



The Music of Arbeau's *Orchésographie*

G. Yvonne Kendall

WENDY HILTON DANCE & MUSIC SERIES NO.17

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Plate 1. Thoinot Arbeau - from Albert Czerwinski, *Die Tänze des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Danzig, 1878).

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by

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This book is dedicated to my family.

We all dance!

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

Issues concerning titles and languages are plentiful among the sources used in studying the dances of Arbeau. Many of the works in this book represent the sixteenth-century practice of extended titles that can be unwieldy in repetition. In order to mitigate this, once a work has been cited in complete form, subsequent citations are abbreviated. For a published source, the shortened form usually consists of the author's surname, a shortened title and the page number. Music and choreography titles are placed in quotation marks, while dance genres (gaillarde, pavan) are in standard Roman font. Linguistic constructions based on foreign language models are italicized (*branles couppez*). The same applies to foreign terms not in common use in English (e.g. farce, but *ballet de cour*).

A number of sources from a variety of languages have been used. Whenever necessary, the original text and the translation are both supplied. This is especially the case when the topic uses specific choreographic, theatrical, or musical terms, and where the exact meaning may be open to dispute. Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own; therefore the choices in meaning for technical terms are mine as well, although linguistic aid from specific experts is acknowledged in footnotes. In order to retain the meaning of the original texts as closely as possible, while maintaining readability and clarity in English, I have adjusted syntax and punctuation as needed. Shorter translations will generally appear in the main text; longer translations are placed in footnotes.

Occasionally, changes between the historical version of the language and its modern counterpart require clarification. In those cases, either a prose explanation or the modern term in brackets will be included. Spellings in historical quotations have been left as originally written.

The Critical Notes present Arbeau's basic tunes with comments on the history, concordances, and editing for the music that appears in Part III. These notes also contain the side-by-side translations of the poetic texts used for vocal dance music. I have attempted to maintain some level of poetic rhythm and format, so the translations here may be more flexible than elsewhere in this book.

Following the extremely useful model of Howard Mayer Brown in *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, I have included several appendices so that readers can easily search for information based on criteria like composer, instrumental ensemble, and so forth. Additionally, one appendix contains music for dances found in Arbeau's work that either have no tune in Arbeau, or have a tune for which no concordance has been found. This leaves only six dances with no concordances and only one with no music at all. By including all this information, I hope this book will be valuable to specialists and aficionados alike.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Seaching through hundreds of documents single handed has only been possible with support of family, friends and colleagues. In her early teen years, even my niece Vivian Roberson went to libraries with me and helped keep track of which photocopy from a microfilmed original source was by whom, from what source, and went where. From those libraries I owe special thanks to Beth Rebman and to all the staff of the Stanford University Music Library, especially Mimi Tashiro, Assistant Director and Nancy Lorimer, Head of Technical Services. It was nice to be able to go back home and get help that was beyond the call of duty. Manuel Erviti, John Roberts, and Judy Tsou (currently director of the University of Washinton Music Library) of the University of California-Berkeley Music Library all made my sometimes lightening fast trips productive. Mimi and Manuel, in particular, got two of my last three concordances tome after I had returned to Texas. All these librarians, and one other, are the epitome of professionalism that I hope this book begins to repay.

I must also thank Dr. Philip Schreur, Director of Meta-data Services at the Stanford University Libraries (formerly of both Stanford and Berkeley music libraries) and Dr. Jeffrey Judd. These dear friends, who danced in groups I directed more than twenty years ago, along with Jean Nakamoto, Marcell Campano, Laurie Benson, and Kathryn Henniss fed and housed me while learning much more about French Renaissance dance than I'm sure they ever wanted to know. Their enthusiastic support and interest sustained my efforts over the years.

I thank Pendragon Press for their faith in this project. Dr. Linda Tomko served as editor for this work and her suggestions for exploration and expansion of certain chapters have certainly enriched the finished product, but all errors remain my own. Collegium Mysterium, an ensemble I directed for years danced, sang, and played many of these dances with energy and skill. The opportunity of bringing this art to life is a vital part of why I chose this project. I thank them for taking the first steps with me. Finally, I have been inspired by Arbeau's combination of pedagogy and punch lines. His humor and expertise provide a guide for a modem scholar who still likes to dance. *Mille remerciements!*

ABBREVIATIONS

- A-Wn – Austria, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
B-Br – Belgium, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1.er
CH-LAcortot – Switzerland, Lausanne Bibliothèque Alfred Cortot
E-Bbc – Spain, Barcelona Biblioteca de Catalunya
E-Mrah – Spain, Madrid Real Academia de la Historia
EIRE-Dtc – Ireland, Dublin Trinity College Library
F-Pbn – France, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale
F-Pc – France, Paris Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
GB-Cfm – Great Britain, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum
GB-Lbl – Great Britain, London British Library
GB-Lrcp – Great Britain, London Royal College of Physicians
I-Tn – Italy, Turin Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
NL-Dhgm – The Netherlands, Den Haag Gemeentemuseum
PL-Kj – Poland, Krakow Uniwersytet Jagiellonski. Biblioteka Jagiellonska
RISM – *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales*, www.rism.info.
US-SM – United States, San Marino CA Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery

PART I
Historical Context

Chapter One

Arbeau's *Orchesographie*

*Tous le jours...viendront à inventer madrigalles,
sonnets, pavanes, passemeses, gaillardes.*

Louise Labé, *Débat de Folie et d'Amour* (1555)¹

Thoinot Arbeau's *Orchesographie* is the best-known European dance manual printed before 1600.² It contains 47 choreographies that reflect a remarkably extensive sampling of dances performed in sixteenth-century France. These include choreographies for the most widely referenced dances in French literature, as well as in visual arts, courtesy books and dance music throughout sixteenth-century Europe: the basse dance, branle, pavane and gaillarde, and the only known extant choreography of the volta. Clothed in charm and humor, information about the history, contemporary practice, and character of dance, with instructions for its performance, form the body of this extremely valuable text.

As Carla Zecher summarizes, "In Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse, humanists, book illustrators, and printers collaborated in the creation of pedagogical literature."³ Arbeau's book is part of this literature and, like many contemporary pedagogical works, it takes the form of a dialogue between student and teacher. The dances and their music render *Orchesographie* a useful guide to a fascinating area of French Renaissance life.

Beyond the obvious fact that Arbeau preserved the tunes and choreographies found in *Orchesographie*, it is not clear whether he created any of the tunes or choreographies himself. In some cases, he claims to be relying on memory (basse dance) or observation ("Trihory de Bretagne"), but he also offers his own point of view on certain dances ("Gavotes"). This is particularly the case for dances in which steps are subdivided into variations, called "divisions." The widespread popularity of the tunes, which is evident by the number of concordances I have located, suggests that most of the dances are not original to Arbeau; but some, which seem to have been created for specific events (e.g. "Aridan"), may well have been his own. So, just as xerox was a brand name that came to be used generically, throughout this book I will refer to the choreographies and tunes, as collected in *Orchesographie*, as Arbeau's. This

¹Louise Labé, *Débat de Folie et d'Amour* (1555), in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1986), 76. "Every day they come and invent madrigals, sonnets, pavanes, passemessos, and gaillardes." Unless otherwise cited, all translations of all sources are my own.

²Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesographie. Et traicte en forme de dialogue, par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre & practiquer l'honneste exercice des dances* (Lengres: Jehan des Preyz, 1589). See Table I for editions of *Orchesographie*. In subsequent footnotes, page numbers refer to the widely-available Dover translation. Parenthetical references are to the original 1589 French edition, published in facsimile by Minkoff (Geneva, 1972).

³Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry and Art in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007), 22.

would seem to be a small honor to pay to the memory of the person who preserved access to this wonderful store of knowledge for posterity.

Arbeau inhabits an important position in a triumvirate of dance masters. His tome joins those of Fabritio Caroso and Cesare Negri in providing the main printed sources of choreographies representing the period 1520 to 1620. Like *Orchesographie*, Caroso's two volumes, *Il ballarino* (1581) and *Nobiltà di dame* (1600), with one further edition of the latter), and Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (1602, with two further editions), contain instructions for performing steps, step patterns, and other dance-related movements, such as bows. Each consists of more than 40 choreographies in a variety of genres given in prose descriptions and, importantly, each provides dance music. All display illustrations of dancers, indicating clothing, and dance positions. Virtually none of the manuscript sources, or even other minor published sources, has either music or illustrations.

Each of these three treatises is unique in ways both large and small. *Il ballarino*, the earliest of the three, maintains the largest collection of choreographies, numbering 88. Caroso divides it into two sections: the first is intended to teach "the actions and movements that are found in dances, along with the instructions on how they are to be done," and the second informs readers that he will offer various sorts of dances from Italy, as well as some from France and Spain—placing those cultures as nearly on par with Italy in dance influence wielded and manifest practice.⁴

Little is known about Caroso independent of his own statements that he hailed from Sermoneta, a cobble-stoned hilltop town in the province of Latina that dates from the fifth century BCE. Sermoneta lies just over 55 kilometers (30 miles) south-east of Rome. The city, which was under the protection of the Caetani family, housed a synagogue to serve a sizeable Jewish community and a Cistercian monastery. For a brief time it fell into the hands of Lucrezia Borgia.⁵

In a note to his readers, Caroso explains his purpose in writing *Il ballarino*. He clearly means to exalt the importance of dance by situating it at the same level of *la poesia* and *la musica*, but he further indicates that the body can personify the *affect* of the spirit through dance.⁶ In his treatise, he specifies the typical audience member as a male *persona nobile*. He also emphasizes the social and physical benefits of dance, as well as its more idealistic goals. In her cogently argued monograph *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, Kate Van Orden traces the relationship of dance and its proportionality to social events, and the relationship of dance and its physicality to military goals.⁷ Both were of constant concern to the French nobility, who often referred to dance as *honneste exercice*, and the synonymous reference to *virtuoso essercitio* in *Il ballarino* makes it clear that the Italian nobility shared with the French this under-

⁴Fabritio Caroso, *Il ballarino* (Venice: Ziletti, 1581; facsimile reprint, New York: Broude Brothers, 1969), title page. "Si danno à gli atti; & movimenti che intervengono ne i Balli: & con molte Regole si dichiara come debbano farsi..."

⁵Roberto Piperno and Rosamie Moore, "On the Edge of the Marsh – Sermoneta," <http://www.romeartlover.it/Sermoneta.html>, accessed May 5, 2010.

⁶Caroso, *Il ballarino*, "A i Lettori." "Rappresenta gli affetti dell'animo co' movimenti del corpo."

⁷Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005).

standing of one virtue of the choreographic art.⁸

Caroso's second treatise, *Nobiltà di dame*, has long been seen by scholars as a "new improved version" of *Il ballarino*.⁹ In fact, the *Oxford Dictionary of Music* still defines it as "enlarged," even though it has fewer choreographies.¹⁰ The Library of Congress website, "An American Ballroom Companion: Dance Instruction Manuals, ca. 1490-1920," singles it out as "considered the more valuable."¹¹ The misconception is due, in large part, to the fact that Caroso himself attempted to distinguish *Nobiltà* as a new and improved version, referring to this treatise as "*Libro, altra volta, chiamato IL BALLARINO. Nuovamente dal proprio Auttore corretto...*" (A book previously called *Il ballarino*. Newly revised by its own Author...).¹² Those misled by this statement have not reckoned with two issues – the concept of the sales pitch or what Carla Zecher so deftly designates as the "promotional context."¹³

In *Il ballarino*, Caroso addressed a sole dedicatee, Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Examination of the opening dedication of *Nobiltà di dame*, on the other hand, shows a bit of name dropping, referring to both the Farnese and Aldobrandini families, as represented by the Duke and Duchess of Parma and Piacenza (Ranuccio Farnese and Margarita Aldobrandini), and the Aldobrandini Pope, Clement VIII. Caroso was clearly trying to take advantage of his prior success with *Il ballarino* and add to it. The last part of his title, however, tells the real story of this new edition's importance: "ampliato di nuovi Balli, di belle Regole, & alla perfetta Theorica ridotto..." (expanded by new dances, beautiful rules, and summarized into a complete theory)." This set the stage for the promotional context in which poets, publishers, and others enticed their scientifically- and artistically-minded humanist patrons.

In reality, *Nobiltà di dame* must be regarded as a new book. With 49 choreographies, it consists of just over half the number of dances found in *Il ballarino*, and a significant number of these are completely new (for example, "Celeste Giglio"). Rules for dance steps that make use of Greek literary terms (e.g. *dattile* [dactyl]) appear here for the first time. He even revises older dances from *Il ballarino* to make them more symmetrical. The move toward symmetry, and the appropriation of metric feet for step designations, indicate Caroso's desire to ride the humanistic wave of the late Renaissance. His aim, begun in *Il ballarino*, of associating Terpsichore with her sister arts Erato (lyric poetry) and Euterpe (music) moves closer to fruition in *Nobiltà di dame*.

Il ballarino opens with seven poems, two dedicated to Bianca Capello, and five dedicated to Caroso himself.¹⁴ Caroso writes that dance is joined to poetry and music; sonnets and madrigals surface periodically throughout the manual to confirm

⁸Arbeau, from title; Caroso, *Il ballarino*, A2.

⁹Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice: Muschio, 1600; facsimile reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1980).

¹⁰"Caroso, Fabritio," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed, rev. Michael Kennedy and Joyce Bourne, in *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1870>, accessed May 5, 2010.

¹¹Library of Congress, "An American Ballroom Companion: Dance Instruction Manuals, ca. 1490–1920: Western Social Dance," <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/dihtml/diessay2.html>, accessed May 5, 2010.

¹²Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame*, title page.

¹³Zecher, *Sounding Objects*, 29.

¹⁴Caroso, *Il ballarino*, B1.

this statement. In *Nobiltà di dame*, three poems follow the obligatory dedicatory paean to the duke and duchess. There follow more poems, a choreography, and a letter to readers. He then adds star power to his volume with poems by the luminary Torquato Tasso.¹⁵ Caroso also adds bass lines to the melody and lute tablature of several of his dances. Having promised to use them throughout, he nevertheless abandons both melodies and bass lines near the midpoint in the text, reverting to the *Il ballarino* pattern of providing lute tablatures alone. This highlights a significant difference between the books of Caroso and Negri: the latter maintains both tunes and tablatures throughout.

While Cesare Negri apparently borrowed a substantial part of his introductory materials and formatting from *Il ballarino*, he extended the content considerably in his *Le gratie d'amore*. Negri divides his book into three *trattati* (treatises).¹⁶ After the requisite dedicatory materials, and poems in praise of the author, Treatise III opens with some of same materials found in the first part of both Caroso books. Negri summarizes the rules for the most common steps, then launches into 43 choreographies of varying genres. Following the summarized rules in the third treatise, Negri includes mensural tunes and lute tablature for every choreography.

In Negri's Treatise I and Treatise II, however, he breaks away from Caroso's lead. In the first, he discusses his own biography and the careers of other dance masters he has known or taught. He mentions instrumental ensembles and specific dancers who participated in events he choreographed. This richly detailed information is not available in Caroso's works.

In the second treatise, Negri gives detailed instructions for both basic and more complex steps, as well as for jumps and turns, with several lists of variations for dances. Negri not only lists gaillarde variations that dancers can "plug in" to a dance performance at will, he also presents the only known variations specifically intended for women. Illustrations accompany nearly every rule stated in this second treatise.

Like *Le gratie*, Arbeau's *Orchesographie* includes tunes in mensural notation for virtually all the dances. The steps generally appear printed alongside the tunes, most of which are printed sideways on the page. This unique placement of steps beside the actual musical phrases to which they relate—found only in *Orchesographie*—is extremely valuable for dance reconstruction. Arbeau also furnishes the first known examples of notated drum rhythms in European music history—rhythms that are found in no other dance manual. This helps historians and performers explain and replicate the role of improvising instruments prior to *Orchesographie*'s publication. Arbeau's emphasis on instruments and their roles offers important information for modern reconstructions of his dance music.

Although the pipe and tabor music Arbeau publishes for the basse dance "Jouissance vous donneray" supplies the basics for dancing, the four-part vocal music he provides for the pavane "Belle qui tiens ma vie" suggests an alternative model.

¹⁵Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame*, 9–88. Caroso also includes a teacher–student dialogue section encompassing the step-description portion of the Libro primo of *Nobiltà di dame*.

¹⁶Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan: Pontio & Piccaglia, 1602; facsimile reprint, New York: Broude Brothers, 1969; translation, Gustavia Yvonne Kendall, "*Le Gratie d'Amore* 1602 by Cesare Negri: Translation and Commentary," DMA thesis, Stanford University, 1985).

Arbeau's own words offer additional support for sundry possibilities: he refers to the tabor (a small drum) playing together with hautboys (an ancestor of the modern oboe) and sackbuts or other instruments.¹⁷ Even more specifically, about the tunes he says, "One can play them on violins, spinets, transverse flutes, and flutes with nine holes [recorders], hautboys and all sorts of instruments. They can even be sung."¹⁸ Of the three major authors of the late Renaissance dance manuals, only Arbeau supplies a vocal music text.¹⁹

Since Arbeau provides only one example of a harmonized tune, the pavane, modern performers are left in a quandary. How can the full range of available renaissance instrumentation addressed in Arbeau's remarks be used to perform the tunes he provides? This book is intended, in part, to address that question. Published here for the first time as a collection, is the most complete group of Arbeau tune settings identified to date.²⁰

Four of *Orchesographie's* 47 choreographies lack tunes, and one tune, that for the gaillarde "La traditore my fa morire," lacks a choreography. One tune, an unnamed gaillarde, serves for both the tourdion and the basic gaillarde five-step. Of the 43 remaining tunes, concordances for 35 are assembled here, many in multiple versions. They include settings for solo lute, cittern, guitar, or keyboard; solo singer with lute, cittern, or guitar; and vocal or instrument consort versions.

Not surprisingly, most of these settings come from French sources, but Italy, Spain, England, Germany and the Low Countries are all amply represented. I have limited the settings chosen for this volume to the period in which actual practice of these dances flourished: from approximately 1525 to 1620. Bringing this diverse body of settings together in one volume contributes a basic framework for additional study, such as the much-needed comparative analysis of dance music and its relationship to dance, its complementary art.

The publication history of *Orchesographie* shows its broad-based acceptance and wide circulation. One edition was published in Arbeau's lifetime (1589) and two posthumously, in 1596 and 1597. Since then facsimile editions; translations into German, English and Spanish; and reprints have become available (see Tables I-III).

¹⁷After consultation with Dr. Herbert Myers, Curator of the Stanford University Harry R. Lange Collection of Musical Instruments, I have chosen to use the original French term to address an instrument significantly different from both the shawm and the modern oboe.

¹⁸Arbeau, 67 (33v). "Car on les peult iouer avec violins, espinettes, flutes traverses & a neuf trouz, haulbois, & toutes sortes des instruments: Voires chanter avec les voix."

¹⁹"Belle qui tiens ma vie" is the sole vocal text Arbeau supplies; texts for several of his dances, however, are found in concordances.

²⁰Mention should be made of S. Stephen Hendricks' unpublished volume *The Compleat Orchesographie*, copyrighted 1995/96 and, in Arbeauian style, released under a pseudonym, "Samuel Piper." Although all of Arbeau's tunes appear in this volume, Hendricks located concordances for only 19 dances. Of those 19, he provided only two, "Si j'ayme ou non" and "Pavane d'Espagne," with more than one concordance. For the remainder, he included his own harmonizations or, for harmonized concordances that survive with missing parts (i.e. d'Estrée), he composed the additional parts himself, perhaps unaware that many of d'Estrée's works survive in full in the publications of Phalèse. Hendricks placed all music in consort format, in keeping with his purpose to supply dance band music for the Society of Creative Anachronism.

Table 1: Original Editions

| Title | Subtitle | Publication Data | Location |
|---|--|--|---|
| <i>Compt et manuel kalendrier¹</i> | Par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre et sçavoir le cours du soleil de la lune et semblablement les festes fixes et mobiles que l'on doit célébrer en l'Eglise | Lengres: Jehan des Preyz, 1588 | |
| <i>Orchesographie</i> | Traicte en forme de dialogue | Lengres: Jehan des Preyz, 1589 | CH-LAcortot F-Pc F-Pn GB-Lbl (2) NL-Dhgm US-SM |
| | Methode et théorie en forme de discourse | Lengres: Jehan des Preyz rue des merciers dicte les Pilliers, 1596 | A-Wn F-Pc |
| | Methode et théorie en forme de discourse | Lengres: Jehan des Preyz rue des merciers dicte les Pilliers, 1597 | GB-Lrcp |

1. *Orchesographie* was originally appended to this text, but was later published independently. See Marcel Mayer, *Les Tabourot écrivains* (Dijon: Imprimerie régionale, 1908), 17-19.

Table 2: Facsimile Editions

| Title | Editor | Publisher | Notes |
|---|-------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Die Tänze des XVI. Jahrhunderts und die alte französische Tanzschule vor der Einführung des Menuetts¹</i> | Albert Czerwinski | Danzig: Berfaffers, 1878 | From 1589 edition ² |
| <i>Orchésographie</i> | Laure Fonta | Paris: Vieweg, 1888 | From 1589 edition |
| <i>Orchesographie, method, et theorie...</i> | François Lesure | Geneva: Minkoff, 1972 | From 1596 edition |
| <i>Orchesographie</i> | | Bologna: Forni, 1981 | Reprint of 1888 edition |
| <i>Orchésographie: Die Tänze ...</i> | | Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1989 | Reprint of 1878 edition |

1. This volume includes both a facsimile edition and translation into German.

2. This and the Fonta facsimile below actually give the date of publication as 1588, citing the year in which Arbeau obtained permission to publish his book.

Table 3: Translations

| Title | Language | Translator | Location | Notes |
|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Orchésographie: Die Tänze des XVI. Jahrhunderts und die alte französische Tanzschule vor der Einführung des Menuetts</i> | German | Albert Czerwinski | Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1989 | From 1589 edition |
| <i>Orchesography</i> | English | Cyril Beaumont | London: C. W. Beaumont, 1925 | |
| <i>Orquesografía</i> | Spanish | Teresa Vriburn de Lavallo Cobo | Buenos Aires: Centurion, 1946 | Translated from Beaumont's 1925 edition |
| <i>Orchesography</i> | English | Mary Stewart Evans | New York: Kamin, 1948; reprint with introduction by Julia Sutton, New York: Dover, 1967 | |

The first six chapters of this concordance study place the author and his treatise in the context of sixteenth-century France. Arbeau's career in the church, the societal effect of a growing humanist movement, the political effect of religious turmoil, and the *laissez faire* social graces as men and women dance together all leave evidence of their presence and importance in his rather light-hearted words.

The subsequent three chapters introduce the dance genres accompanied by the musical forces and practices required for performance. Each genre is both defined and described. Instruments, tunings, and tablatures are discussed in these chapters, together with information concerning typical uses for certain instruments, as determined by analysis of the concordances. Finally the twin issues of ornamentation and improvisation, for both dance and music, are explored. This close examination will make Arbeau's value as a source for dance improvisation newly evident.

Part II provides the critical apparatus for the musical transcriptions. In addition to lists of sources for each tune's concordances, editorial notes on the music clarify

my decisions regarding transcription of meter, rhythm, and *musica ficta*. Comparative analyses of the relationships between the choreographies and the music, and between different settings of the music, comprise a small but significant part of the discussion. This section also contains the texts of dance songs and their translations.

Part III offers transcriptions of those extant works with exact concordances to Arbeau tunes. Appendix 1 appends musical settings with title concordances for those Arbeau dances for which exact concordances have yet to be located (e.g. “Branle Double”). Music is included in this appendix only if those settings are compatible with their namesake choreographies. Tunes with an extremely large number of settings (i.e. “Spanish Pavane”) are represented here by a selective number of examples, generally taken from music sources that are primarily dedicated to dance music. They are also chosen to display the widespread popularity of these dances throughout Europe

One purpose of this collection is to stimulate ideas on the nature of dance performance. If, as I assert elsewhere, a relationship exists between form and style in choreographies and their accompanying music, the amazing variety of concordances presented here surely indicates a variety of audiences for both arts.²¹ Surviving documentation from a diverse body of sources, including dance manuals, courtesy books, memoirs, plays, and other documents, makes it clear that people of all classes and levels of ability danced. Arbeau himself referred to: 1) dances that could be used on stage, 2) dances that were more appropriate to the aristocracy and nobility, and 3) dances more fitting to the servant classes. Courtesy books and writings dealing with social mores, like the essays of Michel de Montaigne and the famous *Libro del cortegiano* (1528) by Baldassare Castiglione, advised against trying technical skills more befitting the abilities of professionals. Throughout the Renaissance, while instruction books for vocal and instrumental performance regularly appeared, published books for dance instruction existed, but were less common.

The presence of dance schools all over England and Italy, with working dance masters teaching in Spain and France, suggests personal tutoring as the preferred method for learning to dance, at least for the privileged classes.²² Texts published throughout Europe demonstrate that beginners, talented amateurs, and professionals could all make use of both personal trainers and published materials to learn music and dance. The extensive variety of levels of complexity in musical settings reveals differences in levels of ability; choreographic evidence from Caroso, Negri, and others indicates a similar variety of ability levels for dancers. The levels of ability can easily be inferred from the music ornamentation treatises, such as those by Diego Ortiz and Sylvestro Ganassi, in which simple examples suitable for beginners lead to dauntingly complex ones that would challenge the most talented professional.²³

²¹See G. Yvonne Kendall, “Ornamentation and Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Dance,” in *Improvisation in the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Timothy McGee (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2003), 170–90.

²²For more detailed information on dance pedagogy, see Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Art of Dancing in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Juan de Esquivel Navarro and His World* (Cranbury NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003), David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and Cesare Negri’s first treatise in *Le gratie d’amore*.

²³See Diego Ortiz, *Tratado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1553; facsimile reprint, Basel: Bärenreiter, 1936) and Sylvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535; facsimile reprint, Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1959).

Dance sources with extensive examples of choreographic variants all come from Italy, particularly in the works of Fabritio Caroso, Cesare Negri, Lutio Compasso, Livio Lupi, and Prospero Lutii. The large sources by Caroso and Negri present levels of increasing elaboration similar to those found in music sources, while at the same time challenging the memories of performers with intricate choreographies. The much smaller volumes of Compasso, Lutii and Lupi, which possess much more specified content—for example long lists of “*gagliarda* [gaillarde]” variations—obviously target more skilled dancers.²⁴ This topic will be addressed further in the Chapter Nine section on “Ornamentation and Improvisation.”

Arbeau considered dance to be “essential in a well ordered society.”²⁵ His own periodic references solidify this argument. He saw certain dances as suitable for martial and recreational purposes (*la dance guerriere...la recreative*); some proper for dancing by a “maiden of good family (*une fille de bonne maison*)” being taken to the church for her wedding; some to order processions of confraternity members (*les confreres de quelque notable confrairie*); some in the sphere of the “nobleman (*seigneur*)” or other “people of gentle birth (*les ieunes homes & demoiselles*);” others more appropriate in court *mascarades*; and at the lower end of society, dances for “lackeys and serving wenches (*les vallets & chamberieres*).”²⁶

Religious leaders like Jean Calvin and, as noted by Margaret McGowan, military men like Blaise de Monluc, criticized dance generally, and the power of women in dance more specifically; but their disparagement only serves to emphasize the fact that dance permeated the society in which they and Arbeau lived.²⁷ Choreographic source information illuminates the important roles both men and women played in Terpsichore’s art during the Renaissance.

²⁴Three published Italian sources by lesser-known authors supply important information of step variants. All authors use prose style for their dances steps. Lutio Compasso, *Ballo della gagliarda* (Florence: np, 1560) collects several *gagliarda* [gaillarde] variations. Prospero Lutii, *Opera bellissima nella quale si contengono molte partite, et passeggi di gagliarda* (Perugia: Pietropaolo Orlando, 1589) couples descriptions of *gagliarda* variations with a brief section on dance basics. Livio Lupi, *Libro di gagliarda, tordiglione, passo è mezzo, canario, è passeggi* (Palermo: Giovanni Battista Maringo, 1607) is the most extensive of these sources, including variation passages for more than just the *gagliarda*. He also offers some brief step instructions and two complete choreographies, with music.

²⁵Arbeau, 12 (2r).

²⁶See Arbeau, 18 (6v), 57 (28v), 131 (70v), 136 (73r), 153 (82r).

²⁷Margaret McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 18-19.

Chapter Two

Arbeau's Life and Times

*Vénéralbe et discrète maistre Jean Tabourot.*¹

Thoinot Arbeau was born Jehan Tabourot on March 17, 1520 in Dijon, to Pierre Tabourot and Valentine Henriette Dubois.² Jehan's Burgundian family included noted writers and architects. Although he evinced some talent as an architect himself, his education in Dijon and Poitiers resulted in a law degree and a career in the church. He belonged to the Order of St. Anthony, also known as the Confrérie de Saint-Didier.³

Once ordained, Tabourot functioned as a Champagne-region canon, in what is now the *departement* of Haute Marne, serving the dioceses of Langres and Dijon, two cities 66 kilometers (41 miles) apart (see Plate 2). The canonry in the sixteenth century was the administrative wing of the Catholic church, with each canon reporting to a specific bishop and taking on any necessary tasks.⁴ Tabourot's duties therefore varied throughout his career.

First assigned to Langres, the site of his ordination in 1542, he became a canon at the cathedral there in 1547. His uncle Jean Pignard already served the cathedral as composer and Master of Music, suggesting that Tabourot may have had musical training. As a canon with legal training, Tabourot was called upon to protect cathedral interests. Apparently highly respected, he was identified in records as *vénéralbe et discrète maistre*.⁵ In 1562, Tabourot became director of the refectory and, as the refectory functioned as the room for communal meals, he probably supervised accounts, an interpretation suggested by his next job. Transferred to the parish of Bar-sur-Aube in 1565, he worked there as parish treasurer. By 1567, at the age of 47, he had been named inspector of diocesan schools, after which he returned to Langres, promoted

¹*Costumes du Bailliage de Sens et anciens ressorts d'iceluy* (1556). As quoted in Pierre Perrenet, *Estienne Tabourot: Sa famille et son temps* (Dijon: Editions du Raisin, 1926), 15. "Venerable and discreet master, Jehan Tabourot."

²For information on Arbeau's life and career, see Marcel Mayer, *Les Tabourot écrivains* (Dijon: Imprimerie régionale, 1908), 17; Marcel Mayer, *Les Tabourot architectes* (Dijon: Imprimerie régionale, 1907); Charles François Roussel, *La diocèse de Langres: histoire et statistique, Vol 2* (Langres: J. Dallet, 1875); and Julia Sutton, "Arbeau, Thoinot," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01163>, accessed January 14, 2011.

³This order became part of the Knights of Malta in the eighteenth century. See O. Zöckler, "Anthony, Saint, Orders of," in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1908), 192–93.

⁴David Dunford, "Canon," in *The New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03252a.htm>, accessed January 20, 2009.

⁵Perrenet, *Estienne Tabourot*, 15–16.

to the post of vicar general. This latter post, one of the highest in a diocese, gave him jurisdiction to act in the name of the bishop. Since a French word for vicar general is *official*, Arbeau's "Branle de l'Official" could well illustrate self-deprecating humor.⁶ The text of Tabourot's epitaph with its play on his title further buttresses this notion:

*Hic nulli officiens positus fuit officialis
Qui gratum multis praestitit officium.*⁷

The fact that the "Branle de l'Official" involves physical contact that exceeds hand-holding, as the men to grab their partners by the waist and lift them into the air, suggests a livelier social life than one might expect, from a church employee under the Augustinian rule requiring "detachment from the world." He was also a member of an order honoring the father of Christian monasticism.⁸

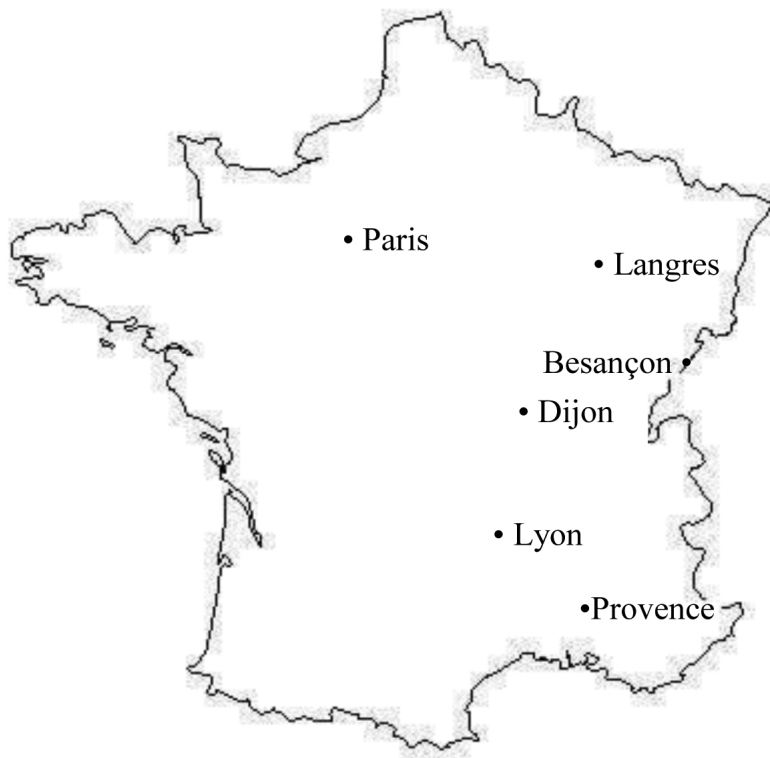


Plate 2 . Map of France circa 1575 with cities important to the biography of Arbeau

⁶William Fanning, "Vicar-General," *The New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15402a.htm>, accessed September 9, 2009.

⁷"Here in this place an esteemed vicar lies buried; he asked nothing of anyone, but gave service to many." Mayer, *Les Tabourot architectes*, 22. Arbeau's tomb rests in St. Mammès between the choir grill and the sepulchre of the cardinal of Givry.

⁸Edward Cuthbert Butler, "St. Anthony," *The New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01553d.htm>, accessed June 20, 2010 and "Religious Life," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12748b.htm>, accessed June 20, 2010.

Located in eastern France, Langres sits north of Dijon and northwest of Besançon, capital of Franche-Comté. Originally joined to Burgundy, Franche-Comté (“free county”) was ceded to Austria in the late fifteenth century and then to Spain in 1556, under the authority of which it remained until the mid seventeenth century. During much of Tabourot’s lifetime, Phillip II, King of Spain and dedicatee of Cesare Negri’s *Le gratie d’amore* (1602), ruled this free county. Tabourot’s activities thus took place in even closer proximity to strong Spanish and Italian dance influences than previously realized.

In his later years, Tabourot began the writing career on which his current fame rests. His first publication, *Kalendrier des bergers* (Shepherd’s calendar), appeared in 1582.⁹ In 1588, under the anagrammatic pseudonym of Thoinot Arbeau, Tabourot published the *Compot et manuel calendrier*, to which he appended *Orchesographie*.¹⁰ He was 69 when he compiled the choreographies of this volume, which represented the dances from the years of his youth in the mid 1520s, up to those in fashion during the time in which he wrote the volume.

Orchesographie. Et traité en forme de dialogue, par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre et practiquer l’honneste exercice des dances was published in 1589 and again in 1596 (see Table 1 in Chapter One for extant copies of *Orchesographie*).¹¹ The 1596 edition bore the modified title *Orchesographie, methode et théorie en forme de discours et tablature pour apprendre à dancier, battre le tambour en toute sorte et diversité de batteries, jouer du fifre et arigot, tirer des armes et escrimer, avec autres honnestes exercices fort convenables à la jeunesse. Affin d’estre bien venue en tout joyeuse compagnie et y monstrier sa dexterité et agilité de corps*.¹² This edition was published posthumously; Tabourot had died in Langres on July 23, 1595.

Two other collections of French choreographies were published during the Renaissance: *Ad suos compagnones* and the *S’ensuyvent plusieurs basse dances*.¹³ Arbeau refers

⁹Jehan Tabourot, *Kalendrier des bergers* (Langres: np, 1582). This calendar was essentially an almanac with dates for church feast days and information on zodiac signs.

¹⁰Thoinot Arbeau (Jehan Tabourot), *Compot et manuel calendrier* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1588). The “extraict du privilege” for publication was granted in November 1588. The title means “manual of calendar calculations,” and refers to the calculations needed for those living in the countryside to determine the dates of movable religious feasts. *Orchesographie* was attached to this set of calendar guidelines.

¹¹“Orchesography and treatise in the form of a dialogue, by which everyone can easily learn and practice the virtuous exercise of dancing.”

¹²“Orchesography, method and theory in the form of a discussion and notation for learning to dance, play the tabor in all sorts and different rhythms, play the fife and *arigot*, draw arms and fence, with other virtuous exercises quite suitable for young people. Refinements to be welcomed in all joyful company and to show your physical dexterity and agility.” Arbeau’s *arigot* may be either a transverse flute (also known as a Swiss flute in Praetorius’s *Syntagma musicum*) that is smaller than a fife, but also used for military purposes, or a vertical flute related to the recorder that is sometimes known as a *flageolet*. See Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II: De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1618; New York: Da Capo, 1980), 35 and plate XXIII; Randle Cotgrave, “Arigot” *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611; facsimile reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1950); William Duane, “Arigot,” *A Military Dictionary* (London: William Duane, 1810), 13; and Walter William Skeat, “Haricot,” *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1882), 255. Since Arbeau pictures flutes of various sizes, both vertical and transverse, the exact meaning is not clear, but the consistent pairing of fife and *arigot* with music considered suitable for both suggests that both may well be transverse, but of different sizes.

¹³Antonius Arena, *Ad suos compagnones studentes* (Lyons: Claude Nourry, 1528) and *S’ensuyvent plusieurs basses dances tant communes que incommunes* (Lyons: Jacques Moderne, [1530s]; facsimile reprint, Geneva: (cont.)

to both. Antonius Arena, who was responsible for *Ad suos compagnones*, was born in Provence in southeast France near the Mediterranean Sea. He graduated from the University of Avignon with a law degree like Arbeau.¹⁴ Probably 20 years older than Arbeau, his life story presents a very different picture. Rather than serve the church, he became a soldier and judge.

Arena's treatise appears in macaronic verse, a mixture of languages that often uses Latin grammar as a structural basis. The existence of more than 14 published editions indicates the popularity this poem enjoyed.¹⁵ The basse dances of *Ad suos compagnones* make the transition from the earliest French basse dances, found in a source known as the Brussels manuscript, to the more modern basse dances found in *Orchesographie*.¹⁶ The transition results in shared choreographies, with some stylistic differences that will be addressed in Chapter Eight.

Though published without music, the choreographies in Arena's treatise sport evocative titles such as "Dulcis amica (Sweet beloved)" and "La grant douleur (The great sorrow)" that are clearly related to well-known tunes of the day. Unlike *Orchesographie*, in which each dance is accompanied by some cultural and choreographic context, Arena simply lists 58 titles and displays the choreographies in the form of step abbreviations: the letter symbols designate steps (see the section on "Branles" in Chapter Eight). In addition to Arena's *basse dance commune*, three of his basse dances are concordant with Arbeau: "Comfortes moy [Confortez moy]", "Tout ferlorum [Toute-frelore]", and "Pacience [Patience]."¹⁷

Jacques Moderne was an important music publisher working in Lyons, 175 kilometers (109 miles) from Dijon. His publication, *S'ensuyvent plusieurs basses dances tant communes que incommunes*, preserves 184 basse dances.¹⁸ This number is a bit misleading because most of the basic choreographies can be performed to several tunes. Moderne prints a set of music titles and for each set, underneath each title, he places a choreography in step abbreviations that can be used with the basse dance tenor. Three of his choreographies match Arbeau dances, one of which, "Pascience," is also found in Arena.¹⁹ Interestingly, scholars have discovered a copy of *S'ensuyvent* bound with a section of *Pantaquet* entitled "Panurge, disciple de Pantagrue" by illustrious

Minkoff, 1985). For a translation of and publication history for Arena, see W. Thomas Marrocco, "Anthonius Arena: Master of Law," in *Studi musicali* 19, no. 1 (1989): 19–48 and Robert Mullaly, "The Editions of Antonius Arena's 'Ad suos compagnones studentes,'" in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1979), 146–57, respectively.

¹⁴Marrocco, "Anthonius Arena," 20–21.

¹⁵Mullaly, "The Editions of Antonius Arena," 154–57.

¹⁶Anon. "Basse dances dites de Marguerite d'Autriche," Ms. 9085. Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert I.

¹⁷Marrocco, "Anthonius Arena," App. B. Marrocco overlooks "Comfortes moy" as the same choreography with a different spelling in Arbeau.

¹⁸*S'ensuyvent plusieurs basses dances tant communes que incommunes* (Lyons: Jacques Moderne, 1530s; facsimile reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1985).

¹⁹"Jouyssance," "Esperance," "Pascience."

French writer François Rabelais.²⁰ As will be discussed, works by Rabelais mention several dances found in *Orchesographie* and *S'ensuyvent*.

Unlike *Orchesographie*, neither *Ad suos compagnones* nor *S'ensuyvent* contains music, but all three French treatises are connected through shared choreographies and chronological proximity. The geographical proximity of Arbeau's sphere of activity in Langres and Dijon, to the Spanish-controlled Franche-Comté region, offers an explanation for his inclusion of dances associated with Spain and Italy, thus tying *Orchesographie* to the major Italian dance manuals of Fabritio Caroso and Cesare Negri. An original copy of Arbeau's magnum opus survives in Besançon, the capital of Franche-Comté.

One other French source must be part of this contextualization of Arbeau's treatise. "Instruction pour dancer les dances" is a choreographic manuscript of 16 dances that was discovered only in the 1990s and published in facsimile with transcription in 2000.²¹ Angene Feves, acknowledging what she calls a "liberal use of deduction, speculation, conjecture and surmise," claims the manuscript as the work of dance master Anthoine Emeraud who was in the service of Friedrich Ulrich, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg.²² Despite the extensive caveats, Feves's assertion matches the facts as currently known.

Of its choreographies, presented in prose, 75 per cent of the dances in "Instruction" are concordant with Arbeau's dances. These include the standard members of the branle proto-suite or variants thereof (*branle double, simple, and gay*, and regional branles from Poitou and Bretagne), along with the gavotte, pavane and passepied. To these the author adds regional branles from Lorraine, dances that, according to the theorist and composer Michael Praetorius, are named after dance masters (M. de Montirande and M. de la Grenée, among others), the earliest example of a bourée, and two completely unknown dances: "La Boesme" and "La Gilotte."²³ One major lacuna in this valuable source is any description of the gaillarde.

Like most dance manuscripts, "Instruction" has no music, but the appearance of *all* of its titles in Praetorius's compendium of consort music, *Terpsichore*, the association of Praetorius with the court, and his mention of Emeraud as the collector of the tunes, confirms the concordances of *Terpsichore's* music with the choreographies of "Instruction." The fact that these concordances also match the *Orchesographie* tunes for the same dances further supports the use of *Terpsichore's* music with the choreographies in both dance sources.²⁴

²⁰This information comes from the unattributed "Note Bibliographique" in the Minkoff dual facsimile edition of *Ad suos compagnones* and *S'ensuyvent*. The Moderne/Rabelais bound copy is held in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon.

²¹*Instruction pour dancer: An Anonymous Manuscript*, ed. Angene Feves, Ann Lizbeth Langston, Uwe W. Schlottermüller, and Eugenia Roucher (Freiburg: "fa-gisis" Musik-und Tanzedition, 2000). Based on the 1612 publication date of Praetorius' music that is concordant with unique dance titles in this manuscript, it most likely dates from the first decade of the seventeenth century.

²²*Instruction*, 35.

²³Praetorius lists his "La Gilotte" as a "bransle."

²⁴Arbeau's "Montarde" tune matches the "Montirandé" tune found in *Terpsichore*. But the "Montiranday" choreography in "Instruction" exhibits significant differences. Arbeau's dance moves constantly to the left, until each dancer individually does three little kicks (*pied en l'air*) and then the dancers do a braid. The dance in "Instruction" also moves to the left and calls for three little movements (*descoupez*), making no mention of the interweaving movement, yet it includes slides to the right.

Arbeau was born during the 32-year reign of François I (1515–47). This period of great excitement and creativity saw the birth of some of the greatest glories of French heritage. Although few courtesy books survive from Renaissance France, much can be learned about Gallic culture from those of Italy and from letters, ambassadorial dispatches, and memoirs of the French. Similarly, the widespread influence of Arbeau's close contemporary Catherine de Medici (1519–83), an avid dancer and patron of the arts, cannot be overstated.

Chapter Three

Dance and French Humanism

*Sous les frimas chenus ne blanchissent le prez,
Cent diverses couleurs les rendent diaprez,
Où sous la Lune claire et Venus et ses Graces
De danser ne sont lasses.*

Amadis Jamyn, Ode “Sur le retour de Printemps”
(1575)¹

Numerous French humanists made reference to dance in their work. Its importance in the works of Montaigne, Rabelais, and others is germane to our understanding of Arbeau’s work in the context of sixteenth-century France. The work of Michel de Montaigne (1533–92) exemplifies the use of dance as both social metaphor and practical imagery. In his *Essais*, Montaigne attempts to understand the nature of humankind by studying himself. In so doing, he reveals much about the culture of Renaissance France. The following passage from his essay on educating children makes a point using the term “capriol,” a step taught in *Orchesographie* that also serves as the name for Arbeau’s fictitious student Capriol.

I wish that Paluël or Pompee, those graceful dancers of my time, could have taught us to capriol by only seeing them do it, without budging from our seats, as those who want to direct our understanding, without moving it; or that we could learn to handle a horse, a pike, a lute, or the voice, without practice, as those who want us to think clearly and speak well without our having practiced thinking or speaking.²

Further, in expanding on educational tenets, Montaigne refers to the “severe sweetness” that Aristotle cites as necessary for a child’s education. About Plato, he says,

It is wonderful how conscientious Plato proves to be in his Laws, concerning the liveliness and pastimes of the youth of our city; and how he focuses on their races,

¹Amadis Jamyn, *Les Oeuvres Poétiques: Livre II, III, et IV* [1575] (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1978), 63.

“Under the gray mist that whitens the area / A hundred different colors provide cover / Where, under the clear moon, Venus and her Graces / Don’t tire of dancing.”

²Michel de Montaigne, “Livre I. Chapter XXV: De l’institution des enfants,” *Les Essais* [1575], <http://www.bribes.org/trismeiste/es1ch25.htm>, accessed January 19, 2011. *Je voudrais que le Paluël ou Pompee, ces beaux danseurs de mon temps, apprennent des caprioles à les voir seulement faire, sans nous bouger de nos places, comme ceux-cy veulent instruire nostre entendement, sans l’esbranler: ou qu’on nous apprint à manier un cheval, ou une pique, ou un Luth, ou la voix, sans nous y exercer: comme ceux icy nous veulent apprendre à bien juger, et à bien parler, sans nous exercer à parler ny à juger.*

games, songs, jumps, and dances; of which he says that antiquity has given supervision and patronage to the gods themselves – Apollo, the Muses, and Minerva. He dwells on a thousand precepts for exercises. For the literary sciences, he deals very little with them, seeming to recommend poetry, especially, only because of music.³

Pierre de Ronsard and others of the famed Pléiade considered the interrelationship of literature and music vital to artistic expression. Regarding the creation of poetry, Ronsard offers the following comment: “Je te veux aussi bien advertir de hautement prononcer tes vers, quant tu les feras, ou plus tost les chanter, quelque voix que puisses avoir (I strongly advise you to speak your verses aloud, as you create them, or even better, sing them with whatever voice you might have).”⁴ In the dedicatory letter to his treatise on writing verse this renowned poet asserts “La poësie, sans les instrumens ou sans la grace d’une seule, ou plusieurs voix, n’est nullement agreable (Poetry without instruments or without the grace of a single voice or several, is not at all pleasant).”⁵

In Chapter XIX of his *Essais*, “On philosophy, that is, to learn to die,” Montaigne makes reference to dance in a manner later echoed by Cesare Negri. Montaigne asked, “Doesn’t everyone dance the same branle that you do? (*Tout ne branle il pas vostre branle*).”⁶ In *Le gratie d’amore* Negri proclaimed, “the whole world dances (*balla tutto il mondo*).”⁷ Montaigne mentions another dance found in Arbeau, this time the branle, a popular dance genre often containing mimetic features.

François I, one of the few Frenchmen admired by staunchly partisan Italian courtier Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), presided over a court known for its “radiance” and “splendour.”⁸ In fact François, whose reign began upon his triumphant return from the Italian Wars, was mentioned in Castiglione’s most famous work *Il libro del cortegiano*. Perhaps the king’s acknowledgment of Italian artists like Leonardo da Vinci convinced the author of *Il libro del cortegiano* of the French king’s artistic judgment. Bringing immensely talented painters to Paris certainly indicated noteworthy judgment.

But native artists were not overlooked in the Parisian court. Under the imprimatur of the king, the institution now known as the Bibliothèque Nationale was founded. This project began with the *Ordonnance de Montpellier*, signed in 1537, in

³Montaigne, “De l’institution des enfants.” *C’est merveille combien Platon se montre soigneux en ses loix, de la gayeté et pasetemps de la jeunesse de sa cité : et combien il s’arreste à leurs courses, jeux, chansons, saults et danses : desquelles il dit, que l’antiquité a donné la conduite et le patronnage aux dieux mesmes, Apollon, aux Muses et Minerve. Il s’estend à mille preceptes pour ses gymnases. Pour les sciences lettrées, il s’y amuse fort peu: et semble ne recommander particulièrement la poësie, que pour la musique.*

⁴Pierre de Ronsard, “Des autres vers en general,” *Abbrégé de l’art poetique françois* (Rouen: Jean et Pierre Gaultier, 1566), <http://www.uqar.ca/histoire-litteraire/pierre-de-ronsard-abbrege-de-lart-poetique-francois2/>, accessed August 7, 2010.

⁵Ronsard, “A Alphonse Delbene, Abbé de Hautecombe en Savoye,” *Abbrégé*, <http://www.uqar.ca/histoire-litteraire/pierre-de-ronsard-abbrege-de-lart-poetique-francois2/>, accessed August 7, 2010.

⁶Montaigne, “Livre I, Chapitre XIX: Que philosopher, c’est apprendre à mourir,” *Les essais*, <http://www.bribes.org/trimegiste/es1ch19.htm>, accessed January 19, 2011. Although Montaigne’s reference implies that we all do the same dance of life and death, it is still an interesting connection.

⁷Negri, *Le gratie*, 2.

⁸Desmond Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance: The Golden Life of François I* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 13.

which he ordered that his library be given a copy of every book published in France.⁹ This collection would act as a model for the British Library and the U.S. Library of Congress. François and his erudite sister Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549) championed the works of renowned literary figures such as François Rabelais, Clément Marot, and Pierre de Ronsard.¹⁰

Marguerite was herself a poet whose collection of stories, the *Heptameron des nouvelles*, is often likened to Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*.¹¹ Throughout this work she makes several references to dance events. In one, a duke stabs his wife during a dance before the assembled company.¹² Most of the *Heptameron's* dance references, however, are far more innocuous. Tale XXVI, for example, confirms Arbeau's description of dancing as a context for examining the charms of your partner. When depicting the Prince D'Avannes, "still so young that he took more pleasure in dancing and skipping than in gazing at ladies' charms," clearly the young bride with whom he danced was far more mature since she apparently paid more attention to the handsome figure and grace of the Prince than to the dance.¹³

Marguerite, known to have read Italian, Greek and some German, befriended Vittoria Colonna, a highly literate noblewoman from Naples, and a friend of Castiglione.¹⁴ It was Jeanne d'Albret (1528–72), Marguerite's daughter and a publicly avowed Calvinist, who took the responsibility for having the *Heptameron* published.¹⁵ Jeanne, the warrior queen who later became sole ruler of Navarre, was a poet herself. Later a leading figure in the Protestant movement, Jeanne had been quite enamored of dance in her youth. According to Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, she "aimait bien autant une danse qu'un sermon (liked a dance as well as a sermon)."¹⁶ Given Calvin's extreme anti-dance posture, she probably did not continue her dance activities once she publicly claimed allegiance to the Protestant cause.

Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme (1540–1614) epitomizes a literary figure of a different kind of renown. Brantôme, a soldier who later became an *abbé*, had a notoriously secular life. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* mentions his well-known *Mé-*

⁹"Francis I of France," *Encyclopedia*, s.v., http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Francis-I-of-France#Patron_of_the_Arts, accessed January 23, 2010.

¹⁰Richard Freedman, "Paris and the French Court under François I," in *The Renaissance – From the 1470s to the End of the 16th century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 175–76.

¹¹Marguerite de Navarre, *L'Heptaméron des nouvelles*, Vol. 2 (Eudes, 1880) and *The Heptameron of Margaret, Queen of Navarre*, translated by Walter K. Kelly (London, n.p., n.d.), <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/navarre/heptameron/heptameraon.html>, accessed January 23, 2010.

¹²Marguerite de Navarre, *The Heptameron of Margaret, Queen of Navarre*, <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/navarre/heptameron/heptameraon.html#N70>, Tale LXX. "The horrible incontinence and malice of a duchess of Burgundy was the cause of her death, and of that of two persons who fondly loved each other."

¹³Marguerite de Navarre, *Heptaméron*, 236–27. *La jeunesse estoit si grand qu'il prenoyt plus de plaisir à saulter & danser que à regarder la beauté des Dames... Celle qu'il menoyt au contraire regardoit plus la grace & beauté du dict Seigneur d'Avannes que la dance où elle estoit, combien que par sa si grand prudence elle n'en fit ung seul semblant.*

¹⁴Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1973), 15–18.

¹⁵Bainton, *Women of the Reformation*, 43.

¹⁶Alphonse de Ruble, *Mémoires et poésies de Jeanne d'Albret* (Paris: E. Paul, Huart et Guillemin, 1893), 79.

moires, while it emphasizes his lax morality.¹⁷ The *Encyclopedia's* squeamish judgment of a soldier being rather naturally *laissez faire* about death and plunder seems odd until Brantôme's publication of several lascivious *contes* about his amorous adventures is taken into account. These engaging reminiscences of court life did not stop at public entertainments, but continued into more private amusements. Brantôme even went so far as to describe his personal favorites among erotic activities.¹⁸

Like Arbeau, Brantôme was an alumnus of the University of Poitiers. Both were obviously interested in society's entertainments, but Brantôme profited from his position as a favorite of Marguerite of Navarre, Henri III and Scotland's Mary Stuart.¹⁹ He served as soldier, diplomat, and courtier, which gave him plentiful opportunities for observing and learning. His specific references to the physical aspects of dance will be addressed in Chapter Five.

One of Brantôme's most renowned texts, *Les vies des dames galantes* (The lives of gallant ladies), consists of seven essays collected from his various works. Five of these seven make reference to dance.²⁰ In the fourth essay, intended to determine whether married or single women are lustiest, the author frames the role of the dance master in pejorative terms (depending on one's point of view). Brantôme asserts, perhaps knowledgeably, that ladies of the royalty and the nobility who were too strictly controlled by their families found release for their active libidos via "gentlemen-servants"—that is, tutors. This group includes "riding masters, lute players, violinists, *dancing masters*, painters, in a word, those from whom they learn the arts and crafts [emphasis added]."²¹

Essay IV, which also discusses personality types, comments on girls so cheerful and lively that they "would rather hear the violin, or *dance*, or jump, or run, than hear any talk of love."²² The association of dance with physical fitness, as well as social events, is important here. Stories of Queen Elizabeth I of England doing galliardes every day as exercise confirms this function, as does a surviving painting in which she is lifted in the air while doing the volta. A volta is a galliarde variant that Arbeau includes in *Orchesographie*. In a passing mention, Brantôme even illuminates something

¹⁷Rene Doumic, "Pierre de Bourdeille Brantome" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02742a.htm>, accessed January 9, 2009 An *abbé* was a peculiarly French title, instituted by François I, with the approval of Pope Leo X, in which select noblemen were granted salaries from a monastery without necessarily having assigned duties. They could be secular (in this case, as opposed to cloistered), and therefore not associated any particular religious order. See Auguste Boudinhon, "Secular Clergy" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13675a.htm>, accessed January 9, 2009 and John Joseph A'Becket, "Abbé" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01007c.htm>, accessed January 9, 2009. Brantôme's *Mémoires* were published posthumously in 1665 at his stated desire.

¹⁸Herbert de Ley, "Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille Seigneur de" in *Encyclopedia of Erotic Literature*, ed. Gaétan Brulotte and John Phillips (New York: Routledge, 2006), 163–64.

¹⁹Rene Doumic, "Pierre de Bourdeille Brantome" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, http://oce.catholic.com/index.php?title=Pierre_de_Bourdeille_Brantome, accessed January 9, 2009.

²⁰Pierre de Bourdeille (Abbé de Brantôme), *The Lives of Gallant Ladies*, trans. Alec Brown (London: Elek Books, 1961). The book now known as *The Lives of Gallant Ladies* is actually a compendium of selections from Brantôme's memoirs and other writings. It was originally entitled *Mémoires de Messire Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, contenant les vies des Dames de France illustres de son temps* (Leyden: Jean Sambix, 1665).

²¹Brantôme, *Gallant Ladies*, 249.

²²Brantôme, *Gallant Ladies*, 256.

as simple as the bow when he describes the act of approaching a princess and kissing “the hem of her gown in the Spanish manner.”²³ This implies a bow deeper than the norm and would accord with the reputation held by Spanish courtiers for elaborate courtesies.

François Rabelais (1483?–1553) received a typical Renaissance education. Following a brief time with the Franciscans, he took vows as a Benedictine monk, but he left the church and became an accomplished classical scholar and physician. From these lofty realms, he somehow maintained a common touch in his collected works, combining what scholar Edwin Duval calls, “the most exquisite classical learning and the most indecorous popular humor.”²⁴

Rabelais was born in Chinon, 500 kilometers west of Dijon, near Poitou. He wrote *Pantagruel* in the mid-1550s, during Arbeau’s active dancing period. In the fifth book of *Pantagruel*, Rabelais describes a merry scene of dancing after supper and even mentions specific dances, among them branles and basse dances taught in Arbeau’s treatise. Another interesting connection is the initial publication of *Pantagruel* under the pseudonym “Alcofribas Nasier” which, like Thoinot Arbeau, is an anagram of the author’s original name.²⁵

Book I of *Gargantua* shows the place of dance in various parts of France where people find the “greatest cheer” in “drinking, health, playing, singing, *dancing* [emphasis added]” and “tumbling in some fair meadow.”²⁶ The moresca mentioned in Book IV is yet another choreography found in Arbeau. The poet Louise Labé (speaking in the character of Apollo) also mentioned dance as one of the activities men do to impress women: “Et viendront à inventer madrigalles, sonnets, pavanes, passemeses, gaillardes, et tout en commemoracion d’Amour (And they come to invent madrigals, sonnets, pavanes, passamezzos, gaillardes, and all in honor of Love).”²⁷ Book V of *Pantagruel* offers Rabelais’ most extensive references to dance, chapter 20 containing lists of Greek and Persian dances, and a fascinating description of what seems to be a Pyrrhic choreography among nymphs in Chapter 24.²⁸ This latter differs from Arbeau’s “Bouffons” choreography in displaying entire “companies” playfully at war with one another, as opposed to *Orchesographie’s* *mano a mano* combat.

Chapter 32b does not appear in all manuscript copies of *Pantagruel*. But whatever its bibliographic history, it is of critical importance for the purposes of music and dance history. It not only mentions specific instruments, such as the cornemuse (a double reed instrument), but also includes an astonishingly extensive catalog of dance titles. Rarely does any work of fiction stop in its tracks to give title after title as

²³Brantôme, *Gallant Ladies*, 271.

²⁴Edwin Duval, “Rabelais and French Satire,” in *A Companion to Satire – Ancient and Modern*, ed. Ruben Quintero, (Blackwell Publishing, 2007), http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405119559_chunk_g97814051195598, accessed April 1, 2010.

²⁵“François Rabelais,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography* XII, s.v. (Detroit: Gale, 2004), 525.

²⁶Rabelais, *The Works of Rabelais: Gargantua* (London: The Bibliophilist Society, n.d.), 54.

²⁷Louise Labé, “Discours V,” *Débat de Folie et de l’Amour*, in *Louise Labé: Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), 76.

²⁸Rabelais, *The Works of Rabelais: Pantagruel* (London: The Bibliophilist Society, n.d.), 582. The chapter is listed as XXI in this source.

Pantagruel does. Fortunately, Rabelais' excess provides ample fodder for musicologists, dance historians, and others interested in the social history of the performing arts. Although even more of these dances are found in *S'ensuyvent plusieurs basses dances*, no doubt partly due to Rabelais' five-year sojourn in Lyons, where Moderne ran his publishing business, a substantial number are found in *Orchesographie*.

Chapter 32b of *Pantagruel* begins with a description of the Queen leading a *bransle double*. Several dances follow, many of them included in *Orchesographie*, including "Le Trihorry de Bretagne," "la Gaillarde," "la Gaye," "Jouyssance," "l'Alemande," "Patience," "la Pavane," and "les Hayes."²⁹ Further, the author says that some dances were done "aux chansons de Poictou (to songs from Poitou)."³⁰ Arbeau's work includes a "branle de Poictou." Bretagne and Poitou are located on the west coast of France, close to Rabelais' birthplace.

The overwhelming presence of choreographies in *Pantagruel* that are also found in *Orchesographie*, *Ad suos compagnones*, or *S'ensuyvent*—sources contemporary with Rabelais that represent far-flung cities of France—supports the authority of Rabelais' descriptions of dance events as illustrative of the entire region. Rabelais, Brantôme, and Montaigne constitute only a sampling of the French humanists whose references to dance underscore *Orchesographie's* value in preserving a fascinating part of French Renaissance life. The relationship of this secular activity to the historical context adds texture to our understanding of the religious turmoil that typified of French social history during the sixteenth century.

²⁹Rabelais, *Oeuvres completes*, Vol. II: *Pantagruel* (Paris: Garnier, 1962), 411–16. Hereafter Rabelais, *Pantagruel*. More than 100 dances are listed.

³⁰Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, 416.