years before the *Balet comique*. In 1565, when Catherine de Médicis and Charles IX went to Bayonne to meet his sister Élisabeth, queen of Spain, the festivities culminated in a tournament between courtiers costumed as English and Irish knights; as a preliminary, deputies from both sides presented a musical request to the king that the knights be allowed to settle in combat the relative merits

⁴⁸ See J. Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi* (Ann Arbor, 1982), i, pp. 181–200; and *New Grove II*, s.v. 'Dialogue' by J. Whenham and D. Nutter.

⁴⁹ D. Harrán, 'Towards a Definition of the Early Secular Dialogue', *Music & Letters*, 51 (1970), pp. 37–50.

of virtue and love. Two singers to the *lire* – identified as Thibault de Courville and Guillaume Le Boulanger, sieur de Vaumesnil, by the payment records for their costumes – sang alternate stanzas of a strophic poem to their own accompaniment, interspersed with instrumental interludes for violin and lute. Though the music has been lost, the text of the piece is preserved in a description of the event.⁵⁰

Two years later, in January 1567, a similar performance figured in celebrations for the baptism of the son of the secretary of state Nicolas de Neufville, Sieur de Villeroy, and Madeleine de Laubesbine. Pierre de Ronsard's paeon to the ladies attending the banquet, *Autant qu'on voit aux cieux*, was first printed in 1569 with the rubric 'Stanzas quickly made to play on the *lire*, one player answering the other'; the poem consists of quatrains alternately marked 'Player I' and 'Player II'.⁵¹ A musical setting for four voices appeared in the same year in La Grotte's *Chansons*, and it seems likely that this represents an arrangement of the version performed in 1567 by two soloists.⁵² Another of Ronsard's occasional poems, *Le soleil et nostre roy*, was sung during carnival celebrations at court in 1571. The earliest version of the text, copied in late 1570 or early 1571 into a manuscript poetry album owned by Villeroy and Laubespine, is labelled 'Comparison of the sun and the king constructed in stanzas to be sung by two *lire* or lute players who will answer one another, who will be seated in a chariot

⁵⁰ *Recueil des choses notables qui ont esté faites à Bayonne . . .* (Paris, 1566), ed. in V. E. Graham and W. M. Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries 1564–66* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 357–62; see also pp. 46–7. The costume payments figure in Paris, AN, KK 130, fols. 78^r–79^v, 81^r–82^v, 89^r–90^v, 222^r–223^v and 226^v–227^r. The violinists were the Burgundian Dominique Davon and the future creator of the *Balet comique*, Balthazar de Beaujoyeux. On Vaumesnil, see *Oeuvres de Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Raël, Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre*, ed. A. Souris, M. Rollin and J.-M. Vaccaro (Corpus des Luthistes Français; Paris, 1974), pp. xiii–xv.

⁵¹ 'Stances promptement faites pour jouer sur la Lyre, un joueur repondant à l'autre'. The poem first appeared in Ronsard's *Sixiesme livre des poèmes* (1569): see P. de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Laumonier, revised and completed by I. Silver and R. Lebègue (Paris, 1914–75), xv, pp. 136–41.

⁵² La Grotte, *Chansons*, pp. 77–9; the song also appears in Le Roy, *Livre d'airs de cour*, in a print format more closely resembling the circumstances of the first performance. The third edition of La Grotte's collection (1572) includes a setting of another occasional piece by Ronsard, *Tel qu'un petit aigle sort*; in Ronsard's works, the poem – a celebration of the future Henri III's victories over the Huguenots at Jarnac in 1569 – was identified as a 'Chant triomphal pour jouer sur la lyre' (Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, xv, p. 61) though it is unclear if this refers to dialogue or solo performance.

in front of his Majesty'.⁵³ This poem too was soon published in a homophonic four-voice musical setting, this time by Caietain; his piece appears in his *Airs* of 1576 along with the songs of Beaulieu and Courville. Like *Autant qu'on voit aux cieux*, the music of *Le soleil et nostre roy* was printed as polyphony, so that without the rubrics from poetic prints and manuscripts, it would be difficult to guess that the song was initially conceived for dialogue performance by solo singers. Neither poem is obviously a dialogue text: although each strophe is a self-contained unit, alternate strophes consist of statements (in praise of the ladies, in praise of the king) rather than questions and responses.

We know the names of the performers only for the Bayonne event; for *Autant qu'on voit aux cieux* and *Le soleil et nostre roy*, the word 'joueurs' used to describe the executants could again refer to two men. The masculine plural could also be used for a mixed-sex pair such as Beaulieu and Doria, however, and as we have seen, extant archives suggest that their success at the French court was already considerable by 1572. Another record from the summer of 1574, when Henri III travelled through Italy on his return from Poland to take up the crown of France after the death of Charles IX, confirms that French monarchs had developed a taste for female solo vocal performance – and perhaps duo performances by a mixed pair of solo singers – by the 1570s. The manuscript recording Henri's expenses while in Venice includes a gift of 40 écus to 'the German Martha and her husband, who were twice sent for to sing and play the lute and viol'.⁵⁴ The reference is to a

⁵³ 'Comparaison du soleil et du Roy faite par stances pour estre recitée par deux joueurs de lire ou de luth qui respondront l'un à l'autre, lesquels seront assis dedans le chariot devant sa Majesté'. Paris, BNF fr. 1663, fol. 45^r. On this manuscript, see J. Lavaud, *Philippe Desportes (1546–1606): un poète de cour au temps des derniers Valois* (Paris, 1936), pp. 46–58, and P. Champion, *Ronsard et Villeroy: les secrétaires d'état et les poètes d'après le manuscrit français 1663 de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1925). When the poem was printed in 1571, the rubric was revised to reflect the circumstances of the actual performance by two singers to the *lire* ('Comparaison du Soleil et du Roy faite par stances, qui fut recitée par deux joueurs de Lyre, lesquels estoient assis dedans un chariot devant sa Majesté'; see Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, xv, pp. 349–54). Villeroy and Laubespine were not only active patrons of court poets, but also maintained a musical establishment including a chapel of professional singers (see Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Les musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais* (Paris, 1910; repr. Geneva, 1973), pp. 124 and 138–9; and E. C. Teviotdale, 'The Invitation to the Puy d'Evreux', *Current Musicology*, 52 (1993), pp. 11–12).

⁵⁴ 'la Marthe Thudesque, et a son mary qui ont esté mandez deux fois pour chanter et sonner du luth et de la viole'. Paris, BNF fr. 3321, fol. 20^o. The wording of the payment is ambiguous, but suggests that both musicians sang and played. On musical enter-

young singer from Mechelen known only as ‘Martha’, who entered the service of the emperor Maximilian II around 1570, and her husband, the imperial chamber musician Mauro Sinibaldi.⁵⁵ Martha was among the most celebrated musicians of Maximilian’s court, where Henri had stopped for several days after leaving Poland and before setting off for Italy. She and her husband – another musical couple like Striggio and Vagnoli, or Beaulieu and Doria – were probably included in the entourage assembled in Vienna to accompany Henri on his subsequent voyage until his own retinue, left behind during his precipitous nocturnal departure from Poland, was able to join him.⁵⁶ Whether or not Martha and Sinibaldi sang together or in dialogue, this gift (a generous sum, and the only payment to a named musician in the manuscript) suggests that Henri, during whose reign Beaulieu and Doria were most successful, was fond of solo singing with lute and viol and particularly prized the female voice.

With these contexts in mind, we can return to the duo from the *Balet comique*. As for the other accompanied solo vocal music for the event, only the melodic lines appear in the print (see Example 1). The text begins with ten quatrains alternating between the characters, with Glaucus’ interventions cast in alexandrines and Tethys’ responses in heterometric stanzas of eight- and ten-syllable lines. The text is a true dialogue, that is, each of Glaucus’ strophes poses a question or makes a statement to which Tethys’

tainments during Henri’s stay in Venice, 17–27 July 1574, see D. Nutter, ‘A Tragedy for Henry III of France, Venice, 1574’, in A. Morrogh, F. S. Gioffredi, P. Morselli and E. Borsook (eds.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth: History, Literature, Music* (Florence, 1985), pp. 591–611.

⁵⁵ See R. Lindell, ‘*Martha gentile che’l cor n’ha morto*: Ein unbekannte Kammermusikerin am Hof Maximilians II’, *Musicologica Austriaca*, 7 (1987), pp. 59–68, and id., ‘Filippo, Stefano and Martha: New Findings on Chamber Music at the Imperial Court in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century’, in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: trasmissione et ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. A. Pompilio, D. Restani, L. Bianconi and F. A. Gallo (Turin, 1990), iii, pp. 869–75.

⁵⁶ Henri certainly enjoyed musical entertainments in Vienna. In the dedication to his *Madrigali di Filippo de Monte a cinque voci. Libro quinto* (Venice, 1574), signed from Vienna on 10 October, Philippe de Monte wrote of the pleasure the French king had recently taken in Monte’s music (Stras, ‘Musical Echoes’, p. 9). Henri’s own musicians (no doubt including his keyboard player, Nicolas de La Grotte) followed from Poland about a week behind him, performing with great success for Maximilian after Henri had already left for Venice: on 24 July the Ferrarese envoy to the imperial court wrote that they were then in Vienna, and that the emperor had showered them with gifts (E. Durante and A. Martellotti, *Cronistoria del concerto delle dame principalissime di Margherita Gonzaga d’Este* (Florence, 1979), p. 131).

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

Toutes les stances se chantent soubz ce chant icy,
reste la dernière qui est interlocutoire.

1 Glaucque.



Mais que me sert Te -

5



thys ceste es - cail - le nou -

9



vel - le, Que je suis

13



d'un pes - cheur en dieu ma - rin

17



— for - mé? Je — vous -

21



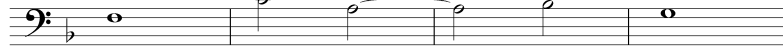
drois n'es - tre dieu — et de Scylle —

25



— estre ay - mé, Pour

29



ne bru - ler — en vain

Example 1 [Girard de Beaulieu], *Mais que me sert Tethys ceste escaille*
(first strophe only), from Beaujoyeux, *Le balet comique*, fols. 19^r–21^r

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33
d' u - ne flam - me cru - el -

37
le. Tethys. L'arc d'A - mour est

41
vic - to - ri - eux Con - tre

45
les hom - mes et les

49
Dieux, Et de ses traits

53
la bles - sure à cha - cun

57
Qui la re - çoit, ap -

61
porte un mal com - mun.

Example 1 *Continued*

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

La reprise du dialogue.

1

Soprano: Et de ses traits la_ bles - sure à_ cha - cun Qui_

Alto: Et de ses traits la bles - sure à cha - cun Qui_

Contra: Et de ses traits la bles - sure à cha - cun Qui

Tenor: Et de ses traits la bles - sure à cha - cun Qui

Bassus: Et de ses traits la bles - sure à cha - cun Qui

5

Soprano: la re - çoit, ap-porte un_ mal com - mun.

Alto: la re - çoit, ap-porte un mal_ com - mun.

C: la re - çoit, ap-porte un mal_ com - mun.

T: la re - çoit, ap-porte un mal com - mun.

B: la re - çoit, ap-porte un_ mal_ com - mun.

Example 1 *Continued*

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Ceci est pour la dernière stance.

1 Glaque

Et

4

qui est ces - te Nym -

8

phe? Est - ce u - ne Ne - re -

12

i - de? Non, car

16

la mer n'a point

20

tel - le Nym - phe con -

24

- - ceu. Je - çay bien,

28

c'est Ve - nus.

32 Tethys

Tu es en - cor de -

36

çeu, Elle a chas - sé

Example 1 *Continued*

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

40
Ve - nus dans les jar - dins

44
de Gni - de. C'est
(O = O) Glaque

48
donc Ju - non. Tu te de -
(O = O) Tethys

52
çois. Est - ce la Ju - non
Glaque

56
des Fran - çois? Ce n'est
Tethys

60
Ju - non: c'est Loy -

64
se, et son nom

68
Pas - se en pou - voir tous les
3

72
noms

76
de Ju - non.

Example 1 *Continued*

strophe supplies an answer or commentary. After each exchange, singers and players representing marine gods take up the final two phrases of Tethys' music in a five-part harmonisation. The superius line of the five-part refrain is largely the same as in Tethys' solo, though it is notated in half the former rhythmic values and employs different ornamentation. The final part of the text, in prose, is described in the print as 'interlocutoire': it features a series of short questions from Glaucus alternating with Tethys' responses. This section is manifestly designed as a vocal showpiece, including elaborate diminutions of a type today more frequently associated with Italian music and court spectacle of the period.

One striking aspect of the entire piece is the behaviour of the solo bass line. Unlike the melodically conceived soprano part – which moves mainly by step and approaches cadential pitches through the leading note or the note above – the bass displays the characteristic motion of bass lines of contemporary polyphony, tracing fourths, fifths and octaves on a regular basis and almost invariably approaching cadence pitches by a leap of a fourth or fifth. For example, the final phrase of the music repeated for each of the rhymed stanzas (bars 28–37) begins by tracing the fourth $b-f$, and outlines the fifth $f-c'$ and the $g-G$ octave before cadencing from d to the modal final, G ; it can easily be harmonised using the chords of one of the most common singing formulae of the period, the *romanesca*. In the interlocutory section, these interval patterns remain prominent, especially at cadence points, despite their clothing in decorative passage work (see bars 47–8, for example).

This is the only dialogue we know to have been composed for and performed by Beaulieu and Doria. It may have been a unique occasion: a one-off performance of 'marriage' in the context of the wedding festivities for Joyeuse and as a celebration of the existing marriage of Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont and Henri III.⁵⁷ It is

⁵⁷ The latter badly needed affirmation, in the light of the queen's inability to produce an heir and to counter the persistent accusations of homosexual practice levelled at the king and his *mignons* (including Joyeuse himself) by *ligueurs* and Protestant pamphleteers throughout Henri's reign. See J. Cady, "The "Masculine Love" of the "Princes of Sodom" "Practising the Art of Ganymede" at Henri III's Court: The Homosexuality of Henri III and his *Mignons* in Pierre de L'Estoile's *Mémoires-Journaux*", in J. Murray and K. Eisenbichler (eds.), *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 123–54.

clear that Beaulieu and Doria must often have performed separately, especially once Beaulieu had gained a place in the royal chamber; the court of the late sixteenth century was still largely peripatetic, and the entourages of the queen and king were often physically apart. Beaulieu may also have followed the retinues of François d'Anjou or one of the Guise princes at times when they were travelling separately from the main body of the court. It is hard to believe, however, that during nearly twenty years of court service the *Balet comique* was the only instance in which Beaulieu and Doria sang together. Their regular remuneration as a couple is suggestive but inconclusive (though the record that 'la Marthe' and her husband performed together for Henri III in Venice helps to strengthen the case). More compelling is the evidence that dialogue performance was a familiar mode of execution for self-accompanying singers at the French court from the 1560s at the latest. Furthermore, musical dialogues participated in the discourse of civility at the very heart of contemporary concepts of courtliness. This discourse spawned a whole range of cultural artefacts imitating and perfecting courtly conversational exchange, ranging from the civility manuals themselves to poetry and romance, and must certainly be seen as a strong encouragement to the musical enactment of these ideals.⁵⁸

Dialogue performance by the pair is unlikely to have been a unique event; but the print of the *Balet comique* in which this duo is preserved is a unique publication. Unlike the vast majority of French music prints, it was not designed as a blueprint for the production of subsequent performances. It was a luxuriously presented narration of a fabulous occasion, to be savoured as the record of an event of historical significance: the sixteenth-century equivalent of a lavishly illustrated coffee-table book on the coronation of Elizabeth II or the wedding of Charles and Diana.⁵⁹ Written-out music is one component that contributes to the effect, a visual representation of sound analogous to the engravings

⁵⁸ Brooks, *Courtly Song*, p. 234.

⁵⁹ After Elizabeth II's coronation, Novello published a souvenir book uncannily like the account of the *Balet comique*, containing descriptions of the proceedings, texts for all the prayers and orations, and notated music for everything the Westminster Abbey Choir performed: *Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II: The Form and Order of the Service and the Music Sung in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, 2 June 1953* (London, 1953).

showing costumes and scenery; Beaujoyeux did not intend that anyone should mount performances of the music any more than he expected his readers to build their own replicas of the sets. The run-of-the-mill music prints of the period have a radically different function. They do not generally reflect any specific performance of the pieces they contain, but present the material in a standard format that could be adapted to suit the music-buyer's needs. In late sixteenth-century France, this standard format was vocal partbooks. Thus the situation for dialogues is similar to that of solo songs: if any traces of Beaulieu and Doria's other dialogue performances survive, they are camouflaged by the printing convention of four-voice polyphony.

The question is how to work backwards from the polyphonic prints to the solo dialogue performances they obscure. In two cases I shall examine here, early seventeenth-century versions of pieces that were first published many years earlier as polyphony suggest how dialogues were performed by soprano and bass in the late sixteenth century. Both set texts that elaborate variants of the type of mixed-gender exchange that characterised late sixteenth-century courtly love discourse. Both texts, like that of the *Balet comique*, feature a question–answer or statement–response relationship between the interventions; though the evidence of pieces such as *Autant qu'on voit aux cieux* and *Le soleil et nostre roy* shows that strophic songs whose texts were not true dialogues could be performed by soloists in alternation, dialogue texts seem positively to invite such performance by their clear differentiation of personae. To my mind, these pieces can be productively read as metaphors both for the careers of the singers who performed them and the social setting in which they flourished. And the conclusions drawn from the examination of these dialogues have wider implications both for the contemporary performance of solo song and for significant aspects of the period's musical aesthetics.

In strophic dialogues, exchanges between the characters may occur by strophe, or their voices may alternate at shorter intervals within the stanza. (The *Balet comique* dialogue provides a sample of both kinds of alternation, by strophe in the first five exchanges and then within the strophe for the final stanza.) Where subject voices alternate from stanza to stanza, sixteenth-century polyphonic print sources make no musical distinction between

them: only a single strophe is underlaid, and subsequent strophes, for either speaker, employ the same music. Polyphonic dialogues in which the voices alternate within strophes often use a similar procedure: the responding speaker employs a recomposed version of the material given by the initiating subject, sometimes involving little more than changes to accommodate the final cadence. A good example is *Que ferez vous, dites madame*, published in Didier Le Blanc's *Airs de plusieurs musiciens, sur les poésies de P. Desportes, et autres des plus excellens poètes de nostre tems* (Paris, 1579). A modern edition appears in *Monuments de la musique française au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Henry Expert (Paris, 1925). As its title indicates, this collection contains music by various (unnamed) composers; notably, it features arrangements of the melodies of three of the four pieces attributed to Beaulieu in Caietain's 1576 *Airs*.⁶⁰ Like the songs earlier attributed to Beaulieu, *Que ferez vous* is a triple-metre *air*, and like them it sets a text by Philippe Desportes. The poem treats a staple subject of courtly love, constancy in absence, through the questions of the male interlocutor to a woman separated from her lover. The text consists of nine quatrains rhyming *abab*, each quatrain beginning with two lines in a masculine voice and closing with two lines of feminine response. The musical setting follows the verse structure, employing similar rhythms for all four phrases and the same melody (with some reharmonisation in the second appearance) for the *a* rhyme in the first and third lines of each quatrain. The music for the *b* rhyme of the second and fourth lines is also related, but melody and harmony are adjusted to provide a cadence on D at the end of the second line and a closing cadence on the modal final, G, at the end of the fourth (Example 2).

Though it is published as a four-voice vocal arrangement, two solo singers could perform this piece as a dialogue by assuming one of the subject voices and playing the other parts on an instru-

⁶⁰ Le Blanc's book contains arrangements of the same melodies used by Beaulieu for *Blessé d'une plaie inhumaine*, *Helas que me faut-il faire* and *Si tost que vostre oeil m'eust blessé*. The melody of the fourth piece attributed to Beaulieu in Caietain's book, *Rosette pour un peu d'absence*, appears in Chardavoine and in Besard (see *Airs de cour pour voix et luth (1603–1643)*, ed. A. Verchaly (Paris, 1961; repr. 1989), p. xxix). It is not clear whether the attributions in Caietain refer to entire pieces, that is, the melody and the accompanying voices, or whether it is simply the arrangements in polyphony that were Beaulieu's work.

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1

Superius
Que fe - rez vous, di - tes, ma Da - me, Per - dant un

Contra
Que fe - rez vous, di - tes, ma Da - me, Per - dant un—

Tenor
Que fe - rez vous, di - tes, ma Da - me, Per - dant un

Bassus
Que fe - rez vous, di - tes, ma Da - me, Per - dant un

6

S
si fi - del - le a - mant? Ce que peut fair' un

C
— si fi - del - le a - mant? Ce que peut fair' un—

T
si fi - del - le a - mant? Ce que peut fair' un

B
si fi - del - le a - mant? Ce que peut fair' un

11

S
corps sans a - me, Sans yeux, sans poulz, sans— mou - ve - ment.

C
— corps sans a - me, Sans yeux, sans poulz, sans— mou - ve - ment.

T
corps sans a - me, Sans yeux, sans poulz, sans— mou - ve - ment.

B
corps sans a - me, Sans yeux, sans poulz, sans— mou - ve - ment.

Example 2 *Que ferez vous, dites ma Dame*, from Didier Le Blanc,
Airs de plusieurs musiciens (1579)(first strophe only). After *Monuments de la musique française*, ed. Expert, pp. 30–1

ment, just as they would have done for solo *airs*. Modern musicians might assume that in doing so the singers always performed the melody of the sections corresponding to their character, and that the lower parts furnished the material for accompaniment. That this was probably not the case – at least for the duos for soprano and bass that we can imagine Doria and Beaulieu performing – is shown by a later arrangement of *Que ferez vous* published in Gabrielle Bataille's *Airs de differents autheurs mis en tablature de luth . . . troisieme livre* (Paris, 1611). This was the third in a highly successful series of books of solo songs with lute accompaniment that Pierre Ballard began publishing shortly after 1606, when he formally took over the music-printing business founded by his father Robert and his partner Adrian Le Roy some fifty years earlier. One of Pierre's first ventures was to launch a series of stunningly elegant lute song books employing an ingenious new use of type originally designed for other purposes. The new layout was not only beautiful but practical as well; for the first time, the problems of aligning the vocal lines with the tablature were neatly and economically solved. For the first six books in his series, Ballard collaborated with the royal lute player Gabriel Bataille, who collected and arranged the music. The repertory was chosen from fashionable recent works by court composers, particularly Pierre Guédron, but also contains a large number of older songs, many of them in circulation for more than thirty years but previously published only in polyphonic format.⁶¹

In Bataille's anthology, *Que ferez vous* appears as a dialogue for bass and soprano with lute accompaniment; the first two poetic lines are notated in bass clef, and lines 3 and 4 supply the woman's response in treble clef (Example 3). Although Bataille notates the piece with the rhythmic flexibility characteristic of later prints of *airs*, his soprano solo is an embellished version of the same melody that appears in Le Blanc's *superius* for the woman character's lines. The bass solo is not a melody in the modern sense of the

⁶¹ See J. Le Cocq, 'Experimental Notation and Entrepreneurship in the Seventeenth Century: The *air de cour* for Voice and Lute, 1608–1643', *Revue de Musicologie*, 85 (1999), pp. 265–75; G. Durosoir, *L'air de cour en France, 1571–1655* (Liège, 1991), pp. 111–52. Le Cocq considers the books as a bold entrepreneurial step by Ballard and Bataille in appealing to new markets for this type of song. The typography of the collections (which used type originally designed as spinet tablature) will be discussed in Laurent Guillo's forthcoming study of the Ballard firm. I am grateful to M. Guillo for sharing his work prior to publication.

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Que fe - rez vous, di - tes Ma - da - me,

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat, also containing chordal accompaniment.

Per - dant un si fi - del - le a - mant?

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment.

Ce que peut faire un corps sans a - me,

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment.

Sans yeux, sans poulx, sans mou - ve - ment.

The fourth system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes. The middle staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat, containing chordal accompaniment.

Example 3 *Que ferez vous, dites Madame*, from *Airs de différents auteurs . . . troisieme livre*, ed. Bataille (1611), fols. 66^v-67^r (first strophe only)

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The image shows a musical score for a dialogue in French. It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: "Que fe - rez vous, di - tes, ma Da - me, Per - dant un si fi - del - le a - mant? Ce que peut fair' un corps sans a - me, Sans yeux, sans poulz, sans — mou - ve - ment." Asterisks are placed above the notes for "di" and "tes" in the first system, and above the note for "corps" in the third system, indicating where the melody used by Bataille differs from that of Le Blanc.

Example 4 *Que ferez vous*, melody from Le Blanc superimposed on the bass from Bataille. The sections marked with asterisks represent clashes where the melody used by Bataille differs from that of Le Blanc

word, but – like the music for Glaucus in the *Balet comique* – a bass part similar to those found in contemporary polyphony. At first glance this section looks unrelated to Le Blanc's version of the male speaker's lines: it does not follow the melody, nor does it duplicate Le Blanc's bass. But in fact putting Le Blanc's melody together with Bataille's bass produces a reasonably satisfactory contrapuntal match (Example 4). Discrepancies occur only at bars 2–3 and 11 (at corresponding positions in the first and second couplet of the text, marked with asterisks in Example 4) where the melody as Bataille knew it was slightly different from Le Blanc's,

generating a different harmonisation.⁶² That is, Bataille's song is not based on Le Blanc. Both Bataille and Le Blanc present different harmonisations – with correspondingly different bass parts – of much the same strophic song, which probably circulated primarily in the form of a tune to which different arrangement techniques were applied. One such technique apparently involved the extraction of a bass part for performance by a male singer, allowing the song to be executed as a dialogue for male and female soloists. What seems unusual about this from the modern perspective is that the bass part was clearly considered a self-sufficient solo line without the superius melody, which does not even appear in the lute part of the bass singer's sections in Bataille's arrangement.

Bataille's third book contains one further dialogue for solo singers: *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?*, on a pastoral text by Jean Passerat. Born in 1534, Passerat was a poet under the protection of Henri de Mesmes, *maître des requêtes* at the court of Henri III. Virtually none of his vernacular poetry was published before his death in 1602; a posthumous publication contains the first printed version of the dialogue.⁶³ But the poem had been circulating in manuscript at the French royal court for many decades. It figures in a poetry album compiled c.1564–5 for Marie de Montmorency, and it appears in an album copied in the early 1570s for Nicolas de Neufville and Madeleine de Laubesbine (the same manuscript that contains the earliest version of Ronsard's *Le soleil et nostre roy*).⁶⁴ Both volumes include numerous poems circulating with musical settings in contemporary prints.⁶⁵ Both also contain several dia-

⁶² Bataille's soprano part (Example 3, 3rd system, on 'corps') shows that the melody he knew moved to *d''* rather than *c''* at the spot corresponding to the downbeats of bars 3 and 11 in Example 4. The reason for the bass *c* in Example 4, bar 2 is less obvious, but if the melody Bataille knew proceeded *d''-e''-d''* at this point (as his superius line suggests) instead of *b''-d''-c''*, this harmonisation too would work.

⁶³ *Recueil des oeuvres poétiques de Jean Passerat lecteur et interprete du Roy* (Paris, 1606); see J. Passerat, *Les poésies françaises*, ed. P. Blanchemain (Paris, 1880; repr. Geneva, 1968), i, pp. 141–3. Here and in the setting in Bataille, the first word is spelled 'Patoureau'; all other sources use the orthography 'Pastoureau', which I adopt here for the sake of consistency.

⁶⁴ The poem appears in the Montmorency album, Paris, BNF Rothschild IV.2.3, on fols. 109^r–110^r; see E. Picot, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, iv (Paris, 1912), pp. 584–91. On the Villeroy manuscript, Paris, BNF fr. 1663, see n. 53 above; the dialogue is on fols. 42^r–43^r.

⁶⁵ Poems known in contemporary musical settings include Passerat's ode in *vers mesuré*, *Ce petit dieu colere archer leger oyseau* (Rothschild IV.2.3, fol. 69^{r-v}, and fr. 1663, fol. 84^r, set to

logue poems, including the anonymous *Hola hola Karon*, an exchange between a soul and the guardian of Hell (a poem type frequently set to music), and Baif's dialogue *O Liz' objet de mon amour fidelle*, a portion of which appears in musical setting as *Lise que j'aime sur tout* in Didier Le Blanc's second book of *airs*.⁶⁶ *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?* also survives in a contemporary musical setting, in Jean de Castro's *Livre de chansons à cinq parties . . . avec une pastorelle à VII en forme de dialogue* (Antwerp, 1586). Although the preface was signed from Antwerp, the collection appeared only a few years after Castro was forced by the troubles in the Low Countries to seek refuge in France, where he may first have become familiar with Passerat's text.⁶⁷

The structure of the poem is unusual, consisting of five strophes of six-syllable lines, each followed by a refrain of two three-syllable couplets ('Comme quoy? / Comme toy / Ma rebelle / Pastorelle'). The strophes vary in length: the first is a rhyming couplet; strophes 2 and 5 are quatrains composed of two couplets; and strophes 3 and 4 are *huitains* of four couplets (see Table 1). A further complication is that the changes between speakers occur at different places in each strophe. Part of the poem's attraction lies in the lively volley between the characters: the shepherdess's exasperated attempts to dictate the terms of her suitor's love-talk produce rapid shifts in voice, as she proposes responses for him and mimics his unsatisfactory replies. The frequent inclusion of phrases such as 'You should say . . .' and 'Don't say . . .', followed by quotes or parodies, combines with the employment of reflexive

music in Le Blanc's *Airs de plusieurs musiciens* and Philippe Desportes's *Quand je pense aux plaisirs* (Rothschild IV.2.3, fols. 87^v–88^v; set in Caietain's *Airs mis en musique*). Both manuscripts also contain poems for which no musical setting is known but whose construction – strophes plus repeating refrains – betrays a musical intent or origin (for example, *Mettez moy là et en tous lieux*, Rothschild IV.2.3, fol. 116^{r-v}), as well as the texts of occasional pieces identified as having been sung on particular occasions (*Ce chevalier d'invincible puissance*, a poem by Ronsard with the rubric 'Ceci a esté chanté à l'hostel de Lorraine le dimanche gras 1571', fr. 1663, fol. 88^v).

⁶⁶ *Hola hola Karon* appears in Rothschild IV.2.3, fols. 107^v–108^r; on Charon dialogues set to music, see R. Wistreich, 'Seventeenth Century English Charon Dialogues: A Study of Literary Sources and Contexts' (unpublished M.A. diss., University of Birmingham, 1988). Baif's poem appears in fr. 1663, fols. 8^v–9^r; the musical setting is in D. Le Blanc, *Second livre d'airs des plus excelants musiciens de nostre tems* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1579).

⁶⁷ In the preface to his *Second livre de chansons, madrigalz et motetz à trois parties* (Paris, 1580), signed from Lyon on 1 January 1580, Castro explains his reasons for coming to France. On Castro's French connections, see Brooks, 'Jean de Castro, the Pense Partbooks and Musical Culture in Sixteenth-Century Lyons', *Early Music History*, 11 (1992), pp. 91–149.

Table 1 *Jean Passerat, Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?*
as set in Jean de Castro, Livre de chansons à cinq parties . . .
 avec une pastorelle à VII en forme de dialogue
 (*Antwerp: Phalèse and Bellère, 1586*)

Text	Text structure	Translation	Musical structure
Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?	a	'Shepherd, do you love me well?'	A
Je t'ayme dieu sçet combien.	a	'I love you, God knows how much.'	
Comme quoy?	Refrain	'Like what?'	Refrain
Comme toy		'Like yourself,	
Ma rebelle		my rebellious	
Pastorelle.		shepherdess.'	
Ce propos tant affaité	b	'This precious talk	B
En rien ne m'a contanté,	b	Doesn't please me at all.	
Pastoreau sans mocquerie,	c	Shepherd, without joking,	C
M'ayme tu, dy je te prie	c	do you love me, I pray you tell me,	
Comme quoy?	Refrain	like what?'	Refrain
Comme toy		'Like yourself,	
Ma rebelle		my rebellious	
Pastorelle.		shepherdess.'	
Tu m'eusses respondu mieux	d	'You would have done better to say	B'
Je t'ayme comme mes yeux,	d	"I love you like my eyes".'	
Trop de haine je leur porte	e	'I bear too much hate for them,	D
Car ilz ont ouvert la porte,	e	for they opened the door	
Aux ennuyz que je resceu	f	to the cares I gained	E
Deslors que je t'apperceu,	f	as soon as I saw you	
Quand ma liberté fut prise	g	and my liberty was taken away	C'
Des beautez que tant je prise.	g	by those beauties I cherish so much.'	
Comme quoy?	Refrain	'Like what?'	Refrain
Comme toy		'Like yourself,	
Ma rebelle		my rebellious	
Pastorelle.		shepherdess.'	
Pastoureau parle autrement	h	'Shepherd, speak otherwise	B''
Et me dy tout franchement	h	and tell me honestly,	
M'ayme tu comme ta vie?	c'	do you love me like your life?'	F
Non, car elle est asservie	c'	'No, for my life is enslaved	
A cent et cent mil' ennuyz	i	by a hundred hundred thousand	G
		cares	
Donc aymer je ne la puis,	i	so that I cannot love it,	
N'estant plus qu'un corps sans ame	j	since I am but a body without soul	C''
Par trop cherir une dame.	j	for having loved a lady too much.'	
Comme quoy?	Refrain	'Like what?'	Refrain
Comme toy		'Like yourself,	
Ma rebelle		my rebellious	
Pastorelle.		shepherdess.'	
Laisse là ce comme toy,	k	'Leave off this "like yourself",	B'''
Dy je t'ayme comme moy,	k	say, "I love you like myself".'	
Je ne m'ayme pas moymesme.	l	'I don't love me myself.'	C'''
Dy moy donques si tu m'ayme,	l	'Tell me then if you love me	
Comme quoy?	Refrain	like what?'	Refrain
Comme toy		'Like yourself,	
Ma rebelle		my rebellious	
Pastorelle.		shepherdess.'	

constructions (e.g. 'Je ne m'ayme pas moymesme') to produce a pleasing tangle of subject positions and direct and indirect speech in every stanza. An excellent example of courtly pastoral, the poem illustrates the kind of witty erotic repartee in which Castiglione's perfect courtiers were meant to excel.

Castro's setting is for seven voices divided into two groups, a three-voice high ensemble (superius I, contratenor I and tenor I) representing the shepherdess, and a four-voice group (superius II, contratenor II, tenor II and bass) that sings the shepherd's lines. The poem's irregular construction precluded composition as a straightforward strophic song in the style of *Que ferez vous*. But like the music of more conventional strophic *airs*, Castro's piece is almost unrelievedly homophonic, and the lines for each interlocutor are clearly marked off by simultaneous rests and cadences, so that there is no overlap in the exchange between the characters. And although the piece is fully written out in the source, the strophic structure of the text is represented in Castro's setting by the use of repeated material for the four- and eight-line stanzas. The music for the two couplets of the quatrains returns with only minor alterations for the first and last couplets of the *huitains*, so that the beginnings and ends of the four final strophes are marked by the same music (represented by letters B and C in the right column of Table 1). The strophic effect is reinforced by the unvarying refrain at the end of each stanza.

While the vocal groupings remain largely consistent, the tenor I and tenor II parts often contribute to the music for the opposing choir (as in Example 5, bars 27–34, when tenor II sings with the three-voice group). Textural variety also figures in the refrain, consisting of a statement of the first refrain line 'Comme quoy' by the high voices representing the shepherdess, followed by the shepherd's response for the low-voice choir, using the last three lines of refrain text. These three lines are then repeated by the entire seven-voice ensemble, using the same music enriched by the addition of the extra voices (see Example 6a; the gesture is repeated at each of the four subsequent appearances of the refrain, bars 35–47, 77–89, 119–31 and 146–60). Techniques such as these, including the representation of gender by tessitura and the disposition of the vocal groups, had become typical of seven-voice dialogues after Willaert began to employ them in the late 1530s

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25

S con - tan - té, Pas - to - reau sans moc - que -

CT con - tan - té, Pas - to - reau sans moc - que -

T 1 con - tan - té, Pas - to - reau sans moc - que -

S 2

CT 2

T 2 Pas - to - reau sans moc - que -

B

30

S ri - e, m'ay - me tu, dy je te pri - e

CT ri - e, m'ay - me tu, dy je te pri - e

T 1 ri - e, m'ay - me tu, dy je te pri - e

S 2

CT 2

T 2 ri - e, m'ay - me tu, dy je te pri - e

B

Example 5 Jean de Castro, *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?* from *Livre de chansons à cinq parties* (1586), bars 25–34

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

1

S Pas - tou - reau m'ay - me tu bien?

CT Pas - tou - reau m'ay - me tu bien?

T 1 Pas - tou - reau m'ay - me tu bien?

S 2

CT 2 Je t'ay -

T 2 Je t'ay -

B Je t'ay -

6

S com - me quoy

CT com - me quoy

T 1 com - me quoy

S 2 me dieu sçet com - bien, com - me toy ma re -

CT 2 me dieu sçet com - bien, com - me toy ma re -

T 2 me dieu sçet com - bien, com - me toy ma re -

B me dieu sçet com - bien, com - me toy ma re -

Example 6a Castro, *Pastoureau*, bars 1–20

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11

S com - me toy

CT com -

T1 com - me toy

S2 bel - le Pas - to - rel - le, com - me toy

CT2 bel - le Pas - to - rel - le, com - me toy

T2 bel - le Pas - to - rel - le, com - me toy

B bel - le Pas - to - rel - le, com - me toy

16

S ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

CT me toy ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

T1 ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

S2 ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

CT2 ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

T2 ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

B ma re - bel - le Pas - to - rel - le,

Example 6a *Continued*

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

Pa - tou - reau m'ay - me tu bien? — Je t'ay - me
 dieu sçait com-bien, — Com-me quoy? — Com - me toy ma re - bel - le Pa - tou -
 rel - le. — Com - me toy ma re - bel - le Pa - tou - rel - le.

Example 6b *Patoureau m'ayme tu bien?* from *Airs de differents auteurs*, ed. Bataille, bars 1–5. After *Airs de cour*, ed. Verchaly

(though the dialogues of Willaert and his followers are rarely as unremittingly homophonic as Castro's piece). David Nutter suggests that Willaert's dialogues were performed in Venetian academies by solo singers with instrumental accompaniment; he proposes that only the highest vocal line of each choir was sung, since generally only these parts carry the complete text.⁶⁸ The dialogue arranged by Castro was certainly also performed by solo voices: but in this case, the version of the piece preserved by Bataille shows that one of the vocal soloists could be a bass.

Bataille's 1611 *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?* uses a variant of the poem that matches that published in Passerat's 1606 *Recueil des oeuvres poétiques*; Castro's text is closer to the earlier manuscript

⁶⁸ See Nutter, 'Dialogue', in *New Grove II*.

versions, particularly that in Paris, BNF fr. 1663.⁶⁹ But despite the textual divergence, Bataille's dialogue is an arrangement of the same piece set for seven voices by Castro. As in Bataille's version of *Que ferez vous*, the music is rhythmically notated in a looser declamatory style, in contrast to Castro's strict triple metre. This difference apart, all the shepherdess's lines are lightly ornamented versions of the music of Castro's superius I part, the highest line of the three-voice ensemble representing the woman's voice. And the solo bass part in Bataille largely duplicates the bass line from Castro's second choir. In many sections the duplication is exact, most notably in the opening of the dialogue and in the refrain (see Examples 6a and 6b). In others, some variation and octave transposition occurs (as in Examples 7a and 7b, where a descent from *B*₁ to *F* in Castro is matched by an ascent to *f* in Bataille). In a few sections the bass in Bataille is almost completely different, a concomitant of different harmonisation (Examples 8a and 8b). Even when it deviates from the bass part in Castro, however, Bataille's bass solo retains its character as a line functionally different from the melodically conceived soprano part, echoing the role of the bass in polyphony and duplicating the lowest line of the lute accompaniment throughout. Like the bass solo of the duo from the *Balet comique*, it moves largely in fifths, fourths and octaves, and it invariably doubles the lowest pitch of cadential sonorities rather than approaching the cadence pitch by whole tone.

*Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?*² resembles the *Balet comique* dialogue not only in the behaviour of the bass line, but in a basic component of its structure: the enhanced repetition of music from the end of each stanza in a ritornello-like fashion (this seems to have been a feature of the lost 1565 dialogue sung at Bayonne by Courville and Vausmesnil as well, though the 'refrain' in that case was instrumental). In the *Balet comique*, this involves the repetition and elaboration of the final two phrases of each of Tethys' strophes by a five-part vocal and instrumental ensemble. In Castro's setting of *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?*², the refrain first performed in alternation by the two groups representing the shepherd and shepherdess is

⁶⁹ The principal differences are in the final line of the third strophe, which appears as 'De ton oeil qui me maistrise' in Bataille and the Passerat print (instead of 'Des beautez qui me maistrise'), and in the order of the first two lines of the second strophe, which is reversed in Paris, BNF Rothschild IV. 2.3 and in the 1606 print.

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

69

S

CT

T1

S2

CT2

T2

B

quand ma li - ber - té fut pri - se

quand ma li - ber - té fut pri - se

quand ma li - ber - té fut pri - se

quand ma li - ber - té fut pri - se

quand ma li - ber - té fut pri - se

73

S

CT

T1

S2

CT2

T2

B

que tant je pri - se

des beau - tez que tant je pri - se

des beau - tez que tant je pri - se

des beau - tez que tant je pri - se

des beau - tez que tant je pri - se

Example 7a Castro, *Pastoureau*, bars 69–76

18

Quand ma li - ber - té fut pri - se De ton œil qui me mai - tri - se

Example 7b *Patoureau*, ed. Bataille, bar 18

amplified by repetition of the shepherd's refrain material by the full seven-voice ensemble (as in Example 6a). In Bataille's version, this full-choir material becomes a solo statement by the soprano shepherdess (as in Example 6b), which could seem odd since the words she is singing properly belong to the shepherd character. This was probably performed, however, with the bass repeating his final refrain phrase from the preceding measure (echoing the bass of the lute accompaniment, which repeats the material exactly) so that each strophe finishes with a simultaneous performance by both singers of 'Comme toy ma rebelle Pastourelle' in place of Castro's full-ensemble repetition.

Support for this idea comes from another pastoral dialogue, *Berger que pensés vous faire?*, published as a piece for bass and soprano with lute accompaniment in Bataille's fourth book of *airs* in 1613, and in a polyphonic version in a 1617 collection of five-voice *airs de cour* by Pierre Guédron.⁷⁰ Guédron moved in court circles from 1583 at the latest, first as a member of the chapel of Louis de Lorraine, cardinal de Guise, and then as a royal chamber singer.⁷¹ His Guise and royal connections brought him into personal contact with La Grotte, Costeley, Caietain, Salmon, Beaulieu and Doria, and he was intimately familiar with the style of the late

⁷⁰ The voice and lute version appears in *Airs de différents auteurs . . . quatrieme livre* (Paris, 1613); the polyphonic arrangement in Guédron, *Troisième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties* (Paris, 1617). Editions of both appear in *Airs de cour*, ed. Verchaly, pp. xlv–xlv and 56–7.

⁷¹ Guédron attended the Puy d'Evreux in 1583 as a member of Louis de Lorraine's chapel; the records of the Puy state that although his voice was then changing, he sang the *hautecontre* part 'fort bien' (Bonnin and Chassant, *Puy de musique*, pp. 27–8). Further on Guédron see L. de La Laurencie, 'Un musicien dramatique du XVII^e siècle français: Pierre Guédron', *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 29 (1922), pp. 445–72, and D. L. Royster, 'Pierre Guédron and the *air de cour*, 1600–1620' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973).

Dialogue Singing in Late Renaissance France

54

S

CT

T 1

S 2

CT 2

T 2

B

trop de hai - ne je leur por - te car ilz

trop de hai - ne je leur por - te car ilz

trop de hai - ne je leur por - te car ilz

trop de hai - ne je leur por - te car ilz

59

S

CT

T 1

S 2

CT 2

T 2

B

ont ou - vert la por - te, aux en - nuys que

ont ou - vert la por - te, aux en - nuys que

ont ou - vert la por - te, aux en - nuys que

ont ou - vert la por - te, aux en - nuys que

Example 8a Castro, *Pastoureau*, bars 54–68

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64

S
CT
T 1
S 2
CT 2
T 2
B

je re - sceu des - lors que je t'ap - per - ceu,
je re - sceu des - lors que je t'ap - per - ceu,
je re - sceu des - lors que je t'ap - per - ceu,
je re - sceu des - lors que je t'ap - per - ceu,

Example 8a *Continued*

15 16 17

- Trop de hay - ne je leur por - te, Car ils ont ou - vert la por -
te Aux pei - nes que j'ay re - çeu Des - lors que je t'a - per - çeu.

Example 8b *Patoureau*, ed. Bataille, bars 15-17

sixteenth-century *air de cour*. The most important practitioner of the genre during the reign of Henri IV, he was not only the composer of the lion's share of attributed music in Bataille's anthologies but also the dedicatee of the first volume of the series (1608). As in the case of *Berger que pensés vous faire?*⁷² his songs regularly circulated in both solo and polyphonic versions.

In this case, however, the piece in the polyphonic collection is not a true arrangement in polyphony, but rather a dialogue for bass and soprano with lute accompaniment (featuring the earliest appearance of a printed continuo part in France) and a short polyphonic statement at the end of each strophe; the three inner parts are *tacet* for all but the final measures. As in the *Balet comique* duo, and as in Castro's setting of *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?*, the full group repeats the final phrase of each stanza, here the shepherd's statement 'Philis, vous me baiserez'. The full ensemble's reiteration of the final line of text is represented in Bataille's version of *Berger que pensés vous faire?* by the soprano shepherdess and the bass shepherd joining in together; Bataille and Ballard managed to print the section in this fashion because the piece is short and straightforwardly strophic, meaning that there was room at the end of the stanza to add an extra stave below the lute tablature for the second vocal part (see Figure 2). This printing solution was technically impossible for the lute-and-voice version of *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien*, because of its length and continuous composition; but it seems likely that in performance the bass would join the soprano for the final refrain lines simply by repeating his previous phrase in tandem with the lute repetition of the same material.⁷²

The dialogue for solo singers is often considered a creature of the seventeenth century, a phenomenon made possible by the widespread adoption of continuo accompaniment and the consequent new possibilities for solo vocal writing.⁷³ The similarities between the *Balet comique* dialogue and the pieces preserved in

⁷² Simultaneous singing of a final section after an initial exchange in alternation continued to be a feature of French solo dialogues later in the seventeenth century; see, for example, Etienne Moulinié, *Respects qui me donnez la loy* (1629); Antoine Boësset, *Mourons Tirsis* (1632); François de Chancy, *Faut-il mourir sans espérance* (1635); and François Richard, *Cloris attends un peu* (1637), all transcribed in *Airs de cour*, ed. Verchaly. Simultaneously circulating polyphonic versions existed for both the Richard and Boësset dialogues.

⁷³ See, for example, Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue*, i, p. 183; Nutter and Whenham, 'Dialogue', *New Grove II*.

D I A L O G U E.

B Erger *que pensés vous fai- re?* Philis *je vous veux*

baiser: Vous voulés d'oc me desplaire? M'en voudriés v'os refuser? Ouy vraymēt,

Et comment? Ma foy vous me baiscrés, Non feray, si ferés, Ma foy

Figure 2 Pierre Guédron, *Berger que pensés vous faire?*, from *Airs de differents auteurs . . . quatriesme livre*, ed. G. Bataille (Paris, 1613), fols. 65^v–66^r.
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D I A L O G U E. 66

vous me baisérés, Non feray, si ferés, Philis vous me bai se- rés.

Philis vous me bai se- rés.

Par force on ne doit rien prendre,
 Plusot mourir qu'i faillir,
 Ha! j'ay dequoy me deffendre
 Et moy pour bien assaillir,
 C'est beaucoup
 A ce coup,
 Ma foy vous me baisérés,
 Non feray, si ferés,
 Ma foy vous me baisérés.
 Non feray, si ferés,
 Philis vous me baisérés.

Que ton audace m'estonne,
 Vu amant doit tout oser,
 Ouy bien ce qu'Amour ordonne,
 Quoy, deffend il de baiser?
 Ouy vrayment,
 Nullement,

Ma foy vous me baisérés,
 Non feray, si ferés,
 Ma foy vous me baisérés.
 Non feray, si ferés,
 Philis vous me baisérés.

Ha! ha! cruel tu me blesse,
 Et moy je meurs de plaisir,
 Je te pardonne & me laisse,
 Que dis-tu mon cher desir?
 Laisse moy,
 Hé pourquoy?
 Ma foy vous me baisérés,
 Non feray, si ferés,
 Ma foy vous me baisérés.
 Non feray, si ferés,
 Philis vous me baisérés.

R. ij

Figure 2 Continued

Bataille suggest, however, that the Baroque solo dialogue rested on a performing heritage that extended well back into the previous century. Particularly compelling is the evidence of a body of common structures for dialogues and for a tradition in the way solo parts were created for bass singers. The construction of bass parts was conditioned by the habits of polyphony, but I think it may be a mistake to consider Bataille's dialogues for voice and lute to be necessarily 'based on' pre-existing polyphonic compositions. The bass line of the *Balet comique* duo acts in a similar way, though the piece was manifestly conceived from the beginning as a dialogue for solo singers. So the relationship between Bataille and Castro, for example, may not be quite as straightforward as that of a lute song 'arrangement' of a polyphonic 'original', or vice versa; both may be arrangements or versions that circulated simultaneously. This concept resonates too with what we know about compositional process for this repertory. Guédron, for example, whose technique is probably representative of that of the previous generation of court singer-composers as well, apparently wrote *airs* as pieces for superius and bass, for which the inner parts would be filled in (perhaps not even by the composer himself) loosely for lute or in a more contrapuntal fashion for voices, depending on which was required.⁷⁴ Leaving aside the question of print dates – a red herring since the impetus to print dialogues in the way they appear in Bataille did not exist before Pierre Ballard took over his father's firm – it seems plausible that solo dialogue versions of both *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien*,² and *Que ferez vous dites madame* existed in performance, by Girard de Beaulieu, Violante Doria and other court singers, at the same time that polyphonic arrangements of these pieces were appearing in print.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Royster, 'Pierre Guédron and the *air de cour*', pp. 180–2. Royster's conclusions are based on the evidence of letters from Malherbe sent in February–March 1610 about a poem written at Henri IV's command for Charlotte de Condé. The second letter contains a manuscript of Guédron's setting of the text, likewise written at the king's behest, presented as a melody with text and an untexted bass line. The letters are quoted and the musical manuscript transcribed in *Airs de cour*, ed. Verchaly, pp. xxxix–xl. Le Cocq ('French Lute Song', i, pp. 211–13), on the basis of this and other evidence drawn from earlier sources, argues convincingly for the soprano–bass framework as the compositional basis for the entire *air de cour* repertory from the 1590s at the very latest and probably as early as the 1560s.

⁷⁵ An Italian coda to this hypothetical scenario is provided by settings of Ottaviano Rinuccini's adaptation of Passerat's dialogue text, 'Bel pastor dal cui bel guardo', set to music as a dialogue for soprano and bass by Marco da Gagliano and for soprano and

Although I have been motivated by a desire to unearth a potential repertory for my protagonists rather than a wish to make recommendations to performers, my reading of Bataille's lute songs and earlier polyphonic prints does have some consequences for modern performance practice. Bataille's dialogues provide models for the interpretation of earlier dialogue settings, published only as polyphony, in which masculine and feminine subject voices alternate between or within strophes of text: male and female soloists can perform the line corresponding to their range – that is, with bass singers extracting bass lines, and sopranos performing melodies – adding appropriate ornamentation, with harmonies supplied by instrumental accompaniment. A significant number of pieces published in French sources in the last third of the sixteenth century lend themselves well to this treatment. Examples include settings of pastoral dialogue texts similar to *Pastoureau m'ayme tu bien?*, such as *Reveillez vous belle Catin*, *Bergere de quelle façon*, *Vous me jurez bergere*, *Mon dieu que pouroy-je faire*, *J'aymeray toujours ma Philis*, *Berger quelle adventure estrange* and *Dieu te gard Catin*, all of which were published in polyphonic collections of *airs* from the 1580s and 1590s.⁷⁶ A number of these have refrains (*Reveillez vous belle Catin* and *Bergere de quelle façon* in fact share the same refrain) and these should probably be performed by both soloists together.

tenor by Claudio Monteverdi. (F. Chiarelli, 'Per un censimento delle rime di Ottavio Rinuccini', *Studi Italiani*, 2 (1990), pp. 133–63, has confirmed the traditional attribution of 'Bel pastor' to Rinuccini set aside in *Claudio Monteverdi, madrigali e canzonette. libro nono*, ed. A. M. Monterosso (Cremona, 1983), p. 45. Verchaly (*Airs de cour*, p. xxviii), unaware of the early manuscript versions of the Passerat poem, followed Théodore Gérold in incorrectly reversing the relationship of the French original and the Italian imitation.) Gagliano's setting appeared in Piero Benedetti's *Musiche* (Florence, 1611); Monteverdi's was published in 1651 in the posthumous ninth book of madrigals. For a comparison of Gagliano, Monteverdi and Bataille/Castro, see S. Leopold, 'Der schöne Hirte und seine Vorfahren', in P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), pp. 471–80. (Leopold lays the poem out correctly on pp. 474–5; the text as printed in Monterosso's edition makes no poetic sense.) Rinuccini visited the French court in 1601, 1602–3 and 1604, well before the appearance of Passerat's text in print (1606) or the publication of the musical setting in Bataille (1611). Although Beaulieu and Doria were long gone by the time Rinuccini came to France, it is tempting to speculate that he first heard Passerat's poem in a dialogue setting performed by other French singers.

⁷⁶ The first three were included in Jehan Planson's *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties par Jean Planson Parisien tant de son invention que d'autres Musitiens . . .* (Paris, 1587; subsequent editions appeared in 1588, 1593 and 1595); *J'aymeray toujours ma Philis* appeared in *Airs de court mis en musique* (Paris, 1595), and *Mon dieu que pouroy-je faire* was added to the augmented edition of that collection that appeared in 1596. *Berger quelle aventure* and *Dieu te garde* figure in *Airs de court mis en musique . . .* (Paris, 1597).

These observations about dialogue singing in the late sixteenth century also prompt reflection on issues of wider significance. If basses regularly sang solo lines similar to those in the *Balet comique* duo when performing dialogues, what did they sing when they performed alone to their own accompaniment? Could it have been ornamented versions of bass parts similar to those in the polyphonic prints of *airs de cour*, with or without the associated melody in the instrumental accompaniment? The evidence of the dialogues suggests that in attempting to answer these questions we might do well to suspend our own notions of what constitutes a satisfactory melodic line, and to re-examine some of our assumptions about musical transmission. Richard Wistreich's work indicates that Italian basses probably regularly created solo performances around bass parts similar to those we see in polyphony.⁷⁷ The special formulae for bass singers in ornamentation treatises of the period provide plenty of solutions for filling in the characteristic angularities of bass parts with passagework (and applying their formulae to a typical bass part from an *air de cour* – such as those attributed to Costeley and La Grotte – results in a line closely akin to Beaulieu's in the *Balet comique*).⁷⁸ This hypothesis also receives strong support from later French sources; in Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle*, for example, one of the examples of ornamentation supplied for the *air N'esperez plus mes yeux* involves three different solo versions of the bass line of the song.⁷⁹ Considering the bass and superius lines of repertories such as the *villanella* and *air de cour* as complementary but detachable entities, liable to be transmitted in musical sources separately as well as together, each susceptible to independent deployment as well as simultaneous execution, also helps to illuminate some of the characteristic

⁷⁷ Wistreich, 'Giulio Cesare Brancaccio', pp. 197–220.

⁷⁸ An early model for the procedure, which furthermore confirms the hypothesis that lines other than the superius were considered a satisfactory basis for solo performance, appears in Diego Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos* (Rome, 1553). Ortiz supplies sample solo viol pieces based on the different lines of a madrigal and a chanson; in both cases the first 'recercada' is derived from an ornamented rendition of the bass line of the piece. He also furnishes models for bass viol lines derived from the bass movement of contemporary singing formulae such as the *romanesca*, highlighting the connections between the procedures of improvising bass lines around the bassus of polyphonic pieces and creating new bass lines around the patterns of well-known formulae.

⁷⁹ Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique*, ii, p. 413.

quirks of the dissemination of Renaissance singing formulae such as the *romanesca* and *ruggiero*. Finally, the refrains that so often punctuate dialogues offer support for a simple mode of reconstructing duos out of the repertory of printed polyphony, through the simultaneous execution of soprano and bass lines and the filling in of inner parts with lute or *lirone*.

My conclusions about the genesis and performance of solo dialogues are more speculative than many of those I can draw from archival documents that testify to Doria and Beaulieu's activities; while musical sources allow me to say something about what they may have performed, most of what was valued about their singing is necessarily irretrievably lost. Nevertheless, I find it useful to think of Bataille's dialogues as distant echoes of their songs, which can contribute a valuable perspective to our understanding of a lost performing culture. The dialogues can stand as a metaphor for the lives of the singers who performed them and for the changing social setting that supported their careers; but only a reading around and through the musical sources can render the metaphor meaningful. Another kind of testimony to these vanished voices is provided by Marin Mersenne, who in the early seventeenth century wrote nostalgically about the royal musicians who created what he considered a golden age of French singing. Listing the famous performers of the past, Mersenne asserted that 'Girard de Beaulieu, bass of the *chambre du roi*, sang better than any other'.⁸⁰ Mersenne included no such glowing tribute to Violante Doria, though her visibility in contemporary records is so much higher than that of any other of her sex that we can picture her as a woman of exceptional gifts. We can imagine, too, that the pleasure that François de Billon prophetically assured his contemporaries would result from duo singing was experienced by those fortunate enough to hear them perform together.

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⁸⁰ 'Girard de Beaulieu Basse de la Chambre du Roy, a mieux chanté que nul autre . . .', *ibid.*, i, sig. Av' ('Premiere Preface generale au lecteur').

Girard de Beaulieu and Violante Doria: Documents

Records from royal accounts are also presented in abbreviated form in the entries s.v. 'Beaulieu' and 'Doria' in Brooks, *Courtly Song*, pp. 423–6 and 463–5; in this Appendix, they are augmented with material from notarial documents and other printed and manuscript sources to present a complete documentary portrait of Beaulieu and Doria's activities.

- 1572** Royal treasury accounts, record for 2 January: 50 livres paid as *étrennes* to 'la seignore Viollante Doria, l'une des damoiselles de la Royne'. Paris, BNF Clairambault 233, p. 3096.

Royal treasury accounts, record for 29 June: 750 livres paid as a gift 'tant à luy que à sa femme' to 'Girard de Beaulieu chantre et joueur d'instrumens [of Charles IX]' for their upkeep 'à la suite de sa Ma^{te} ou ilz sont ordinairement'. Paris, BNF Clairambault 233, p. 3356.

List of royal pensions for 1572: 200 livres per annum awarded to 'Beaulieu et sa femme vallet de chambre de la royne.' Paris, BNF fr. 7007, fol. 74^r.

- 1575** Stable accounts, François d'Anjou: 'Beaulieu' is listed among musicians to whom table expenses are owed (to a total of 365 livres). Paris, AN, KK 236, fol. 436^v.

- 1576** Fabrice Marin Caietain, *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard), including four pieces by 'Beaulieu'.

- 1577** Receipt, 11 April: 'Girard de Beaulieu chantre de la chambre [of Henri III] et Yoland Doria genevoise sa femme, l'une des damoiselles de la Royne' receive 2,000 livres in payment of a royal pension for the year 1577. Paris, BNF fr. 26728 (Pièces originales 244), dossier 'Beaulieu', pièce 25.

Receipt, Poitiers, 9 July: 'Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre du Roy', as procurator for the royal chamber singer Thesée Du Port, confirmed by an act of procuration passed in Rome on 3 December 1575, receives 50 livres on Du Port's behalf in payment of the latter's wages for the January quarter of 1577. Paris, BNF fr. 26160, pièce 549.

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Receipt, Paris, 21 December: 'noble homme Girard de Beaulieu chantre de la chambre du Roy' receives 200 livres in payment of his wages for 1577. Paris, BNF fr. 26160, pièce 657.

Receipt, Paris, 21 December: 'noble homme Girard de Beaulieu varlet de chambre du Roy', as procurator for the royal chamber singer Jean de Valot, as confirmed by an act of procuration passed on 12 May 1577, receives 50 livres on Valot's behalf in payment of the latter's wages for the January quarter of 1577. Paris, BNF fr. 26160, pièce 658.

- 1578** List of royal pensions for 1578: 200 livres per annum awarded to 'Beaulieu vallet de chambre de la Roynne joueur de lyre devant sa Magesté et sa femme'; specified as a supplement to the 1,000 livres per annum they were to receive from the queen. Paris, BNF Dupuy 852, fol. 42^r.

Notarial act, Paris, *étude* of Jehan Marchant (rue Saint Honoré), 13 September: Guillaume Costeley, 'organiste et vallet de chambre ordinaire du Roy', names 'les sieurs de Beaulieu et La Grotte aussy vallets de chambre ordinaire du roy' as his procurators, authorized to receive from the royal treasurers on Costeley's behalf payment of any royal gifts, pensions or salary. Paris, AN, Minutier Central ET/XC/128.

- [1578]** List of royal pensions, undated (appears to be a different redaction of the 1578 list, or a draft for 1579): 200 livres per annum awarded to 'Beaulieu et sa femme vallet de chambre de la Roynne'; specified as a supplement to the 1,000 livres per annum they were to receive from the queen. Paris, BNF Dupuy 127, fol. 14^r.

- 1580** List of royal household officers (*état de maison*) for Henri III: 'Girard de Beaulieu' is listed in the category 'chantres', with yearly wages of 66 écus 2/3. Paris, BNF Dupuy 127, fol. 92^r.

- [1580]** Fragment of royal treasury accounts: order for payment of 166 écus 2/3 to 'Girard de Beaulieu chantre de la chambre [of Henri III] et Yolant Doria sa femme' for the January quarter's payment of their annual pension. Paris, BNF fr. 26170, fol. 49^r.

- 1581** 15 October, performance of the *Balet comique de la royne*.
Entry in the foundation charter of the Puy d'Evreux. The 'sieur de Beaulieu . . . bassecontre' and five other royal musicians assist in performances at the Puy for seven days around the feast of Saint Cecilia, 21 November. Evreux, Archives départementales de l'Eure, Série D⁴, edited in *Puy de musique érigé à Evreux, en l'honneur de Madame Sainte Cécile, publié d'après un manuscrit du XVI^e siècle*, ed. T. Bonnin and A. Chassant (Evreux, 1837), pp. 23–4.
- 1582** Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henri III at Fontainebleau on 6 August: order for payment of 166 écus 2/3 to 'Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre et chantre de la chambre [of Henri III] et Yolande Doria sa femme' for the April quarter's payment of their annual pension. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fol. 12^v.
- 1583** 20 January, foundation of the royal penitential confraternity of L'Annonciation de Nostre Dame. 'Mons^r de Beaulieu' is listed among the members, bracketed together with seven others under the rubric 'chantres'; 'M. de Beaulieu' and the same others listed as 'Huict Musiciens de la Chambre du Roy' who will be responsible for singing *fauxbourdons* and other music for the group's devotions. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 7549, fols. 4^v and 21^r.
- 1584** List of household officers (*état de maison*) for Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont: 'Monsieur [blank] de Beaulieu et [blank] sa femme musiciens et joueurs de luth de la Royne' are listed in the category 'autres personnes que la royne a voullu estre adjoustées au present estat', with joint yearly wage of 400 écus. Paris, AN, KK 530/ 15, no. 13.
- List of household officers (*état de maison*) for Henri III: 'Girard de Beaulieu' is listed in the category 'chantres', with yearly wages of 66 écus 2/3. Paris, AN, KK 139, fol. 33^r.
- List of household officers to be retained from Henri III's yearly *état* as part of a reorganization of the *maison du roi*: 'Beaulieu bassecontre' listed in the category 'Vois ordinaires' (i.e., in daily service). Paris, BNF Dupuy 489, fol. 13^r.
- Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henri III at Saint-Maur on 15 August: order for payment of 166 écus 2/3 to 'Girard de Beaulieu et Yolande Doria sa femme' for

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the April quarter's payment of their annual pension. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fol. 30^r.

Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henri III on 3 December: order for payment of 166 écus 2/3 to 'Girard de Beaulieu et Yolante Doria sa femme chantres ordinaires de la chambre [of Henri III]' for the previous January quarter's payment of their annual pension. Paris, BNF 26170, fol. 132^v.

[1584] Fragment of royal treasury accounts, undated: order for payment of 333 écus 1/3 to 'Girard de Beaulieu chantre [of Henri III] et Yolande Doria sa femme' for a half year's (July–December) payment of their annual pension. Paris, BNF fr. 26170, fol. 135^v.

1585 Receipt, 25 September: 'Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre ordinaire [of Henri III]' receives 100 écus in payment of a royal gift. Paris, BNF fr. 26728 (Pièces originales 244), dossier 'Beaulieu', pièce 26.

1586 Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henri III at Paris, 10 February: order for payment of 200 écus (100 écus each) in *étrennes* to 'Girard de Beaulieu et Jacques Salomon chantres ordinaires de la chambre [of Henri III]'. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fol. 40^r.

Register of the Châtelet de Paris, 2 July. Inscription at the Châtelet of a series of notarial documents dating back to 1580, concerning the marriage and dowry of Marguerite de Beaulieu. The documents include: (1) Marriage contract between Anthoine de Minard, seigneur de Villemain, age 23, son of the late Pierre Minard, seigneur de Villemain et Laquette, conseiller du roi et maître des requêtes ordinaire de l'hôtel du roi, and of the late Claude de Laquette; and Marguerite de Beaulieu, 'fille de noble-homme Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre ordinaire du roy et de damoiselle Violante Doria dame de la Royné'. The dowry will be 8,000 écus, the balance of which will be paid in three instalments. The contract dated from 23 December 1580, and was signed at Blois, where the court was then residing, in the *basse court* of the château, where Beaulieu and Doria were lodged. (2) Documents concerning the payment of the balance of the dowry: 2,166 écus 1 tiers on 5 May 1581; 1560 écus 2 tiers on 11 August 1581; 3773 écus on 15 February 1582. The act notaris-

ing the last instalment was passed 'en l'hostel dudit Sieur de Beaulieu size à Paris rue Champfleury'. (3) Act testifying that the conditions of the marriage contract have been met in full, passed 2 July 1586 'en la maison dudit Sieur de Beaulieu size à Paris rue Champfleury paroisse Saint Germain l'Auxerrois'. Paris, AN, Y 127, fols. 441^r–444^r.

List of *placets* (formal requests) presented to Henri III; request presented 10 December 1586, signed by the king 7 March 1587: 'De Beaulieu chantre de la chambre' requests the office of surveyor of the Ile de France, vacant as a result of the death of the incumbent and (he claims) not entailed or promised to anyone else. Marginal note in the hand of Henri III: 'Accordé s'il dict vray'. Paris, BNF fr. 21480, fol. 25^v.

- 1587** List of *placets* presented to Henri III; request presented 7 March 1587, signed by the king 13(?) March: 'Beaulieu' reiterates his request for the office of surveyor of the Ile de France; entry crossed out in the hand of Henri III, suggesting that the request was denied. Paris, BNF fr. 21480, fol. 48^r.

Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henry III at Paris, 5 April: order for payment of 180 écus (30 écus each) to 'Girard de Beaulieu valet de chambre' and 5 others (two dancers, a barber, a watchmaker and the royal harpist Mathieu Monnier) as wages for the January quarter. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fol. 65^r.

Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henry III at Paris, 6 July: order for payment of 180 écus (30 écus each) to 'Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre' and the same others as on 5 April as wages for the April quarter. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fol. 65^r.

Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henri III at the camp of Pluviers, 9 October: order for payment of 166 écus $\frac{2}{3}$ to 'Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre [of Henri III] et damoiselle Yolande Doria sa femme' in payment of the January quarter of their annual pension; order for payment of 180 écus (30 écus each) to 'Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre' and the same others as on 5 April as wages for the April [*sic*] quarter. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fols. 179^v and 188^v–189^r.

1588 Fragment of royal treasury accounts, expenditures approved by Henri III at Blois, 2 October: order for payment of 166 écus 2/3 to ‘Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre ordinaire du roy et Yolande Doria sa femme’ in payment of the July quarter of their annual pension; order for payment of 60 écus to ‘Girard de Beaulieu vallet de chambre ordinaire [of Henri III]’ as wages for April and July quarters. Paris, BNF n. a. f. 1441, fols. 233^v and 245^r.

1589 List of household officers (*état de maison*) for Louise de Lorraine-Vaudémont: ‘Monsieur [blank] de Beaulieu et Claude de Beaulieu sa fille musicienne et jouëuse de lut de la reyne’ are listed in the category ‘autres personnes que la reyne a voulu estre adjoustez au present estat’, with joint yearly wage of 400 écus. Paris, BNF Clairambault 1216, fol. 68^v.

1590 Letter from Emperor Rudolph II to Auger Busbecq, [8 May]:

Intelleximus, Galliae Regem, qui nuper in vivis esse desiit, habuisse musicum quendam Bassum a voce rara, qui sibi ipse lira succinat, celebrem, cui Lamberto de Beaulieu sit nomen. De eo mandamus tibi, ut diligenter inquiras, & ubi hominem inveneris, cum eo, ut se nostris musicis aggregari honestis & aequis conditionibus sinat, & aulae nostrae se dedat, agas. Quidquid autem effeceris, ejus nos prima quaque opportunitate certiores facias, & si quid amplius erit, ut hoc tempore non esse non potest, quod in publicis operae pretium. Caeterum tibi benigna nostra gratia semper integra manet.

Rudolph II, *Divi Rudolphi imperatoris, caesaris augusti epistolae ineditae*, ed. Bernard, count de Pace (Vienna, 1771), p. 210.

Parish register of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Paris, 25 May: funeral of Girard de Beaulieu, identified as the *maître de musique* of the chevalier d’Aumale, at the time of his death living in Paris on the rue Saint-Martin. Y. de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1535–1792: Actes d’état civil d’après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1965), p. 26.