

Barbara Eichner

The woman at the well: Divine and earthly love in Orlando di Lasso's parody masses

Considering that the so-called parody mass was the most popular form of the polyphonic mass ordinary in the sixteenth century, surprisingly little is known not only about composers' strategies when adapting a model to a mass,¹ but also about the reasons behind the selection of the models. Orlando di Lasso's penchant for masses based on secular pieces has continued to puzzle musicologists since Peter Wagner's verdict that Lasso did not always manage to "purify" the all-too-secular spirit of the worldly tunes of which he was so fond.² Wagner criticises especially the chanson masses, some of which he considered as evidence of how far choral music had strayed from the path of virtue.³ In a similar vein, R.B. Lenaerts judged that Lasso "failed [...] to solve the contradiction between the secular character of his models and the liturgical spirit of the Mass" because he was "ill at ease with the invariable Ordinary of the Mass" and much more drawn to the changing moods of the motet.⁴ Such judgements usually contrast Lasso, the master of the dramatic motet, with Palestrina, the master of masses in the truly liturgical spirit.⁵ In contrast Jerome Roche rejected the critical tone of previous generations when he defended Lasso's masses "based on more or less frivolous little chansons" in pragmatic terms, holding them up as examples of "simple functional music for lesser liturgical occasions", whose small-scale models appealed to the composer's "sense of the succinct".⁶

In recent years many scholars have moved away from a simple opposition of the secular and sacred spheres, arguing that the two were intertwined in the medieval and early modern imagination, for example in love songs that ambiguously addressed a fair lady or Our Lady.⁷ The social context of a given mass setting should also play a greater role in our understanding

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¹ For an analytical approach, see Q.W. QUEREAU, "Aspects of Palestrina's Parody Procedure", *The Journal of Musicology* 1/2 (1982), p. 198-216; and V.W. FRANKE, "Borrowing Procedures in late 16th-century Imitation Masses and their Implications for our View of „Parody“ or „Imitatio“", *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 46 (1998), p. 7-33.

² P. WAGNER, *Geschichte der Messe. I. Teil: Bis 1600* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 397.

³ WAGNER, *Geschichte der Messe*, p. 359.

⁴ R. B. LENAERTS, "The 16th-century Parody Mass in the Netherlands", *The Musical Quarterly* 36 (1950), p. 410-421, here p. 417.

⁵ This opposition can be traced back to at least G. ADLER, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, part 1, 2nd edition (Berlin, 1930), p. 333-334. Edouard Fétis admits "la supériorité de Palestrina sur son rival dans la composition de la musique religieuse de grand style", but praises Lasso for his "chansons si naïves et si gracieuses", as well as the Penitential Psalms. E. FÉTIS, *Les Musiciens Belges*, vol. 1 (Brussels, [1849]), p. 177-178.

⁶ J. ROCHE, *Lassus* (London, 1982), p. 20.

⁷ For example, D.J. ROTHENBERG, *The Flower of Paradise. Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford & New York, 2011).

of the interaction of secular texts with sacred genres: Jennifer Bloxam has traced the origins of the chanson mass to the courts of France and Burgundy in the fifteenth century, where the cultivation of courtly love poetry, elaborate liturgical music and new forms of popular spirituality came together to create a highly allusive new genre.⁸ Most recently Cathy Ann Elias has proposed a new understanding of *imitatio* in the chanson mass in the first half of the sixteenth century, when composers such as Nicolas Gombert, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Pierre de Manchicourt and Thomas Crecquillon used “melodious secular chansons” to enliven the “dense counterpoint of the masses”, thus bringing “the eloquence of the chanson to the piety of the mass”.⁹ While Bloxam’s and Elias’s scenarios are convincing, they do not explain why chanson masses – and parody masses on love poetry in general – remained fashionable in the changed climate of the second half of the sixteenth century. According to received wisdom, the spiritual austerity in the wake of the Council of Trent should have quenched or at least considerably curbed the enthusiasm for parody masses on secular models. As Heinrich Bessler drily remarked in 1937, Lasso’s Netherlandish penchant for the chanson mass agreed by no means with the Council’s demands for ecclesiastical dignity.¹⁰ Contemporary musicologists have still not pushed much further than that.

In the meantime, at least the myth has been laid to rest that the Council of Trent’s decree to “keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure” meant banishing all music that smacked too much of the secular sphere.¹¹ David Crook has persuasively argued that “lascivum” should not solely be understood as “lascivious” in the modern sense, but proposes that it invoked a range of connotations for contemporaries: “the playful and lively; the lustful and unchaste; and the extravagant and unrestrained.”¹² Therefore with its deliberately open wording, the Council might have intended to censor “wanton and impure elements ... in the lyrics (of a bawdy chanson, for example) or in the performance (of self-indulgent or frivolous musicians)”, while also curbing polyphonic excess and thus serving “as a catalyst for the cultivation of a more moderate and disciplined style of polyphony.”¹³ Given the Council’s open-ended

⁸ M.J. BLOXAM, “A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass”, *Early Musical Borrowing*, dir. H. MECONI (New York & London, 2004), p. 7-35.

⁹ C.A. ELIAS, “Erasmus and the Lying Mirror: More Thoughts on *Imitatio* and Mid Sixteenth-Century Chanson Masses”, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 8/2 (2016), p. 208-226.

¹⁰ H. BESSELER, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam, 1937), p. 291.

¹¹ C.A. MONSON, “The Council of Trent Revisited”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002), p. 1-37.

¹² D. CROOK, “The Sacred and the Secular in Post-Tridentine Church Music: De Rore, Lasso, and the Magnificat *Da le belle contrade*”, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* (forthcoming).

¹³ CROOK, “The Sacred and the Secular in Post-Tridentine Church Music”, p. x.

guidance, it is understandable that local church authorities were keen to provide more precise and prescriptive instructions to musicians. The Synod of the diocese of Constance held in 1567 specified that the music of the hymns, the Gloria and Sanctus should be “non tamen lasciuia, nec choreis potius quàm choro congruens: sed grauis ac mouens pios affectus.”¹⁴ The Synod of Augsburg of the same year, organised by the reform-oriented Cardinal Otto von Waldburg, showed acute insight in the power of musical allusion when it admonished organists not to use “musica intempestiva, quae neque simplex neque gravis videatur, turpes vel profanes cantiones referens, effoeminatos potius demulceat, quam pios animos pascat.”¹⁵ Thus admonished, organists would not have been able to protest innocence if their pieces – and especially their improvisations on familiar tunes – reminded listeners of the profane songs that “tickled effeminate minds”, a ruling that could easily have been applied to allusive vocal music.¹⁶ The same thinking seems to underlie an entry in the 1591 catalogue compiled by the Munich Jesuits which banned individual pieces but also collections that were out of bounds for the students. The section “Diversorum Authoru[m]” simply starts with “Missae compositae supra textum vanu[m]”,¹⁷ and since mass compositions invariably follow the text of the Ordinary, the “vain texts” must refer to the texts of the parody models. Nevertheless four chanson masses had found their way into the choirbook D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 79, compiled for St Michael in Munich around 1580, but the scribe left three masses nameless and renamed the *Missa super Je ne menge poinct de porcq* as *Missa quatuor vocum*.¹⁸

While the use of the word “vanum” in the Munich example might still leave some room for interpretation, the Statutes of the Synod of Breslau held in 1592 specify that musicians should sing or play “nihil igitur seculare, vanum, aut amatorium”.¹⁹ Jacobus Clemens non Papa’s chanson *Entre vous filles*, which provided the basis for the parody mass by Lasso that will be the focus of this article, would certainly have qualified on all three counts. As will be

¹⁴ *Constitutiones et Decreta Synodalia Civitatis et Dioecesis Constantiensis* (Dillingen, 1569), f. 58v: “[the music should be] not wanton, nor more fitting for dances than for the choir: but dignified and arousing pious feelings.”

¹⁵ J.A. STEINER, *Synodi Dioecesis Augustanae Quotquot Invenire Potuerunt* (Mindelheim, 1766), vol. 2, p. 419: “music which is untimely, which seems neither simple nor weighty, which alludes to ugly or profane pieces, [which] rather tickles the effeminate minds than brings peace to the pious.”

¹⁶ David Crook offers additional examples from the Synods of Cambrai 1565 and Ravenna 1568, as well as instructive guidelines by Adriano Banchieri laid down in 1611 explicitly for the benefit of organists. CROOK, “The Sacred and the Secular in Post-Tridentine Church Music”, p. x and p. y.

¹⁷ D. CROOK, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62 (2009), p. 1-78, here p. 65.

¹⁸ M. BENTE, M.L. GÖLLNER, H. HELL, B. WACKERNAGEL, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, vol. 1: *Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung* (Munich, 1989), p. 229.

¹⁹ *Acta et constitutiones synodi dioecesanæ, quæ fuit celebrata Wratislaviæ in insula S. Ioannis, anno M.D.XCII* (Neisse 1595), f. P3 v.

shown below, the chanson text is not just a love song, like the serious *Tous les regretz* or *Triste depart* which Lasso likewise used as mass models, but outright bawdy and in at least one line perfectly explicit.²⁰ Even if we accept Bloxam's argument that a courtly context – in this case the ducal chapel at Munich – would have allowed “earthier declarations of love” to be included in a “process of musical transmogrification, turning mundane into divine”,²¹ we must acknowledge that this particular chanson would have required a lot of transmogrification, begging the question what exactly made it an attractive starting point for Lasso's creative process. There are, however, several circumstances which make the *Missa super Entre vous filles* an ideal case study for investigating the complex relationship between parody models and masses, and the motivation for selecting a particular model in the first place. This article will therefore first consider the composition and transmission history of the *Missa super Entre vous filles*, which suggests a link with the contemporary *Missa super Veni in hortum meum*. Second, a close-reading of the textual and musical relationship between both masses and their models reveals that the four pieces form part of an elaborate conversation about sin, redemption, eroticism and the Eucharist that is fully congruent with counter-Reformation sensibilities.

At first glance, the two masses seem to be starkly different due to the nature of their respective models. As mentioned above, the *Missa super Entre vous filles* is based on a chanson by Clemens non Papa, first published in Susato's *L'unziesme livre contentant vingt et neuf chansons amoureuses a quatre parties* in 1549.²² When Lasso chose a model by another composer, he typically favoured music from the preceding generation, whereas only a short interval elapsed between his own motets, chansons or madrigals, and their parody.²³ The merry F mode of *Entre vous filles*, its triadic motives and chatty declamation capture the spirit of the frivolous text, as do the transparent sonorities with their many paired entries. The text ostensibly admonishes female teenagers not to come to the fountain or well anymore, perhaps because fetching water was associated with gossip and unseemly merriment, or

²⁰ Laurie Stras defines bawdy as “sexual humor, but specifically that articulated through the filter of class [...]. Elite audiences and viewers may share in sexual humor that is presented without the cloak of learned metaphor, but by doing so they demonstrate their entitlement to do so.” L. STRAS, “Introduction: Encoding the Musical Erotic”, *Eroticism in Early Modern Music*, dir. B.J. BLACKBURN, L. STRAS (Farnham, 2015), p. 1-17, here p. 4.

²¹ BLOXAM, “A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass”, p. 26-27.

²² The Grove Online work catalogue has print 1541⁵; but this print only contains Clemens's *Frisque et gaillard*, not *Entre vous filles*. W. ELDERS, et al. “Clemens non Papa, Jacobus.”, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Web. 29 Jan. 2016.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05930> Regina Orlich has 1544 for the first publication of the chanson, but no Clemens chansons were been printed that year. See R. ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen von Orlando di Lasso* (Munich, 1985), p. 12.

²³ ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen*, p. 303-306.

because, as in some chansons, the girls might actually have washed themselves in such a public place. The exhortation of the opening lines is immediately undercut by the detailed description of the bodily attributes of the girls. The line “plus gay qu’une mistaine” is somewhat enigmatic, since “mistaine” or “mitaine” literally means “mitten”; a later derivative of this word, “miton”, is a furry cuff for women’s wear,²⁴ which resonates with the “connin” mentioned in the chanson. However, “mistaine” also seems resonate with ideas of agility (“sauter hault comme une mitaine”) or gaiety, with the expression “gay as a mitten” attested in the time of King Louis XI of France. The etymology of the word is obscure, but it is possibly related to the Dutch “metjen”, little girl or maiden.²⁵ As Clemens non Papa was a native Flemish speaker, he might have enjoyed the word play. **[Insert table 1: text & translation “Entre vous filles”]**

Entre vous filles de XV ans ne venes plus a la fontaine, car trop aves les yeulx frians tetin poignant bouche riant connin mouflant le cueur plus gay qu' une mistaine entre vous filles de XV ans ne venes plus a la fontaine.	Among you girls of 15 years, do not come to the fountain anymore. you have too radiant eyes, pointy tits, A laughing mouth, tight pussy, a heart merrier than a mitten. Among you girls of 15 years don,,t come to the fountain anymore.
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In contrast the motet *Veni in hortum meum* is based on an excerpt from the Song of Songs (5: 1). From its publication in Lasso’s *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1562) it became one of his most popular pieces, transmitted in numerous manuscripts, including tablatures, in addition to several reprints.²⁶ In contrast to the chanson *Entre vous filles*, whose musical material may have seemed rather thin for reworking as a parody mass,²⁷ the motet *Veni in hortum meum* offers new thematic material for every line of text, striking an attractive balance between the sober opening with a g minor triad in ponderous semibreves, and the lively exhortation to drink and be inebriated at the end. **[insert table 2: text and translation “Veni”]** Like the music, the texts of chanson and motet appear absolutely dissimilar at first

²⁴ A.J. GREIMAS, T.M. KEANE, *Dictionnaire du moyen français: la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992), p. 418: “Or retournons à notre clerc qui estoit plus gai qu'une mitaine de la mort de sa femme.”

²⁵ GREIMAS, KEANE, *Dictionnaire du moyen français*, p. 418. The word “croquemitaine” or “croque-mitaine”, bogey-man or monster, is not attested before the early nineteenth century. See P. LAROUSE, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel Du XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1869), vol. 5, p. 585. I wish to thank Paula Higgins and Henri Vanhulst for their help with untangling the meaning of this word.

²⁶ See O. di LASSO, *The Complete Motets 2: Sacrae cantiones (Nuremberg, 1562)*, dir. J. ERB (Middleton, Wisconsin, 2002), p. xvi-xviii and xxi. The database *Orlando di Lasso: Seine Werke in handschriftlicher Überlieferung* by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences lists 68 manuscript sources between 1565 and 1630 (<https://lasso-handschriften.badw.de>, accessed 28 January 2015).

²⁷ ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen*, p. 296-7.

Veni in hortum meum soror mea sponsa, messui myrram meam cum aromatibus meis; comedi favum meum cum melle meo; bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo; comedite, amici, et bibite, et inebriamini, carissimi.	I have come into my garden, my sister, my bride; I have gathered my myrrh with my spices; I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey; I have drunk my wine with my milk; eat, o friends, and drink, and be inebriated, my dearly beloved.
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sight; the only connection might be the prominent but contrasting use of the word “to come”: the narrator of the chanson exhorts the girls not to come to the fountain, while the bridegroom of the Song of Songs states that he has come into the garden of pleasures, leading to an encounter of two lovers that was often understood spiritually as the meeting of Christ and the human soul. When taken in isolation and with a different grammatical sense, the opening line “Veni in hortum meum, soror mea sponsa” – “Come into the garden, my sister, my bride” – was as also interpreted as an invitation to the bride to enter the garden, especially in some of the centonate texts addressed to or performed by Italian nuns who would enter the “hortus conclusus” of the nunnery to be with Christ as their bridegroom.²⁸

Despite the disparity of the models, the masses share some similarities. At 308 and 355 measures respectively, both the *Missa super Entre vous filles* and the *Missa super Veni in hortum meum* are fairly compact, especially when considering that both employ five parts with two tenor voices. They are thus just slightly longer than the very short, utilitarian and usually four-part “Kurzmessen” which Regina Orlich defines as comprising 200 to 300 measures,²⁹ either based on lively Parisian chansons or short, declamatory motets by Lasso himself. At the upper end of the scale – masses comprising 500 measures or more – Lasso usually favours his own motets as models, except for the weighty chanson masses on *Puis que i’ay perdu* (498), *Susanne un jour* (513) and *Si me tenez* (609, if it is by Lasso).³⁰ Thus the *Missa super Veni in hortum meum* is relatively short for a mass based on an elaborate motet with contrasting themes and rich text expression. In contrast the *Missa super Entre vous filles* is at the upper end of the group of chanson masses which originated between 1560 and 1570, such as the masses based on *Frere Thibaut* (227), *On me l’a dict* (239), *Pilons pilons lorge* (245) and *La la maistre Pierre* (274); it is only slightly shorter than the five-part *Missa super Le berger et la bergère* (328).³¹ In addition to the overall length of the masses, it is instructive to compare the dimensions of individual movements. As can be expected, the

²⁸ See L. MACY, “Geronimo Cavaglieri, the *Song of Songs* and female spirituality in Federigo Borromeo’s Milan”, *Early Music* 39 (2011), p. 349-358.

²⁹ ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen*, p. 315.

³⁰ ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen*, p. 314-315.

³¹ ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen*, tables on p. 165-166 and 313-314. Some of Orlich’s datings will need to be modified in the light of my findings.

text-rich Gloria and Credo are usually as brief as they possibly can be, since the chanson-like declamation disposes swiftly of the mass ordinary text without much repetition or contrapuntal elaboration. Thus, for example, the *Missa super La la maistre Pierre* requires only 72 measures for the Gloria and 110 for the Credo, and Kyrie and Agnus are likewise brief at 22 and 21 measures respectively. Interestingly even the briefest masses take more time to elaborate the Sanctus: the mass *La la maistre Pierre* uses 49 measures, the *Missa super Pilons pilons* 48, and even the tiny *Missa Venatorum* spends 54 of its 214 measures on the Sanctus. This musical emphasis might indicate the ritual observances in the Munich court chapel, which seems to have compressed the liturgy of the word in favour of the liturgy of the Eucharist.³² The masses based on *Entre vous filles* and *Veni in hortum meum* share the focus on the Sanctus complex with 80 and 70 measures respectively and a clearly demarcated, three-part Benedictus, but add more musical interest to the Kyrie with 35 and 45 measures. The greater overall length of the *Missa Veni in hortum meum* is mainly due to the more elaborate Gloria (85 compared to 56 measures).

Both masses belong to a flurry of short masses written by Lasso and his Munich colleagues from the mid-1560s onwards, probably to adorn the weekday celebration of the Eucharist, and their shared composition and transmission history suggests that they should be treated as a complementary pair. The emphasis on polyphonic settings of the mass ordinary marks a departure, as the court chapel services had previously focused on polyphonic propers. Franz Körndle has suggested specifically the Advent and Lenten seasons for this group of masses, an idea that will be revisited below.³³ Both masses appear in the choirbook Mus.Ms. 51, copied by Franz Flori for the court chapel between 1565 and 1570, and featuring exclusively works by musicians working at the ducal court. The book opens with Lasso's *Missa super Entre vous filles*, followed by his masses on *Veni in hortum meum*, *On me l'a dict*, and *Frere Thibault*. Then Flori entered the *Missa super Se salamandre*, which is here attributed to chapel organist Johannes Lockenburg but elsewhere to Lasso, the *Missa super Dominus quis habitabit* by Jean Courtois, the *Missa super Cognovi Domine* by Antonius Gosswin, the *Missa super Je ne veulx riens* by Ivo de Vento and finally two short anonymous masses *In adventu Domini* and *Ferialis*.³⁴ The date of composition of the *Missa Entre vous*

³² Michael Long has argued that there was a tradition of singing the Benedictus during or just after the elevation of the Eucharist in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; whether this practice extended into the latter half of the century and practiced at the Munich court chapel would be an interesting topic in itself. M. LONG, "Symbol and Ritual in Josquin's *Missa Di Dadi*", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), p. 1-22, here p. 4-7.

³³ F. KÖRNDLE, *Liturgische Musik am Münchner Hof* (Habilitationsschrift Munich, 1996), p. 114. ff.

³⁴ BENTE at al., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, vol. 1, p. 176-178.

filles and *Missa Veni in hortum meum* can be narrowed down by their joint appearance in an elaborate choirbook which the Benedictine Ambrosius Mayrhofer dedicated to the city council of Regensburg on 8 September 1567 (Regensburg, Städtisches Museum Ms. I. A.h. 15). As I have argued elsewhere, this is possibly the earliest manuscript transmitting these two masses, and Mayrhofer might have acquired them from the composer himself during Lasso's stay in the monastery of St Emmeram in April 1567 while Duke Albrecht V presided over the Imperial Diet at Regensburg.³⁵ Thus Orlich's assignment of the masses into Lasso's second creative period from 1570 onwards has to be reconsidered, since they date from before September 1567; there is no evidence whatever for Wolfgang Boetticher's assertion that the *Missa super Entre vous filles* dates from the late 1570s.³⁶

Both masses appeared together in five manuscript sources before they were published by Leonhard Lechner in the *Liber Missarum, Quatuor et Quinque Vocum* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1581). **[Insert table 3]** Besides the Munich and Regensburg choirbooks already mentioned, the masses were entered into a set of partbooks compiled between 1569 and 1578 for the Protestant grammar school in Regensburg (D-Rp A.R. 894-907), a set of partbooks for the Benedictine monastery St Ulrich and Afra in Neresheim (D-Rtt F.K. Mus.52) dated 1578, and a choirbook written by the Benedictine Gregorius Hastelius for his monastery St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg in 1579 (D-As Tonkunst Schletterer 17).³⁷ Furthermore, three manuscripts which contain either the *Missa Entre vous filles* (D-Tmi Y09 and D-B Mus.Ms. 40023) or *Veni in hortum meum* (D-Nla LAEKL B Fen IV 227 2°) can be traced to the same scribe, Friedrich Lindner, who until 1574 was vice music director in Ansbach before he moved to St Egidien in Nuremberg. It is conceivable that he worked from an exemplar containing both masses but distributed them according to the needs of the recipients, the collegiate church at Ellwangen (D-Tmi Y09) and the parish church of St Egidien respectively. Only three extant manuscripts dated before 1581 contain only the *Missa super Veni in hortum meum* (D-B Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 93; D-Nla Fenitzer IV 227 2°; D-Dl Mus. Pi Cod. II), whereas *Entre vous filles* circulated on its own only in the Lindner manuscripts. Neither of the two masses had been included in any of the previous mass prints: The *Quinque Missae Suavissimis*

³⁵ B. EICHNER, "The Mayrhofer codices: Lasso's music as a diplomatic gift", paper read at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference Certaldo, July 2013. A publication is in preparation.

³⁶ W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532-1594. Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, vol. 1 (Kassel & Basel, 1958), p. 507.

³⁷ The fragmentary set of partbooks today in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (D-W Cod. Guelf. 321 Mus. Hdschr.) is dated only vaguely to the second half of the sixteenth century and thus cannot be taken into account here. See *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=451509924> (last accessed 4 February 2016).

Modulationibus Referatae (Venice: Claudio Corregiato, 1570) contain short chanson masses but not *Entre vous filles*; the second part of the *Patrocinium musices* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1574) offers two new madrigal and two motet masses but not *Veni in hortum meum* (with the *Missa super Le berger et la bergère* a reprint of 1570). Neither mass is represented in the large-scale collection *Missae Variis Concentibus Ornatae* (Paris: le Roy & Ballard, 1577), which aimed at a complete edition of all available Lasso masses and included several hitherto unpublished works. Thus it seems possible that Lasso deliberately held back the publication of these two masses until 1581, when the editor, Leonhard Lechner, claimed that the masses were “nondum divulgatis” and drawn from manuscripts.³⁸

Interestingly Leonhard Lechner revealed the models *La la maistre Pierre* and *Entre vous filles* in the mass titles of the 1581 print but renamed *Je ne mange point de porc* as *Missa quatuor vocum*.³⁹ The Paris mass print likewise disguises the underlying models of two works: the masses on *Frere Thibaut* and *La la maistre Pierre* are renamed *Sine nomine* and *Ad placitum*, possibly because French audiences knew (or could guess) the flippant song texts. While Lechner might have assumed that German audiences would not know the chanson *Entre vous filles* – or even would associate the incipit with the “filiae Jerusalem” – and thus not have been upset by its frivolous text, it is puzzling why he did not rename *La la maistre Pierre*, since the undignified nature of the chanson was easily apparent to non-Francophones. The chanson *Je ne mange point de porc* is famously scatological and might have been suppressed for that reason from the title of the mass, but Lechner might also have felt that the allusion to pork could be construed as a criticism of Protestants who did not observe the traditional Friday and Lenten fast. Again it seems that the question of what was considered “wanton or impure” in the context of the mass was decided on an *ad hoc* basis. The remainder of this article will propose a joint reading of the masses based on *Entre vous filles* and *Veni in hortum meum* that does not simply neutralise the “lasciviousness” of the former model but rather reads their interaction through the lens of contemporary spirituality.

For the motet *Veni in hortum meum* and a mass referencing its music, this would be a well-rehearsed approach. Its erotic language notwithstanding, the Song of Songs had a long tradition of spiritual interpretation stretching back to the early Church. By the thirteenth century three levels of exegesis had been established: a personal or tropological reading with

³⁸ Lechner’s claim is true of the masses *Entre vous filles*, *Il me suffit / Beschaffnes Glück* and *Veni in hortum meum*; the masses *Je ne mange* and *La la maistre Pierre* had appeared previously in the 1570 Venice mass collection. See H. LEUCHTMANN, B. Schmid, *Orlando di Lasso: Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 1555-1687*, 3 vols. (Kassel, Basel et al., 2001).

³⁹ The *Missa Il me suffit* is called *Beschaffnes Glück*, which might go back to manuscript D-B Mus.ms. 40023 (c. 1575-1580), prepared by Lindner for St Egidien in Nuremberg.

the Christian soul as bride desiring Christ as bridegroom; an ecclesiological view in which the bride symbolises the Church; and an interpretation centring on the Virgin Mary.⁴⁰ The Marian reading was put into practice by the manifold liturgical adaptations of Song of Songs excerpts for Marian feasts. The lines “Veni in hortum meum ... cum aromatibus meis”, for example, were widely used as an antiphon for the Nativity, Conception or Assumption of the Virgin Mary.⁴¹ Thus hearing the parody mass in the light of the theological interpretation of the motet text seems like an obvious strategy. However, the fact that the masses on *Veni in hortum meum* and *Entre vous filles* were transmitted and probably conceived as a pair raises the intriguing possibility that they also co-create an additional level of meaning. In order to establish the potential meaning(s) underlying a liturgical composition, James Erb proposes investigating the relationship between quotations of or references to the model composition, and the text of the liturgical piece.⁴² For example, Lasso’s chanson *Si par souhait* features a sudden turn to E flat major for the word “secretement”. In the parody Magnificat the striking chordal progression returns at the word “Deo”, thus, as Erb suggests, transforming the joys of (secret) worldly love into religious ecstasy. Similar relationships between model and mass can be detected in the *Missa super Entre vous filles*.

As Orlich rightly remarks, from the start Lasso elevates the rather thin texture of the chanson with the addition of a second tenor line,⁴³ which immediately enriches the alternation of two-part voicing. Considering that the thematic material of the chanson, with its narrow range and harmony-bound tunes, does not offer much scope for development, it is significant that Lasso does not even utilise the entire chanson for the mass. As Peter Wagner noted with satisfaction,⁴⁴ the composer shies away from citing the middle section of the chanson which describes in breathless repetition the bodies of the young girls (measures 20-26). In fact, as will be shown below, a short extract is used only once, and in a surprising and illuminating way. Otherwise Lasso restricts himself to three thematic ideas: the opening triadic tune “Entre vous filles” and its countermelody, continued with the descending line “ne venes plus

⁴⁰ For the Middle Ages see E.A. MATTER, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990). A comparable study for the early modern period remains a desideratum, but Robert L. Kendrick gives many helpful pointers for the early seventeenth century: R.L. KENDRICK, ““Sonet vox tua in auribus meis”: Song of Song Exegesis and the Seventeenth-Century Motet”, *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1994), p. 99-118.

⁴¹ *Cantus. A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, chant ID 005325 <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/005325> (last accessed 4 February 2016).

⁴² J. ERB, “Umsetzung von textausdeutenden Figuren in den Parodie-Kompositionen Orlando di Lassos“, *Orlando di Lasso in der Musikgeschichte. Bericht über das Symposium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München, 4.-6. Juli 1994*, dir. B. SCHMID (Munich, 1996), p. 79-85.

⁴³ ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen*, p. 296-297.

⁴⁴ WAGNER, *Geschichte der Messe*, p. 367. David Crook found a similar restraint in Lasso’s parody Magnificats; see D. CROOK, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, 1994).

a la fontaine”; the second thematic idea “car trop avez les yeulx friants”, especially the characteristic bass line; and the return of the opening lines of the text to slightly modified music. The Kyrie movement demonstrates an almost text-book reworking of the model: The first Kyrie presents an elaboration of bars 1-6 and 11-15 of the chanson; the Christe scaffolds the bass line of “Car trop avez” in bassus and altus but gives it more gravity with stepwise ascending and descending countermelodies in the other three voices; the final Kyrie repeats the closing line of the chanson and extends it with a dignified plagal cadence. The following movements open with the chanson theme, but its importance diminishes the further the mass progresses, and the Sanctus in particular is conspicuously sparing in direct chanson quotations. The gradual liberation from the (secular) parody model might even reflect the progression from the liturgy of the word towards Christ’s arrival in the liturgy of the Eucharist.⁴⁵ Many other parody masses by Lasso likewise shake off the reliance on the model as they progress through the movements, reworking musical ideas as freely developing variations. It should also be noted that some passages with swift homophonic declamation of the Credo text (e.g. m. 7-10, 13-15, 19-21, 78-89) show typical “chanson” style but do not use thematic material from *Entre vous filles*. Conversely the Crucifixus presents the opening line of the chanson in only slightly modified and very audible form in the cantus, injecting a note of light-hearted F-major into this sombre text which seems uncalled for. In the only recording of this mass, Jeremy Summerly has the Oxford Camerata slow down at this point, but the puzzling serenity remains.

However, the Credo also offers a fruitful hunting ground for meaningful references between chanson and mass. The final line “Et vitam venturi saeculi” (m. 101 ff.) openly quotes the closing line of the chanson, “Entre vous filles de XV ans”, but rather than continuing with the second half of the theme the cantus gets stuck with the changing-note motif *g'-f-g'* from “ne venes plus”, which stubbornly interjects and disrupts the cadence for “Amen”. At the repetition of “Et vitam venturi saeculi” (m. 107-109) the changing-note *f* is raised to *f sharp*, an alteration that is not optional but clearly marked into the Munich court chapel manuscript Mus.Ms. 51 (fol. 23v). The intrusive quote was perhaps triggered by the shared word “to come”, although there is a certain irony since the girls are not supposed to come to the fountain, whereas the life everlasting will certainly come. A similar use of altered notes occurs a few bars earlier at “in remissionem peccatorum”, when on “peccatorum” (m. 95) the alteration of *f* to *f sharp* creates the harmonic succession *g minor-D major-c minor⁶-D*

⁴⁵ I wish to thank Jennifer Bloxam for this suggestion.

major. Arguably the use of *musica ficta* or *musica falsa* responds to the word “sinners”, but the contrite meaning of the passage is at first hearing undermined by the triple metre at “Confiteor unum baptisma” (m. 90-96), the only such passage in the entire mass. Looking at the manuscript again, the black coloration in the original notation could conceivably be understood as a visual marker of “sin” (fols. 21v-22r), i.e. an instance of “Augenmusik”. Musically, the use of the triple metre is due to a thematic quotation. The bass line and the superimposed chords (except for Lasso’s addition of *ficta* notes to the concluding cadence) of “Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum” (m. 90/1-96/1) are taken straight from unrelievedly homophonic passage that Clemens used to set the repeated line “le cueur plus gay qu’une mistaine” (m. 24/2-28/2), its triple metre suitably expressing the idea of gaiety. [insert music examples 1 and 2 around here, ideally so that both can be seen at a glance]

24

Superius
Altus
Tenor
Bassus

le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai -
le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai -
le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai - ne, mis - tai -
le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai - ne, mis - tai -

26

S.
A.
T.
B.

ne, le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai - ne
ne, le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai - ne
ne, le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai - ne
ne, le cueur plus gay qu'u - ne mis - tai - ne

This is the only instance in which material from the middle of the chanson, the description of the bodies of the girls, is quoted recognisably, perhaps in order to suggest that the merry girls badly need the remission of sins. The link of *musica ficta* and sin is not maintained through

the entire mass; the passage “Qui tollis peccata mundi” (m. 28-33) from the Gloria, for example, telescopes the two-voice entries from “Car trop aves les yeulx frians” without the need for inflection.⁴⁶ The Agnus Dei likewise uses the head motif from “Car trop aves” for the identical text, “qui tollis peccata mundi”, but allows the changing-note motif *f-e-f*, with its

The image displays two staves of musical notation for a vocal ensemble. The first staff, labeled '90', contains five parts: Cantus, Altus, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bassus. Each part has a vocal line with lyrics: 'Con - fi - te - or' followed by a long note, then 'u - num bap - tis -'. The second staff, labeled '93', contains five parts: C., A., T., T., and B. Each part has a vocal line with lyrics: 'ma in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum'. The notation includes clefs, key signatures, and various note values and rests.

inbuilt semitone, to develop into an escalating spiral of interlocking statements, moving from *f-e-f* to *c-b-c* to *g-f#-g* to *d-c#-d* (m. 10-15). Again the scribe of Mus. Ms. 51 – and presumably the composer – left no room for ambiguity by explicitly notating the sharps. Only at the penultimate “qui tollis peccata mundi” (m. 15-16) in the cantus the spell is broken: *a-g-a* is not raised to *g#*, and the modality returns to the environs of F major. As in most of Lasso’s masses the Agnus Dei is a single movement, without “Dona nobis pacem”, and thus closes with the emphatically repeated invocation “miserere nobis”, dignified with a leisurely plagal cadence.

Thus the frothy surface of the chanson-inspired mass reveals a more serious subtext through the special musical treatment of those passages of the mass ordinary focusing on sin

⁴⁶ The suggested raising of *b flat* to *b* in m. 29 is an editorial addition; its use enhances the sombre interpretation of the passage in the recording of Oxford Camerata, conducted by Jeremy Summerly.

and forgiveness. Behind the merry girls gathering at the fountain, too attractive for their own good, the outline of another female sinner at a watering place becomes visible: the Samaritan woman whom Jesus encounters at Jacob's well in the Gospel of John (4:5-42).⁴⁷ The Rite of Freising, which was used by the Bavarian court chapel, prescribed this story as Gospel reading for the sixth ferial day (Saturday) after the third Sunday of Lent (Oculi).⁴⁸ This liturgical position concurs with Franz Körndle's suggestion that the short masses in several of the Munich choirbooks (including Mus. Ms. 51 and Mus. Ms. 2746) were intended for feasts during Advent and Lent.⁴⁹ It is not inconceivable that Lasso might have been struck by the memorable story during the Gospel reading, and subsequently, when casting about for inspiration for a short Lenten mass, he might have made the connection with Clemens's chanson about the girls at the fountain. In the Gospel, Jesus arrives at the city of Sychar in Samaria, rests at a well and asks a Samaritan woman for some water to drink, which surprises her, since Judeans had no dealings with Samaritans. Jesus responds that, if she knew who had spoken to her, she would ask him for living water, "aquam vivam" (4:10). He continues: "Omnis qui bibit ex aqua hac, sitiet iterum. Qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei, non sitiet in aeternum. Sed aquam quam dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam." (4: 13-14) To which the woman replies: "Domine, da mihi hanc aquam, ut non sitiam neque veniam huc haurire." (4: 15)⁵⁰ At first the Samaritan woman misunderstands Jesus and assumes that the miraculous water will spare her the daily chore of walking to the well, "neque veniam huc haurire". This resonates with the chanson line "ne venes plus a la fontaine": the girls are admonished not to come to the fountain, because if they were to drink from the water of life, coming to the well would not be necessary anymore. There is no doubt that the Samaritan woman will partake in the water that leads to eternal salvation. Just as, in the course of the dialogue, Jesus has recognised her as having consorted with five men and currently living with another who is not her husband, she in turn recognises Jesus as the Messiah and leads many others in the city to believe in him.

⁴⁷ I wish to thank Christian Thomas Leitmeir for alerting me to this connection.

⁴⁸ *Missale Frisingense* (Munich, 1579), f. 49v-50v. David Crook explores the exegetic potential of the motet vis-à-vis liturgical readings in: D. CROOK, David, "The Exegetical Motet", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68/2 (2015), pp. 255-316.

⁴⁹ KÖRNDLE, *Liturgische Musik*, p. 118.

⁵⁰ "Jesus answered and said unto her, Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life. The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw." (John 4: 13-15) The Latin biblical text was chosen to bring out the resonances with the mass ordinary and motet text.

This apostolic aspect is stressed in a contemporary collection of sermons based on the Sunday scripture readings by the theologian Jacob Schöpper (c. 1512/16-1554),⁵¹ who opens his sermon about Jesus and the Samaritan woman as follows: “Totum hoc Euangelium supra cognitionem Iesu à Nazareth fundatur” – this entire Gospel reading is based on the recognition of Jesus of Nazareth – and focuses on how Jesus can be recognised by gradually moving from not-knowing to knowing the Lord (like the Samaritan woman), and the reason why we should strive to recognise the Lord, as recognition leads to everlasting life.⁵² The slightly later Gospel commentary by the Jesuit Cornelius van den Steen (1567-1637) go into much greater detail, since he explains the text on a sentence-by-sentence or even word-by-word basis, but he agrees with Schöpper on the significance of the water offered by Jesus, identifying it emphatically with the forgiving grace of the Holy Spirit.⁵³ In his exegesis he opens up a wide panorama of patristic writings and scriptural cross-references, of which two are particularly interesting in the current context. As the Samaritan woman leaves behind her water jug to return to the city, Cornelius van den Steen cites Chrysostom who states that the woman, because she has found the true fountain, now disdains the other well – as the girls in the chanson would do if they knew what was good for them. Furthermore by recognising the Lord and accepting his grace, the Samaritan woman has transcended her sinful status and becomes herself an apostle for Christ; in the words of St Ambrose, also cited in the Gospel commentary, “quia peccatrix advenerat, revertitur praedicatrix” (she who arrived as a sinner returned as a preacher).⁵⁴ Cornelius van den Steen even likens her to Mary Magdalen, the apostle to the apostles. Second, in order to explain the many layers of meaning of “aquam vivam”, he cites two passages from the Song of Songs.⁵⁵ On the one hand, divine grace is the ultimate ornament and beauty of the human soul, as in Song of Songs 1:14, “Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea”. On the other hand, the “springing waters” (“fons aquae salientis”) are explained with reference to Song of Songs 4:15: “Fons hortorum, puteus aquarium viventium, quae fluunt impetu de Libano” (“a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon”), turning the sanctified soul herself into a wellspring of living water, so that

⁵¹ R.G. CZAPLA, „Schoepper, Jacob“, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 23 (2007), p. 432-433; <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118795376.html> (accessed 15 February 2015)

⁵² J. SCHÖPPER, *D. Iacobi Schoepperi Conciones in Epistolas Et Evangelia Dominicalia* (Cologne, 1561), vol. 1: *Pars Hyemalis*, p. 370-374. Despite the title of Schoepper’s book, it includes sermons of weekdays in Lent, and as in the Rite of Freising the story of Jesus and the Samaritan woman is designated for the sixth ferial, i.e. Saturday, day after Oculi.

⁵³ Cornelius VAN DEN STEEN, *Commentarii In Quatuor Evangelia In Duo Volumina Divisi* (Augsburg et al., 1767), vol. 2, p. 316-330, here p. 319-323.

⁵⁴ VAN DEN STEEN, *Commentarii In Quatuor Evangelia*, p. 328.

⁵⁵ VAN DEN STEEN, *Commentarii In Quatuor Evangelia*, p. 319 and 321.

the reader is left with an image of divine grace flowing freely from the Saviour to the human soul and back again.

It is worth noting that the latter passage from the Song of Songs precedes the verse “Veni in hortum meum”, which Lasso used for his motet. As mentioned above, the first half of the verse served as an antiphon for Marian feasts; thus at first glance a Marian reading of motet and mass would seem appropriate. However, the brevity of the mass and its contemporaneity with other short mass ordinaries intended for ferial days argues against a designation for a Marian feast: the Munich court chapel was already well provided with polyphonic compositions for the higher feast days, including six *Missae de Beata Virgine* by Isaac, Brumel and Josquin, all considerably more expansive than the masses from Mus. Ms. 51.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the Marian Antiphon “Veni in hortum meum” utilises only part of the verse from the Song of Songs; it does not account for the second half from “comedi favum cum melle meo” to “et inebriamini carissimi”. However, a Marian reading was only one possibility of interpreting the Song of Songs, and not necessarily the one preferred by composer, performer or audience. In her ground-breaking study of Palestrina’s Song of Song motets published in his *Motetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* (Rome: Gardano 1584), Jessie Ann Owens highlights the personal or tropological quality of Palestrina’s reading of the sacred text, i.e. how he understood the “sponsa” as “the soul, the individual striving for a mystical spiritual union with Christ.”⁵⁷ It seems that this personal reading gained ground in the increasingly affective and emotional religious climate of the late sixteenth century, not just among mystic theologians but also amongst musicians. In order to see how Lasso approached one particular passage from the Song of Song, it will again be instructive to consider the textual and musical interactions of motet and mass.⁵⁸

As a substantial, through-composed piece of 70 measures, the motet *Veni in hortum meum* offers a far greater range of musical motives and memorable harmonic turns than the brief *Entre vous filles*, from the sombre opening fifth of “Veni” with its stately semibreves to the infectious note repetitions of the final “et inebriamini”. Interestingly, after the Kyrie which is basically an arrangement of the motet, Lasso deploys these musical riches just as sparingly – or even more sparingly – as the thinner material of the chanson. Many passages present

⁵⁶ KÖRNDLE, *Liturgische Musik*, p. 115.

⁵⁷ J.A. OWENS, “Palestrina as Reader: Motets from the Song of Songs”, in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, dir. D. PESCHE (New York & Oxford, 1997), p. 307-327, here p. 311.

⁵⁸ The analysis of the mass, which has not been recorded so far, was greatly aided by the study by S.D. NEHRENBURG, *Orlando di Lasso’s Missae ad Imitationem: An Examination and Comparison of the Treatment of Borrowings from Self-Composed Versus External Models* (DMA Thesis University of Oregon, 1996).

entirely new musical material, not only the swiftly declaimed lines in Gloria and Credo that are not dissimilar to the equivalent sections in the chanson mass, but also the Osanna with its serious five-part imitative texture. As is customary in parody masses, the beginning and ending of the model are used prominently to unify the mass cycle, although the allusion to the “Veni” motif is veiled in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and the Gloria opens with freely composed material. Conversely the joyous “et inebriamini carissimi” brings Gloria, Credo and Agnus Dei to a close, giving the mass a more celebratory aspect than the g mode would lead one to expect. With the scarcity of direct quotations it is all the more noteworthy that the Agnus Dei cites very prominently the passage “bibu vinum meum cum lacte meo” (m. 36-47) at “qui tollis peccata mundi” (m. 13-23). Steven D. Nehrenberg emphasises that at this late stage of the mass it is “exceptionally rare to find an extensive near-exact quotation”;⁵⁹ he does not, however, speculate why Lasso quoted his own music so faithfully at this point. In order to tease apart the potential layers of meaning, another look at the contemporary exegetic understanding of the biblical text may be indicated.

Of course it would be misleading to assume that there was just one, universally shared understanding of any biblical passage. As Robert L. Kendrick reminds the modern reader, the interaction of the allegorical levels with the musical and individual sensibilities of their Catholic or Protestant audiences made any musical setting “essentially polyvalent.”⁶⁰ Commentaries such as Michele Ghislieri’s (1563-1646) encyclopaedic *Commentarii ... In Canticvm Canticorum Salomonis* (Paris, 1618) take pride in listing every conceivable interpretation along tropological, ecclesiological and Marian lines, plus selected readings from the patristic tradition. However, some themes recur across several authors and resonate with the quotations from the motet in the context of the mass ordinary. Ghislieri opens his second, ecclesiological exposition of “Comedi favum meum cum melle meo, bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo” with a substantial Eucharistic interpretation. Since the first part of the verse, where the bridegroom has entered his garden and gathered his myrrh with spices, refers to Christ’s incarnation and passion, the latter half of the verse can be read as a reference to the institution of the Eucharist: “nunc vltimo loco se & conuiuium quoque Sacramentale ait parasse”, in which Christ has prepared himself as the true sacramental feast.⁶¹ Ghislieri then continues with an extended argument about the real presence of Christ’s body and blood in the Eucharist, harnessing a range of biblical and patristic quotations to make his point, with a

⁵⁹ NEHRENBURG, *Orlando di Lasso’s Missae ad Imitationem*, p. 224.

⁶⁰ R.L. KENDRICK, ““Sonet vox tua in auribus meis””, p. 107.

⁶¹ M. GHISLIERI, *Commentarii Michaelis Ghislerii ... In Canticvm Canticorum Salomonis* (Paris, 1618), p. 678.

sideswipe at the heretics who disagree. Finally he arrives at the following paraphrase of the biblical text: It is Christ himself who says: “*Bibi vinum cum lacte meo, ac si diceret: Cum cibo diuinitatis meae, quo & ipse, & caelestes spiritus vescimur in caelis, in sacramentali isto conuiuio propter hominum imbecillitatem in lac conuerso, bibi vinum sanguinis mei.*”⁶² He thus promises to feed us with the food of his divine nature, with the wine transformed into milk – nourishment appropriate for infants – at this “sacramental feast”. For readers who are not quite convinced of the Eucharistic reading, since the original text refers to “favum”, i.e. the honeycomb, and the drinking of wine mixed with milk, he marshals the support of St Ambrose, who in fact paraphrased the passage as “*manducaui panem meum*” (“I have chewed my bread”) instead of “*comedi favum meum*” with the explanation, that in this bread, i.e. Christ, there is no bitterness but only sweetness, and that whoever drinks from this wine will accept the remission of sins and be inebriated with the holy Spirit.⁶³

St Ambrose’s reading leads neatly into the final section of the biblical verse from the Song of Songs and the motet, “*Comedite amici, et bibite, et inebriamini charissimi*”, where the Eucharistic theme continues. Jan van Malderen (1563-1633), bishop of Antwerp when his *In canticum canticorum Salomonis commentarius* (1628) was published, explicitly states that the bridegroom invites his friends, namely the faithful who attend the Eucharist: “*Sunt qui Eucharistiae accomodent, quae amicis Dei in conuiuium exhibetur*”,⁶⁴ and continues once more with reference to St Ambrose, who in turn cites the Apostle Paul’s letter to the Ephesians (5:18): “*Nolite inebriari vino, sed implemini Spiritu sancto.*” (“And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit.”) Thus the drunkenness is one of the spirit, enjoyed by those who reach the ecstatic contemplation of God. The idea of spiritual intoxication has a venerable tradition, having been proposed by the twelfth-century Cistercian Alain de Lille. He does not, however, engage with the Eucharistic understanding of food and drink, but reads the passage as a foreshadowing of the celestial bliss awaiting the friends of Christ. Alain de Lille glosses the biblical text as follows: “*A simili, vos, amici mei, in horto aeternae beatitudinis delectantes, comedite panem qui de caelo descendit (Joan. VI); non in sacramento, sed in re. Et bibite aquam vivam, quae coelestem paradisum irrigat. Et inebriamini coelesti gaudio, charissimi, per veram dilectionem ...*”⁶⁵ As we have seen, it is

⁶² GHISLIERI, *Commentarii*, p. 680: “*I have drunk wine with my milk, and thus he says: With the food of my divine nature, with which we and the heavenly spirits feed in the heavens, which because of the frailty of humans is at the sacramental feast converted into milk, I have drunk the wine of my blood.*”

⁶³ GHISLIERI, *Commentarii*, p. 685.

⁶⁴ J. VAN MALDEREN, *In canticum canticorum Salomonis commentarius* (Antwerp, 1628), p. 86.

⁶⁵ Alain DE LILLE, *In Cantica Canticorum Elucidatio, Patrologia Latina* 210, dir. J.-P. MIGNE (Paris, 1855), col. 84: “*And likewise, you, my friends, who are enjoying yourselves in the garden of eternal beatitude, eat the*

not only the celestial bread – a theme which is also referred to later in chapter 4 during the dialogue between Jesus and his disciples – which links this passage from the Song of Songs with the Gospel of John. Even more pertinently, the friends are enjoined to drink the “living water”, just like the Samaritan woman at the well, who demands and receives from Jesus the “living water” that quenches all (spiritual) thirst.

Thus the *Missa super Entre vous filles* and the *Missa super Veni in hortum meum* are connected through the reverberations of the model texts when each is heard in dialogue with the relevant passage of the mass ordinary. The *Missa super Entre vous filles* develops an argument about sinfulness, which, through being located at a well, points from the merry girls of the chanson to the Samaritan woman, who is turned from “peccatrix” to “praedicatrix” through Christ’s grace, captured in the image of the “living water”. The *Missa super Veni in hortum meum*, on the other hand, participates through the Song of Songs text in an elaborate theological argument about eating and drinking honey-sweet celestial nourishment provided through Christ, whether through the real presence of the Eucharist (as Ghislieri suggests) or as celestial bread and living water that the faithful enjoy in paradise through the love of God (as Alain de Lille suggests).

Compelling as such a joint interpretation may be, the question remains whether a composer, working under pressure to produce a quick succession of polyphonic masses for weekday services, would have thought along such elaborate theological lines. We may assume that Lasso was to some extent familiar with contemporary biblical exegesis – which would have been hard to avoid in the religiously charged atmosphere of the ducal court in Munich –, but it is not clear to what extent his creativity would have been inspired by theological discourse. Furthermore we need to reflect critically our present-day attitude towards not only sixteenth-century spirituality but also sensuality: in our desire to elevate erotic or outright bawdy texts and music into, in Laurie Stras’s words, “a value-laden, positive cultural space, hovering delicately above [...] „the decency threshold“”,⁶⁶ we might be overshooting our goal because we are unwilling to accept that a composer of Lasso’s stature might just have wanted to create a moment of (somewhat juvenile) comic relief for his fellow musicians or even bored courtiers. However, it might not be necessary to impute a sanitising impulse to the composer when considering the chanson mass and the Song of Song mass as part of an intertextual web of theological, spiritual and erotic allusions. James Erb

bread which has descended from heaven (John VI); not in the sacrament but truly. And *drink* the living water, which irrigates the heavenly paradise. *And let us be inebriated* with celestial gladness, *beloved*, through true love...”

⁶⁶ STRAS, “Introduction: Encoding the Musical Erotic”, p. 3.

invoked “Lasso’s wortbewußte[n] Geist” – his keen alertness to the possibilities of words and music – when interpreting the relationship of parody models and Magnificats.⁶⁷ In a similar vein Donna Cardamone has argued against understanding Lasso’s letters to Duke Wilhelm V, which are shot through with double entendre and affectionate ribaldry, as not-so-coded expressions of a homosexual relationship rather than a language game of shared erotic humour,⁶⁸ a character trait of Lasso that inspired Erb to a fitting comparison with Mozart’s letters.⁶⁹

Thus even if the composer’s involvement in contemporary theological discourses might be debated, his ability to draw inspiration from the allusive potential of texts and musical materials is beyond doubt. While attending a Lenten sermon preached on the Gospel reading of Jesus’s encounter with the Samaritan woman at the well, this scene could have reminded Lasso of a chanson about other women going to a fountain, in Clemens’s *Entre vous filles*. The biblical story might also have come to his renewed attention through a work of art: Jesus and the Samaritan woman are depicted in the famous manuscript of motets by Cipriano de Rore, Bavarian State Library Mus.Ms. B, with illustrations by Hans Mielich and an accompanying commentary by the learned Samuel Quichelberg. **[Insert figure 1 around here; caption: Hans Mielich: Jesus and the Samaritan Woman; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus.Ms. B, p. 138, [urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00103729-4](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00103729-4)]**



If Lasso, who was collaborating closely with both Mielich and Quichelberg in the 1560s over the even more lavish Penitential Psalms manuscripts, actually read the commentary, he would have found many of the key themes connecting the parody masses and their models: Quichelberg first draws attention to the biblical verse containing the words “fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam” (John 4:14) and then interprets them with reference to the line

⁶⁷ ERB, “Umsetzung von textausdeutenden Figuren”, p. 80.

⁶⁸ D.G. CARDAMONE, “Unmasking Salacious Subtexts in Lasso’s Neapolitan Songs”, in *Eroticism in Early Modern Music*, pp. 58-81, here pp. 80-81.

⁶⁹ ERB, “Umsetzung von textausdeutenden Figuren”, p. 83.

“Panem nostrum quotidianum” from the “Our Father”, since the illumination adorns a setting of the *Pater noster* by Rore.⁷⁰ There are, furthermore, two more images inspired by the “daily bread” on this opening of the Rore Codex: Daniel in the lion’s den, and Elijah who is nourished by the angel, explained in the commentary with the verse: “Surge, comedere, grandis enim tibi restat via” (1 Kings 19:7: “Arise *and* eat; because the journey *is* too great for thee”). Thus the connection between fountain, living waters, bread and spiritual nourishment had already been made in an art work produced at and for the court of Munich, and Lasso might have felt invited to add a further, musical gloss through a pair of parody masses.

In turn, *Entre vous filles* might have been hovering in Lasso’s subconscious mind for a variety of reasons. Assuming that the mass came into existence for the Lenten season of 1566 or 1567 at the latest, it is noteworthy that only in 1564 Lasso had published a chanson that likewise played on the sexual activities of teenagers, “Fleur de quinze ans” to a text by the poet Clément Marot. The reference to “fifteen years” would have been particularly topical in 1566, when Maria of Bavaria, the eldest daughter of Duke Albrecht V, had just turned fifteen. Lasso would of course not have meant to imply that the mores of the young Princess were not entirely blameless; after all his own mother-in-law, Margarethe Wäckinger, was Maria’s “Zuchtmeisterin” (an office between attendant and governess).⁷¹ In fact, the *Missa super Entre vous filles* explicitly sets apart the Blessed Virgin Mary from the erotically charged F-mode environment of the chanson: At “ex Maria Virgine” in the Credo the modality suddenly turns to a full cadence in G major, the only time in the entire mass that this chord is used as a point of arrival. Thus in an oblique way the chanson mass could even be understood as a compliment to the Bavarian princess, through association with her namesake and patron the Virgin Mary, who in a popular interpretation of the Song of Songs was herself equalled with the enclosed garden and the sealed fountain or well. It is highly likely that the real Maria would have heard – and hopefully enjoyed – the *Missa Entre vous filles*, since according to court-gossip Massimo Troiano she and her equally musical sister Maximiliana made a point of attending the sung daily mass.⁷² The idea to pair a “fountain-themed” chanson mass with a

⁷⁰ S. QUICHELBERG, *Declaratio picturarum imaginum ac quoruncunque ornamentorum in libro, Motetorum celeberrimi musici Cypriani de Rore*, D-Mbs Mus.Ms. B/2, f. 50r.

⁷¹ K. KELLER, *Erzherzogin Maria von Innerösterreich (1551-1608). Zwischen Habsburg und Wittelsbach* (Cologne & Weimar, 2012), p. 16. The close connection to the Lasso family continued through the years; in 1569 Maria of Bavaria stood godmother for one of Lasso’s children.

⁷² *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano: Dialoge*, dir. H. LEUCHTMANN (Munich & Salzburg, 1980), p. 109. After her marriage to Archduke Karl of Austria in 1571 she became one of the most important patrons of music of her generation; repeatedly she asked her brother Duke William V to send her music by Lasso. See L.M. KOLDAU, *Frauen, Musik, Kultur : ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2005), p. 71-75.

Song-of-Songs mass, in turn, could have been inspired not just through the shared subtext of the “living waters”, but through the example of Clemens non Papa: in 1559 three of his masses were posthumously published with Phalèse in Leuven, including a *Missa cum sex vocibus ad imitationem Cantilenae A la fontaine du prez* (based on a chanson by Willaert with a serious five-part texture and a bawdy text) and a *Missa cum quatuor vocibus ad imitationem Moduli Quam pulchra es* (based on Lupi’s motet).⁷³ It might have been but a small step from the fortuitous co-publication of chanson and Song-of-Songs mass to a deliberate harnessing of the potential for allusive interplay of the seemingly disparate genres.

Beyond elucidating the workings of Lasso’s creative imagination, this joint reading of the *Missa super Entre vous filles* and *Missa super Veni in hortum meum* should encourage a more open-minded engagement with the genre of the parody mass in the second half of the late sixteenth century. Textbook accounts of music history often move the mass to the sidelines, as compositional innovation is increasingly perceived to happen elsewhere, especially in the motet and madrigal which both foster a sensitive and subjective relationship of words and music. However, it could be argued that the stunningly high numbers of parody masses composed – and consumed – during these years were more than a response to liturgical or ceremonial necessity. Besides their many attractive musical features, parody masses of the late sixteenth century, like their predecessors in the early days of the chanson mass, must have struck contemporary artists (and maybe even listeners) as a rich field where the nuances of textual and musical interplay could be explored, across genres and along the sliding scale from the profane to the secular to the sacred. If Lasso utilised a wider range of musical models than some of his contemporaries, from flimsy chansons to stately motets, this was not just due to the fact that he liked the compositional challenge of appropriating different musical styles to the rigid framework of the mass ordinary. More than any of his contemporaries, the multi-lingual composer was aware of the rich possibilities that reading a text against the grain had to offer. If in doing so he seemed to violate the Council of Trent’s prohibition of church music containing “something wanton or impure”, his listeners would have been amply compensated by decoding the multi-layered musical and spiritual meanings of a richly allusive chanson and its parody mass.

⁷³ Jacobus CLEMENS NON PAPA, *Opera omnia*, dir. K.Ph.B. KEMPERS, vol. 7 (s.l., 1959) (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 4). The third mass by Clemens published that year is the *Missa Pastores quidnam vidistis* on his own motet.

Table 3: Sources of Lasso's masses *Entre vous filles* and *Veni in hortum meum* until 1581, with approximate date and provenance.

<i>Missa Entre vous filles and Missa Veni in hortum meum</i>					
D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 51 1565-1570 Court chapel, Munich	D-Rsa Ms. I. A.H. 15 1567 St Emmeram (OSB) / City Council of Regensburg	D-Rp A.R. 894-907 c. 1571 Gymnasium poeticum, Regensburg	D-Rtt F.K.Mus. 52 1578 St Ulrich & Afra, Neresheim (OSB)	D-As Tonkunst Schletterer 17 1579 St Ulrich & Afra, Augsburg (OSB)	D-Rtt F.K. Mus. 52 1578 Neresheim Monastery (OSB)
<i>Missa Veni in hortum meum</i>					
D-B Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 93 1568 / 1572 St Maria Magdalena, Breslau	D-Nla Fenitzer IV 227 2° 1573 St Egidien, Nuremberg (scribe: Friedrich Lindner)	D-DI Mus. Pi Cod. II 1575 Grammar school, Pirna			
<i>Missa Entre vous filles</i>					
D-Tmi Y09 1570 Collegiate church Ellwangen (scribe: Friedrich Lindner)	D-B Mus. ms. 40023 1575-1580 St Egidien, Nuremberg (scribe: Friedrich Lindner)				