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Introduction

Between 1549 and 1567, the Parisian printer Nicholas Du Chemin issued a series of sixteen modest books of ‘new songs’, anthologies of French secular music for four voices. These books contain a repertory of nearly 400 songs by over 80 composers active during the middle years of the sixteenth century. Taken together, the chansons and the books that preserve them can reveal much about the changing stylistic profile of French secular music during this period and about the role of music printing in the formation of musical taste. These introductory essays will explore a number of themes fundamental to the study of these books and the musical repertory they preserve:

What general observations can we make about the repertory printed here? What musical or literary currents does it reflect, and how are the demands of tradition or the appeal of novelty represented in these books?

What composers are represented among the various books of the *chansons nouvelles* series? With what sorts of geographical centers or social worlds are they associated?

What editorial criteria are at work in the *chansons nouvelles* volumes, and what do we know about the circumstances of their production?

What practical problems are presented by the printed texts with respect to notation of rhythm and pitch? What traditions of written and unwritten accidentals do Du Chemin’s books imply, and how should modern singers attempt to accommodate them in their performances? Do the printed texts present any special problems of aligning words and music?

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Du Chemin and Music Printing

Prospective customers wandering into the Parisian printing workshop of Nicolas Du Chemin in the Rue St. Jean de Latran during the spring of 1549 would have good reason to be impressed by the small but neatly printed music volumes in production. For Du Chemin, such books represented something of an unlikely triumph of commercial audacity: Nicolas himself was a skilled typographer but no musician, and only a few years before the prospect of entering the tightly-controlled world of music printing would have seemed an improbable venture. During the early 1540’s, Du Chemin established himself in Paris as a printer of religious, medical, philosophical and historical texts. Among his publications, for instance, we know of an edition of the Latin Psalter with commentaries by the Italian theologian Marcantonio Flamino (*M. Antonii Flamini in Librum Psalmorum brevis explanatio*; 1546), François Chappuys’ treatise on cures for the plague (*Sommaire de certains et vrays remedes contre la peste*; 1545), Polydore Vergil’s Latin history of the world (*Polydore Vergil Historiographie*, a French translation

of his *De inventoribus rerum libri tres*; 1546), and many other works, too.¹ Du Chemin continued this line of work even as he ventured into music printing. For two decades, music printing in Paris had been dominated by the firm of Pierre Attaignant, who in 1531 had been granted an exclusive privilege by King François Ier that protected what royal officials called “the merit of his labors and the recovery of expenses.”² Such privileges normally worked to protect individual publications from piracy by competitors for a specified period (usually from six to ten years, judging from surviving records). Thus, when Attaignant’s effective monopoly over the Parisian musical press loosened in the late 1540’s (following the death of François and the accession of Henri II in 1547), Du Chemin’s own privilege of commercial protection (issued in November of 1548) alluded to his license to print and sell “all new books of music (that have not been printed).”³ This general privilege was eventually renewed in March of 1555 and again in October of 1566. These were years of profound change in the French book trade, and especially for music printers. On one hand, Du Chemin’s initial privilege inaugurated an important period of competition in the world of Parisian music printing, breaking the monopoly on this medium held by the Attaignant firm since the late 1520’s. During the decade of the 1550’s, Attaignant’s heirs competed not only with Du Chemin, but also with Fezandat and the firm of Le Roy et Ballard. At the same time, however, the period of Du Chemin’s greatest musical productivity also was punctuated by important efforts to control the marketplace of ideas and the medium of print. Indeed, following the Edict of Moulins (promulgated by King Charles IX in the winter of 1566), French printers were required by law to obtain a royal privilege authorizing the publication of each new work and were also required to allude to such privileges in their printed books:

DEFENDONS aussi à toutes personnes que ce foit, d’imprimer ou faire imprimer aucuns livres ou traittez sans nostre congé ou permission, et lettres de privilege expediées soubz nostre grand séel. Auquel, cas aussi enjoignons à l’Imprimeur d’y mettre et inserer son nom et le lieu de sa demeurance, ensemble ledit congé et privilege, et ce sur peine de perdition de biens et punition corporelle.⁴

Forbidden also to all persons to print, to have printed any books or tracts without our leave or permission, and letters of privilege issued under our great seal. In which books the printer is also enjoined to print there and insert his name and his place of residence, together with the said leave and privilege. This on pain of loss of goods and physical punishment.

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This legislation was apparently inspired by twin purposes. On one hand, it protected the interests of printers from unfair competition by piratical firms. On the other hand it worked

- 1 · Du Chemin first began work as a publisher in 1541. Further on Du Chemin’s biography and career, see François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault, “Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin,” *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953), 269-373; 4 (1956), 251-53; and 6 (1958-63), 403-506. More recently, see Audrey Boucaut-Graille, “L’imprimeur et son conseiller musical: les stratégies éditoriales de Nicolas du Chemin (1549-1555),” *Revue de Musicologie*, 91 (2005), 5-25. Also see the detailed investigation of Du Chemin’s many musical and non-musical publishing activities in Boucaut-Graille, “Les imprimeurs de musique parisiens et leurs public: 1528-1598” (Thesis, Université de Tours, France, 2007). For a partial listing of Du Chemin’s non-musical imprints, see Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d’imprimerie depuis l’introduction de l’Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu’à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris: M.J. Minard, 1965).
- 2 · Translation from Daniel Hertz, “A New Attaignant Book and the Beginnings of French Music Printing,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), 22-23. A facsimile of the privilege appears in Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: a Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California press, 1969), Plate 10.
- 3 · The original passage reads “Tous livres nouveaulx en Musique (qui n’auront este imprimez),” quoted in Lesure and Thibault, “Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin,” p. 271.
- 4 · From a proclamation issued at Moulins February 1566: *Ordonnances faites par le Roy a Moulins, au mois de Fevrier M.D.LXVI. Sur les plainctes, et remonstrances faictes à sa Maiesté en ces voyages derniers, pour le reiglement de la Iustice et police de son Royaume* (Lyon: Rigaud, 1566), p. 44. [Folger 203299]

to censor seditious political or religious expression. The Edict also had the effect of eliminating the Parlement de Paris as a source of privileges, ending a decades old practice in which printers could petition for commercial protection from any of several institutions there. In brief, Du Chemin's last general privilege of 1566 reminds us that, by the second half of the sixteenth century, the French book trade was increasingly monopolistic and increasingly dependent on centralized authority.⁵

Armed with the privilege of commercial protection granted in 1548, Du Chemin wasted no time in securing the materials and professional expertise needed to produce saleable music books. Perhaps in anticipation of the new venture, in February of 1547 he commissioned a set of music fonts from type founder Pierre Haultin. He also needed musical works, and, of course, an editor with the skills required to supervise the production of the books themselves. For this work he turned to Nicolas Regnes, a local musician who in October of 1548 agreed to provide Du Chemin with several volumes of his own compositions, to assemble and correct the new music prints, and even to provide Du Chemin himself with rudimentary musical instruction, all in exchange for board and modest compensation.⁶ The language of their contract reveals much about their partnership, and about the musical marketplace of mid-century Paris. It envisaged the production of music books that would emulate Attaignant's model, calling upon Regnes to design volumes "selon et de la grandeur de ceux que Pierre Attaignant a par cy-devant imprimez" ("according to and of the character of those that Pierre Attaignant has heretofore printed"). But, if the contract documents Du Chemin's aspirations to mimic the visual and musical qualities that the public identified with Attaignant's products, it also reveals his simultaneous concern to avoid infringement upon Attaignant's own privilege. The works provided by Regnes had to be "new" ("nouveaux") and "never before published" ("jamais esté imprimez").⁷ By 1549, when the first of these new music books appeared in print, it seems a small wonder that Du Chemin's new chansonniers would loudly proclaim both their "privilege du Roy" and their contents as "chansons nouvelles . . . nouvellement imprimées à Paris."

The modest books of *chansons nouvelles* were not Du Chemin's only musical project. In time he also issued books of Psalms, motets, and Masses, as well as a set of basic musical instruction manuals. But, over the course of two decades and sixteen individual volumes the *chansons nouvelles* series remained the core of his enterprise. It also remained remarkably consistent in its basic format and conception: modest, oblong, quarto volumes issued in pairs: superius and tenor voice parts facing each other in one partbook, and contratenor and bassus voices parts facing each other in the second. A table at the outset of each volume provided an alphabetical index of compositions and gave credit to composers represented therein. The exact number of compositions in each book varied according to the length of works chosen for a particular volume, but most offered approximately two dozen works by about a dozen different composers. In all, Du Chemin's *chansons nouvelles* series contains just over 380 chansons by over different 80 composers (less than twenty of the pieces were issued without ascription).

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5 · On the history of royal printing patents, see Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). On the idea of literacy in the Renaissance economy of ideas, see Rogier Chartier, *Les Usages de l'imprimé: (XV^e-XIX^e siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), republished as *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

6 · For further excerpts from the contract, see Lesure and Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," pp. 273-74.

7 · Quoted in Lesure and Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," pp. 273-74.

The *Chansons nouvelles*, 1549-1567: Format, History

By a curious turn of publishing practice, Du Chemin's *chansons nouvelles* began with the *Second livre contenant xxvi. Chansons nouvelles*. Although it may strike us as bizarre to issue the second book in a series before the first, there in fact was some logic to Du Chemin's original plan. As it happened, the *Second livre* was indeed the second musical imprint issued by Du Chemin, for it followed directly a set of Psalms settings by Clément Janequin (using the recent French translations by Clément Marot) *Premier livre, Contenant xxvii Pseaulmes de David*, issued early in 1549. At first, it probably made perfect sense for Du Chemin simply to number his music books in serial order: thus, shortly after the *Second livre* came the *Tiers livre, contenant xxij. chansons nouvelles* and in turn the *Quart livre, Contenant xxiiij. chansons nouvelles*. But, during 1549, Du Chemin also started issuing a series of *Livres du recueil* containing "chansons antiques," namely, pieces already published by Du Chemin's competitor, Pierre Attaingnant. By what arrangement Du Chemin was permitted to reprint such material we cannot say, but the effect of inaugurating this second series of "Recueils" probably prompted him to number each series independently. Thus the fourth volume of *chansons nouvelles*, issued in January of 1550, became (bizarre thought it may sound) the *Premier livre contenant xxv. chansons nouvelles*.

Table 1.1: The *Chansons nouvelles*, in Brief

1549	Second, Tiers, and Quart livres
1550	Premier, Cinquiesme, Sixiesme, Septiesme, and Huictiesme livres
1551	Neufiesme livre
1552	Dixiesme livre (in two formats)
1554	Dixiesme livre (revised edition), Unziesme livre
1557	Douziemesme livre, Treiziesme livre
1559	Quatorziesme livre
1560	Quinziesme livre
1567	Seiziesme livre

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The first eight books of the series appeared in rapid succession between the spring of 1549 and the fall of 1550, a period that corresponds closely to the duration of the partnership between Regnes and Du Chemin. By March of 1551, when the *Neufiesme livre* appeared, Regnes was apparently no longer boarding with Du Chemin, and we may presume that their partnership was dissolved. The remaining seven books were issued at a more leisurely pace, often with significant chronological gaps. The *Neufiesme*, *Dixiesme* and *Unziesme livres* (1551 through 1554) were probably edited by Claude Goudimel, a Protestant composer and music editor who served as Du Chemin's musical advisor between 1551 and 1555. By 1553, this new partnership was so well established that Goudimel and Du Chemin were listed together as printers on the title pages of books of Magnificats and motets they produced together. (As it happens, Goudimel's music appears in each of these projects).⁸ In yet another motet book that Du Chemin issued in 1554 Goudimel urged readers to "buy this book with money, you will see (believe me) no uncorrected work."⁹

8 · The title pages are transcribed in Lesure and Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," Items 29 and 30.

9 · The original text, from a poem by Goudimel that appears at the outset of the *Moduli undecim festorum* of 1554, reads "ut emas hunc aete libellum, non incorrectum (crede) videbis opus." Text and translation quoted from a recent modern edition of the entire print (which includes several of Goudimel's own motets): *Moduli undecim festorum*, ed. J. Heywood Alexander, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, LVI (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1983), pp. xxiv-xxv (Document II).

Under Goudimel's editorial supervision the *chansons nouvelles* continued the general profile established by Regnes. But the young composer apparently experimented with a number of small innovations. He abandoned, for instance, Regnes's basic system whereby the contents of each individual volume were organized according to a system of musical modes (further on this practice, see Chapter 2, below). Under his supervision, too, the names of composers were now listed above each work in the body of the volumes, and not just on the table of contents page. This was a modest change, to be sure, but one that suggests a certain growing consciousness of distinct authorial voices manifest in music. Du Chemin's readers would now associate particular sounds with particular names in ways not so likely under the old typography. Goudimel also explored new designs for the body of the books themselves. His *Dixiesme livre*, for instance, is unique in Du Chemin's *chansons nouvelles* series for having been issued in three distinct versions. One arrangement, printed in July of 1552, follows the pattern set out in all previous books from the series, with superius and tenor voices facing each other in one partbook, while contratenor and bassus voices face each other in a second book (this is the version reproduced in our facsimile). Du Chemin simultaneously issued another version of the *Dixiesme livre*, this one with all four voices in a single choirbook: superius and tenor are on the *verso* of each leaf, while contratenor and bassus appear on the *recto* (the title page of this version reads, in part, "chansons nouvelles à quatre parties en un volume").¹⁰ Du Chemin also used this choirbook layout in the famous musical *Supplement* to his edition of Pierre de Ronsard's great sonnet collection, *Les Amours*, which was issued in September of 1552 (and reprinted in 1553). As we shall discover, the musical and literary character of this *Supplement*, with its model settings of Ronsard's sonnets and some other poetry (music by Goudimel, Janequin, and others), is in some important ways anticipated by both the character and format of the *Dixiesme livre*. The *Dixiesme livre* was printed for a third and final time in 1554. This version, which was probably prepared about the same time as the *Unziesme livre*, returns to the original partbook format found elsewhere in the *chansons nouvelles* series. Du Chemin and Goudimel also made a few changes in the musical contents and their sequence (the title page reads, in part, "nouvellement reveu, corrigé, et imprimé"). Four chansons were deleted from the 1554 version: Antoine Cartier's "Quand un bon père," Etienne Du Tertre's "Voicy le printemps," Marc-Antoine de Muret's "Ma petite colombelle," and Laurent Bonard's "Resve-je point." Two chansons were added: Guillaume Costeley's "Le clerc d'un advocat" and Claude Goudimel's "Que ce baiser me plaist."¹¹

The *Douziésme*, *Tresiesme*, *Quatorziesme*, and *Quinziesme livres* were issued between 1557 and 1560. We do not know who served as Du Chemin's musical editor during this period. But by 1567, when the sixteenth and final volume of the *chansons nouvelles* appeared, Du Chemin's new house editor saw fit to advertise the quality of his workmanship on the title page of the set: "veuës et corrigés par Loys Bisson."¹² Over the course of the history of the series, in

10 · This alternative printing carries exactly the same date (July 5, 1552) as the version in two partbooks. For a bibliographic description of each of these two initial versions of the *Dixiesme livre*, see Lesure and Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," pp. 305-06 [entries 27 and 27b.]

11 · For a bibliographical description of the revised version of the *Dixiesme livre*, see Lesure and Thibault, p. 312. On the *Supplement*, see p. 306 of the same work, and Chapter 7, below.

12 · Bisson's work is also mentioned in bibliographical notices of two volumes of *Recueils* issued by Du Chemin in 1561, although the books themselves do not survive. See Lesure and Thibault, p. 332.

13 · Concerning Janequin's career, see Lesure, "Clément Janequin. Recherches sur sa vie et son oeuvre," *Musica disciplina*, 5 (1951), 157-93, and Chapter 6, below.

short, we can sense Du Chemin's growing self-consciousness, not only about the presumed novelty of the materials assembled here, but also about the credibility of the musical texts it contained and correctness of its editorial supervision. Viewed in retrospect, the period of their partnerships with Du Chemin represents something of a watershed in the larger narrative of the French chanson, for during this time we can sense the emergence of practices and styles that took on great importance in the years to come.

The Music of the *Chansons Nouvelles*

As we have noted, the earliest volumes of the *chansons nouvelles* aimed to imitate the musical character of the chansonniers issued by Pierre Attaignant without actually reproducing any of the specific pieces found there. As it happens, a surprisingly large proportion of the works found in the set as a whole are by a relatively small circle of composers active in Paris during the middle years of the sixteenth century. The careers of these men are also notable on account of their relative independence from traditional lines of aristocratic or ecclesiastical patronage. Clément Janequin (forty-one chansons in the series) was probably in Paris at about the time Du Chemin began production, and was enrolled as a pupil at the Université in the years around 1550.¹³ Claude Goudimel (thirty-four chansons) was also a student at the Université in 1549. As we have noted, he succeeded Nicolas Regnes as chief musical advisor to the Paris firm in 1551. Etienne Du Tertre (thirty-three chansons) was active in the French capital during the 1540's and 1550's as an arranger of dance music, an editor (working for Attaignant at one point), and a composer.¹⁴ Taken together, music by these three composers represents over a quarter of the pieces found in the entire series. It is also worth noting that the chansons by these three men are concentrated in the first two phases of the *chansons nouvelles* (that is, up through the *Unziesme livre* of 1554, which corresponds to the time that Regnes and Goudimel were at work with Du Chemin.

6 — From these three leading voices in the *chansons nouvelles* we can trace a widening circle of local and regional musicians of varying affiliation and accomplishment. Most of the remaining six dozen composers whose music is found in the series are represented by fewer than a dozen works each, and many of them by a single piece. Some were connected with Du Chemin's Paris in one way or another. Like Du Tertre, Claude Gervaise (thirteen chansons) was a free-lance composer and arranger active in the French capital.¹⁵ Maximillian Guillaud (eleven chansons) was a member of the Collège de Navarre during the early 1550's, and in 1554 published a modest musical treatise, the *Rudiments de musique pratique*, with Du Chemin's press.¹⁶ Claude Martin, the author of another musical treatise issued by Du Chemin, the *Institution musicale* of 1556, is also represented in the series (nine chansons). Among the musical voices heard in the *chansons nouvelles*, therefore, were men of wide-ranging intellectual interest and commercial experience, keen both to enhance the basic musical literacy of their readers, and to ally themselves with the central political and musical authorities of sixteenth-century Paris: Martin's book was dedicated to a leading figure in the Parisian *parlement*, while that of Guillaud was addressed

14 · On Du Tertre's musical career, see Caroline M. Cunningham, "Estienne du Tertre and the Mid-Sixteenth Century Parisian Chanson," *Musica disciplina* 25 (1971), 127-70.

15 · Concerning the activities of Gervaise, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "Claude Gervaise as Chanson Composer," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 18 (1965), 371-81.

16 · On the question of modality and organization in the Du Chemin chansonniers, see Chapter 2, below.

to the leading musician of the French royal court, Claudin de Sermisy.¹⁷

The music of Claudin de Sermisy, certainly the leading musical light of the French royal court during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, seems to have been altogether avoided by Du Chemin in this and his other early projects. In light of the commercial restrictions implied by Du Chemin's privilege, it seems reasonable to suppose that the omission of Claudin's music from the *chansons nouvelles* was made in deference to the rights of the royal music printer, Attaignant, in whose music books the works of Claudin frequently appear. The name of Pierre Certon, chief composer of the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, parish church of the Parisian royal residence, and also an important presence in Attaignant's books, was likewise absent from the *Second*, *Tiers*, and *Quatre livres* of 1549 (although in the *Second livre Regnes* printed one of Certon's compositions, "Puisque malheur" with an ascription to a certain Du Four. The work had been published under Certon's name in an Attaignant print of 1538). Nevertheless in the *Premier livre* of 1550, Du Chemin did at last venture to credit works publicly to this important master. Indeed, some twenty years later Du Chemin printed an important retrospective volume devoted exclusively to Certon's chansons and *chansons spirituelles*, the *Les Meslanges de Maistre Pierre Certon* of 1570.¹⁸

Throughout the series, Du Chemin and his editors turned to musicians of the French royal court and its allied aristocratic households for music. Jacques Du Buisson (six chansons), organist and composer, was a member of the French royal chamber during the 1550's and early 1560's. Thomas Champion (one chanson; called by his nickname, "Mithou" in Du Chemin's chansonniers and in other documents) composed and played the organ Paris and at the royal court between the 1550's and the 1570's. Among the composers represented in the later volumes of the *chansons nouvelles* we find a number of other royal musicians, too, such as Nicolas Le Gendre (fourteen chansons) and the royal organist Guillaume Costeley (six chansons). Jean Maillard (eight chansons) is also likely to have been a member of the royal musical establishment, although in precisely what capacity and for how long we are not certain.¹⁹ In the spring of 1551 Jacques Arcadelt (fourteen chansons) moved to Paris, apparently in the household of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, who was a close ally of the royal crown, and an important patron of the arts and of humanistic learning. Pierre Cler' eau (one chanson) was similarly associated with the elite Lorraine-Guise family, close allies of the Valois royal household.

Composers from musical establishments elsewhere in Paris and beyond are also represented among the volumes of the *chansons nouvelles*. Nicolas Pagnier (seven chansons) and Jean Herissant (eight chansons), for instance, served successive terms as *maître des enfants* at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris during the 1540's and 1550's. Antoine Cartier (seven

17 · Guillaud himself must have been a man of great erudition, having edited some of his father's French and Latin commentaries on sacred texts. See M. Cauchie, "Maximillian Guillaud," *Festschrift Adolph Koczirz zum 60 Geburtstag*, ed. Robert Haas (Vienna, 1930), pp. 6-8. The treatises of Martin and Guillaud were recently issued in modern reprint (Geneva: Minkoff, 1981), along yet another music instruction manual printed by Du Chemin, Michel Menehou's *Nouvelle instruction familiere* (1558). Further on the contents and audience of these books, see Chapter 2, below.

18 · Further on Du Chemin's Certon retrospective, see Edward Kovarik, "The Parody Chansons of Certon's *Meslanges*," in *Music and Context, Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. A. D. Shapiro (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 317-51.

19 · Further on Maillard's life and sacred works, see Jean Maillard, *Modulorum Ioannis Maillardii: The Four-Part Motets*, ed. Raymond H. Rosenstock, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 73 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1987) and *Maillard, Modulorum Ioannis Maillardii: The Five-, Six-, and Seven-Part Motets*, 2 vols., ed. Raymond H. Rosenstock, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 95-96 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1993).

chansons) worked as organist to the church of St. Séverin in the Latin Quarter of Paris between 1570 and 1588. In 1557, he dedicated a book of three-voice chansons to a member of the Pléiade literary circle, Louise Larcher, who evidently had been one of Cartier's pupils.

Paris and the royal court, however, were not the only centers represented in the Du Chemin *Chansons nouvelles*. Among composers active in provincial centers, Nicolas Grouzy (three chansons) served as *maître des enfants* at the Cathedral of Chartres during the 1560's, while Laurent Bonard (five chansons) was priest and *maistre des enfants* at the Cathedral of Amiens between 1547 and 1553. We have little biographical information about Fresneau (one chanson) and de Villiers (four chansons), although to judge from the circulation of their works in Lyonnais imprints of the mid-sixteenth century, they are likely to have worked in Southern France.²⁰ Music by composers active in the Hapsburg Netherlands comprises yet another important layer in the *chansons nouvelles*. Works by Clemens non Papa (five chansons) and Thomas Crecquillon (seventeen chansons) are doubly significant: they mark out a distinctly contrapuntal voice among the largely homorhythmic idiom of the chanson as cultivated in and around Paris, and also reveal Du Chemin's occasional borrowings from imprints by Northern publishers, such as Susato in Antwerp. Clemens non Papa's "Rosignollet qui chante" (from Du Chemin's *Quart livre*) and "Jouons beau jeu," (ascribed by Du Chemin's typesetter to "Du Bar" in the *Second livre*) may well have been borrowed from Susato's *Huictiesme livre* of 1545. Similarly Crecquillon's "A tout jamais" (*Quart livre*) had previously appeared in Susato's *Second livre* of 1544.²¹ Official privileges of commercial protection were quite local in their effect, and so Du Chemin was in no way obligated to avoid printing works already published by his Northern colleague.

Regnes also discreetly borrowed a few pieces from the production of the French royal printer. As we have already noted, Certon's "Puisque mahleur" (from an Attaingnant book of 1538) was printed in Du Chemin's *Second livre* with an ascription to Du Four. In addition, "Sus, sus, ma soeur," credited to "Frougy" in the *Tiers livre*, appeared in Attaingnant's *Trente-deuxiesme livre de chansons à quatre parties* of 1549 with an ascription to "Groussy." Decapella's "Belle commère" (also from the *Tiers livre*) was apparently borrowed from Attaingnant's *Trente-quatriesme livre* of the same year. Even in avoiding direct borrowings of particular pieces already issued by Attaingnant, Du Chemin's editor nevertheless seems to have been keen to discover works with melodic and poetic traditions that would have been very familiar to many of Attaingnant's musical readers. The superius of the anonymous setting of "Un doux baiser" from the *Tiers livre*, for instance, very closely resembles the tenor of an imitative setting of the same text ascribed to Decapella in Attaingnant's *Trente-deuxiesme livre*. In the *Quart livre* the texts for Gervaise's "Quand suis au lict," Du Tertre's "Si me voyez" and de Villiers's

20 · For new findings on Villier's career and identity, see Pierre de Villiers, *Chansons*, ed. Frank Dobbins and Jean Duchamp, Collection Ricercar, 4 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997).

21 · "Rosignollet qui chante" enjoyed a particularly long life in chanson prints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First included in Susato's *Second livre* of 1544, it was subsequently issued (and re-issued) in Pierre Phalèse's famous *Septieme livre* of 1562. Further on the publication history of this work, see Ute Meissner, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato*, 2 Vols., Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 11 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1967) and Henri Vanhulst, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1990). For facsimiles of the Susato books in question, see *Le second livre des chansons à quatre parties. Anvers, T. Susato, 1544*, Corpus of Early Music, 3 (Brussels: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1970) and *Le huitiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties. Anvers, T. Susato, 1545*, Corpus of Early Music, 9 (Brussels: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1970). Minor rhythmic variants make it unlikely that the pieces were copied directly from the Susato prints, but suggest some intervening manuscript source served to transmit the pieces to Du Chemin's press.

“La grand douceur” are nearly identical with poems set by Symon, Certon, Janequin, and Meigret in books brought out by Attaignant in 1549. None of these rival settings share any musical material with the pieces offered by Du Chemin. Similarly, in the *Premier livre* of 1550, Pierre Certon’s “L’autre jour jouer” uses the same narrative poem as had appeared in a setting by his royal colleague, Consilium (Jean Conseil), in an book issued by Attaignant in 1529.²² Certon’s “Qui souhaitez” draws on the same poetic tradition used by a number of Attaignant’s favorite composers, including Pierre Sandrin, Antoine de Mornable, and Claude Gervaise (Clément Janequin’s setting of this poem had itself appeared in Du Chemin’s *Second livre* of 1549). On the other hand, two other settings from the *Premier livre*, Goudimel’s “La volonté” and De Marle’s “Vive sera,” seem to have been modeled directly upon chansons (by Sandrin and De Tertre respectively) from an Attaignant book of 1543, the very volume that Du Chemin himself reprinted in its entirety in 1549 as the first of his *Recueils*.²³ As we will discover in our consideration of the chanson-response tradition, this same keen interest in the viability of musical models is aptly demonstrated elsewhere in the French and especially Franco-Flemish tradition of the middle years of the sixteenth century. All of this attests to the rich economy of musical and poetic ideas shared by composers of mid-sixteenth century France, who took evident delight in the play of related pieces and poems.²⁴

Musical and Literary Styles—Some General Observations

Regnes’ supervision, the first several books of the *chansons nouvelles* align neatly with the literary and musical ideals of the idiom as it appeared in Attaignant’s anthologies. Like the music found in Attaignant’s collections, the chansons printed here are overwhelmingly for a standard ensemble of four voices—superius, altus, tenor, and bassus. Only two works deviate from this norm to include a fifth voice part: Claude Goudimel’s canonic “La terre, l’eau,” from the *Second livre* of 1549, and Jean Maillard’s “Mort et Amour on semblable effets,” from the *Quatorzième livre* of 1554. As we will discover in Chapter 3, musical style in this idiom was, in large measure, governed by the literary themes, scansion, and rhyme scheme of the chosen text, which, in the case of chanson lyrics found in Attaignant’s prints of the 1530’s and 1540’s, fell into any of several conventional types and genres. In this respect, too, Regnes’ selections for the earliest volumes of the *chansons nouvelles* adhere to the formal and thematic hallmarks of the mid-century chanson repertory heard in Paris. Many of these chansons, for instance, dwell in the serious sentiments and balanced *quatrain*s, *huitain*s, and sometimes *dixain*s of ten-syllable verse. Such poetry, with its balanced couplets and clear poetic rhythm,

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22 · For a modern edition of a closely related setting, credited to Certon by Le Roy et Ballard in 1554, see Pierre Certon, *Complete Chansons Published by Le Roy and Ballard*, ed. J. Bernstein, *The Sixteenth-Century Chanson*, 6 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), pp. 98-99.

23 · For modern editions of Goudimel’s chansons from the *Premier livre*, see his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Pierre Pidoux, et al, 14 vols. (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1974), vol. XIII. For a modern edition of Sandrin’s setting of *La volonté*, see his *Collected Works*, ed. Albert Seay, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 470 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), 44-46. Concerning Du Tertre’s setting of *Vive sera* and its relationship to the Sandrin chanson, see Cunningham, “Estienne du Tertre and the Mid-Sixteenth Century Parisian Chanson,” 139.

24 · On the history of the French chanson during the first half of the sixteenth century, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, “The ‘Parisian’ Chanson: Problems of Style and Terminology,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), 193-240; Leeman L. Perkins, “Towards a Typology of the ‘Renaissance’ Chanson,” *Journal of Musicology*, 6 (1988), 421-47; and Jean-Pierre Ouvrard, “La Chanson française du XVI^e siècle, lecture du texte poétique,” *La Chanson à la Renaissance. Actes du XX^e Colloque d’Etudes humanistes du Centre d’Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance de l’Université de Tours. Juillet 1977*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Tours: Van de Welde, 1981), 106-19.

was well-suited to an essentially melodic conception of chanson composition practiced by many French composers during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Still other works found in the *chansons nouvelles* use a literary and musical idiom far different from the serious lyrics just described. In these pieces, narrative themes and exclamatory dialogue suggest a style that tends towards contrast and animation for convincing effect. In brief, many of the compositions printed by Du Chemin mirror the musical ideals established in Attaignant's chansonniers. But there are also new stylistic currents at work here, especially starting with the books prepared under Goudimel's editorial supervision (that is, from the *Neufiesme livre* onwards). Among the later books of the series, as we shall discover, there are works by a new generation of composers, including Jacques Arcadelt, Antoine Cartier, Guillaume Costeley, Pierre Cler'eau, and Orlando di Lasso, that manifest fresh literary and musical sensibilities. In these books we find, alongside compositions in familiar styles, strophic pieces that point towards the new *air de cour*, an early setting of a sonnet in French, and other innovative works, too. We will consider these broad stylistic elements in turn, noting the interplay of tradition and novelty as they meet in the Du Chemin's series of modest chansonniers.

Audiences and Contexts of the Chansons nouvelles

Du Chemin's *Chansons nouvelles*, like other French music books of the middle years of the sixteenth century, give little direct testimony as to their intended audiences. For clues as to the circulation of printed music we must thus turn to the physical design of the books themselves, to the likely musical tastes of their owners, and to the new didactic manuals that served to instruct amateurs in the conventions and techniques of music making. We should recall that if the business of printing had wide geographical and social horizons, these were nevertheless public offerings destined in many instances for private domestic enjoyment. In some respects, the intimate character of the *Chansons nouvelles* volumes is implied by its format, with pairs of voices on facing pages of each of two volumes. This design naturally lends itself to use around a domestic table (superius and tenor facing altus and bassus). Indeed, not long after its advent in France, printed music books were already counted among the most prized personal possessions of urban bureaucrats and merchants. At the time of his death in 1544, for instance, the personal library of Jean de Badonvillier, an official in the Paris *chambre des comptes*, contained a printed collection of Masses, two of Attaignant's chanson anthologies, and printed books of motets by Claudin de Sermisy and Johannis Lupi.²⁵ Exactly what Badonvillier and his fellow bureaucrats in sixteenth-century Paris thought of this repertory is difficult to determine. Chanson anthologies of the sort owned by Badonvillier present a particularly varied menu of musical and poetic types, idioms that embraced a wide range of styles and themes. Such mid-century chanson volumes depend closely on the forms and ideals of elite culture, especially the aesthetic of serious love offered in the lyrics of poets like Clément Marot. The long metrical patterns and elegantly balanced *quatrains* and *huitains* of such lyrics

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25 · On the musical possessions of this official, see François Lesure, 'Un amateur de musique au début du xvi^e siècle, Jean de Badonvillier', *Musique et musiciens français du xvi^e siècle* (Geneva, 1976), 79-81. The entire *inventaire*, prepared for the goods of 'Jean de Badonvillier, seigneur d'Aulnay-la-rivière, maître ordinaire en la chambre des comptes', is discussed in Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du minutier central des notaires de Paris. Inventaires après décès. Tome premier (1483-1547)* (Paris, 1982), 273.

lend themselves well to the refined melodic manner that is the epitome of the mid-century chanson, with its clear alignment of rhyme, prosody, and musical line. Alongside such serious chansons, however, are text types and musical settings that acknowledge a social landscape extending well beyond elite circles. These works, in contrast to the restrained lyricism and serious sentiments of the courtly songs, dwell instead in pastoral and ribald themes drawn from popular culture. These chansons also use poetic and musical language quite different from that just described. Avoiding the closed formal designs and long lyrical lines favored by composers like Du Tertre, Goudimel, and others, composers who set these texts instead preferred a style tending towards musical contrast and rhythmic animation to carry recitational dialogue and descriptive narrative. Imitations of everyday speech and satirical representations of the infidelities of clerics and of peasant lovers were simply not part of the serious aesthetic. All of this variety suggests a world in which music was used as a form of private entertainment by a cadre of bureaucrats and successful merchants of Renaissance society.

Du Chemin and the Ideal Printer

How did Du Chemin and his musical editors see themselves in this new cultural mixture of art, entertainment, and commerce? A curious letter printed in one of Du Chemin's non-musical imprints offers some clues about his aspirations. The document appears in a book published in 1569 by Du Chemin (in collaboration with the Parisian bookseller Lucas Breyer): a collection of *lettres missives* by Etienne Du Tronchet, secretary to Catherine de' Medici at the French royal court. Du Tronchet's collection was conceived as a set of stylistic models—letters designed to illustrate eloquent and effective use of the French language and humanistic rhetorical skill. One of these letters, addressed to his bookseller Breyer (but making passing reference to Du Chemin), considers the enterprise of printing as far more than merely a commercial transaction:²⁶

Loüange de la marchandise et traffique des livres, avec declaration de la modestie que doit user le marchand entre sollicitude et liberté. Et entre avarice et trop grande liberalité, pour se perpetuer avec raison et honneur en sa vocation. A Sire Lucas Breyer, marchant Libraire demuerant au Palais à Paris.

J'ay souvent consideré, Sire Lucas, que la tige de l'arbre estranger mal-aisément peult vivre et nourrir sa racine, s'il n'est transplanté en lieu de mesme nature, que celui duquel il al esté arraché. Et s'il advient qu'il prouffite, c'est beaucoup mieulx, et avec plus de fertilité, qu'il ne feroit sur la campagne de sa propre nativité. Car s'il procede de territoire maigre, difficilement il s'avancera en territoire gras: sur tout fault qu'il soit replanté à l'aspect de son premier soleil. Et par ceste similitude, vous voyant estrangier de ce Royaume, transporté dans iceluy, et y faisant pratique de la plus belle, et plus honorable marchandise qui se puisse debiter en ce monde, en lieu le plus grand et le plus réputé de toute la Chrestienté, avec bruit d'homme de bien, et de bon et loyal marchand, et avec une secrete vertu de vous faire aymer, non seulement de ceulx qui ont ancienne cognoissance de vous, mais de ceulx là, qui se trouvent prins és lacs de vostre courtoisie, du premier coup que ils vous abordent tout cela me fait penser qu'il fault necessairement que vous aiés prins nature en si bonne part, et que vous estes si bien transplanté hors vostre tige à le veüe de vostre primogeniture, et de vostre originelle vertu, que vous ne pouvés faillir d'en produire les fruicts que se peuvent esperer de l'honesteté, de laquelle vous avés esté heureusement enté. Ce qui se confirme assés par le compte et loüable commemoration que vous tenés souvent de voz freres et

26 · The letter appears in *Lettres missives et familiares d'Estienne du Tronchet, secretaire de la Royne mere du Roy* (Paris: Lucas Breyer and Nicholas Du Chemin, 1569), fols. 189r/v, letter number 214.

soeurs, et de vous autres parens de par dela, que je voy (à vostre regret) esloignés de l'exterieur appetit de voz yeulx. Mais à toute heure bien prochains de l'interieure veüe de vostre cuer. Oultre cela (convenant les choses bien souvent avec leur nom et appellation) je voy l'anagramme de vostre nom, qui est (SA CURE LIBRE) s'accorder fort à voz naturelles humeurs. Car vous ne travaillés si excessivement, que vous en approchiés nullement le damnable et pernicieux reproche et vilennie d'avarice. Aussi vous n'usés la liberté avec si licentieuse extravagation, que la modestie en tout et par tout ne vous soit (comme elle doit à tous estre) singulierement recommandée. Voila pourquoy interposant quelquefois, et bien à propos, liberté avec sollicitude, vous ne pouvés faillir à longue prosperité de voz affaires: principalement en la profession de si noble marchandise, que je trouve sur toute autre plus recommandable. J'advise que l'armeurier vend les armes qui couvrent, arment, et deffendent le corps des ferites de son ennemy: et le Libraire vend celles qui deffendent et guarentissent l'esperit des insultes de l'ennemy de nature. Le drappier vend les draps qui investissent et munissent le corps contre le froid: le Libraire vend le papier qui habille le cuer, l'esperit, et l'ame, et les sauve de toutes iniquités et adversités mondaines. Le vivandier, le boucher et l'hostelier fournissent tout ce qui est necessaire pour la nourriture d'une chair qui pourrira: et le Libraire tout ce qui est besoing pour l'aliment de l'immortalité du nom, de la gloire, et de l'ame. Somme, vous estes en vostre estat, et vostre estat en vous, merueilleusement heureux: et ne sçay lequel plus digne l'un de l'autre, par mutuelle obligation de merite. Et comme celuy qui entre tous les pauvres vertueux, ayme qualité de si loüable marchandise, et marchant de si loüable qualité: je me voüe, et dedie, ce qui sera à jamais en ma petite puissance, au commandement de vous et des vostres, d'aussi bon cuer que je vous recomande mon livre, et au sire Nicolas du Chemin, et moy à voz bonnes graces.

In praise of goods and commerce in books, with declaration of the modesty that the merchant ought to use between sollicitude and boldness. And also between avarice and too great a sense of generosity, in order to sustain himself with reason and honor in his vocation. To sir Lucas Breyer, bookseller dwelling in the Palais at Paris.

I have often considered, Sire Lucas, that the trunk of a foreign tree can survive and nourish its roots only if transplanted in a place of the same nature as that from which it was uprooted. And if it comes to pass that it thrives, it is that much better, with more production, than was made in the land of its own birth. For if it comes from a weak soil, only with difficulty will it grown in a rich one: above all it should be replanted in relation to its first sun. And by this likeness you being stranger to this realm, transplanted here, and making the best and most honorable merchandise that can be sold in this world, in a place that is the greatest and best known in all of Christianity, with the air of a man of moral character, and a good and loyal merchant and with a special virtue to make yourself beloved, not only of those who have long knowledge of you, but also those who find themselves immersed in the waters of your courtesy, from the first moment that they draw close to you. All of this prompts me to think that it must be that you have taken in nature in such large measure, and that you are so well transplanted from the sight of your birth, and of your original virtue, that you cannot to produce the fruits that can aspire to honesty, of which you have been happily endowed. This is confirmed enough by the account and praiseworthy recollection that you often hold of your brother and sisters, and of your parents, that I see (to your regret) distanced from your outward yearning of your eyes, but who are at all times very close to the interior gaze of your heart. Aside from this (things very often are suited to their name and calling) I see the anagram of your name, which is (SA CURE LIBRE) [HIS FREE CURE], accords strongly to your natural disposition. For you do not work so excessively, that you approach the damnable and pernicious reproach and villainy of avarice. Also you do not employ liberty with such licentious extravagance, such that by modesty in all and by all you would not be (as it should be with everyone) singularly recommended. This is why, mingling now and then, and with good purpose, generosity with sollicitude, you cannot fail to achieve enduring prosperity in your affairs: mainly in offering such noble merchandise that I find commendable above any other. I am of the opinion that the armorer sells armor that covers, arms, and defends the body against the blows of its enemy. And [so] the bookseller vends those which defend and assure the spirit against the insults of the enemy of [its] nature. The draper sells cloth that clothes and equips the body against the cold; [so, too] the bookseller sells paper that dresses the heart, the spirit, and the soul, and saves them from all worldly

iniquities and adversity. The grocer, the butcher, and the innkeeper furnish all that is necessary for the nourishment of a body that will decay, and so the bookseller [will furnish] all that is needed for the feeding of the immortality of ones name, of glory, and of the soul. In sum, you are in your business, and your business in you, marvelously happy: and I do not know which is more dignified than the other, by mutual obligation of merit. And as the one who, among all other modest virtues, prefers quality of such praiseworthy merchandise and a merchant of such praiseworthy quality: I swear, and dedicate, that which will forever be in my small power, to the recommendation of you and your [merchandise], and also of good hear I recommend to you my book, and to Sire Nicolas du Chemin, et myself to your good graces.

Du Tronchet's flattering portrait of the printer's trade elevates and idealizes what in practice was a decidedly tedious, dirty, and commercial undertaking. Certainly not all authors would have agreed with the valorization of a craft that worked to corrupt or misappropriate the fruits of their labors as often as it protected their reputations. But we can nevertheless take Du Tronchet's missive as an invitation to explore the full implications of the burgeoning world of print in the cultural landscape of Renaissance Europe.