

queenship. Flori refers in his chapter on power and patronage to recent studies of Anglo-Norman queens by Lois Huneycutt and Heather Tanner, but does not integrate the example of powerful queens such as Matilda of Scotland, Matilda of Boulogne, and Adeliza of Louvain into his study of Eleanor. The latter appears less remarkable or exceptional when placed alongside these predecessors, or contemporaries such as Ermengarde of Narbonne.

These caveats should not, however, detract from the real achievement of this work in offering—arguably for the first time—a balanced and critical biography of Eleanor. It is to be hoped that the availability of this work in English will banish some of the myths that have been perpetuated about Eleanor, although it is unfortunate that the book is not available in a more affordable format. Had Edinburgh University Press gone ahead with the planned paperback edition, Flori's work would be all the better placed to challenge the ubiquitous popular biographies of Eleanor. Nevertheless, scholars at least will benefit from this incisive and closely-argued work.

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NOTES

1. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons, "Introduction," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. xiii-xxix; p. xxix.
2. Amy R. Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1950).
3. Jean Flori, *Aliénor d'Aquitaine: La reine insoumise* (Paris: Payot, 2004).



Linda Maria Koldau. *Frauen-Musik-Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit.* Böhlau Verlag, 2005. Pp. xii + 1188; ill.

LINDA KOLDAU'S *Habilitationsschrift* is the result of years of research aimed at rectifying the omission of women from studies of the musical culture of the predominantly German-speaking regions of pre-modern Europe. It is impressive: almost a thousand pages with roughly equal attention to women at aristocratic courts, bourgeois women, and women in convents or other single-gender religious communities. Most of Koldau's evidence comes from

the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but there are ample references to women in scattered earlier sources as well. Because much of women's activity as performers, patrons, and even sometimes composers was located in the private or household sphere, evidence is often rather hard to come by. Koldau culled references from a variety of sources from archival as well as published materials scattered over much of what is now Austria, Germany, Slovakia, and Switzerland. The book includes a valuable fifty-page index of the names of hundreds of women (and men associated with them) whom Koldau identified as somehow tied to the worlds of late medieval and early modern music, as well as appendices listing widow printers of music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and women named in association with music in seventeenth-century catalogues. As is so often the case, however, dozens of women mentioned in the text are known only by their given names, making it difficult to trace biographical information, especially in sources dating back to the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries and in connection with nuns, mistresses, or common musicians whose family ties were not considered important to record.

Given women's exclusion from advanced training in music theory and composition, there are few examples of female composers. When women did compose, it was often in rather simple musical forms such as single-voice songs; sometimes they wrote lyrics to existing tunes instead of composing new ones. The apparently widespread prohibition of women playing wind instruments explains why most women played keyboard or string instruments. There were distinctions even among keyboard instruments, however: although many aristocratic women had music teachers who were organists, the women most often were trained not on that instrument, but on related ones such as harpsichords.

Royal and aristocratic women of the Habsburg courts were important patrons and intermediaries between the rich musical traditions of the Low Countries and Italy and the rest of the Holy Roman Empire. Koldau gives substantial treatment to the key role of regents such as Margarete of Austria (1480–1530) and Mary of Hungary (1505–1558) as well as to women of the secondary Habsburg courts at Innsbruck and Graz in the sixteenth century. These courts, located in the southern reaches of the Habsburgs' holdings, and Italian duchesses who became Holy Roman Empresses in the seventeenth century (Eleonora I, 1598–1655 along with Eleonora II, 1630–1686) provided a channel for important musical innovations such as opera to reach the German-speaking territories to the north.

Koldau details aspects of the musical worlds of the Hessian, various Hohenzollern, Palatine, and Saxon courts too. The Braunschweig dynasty brings us

back to the Imperial court where Empress Wilhelmine Amalie of Braunschweig-Lüneberg (1673–1742) served as a conduit for popular French musical styles to reach central Europe. Koldau also provides examples from the lower nobility. Noblewomen of the Lutheran and the Moravian Brethren receive particular attention as a result of their substantial production of religious songs.

Finding sources for burgher women in music owed more to chance discoveries than systematic and comprehensive research (p. 311). The large role for singing in Protestant services meant that women and girls were expected to be able to participate, and evidence in the form of song books and instructional materials reveals that at least some received formal instruction. Until the sixteenth century, most such instruction had been limited to the highest levels of bourgeois society. While it is unclear just who these women's teachers were, Koldau was able to discover at least one influential woman active in this area, Magdalena Haymerin of Košice (present-day Slovakia).

Koldau discusses the scattered references to a variety of popular forms of song which women also performed including mourning songs, complaints, and, of course, lullabies. Holiday songs such as those celebrating the new year were also sung, sometimes in parts. Such popular and folk songs provided musical entertainment for more non-noble women than the more formal and sophisticated music taught to elite males (and some females). In Roman Catholic central Europe, extra-liturgical, but still religiously-themed, music played an important role in processions and pilgrimages, providing avenues for musical expression to women who participated in these popular expressions of piety.

Scattered references to paid performances by women on lutes, lyres, various stringed instruments, and even harps (which had some negative connotations) are located in city and court records. Empress Maria of Habsburg, for example, had on her court rolls a woman by the name of Marta of Mecheln who performed at the imperial court in the 1570s (pp. 564–67). Koldau comes back to the various Habsburg courts of the period, whether in Graz, Innsbruck, Vienna, or the allied court at Munich, as employers of non-noble female musicians. It is in this part that Koldau expands on her discussion of women and the printing of music as well.

The centrality of music to the lives of nuns, canonesses, and women in other religious communities, and the comparatively good evidentiary basis for this, allow Koldau to provide a rich depiction of music in these women's lives. Education in Latin choral music, Koldau points out, was one of the pillars of the preparation for a cloistered life. One had to be prepared to sing the hours. The exact format of the instruction nuns and novices received from the more advanced nuns is not well documented. Most of it was probably oral, Koldau

theorizes, leaving little written evidence. However, inventories of women's houses reveal large numbers of instruments, including organs, from the fifteenth century on. By the seventeenth century, cloisters in the southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire owned a variety of instruments, including wind instruments, harps, and drums as well as organs, owing to the combination of the general increase in popularity of elaborate orchestral settings for Masses and the stricter rules of enclosure for nuns starting in the late sixteenth century. The women were left to their own devices. There is some evidence that in certain locations such as Salzburg, where musical culture was extensive and lively, the nuns accepted trained daughters of famous musicians living in the area to enhance their houses' musical capacity, even though these women's bourgeois background might normally have excluded them from admission.

As Koldau reminds us, some houses of religious women survived the Reformation in Protestant territories in the German-speaking lands. Quedlinburg, for example, whose leaders accepted Protestantism in the 1530s, still had important abbesses or other female officers who influenced the cultural life in the convent as well as in its affiliated city via the church choir and school. Some of the surviving Protestant female houses were noble foundations with very restrictive admissions requirements, but others were more bourgeois. The house in Ulm, for example, catered to patrician women and housed musicians and music teachers such as Barbara Kluntz (who died in 1730). Koldau also touches on the women of the *Devotio moderna* [modern devotion] beginning in the fourteenth century. These women were part of a network of religious communities who shared a common musical heritage of vernacular religious song.

In her conclusion, Koldau appeals to future researchers to continue looking into the understudied field of late medieval and early modern women and music in the German-speaking lands. At times she sees her work as a mosaic, revealing larger patterns through the use of individual cases and examples. Other times, she turns to metaphors such as the "tip of the iceberg" to discuss what she has found. Koldau believes that there is still much undiscovered territory to be explored. Her massive handbook is a good place to start the expedition.

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