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The early guitar in Paris: A comparative study of the music of Adrian Le Roy and Guillaume Morlaye

Hoyt, Trevor Todd, M.M.

Rice University, 1990

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THE EARLY GUITAR IN PARIS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MUSIC OF ADRIAN LE ROY AND GUILLAUME MORLAYE

by

TREVOR HOYT

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF MUSIC

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents transcriptions in modern notation of two Parisian books of Renaissance guitar music--one by Adrian Le Roy, the other by Guillaume Morlaye--and a comparative study of their contents. For a brief period in the 1550's the guitar enjoyed a popularity that rivaled that of the lute: nine books of guitar music were published in the span of about five years. This music was aimed primarily at amateur musicians and consists mainly of guitar arrangements of popular vocal tunes and a great variety of instrumental dances.

Moreover, the quality of the music varies greatly and gives every indication that in Paris at least, the guitar was a fad. Several tunes in Morlaye's book sound very odd on both the modern guitar and reconstructions of Renaissance guitars. Le Roy's music is generally of much higher standard and reflects his great reputation as one of the pioneers in music publishing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project could not have been completed without the help and support of several people to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude. First, I wish to thank the director of the project, Dr. Honey Meconi. Her freely given advice in regards to the thesis, as well as many other matters, is greatly appreciated. I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Anne Schnoebelen and Dr. Richard Lavenda for their helpful suggestions. In addition, Bruce Brogdon was kind enough to loan me his modern reproduction of a four-course guitar. I am also grateful to Terry Gaschen and Ron Ochoa for their help in unraveling the mysteries of Finale. Finally, I wish to thank my parents and friends (Brian, Ned, Harris, Clark and of course, Yvonne) for their support during this project and my time at Rice.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The early history of the guitar begins in the mid-sixteenth century with the publication of several books of music intended for an instrument that is, not surprisingly, quite unlike the modern classical guitar. This Renaissance guitar, however, led a very brief existence. Its history virtually begins and ends in Paris with the publication of nine books of guitar music from 1551 to 1556. No new sources for the Renaissance guitar appear after this and by 1600, the instrument had been replaced by a larger guitar with more strings that came into favor during the Baroque era.

The most important figures in guitar music of the Renaissance were the Parisians Adrian Le Roy (ca. 1520-1598) and Guillaume Morlaye (ca. 1510-1558). Le Roy, together with his cousin and business partner Robert Ballard, secured a place in music history through his activities in the sphere of music publishing.[1] He was also a talented performer of lute and guitar music. Le Roy and Ballard published a five-volume series of guitar music from 1551 to 1556 entitled *Livres de Guiterre*. These, along with with four other publications by the Parisian printer Michel Fezandat, are the first music books devoted entirely to the guitar. They all cite Le Roy as the principle editor, arranger and composer with the exception of the fourth book. This was put together by one Gregoire Brayssing (fl. 1547-60), about whom virtually nothing else is known.[2]

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[1]The publications of Le Roy and Ballard are cataloged in François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault, *Bibliographie des Editons d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard (1551-1598)* (Paris: Heugel, 1955). For a brief biography of Le Roy, see the *New Grove Dictionary of Music* and Musicians, S.v. "Le Roy, Adrian," by Samuel F. Pogue.

[2]Some contemporary documents refer to Brayssing's activities in Paris, particularly his friendship with the musician Louis de Bourgeois whom we shall encounter below. For details, see *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, S.v. "Brayssing, Gregor," by François Lesure.

Morlaye's involvement in the Parisian guitar scene requires a bit more explanation. Until a little over 30 years ago, the Le Roy and Ballard guitar books were thought to be the only surviving music for the Renaissance guitar (along with a few other pieces scattered in Spanish and Italian sources; these are discussed in Chapter Two). A thorough inventory of music sources in European libraries, however, carried out primarily by the French musicologist François Lesure in the late 1950's, unearthed four more Renaissance guitar books in the Vadianabibliothek, the town lending-library in St. Gall. Of course, this nearly doubled the existing repertory for the instrument. These books, bound together into one volume by an unknown previous owner, were presented to the library as a gift in 1840 by Ferdinand Huber, a choirmaster in St. Gall. Huber himself was a guitarist who composed several folk songs with guitar accompaniment.

How the books came into Huber's possession is a mystery.[3] The title page of the books, however, indicates that they were the product of the sixteenth-century printer Michel Fezandat, whose Parisian shop was just down the street from the house of Le Roy and Ballard. Both firms were relative newcomers to the music-printing business, for until the death of Francis I in 1547, Pierre Attaingnant maintained a monopoly on music printing in Paris.[4] The new monarch, Henry II, granted royal privileges to several other firms and ushered in a new era in music printing.

From this, one might easily conclude that a good deal of rivalry developed among the various firms.[5] Here, Guillaume Morlaye enters the picture, for Fezandat signed a

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[3]Peter Wegelin's foreword to the facsimile edition of these four guitar books gives a more detailed account of their history. See Simon Gorlier and Guillaume Morlaye, *Four Guitar Books (1551-1553)*, facsimile ed., introduction by James Tyler (Monaco: Chanterelle, 1980): iii-iv.

[4]Attaingnant's publications have been cataloged by Daniel Heartz in *Pierre Attaingnant: Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

[5]For a revealing study, see Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing Under Henry II," *Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960): 453-455.

contract with him to produce music for guitar and lute in April of 1552, just seven months after Le Roy and Ballard printed their first guitar book. Like Le Roy, Morlaye too was adept at both lute and guitar and he studied these instruments with Henry II's lutenist at the royal court, Albert de Rippe. His more dubious interests included membership in a slave-trading company.[6]

Morlaye supplied Fezandat with the material for three of the four books that Ferdinand Huber donated to the library in St. Gall. Printed from 1552 to 1553, these were Fezandat's first, second and fourth books for guitar. The third book in Fezandat's series is credited to the "good author" of music for guitar, lute and spinet, Simon Gorlier (fl. 1550-84), better known for his public disputes with the composer and theorist Louis Bourgeois de Geneva, who once called Gorlier a "trougnon d'espinette."[7]

The exciting discovery of the Morlaye and Gorlier books inspired some groundbreaking research by Lesure and Daniel Heartz in the late 1950's[8]. Their work aside, early guitar music has remained a rather neglected topic. One explanation for this is that with few exceptions, the early guitar repertory exists only in its original form of notation--tablature. Tablature reveals very little about the finer aspects of a composition such as texture and articulation, especially to one not skilled in reading it. Surprisingly, only a small handful of the Parisian pieces have been published in modern editions. Thus, this thesis serves two purposes. The first is to provide performers and scholars with transcriptions in modern notation of a portion of the Parisian guitar repertory. The second

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[6]This is revealed by existing trade documents. See Morlaye's biography in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, S.v. "Morlaye, Guillaume," by François Lesure, as well as Lesure's article "La Guitare en France au XVIé Siecle," *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 187-195.

[7]Literally, "trash of the spinet."; Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing," 455. For more on the dispute and a biography of Gorlier, see Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, S.v. "Gorlier, Simon," by François Lesure.

[8]The relevant works are cited in the bibliography.

is to explore in some detail the music itself, identifying characteristic approaches to form, melody, harmony, rhythm and placing these in their appropriate historical context.

Since the size of the Parisian repertory is quite large (almost 250 works in the nine books), I chose to confine my study to only two of the Parisian books. Given this, a comparison of one book by Le Roy with one of Fezandat's seemed the best approach. Morlaye's first book and Le Roy's third book were both printed in the same year, 1552. In addition, they are roughly of the same length and contain the same types of song arrangements and dances. Thus, they appear to be ideal choices for comparison.

The first half of the present work is comprised of historical information on the early guitar. Chapter Two delves into organological issues such as guitar construction, design, tuning and stringing. It also covers the various printed sources for the early guitar, both extant and lost. Chapter Three includes a description of French guitar tablature and a survey of transcription techniques. The editorial policies I observed in transcribing the guitar music are defined as well. Chapter Four covers a variety of topics, all related to the forms and styles of music one encounters in the Parisian guitar books. It concludes with some brief remarks on modern performances of the music. Chapter Five is a summation of the major points made throughout and offers some recommendations for further research.

The second half of the thesis presents transcriptions of the music in Morlaye's first guitar book (Appendix A) and Le Roy's third book (Appendix B). Each appendix includes a table of contents along with critical notes on editorial insertions, corrections and adjustments. The transcriptions are intended for performance on the modern classical guitar, but are also suited to the lute or the vihuela. Due to copyright restrictions and for the purpose of brevity, I have decided not to include complete facsimiles of the original

tablatures in this thesis.[9] Inexpensive facsimile editions of both books do exist, however, and these are not difficult to obtain

The transcriptions will offer today's guitarists a substantial addition to the current standard repertory. But the contents of the sixteenth-century Parisian guitar books should be of interest not only to the guitarist in search of unexplored music. They are significant for what they reveal about the history of music publishing, paleography, ornamentation, Renaissance harmony, the Parisian chanson, dance forms and music for the amateur. In effect, the Parisian guitar tablatures can provide further insight into instrumental music of the Renaissance.

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[9]The interested reader is referred to the facsimile editions published by Chanterelle (see the bibliography for details). Microform copies are also available through the Lute Society of America.

CHAPTER II: HISTORICAL SURVEY

The guitar music of Adrian Le Roy, Guillaume Morlaye and their contemporaries is written for the four-course guitar. Though similar to the modern six-string classical guitar, this instrument was considerably smaller and possessed a more limited range. The early guitar also had much in common with its cousins, the lute and the Spanish *vihuela da mano*, particularly in regards to matters of stringing. These instruments seem to have been preferred over the guitar in Italy and Spain since the sixteenth-century repertory for the lute and vihuela far exceeds that of the guitar. In Northern Europe, however, Paris in particular, guitar music enjoyed a popularity that briefly rivaled that of the more esteemed lute. This chapter surveys the history of the four-course guitar, with special emphasis on the period of its heyday in Paris during the 1550's.

The Four-Course Guitar

Unfortunately, no four-course guitars from the sixteenth century survive. Reconstructed models by modern-day luthiers do exist, however. Invariably, these are based on illustrations such as the engraving that adorns the title pages of the four guitar books published in Paris by Michel Fezandat from 1551 to 1553. The title page of the first book of the series, Guillaume Morlaye's *Le Premier Livre...De Guiterne...* (1552_5)[1] is reproduced in Example 2.1. One may debate the accuracy of the illustration, but it merits discussion simply because of the scarcity of descriptive information on the early guitar's appearance in primary sources.

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[1]All subscripts refer to Howard M. Brown, *Instrument Music Printed Before 1600*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965).

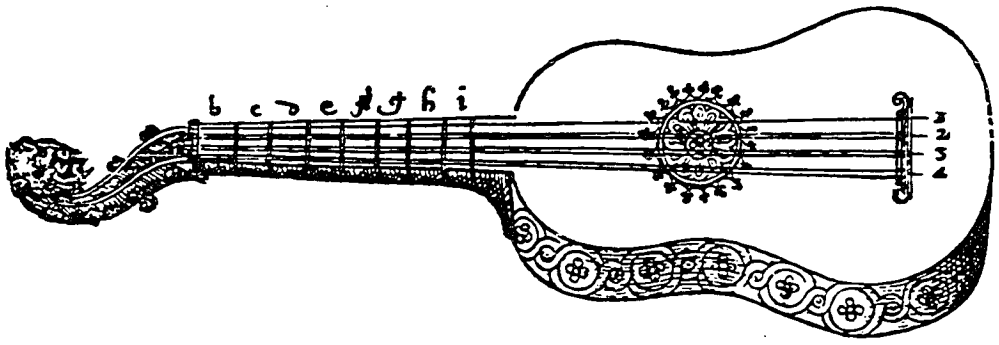
LE

PREMIER LIVRE DE

CHANSONS, GAILLARDES, PAVANNES,
Branſles, Almandes, Fantaiſies, reduictz en tabulature de Guiterne
par Maiſtre Guillaume Morlaye ioueur de Lut.

A PARIS.
De l'Imprimerie de Robert Granlon & Michel Fezandat, au Mont
S. Hylaire, à l'Enſeigne des Grandz Ions.
1552.
Auec priuilege du Roy.

Ex. 2.1: Title page of Guillaume Morlaye's *Le Premier Livre.*



Ex. 2.2: Guitar engraving from Phalèse's *Selectissima in Guiterna Ludenda Carmina.*

The title page inscription designates the instrument *guiterne* and the English also seem to have adopted this name with their *gittern*.. Curiously, Adrian Le Roy's books refer to the guitar as *guiterre*. One might assume that this variance in terminology is related to the different peghead designs depicted in the Fezandat sources and Pierre Phalèse's *Selectissima in Guiterna Ludenda Carmina*... (1570_4; see Example 2.2).[2] The carved peghead of the Phalèse guitar reflects viol construction with its lateral tuning pegs. The Morlaye guitar, however, has rear-mounted tuning pegs and a longer neck that more closely resembles that of the modern guitar. But the difference in construction could not have been great, for Heartz finds that the two terms are used more or less interchangeably in primary sources and thus any distinction between *guiterne* and *guiterre* is doubtful.[3] Whether the terms *guiterne* and *guiterre* actually specified different instruments we do not know.

The actual shape of the early guitar resembled that of the modern classical guitar. A flat back rather than a rounded pear shape sets the guitar (both early and modern) apart from the lute, while greater side indentations distinguish it from the vihuela. But if the Fezandat engraving is any indication, the early guitar was much smaller than the modern guitar, the Renaissance lute and the vihuela. Juan Bermudo's 1555 treatise, *Libro primo de la declaracion de instrumentos*, confirms the diminutive size of the early guitar.[4] Just how much smaller the early guitar was remains a matter of debate. Reconstructions are often so small that playing becomes cramped and difficult.[5] Whatever its actual size, the early guitar may have had a distinct advantage over the lute and vihuela: it was easily portable and could

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[2] The illustration in Phalèse's book is probably reprinted from a guitar tutor by Le Roy ($[1551]_4$), now lost. See Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor for the Guitar," *Galpin Society Journal* 16 (1963.): 3-21.

[3] Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing," 458.

[4] James Tyler, *The Early Guitar* (London: Oxford University Press,1980), 25.

[5] I have tested a model built by Larry Brown and based on a design by the Canadian luthier Ray Nurse. Though the guitar has good resonance and a penetrating sound, its miniature size makes playing very uncomfortable.

be used in a wide variety of musical applications. Also, the close spacing of frets on the early guitar's relatively short neck make for an instrument that probably would have been easier to play than either the lute or the vihuela.

As on the lute and vihuela, frets were made of gut and tied around the neck of the early guitar. Both the Phalèse and the Fezandat engravings depict a guitar with eight frets, but the Spaniard Alonso Mudarra (fl. 1510-80) states in his *Tres libros de musica...* (1564_{14}) that it had ten frets.[6] The instructional section of Phalèse's book explains that notes above the eighth fret "are to be played according to their order, just as if they did correspond to fixed frets."[7] In this way, a guitarist could make do with only eight frets. Though passages played above the fifth position are not numerous in the Parisian guitar books, most of the music does require an instrument with at least eight frets. Interestingly, the tutorial makes it clear that only virtuosi should attempt playing in these higher positions.

Several contemporary illustrations, including those in Examples 2.1 and 2.2, show that the four-course guitar had seven strings. Melchoir Barberiis confirms this in his *Opera Intitola Contina...* (1549_2), part of which is written for the *chitara da sette corde*. With the exception of the highest course, the *chanterelle* (which used a single string), each course is actually two strings doubling the same pitch either in unison or at the octave. By comparison, the lute and the vihuela had twelve strings paired in six courses. The practice of doubling strings at the unison or octave to form pairs of strings, or "courses," was standard among lutenists, vihuelists and guitarists of the sixteenth century. It persisted in guitar music until the emergence of the modern, six-string classical guitar around the turn of the nineteenth century. The actual tuning of the four courses is a separate issue and will be considered below.

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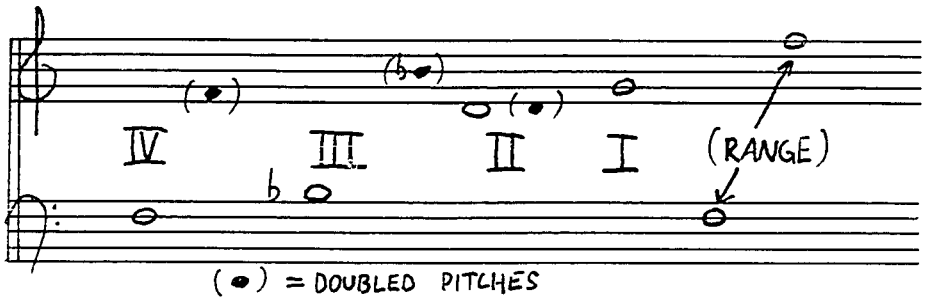
[6]Tyler, 25.

[7]Translation by Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor," 10. Again, the source of Phalèse's material is probably Le Roy's lost tutor.

Tuning practices of Renaissance guitarists, lutenists and vihuelists varied considerably throughout Europe.[8] Phalèse's book, the only source with instructions on guitar tuning, indicates that the four courses of the early guitar were most often tuned to the configuration given in Example 2.3 below.[9] In this example, I have also included the range of the four-course guitar for reference purposes. The outer courses are a perfect fourth apart from the inner courses, while a major third separates the middle two courses. This arrangement follows precisely the interval pattern of the top four strings of the modern classical guitar and the middle four strings of the lute.[10] Therefore, music for the four-course guitar may also be performed on both the classical guitar and the lute without resorting to *scordatura*. Of course, this involves transposing the music, but it presents no problems to a performer who reads tablature.



Ex. 2.3: Tuning and range of the four-course guitar.

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[8]Throughout this thesis, I use the term "tuning" to designate the interval pattern between strings, while "pitch" or "pitch level" refers to the actual notes that each open course is tuned to (i.e. vibrations per second).

[9]See Charles Dobson, Ephraim Segerman and James Tyler, "The Tuning of the Four-Course French Cittern and the Four-Course Guitar in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 16 (1974): 17-27. As discussed in their article, the tunings given by Heartz in "Parisian Music Publishing" and "An Elizabethan Tutor" are erroneous.

[10]The tuning of the lute is VI=G, V=c, IV=f, III=a, II=d', I=g'. The tuning of the modern guitar is VI=E, V=A, IV=d, III=g, II=b, I=e'.

The only exception to the tuning described above is Mudarra's *temple viejo* tuning, which involves tuning the bottom course down a major second. Mudarra designates the standard tuning *temple nuevo*. Apparently, the older tuning was no longer in frequent use by the time Mudarra published his *Tres libros de musica* in 1546, for he specifies the *temple viejo* in only one composition. *A corde avalée*, the French equivalent of *temple viejo*, appears infrequently in the music of Morlaye and Le Roy.

The actual pitch level that players tuned their instruments to is somewhat in dispute. While there was no widespread agreement on standard pitch in the Renaissance, it seems clear that sixteenth-century guitarists tuned their instruments well above the pitch of the modern guitar, especially when one considers the smaller scale of the four-course guitar. Also, the French books imply g' or a' for the first course, based on comparisons of chanson intabulations for the guitar with their vocal models. Heartz notes that the real pitches probably varied "depending on the size and quality of the strings."[11]

The thorny issue of the strings and their pitches is further complicated by the common practice of doubling. Mudarra doubled the strings of the middle two courses in unison, while the strings of the lowest fourth course were spaced an octave apart. Phalèse's book, however, which probably reflects French practices, specifies that the third course as well should be tuned to an octave. The lower octaves of the bass courses were strung using a thick gut string called a *bourdon*. James Tyler argues that if *bourdons* were not available, guitarists tuned both strings of the fourth course at the upper octave (a fifth above the third course).[12] One encounters this "re-entrant" tuning frequently in Baroque guitar music. Nevertheless, the application of re-entrant tuning to the Parisian repertory

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[11]Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor,"14.
[12]Tyler, 25-26.

seems questionable, especially in light of the fact that no mention of it is made until 1601 in an Italian source.[13]

From the above discussion, we see that the sixteenth-century guitar was a very unusual instrument. Though in many ways similar to the modern guitar, the lute, and the vihuela, its own peculiarities in design, tuning and stringing require special consideration. That no examples survive is truly unfortunate, and the scarcity of information on guitar construction and stringing does not help matters. However, a sizeable amount of music exists for the four-course guitar and the repertory includes works by several famous musical figures of the Renaissance. It is to these musicians and their works that we now turn.

Early Guitar Music: Composers and Sources

The large number of lute and vihuela tablatures published in the mid-sixteenth century attests to the popularity these instruments enjoyed in the late Renaissance. While there was no short supply of tablatures for lute and vihuela, music publishers evidently had trouble meeting the large demand for guitar music. Because most guitar composers of the Renaissance were also talented lutenists or vihuelists, their output is, by and large, for the more serious instruments. The composers probably preferred the fuller sound of these six-course instruments to the little, four-course guitar.

In many cases, music publishers had to plagiarize or reprint existing books in order to meet the demand for new guitar music: modern scholarship points to several pirated

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[13]As Tyler himself says (p. 30), the source is Scipione Cerreto's *Della Prattica Musica* (Naples, 1601).

books of guitar music.[14] The popularity of the four-course guitar reached its height during the 1550's in Paris, where at least nine books of music for the instrument were published within a six -year period. The anonymous author of *La manière de bien et justement entoucher les lucs et guiternes* declared in his 1556 treatise that in France, "we used to play the lute more than the guitar, but for 12 or 15 years now, everyone has been 'guitaring.'"[15]

In Spain and Italy, however, the situation was quite different. In these lands, musicians considered the guitar an inferior instrument to the lute and the vihuela. Unlike the Parisian books, the three main Spanish and Italian sources include guitar music only as a modest supplement to their large volumes of lute and vihuela music. The first printed source from Spain that contains guitar music is Mudarra's *Tres Libros de Musica* and this work constitutes his entire known output. Published in Seville, the three books contain seventy-six pieces, mostly for either solo vihuela or voice and vihuela. The third book, however, contains six pieces for four-course guitar: four fantasias, a *pavana* and a *romanesca* ("O guardame las vacas"). This last is a set of variations based on a popular Spanish song. The guitar offerings here are typical of sixteenth-century instrumental music. Pavanes, fantasies and arrangements of vocal songs were among the most popular genres of the day.

The only other source from Spain is Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphènica Lyra* (1554_3). Fuenllana (b. early 1500's, d. after 1568), who was blind from birth, published 188 pieces in this book. Most of these are written for vihuela. His work includes six fantasias and three songs for four-course guitar. The songs include a voice part and texts as well. Fuenllana had the voice line printed in red, while the rest of the notes on the staff are black. Thus, the songs could be performed either as instrumental pieces or as vocal

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[14]The best examples are the Phalèse book mentioned above and an English book by James Rowbotham. Both are discussed in more detail below and in Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor."

[15]Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing," 460.

solos with guitar accompaniment. The guitar works are on the whole less demanding than the vihuela works and Fuenllana probably intended them for the amateur.[16]

The only surviving source of four-course guitar music from Italy is Melchoir Barberiis's *Opera Intitola Contina...*, which contains four fantasias for guitar. The rest of the pieces, twenty-eight in all, are for the lute. In fact, the book is *libro decima* in Girolamo Scotto's ten volume series of lute tablatures. Tyler[17] and Turnbull[18] both call attention to the fact that the guitar works are not fantasias, but are actually dances. Morlaye's *Le Second Livre...* (1553_4) reproduces the first fantasy (on f. 28v.-29r.), although here it is cast as a *branle*, a simple country dance. Koczirz has transcribed the four fantasias in modern notation, but he obviously intended them to be played on the middle four strings of the modern classical guitar--a pitch level probably well below contemporary standards.[19]

As indicated, guitar music in the sixteenth century reached the height of its popularity in Paris. Parisian guitarists could choose from a large selection of music. Nine Parisian guitar books survive from the mid-sixteenth century and Brown has discovered references to many others that did not survive.[20] The two main publishers of guitar music were Granjon and Fezandat (Morlaye's publishers) and Le Roy and Ballard. Heartz speculates that competition between the two firms developed because the publishing houses were located almost right next to each other.[21]

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[16]Jacobs gives concordances for the intabulations in this excellent edition of the *Orphènica Lyra.*

[17]Tyler, 1980.

[18]Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, (New York: Charles Scribner, 1974).

[19]Adolf Koczirz, "Die Fantasien des Melchoir Barberiis fur die Siebensaitige Gitarre." *Zeitschrift fur Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1922): 16-17.

[20]Brown, *Instrumental Music.*

[21]Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing."

The first guitar book published in Paris is Morlaye's *Tablature de Guiterne...* (1550_2). This book, now lost, may be an early edition of one of Morlaye's later books. Knowledge gleaned from studies with the lutenist at the royal court, Albert de Rippe, undoubtedly aided Morlaye in his dual role as performer and arranger of guitar and lute music. The firm of Granjon and Fezandat published three books of guitar music that Morlaye arranged and edited: *Le Premier Livre...* (twenty-eight pieces), *Le Second Livre...* (thirty-one pieces) and *Quatriesme Livre...* (1552_6; twenty-one pieces for guitar, nine pieces for cittern). The pieces contained within these books are primarily guitar intabulations of dances published by Attaingnant in his *Troisiéme Livre de Danceries* (ca. 1550) and chansons.[22] Most of the contents of Morlaye's books have not been published in modern edition.

The firm of Granjon and Fezandat also published *Le Troysieme Livre* (1551_1; fifteen pieces), arranged and edited by the guitarist, lutenist and spinet player Simon Gorlier. Gorlier's book features only chanson intabulations by Certon, Janequin and others. Modern editions of selections from any of the guitar books by Granjon and Fezandat are rare. In fact, Gorlier's book remains virtually untouched by modern scholarship.

The firm of Le Roy and Ballard also issued several books of guitar music in the 1550's: *Premier Livre de Tablature de Guiterre* (1551_3; twenty-six pieces), *Briefve et facile instruction...* (1551_4; and instruction manual, now lost), *Tiers Livre...* (1552_3; thiry-two pieces), *Quart Livre...* (1554_3; twenty pieces), *Cinquiseme Livre...* (1554_4; twenty pieces) and *Second Livre...* (1556_8; twenty-three pieces). Le Roy arranged and edited all the selections in the books listed above, with the exception of the fourth book, by Gregoire Brayssing. All the books feature dances similar to those in Morlaye's books, but much

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[22]Ibid.

more numerous are the chansons intabulated for guitar. The second and fifth books even include separate voice parts, which are given in mensural notation.

Brayssing's book is of particular interest because it contains a very long and difficult piece called "La Guerre," or "The War." The work includes many fast scalar passages that alternate with quasi-tremolo repeated notes, almost in imitation of gunfire. Imitations of military calls are frequent too. A German inscription by the title associates it with a specific battle that occurred in sixteenth-century Europe. The inscription tells how the "praise-worthy elector" Johann Friedrich von Saxon was captured in battle. John Frederick I was indeed a German elector and his Schmalkaldic League, an alliance of Lutheran princes, was defeated at Mühlberg on April 24, 1547 by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

Although no copies of Le Roy's instruction manual survive, Heartz finds evidence that the London publisher James Rowbotham translated it into English: *A brief and plaine instruction for to learne the tablature...* (1568_9; now lost).[23] Rowbotham also translated a Le Roy lute manual bearing a similar title, which is extant. Heartz points out that it would be surprising if the widespread popularity of the guitar in Paris "did not find a similar response in England, for then as later, the French capital was closely watched with an eye to the latest fashions."

Apparently, the situation was the same in parts of Northern Europe around 1570. Pierre Phalèse of Louvain published his *Selectissima in guiterna ludena carmina...*, which contains 108 pieces for guitar and a short introduction on stringing, fretting and reading tablature notation.[24] This book survives and its Latin introduction contains a literal

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[23]Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor."

[24]See the English translation of this introduction in Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor."

translation of the title of Le Roy's guitar instruction manual. Thus, one may surmise that Le Roy's manual, or at least the basic content of it, exists today in Phalèse's book.

According to Tyler, the remainder of the guitar books published in the sixteenth century are various re-issues of the sources described above.[25] Most of these re-issues are now lost. The only exception is Juan Carlos Amat's *Guitarra Española* (1586_1), of which a 1626 edition survives. This, however, is a treatise for the five-course guitar--the instrument in use during the Baroque era. It offers technical and theoretical advice for playing music in the *rasgueado* style, which mainly involves the strumming of chords. This style prevailed in guitar music of the seventeenth century. Thus, Amat's *Guitarra Española* should be considered in relation to the music of Corbetta, Sanz and other seventeenth century guitarists and not to that of the sixteenth century.

From this, we may conclude that the four-course guitar enjoyed a very brief popularity spanning probably no more than fifty years. The first books with guitar music began to appear in the late 1540's and by the last two decades of the sixteenth century the little four-course guitar had been replaced by the five-course Spanish guitar. The nine Parisian books published in the 1550's represent the height of the early guitar's popularity. Reprint editions and translations, however, continued to appear over the next few decades and some of these contain valuable information from sources that do not survive.

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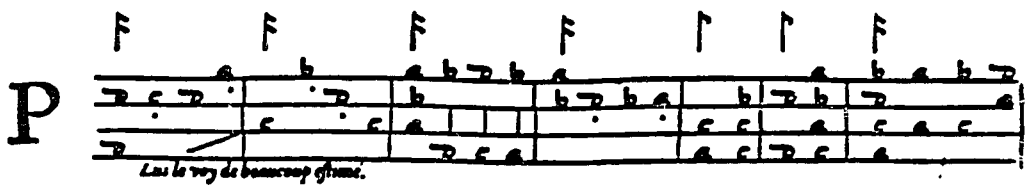
[25]For a list of these sources, see Tyler, 123.

CHAPTER III: TABLATURE AND TRANSCRIPTION

All Renaissance guitar music is notated in tablature. As with any form of musical notation, tablature has both advantages and disadvantages. Generally, guitarists skilled at reading both tablature and standard notation will find the former easier to read. But tablature amounts to little more than a mechanical description of where to place one's fingers on the fretboard and which strings to pluck in order to produce a given note or chord. It conveys virtually no information about the various nuances of performance--texture and articulation in particular (dynamic markings are not an issue as these do not occur in any of the tablatures). Thus, any editor undertaking a modern transcription of the tablatures faces several important decisions concerning both notation and musical interpretation. The goal of this chapter is to address such issues and to outline the solutions and editorial methods I have used in my own transcriptions of guitar tablatures.

Tablature

Four-course guitar tablature is not difficult to read. The French system places letters of the alphabet on four staff lines, as shown below in Example 3.1:



Ex. 3.1: French guitar tablature (from Morlaye's first book, f. 5r.).

Each line represents a course on the guitar. The bottom line corresponds to the lowest course of the guitar, the top line to the highest course. The letters indicate which fret is to be stopped. For example, "a" equals an open string, "b" equals the first fret, etc. In this way, a guitarist can play music without actually having to read pitches on a staff.

The Spanish and Italian tablature systems differ slightly from the French system. Numbers rather than letters are used to designate frets. A zero ("o") indicates an open string. In addition, the Italians reverse the order of the courses on the staff so that the lowest line represents the highest course. A system comparable to the German tablatures for lute, which utilize separate letters for each note of the lute, was apparently never developed for the guitar.

In Example 3.1, the rhythmic values of each note to be plucked appear above the staff line. Only the fastest moving note-value is given and it remains in effect until a different value appears. As will be demonstrated below, this method of notating rhythm is the main source of the difficulties one encounters in transcribing tablatures. A vertical slash is the longest duration and typically holds the value of a semi-breve. Shorter durations are given by flags attached to the vertical slash: one flag indicates a quarter-note, two flags an eighth-note, etc. The shortest note value is the thirty-second-note, which has four flags. Rhythmic notation in Spanish and Italian tablature is identical to the French system.

A few special symbols appear frequently in Renaissance guitar tablatures. These include a dot (".") and a diagonal slash mark ("/") placed under, above or next to a fret designation. The dot tells the performer to pluck a note with the index finger rather than the thumb. Two dots ("..") signify the use of the middle finger in plucking, though this symbol is rare. The diagonal slash indicates that a particular note or notes must be sustained as long as possible. A vertical line connecting letters placed on different strings instructs the performer to pluck both notes simultaneously. Other special symbols appear infrequently and are discussed below in the remarks concerning editorial methods.

The tablature notation described above is not peculiar to guitar music and applies to lute and vihuela music as well. Tablature was a particularly appropriate form of notation for four-course guitar music. As remarked in the previous chapter, most guitar music from the Renaissance was intended for amateurs who presumably would have had only a rudimentary knowledge of music fundamentals. For these musicians, tablature notation was more convenient than diastematic notation. Even today's popular guitar publications such as *Guitar for the Practicing Musician* and *Guitar Player* include tablature renditions of most of their musical examples and supplements.

Literal vs. Polyphonic Interpretation

While tablature can simplify greatly the process of learning a piece of music, it conveys little about the actual sound of the music to the non-specialist. Modern notation, which more accurately reflects the actual sound of the music, is thus the currently preferred form of notation for "serious" guitar music. Modern editions of music for the early guitar are potentially useful to both the guitarist and the scholar. A modern edition, however, like any translation away from the original, is by necessity an interpretation. Predictably, scholarly opinion on how tablature should be interpreted varies widely. Possibly the only point on which most scholars agree is that no transcription should be considered in any way definitive.

Two schools of thought on the transcription of tablatures have emerged among musicologists. The earliest transcriptions, which were predominantly of lute music, did little more than provide a diastematic version of the original tablature. No consideration was given to voice-leading, articulation, or sustained notes. Later transcriptions rendered the tablatures in full polyphony on two staves. Apel gives an overview of the various pros

and cons of both literal and polyphonic interpretations.[1] Leo Schrade for example, chose the strict method in his edition of Milan's *El Maestro* (Leipzig, 1927), "declaring the polyphonic interpretation to be tantamount to a falsification of the original."

Most editors since Schrade, however, have gone beyond notating only the pitches specified by the tablatures. In a revealing article, Heck illustrates the differences that exist in various modern transcriptions.[2] The results of the article rest on a comparative study of transcriptions of the same tablature done by several different editors. The most important differences center around stemming, duration, pitch level and the choice of one or two staves. The solutions to these differences depend on how one interprets the prevailing texture and for whom the edition is intended.

Musicologists have shown a preference for two-stave transcriptions in modern editions of lute music. A two-stave transcription can more easily depict contrapuntal movement and consequently is a better indication of how the music sounds. Though this complicates sight-reading, many lutenists read from tablature. Thus, it would seem that transcriptions of lute and guitar tablatures on two staves are intended more for scholars than performers.

The direction of the note stems, tied notes, and rests all can be used to indicate the precise movement of a particular voice as in piano music. This is most useful for chanson intabulations--instrumental arrangements of vocal music in three- or four-voice polyphony. Typically, two-stave editions transcribe the music at the pitch level of the original instrument, whereas a single-staff transcription would be pitched at the level of the modern

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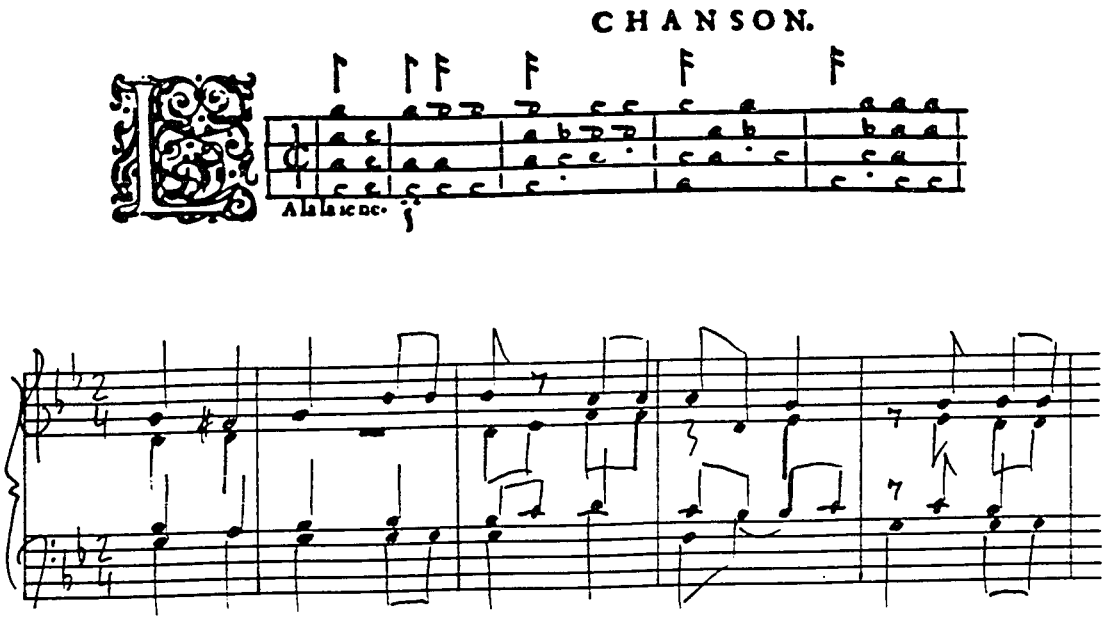
[1]Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America, 1961:60-61.

[2]Thomas Heck, "Lute Music: Tablatures, Textures and Transcriptions." *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 7 (1974): 19-30.

guitar (see below). Example 3.2 presents a passage of four-course guitar music in a keyboard-type transcription.[3]



Ex. 3.2: Keyboard transcription of guitar tablature (from Le Roy's third book, f. 3v.).

Single-staff transcriptions are intended for performers, especially classical guitarists. The music is most often transcribed at the pitch level of the classical guitar.[4] Rests, ties, and directional note stems may indicate voice-leading here as well, but these symbols clutter up the page if used in excess. When the texture involves three or more independent voices, however, the temptation to convey as accurately as possible the movement of these voices through notational symbols becomes very great. Thus, a guitar transcription may not reflect the true sound of the music as well as a keyboard transcription

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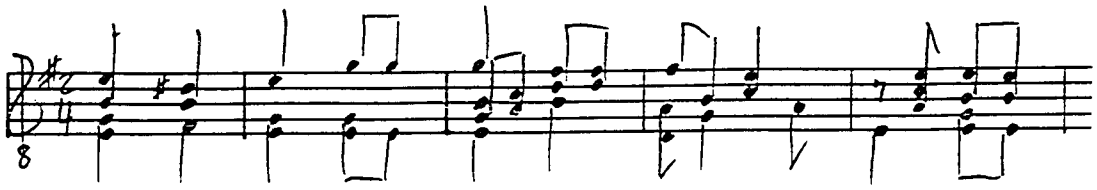
[3]The tablature has been transcribed at the original pitch level of the four-course guitar as described in Ex. 2.3 of Chapter Two.

[4]VI=E, V=A, IV=d, III=g, II=b, I=e'.

can. But if the music is fairly simple in character and involves a homophonic texture, a single staff will usually suffice. Example 3.3 features a single staff transcription of Example 3.2.



Ex. 3.3: Guitar transcription of Ex. 3.2.

No easy solutions exist to the many problems one faces in doing transcription work. Some general guidelines may be applied to any transcription, however. First, any transcription should attempt to provide more than a mere literal rendition of the notes. In most cases, tablature would be preferable to this. At the same time, an interpretive transcription should not be a theoretical exercise. It is far too easy to lengthen notes that ordinarily could not be sustained.and the editor must always consider the physical limitations of the instrument. Peter Danner has summed up the issue precisely: "editions must never be divorced from music's purpose: performance."[5]

Editorial Policies

In my transcriptions of Morlaye's first book and Le Roy's third book I have tried to adhere very closely to certain principles of transcription. Most importantly, I chose to

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[5]Heck, 21.

transcribe all the music on one staff at the pitch level of the modern classical guitar.[6] A number of considerations point to this as the best approach for the four-course guitar repertory. First, since no known four-course guitars from the Renaissance exist and because of the scarcity of reproductions, the music will be performed primarily by guitarists on the modern six-string instrument.. As indicated in the last chapter, the early guitar shares a common tuning scheme with the lute and thus the music is also suitable for the lute. Nevertheless, most lutenists are experienced readers of tablature and would probably prefer it to an edition in standard notation. Secondly, the early guitar had only four courses and hence, contrapuntal passages implying three voices or more are quite rare. Even the thicker textures tend to move homorhythmically, so for most of the early guitar music a single staff is really quite adequate.

Meter and rhythm indications are clearly marked in the early guitar books. Morlaye's first book gives meter indications only for triple-meter pieces--a "3" always indicates triple meter. Le Roy's third book employs the same method but here, *alla breve* symbols are used to indicate duple meter. Exceptions to this are the galliards No. 11, 13, 14. Though they are marked with *alla breve* signs, the rhythmic notation above the staff line and the barring clearly imply a prevailing triple meter.

Bar lines appearing in the tablatures divide the music evenly into measures. My transcriptions preserve this barring.[7] In the past, some editors ignored the bar lines and used complex time signatures that divide the music up into phrases or other larger blocks of music. One example is Heartz's transcriptions of keyboard music.[8] He advocates the use

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[6]The transcriptions are notated a minor third below the probable pitch level of the four-course guitar (see Ex. 2.3 in Chapter Two for details).

[7]The galliards in the Le Roy and Morlaye transcriptions require some special consideration. Though many scholars transcribe galliards in 6/8, I preferred to retain the original system of barring, which implies 3/4.

[8]Daniel Heartz, ed. *Keyboard Dances from the Earlier Sixteenth Century*, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, vol. 8. N.p.:American Institute of Musicology, 1965.

of alternating 9/4 and 6/4 measures for the dance genre called *branle de poictou*, without giving any justification.[9] This type of transcription complicates considerably the appearance of the music and is not at all in keeping with the simplicity of the *branle*, a country dance. Le Roy's third book contains several *branles de poictou* and it seems rather obvious that the publishers of this music were thinking in smaller divisions, as proven by the bar lines that imply either measures of 3/8 or 3/4. In keeping with my system of reduction, I have transcribed these pieces in 3/8.

The rhythmic notation itself is very precise and much easier to interpret than the white mensural notation used in sixteenth-century vocal music. I have transcribed the pieces such that a single stem holds the value of a half-note in duple meter or a dotted half-note in triple meter-- a distinction Tyler fails to make in his preface to the facsimile editions of both the Le Roy and Morlaye books.[10] A stem with a single flag always holds the value of a quarter-note. This reduction yields good results in conveying how fast each piece should move. Occasionally errors occur in the rhythmic notation, for example a missing flag or stem. Though not problematic, these are noted in both appendices featuring transcriptions.

Other notational symbols, for example repeat signs and right hand fingerings, usually present few problems. I have chosen not to include right-hand fingerings in my editions because for the most part the tablatures specify only when the right-hand index finger is to be used in plucking. Substituting a different fingering would not alter the sound drastically and it might actually make some of the music easier to play. Right-hand fingering in performance is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

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[9]See also *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. v. "Branle," by Daniel Heartz.

[10]See Tyler's preface to both facsimile editions (Chanterelle, 1979).

By far the most problematic aspect of transcribing guitar and lute tablatures is interpreting the length or decay of each note. First, though the tablatures use a diagonal slash to indicate a note should sustain as long as possible, unfortunately these indications appear mainly in conjunction with bass notes leaving the durations of the middle voices very unclear. Furthermore, their application seems to be very inconsistent, particularly in regard to open strings. Finally, rests are not found in any of the tablatures and since the rhythmic notation usually specifies only the fastest moving note values, one must determine how long a note should or can sustain after it has been plucked. Thus, physical limitations of both the player and the instrument, as well as harmonic considerations, weigh heavily in deciding how long a note should sustain.

In my transcriptions, notes on the lower two courses are sustained for at least two beats unless: (1) another note is plucked on the same string (2) the harmony changes and the note becomes dissonant (3) a position shift occurs and the note cannot be sustained. Very long notes are sustained across the bar line using a tie. All ties are of course editorial. Notes on the upper two courses are less problematic since usually these involve active melodic figures where shorter note values prevail. Thus, with the exception of suspensions, little in the way of editorial lengthening is necessary for notes played on the higher courses.[11]

In many instances, certain nuances of paleography can significantly clarify the texture of a piece or a particular passage. Rests and directional note stems are two examples. In *Jean de Lagny* from Le Roy's third book (No. 5), whose vocal model is a four-voice chanson, the rests at the beginning of the first phrase reflect the imitative entrances of the voices in the original arrangement. Stemming, however, presents considerable problems, especially when the texture is thick. In general, downward stems

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[11]See Morlaye's second fantasie (No. 2), mm. 40-43, for an example of editorial suspensions.

represent bass notes, upward stems a melodic line. Admittedly, stemming of the middle voices is bit more subjective and usually my own choices reflect a desire for clarity and ease of readability. Many editors of lute and guitar tablatures recommend that this method of "free voicing" should become the norm.[12]

In the previous chapter, it was noted that the four-course guitar was often strung with an octave in the bottom course. Notating the aural effect of this complicates matters further, for the lower octave sounded by the bourdon tends to prevail over the higher octave and results in some large leaps exceeding an octave.[13] But if one notates the pitch of all seven strings rather than the four courses, the music becomes unreadable to the guitarist.[14] Heartz says that "should this repertory ever be published in modern transcription, its editor will have no easy choice between the literal and the sonorous."[15] I think the choice is rather obvious, for a "sonorous" transcription is little more than a theoretical exercise. Nevertheless, a modern edition would do well to provide an example of how the octave tuning affects the sound of the music. This I have done in Example 3.4 (see next page), which presents a keyboard transcription including the octave doubling and a guitar rendition of the same passage without the doubling.

I must mention one other obstacle encountered in transcribing the four-course guitar music and this applies only to Morlaye's first book. One of the previous owners of this book made several corrections and insertions that are scattered throughout.[16] Unfortunately, the corrections were done in ink and often obscure the original indications in the tablature. In these cases I have had to transcribe the "emended" version rather than

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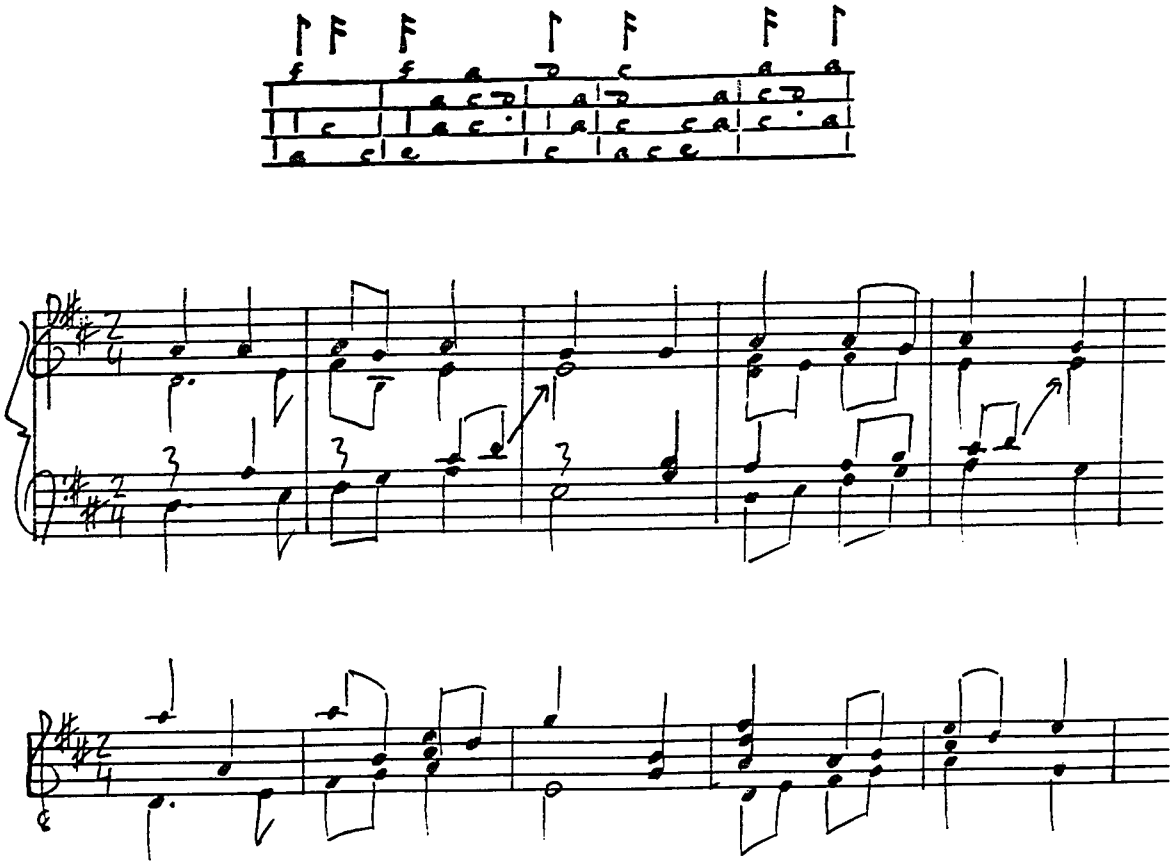
[12]See Heck, 29.

[13]Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing," 459.

[14]For an example of this see Jerry Mann's master's thesis "Gaspar Sanz's *Instruccion de Musica* : Transcription, Translation and Commentary," (Case Western Reserve, 1974).

[15]Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor,"15.

[16]As stated in the first chapter, only one copy of Morlaye's first book survives; in any case, the person's identity is not known



Ex. 3.4: Keyboard and guitar transcriptions illustrating the effect of octave doubling (from Morlaye's first book, f. 3r.).

the original.[17] As for the insertions, generally they serve to thicken the texture and I have ignored them in my transcriptions.

Though French tablature for the four-course guitar is not difficult to read, transcribing the tablature into modern notation is a different matter. No one interpretation will satisfy all audiences, and multiple versions of the same piece are often equally valid. But for most musicians, any modern edition will communicate more about the actual sound

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[17] I have cited each case where the corrections occur in the critical notes of Appendix B.

of the music than tablature. Editors should be particularly careful in preserving the character of the music. Transcriptions in odd meters, editorial suspensions that do not occur in performance, notating octave doublings--typically, these all serve little purpose. A good editor must always strive to reach as many people as possible.

CHAPTER IV: THE MUSIC OF LE ROY AND MORLAYE

One of the benefits of transcribing four-course guitar music--indeed any music in tablature notation--is that certain musical traits become much clearer in modern notation. We begin to see the composer's approach to melody, harmony, form and style, all of which may contribute to a better appreciation and understanding of instrumental music in the sixteenth century. This last subject occupies the focus of the discussion below, for the guitar music of Le Roy and Morlaye tells us much about the characteristics of various popular dances and other instrumental genres of the day. In addition, a study of the tablatures enables one to make important deductions about ornamentation practices and harmonic theory in the Renaissance. Finally, no discussion of early guitar music would be complete without a few words devoted to modern performances of the music.

Instrumental Genres

The Fezandat and Le Roy guitar publications order the contents of each book according to genre as follows: freely composed works such as preludes and fantasies, instrumental arrangements of Parisian chanson, pavans and the galliards (usually presented in pairs), and various types of *branle* (another instrumental dance piece). This ordering is not unlike that of lute and vihuela books published during the same period.[1] With a few exceptions, it holds true for Le Roy's third book and Morlaye's first book. The works discussed in the following section are drawn primarily from these two books, though where necessary I draw from examples in the other Parisian prints.

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[1]Heartz, "Parisian Music Publishing," 461.

Free instrumental forms such as the fantasy and the prelude were intended as warm-up pieces but often required considerable skill to perform. The fantasies explore the entire range of the early guitar and exploit some unusual techniques such as a unison between an open string and a fretted string.[2] Le Roy's first prelude contains some fast-moving scales at the end that most performers would find difficult..

The fantasies are the longest and most complex pieces of the various types of instrumental music in the Parisian guitar books. The length of these works often approaches one hundred measures with repeated sections few and far between. The term fantasy, derived from the phrase "as you fancy," reflects the rather free approach to melody, rhythm, harmony, form and texture in these works. In these repects, the fantasies resemble the "rhapsodic" *ricercar* of the sixteenth century, a genre popular in many lute books. In fact, scholars have pointed out that in French publications, the two terms are used interchangeably.[3]

Each of Morlaye's three books begins with two fantasies, as does Le Roy's first book. The only other fantasies in the Parisian sources appear in the fourth Le Roy and Ballard publication. Gregoire Brayssing's six fantasies seem to be of a much different nature than the others, judging by their abbreviated length and the prevailing chordal texture.[4]

Morlaye's fantasies are quite ambitious and deserve the attention of the modern guitarist in search of new repertoire. These works owe much to the influence of Albert da Rippe, Morlaye's famous teacher, and in fact the two fantasies in the *Quatriesme Livre* are entitled "Fantasie d' Albert." Whether Morlaye intended this as a dedication or an

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[2]In Morlaye's first book, this occurs in m. 86 of the first fantasy and again in m. 75 of the second fantasy.

[3]*New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, S.v. "Ricercar," by Arthur J. Ness.

[4]These are not transcribed in modern notation. My observation is based on initial readings of the tablatures,

attribution is unclear, but the two fantasies from the first book (No. 1 and 2 in Appendix B) exhibit a similar style that is typical of fantasies in general. They are in duple meter and feature sectional shifts between homophonic and quasi-contrapuntal textures. Also, neither fantasy has a clearly defined tonal center and abrupt harmonic shifts occur frequently. Both works are through-composed and have little in the way of repeated sections. Finally, a slow tempo and harmonic rhythm prevails, lending a somewhat rambling quality to the music that is consistent with the style of the genre..

As regards texture, the free approach in the guitar fantasies is also typical of lute fantasias and keyboard toccatas.[5] The contrapuntal sections usually imply only two voices with suspensions occurring frequently, though it takes some effort to bring out the effect of the suspensions in performance. An interesting example is mm. 40-43 of Morlaye's second fantasy--a long, descending chain of suspensions. The performer must take care to ensure that each note sustains for the full value given in the transcription. In doing so, the thicker sound of the four-course guitar's doubled strings may be more easily replicated. Broken chords in the *style brisé* are also frequent and of course, are very idiomatic to the guitar.

The form and harmony of both fantasies also require some consideration. No discernable form emerges in either work. Formal devices such as the ground bass and the variation principle do not appear to have been influential in the composition of these works, though they do occur in some of the pavanes and galliards discussed below. A recurring, deceptive harmonic shift from D to E-flat in mm. 10-11, 26-27, 61-62 of the first fantasy seems to be the only repeated idea in either work. The work does have some degree of tonal unity, beginning and ending on a G major triad, with several other important cadences

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[5]Heck, 25. This is not surprising because many musicians in the sixteenth century were competent on several different instruments. Morlaye and Le Roy were skilled lutenists and Simon Gorlier, author of the third Fezandat guitar book, also played the spinnet.

on G in between (see mm. 19, 33, and 43). Cadences on D and B-flat (see mm. 9 and 29 respectively), however, reinforce the fact that the works are not based on any sort of harmonic ground. The second fantasy ends with a cadence on a D major triad, far removed from the open-fifths F-sharp chord on which it began. The overall effect of the unpredictable approach to form, harmony and texture is one of improvisation--a qualtiy that characterizes most fantasies in the Renaissance.

Apparently preludes too were often imbued with an improvisatory quality, as seen in the two examples at the beginning of Le Roy's third book. By contrast, however, these two works are much shorter and livelier. They employ duple meter and the texture of both involves extended passages of first species counterpoint. As with Morlaye's fantasies, neither prelude follows a clearly conceived formal plan, but they are more tightly constructed. For example, the descending sequential idea in mm. 2-4 of the first prelude recurs in mm. 17-19. In fact, the first twenty-five measures are built on sequences of descending thirds and sixths in parallel motion. The second half of the piece is of course based on a quite different idea--ascending, scalar passages.

Arrangements of so-called "Parisian" chansons, one of the most popular vocal genres of the day, figure prominently in the guitar tablatures. Even a few of the instrumental dance tunes take as their model some particular aspect of a well-known chanson. Since the books were directed mainly at amateurs, it is not surprising that some of the chansons arranged in the guitar books of Le Roy and Morlaye were among the most popular of the hundreds of examples printed in the sixteenth century.[6] The majority of these chansons have now been published in modern editions and a comparison with their instrumental counterparts is most revealing.

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[6]Certon's "La la la je ne" (No. 4 in Le Roy's third book) and Janequin's "Il estoit une fillete" (No. 6 in Morlaye's first book, also arranged as a *basse danse* in No. 7 of Le Roy's third book) were two of the most popular chansons.

As stated in chapter two, the pitch level of the early guitar is usually deduced from comparing the guitar arrangements of chansons with their vocal models. As justification for this practice, Heartz states that "Adrian Le Roy considered the *chanterelle* most often as g' or a' when intabulating vocal originals...assigning definite pitch to tunings was convenient to the sixteenth-century musician; it is no less so to the modern transcriber."[7] My own work comparing the intabulations with the vocal originals tends to confirm these findings. I do, however, find it most curious that sixteenth-century arrangers, when intabulating for the guitar, retained the original key of the vocal models upon which they are based. In many cases this not only creates problems in performance, but the music could benefit from a fuller sound if transcribed in a more idiomatic key. Today, guitar arrangements are usually transcribed in keys that facilitate performance; rarely is the original key retained.

Morlaye and Le Roy certainly had their own separate ideas about arranging vocal music for the guitar. Le Roy's arrangements reflect very clearly the influence of the vocal original, whereas Morlaye's arrangements sometimes transform the chansons into new songs. A comparison with the vocal model of "Jean de Lagny" (No. 5) by Berchem shows Le Roy's great skill in arranging.[8] The opening of the four-voice chanson uses point of imitation style and Le Roy is able to simulate the entrances of three of these voices in his arrangement. Though the essential melodic line is preserved for several measures, by m. 10 Le Roy is no longer able to imitate the original and he reverts to a guitaristic passage of parallel sixths until the cadence on D in m. 14. This corresponds to the F cadence in m. 7

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[7]Heartz, "An Elizabethan Tutor," 14.

[8]For a modern edition of "Jean de Lagny," see *Publikation älterer Praktischer und Theoretischer Musicwerke*, ed. Robert Eitner (1873-1905), vol. 23, no. 5; reprint, New York: Broude Brothers, 1966.

of the original; the modern edition of the Berchem transcribes the piece in 4/4, while my edition of the Le Roy is in 2/4.[9]

Le Roy also preserves the overall form of the vocal original. After a cadence in m. 10, the music repeats and cadences on D again at m. 28 (m. 14 of the chanson). This begins a new section, mm. 29-45 (mm. 15-23 of the chanson), wherein Le Roy's melody deviates considerably from that of the original. The extended stay on a B minor triad in mm. 38-41, however, corresponds roughly to the D minor harmony of mm. 20-21 of the chanson. The return of the original melody occurs at m. 23 in the Berchem and is repeated at m. 28, both times on a weak beat. Le Roy begins his recapitulation of the original melody at m. 46, but on the downbeat. Though Le Roy does not write out the repeat of this passage, he implies it by inserting a repeat at the end and a *signum congruentiae* in m. 46 of the tablature.

As indicated, Morlaye's arrangements often do not attempt to approximate closely the vocal versions. In his intabulation of Claudin's "Elle a bien ce ris gracieux" (see No. 5), Morlaye retains only the head motive used in imitation in the chanson.[10] Even the major cadence points occur on different tonal centers. Morlaye does better arranging chanson with chordal textures, such as Janequin's "Il estoit une fillette" (No. 6).[11] Here, his approach is to isolate the most important melodic line and harmonize it drawing from the contents of the other voices. The first measure of the second repeated eight-measure section of Morlaye's arrangement, however, deviates significantly from the vocal original. The Janequin version of this section begins on a minor triad a fifth above the major triad of

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[9]As to the transposition, it was noted in Chapter 3 that the transcriptions are notated a minor third below the probable pitches specified in the tablatures.

[10]For a modern edition of the vocal original, see Claudin de Sermisy, *Collected Works*, ed. Gaston Allaire and Isabelle Cazeaux (American Institute of Musicology, 1974), v. 3, p. 70.

[11]See also Le Roy's arrangement of the same piece as a *basse danse* (no. 7). The modern edition appears in François Lesure, et. al. eds., *Anthologie de la Chanson Parisienne au XVIIe siècle*, (1952), p. 29.

the preceding cadence. The corresponding section of Morlaye's arrangement has no root movement following the cadence: the E major triad at the cadence turns to E minor at the beginning of the next section.[12] Not all of Morlaye's intabulations show inspiration and imagination. His forte lay in his arrangements of instrumental dances, to which we now turn.

The pavan and the galliard were popular dances, usually accompanied by instruments. Typically, they were performed in pairs with the slow, stately, duple-meter pavan first, followed by the faster, livelier, triple-meter galliard. The musical material in the galliard often presents a reworking of the music in its corresponding pavan. These basic characteristics also apply to the very numerous examples of pavans and galliards in the early guitar books.

The pavan originated in Italy and the earliest surviving examples are found in Joan Ambrosio Dalza's 1508 lute book, *Intabulatura de lauto libro quarto*. The dance spread quickly throughout Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century, becoming a staple in French and Italian lute publications. The pavans in Le Roy's and Morlaye's books, besides being in 4/4 time and comprised of two or more sections, have little in common. Morlaye's two pavans (No. 11, 13) reflect a very traditional style, while Le Roy's two pavans (No. 10, 12) contain extra-musical associations.

Morlaye's pavans both have as their harmonic ground the *passamezzo antico*. The *passamezzo* was another popular Italian dance and it shares a style that is often indistinguishable from that of the pavan. Most examples are based on one of two harmonic patterns called the *passamezzo antico* and *passamezzo moderno*. Since only the former is relevant to this discussion, we shall focus on it. The harmonic pattern of the *passamezzo antico* may be defined as follows, using Roman numerals to indicate triadic quality: i-VII-i-

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[12]The g' of the E minor triad is an addition by one the book's previous owners. Thus, Morlaye intended an open fifth here.

V-III (or i)-VII-i-V-i. The harmonic rhythm is nearly always the same with each chord having equal duration except for the penultimate i-V, these two chords having durations half that of the others. No particular bass line or melody was associated with this progression.

Both Morlaye pavans adhere strictly to the principle outlined above. The harmonic rhythm is two measures for each chord and the *antico* ground is played four times in all. Each pavan has a binary form, the two sections being repeated. The melodies in the first section are very simple and involve mainly stepwise motion. In the second section, they are embellished with scalar lines moving in fast note values--*glosas* , *passaggi* or diminutions (see the section on ornamentation below).

Le Roy's pavans, though they contain traces of the *passamezzo* harmonic grounds, apparently take their inspiration from different sources. The first Le Roy pavan (No. 10) is entitled "Pavane J'ay du mal tant tant"--a reference to the refrain of the chanson "J'ay le rebours" by Certon.[13] Nevertheless, I find no similarities whatsoever between the vocal original and the pavan. The second Le Roy pavan (No. 12) is a "Pavane de la guerre," or a battle piece.

I have already touched upon Gregoire Brayssing's great battle piece, "La Guerre." Unfortunately, little in the way of scholarly research exists in this area and musicologists have reached no consensus about the stylistic traits of sixteenth-century battle music beyond the fact that it was identified with war or military skirmishes. Le Roy's battle piece contains no information that associates it with a particular military event, but it does have some unusual rhythmic and melodic figures that distinguish it from the other pavans. First, it does not fall into a binary form: four separate sections are each repeated. Second and more importantly, the last large section begins with several repetitions of the note d".

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[13]See Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 136. For a modern edition, see Lesure et. al. eds., *Chanson Parisienne*, no. 18.

Several more repetitions combined with the interval of a major third above (an f-sharp) and the music reminds one of a horn call. We may recall that horn-like passages of repeated parallel thirds are also quite common in Brayssing's piece. Besides the horn calls, however, the characteristics of battle music seem quite uncertain.

The galliard that follows Le Roy's "Pavane la Guerre" sounds much like a triple meter variation of the latter. Both are comprised of four repeated sections of sixteen measure each, all having nearly the same harmonic framework. Even the repeated notes imitating horn calls are retained in the galliard. As indicated above, the galliard frequently presents a re-working of the material in the preceding pavan. There are, however, several galliards in both the Le Roy and Morlaye books that stand on their own.

Of the seventeen galliards in the Le Roy and Morlaye books, eleven have the same central tonality, the equivalent of D major in my transcriptions. The key of D has always been a "guitar key," the open strings facilitating the performance of music with this tonality. The fact that so many of the galliards are written in the same key, however, leads one to believe that a particular tonality may have been attached to this genre. Another characteristic of the galliard that shows up in almost every case is the following rhythmic motive: dotted-quarter, eighth, quarter. Several excellent examples of the galliard may be found within either book.

The early guitar books also contain many types of *branles*--simple country dances, all having their own peculiarities that mark them as being from a particular region of France. Seven different types can be counted among the contents of Le Roy's third book and Morlaye's first book. The musical style of each *branle* varies widely and little can be said in the way of generalizations. About the only thing the various types of *branle* have in common is their characteristic dance step, the sidestep, and the fact that they were usually danced in a group.

The only *branles double* appear in Morlaye's book (No. 25, 28). These are in simple duple meter and involve binary form. Two four-measure phrases comprise each section and both sections are repeated. Morlaye indicates this in No. 25 with repeat signs, but in No.28 he writes the repeats out with added embellishment--diminutions. The second four-measure phrase is usually in some manner, a repeat of the first. For example, mm. 1-4 of No.28 are repeated over the next four measures with some substitutions in harmony and a simplified melodic line (e.g. A-A'-B-B').

Though Le Roy's book contains no *branles double*, the four *branles de Champaigne* (No. 25-28) all exhibit a similar style in their use of duple meter, varied repetition and four-measure phrase groupings. Their distinguishing characteristics are a one-beat anacrusis in each example, and the form, six four-measure phrases grouped into three periods. The second phrase in each period may or may not repeat the material in the preceding phrase. This aspect can be demonstrated by isolating the form of each *branle de champaigne*, subdividing the dances into four-measure phrases:[14]

No. 25: A-B-C-D-E (eight measures)
No. 26: A-A'-B-C-B-C
No. 27: A^1-A^2-$A^{1'}$-$A^{2'}$-B-B'
No. 28: A^1-A^2-$A^{1'}$-$A^{2'}$-B-B'

The duple-meter *branle simple* in many ways resembles the *branle double* and *branle de champaigne*, except that phrases are grouped into six-measure units. Morlaye and Le Roy each have only one example in the guitar books under discussion: no. 26 and no. 21 respectively. The binary form of Morlaye's *simple* resemble his *doubles*. This may be represented as A^1-A^2-B^1-B^2. Le Roy's *simple*, however, more nearly resembles his *branle de champaigne* in its use of six phrases: A-B-C-D-C'-D'.

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[14]In this chart, an antecedent-consequent relationship between thematically linked phrases is indicated by the use of superscripts, while embellished repetitions are indicated by an apostrophe symbol.

Up to this point, the *branles* we have looked at have all been in duple meter. The faster, livelier *branles gay* are all in triple meter, however, and appear only in Le Roy's book (see No. 22-24). Two of theses *branles*, No. 22 and No. 24, are short binary dances with eight-measure periods subdivided into four-measure antecedent-consequent phrases. Repeat signs instruct the performer to reiterate each period. In addition, both *branles* have an eighth-note anacrusis and dotted rhythms. The other *branle gay*, "La ceinture que le porte," also contains repeated phrases but these are of irregular lengths and the anacrusis is omitted. Though this *branle* and No. 26, "Le ne seray jamais bergere," were both inspired by chanson tunes, I was not able to locate the vocal originals for comparison.

The most intriguing *branles* are the four *branles de Poictou en mode de cornemusse* at the end of Le Roy's book III (No. 32-35). The term *cornemusse* applies to several different wind instruments, but in France it usually refers to the bagpipe. Thus, these unusual works imitate the style of a bagpipe player, a fact borne out by the constant drone of the bottom string and the use of simple, modal melodies with lots of repeated notes. In addition, the *branles* all have a one-beat anacrusis.

Several other types of instrumental music in the Le Roy and Morlaye guitar books remain to be discussed. Unfortunately, only isolated examples of these appear in the books and comparison with other examples is not possible. In many cases, however, comparison with other genres provides sufficient insight. For instance, Morlaye's *Branle de Bourgongne* (No. 27) shares many common traits with the *branle double* described above. It is in duple meter with four-bar phrase groupings. In contrast with the *branle double*, each four-measure unit is repeated verbatim before moving on to the next idea.

Similarly, Le Roy's "Pimontoyse" (No. 30) and *branle de Haulbaroys* (No. 29) have many parallels with the *branle gay*. Like Le Roy's *branle gay*, the former is a lively, triple meter dance comprised of eight-measure periods. Unlike the *branle gay*, however,

Le Roy subdivides the phrases of the "Pimontoyse" into two-groups. The piece also has a great degree of rhythmic variety, evident in the use of hemiola in mm. 5-6 and syncopation in mm. 18-20. The phrasing in the *branle de Haulbaroys* more nearly resembles that of the *branle gay*: Four-measure, antecedent-consequent phrases are grouped into eight-measure periods. One other difference between both these dances and the *branle gay* is the lack of an eighth-note anacrusis.

The four examples of *allemandes* in the Le Roy (No. 19, 20) and Morlaye (No. 29, 30) books reflect a style not far removed from that of the branle. The dances are binary in form, with both sections repeated. Differences between Morlaye's *allemandes* and Le Roy's do exist, however. Morlaye's examples are written in a very simple folk style and were probably intended for beginners.[15] By contrast, Le Roy's *allemandes* are considerably more difficult. The persistant dotted rhythms also set Le Roy's *allemandes* apart from those of Morlaye.

The other pieces yet to be discussed are essentially dances based on harmonic grounds. I mentioned the *passamezzo antico* in connection with Morlaye's pavans. Morlaye was aware of the *passamezzo moderno* too, and this he uses as the basis for his "Buffons" (No. 23).[16] Tyler claims that Morlaye's "Conde Clare" (No. 24) is also based on a ground, "the famous Spanish ground *conde claros*," though he makes no attempt to identify its harmonic framework.[17]

In addition, Le Roy's book contains two *basse danses* (No. 7, 8), which are not unlike the pavans in terms of style. Fifteenth-century *basse danses* were typically built on

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[15]The irregular phrasing in No. 29 (5+3, 4+2) is very distinctive.

[16]The triadic framework of the *passamezzo moderno* is as follows: I-IV(or VII)-I-V-I-IV(or VII)-I-V-I.

[17]See p. vii of Tyler's introduction to the facsimile edition of the Fezandat guitar books. A cursory study of the music reveals that the ground is based on the progression I-IV-V, repeated in each four-measure section of "Conde Clare."

a sequence of long, held notes in one of the lower voices. This practice does not appear to be in evidence in Le Roy's *basse danses*, perhaps reflecting sixteenth-century tastes.[18] The second of the two *basse danses* (No. 8) is coupled with a *tourdion* (No. 9), much like the pavan was often coupled with the galliard.

Ornamentation

Nearly all the arrangements in the Morlaye and Le Roy guitar books ornament the melodic lines with long running passages. The best examples of this occur in Le Roy's instrumental dances, but many of Le Roy's and Morlaye's chanson intabulations also contain such passages. This sort of embellishment would have been quite common in vocal and instrumental music of the time. The Spanish called it *glossas*, the Italians *passagi* or *diminutio*, the French *plus diminuée*. All refer to the filling in of long white-note rhythms with shorter note-values.

Though contemporary treatises make it clear that melodic embellishment was commonplace in Renaissance music, little evidence exists in regard to performance practice. Actually, tablatures are the best source of ornamentation practices in the Renaissance because all ornaments are written out in the music. In regards to this, Brown argues that "the volumes of music published by these men [illustrious sixteenth-century keyboardists and lutenists] are thus the closest thing to phonograph recordings that we shall ever have from the sixteenth century, for they preserve personal, idiosyncratic versions of well-known compositions as they were performed by leading sixteenth-century virtuosi."[19]

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[18]See the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S.v. "*Basse danse*," by Daniel Heartz.

[19]Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), xiii.

In the guitar books, Le Roy's pavans, galliards and *branles* are the most conspicuous examples of a taste for melodic embellishment. After the initial statement of a piece, the text "*plus diminuée*" appears, indicating that the preceding material will now be embellished. A good example of this is Le Roy's *tourdion* (No. 9). The piece itself is very short, but Le Roy doubles its length by repeating all the music with embellishments at m. 17. The ornamented section preserves exactly the same harmonic movement as mm. 1-16. The original melody line, however, has been completely filled in with sixteenth notes moving in stepwise motion. In order to accomodate this virtuosic display, Le Roy make the accompanying chords more sparse: the accompaniment in the "*plus diminuée*" section is comprised primarily of only one note per measure.

Not all embellishments are this extravagant. More frequently, the diminutions were used to ornament cadences, as exemplified in mm. 18, 28, 52, and 95 of Morlaye's first fantasy or mm.24 and 58 of Le Roy's "Jean de Lagny." Though these passages may sound *clichéd* to modern ears, sixteenth-century musicians were expected to know such formulaic cadential patterns by heart. Curiously, smaller one-note graces are quite rare in the tablatures. Certainly, they were in use at the time the Parisian guitar books were published. Perhaps musicians had not learned how to incorporate these ornaments in tablature notation.

Harmony

Perhaps the most unusual aspect of the Parisian guitar books is the sometimes unorthodox approach to harmony shown by their authors. I have already referred to the numerous examples of six-four chords that can be found in nearly every piece. This is a direct consequence of the fourth-based tuning and limited range of the four-course guitar. Also, Hans David argues that the "tablatures of the French printers neglect strict part-

writing in favor of full harmony."[20] This facet is evident in several pieces where florid passages on the upper courses are supported with open string drones as an accompaniment. One example is mm. 17-18 of No. 14 of Morlaye's first book, a galliard. Here, the lower three courses--all plucked as open strings--reinforce the underlying G major harmony. Because the lowest course is tuned a fourth apart from the next highest course, a second inversion chord results.

Though unpleasing to modern ears, the severity of the six-four chords would have been alleviated on the four-course guitar by the octave tunings of the two lower courses. On the modern guitar, however, many passages containing several six-four chords sound very unusual. This is particularly true of cadences where the ambiguous sound of the second inversion chords does not have the same feeling of closure that a perfect authentic cadence provides.

Six-four chords are not the only examples of strange voice-leading. Works in both Le Roy's and Morlaye's books contain harmonic shifts so discordant that to modern ears they sound like errors. The best instance of this occurs in m. 7 of Le Roy's no. 14, a galliard. The A-sharp on the first beat of the measure clashes with the B-natural on the second beat, a striking dissonance that cannot be attributed to a printing error--Le Roy repeats this measure in the diminution section (see m. 24). Morlaye's book contains other examples. The first two measures of his arrangement of Sandrin's "Ce qui est plus" (no. 7) sounds as if a mistake has been made somewhere, but again, there are no easy solutions. In m. 1, changing the bass note D to an E does not help matters. Also, the shift from C-sharp in the first measure to C-natural in the second measure sounds very awkward.

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[20]Hans T. David, "The Six-Four Chord Without Theory: An Unofficial History, Part I," Bach 2 no.3 (1971): 10.

Suggestions for Modern Performers

Many of today's guitarists complain about the rather small and reputedly insignificant repertory of the modern classical guitar. They would do well to investigate the early guitar music in the books of Le Roy and Morlaye, for performances of the music in these books are quite rare. Though I have endeavored to point out the many differences that exist between the four-course guitar and the modern instrument, the lack of early instruments dictates that the music be performed on the modern instrument. In fact, many of the pieces sound delightful when played on the classical guitar. Thus, a few suggestions for modern performances are appropriate.

As I mentioned in Chapter Three, the fingering indications for the right hand given in the tablatures are not particularly helpful because they specify only when the index finger should be used to pluck a particular string (the use of the middle finger--indicated by two dots--is rarely encountered). One might safely infer from this that in cases where no fingering indications appear for the right hand, the thumb should be used--an approach consistent with the practices of lutenists. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that this always would have been the case. The chordal textures encountered frequently in Parisian guitar music demand that the third and fourth fingers of the right hand also would have been used. Thus, I believe that it is perfectly acceptable for the modern guitarist to employ fingerings that facilitate performance. Adherence to the fingerings in the tablatures is not essential.

In addition, I have found that early guitar music sounds best if a capo is used to simulate the higher pitch level of the early guitar. A capo placed at the third or fifth fret is recommended. Lutenists too can perform this music, but since most lutenists read tablature, there is little point in reading from a guitar transcription. A capo may also be used on the lute to attain a higher pitch level, and many lutenists frequently apply this idea.

Thus, much of the Parisian guitar repertory is suitable for both lute and the modern guitar. This is not to say that all the works are of a high quality. Often, one must play through several mediocre pieces before stumbling upon a gem. It is hoped that in years to come, however, some of this music will find its way to the concert stage in performances by today's best players.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

The extant repertory of music for the Renaissance guitar is worth serious consideration from both guitarists and scholars alike. Admittedly, not all of the music is great. Many passages sound awkward on the modern instrument without the octave doubling of the fourth string, and simple keys such as D and G, which facilitate playing in the first position, occur all too frequently. Also, several numbers exhibit some very unusual turns of harmony that seem far too chromatic for their context.

But this, and many other aspects of Renaissance guitar music can contribute to our understanding of Parisian musical life in the mid-sixteenth century. For example, the variety of genres featured in the Le Roy and Morlaye books explains much about what sorts of dances were popular in the Renaissance. To these dance tunes were often added virtuosic melodic embellishments that serve as testimony to ornamentation practices in contemporary performances. Furthermore, free instrumental genres such as the fantasy and the prelude provide insight into what instrumental improvisation was like during the Renaissance. Finally, the history of the Parisian guitar books and the various figures involved in their publishing form a fascinating study of music publishing in Paris after the period of Attaingnant's monopoly..

More specifically, a clearer picture of the role the guitar played in sixteenth-century Parisian musical culture emerges. In Chapters One and Two, I noted that the four-course guitar's popularity was limited mainly to Paris, where for a brief period in the 1550's it enjoyed an enormous vogue. This and several other considerations discussed below give every indication that the early guitar in Paris was something of a fad. The nine books published from 1551 to 1556, along with pirated editions such as the Phalèse and Rowbotham books, represent an attempt by music publishers to seize on this fad.

First, the books include examples of all the most popular genres of the day, from virtuosic fantasies and courtly dances to popular chanson and imitations of bagpipe music. This broad mix would presumably contain something for everyone, no matter what their level of experience or playing ability. Le Roy and Morlaye were both noted pedagogs of the guitar and the pieces contained in their books may well reflect the requests of their students. Given that music instruction is never inexpensive, nor are instruments and music, I suspect the books were intended for a middle class audience, whose tastes in music are always somewhat fickle.

Secondly, I have already alluded to the fact that the quality of the works in the Parisian books varies greatly thus giving the impression that the publishers were concerned more with churning out music, whatever its standard. Morlaye's first book in particular contains several works that are rather ineffective, especially on the modern guitar (in these cases, I do not believe that performance on an authentic instrument would change this opinion drastically). We must recall that music was not the center of Morlaye's activities, but was one of many sources from which he made his living. The music in Le Roy's third book is generally of a much higher standard and this is consistent with his sterling reputation as a royal music publisher.

Finally, the fact that no new sources for the four-course guitar appear after 1556--just five years after the first Parisian publication--is inexplicable. Morlaye and Fezandat continued to publish several lute tablatures until about 1560, probably around the time of Morlaye's death. Le Roy too published several lute tablatures and many other types of music until his death in 1598. Thus, the best explanation for the four-course guitar's short-lived popularity is that it was a fad.

Though my own research should supplement the existing work done in the field of early guitar music, there is still a considerable need for further research. I have now transcribed two of the Parisian books in modern notation, but the contents of seven other

books remain untouched. The third book in the Fezandat series by Gorlier would make an interesting study since it is comprised only of chanson intabulations. Transcriptions of the chanson arrangements in Le Roy's second and fifth books could add to the now miniscule repertory of songs for guitar and voice. Brayssing's book is also of considerable interest, especially for its battle music and Fantasies.

Once all of the early guitar books have been transcribed, a comparative study of the various genres found in these Parisian sources may be attempted. There is still much to learn about the characteristics of each dance and how their arrangements for guitar differ from similar arrangements for other instruments such as keyboard and lute. In this way, we may arrive at a better understanding of instrumental music in the Renaissance.

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APPENDIX A: ADRIAN LE ROY, BOOK III

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No.	fol.	Title	Genre	Meter	Tonal Center
1	1.v-2r.	Prelude	Prelude	2/4	D
2	2r.	Autre prelude	Prelude	2/4	E
3	2v.-3r.	Un advocat (dit à sa femme)	Chanson	2/4	G
4	3v.	La la la je ne (l'ose dire, Certon)	Chanson	2/4	e
5	4r.-4v.	Jean de Lagny (Berchem)	Chanson	2/4	D
6	4v.-5r.	Pour un plaisir que si peu dure (Sermisy)	Chanson	2/4	e
7	5v.-6r.	Il estoit une fillete en basse dance(Janequin)	Chanson	2/4	-
8	6r.-6v.	Demie basse-dance	Inst. dance	2/4	e
9	6v.-7r.	Tourdion	Inst. dance	3/8	e
10	7r.-8r.	Pavane. J'ay du mal tant tant (Certon)	Pavan	4/4	G
11	8v.-9r.	Gaillarde de la precedentepavane	Galliard	3/4	G
12	9v.-10v.	Pavane de la guerre	Pavane	4/4	D
13	10.v-11v.	Gaillarde de la precedente pavane	Galliard	3/4	D
14	11v.-12v.	La toulouzane gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
15	12v.-13v.	La lionnoyse gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
16	13v.-14r.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
17	14v.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
18	15r.-15v.	La Romanesque Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	-
19	15v.-16r.	Almande le pied de cheval	Allemande	2/4	D
20	16r.-16v.	Almande tournée	Allemande	2/4	D
21	17r.-17v.	Bransle simple	Branle	2/4	D
22	18r.	Bransle gay	Branle	3/8	F
23	18v.-19r.	Bransle gay la ceinture que je porte	Branle	3/8	G
24	19v.	Bransle gay Je ne seray jamais bergere	Branle	3/8	G
25	20r.	Bransle de Champaigne	Branle	2/4	-
26	20v.	Bransle de Champaigne	Branle	2/4	D
27	21r.	Bransle de Champaigne	Branle	2/4	d
28	21r.-21v.	Bransle de Champaigne	Branle	2/4	-
29	21v.-22r.	Bransle Haulbaroys	Branle	3/8	d
30	22r.-22v.	Pimontoyse	Branle	3/8	D
31	22v.-23r.	Bransle de Poictou	Branle	3/8	d
32	23r.-23v.	Bransle de Poictou (en	Branle	3/8	-

		mode de cornemuse)			
33	23v.	Bransle de Poictou (en mode de cornemuse)	Branle	3/8	-
34	24r.	Autre bransle de Poictou grand bonnet large (en mode de cornemuse)	Branle	3/8	-
35	24r.-24.v	Autre bransle de Poictou (en mode de cornemuse)	Branle	3/8	-

CRITICAL NOTES

No. 2, Autre prelude, f. 2r.

(1) mm.1-2: the octave doubling of the early guitar can duplicated on the modern classical guitar in this passage by plucking the open first course in addition to the other notes in the chord.

No. 4, La la la je ne, f. 3v.

(1) m.2: a *signum congruentiae* is placed just below the staff line; it marks the beginning of the refrain, which is repeated in mm. 32-45.

No. 5, Jean de Lagny, f.4r.-4v.

(1) m.46: as in No. 4, a *signum congruentiae* placed below the staff line serves to mark the beginning of the refrain (mm. 46-60).

No. 9, Tourdion, f. 6v.-7r.

(1) m. 31: the tablature contains no sustain marking, but I have chosen to lengthen the bass note e'; not only is this the final measure the *plus diminué* section, but the corresponding measure in the unembellished section does have a sustain indication; this demonstrates the lack of consistancy on the part of the editors in the use of sustain symbols.

No. 10, Pavane J'ay du mal tant tant, f. 7r.-8r.

(1) mm.14-15, 48-49: a double bar is placed between these measures in both the unembellished section and the *plus diminué*; apparently, no special meaning is attached to this symbol; the following galliard, based on this pavan, contains double bars in exactly the same places.

No. 11, Gaillarde de la precedente pavane, f. 8v.-9r.

(1) the meter given in the tablature--*alla breve*--is incorrect, as proven by the rhythmic groupings of three minims per measure.

No. 13, Gaillarde de la precedente pavane, f. 10v.-11r.

(1) as in No. 11, the meter given in the tablature is incorrect; the *alla breve* symbol is ignored in the transcription in favor of the more common triple meter.

(2) m. 56, second beat: the rhythmic indication in the tablature is a fusa, but this leaves only two beats in the measure; the durations of the last four notes of this measure should thus be eighth notes, as the music is repeated verbatim in the following measure (e.g. with the correct durations).

No. 14, La toulouzane gaillarde, f. 11v.-12v.

(1) here also, the *alla breve* symbol in the tablature is incorrect; the transcription is in triple meter.

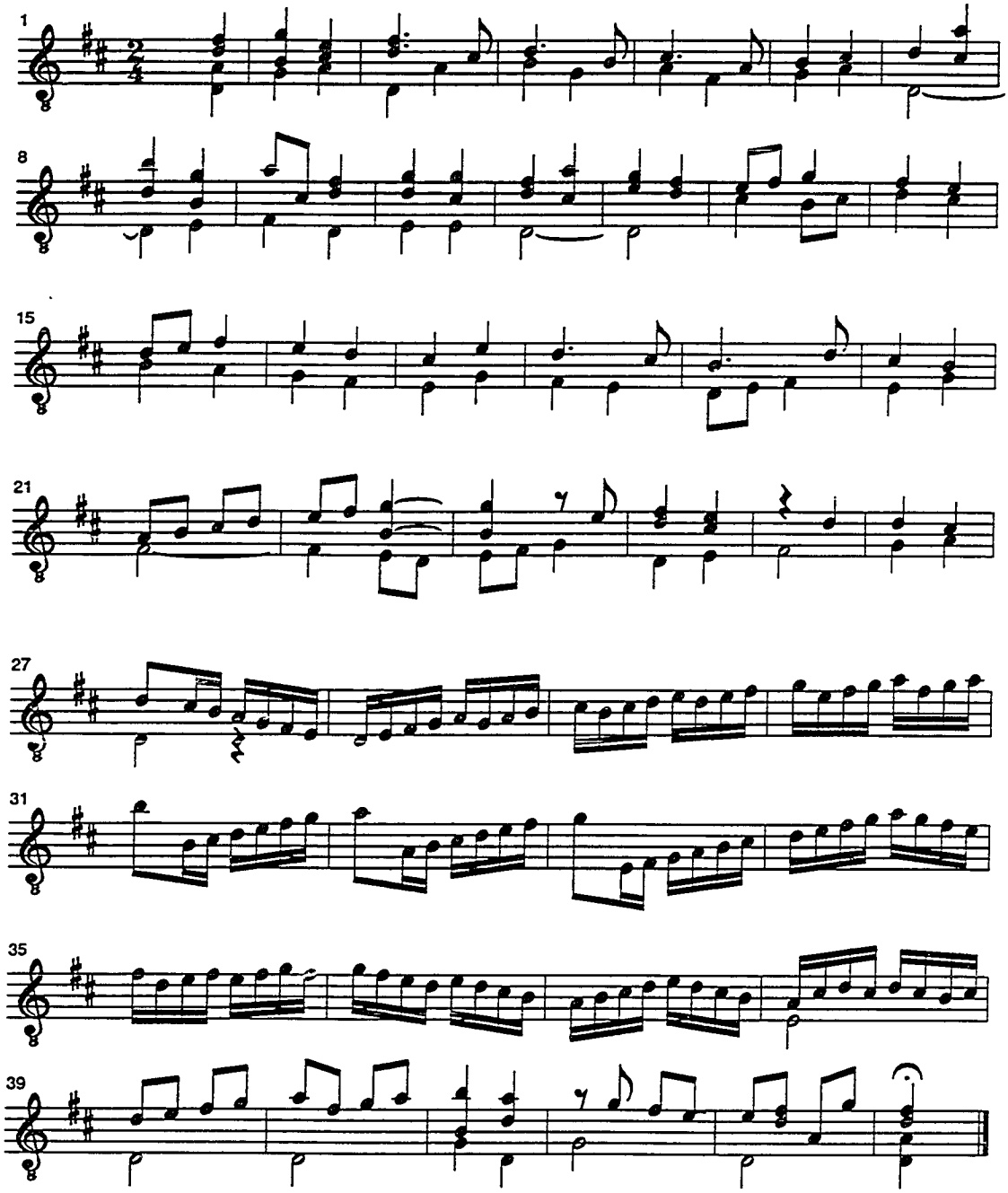
No. 16, Gaillarde, f. 13v.-14r.

(1) m. 7: the chromatic voice-leading here sounds almost like an error, however, I have preserved the intentions of the tablature; the same passage appears again in the *plus diminué* section, thus indicating that it is not a mistake.

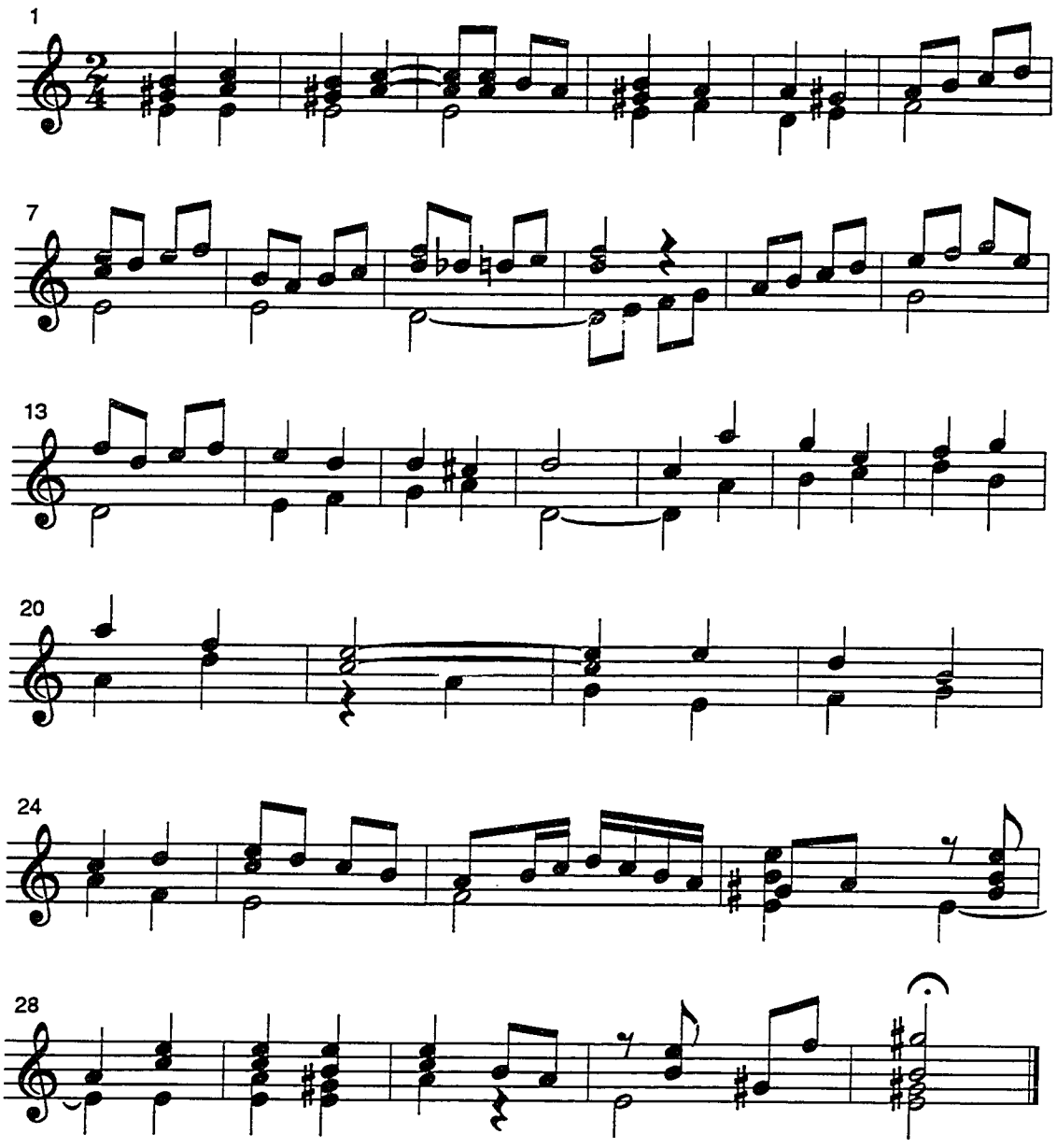
No. 22, Bransle gay, f. 18r.

(1) m. 45, second beat: the rhythm in the tablature is incorrect--the F major triad should hold the value of a quarter note, rather than an eighth note as in the tablature.

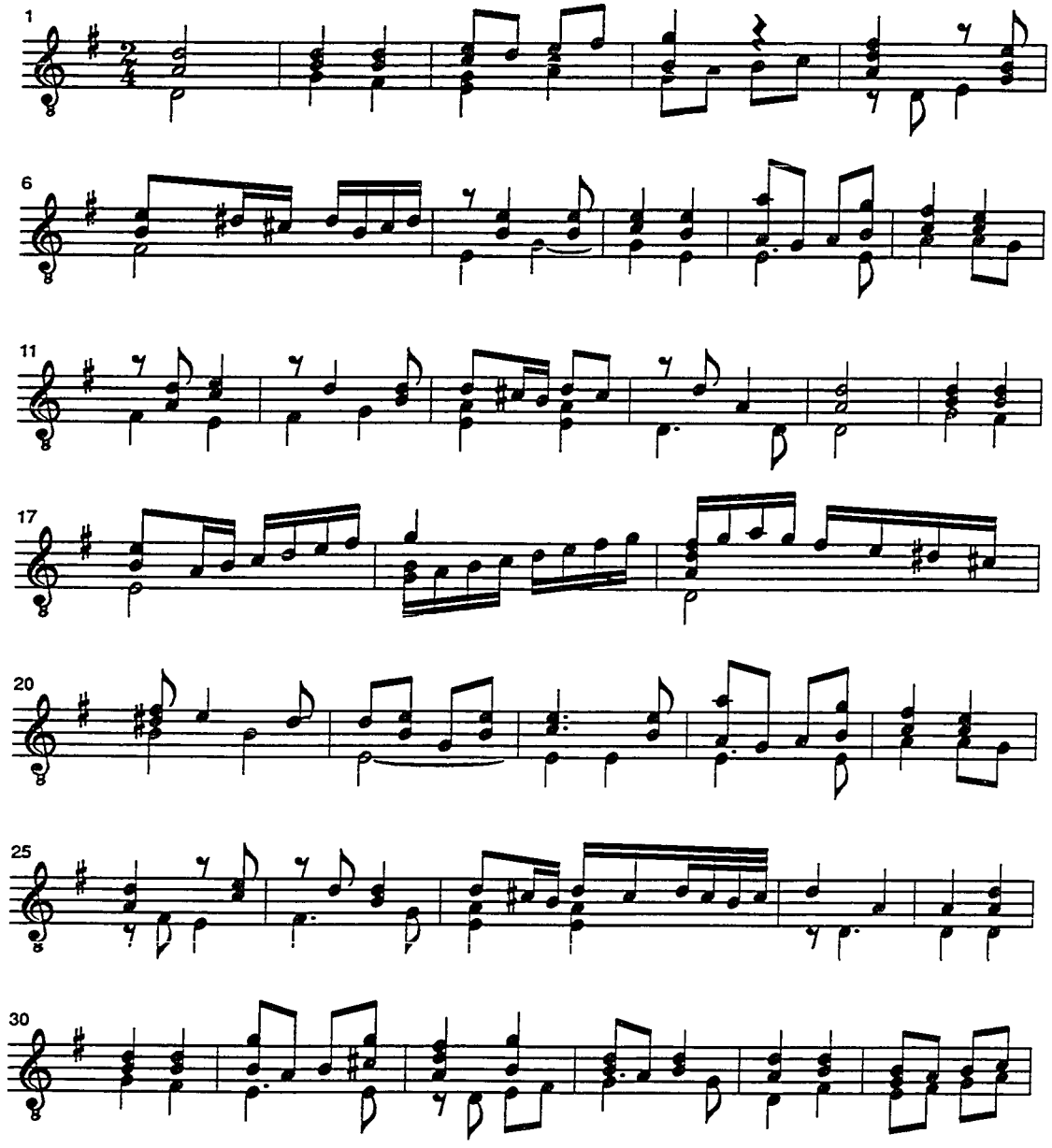
No. 1 **Prelude** f. 1v.-2r.

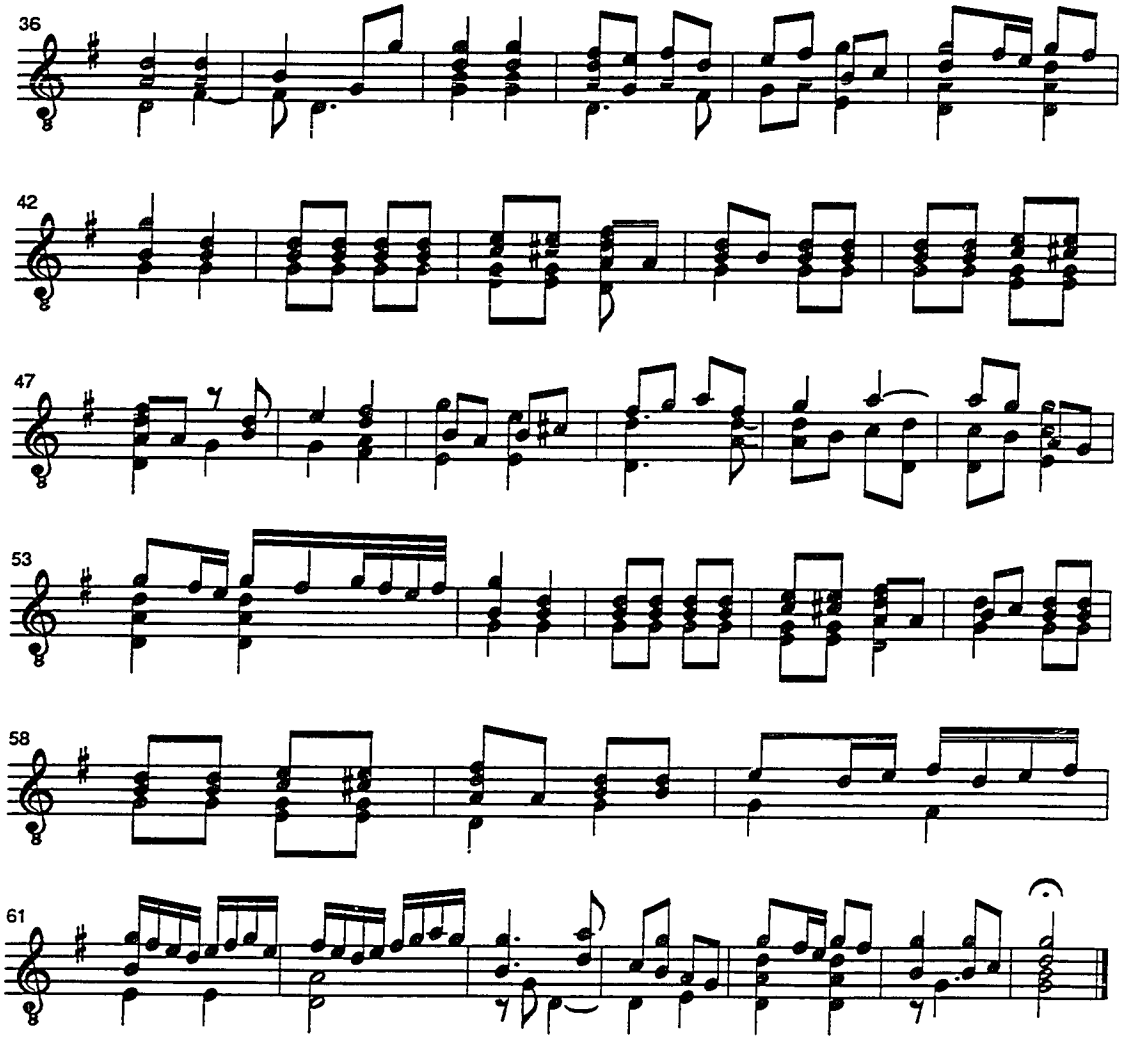


No. 2 **Autre prelude** f. 2r.



No. 3 **Un aduocat** f. 2v.-3r.

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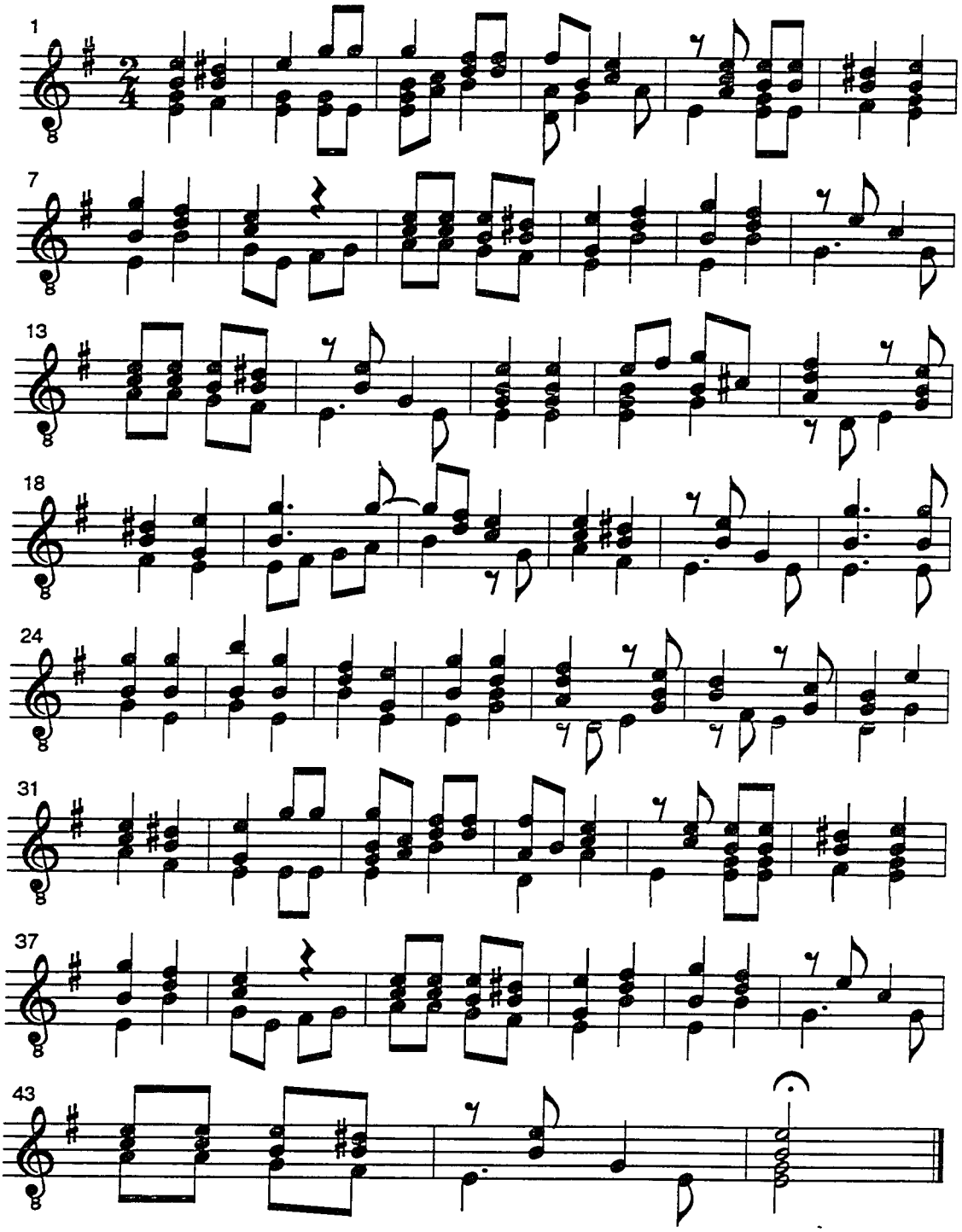
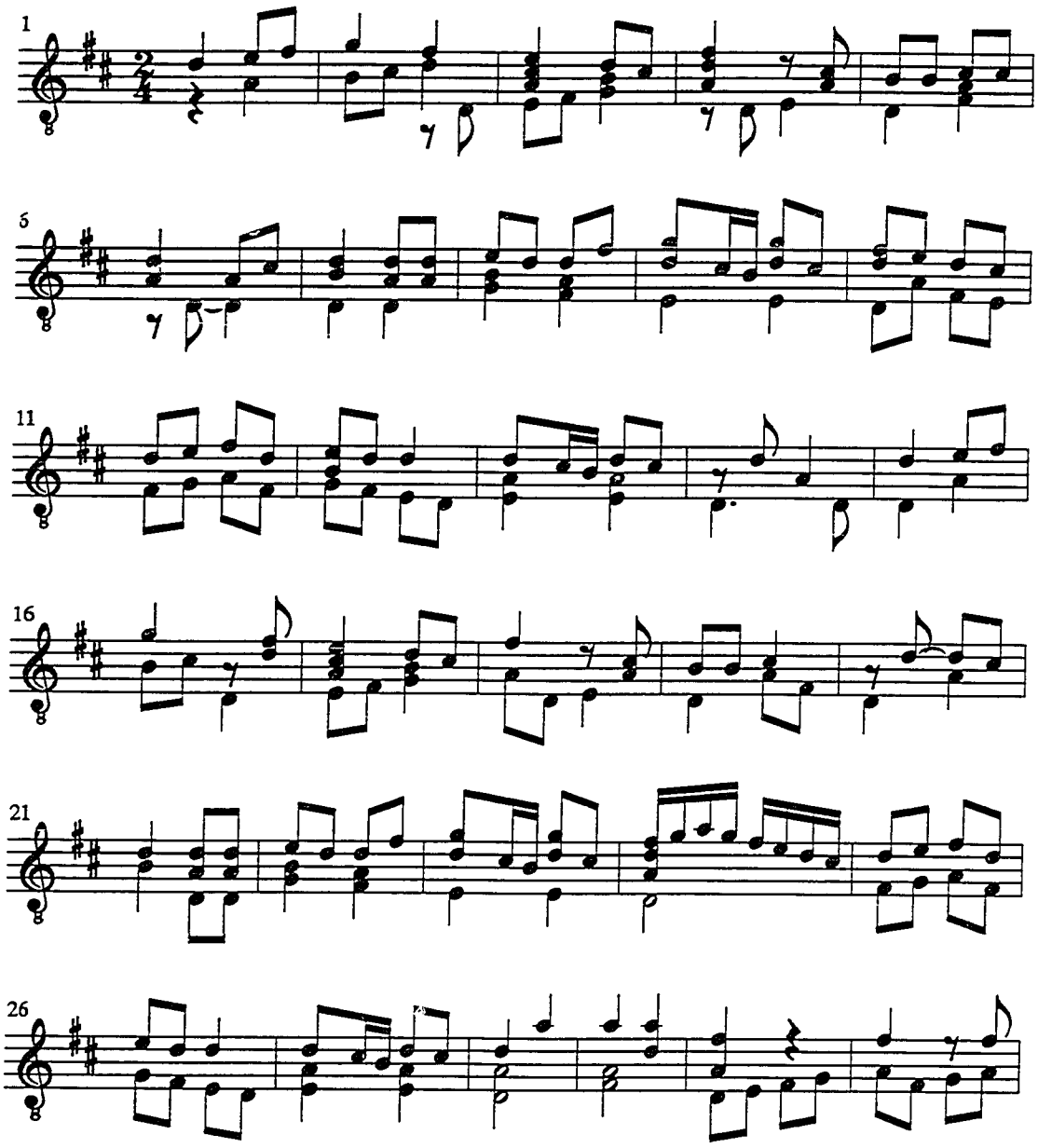
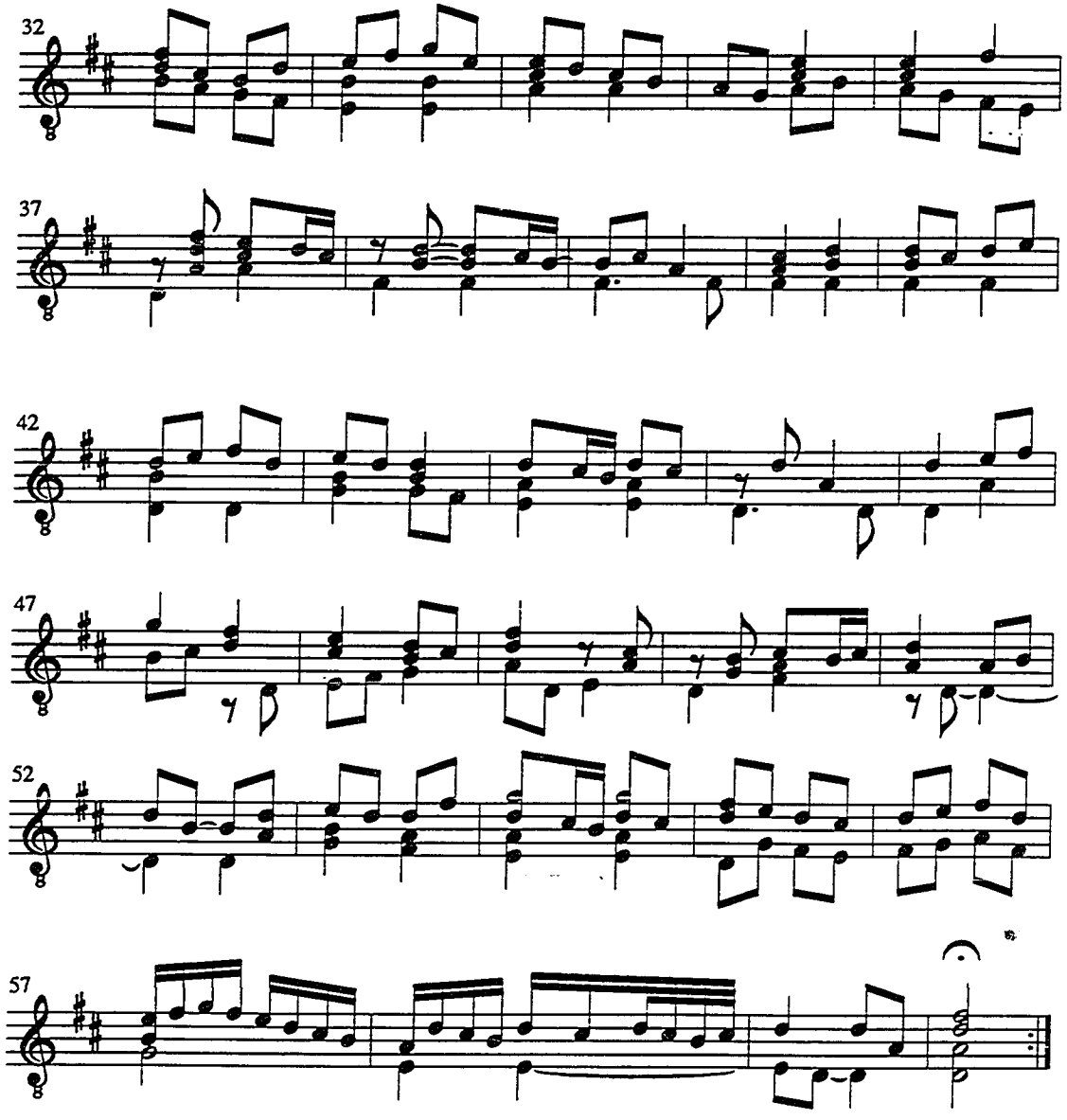
No. 4 **La la la je ne** f. 3v.



No. 5 **Jean De Lagny** f. 4r.-4v.

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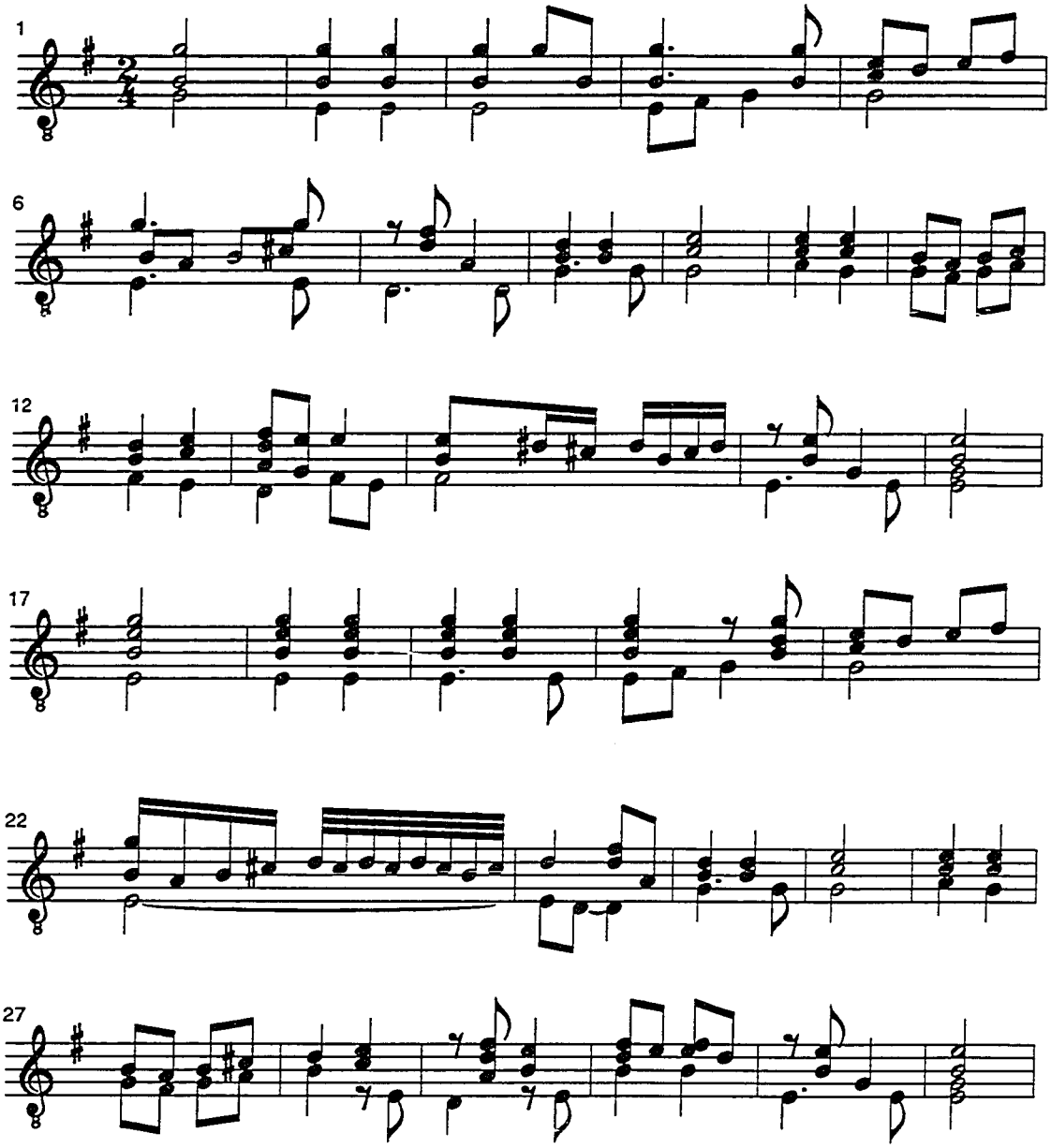
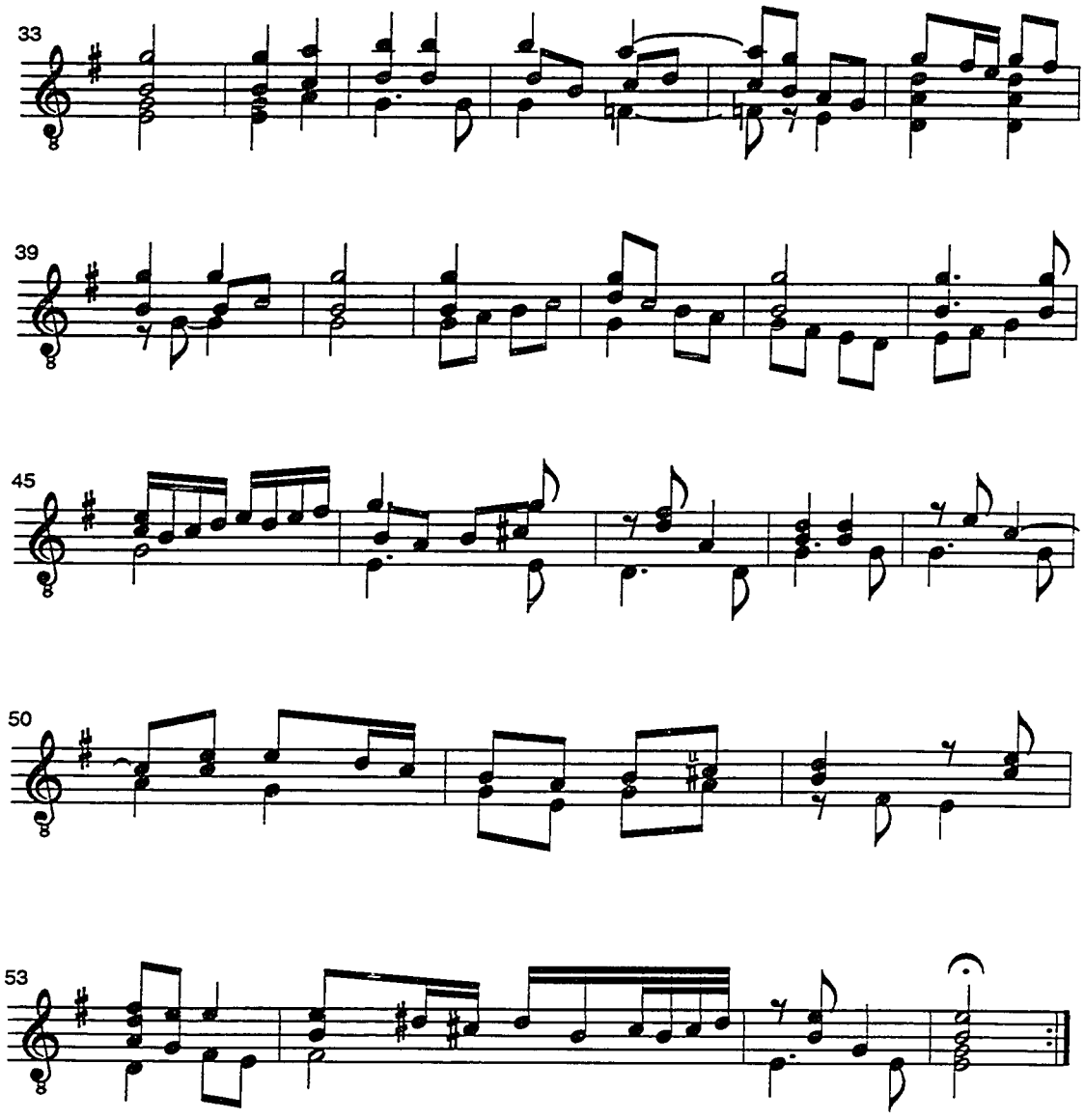
No. 6 **Pour un plaisir que si pue dure** f. 4v. - 5v.

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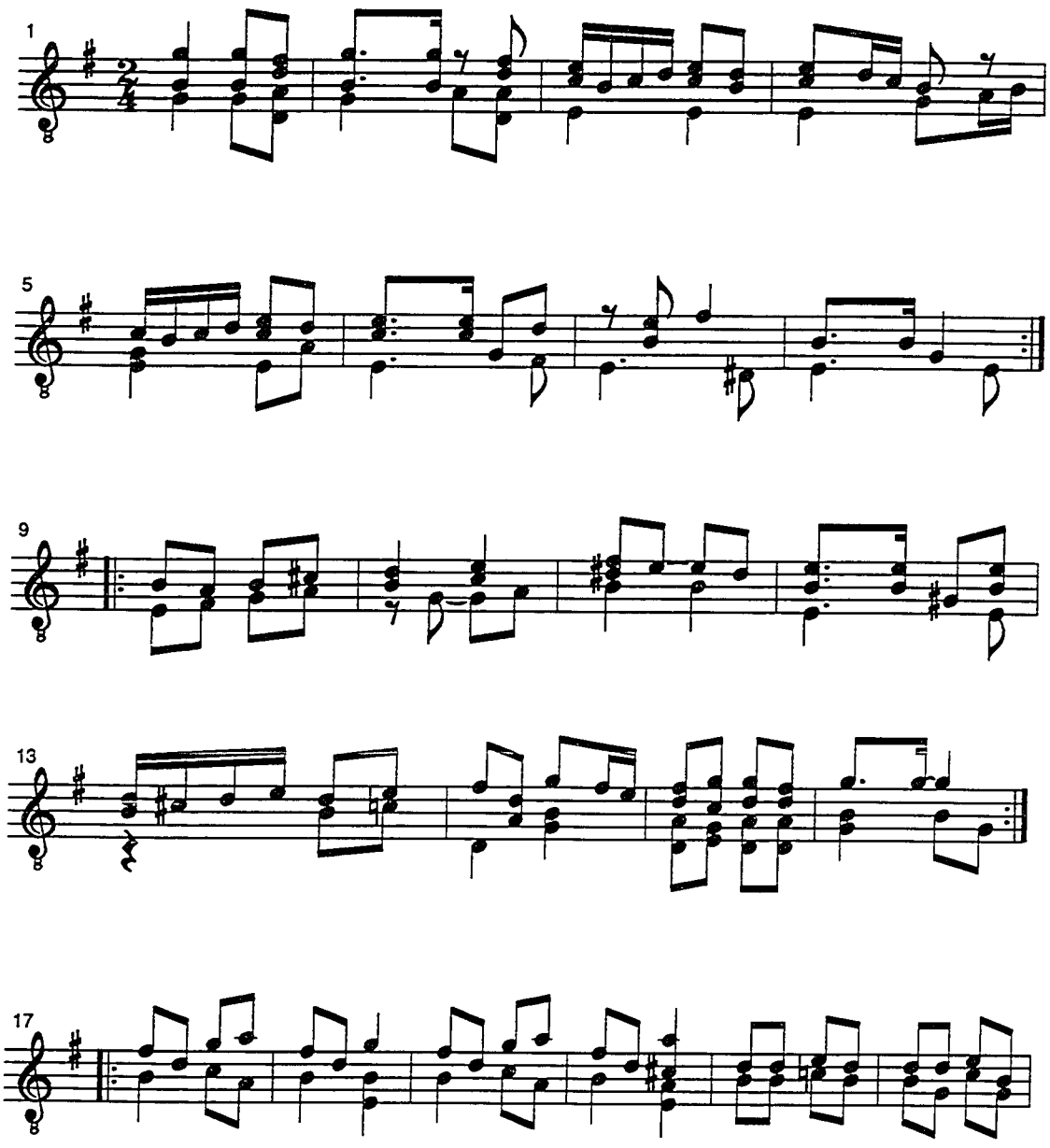
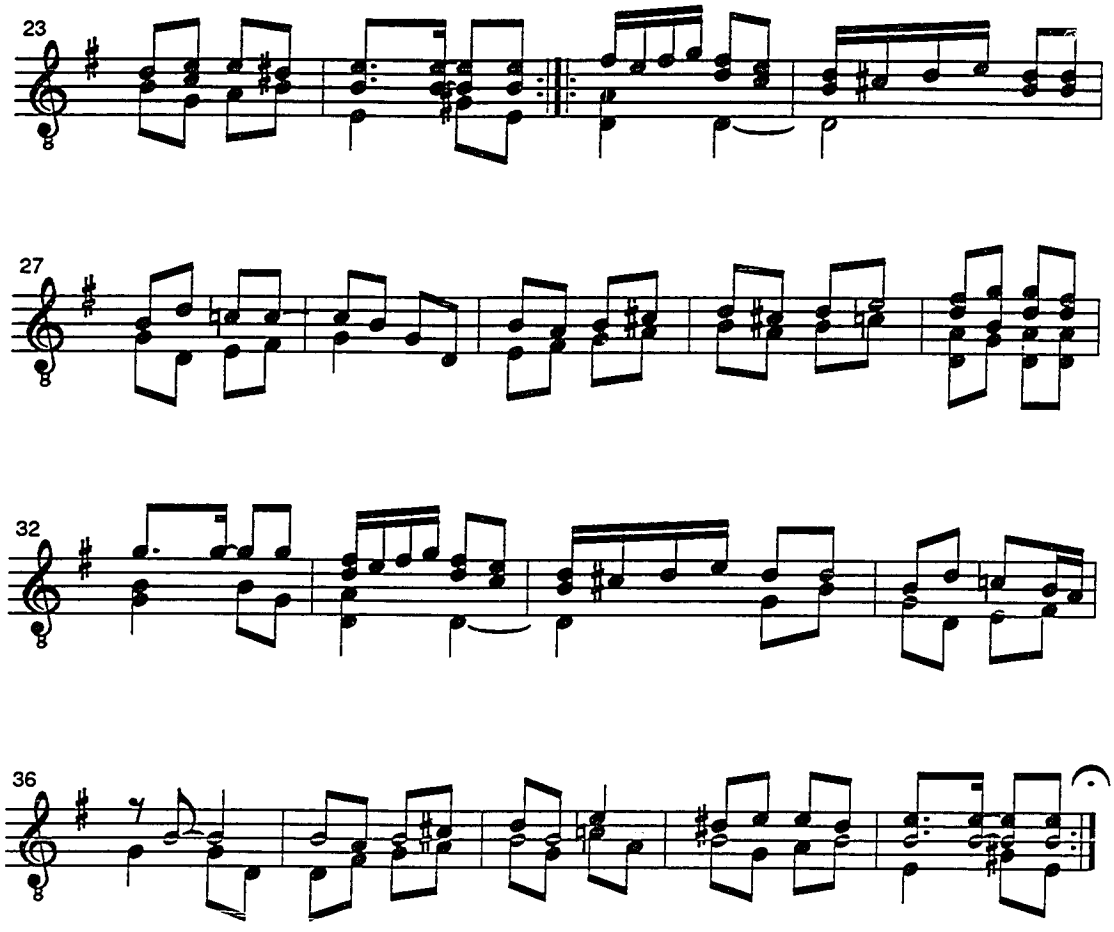
No. 7 **Il estoit une fillette en basse-dance** f. 5v. - 6r.

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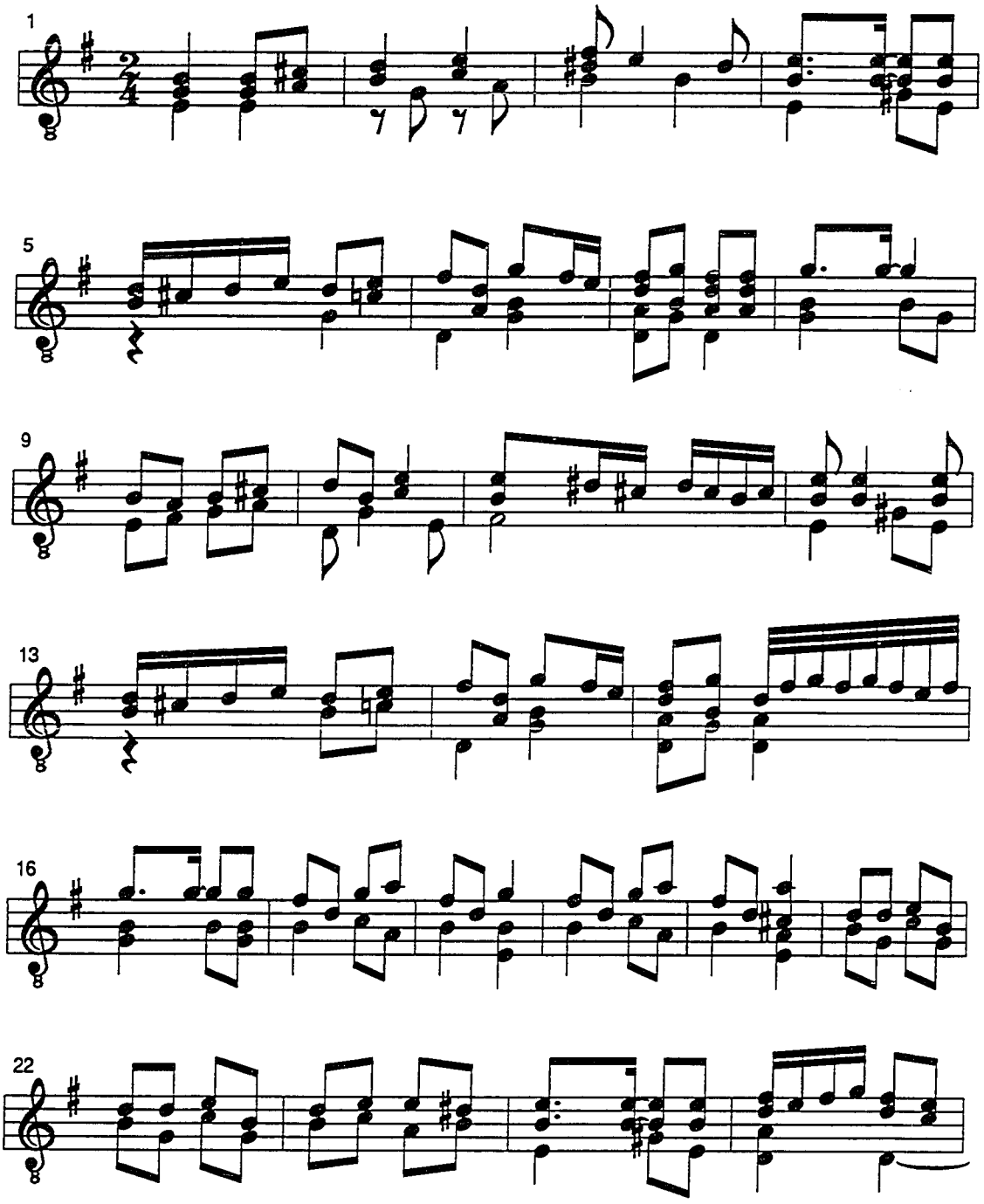
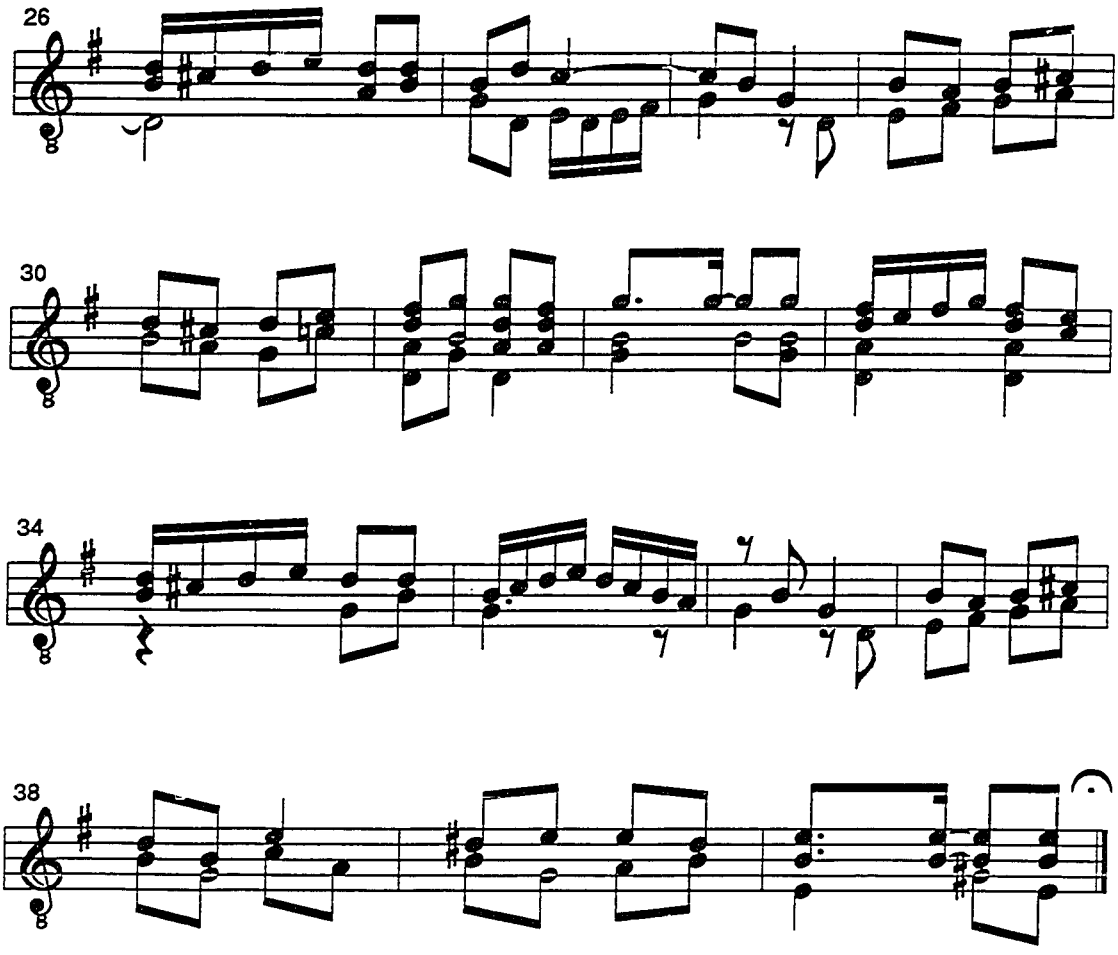
No. 8 **Demie basse danse** f. 6r.-6v.

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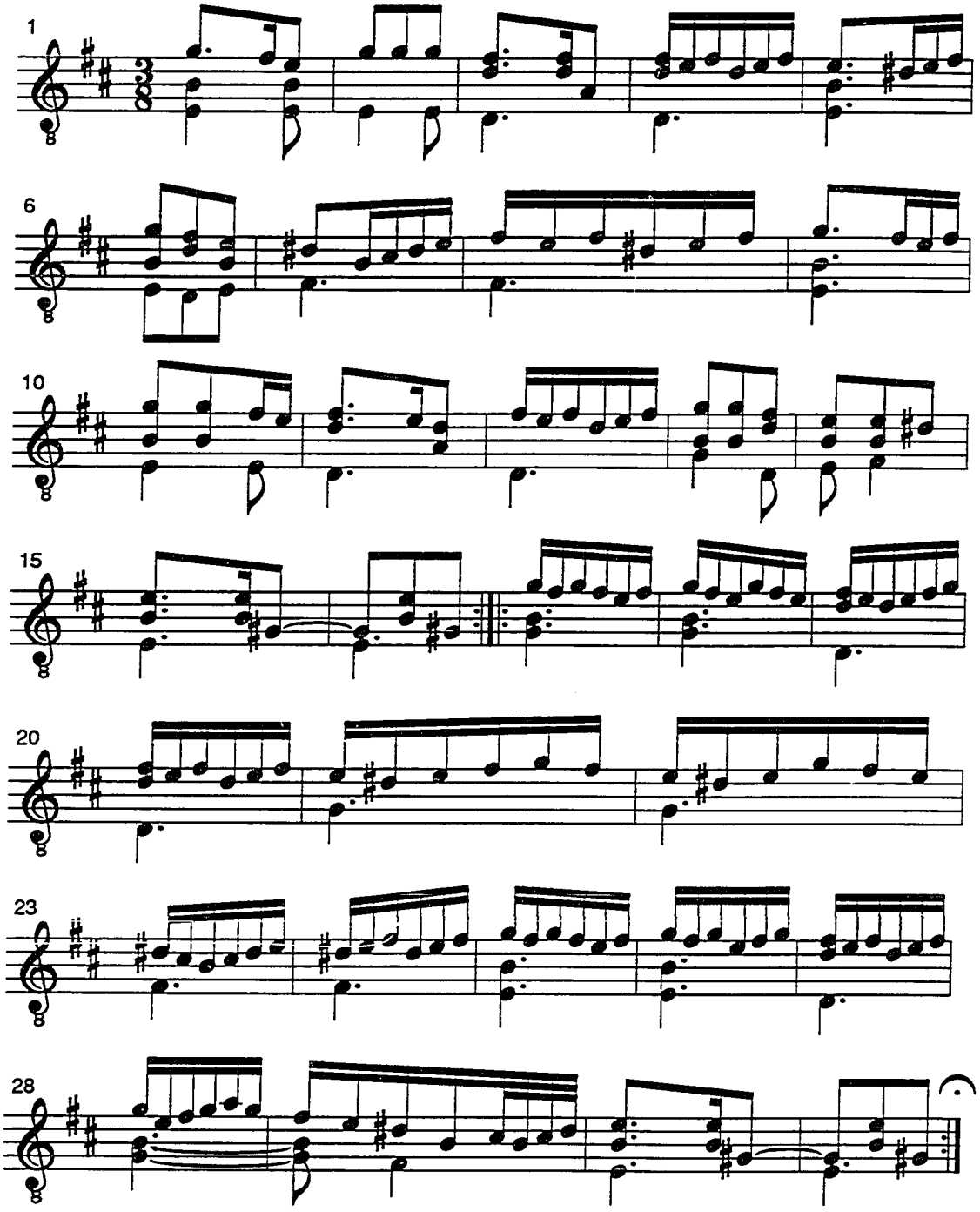
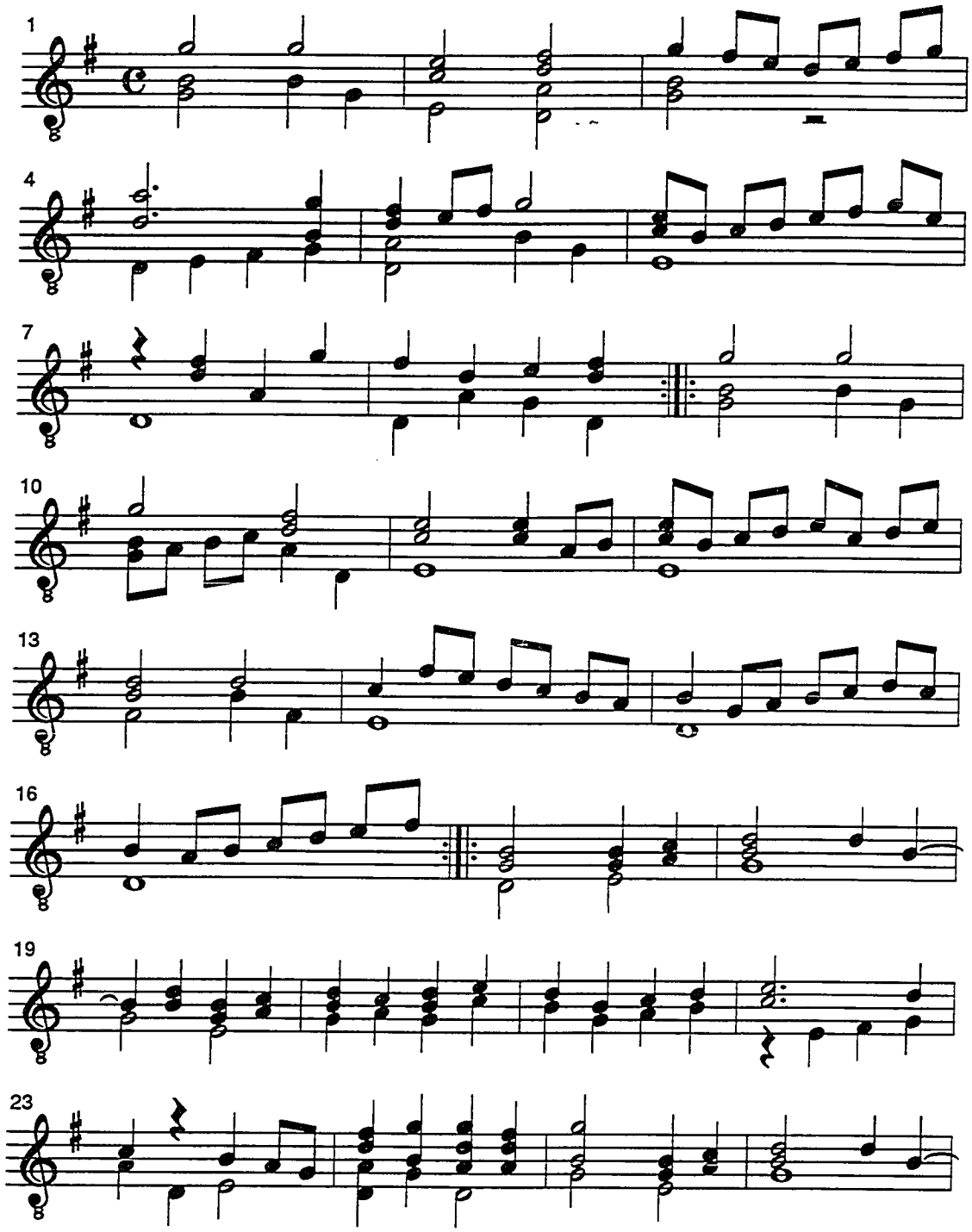
No. 9

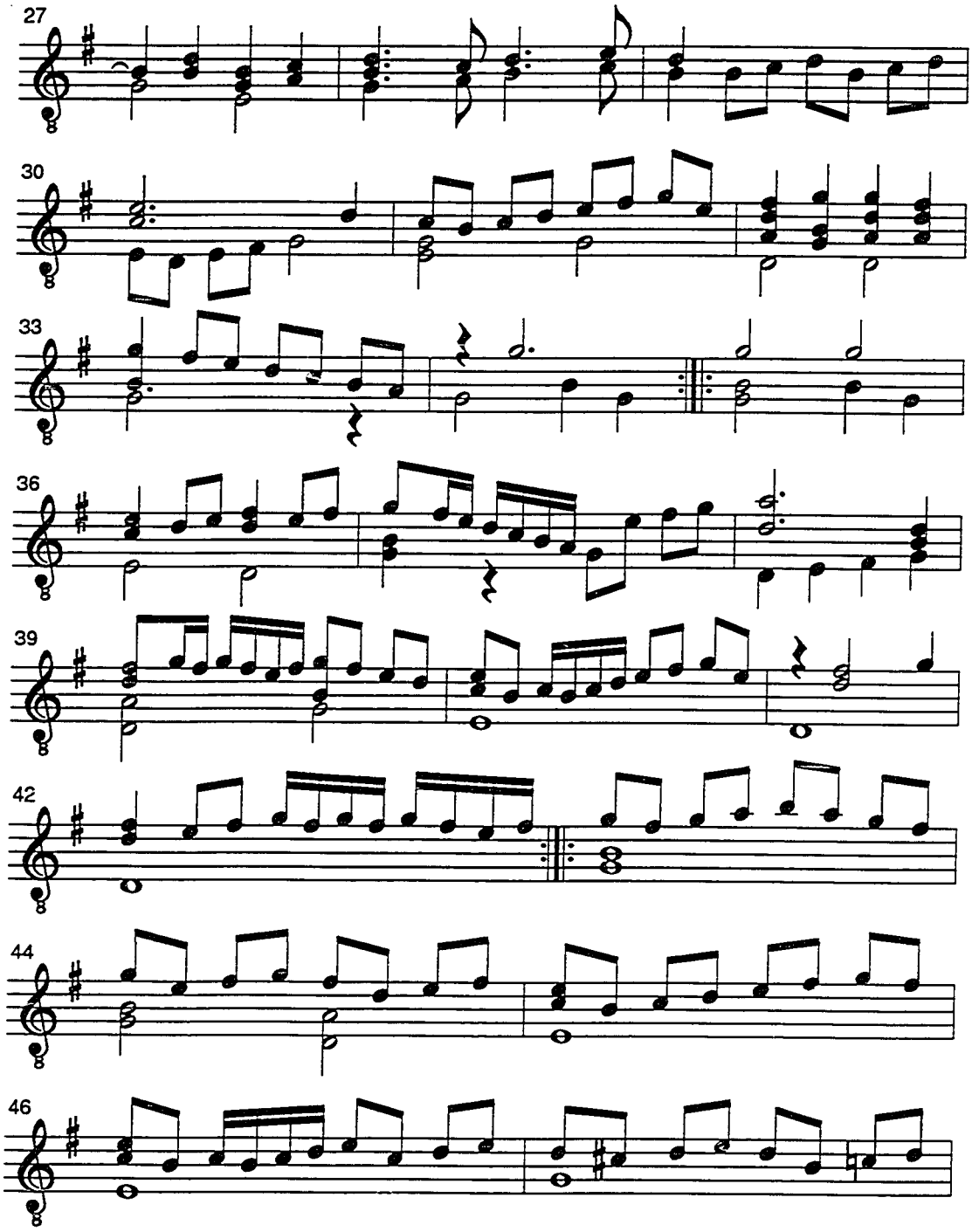
Tourdion

f. 6v.-7r.



No. 10 **Pavane Jay du mal tant tant** f. 7r.-8r.

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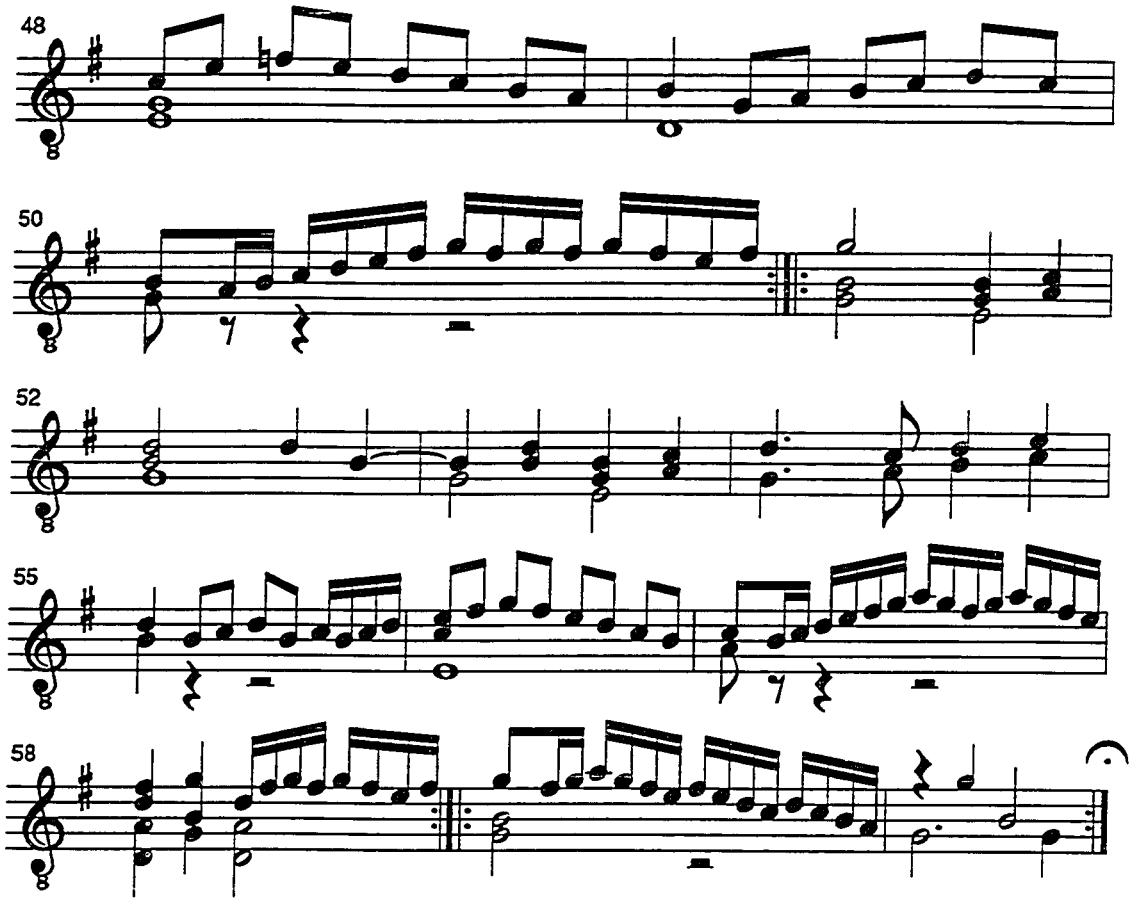
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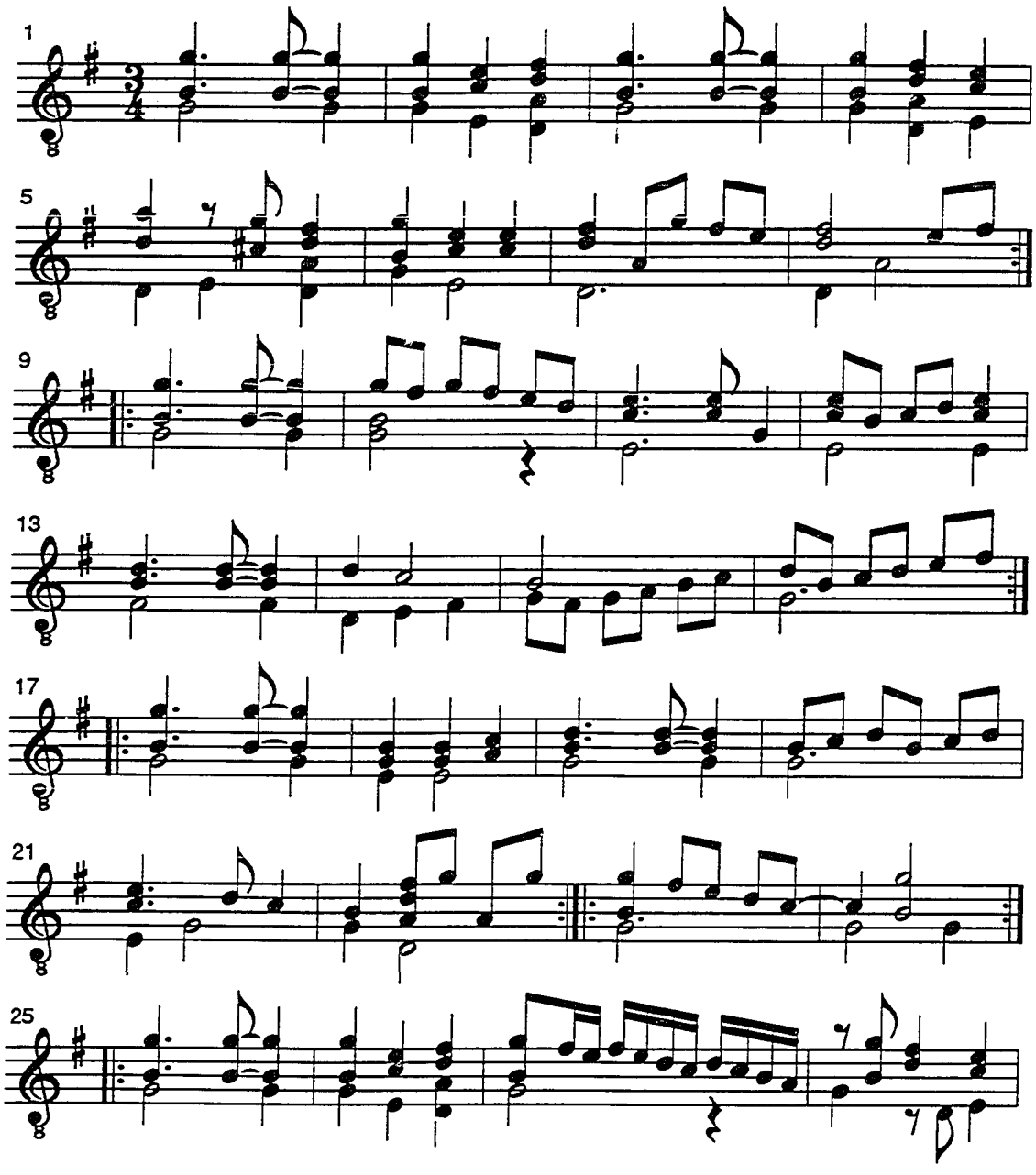
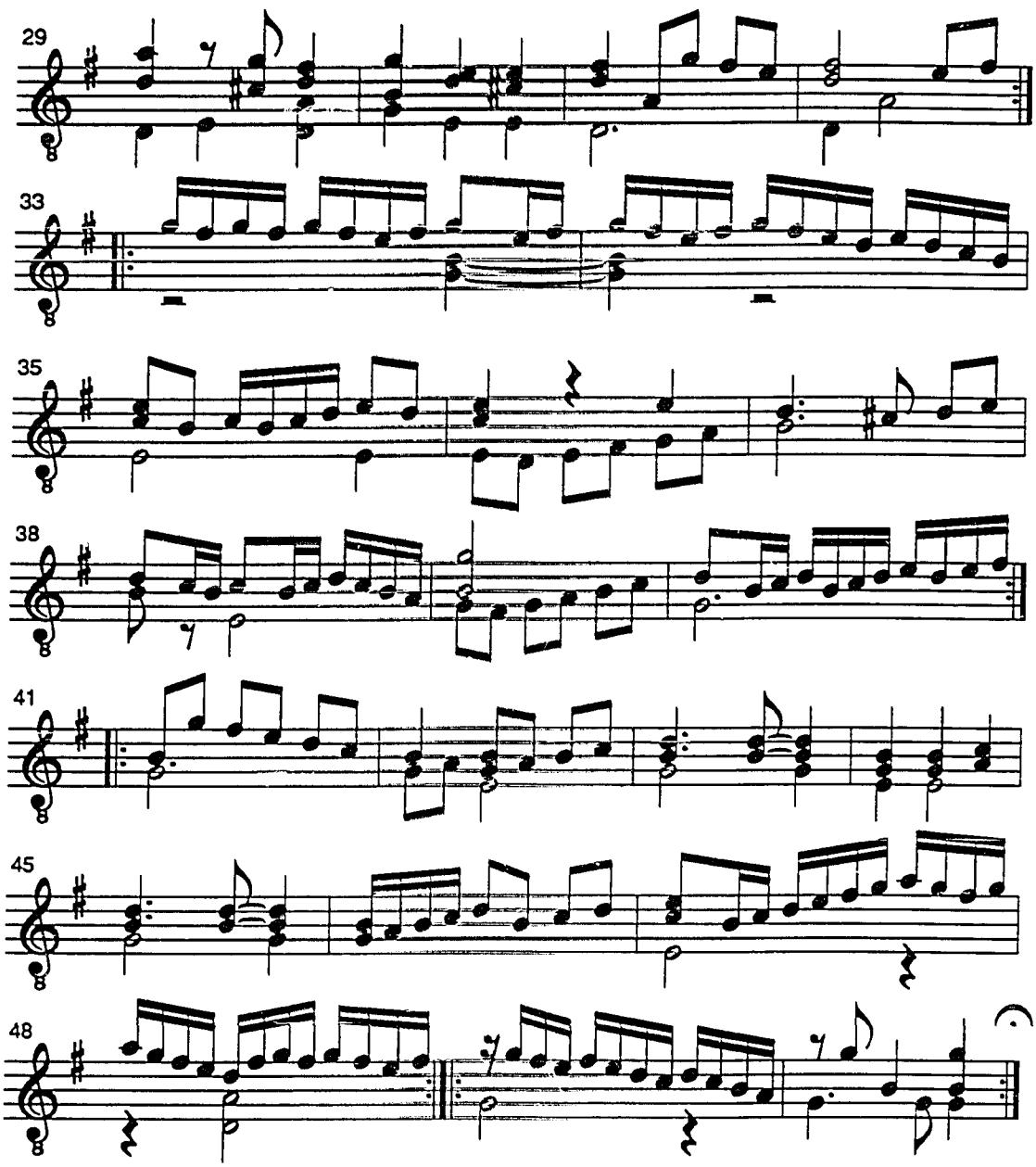
No. 11 **Gaillarde de la precedente pavane** f. 8v.-9r.

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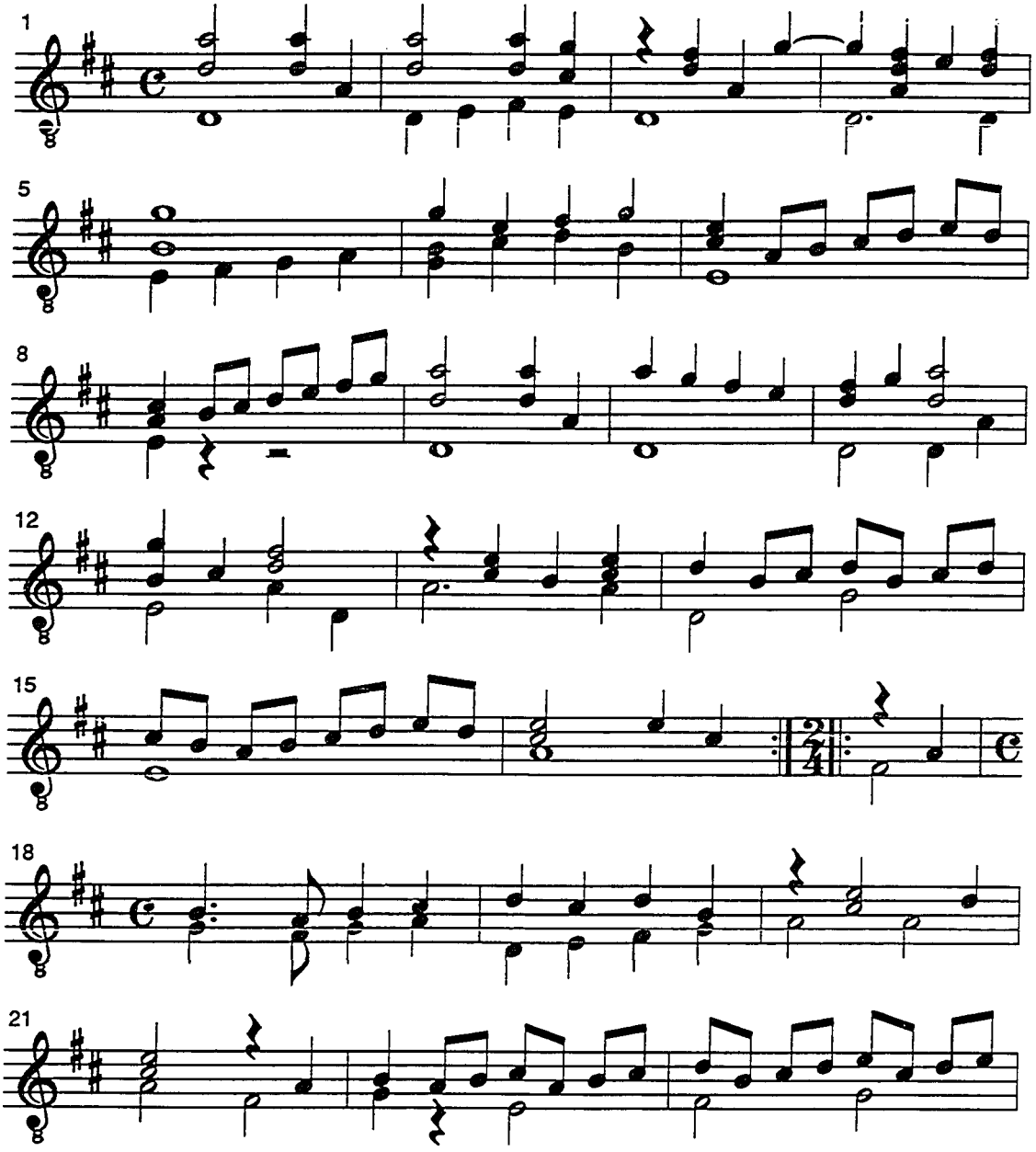
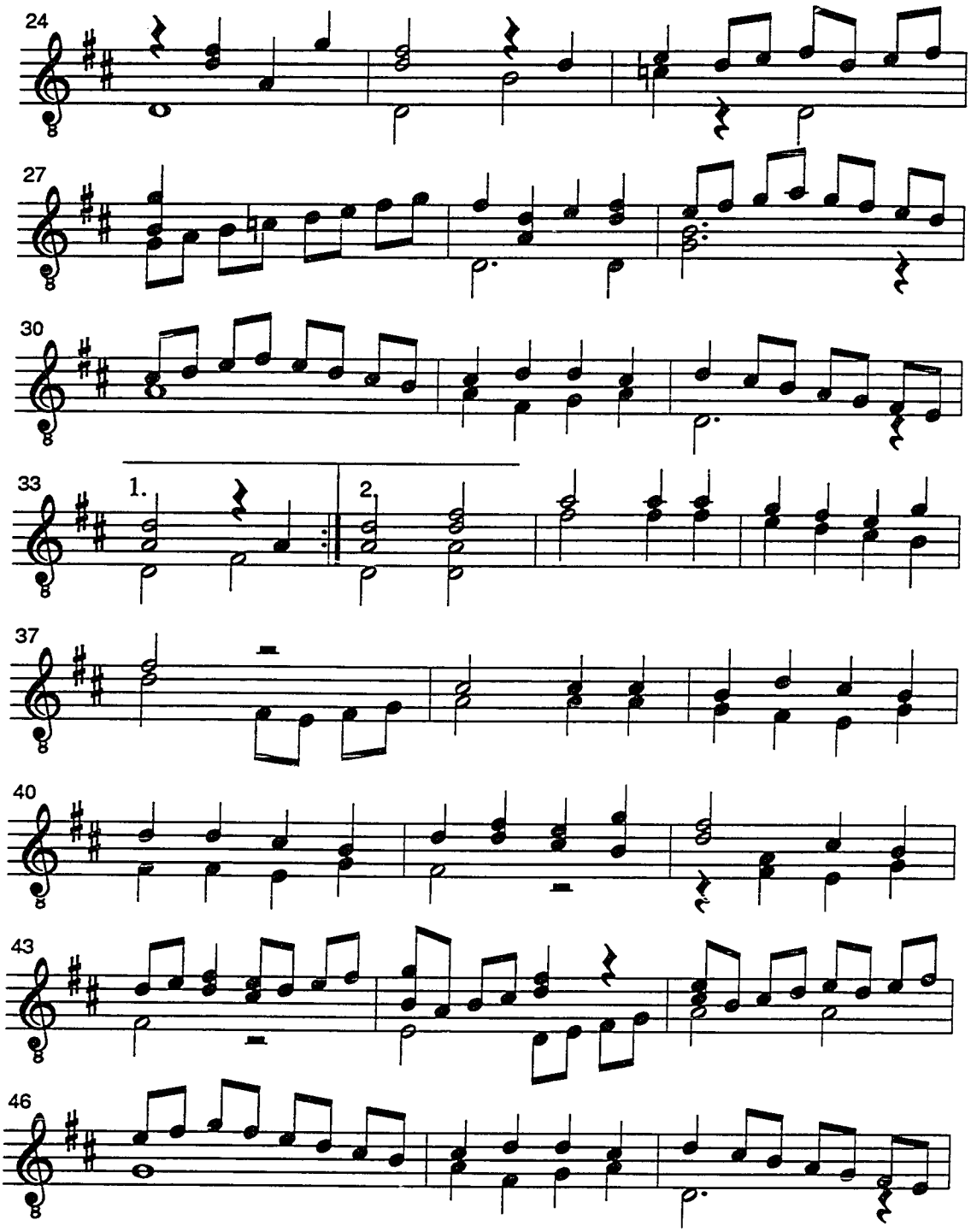
No. 12 **Pavane de la guerre** f. 9v.-10v.

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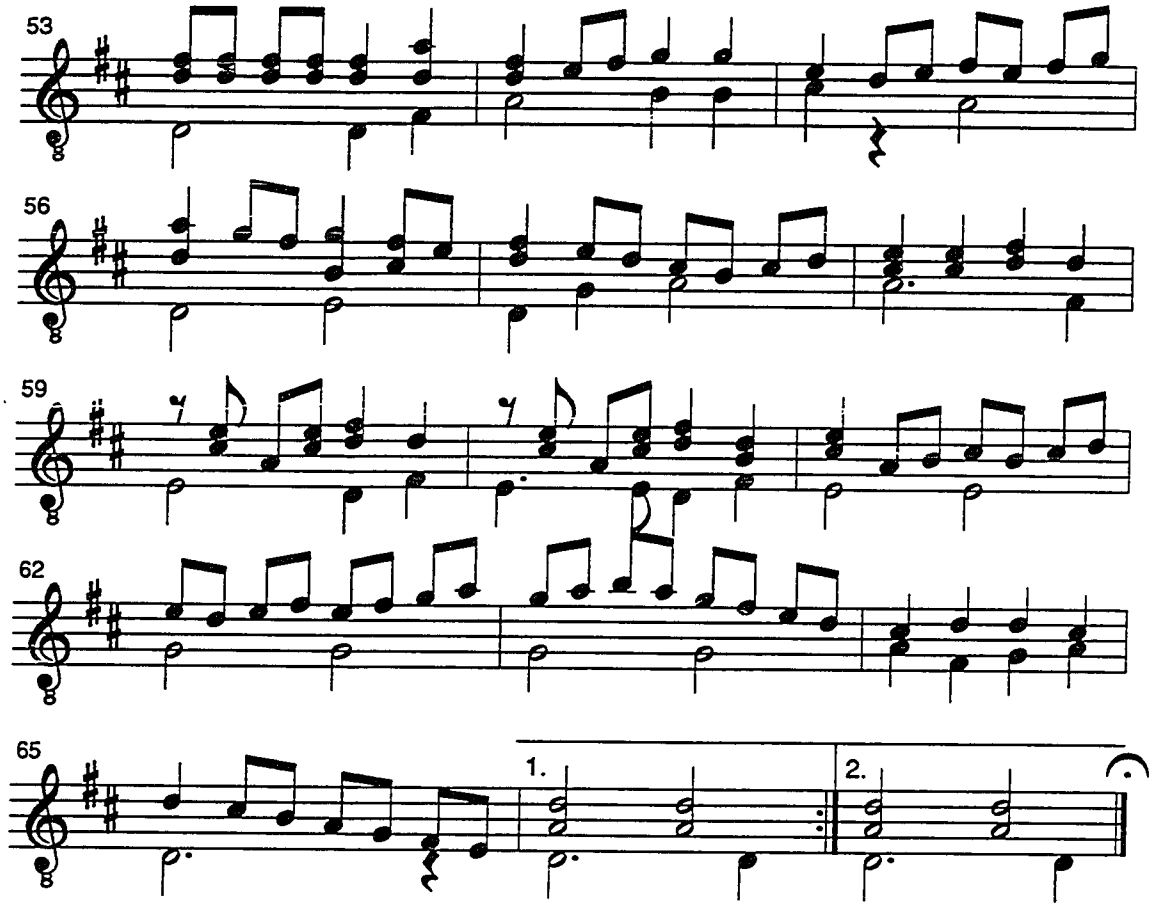
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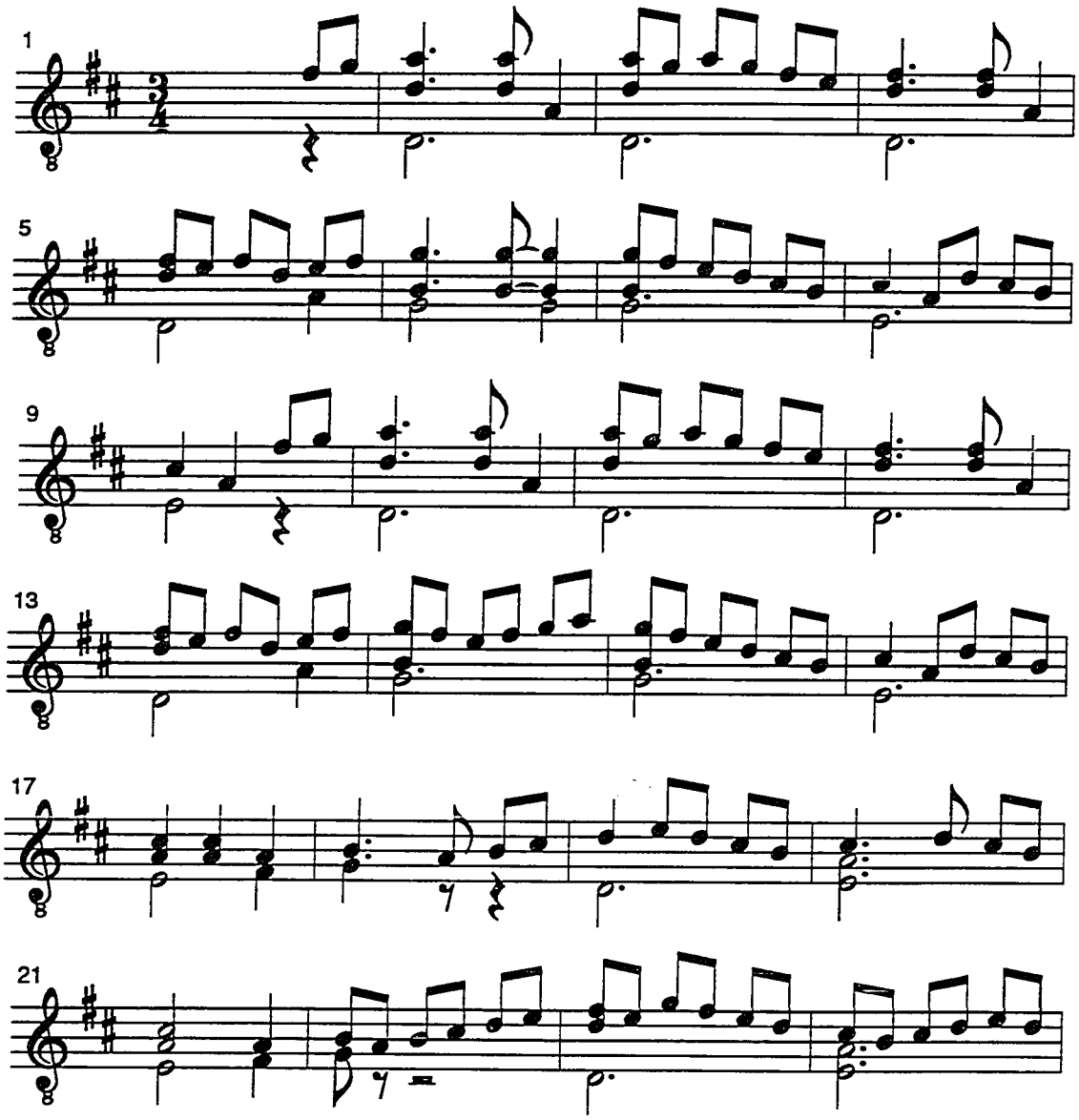
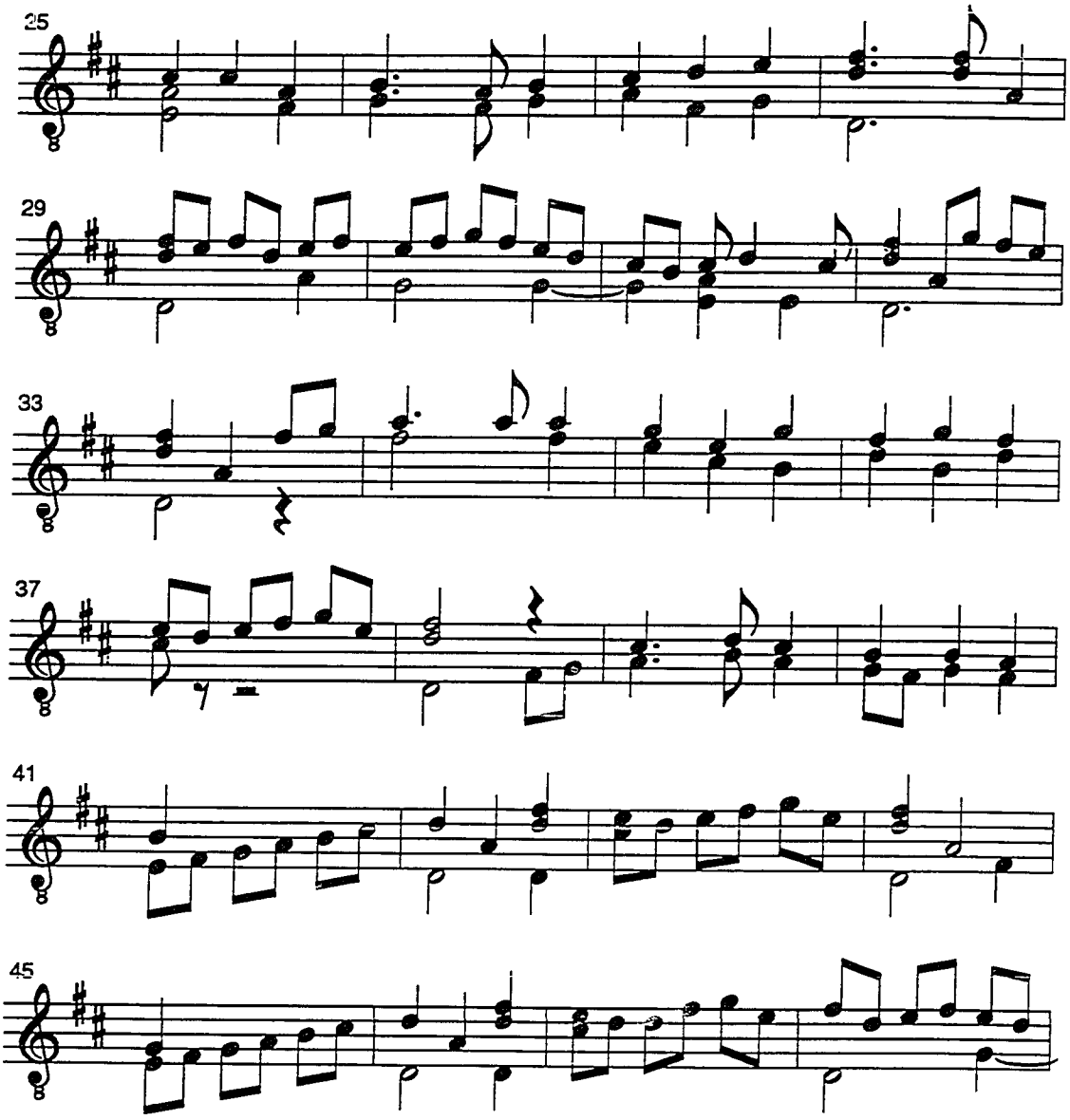
No. 13 **Galliarde de la precedente pavane** f. 10v.-11v.

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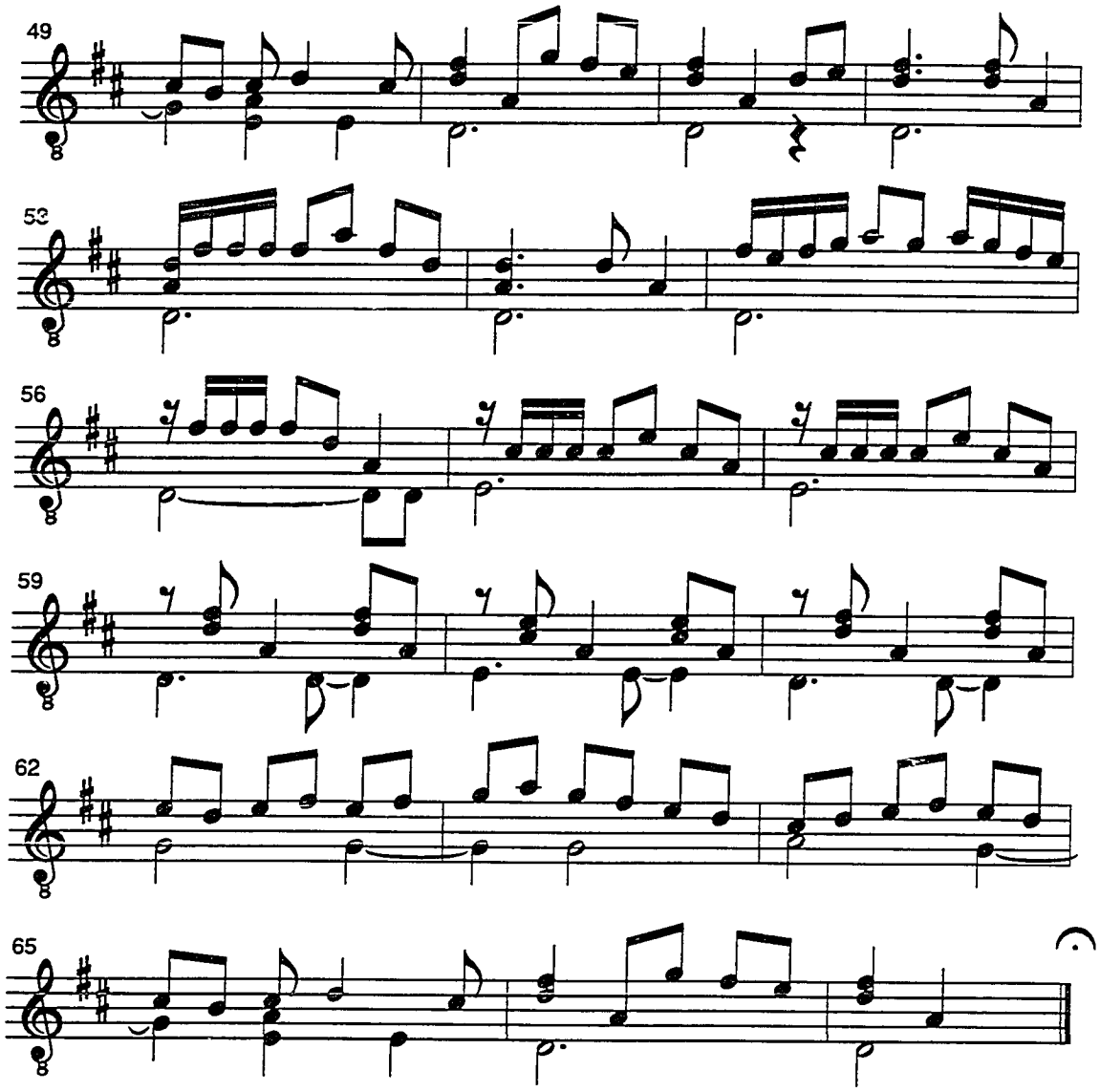
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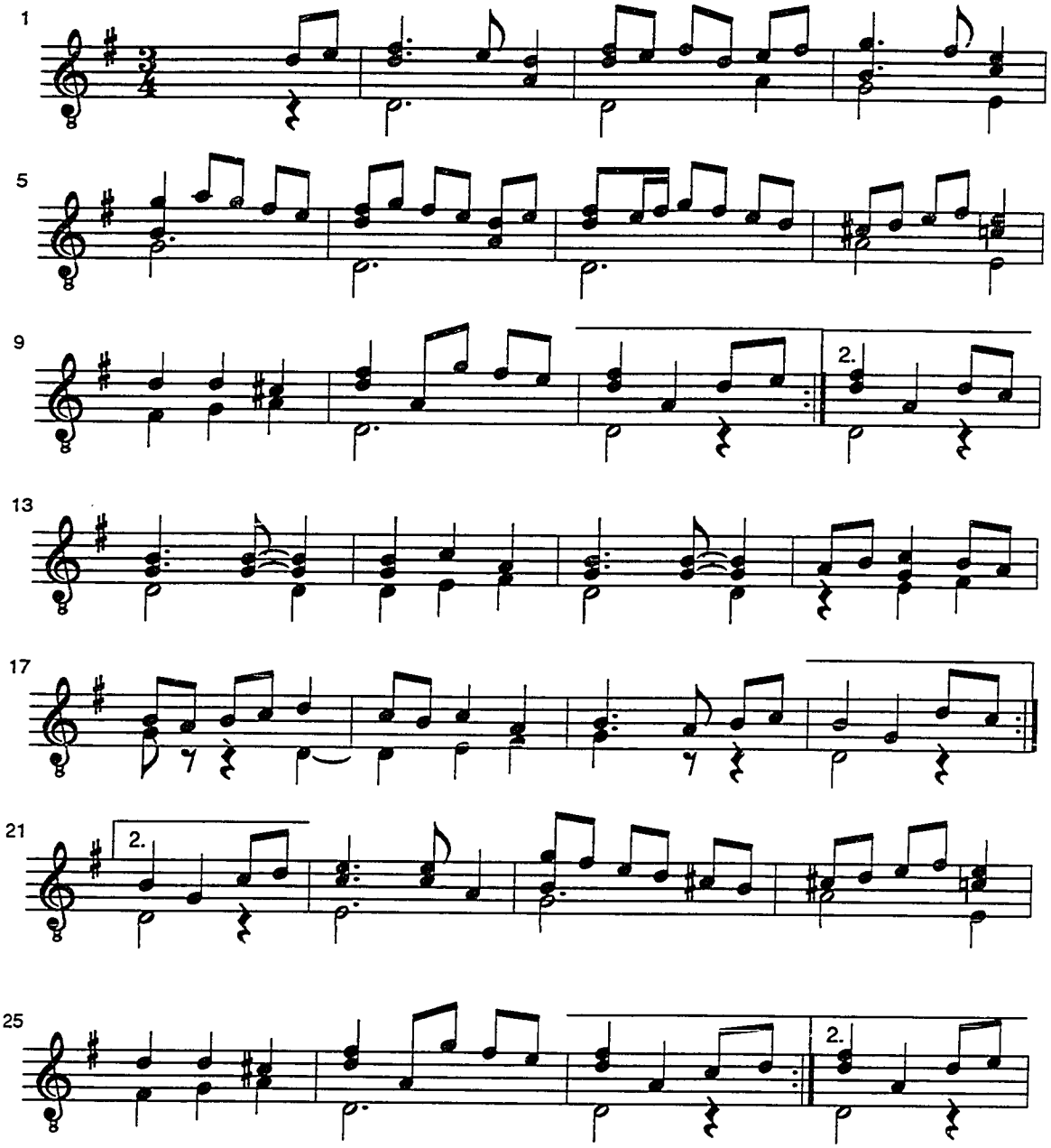
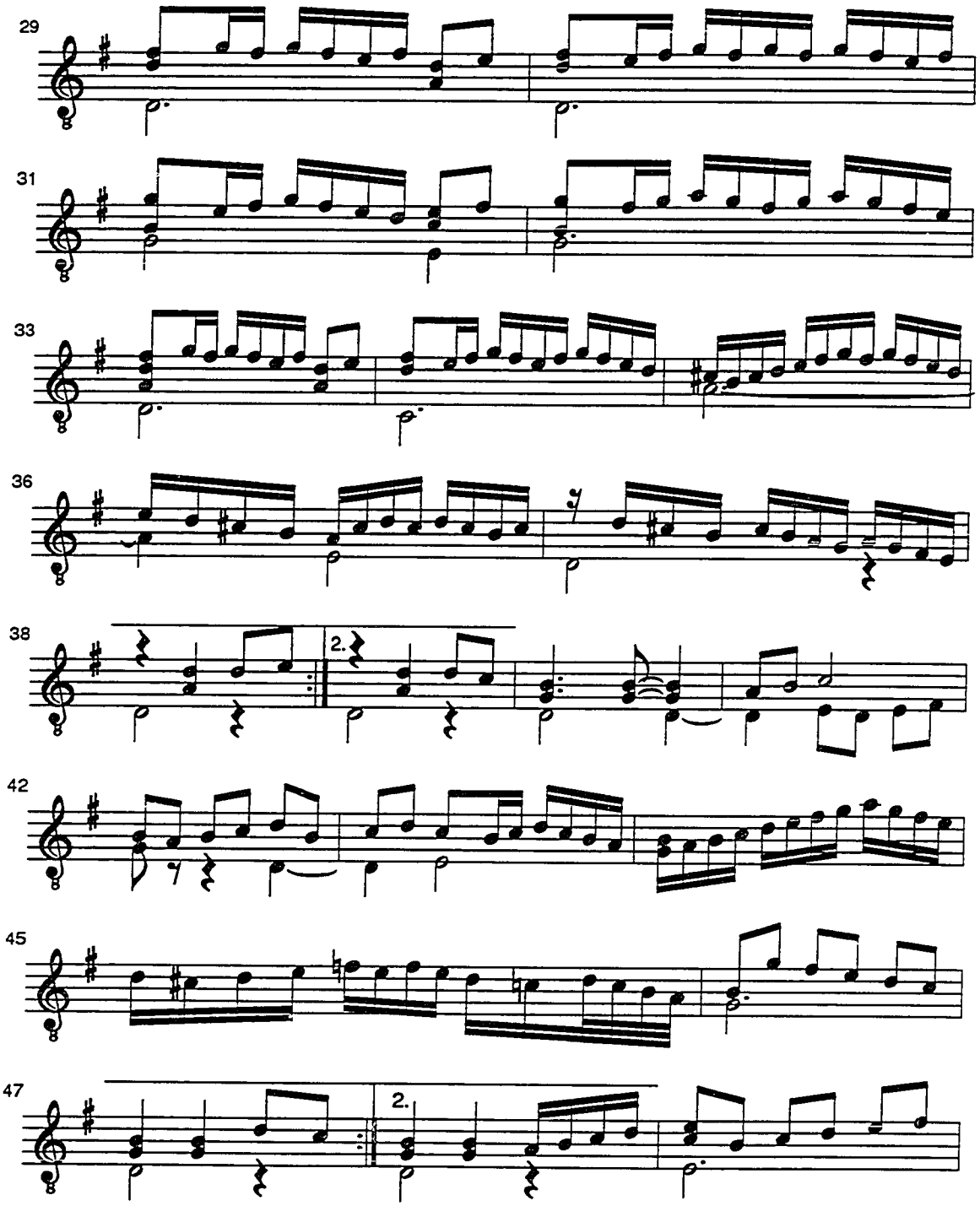
No. 14

La Toulouzane gaillarde

f. 11v.-12v.

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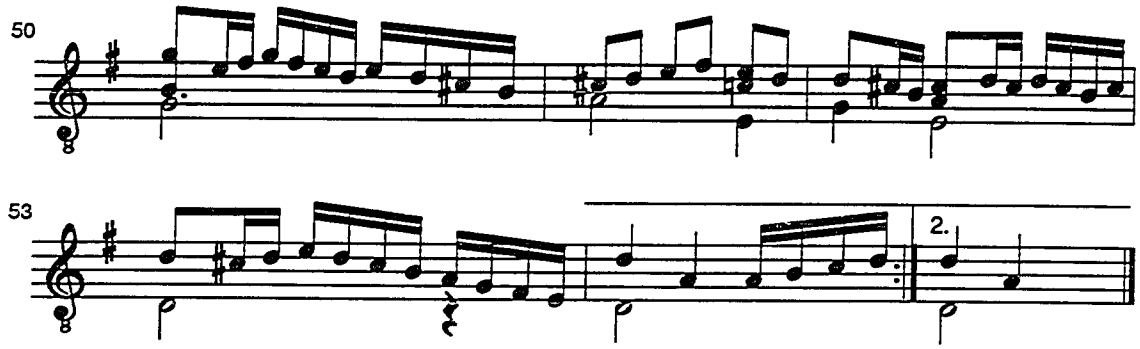
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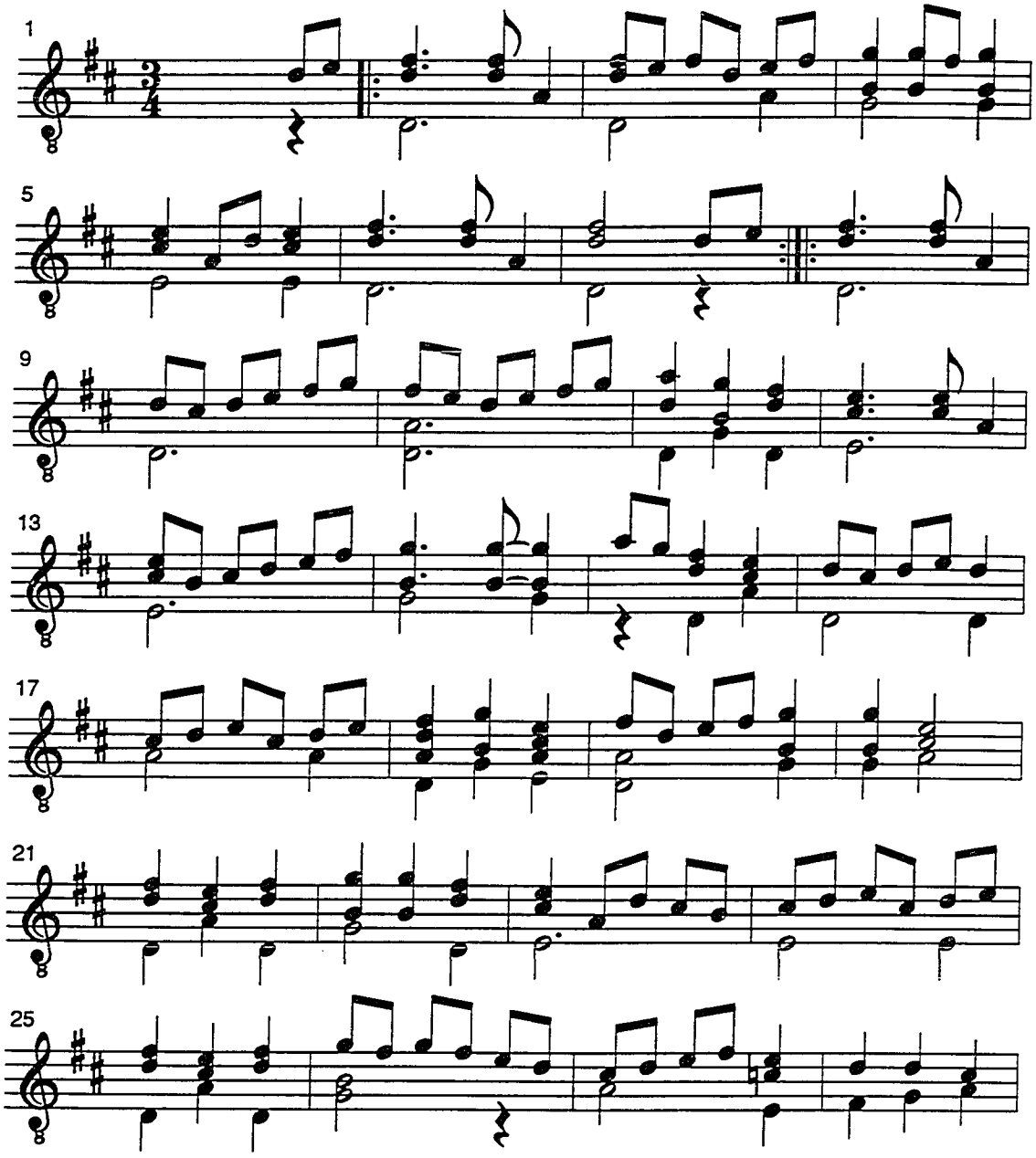
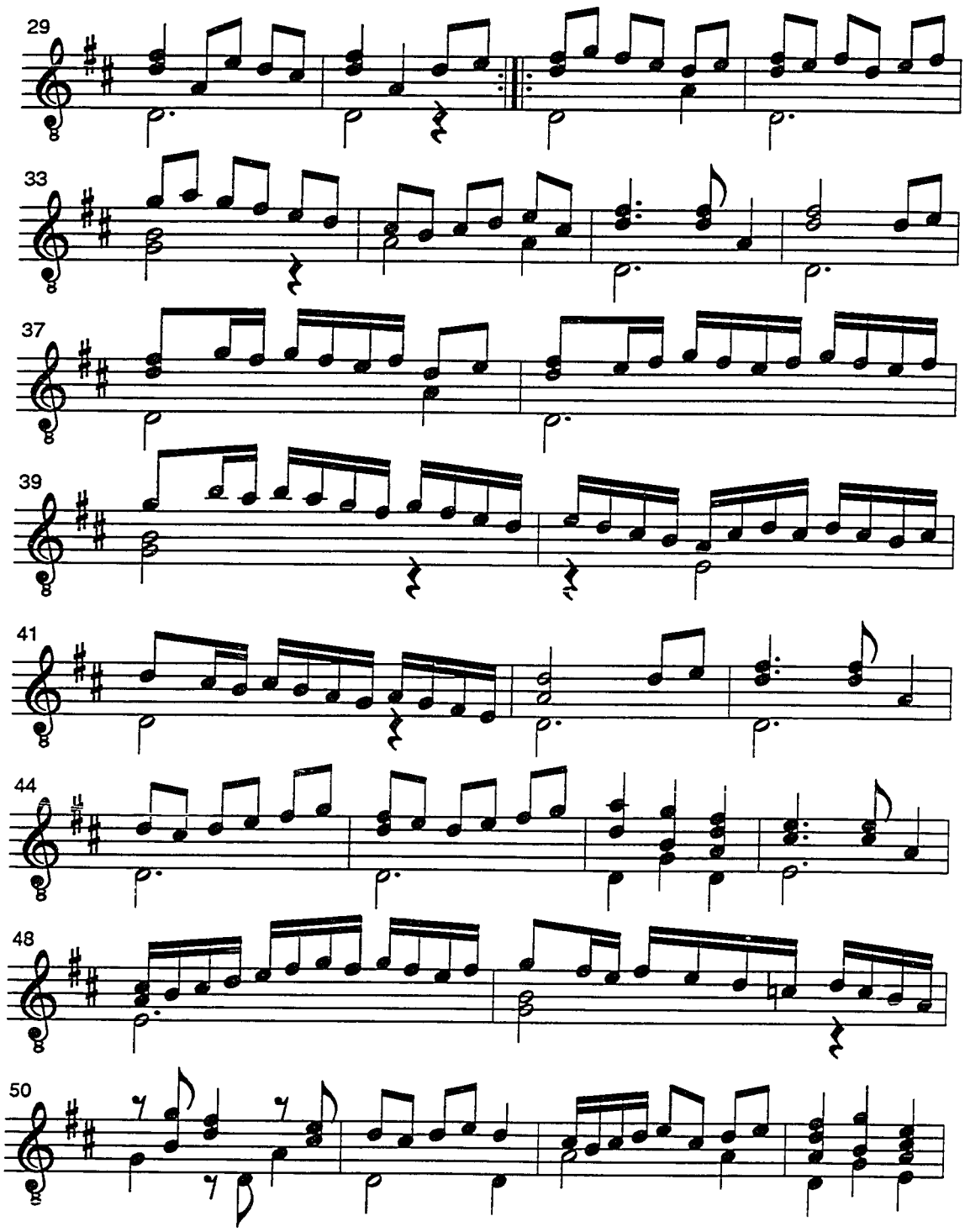
No. 15 **La Lionnoyse gaillarde** f. 12v.-13v.

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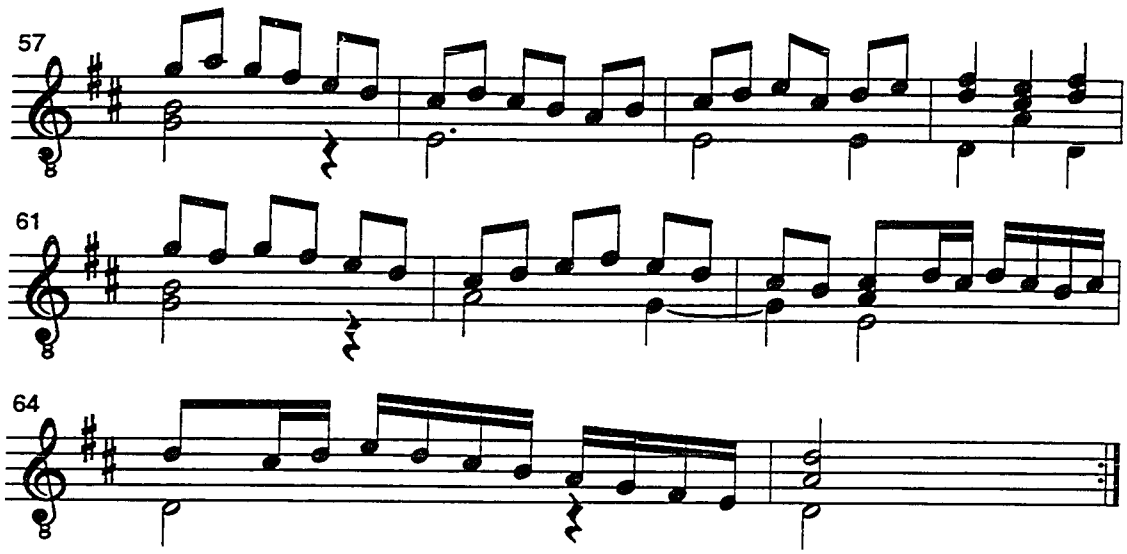
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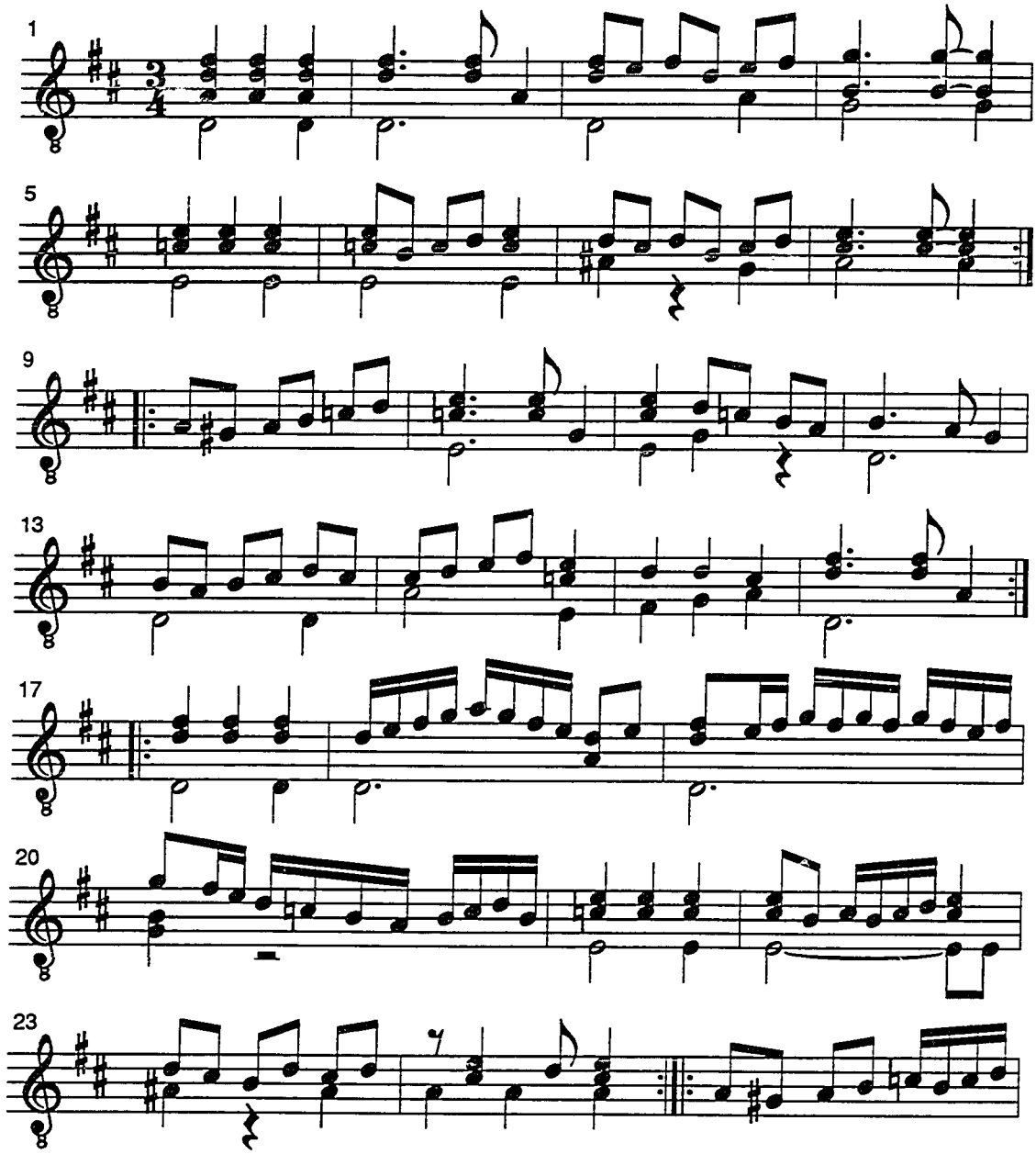
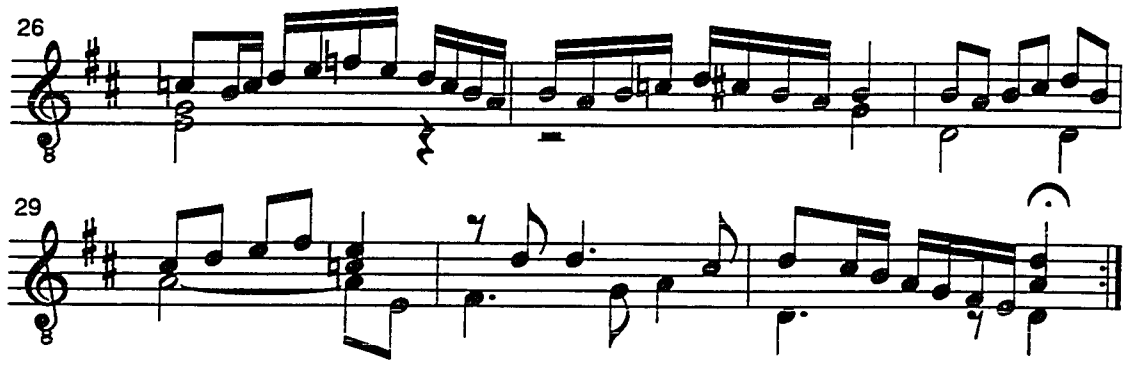
No. 16 **Gaillarde** f. 13v.-14r.

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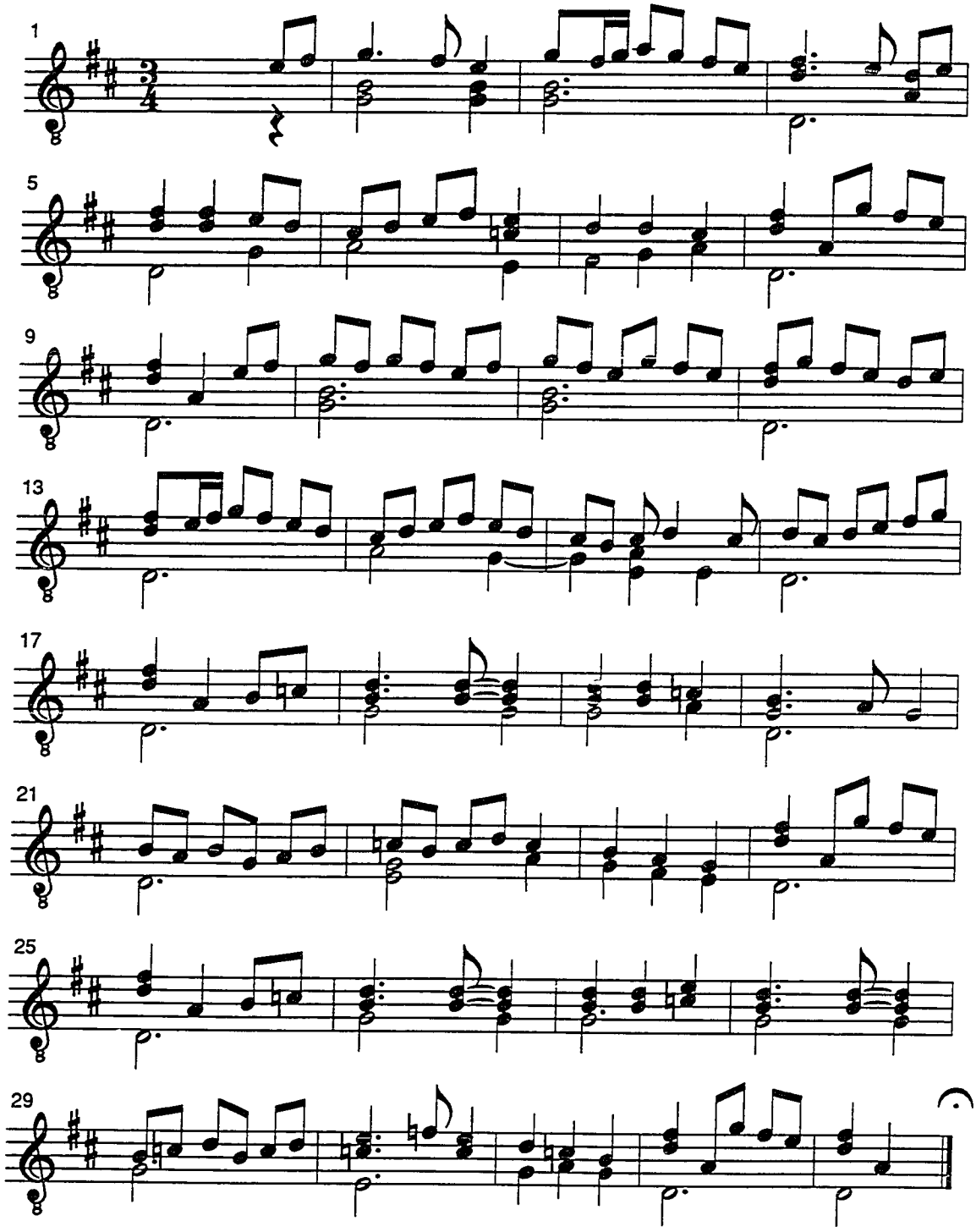
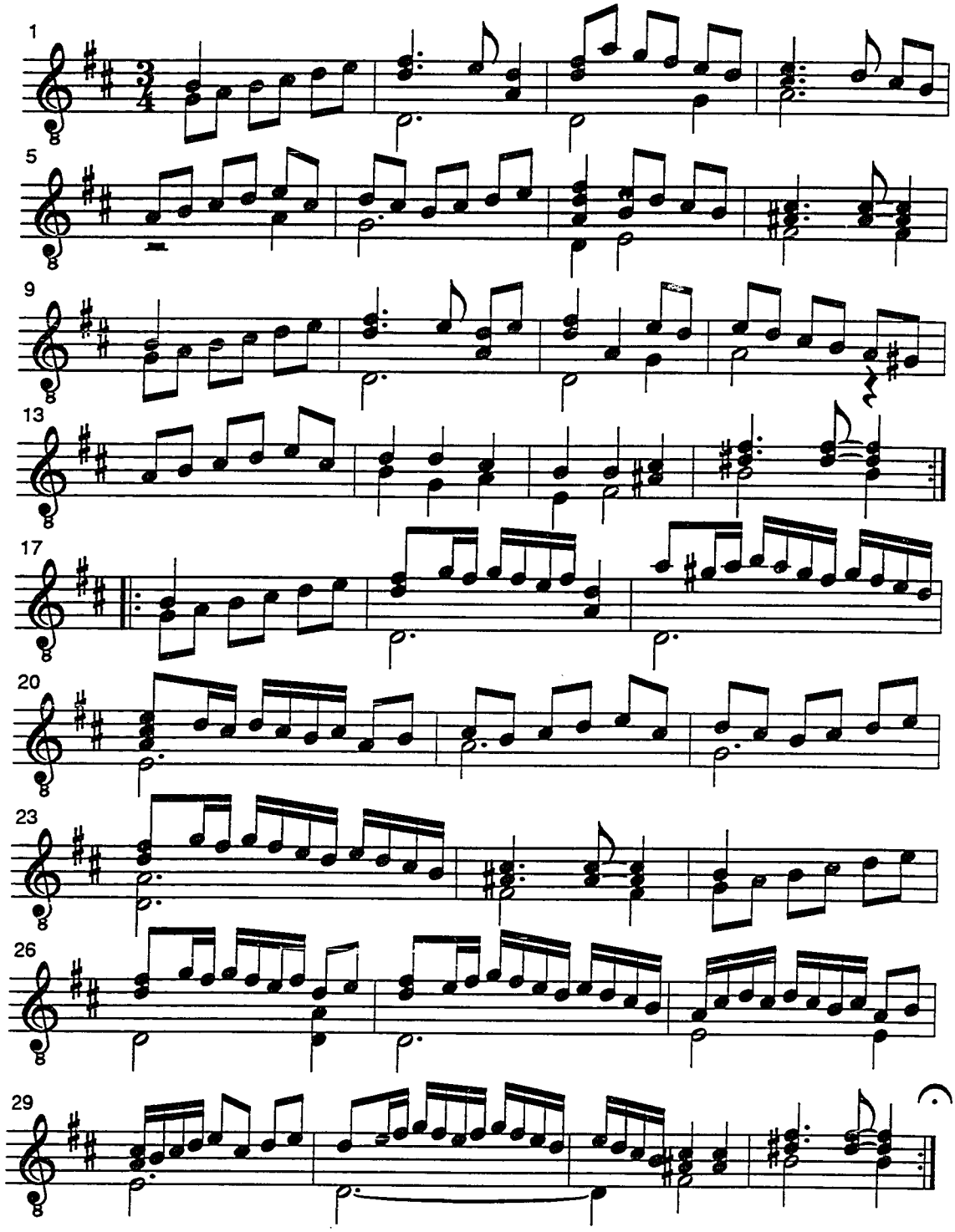
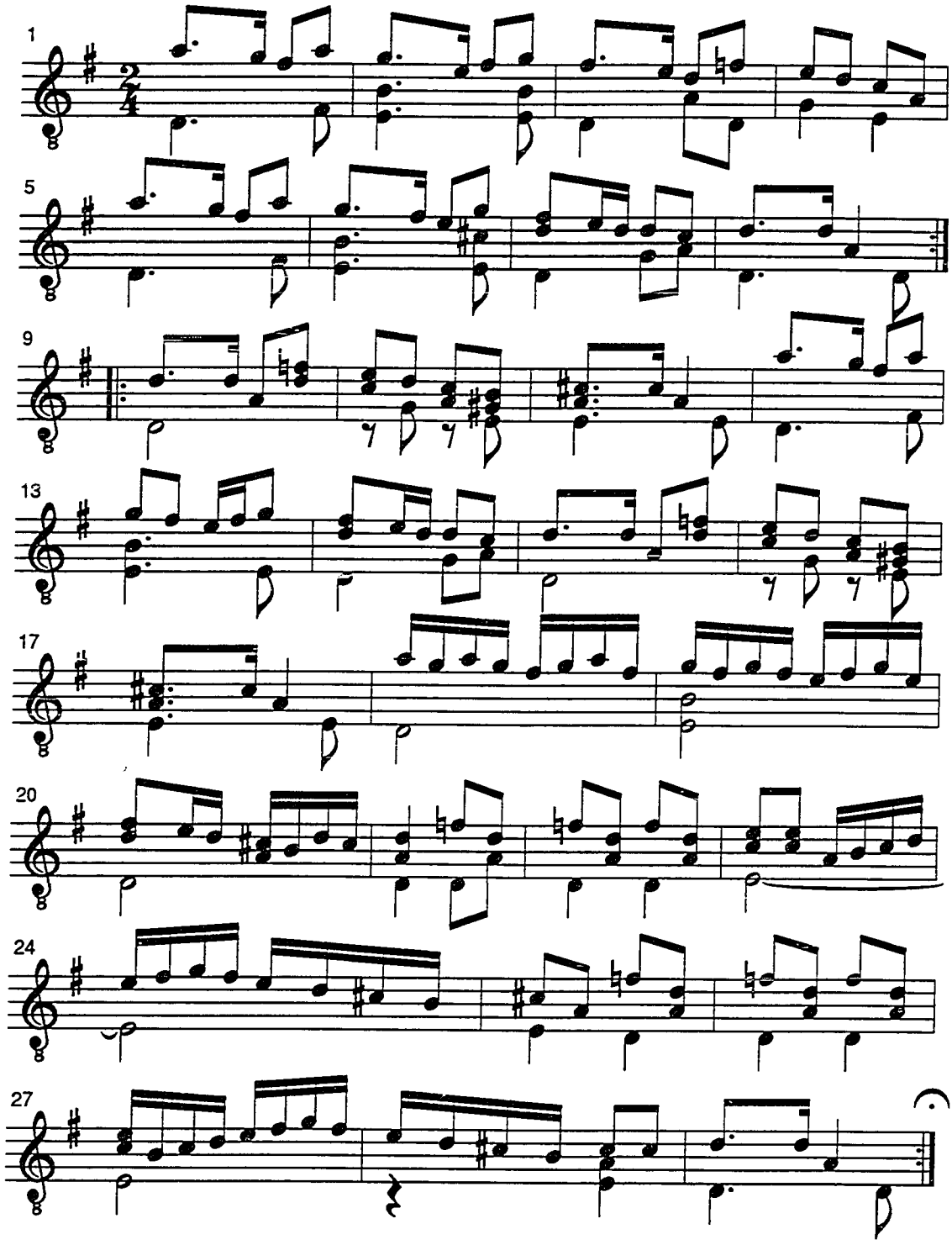
No. 17 **Gaillarde** f. 14v.



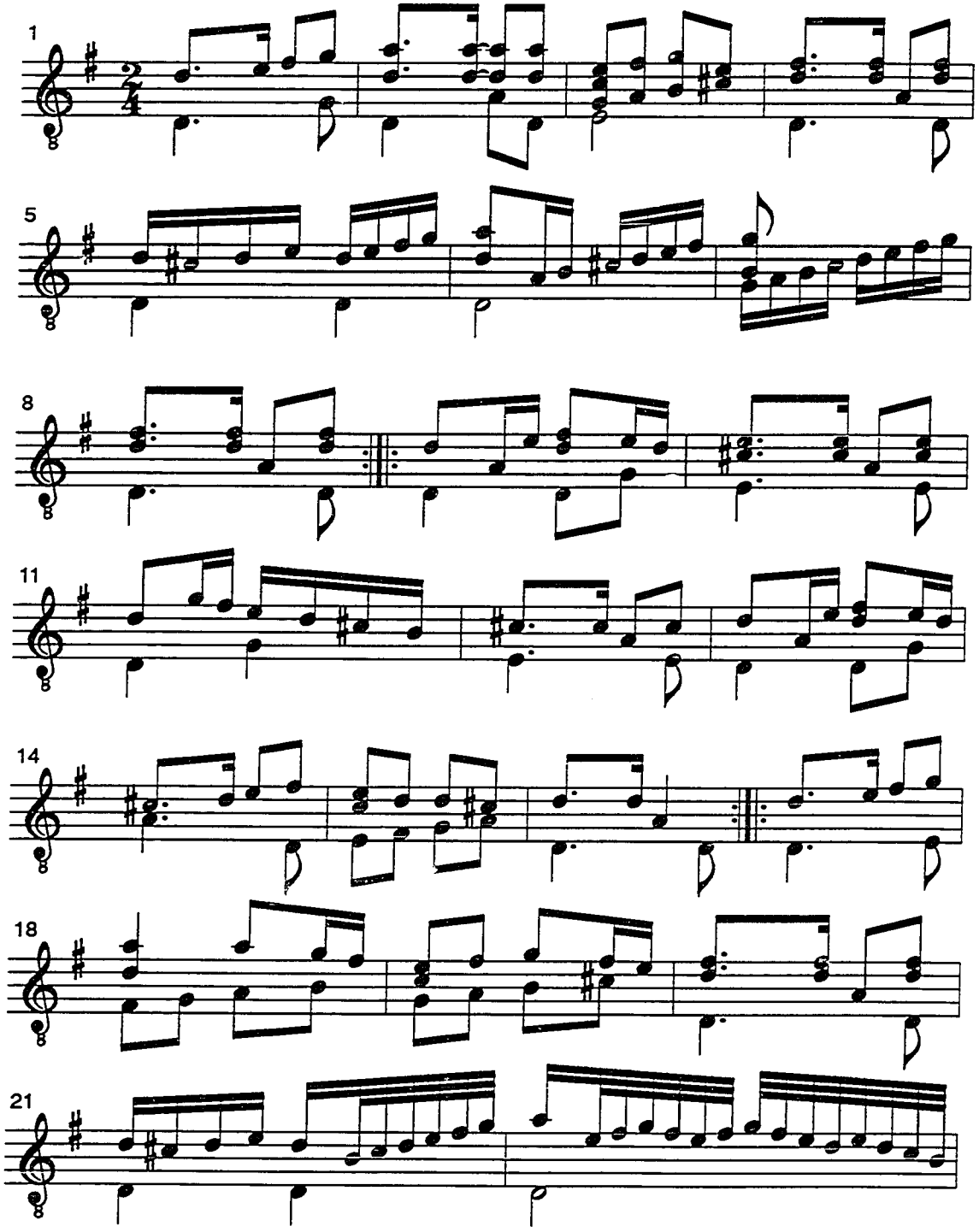
No. 18 **La Romanesque gaillarde** f. 15r.-15v.

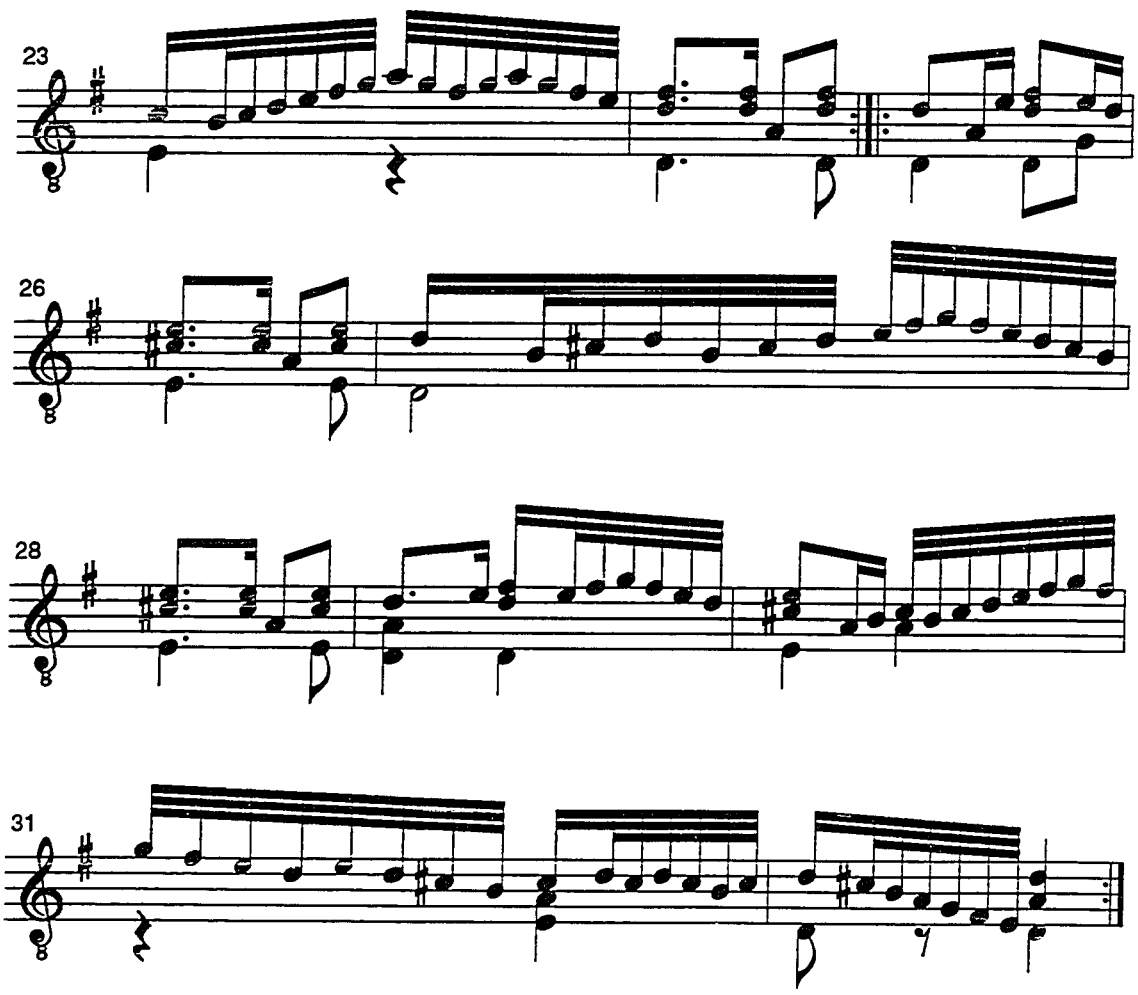


No. 19 **Almande le pied de cheval** f. 15v.-16r.



No. 20 **Almande tournée** f. 16r.-16v.

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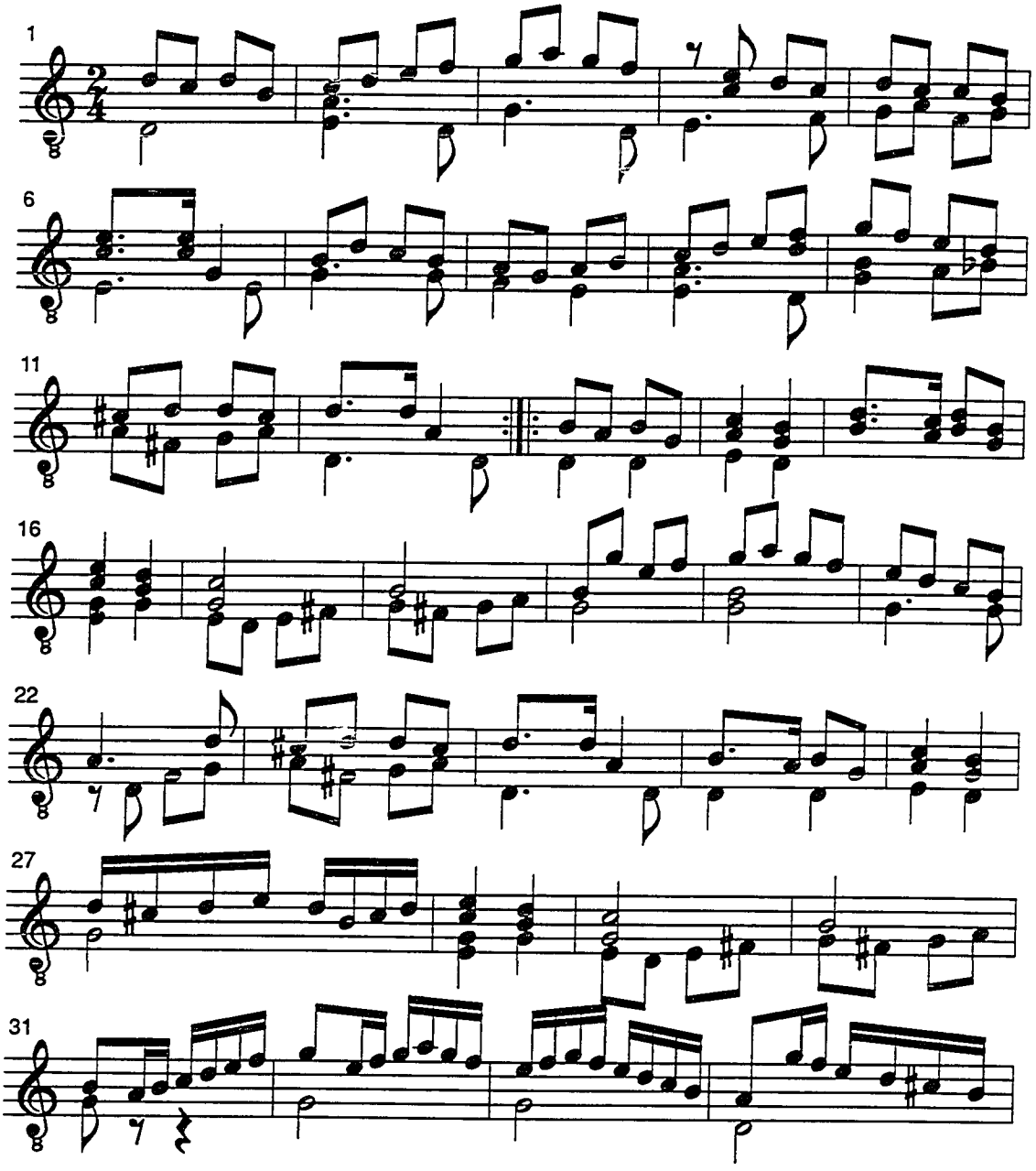
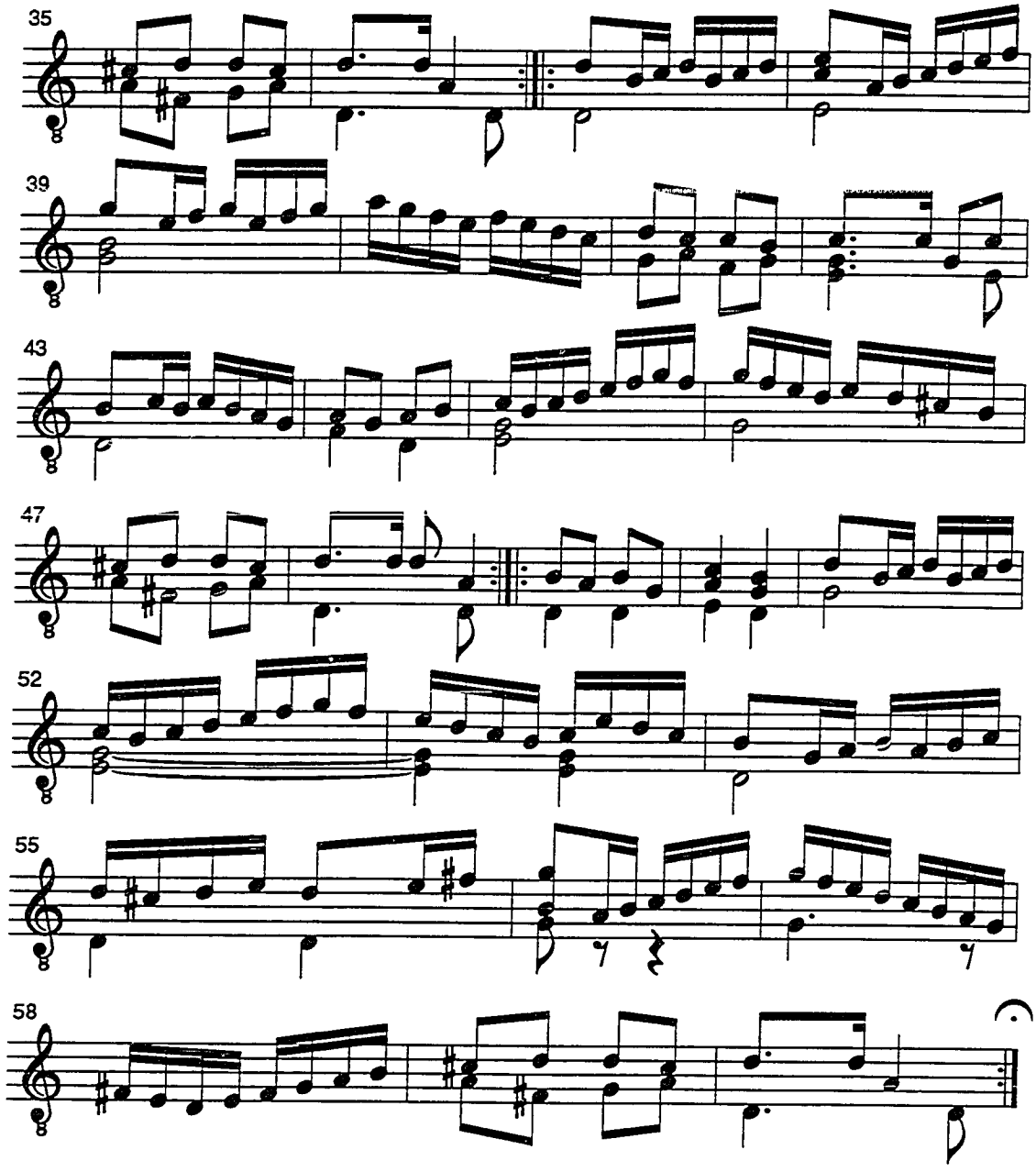
No. 21 **Branle simple** f. 17r.-17v.

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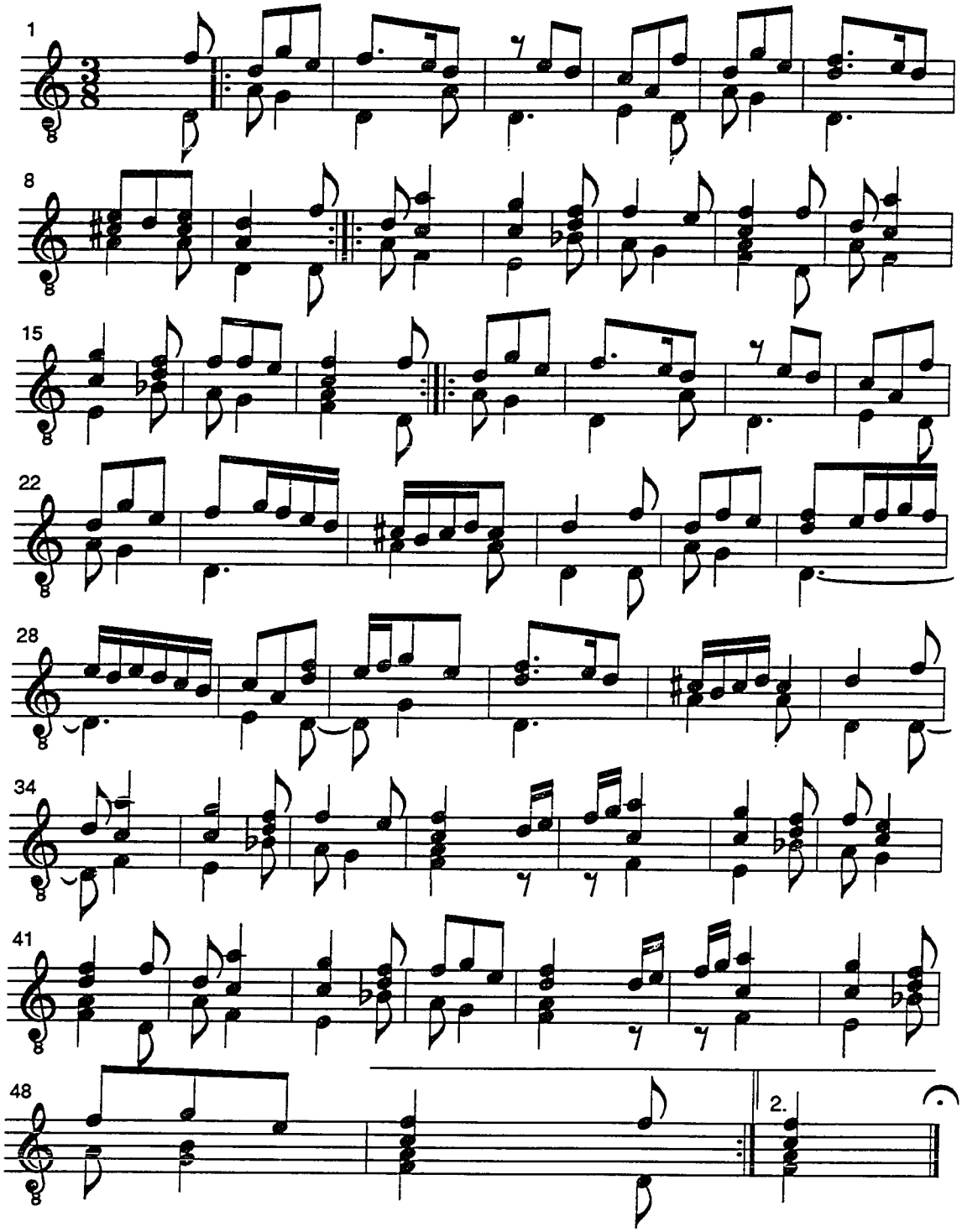
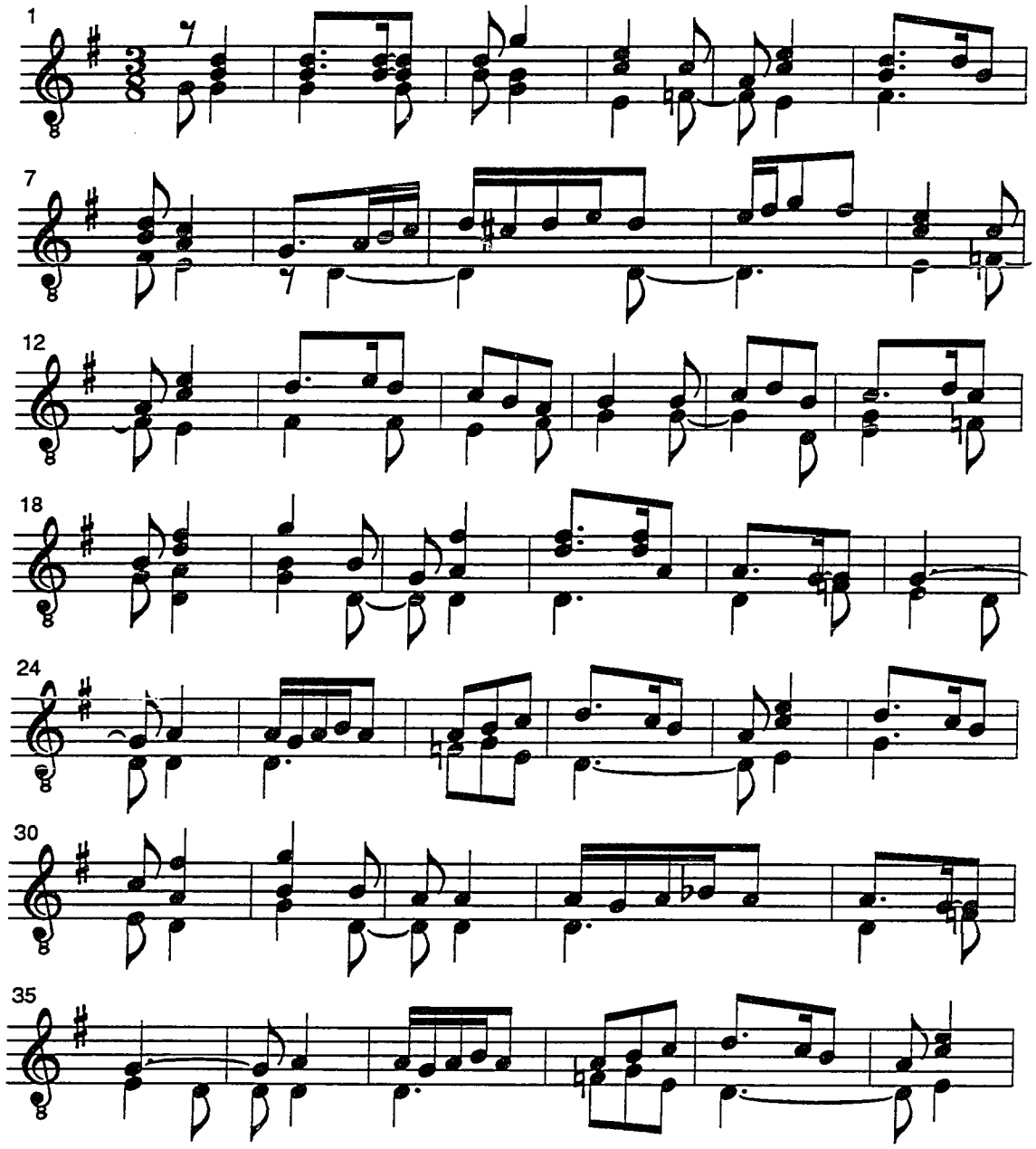
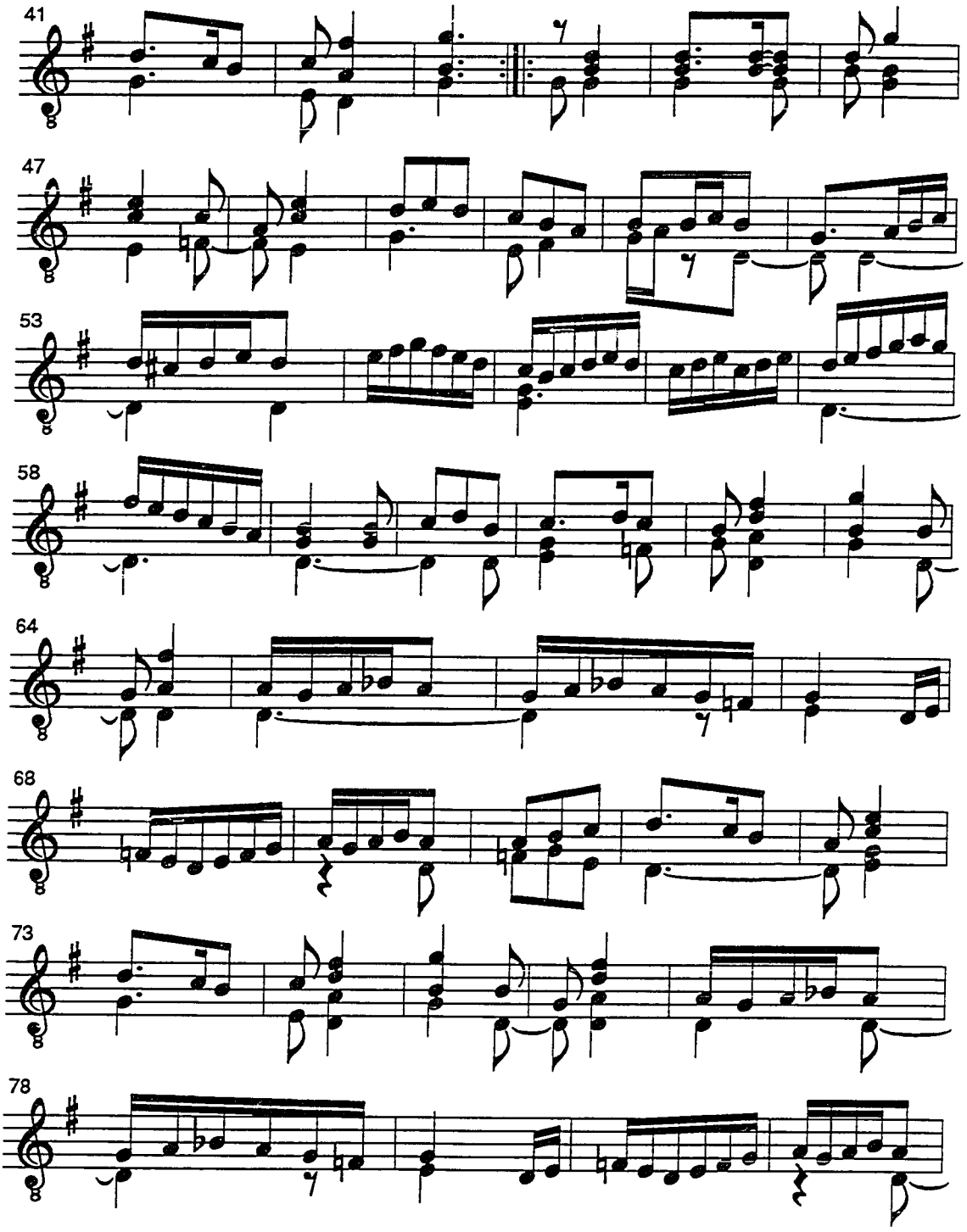
No. 22 **Bransle gay** f. 18r.



No. 23 **Bransle gay la ceinture que le porte** f. 18v.-19r.

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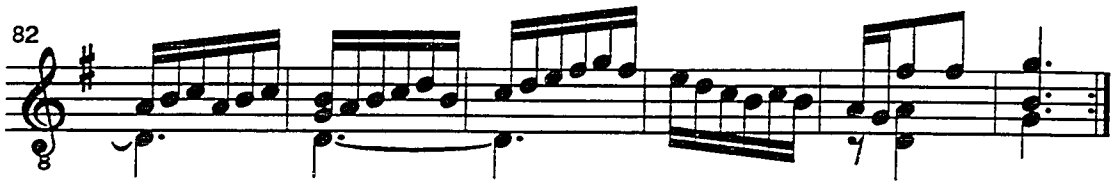
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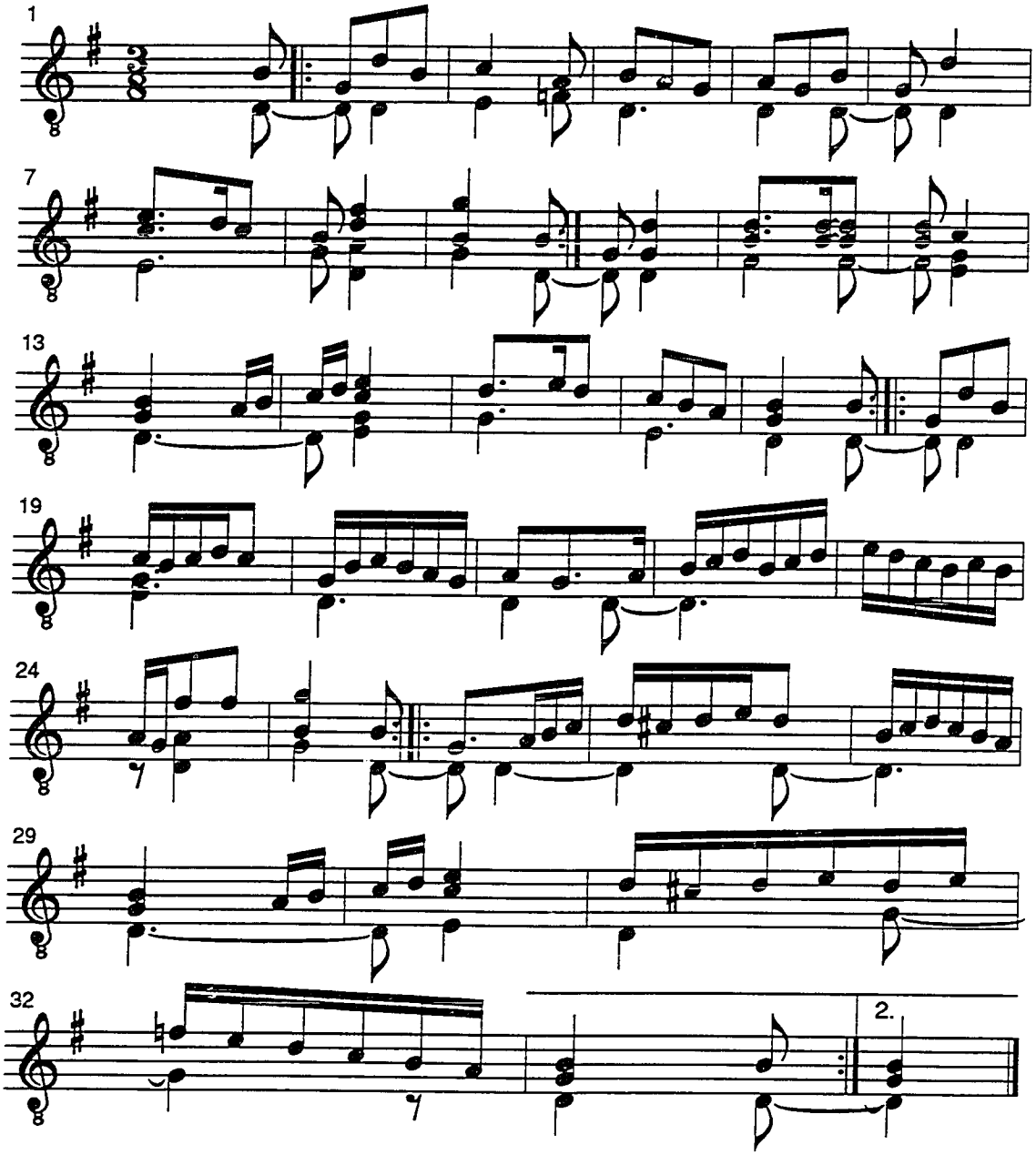
No. 24 **Bransle gay le ne seray jamais bergere** f. 19v.



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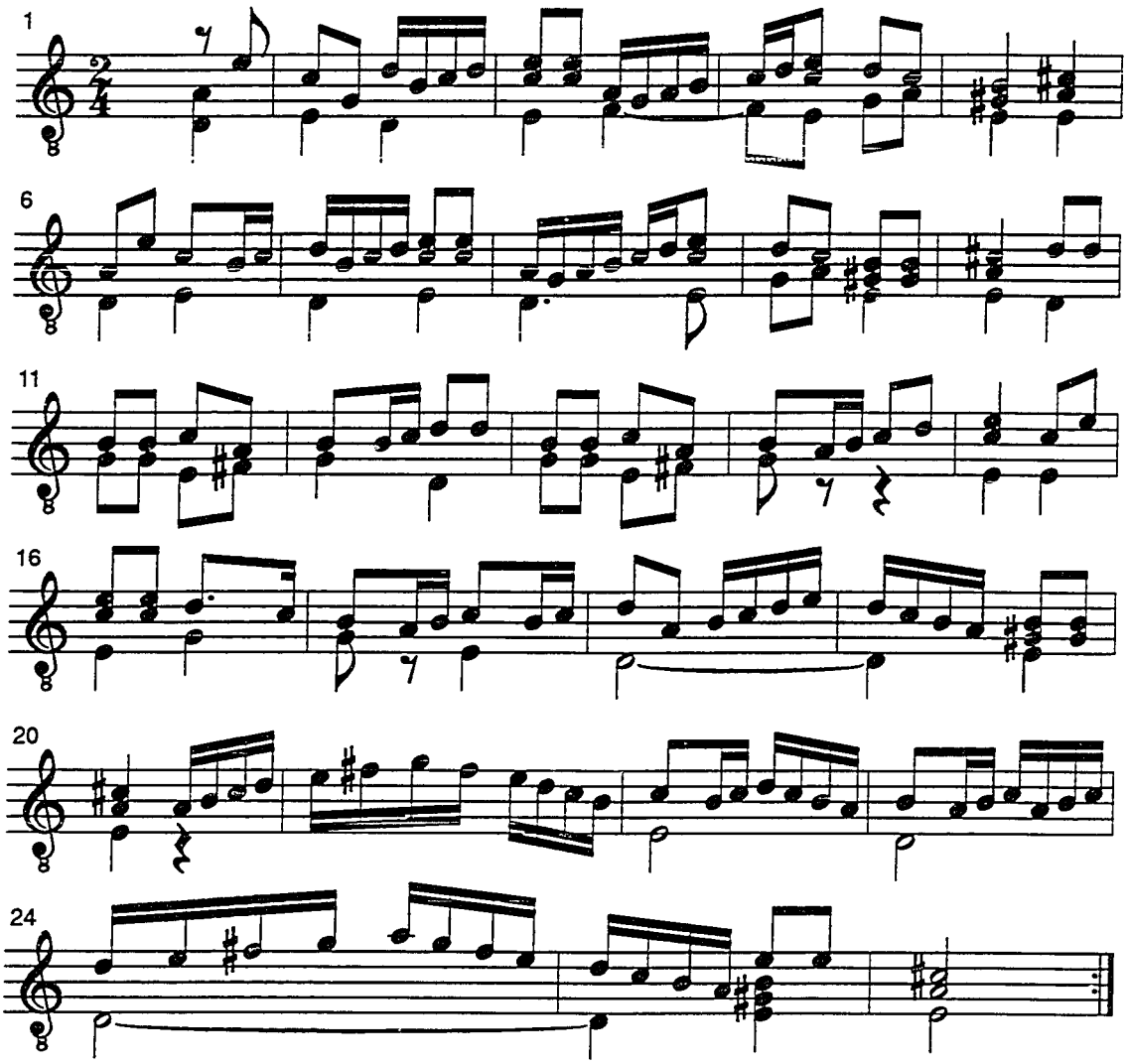

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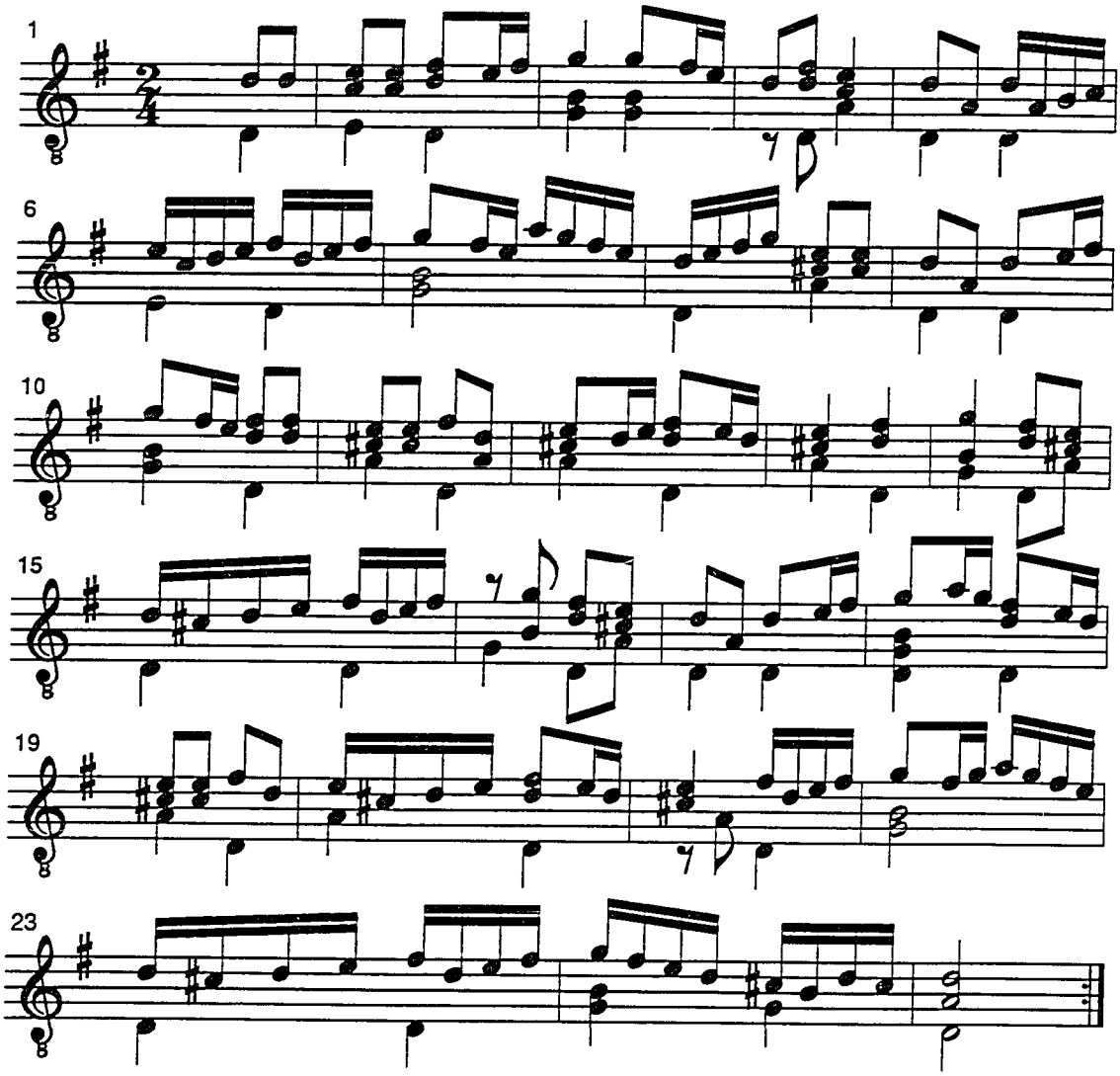

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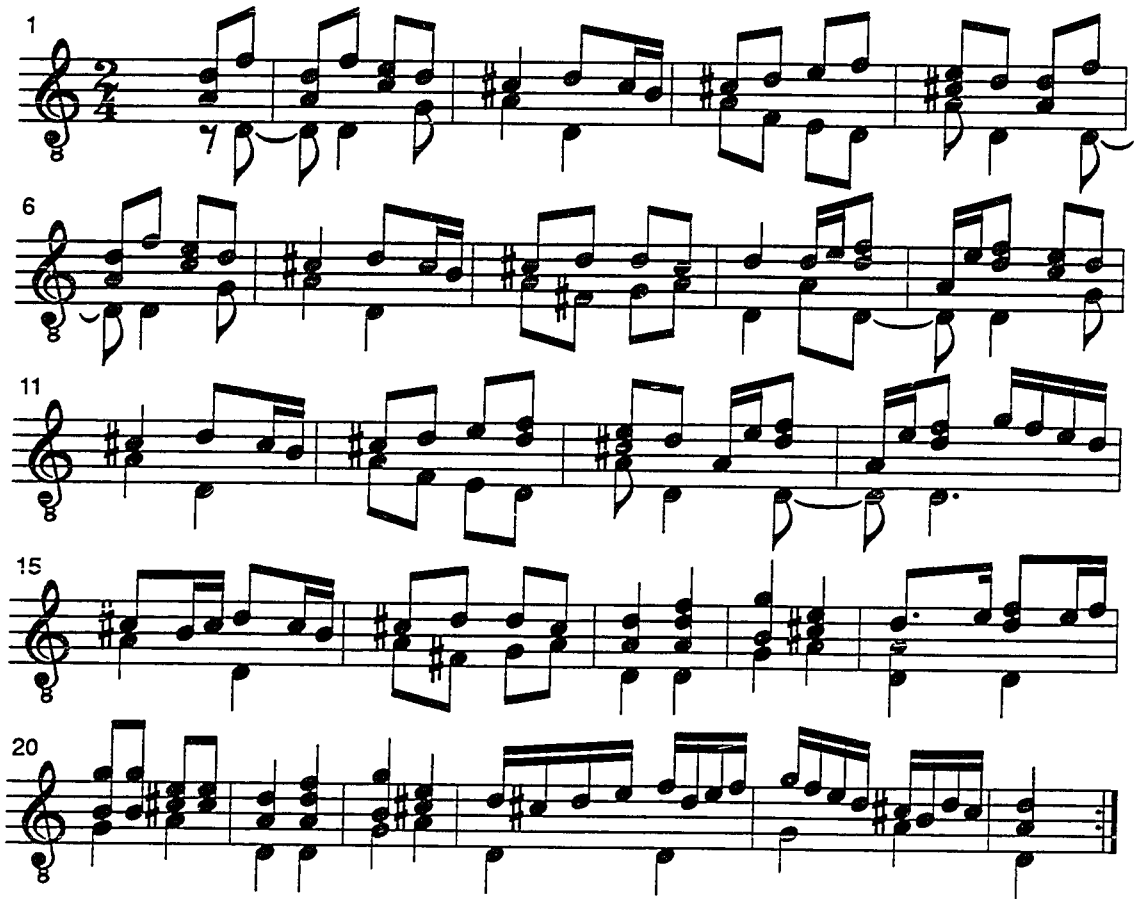

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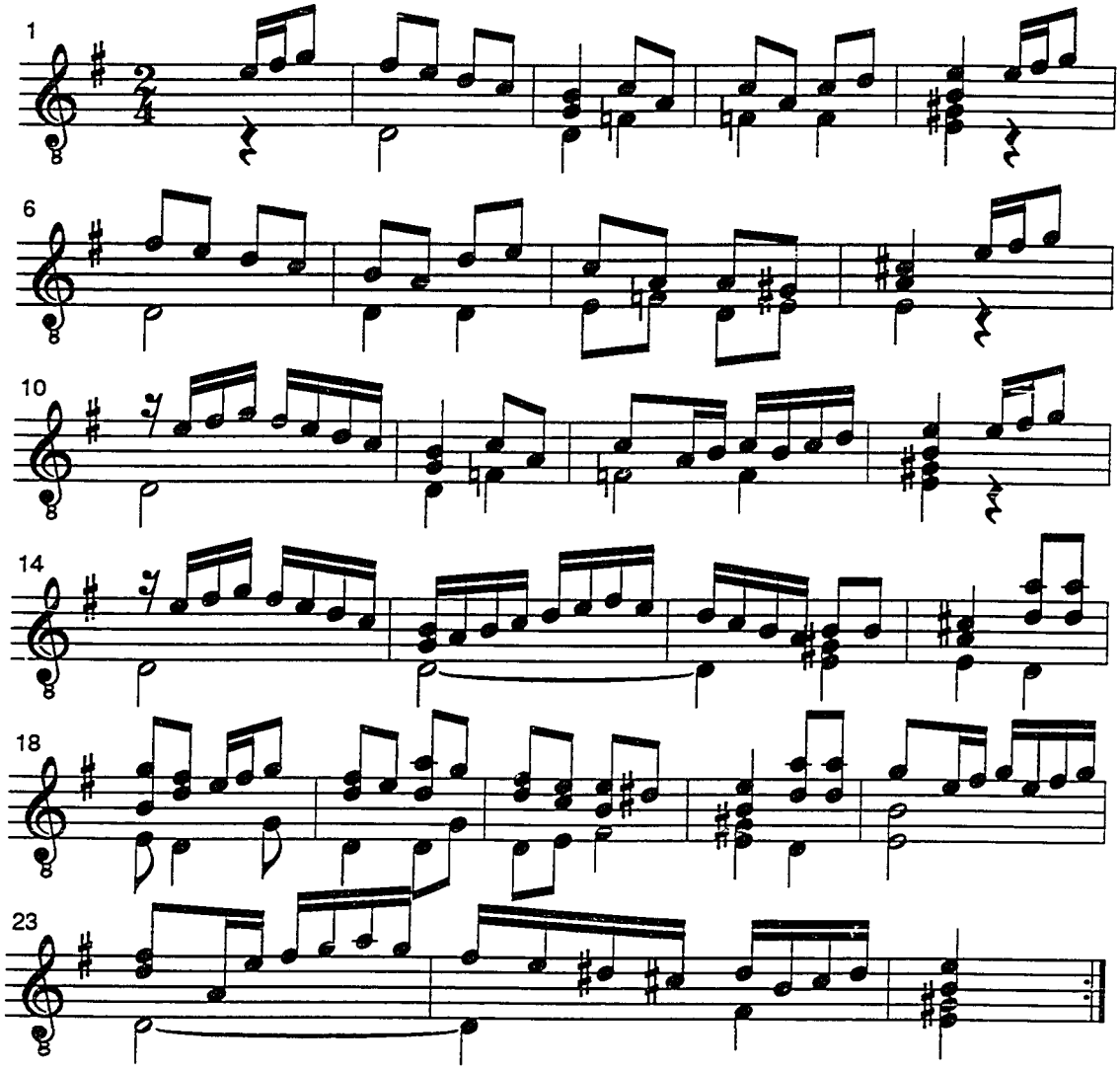

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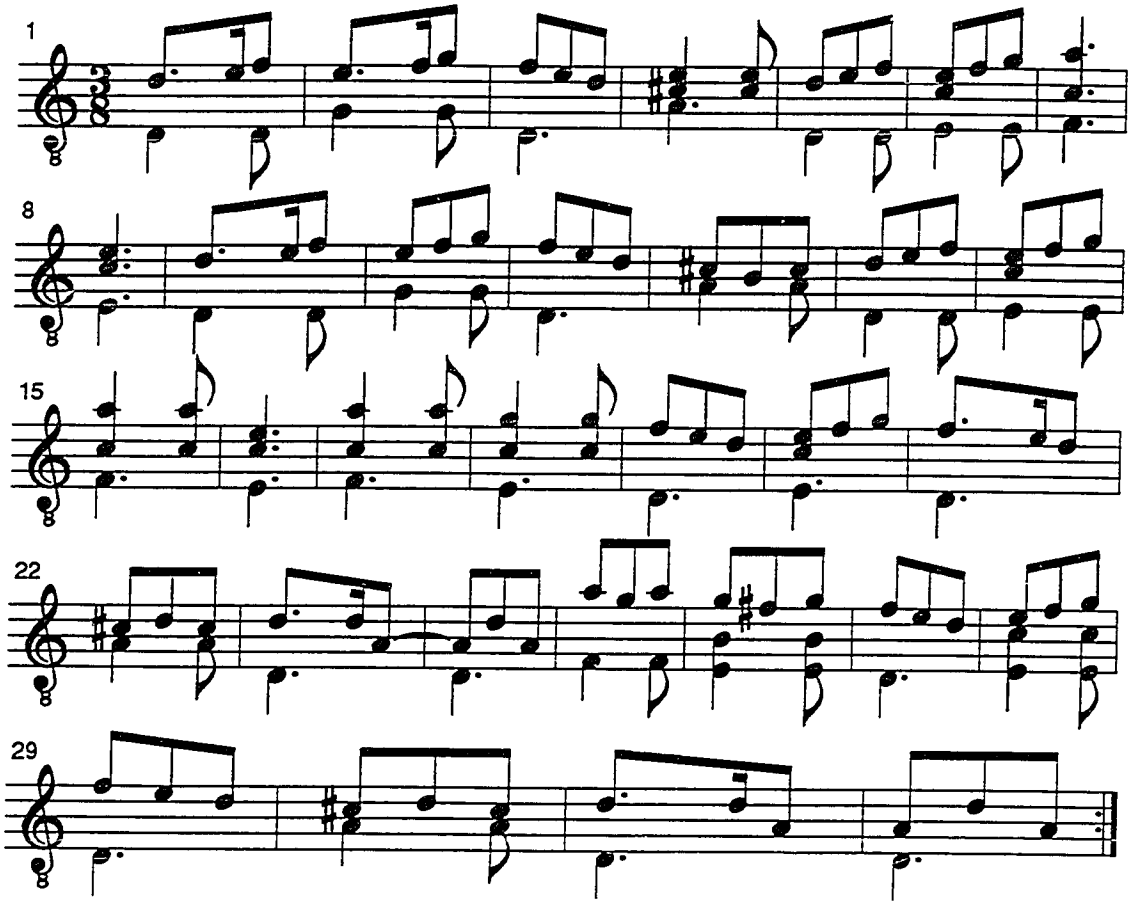

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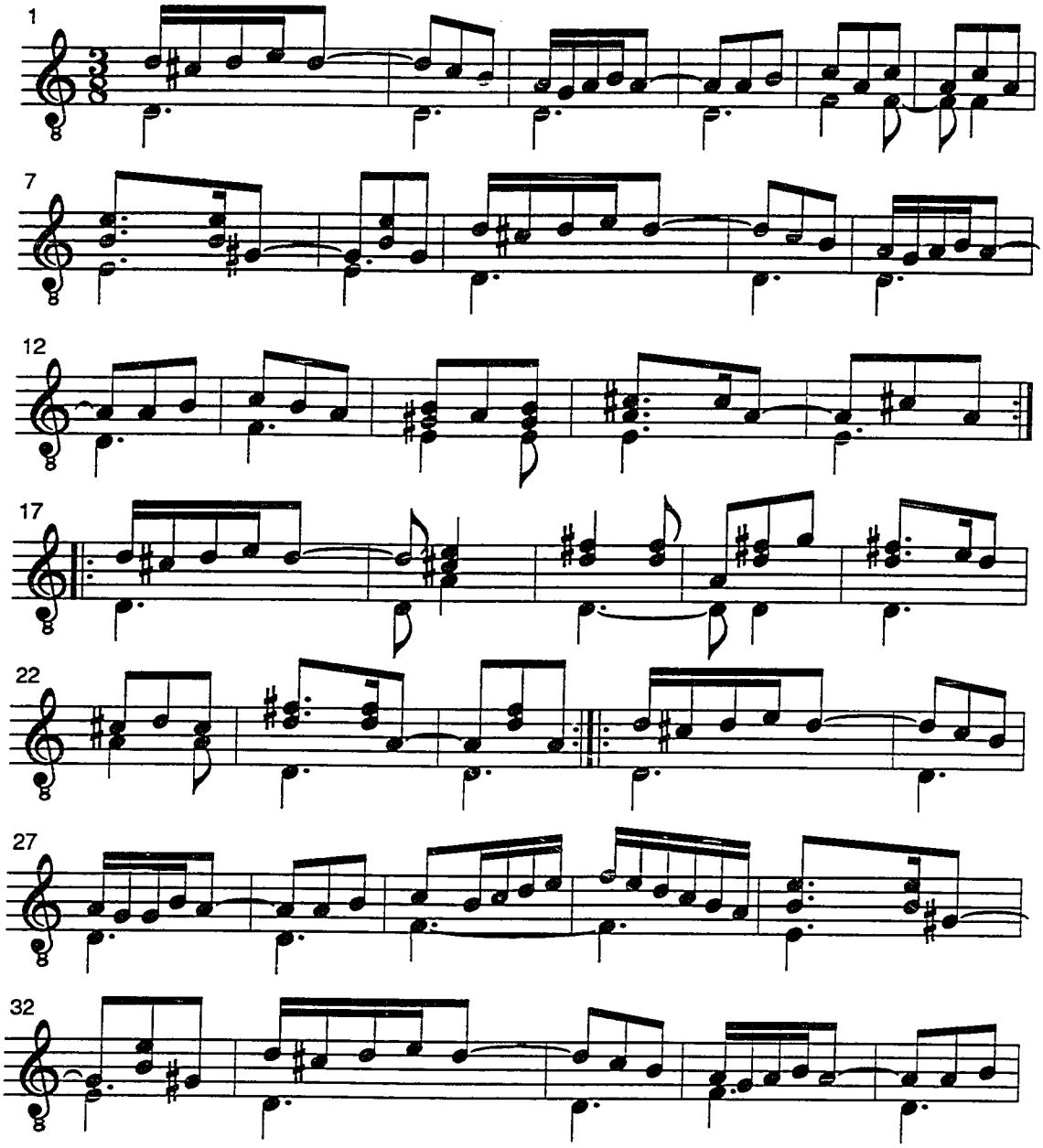

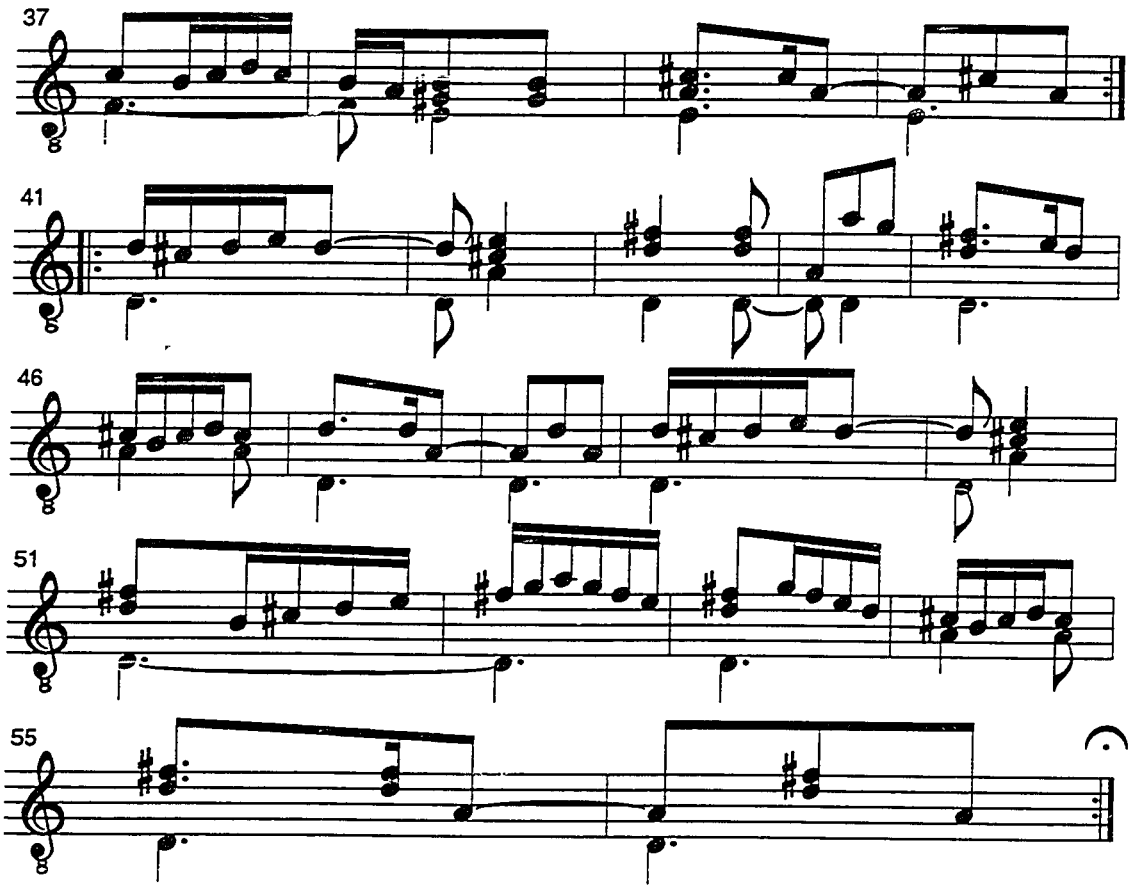
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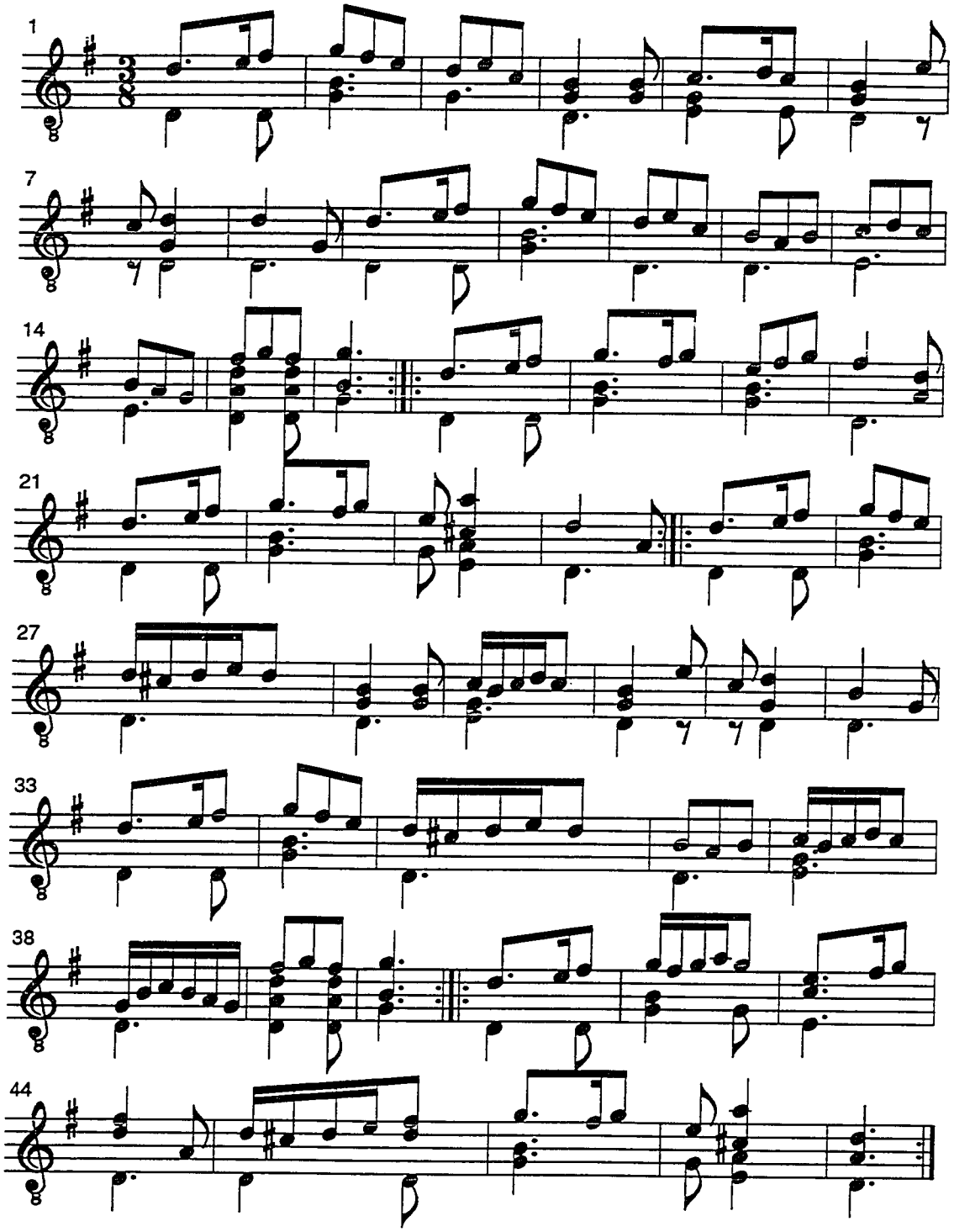

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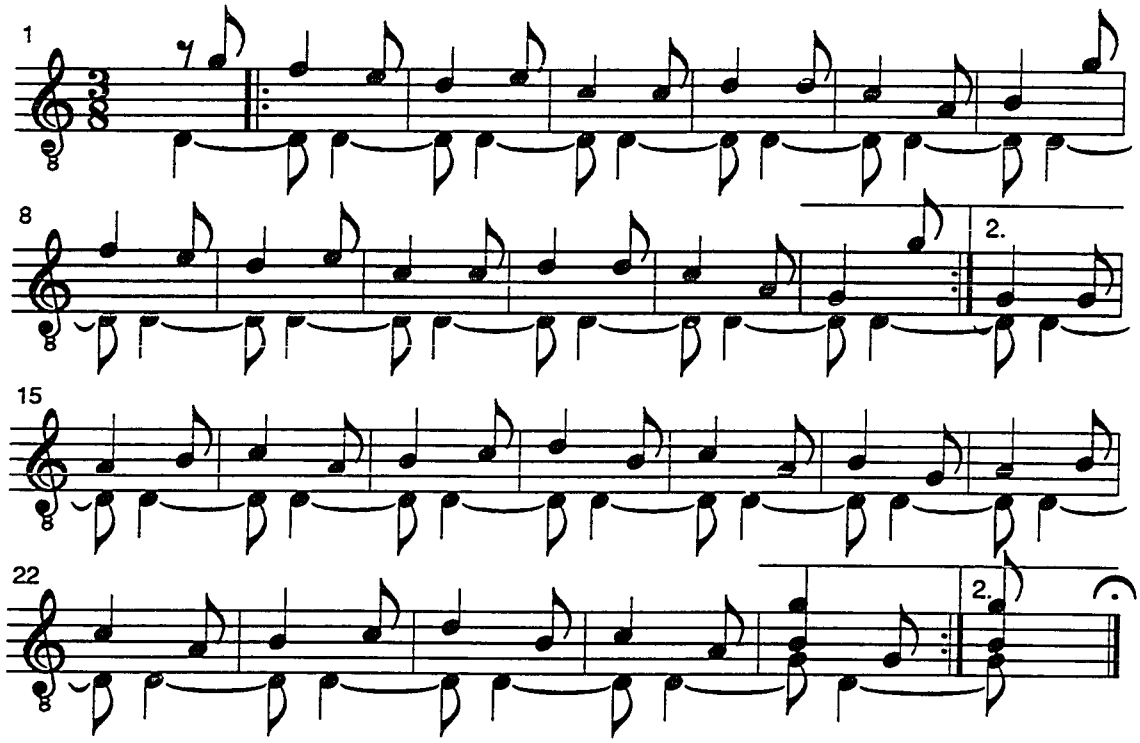

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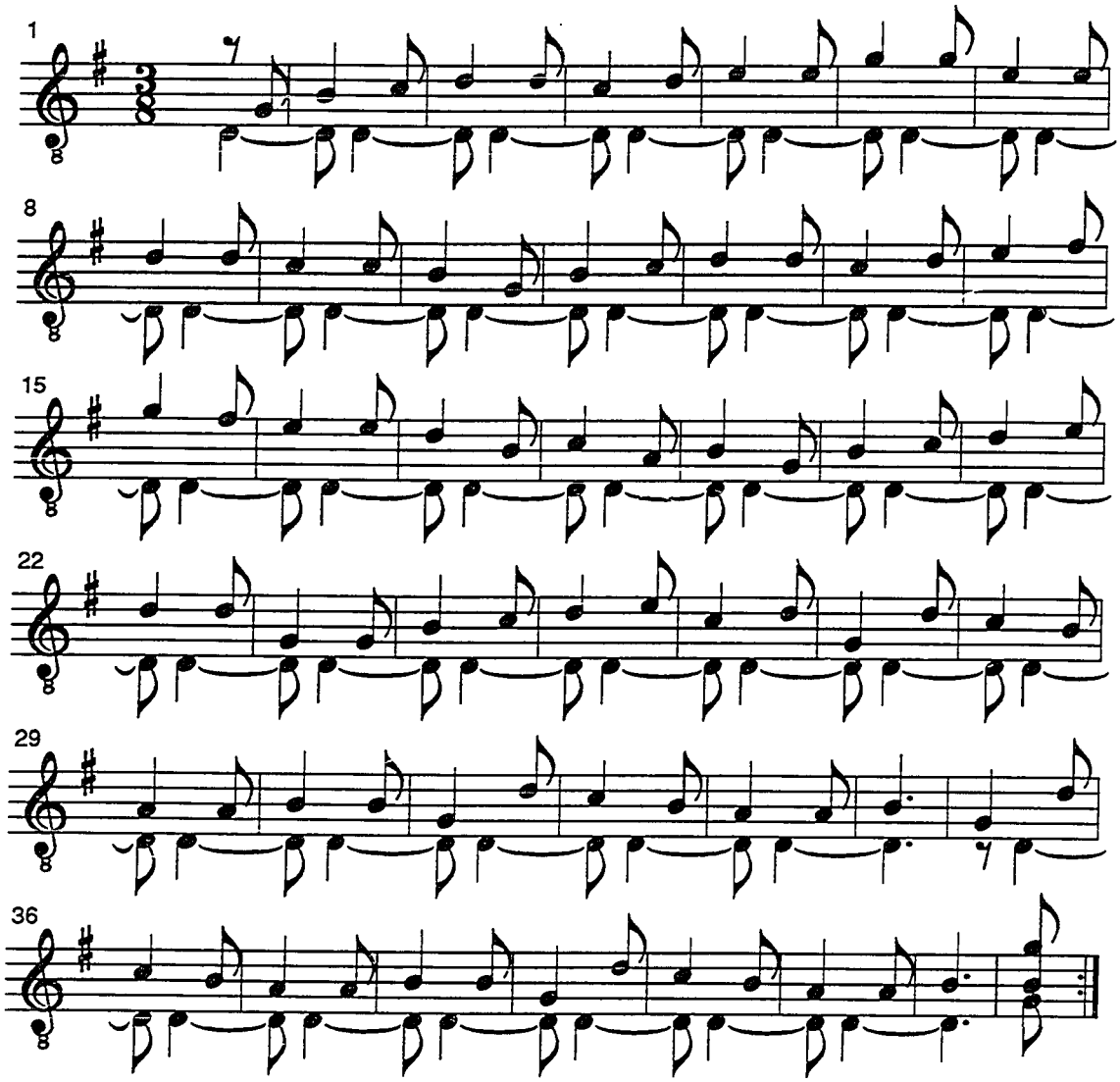

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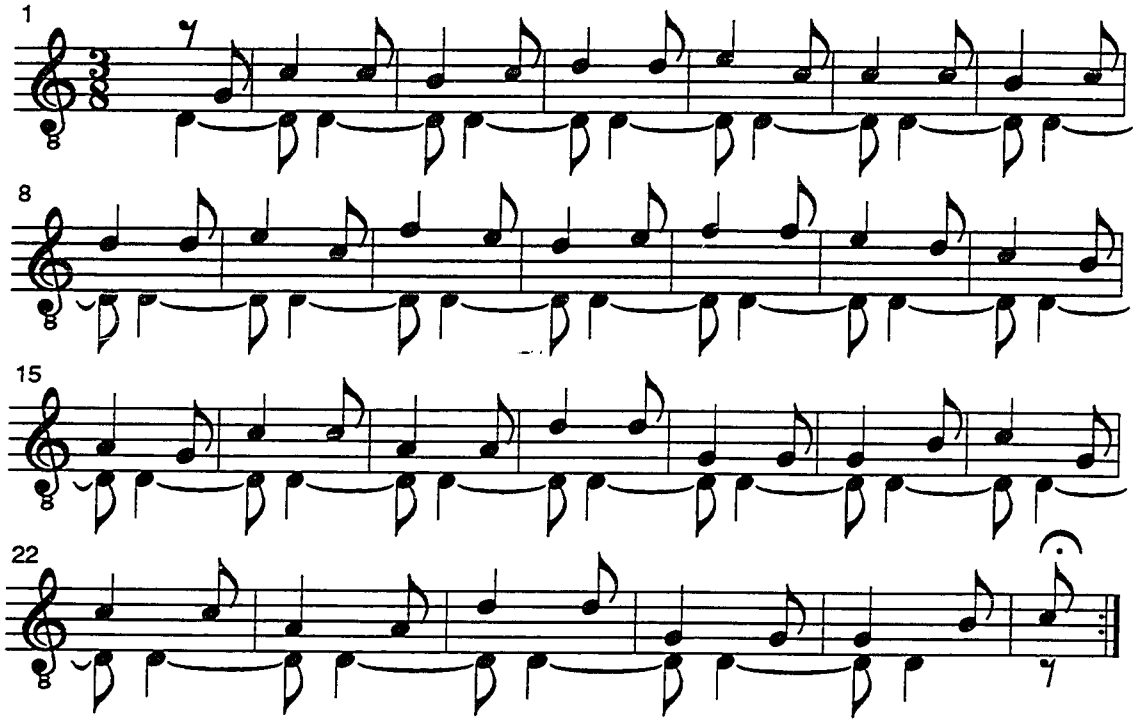
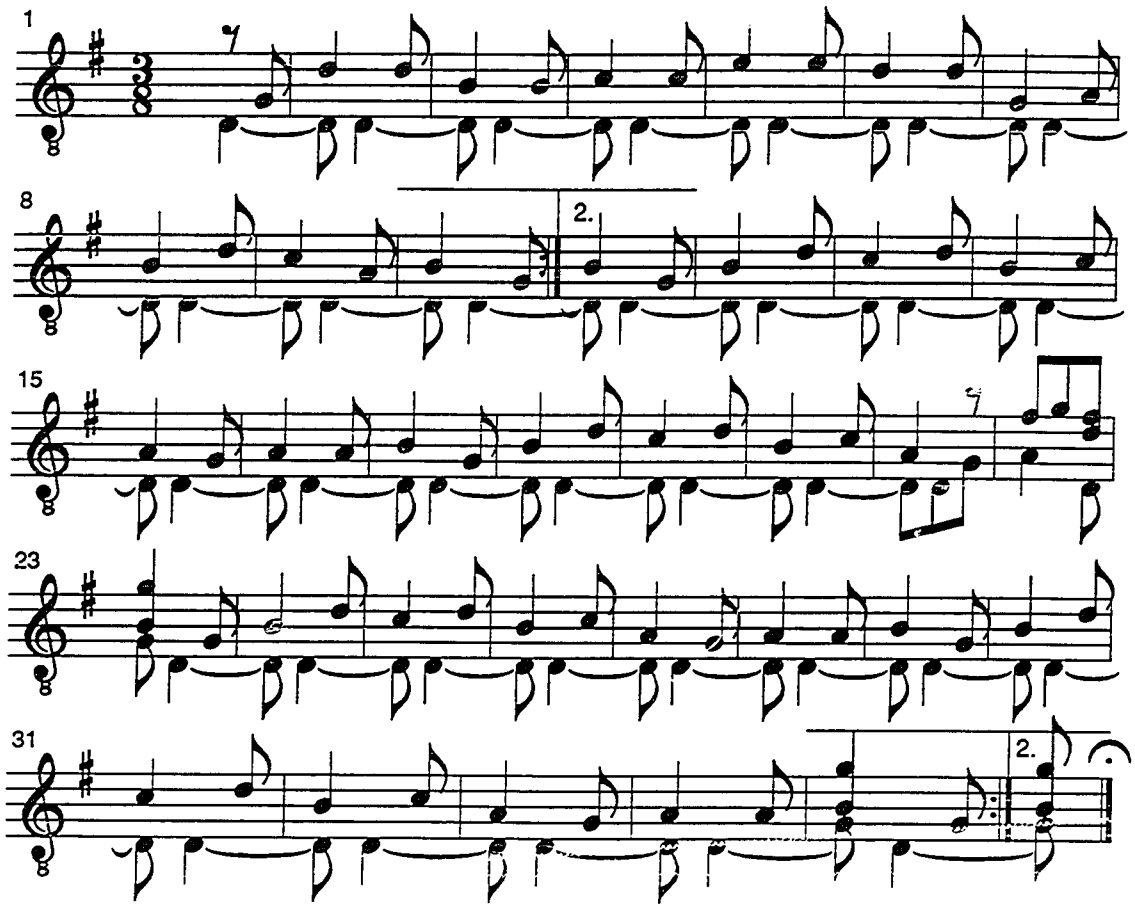


No. 35 **Autre bransle de Poictou** f. 24r.-24v.



APPENDIX B: GUILLAUME MORLAYE. BOOK I

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No.	fol.	Title	Genre	Meter	Tonal Center
1	1r.-2v.	Fantasie	Fantasy	2/4	G
2	3r.-4r.	Fantasie	Fantasy	2/4	-
3	4r.-5r.	Je cherche autant amour (Boyvin)	Chanson	2/4	d
4	5r.-5v.	Plus le voy de beaucoup estimé (Belin)	Chanson	2/4	d
5	5v.-6v.	Elle a bien ce ris gratieuls (Sermisy)	Chanson	2/4	A
6	7r.-7v.	Il estoit une fillette (Janequin)	Chanson	2/4	-
7	7v.-9r.	Ce qui est plus (Sandrin)	Chanson	2/4	-
8	9v.-11r.	Plourez mes yeuls (Sandrin)	Chanson	2/4	D
9	11r.-12r.	La voulonté (Sandrin)	Chanson	2/4	-
10	12v.-13r.	Jay veu que j'estoys franc & maistre (Sandrin)	Chanson	2/4	-
11	13v.-14v.	Pavanne	Pavan	4/4	D
12	14v.-15r.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	-
13	15.v-16r.	Pavanne	Pavan	4/4	E
14	16v.-17r.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	e
15	17v.	Gaillarde. Puis que nouvelle affection(Certon)	Galliard	3/4	A
16	18r.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
17	18v.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
18	19r.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
19	19v.-20v.	Gaillarde. Les cinq pas	Galliard	3/4	D
20	21r.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
21	21v.-22v.	Gaillarde	Galliard	3/4	D
22	22v.-23r.	Gaillarde (O combien est heureuse, Certon)	Galliard	3/4	e
23	23v.-24r.	Buffons	Inst. Dance	4/4	G
24	24v.-25v.	Conde clare	Inst. Dance	3/4	G
25	26.r	Bransle (double)	Branle	2/4	d
26	26v.	Bransle (simple)	Branle	2/4	a
27	27r.	Bransle (de Bourgongne)	Branle	2/4	D
28	27v.-28r.	Bransle (double)	Branle	2/4	A
29	28v.	Allemande	Allemande	2/4	D
30	29.r	Allemande	Allemande	2/4	d

CRITICAL NOTES

No. 1, Fantasie, f. 1r.-2v.

(1) m. 86, 2nd beat: tablature specifies a unison--"a" on the third course, "f" on the fourth course; I have transcribed this as a single note (g') with both downward and upward stems.

No. 2, Fantasie, f. 3r.-4r.

(1) m. 75, first beat: tablature specifies a unison--"a" on the first course, "f" on the second course; the transcription follows the procedure outlined in No. 1.

No. 3, Je cherche autant amer, f. 4r.-5r.

(1) m. 33, first beat: the tablature has an upside-down fermata placed under the letter "a" on the fourth course; probably, this is either a printing error or an indication that the note should be sustained for the whole measure; in any case, I have transcribed the note as a half-note.

(2) m. 38: the tablature has an extra bar line dividing the chords on beats one and two; the rhythmic indication--a minim--implies that the bar line is an error.

No. 4, Plus le voy de beaucoup estimé, f. 5r.-5v.

(1) m. 31: though the music is unusually dissonant here, the tablature does not contain any clear-cut errors (e.g. a fret letter placed on the wrong course).

No. 6, Il estoit une fillette, f. 7r.-7v.

(1) mm. 4-5: the bar line between the two measures is editorial, but clearly implied by the rhythmic indications in the tablature.

(2) the tablature contains numerous corrections by an unknown hand; in some instances, the corrections totally obscure the original and in these cases I have transcribed the "corrected" version out of necessity; of the corrections that can be deciphered, most are only changes in fingering (e.g. substituting a note on an open string for its fretted equivalance on another course.) that do not alter the music.

No. 7, Ce qui est plus, f. 7v-9r.

(1) m. 1, first beat: the "a" on the fourth course of the tablature sounds like an error, however, there are no obvious solutions; the performer may try moving the "a" to the third course or substituting a "c" on the fourth course.

(2) mm. 16, 17, 22, 36, 54 contain corrections similar to those in No. 6; the original version is unclear in all these measures so I have transcribed the "corrections."

(3) mm. 17, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36: in each measure, the note b' has been inserted by a different hand; in addition, the note g' on the second beat of m. 30 and the first beat of m.28 are also an insertions.

(4) m. 81: the rhthmic notation of the tablature groups eight minims together in a single measure; since the figure appears to be ornamental and because it sets up the final cadence, I have interpreted the error as a missing flag from the rhythmic indication rather than missing bar lines.

No. 8, Plourez me yeuls, f. 9v.-11r.

(1) this chanson also contains insertions as in No. 7: m. 1, first beat, b'; m. 1, second beat, a'; m. 3, first beat, g'; m. 3, second beat, a'; m. 4 first beat, b'; m. 4, second beat, b', d', d"; m. 5, first beat, g'.

No. 9, La voulonté, f. 11r.-12r.

(1) m. 73, first beat: the tablature has an upside down fermata placed below the letter "a" on the fourth course; as in No. 3, I have taken this to be a sustain indication.

No. 11, Pavanne, f. 13r.-14v.

(1) m. 2, first beat: the tablature gives "c" on the second course and "d" on the third course as the middle two notes of the chord; this is clearly an error--the D minor triad of the first measure should also hold for the second measure, as in the transcription.

No. 13, Pavanne, f. 15v.-16r.

(1) m. 31, third beat: the rhythmic indication in the tablature is a semi-minim but this would give the measure only three beats; substituting a minim, as in the transcription, yields the correct number of beats.

No. 15, Gaillarde, f. 17v.

(1) m. 5: the tablature contains a sustain symbol next to the "h" on the fourth course; on the modern guitar, however, it is impossible to sustain this note through the third beat of the measure.

(2) m. 19, third beat: the tablature specifies an E major triad--IV="c," III="e," II="f," I="e"--difficult on the modern guitar; the middle two notes of the chord have been crossed out in favor of an easier fingering.

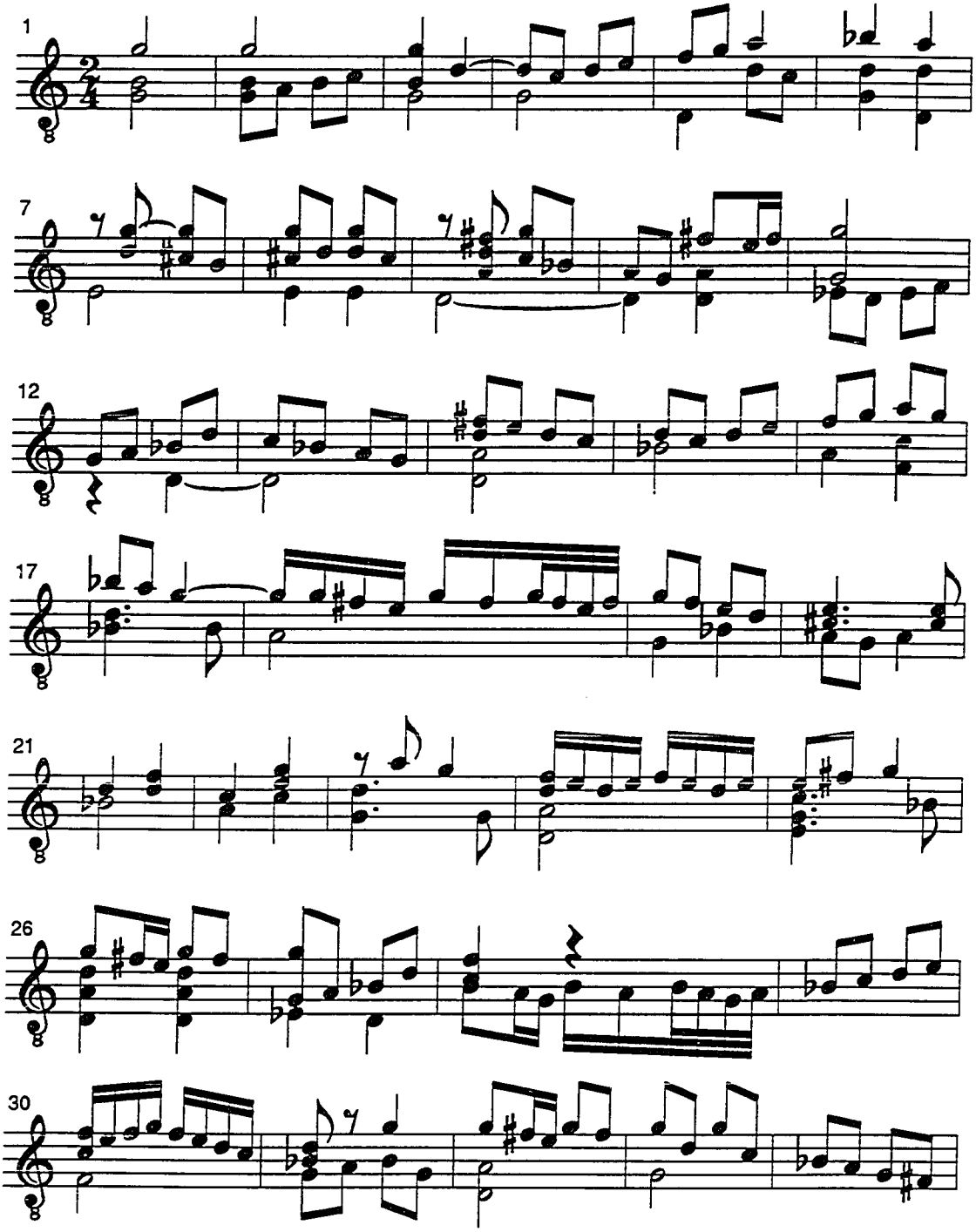
No. 16, Gaillarde, f. 18v.

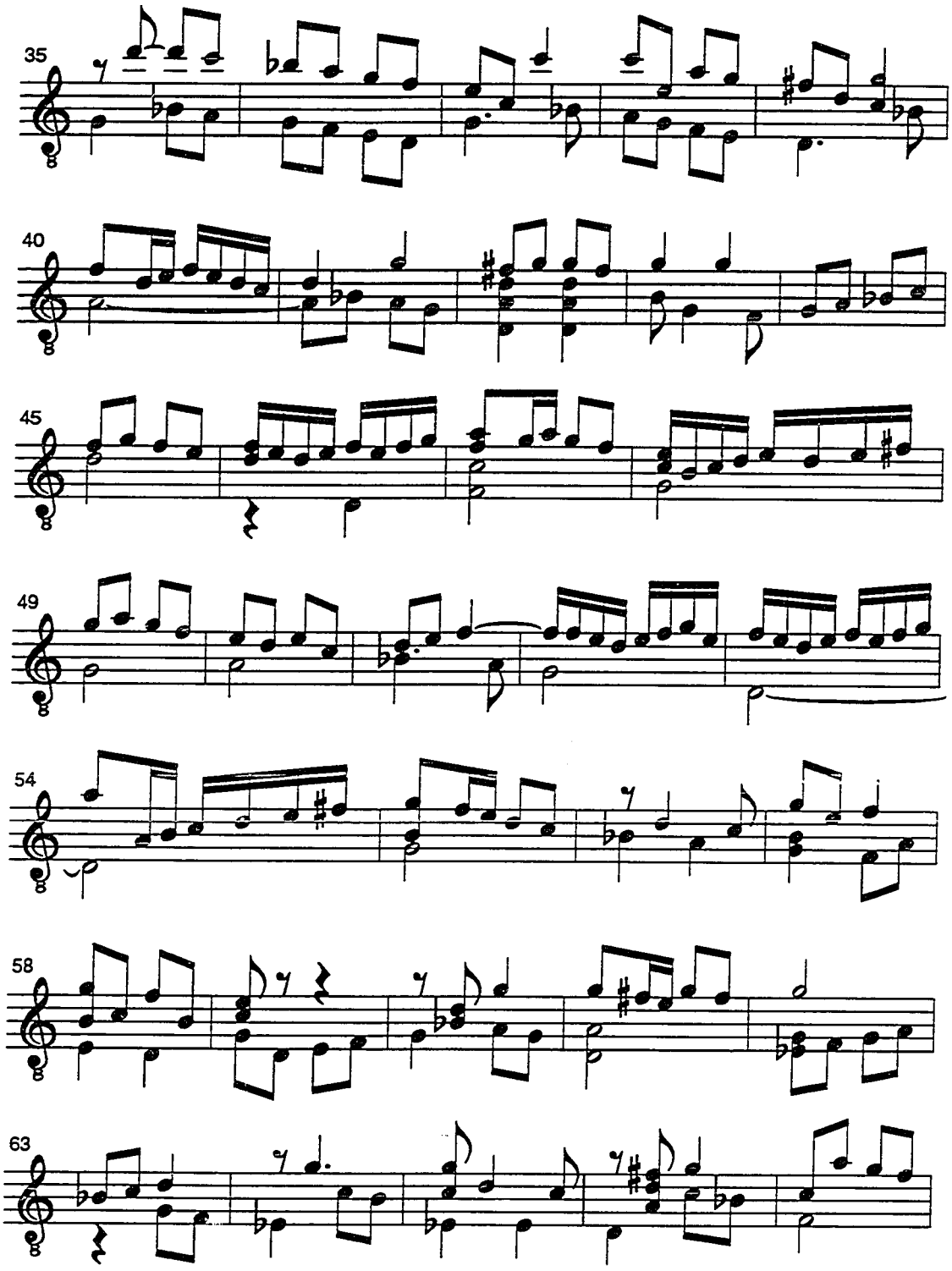
(1) m.16, first beat: with the exception of the first course, the original tablature has been obscured a large ink blot; the D major triad in the transcription is editorial.

No. 19, Gaillarde, f. 19v.-20v.

(1) several measures contain insertions, most of which are doublings and serve to reinforce a particular chord.

No. 1 **Fantasie** f. 1r.-2v.

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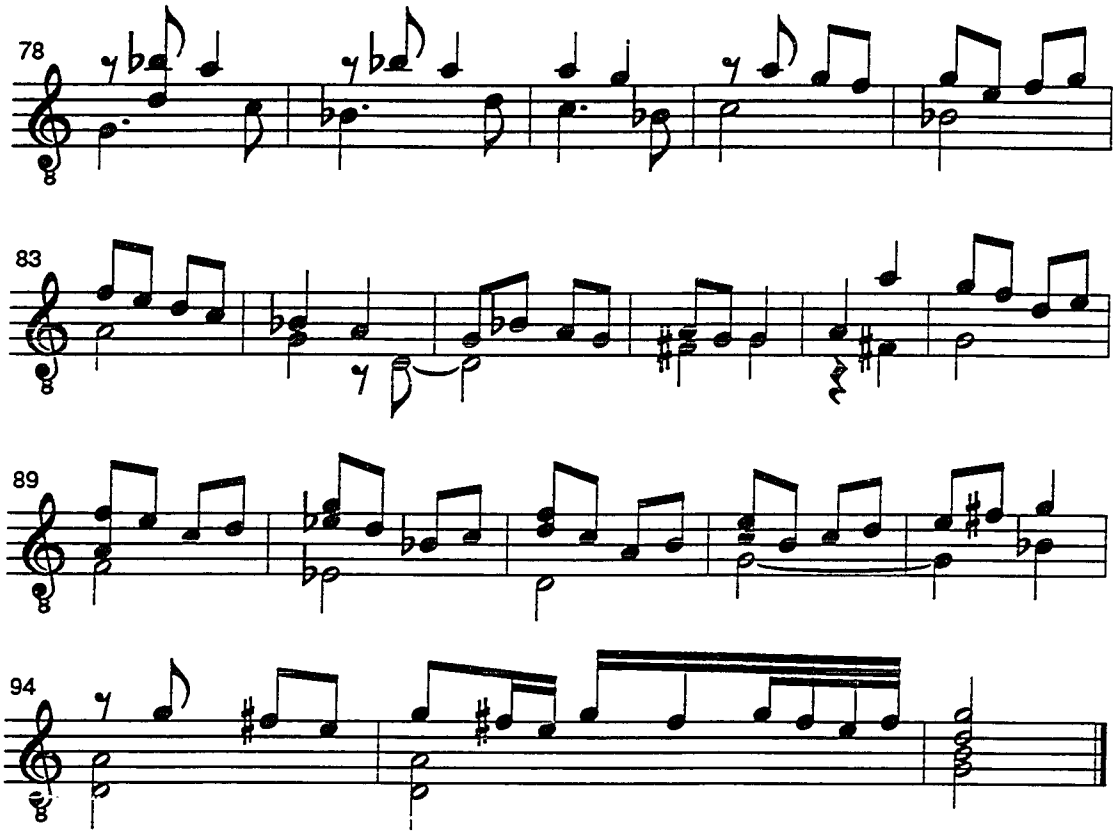
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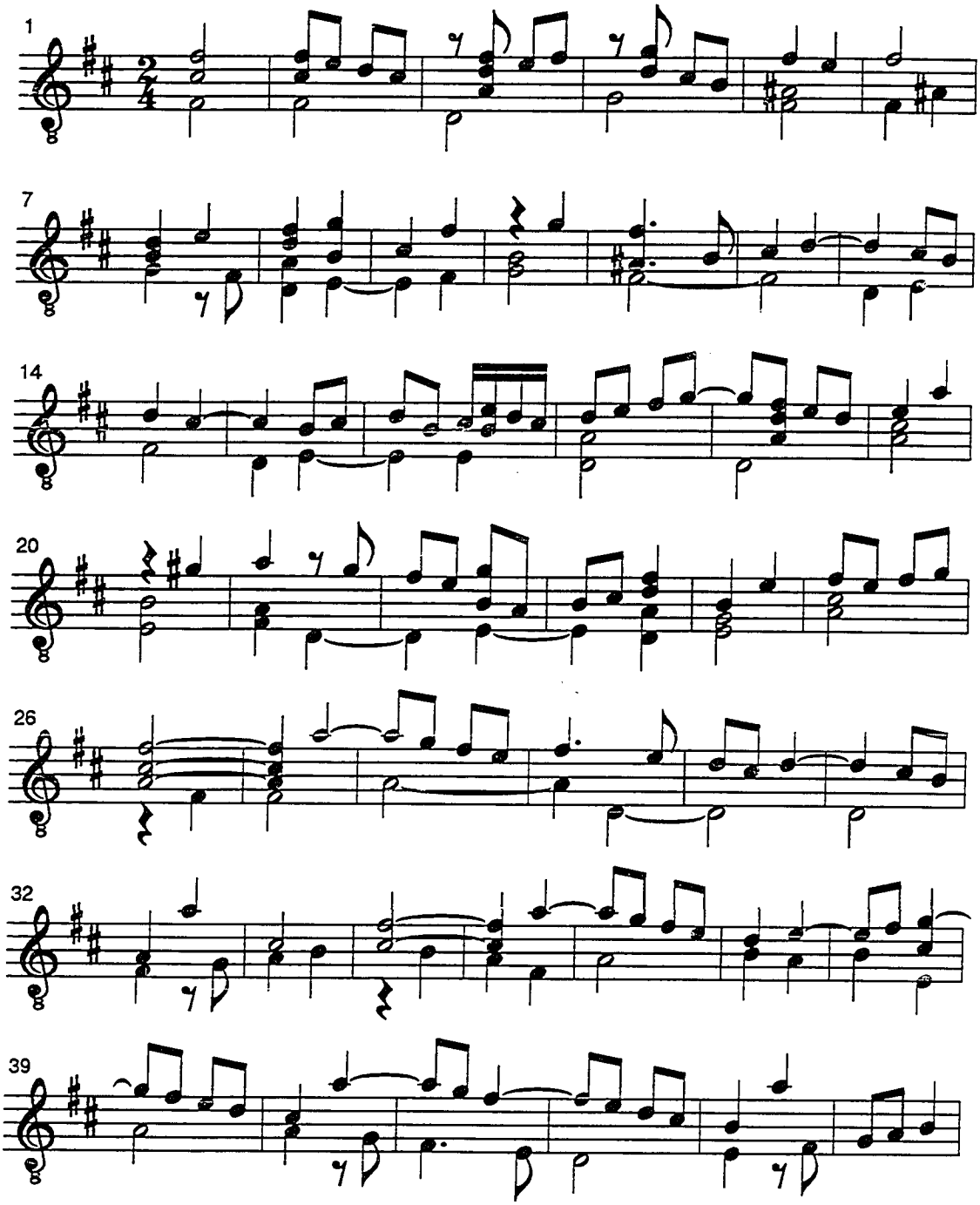
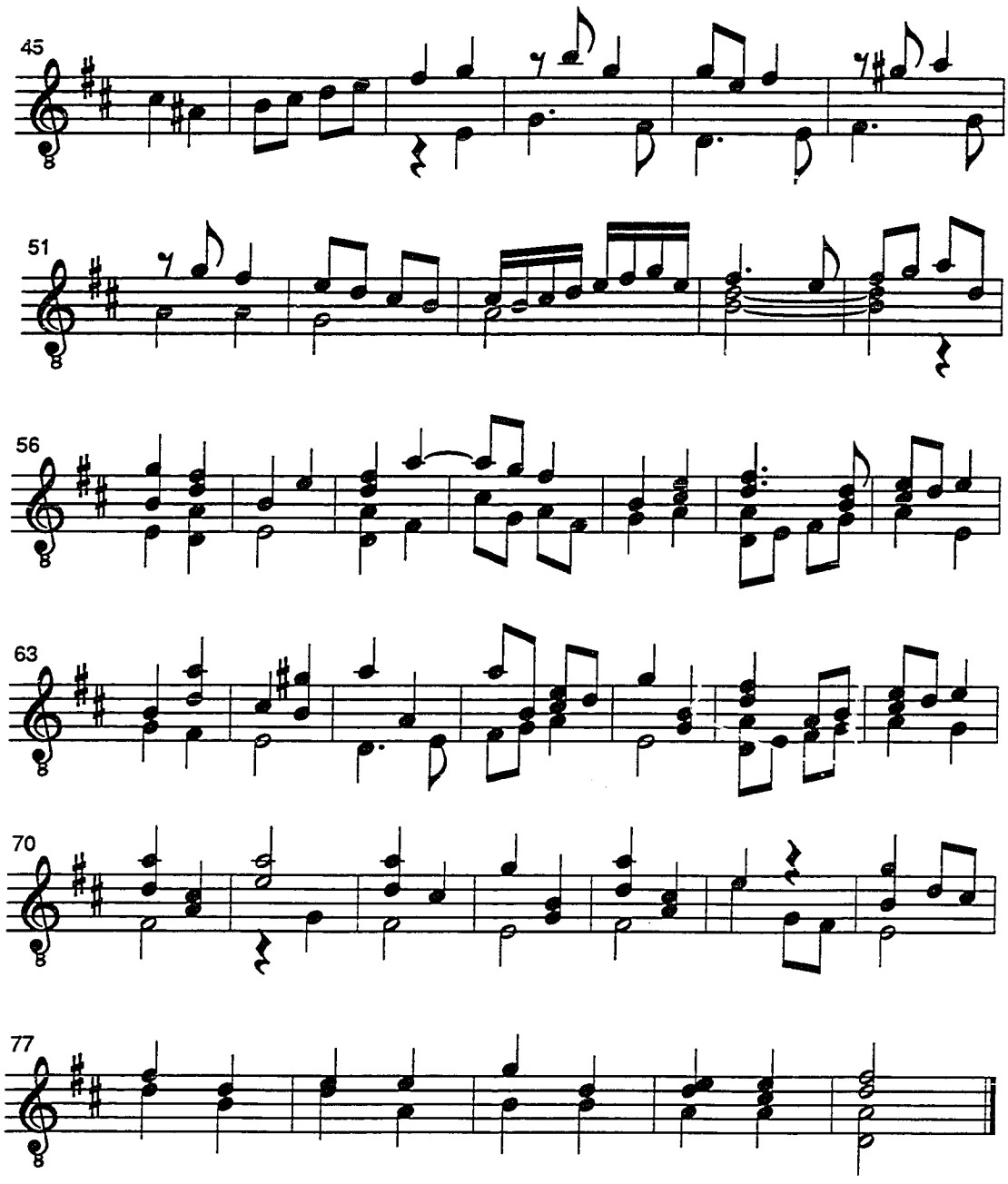
No. 2

Fantasie

f. 3r.-4r.

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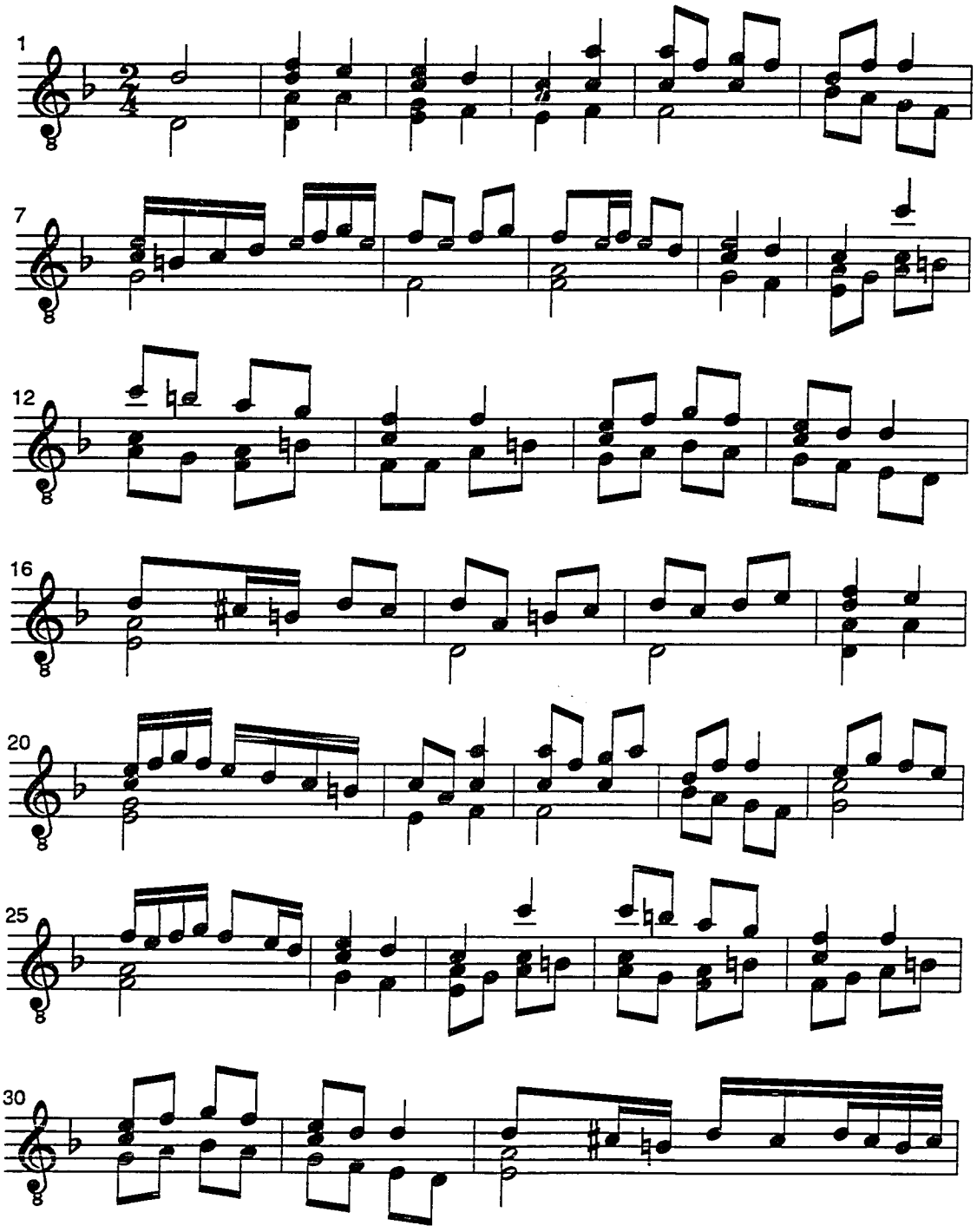
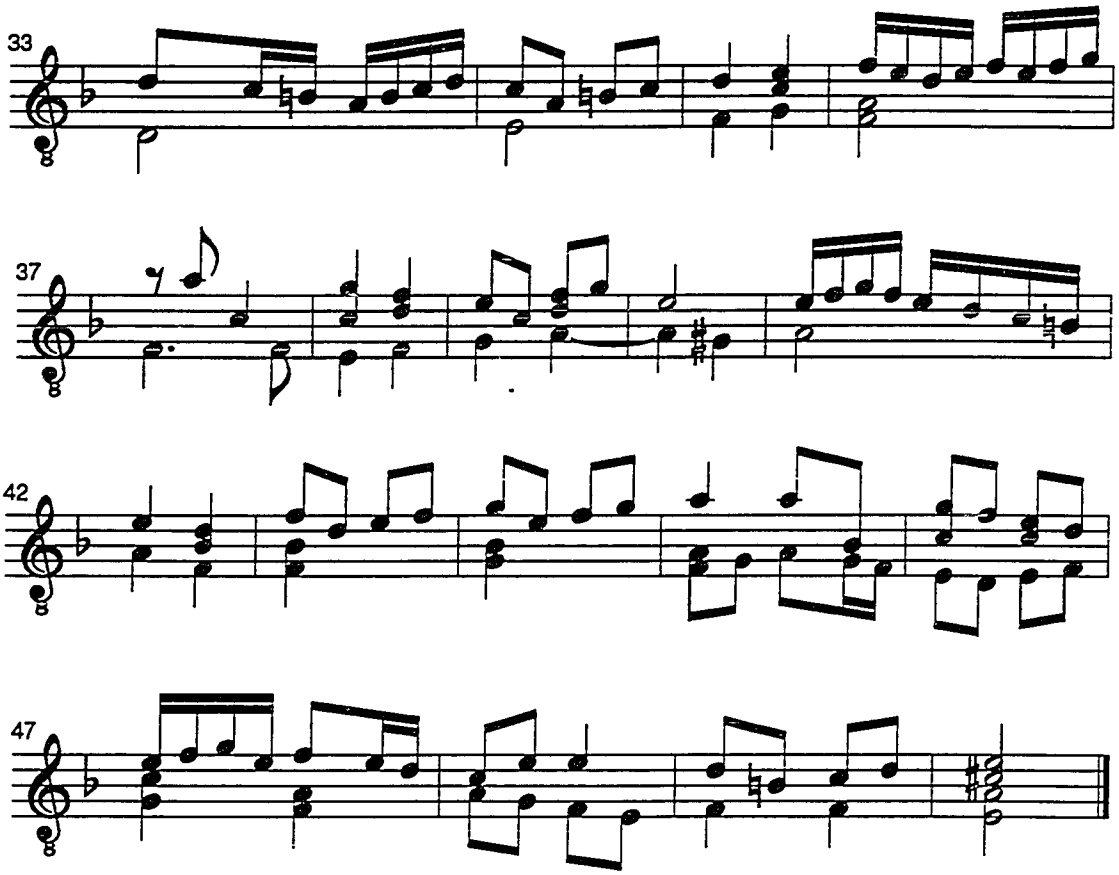
No. 3 **Je cherche autant amer** f. 4r.-5r.

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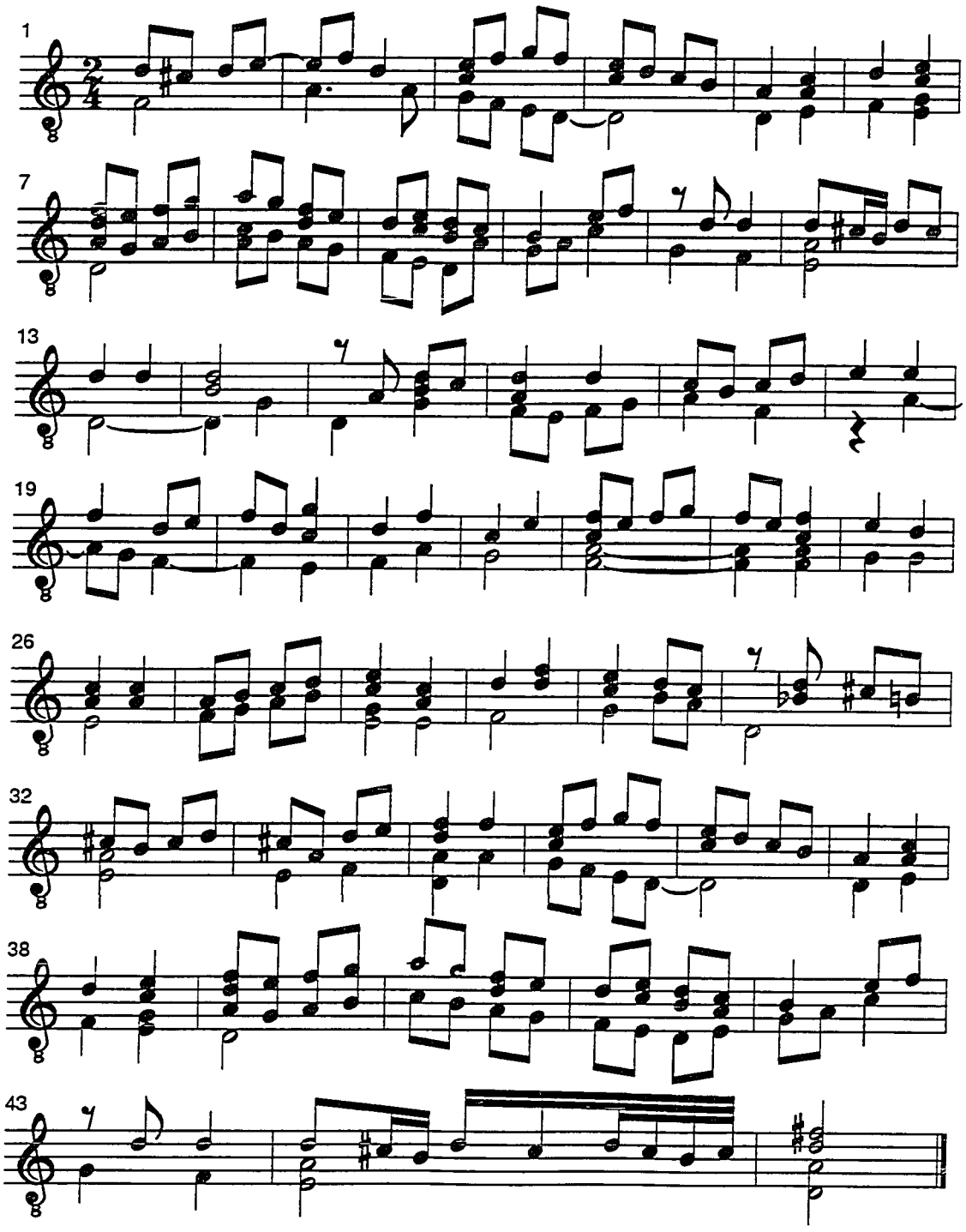
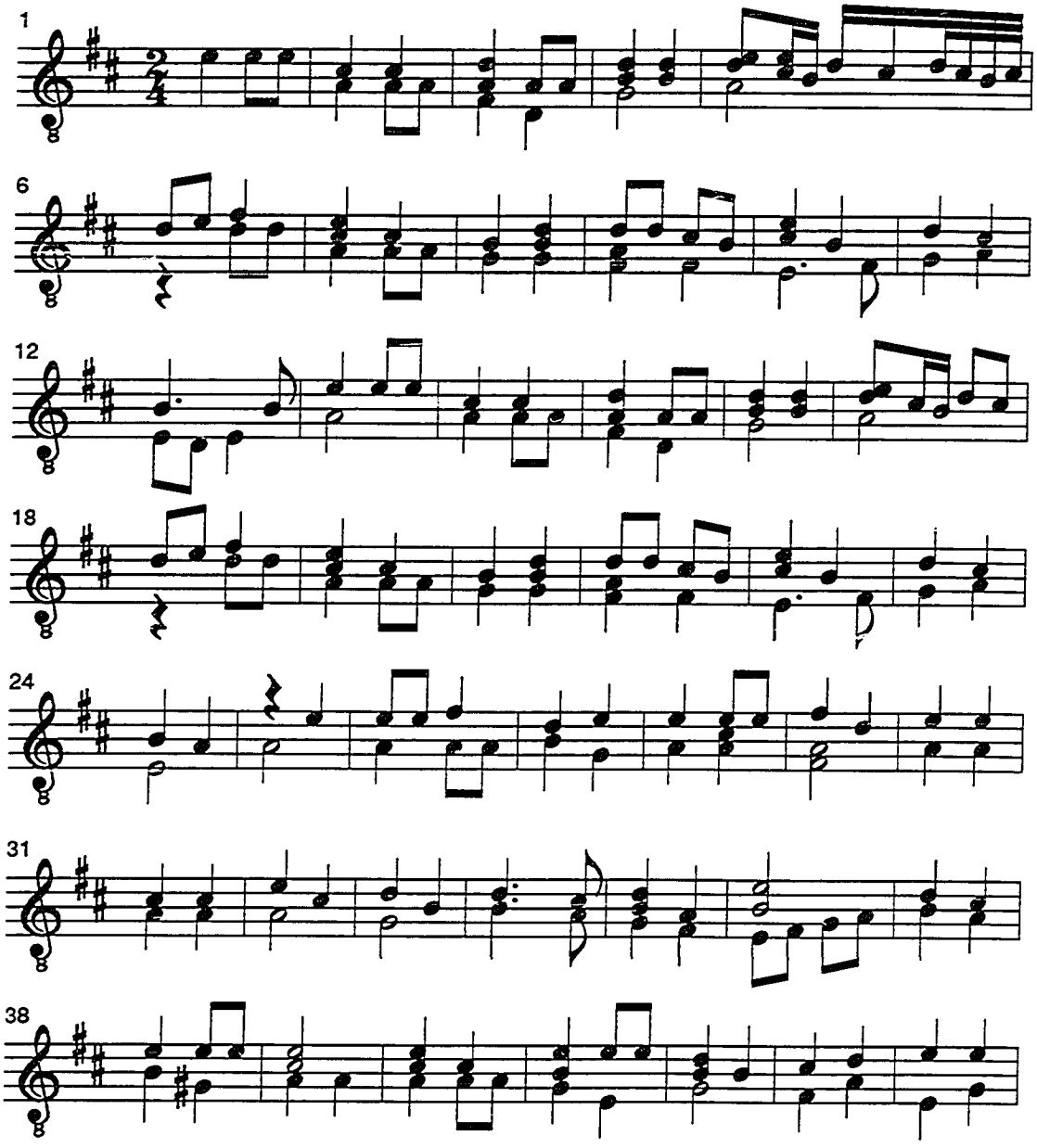
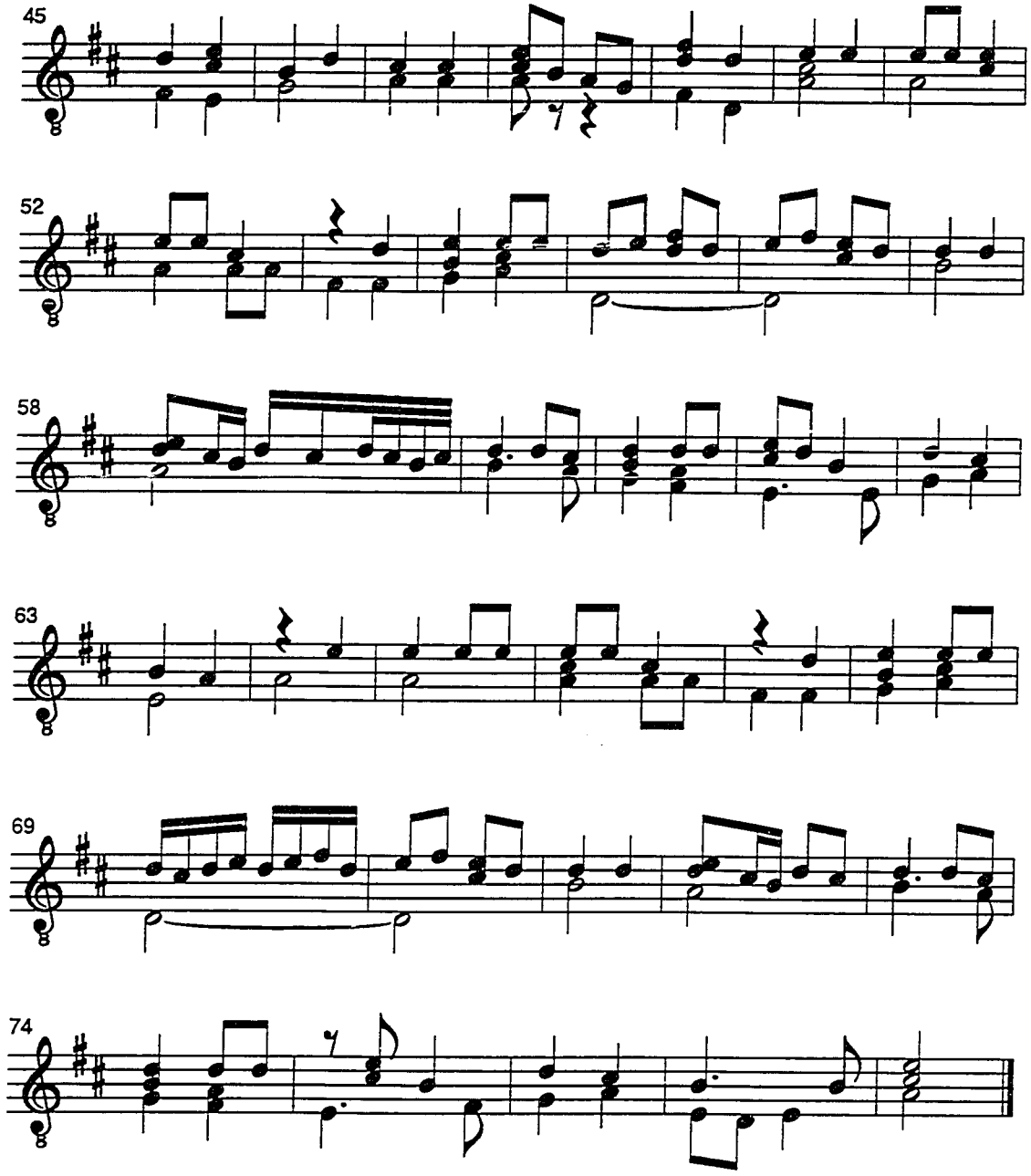
No. 4 **Plus le voy de beaucoup estimé** f. 5v.-6v.



No. 5 **Elle a bien ce ris gratieuls** f. 5v.-6v.

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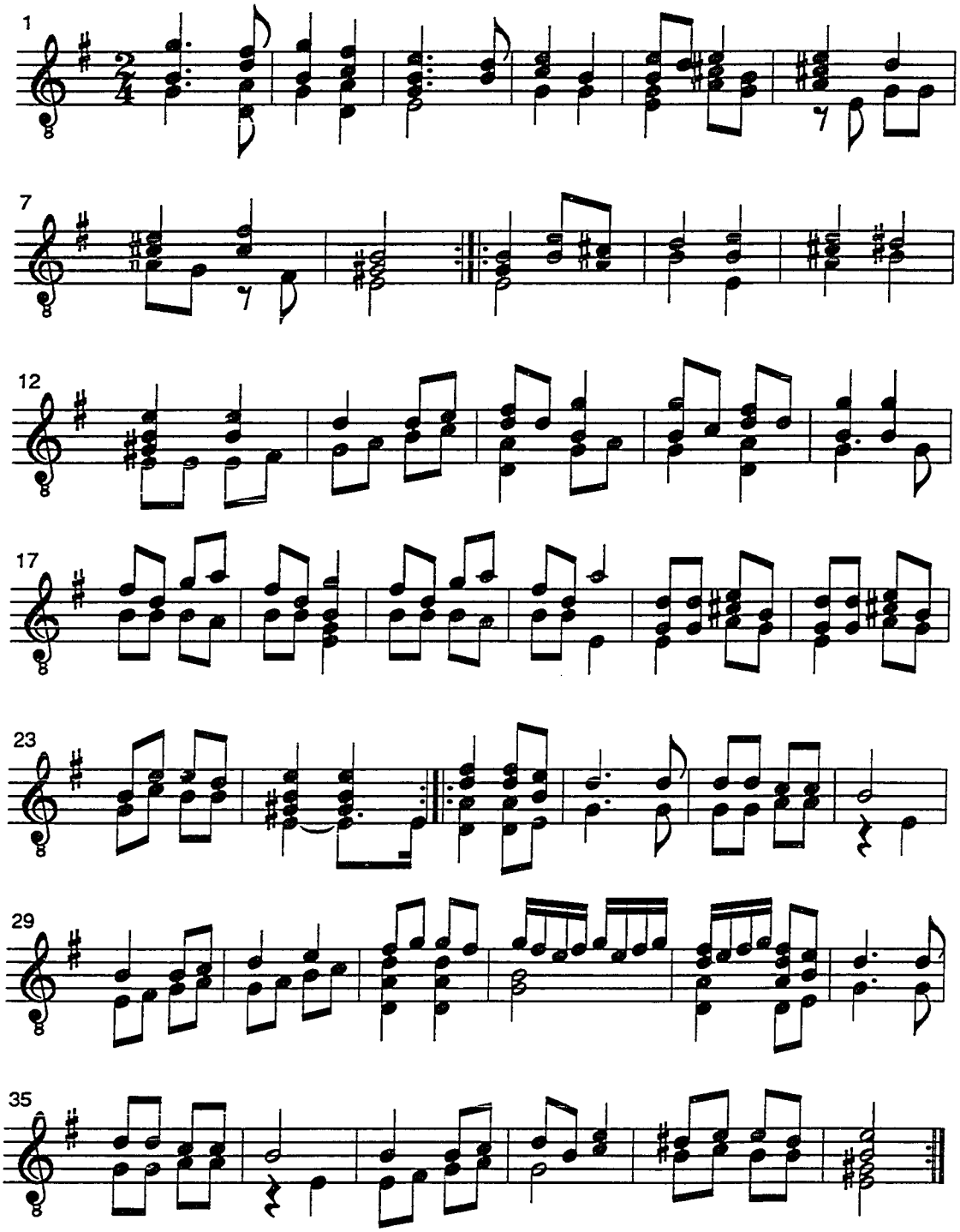
No. 6 **Il estoit une fillette** f. 7r.-7v.



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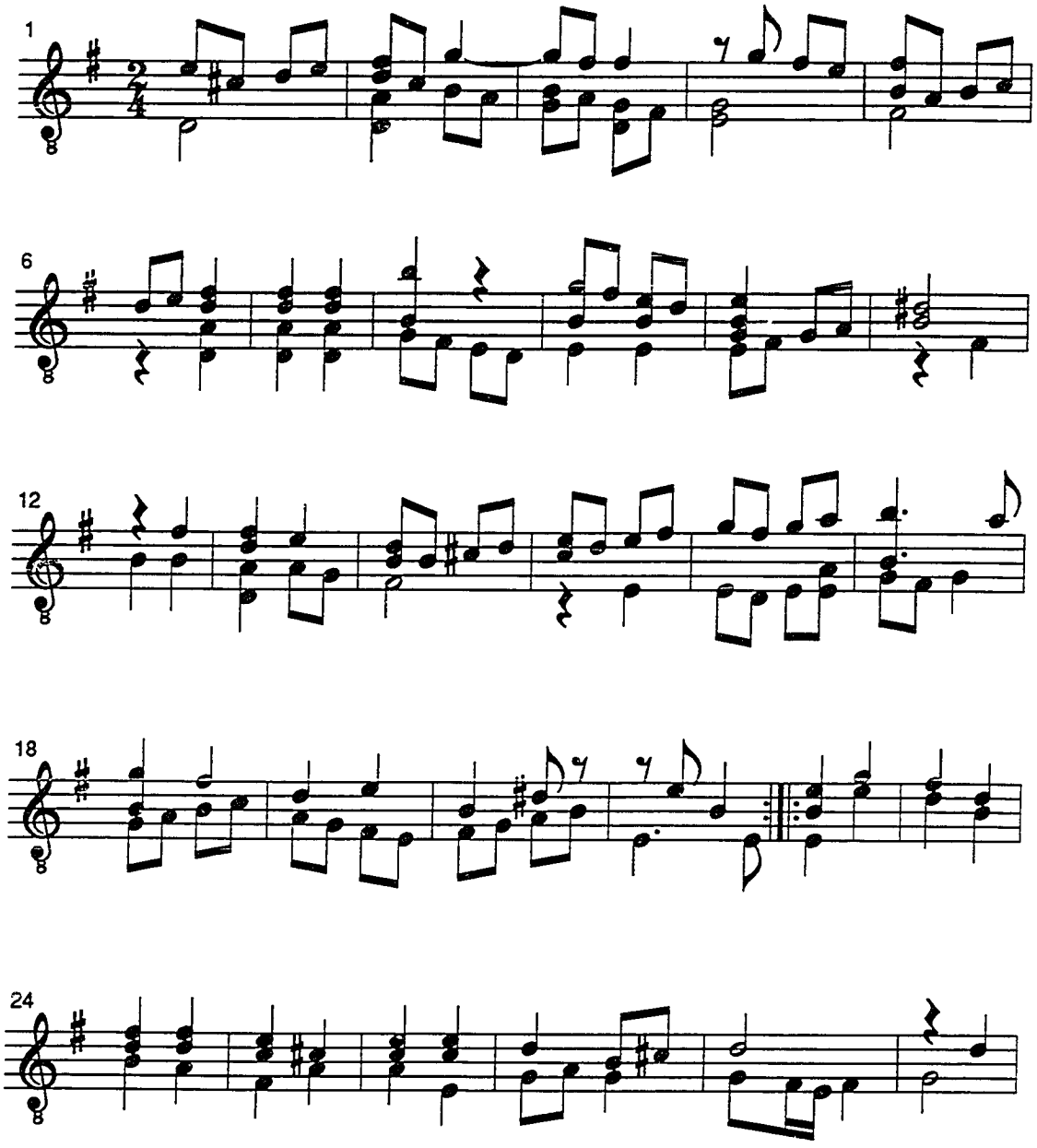

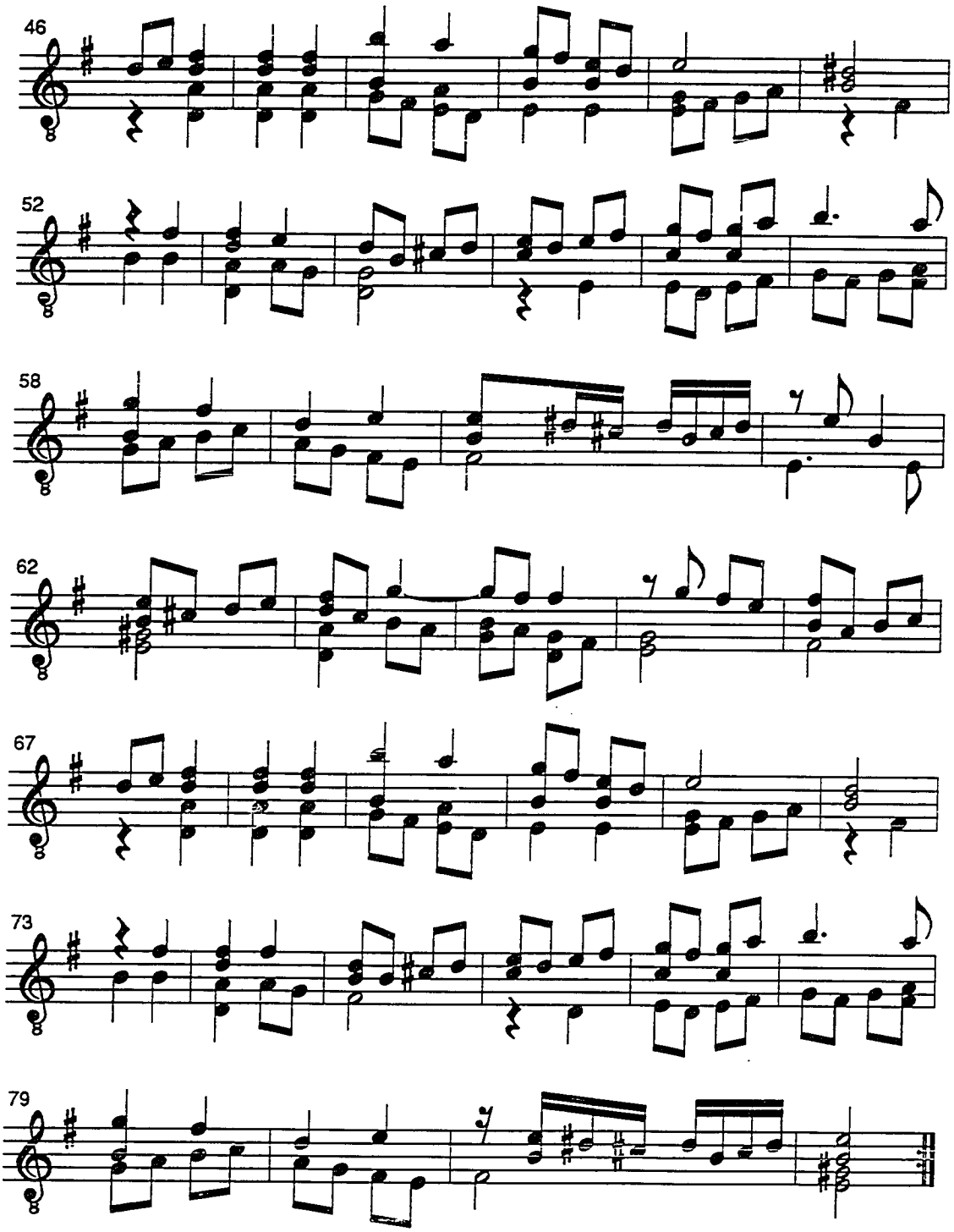
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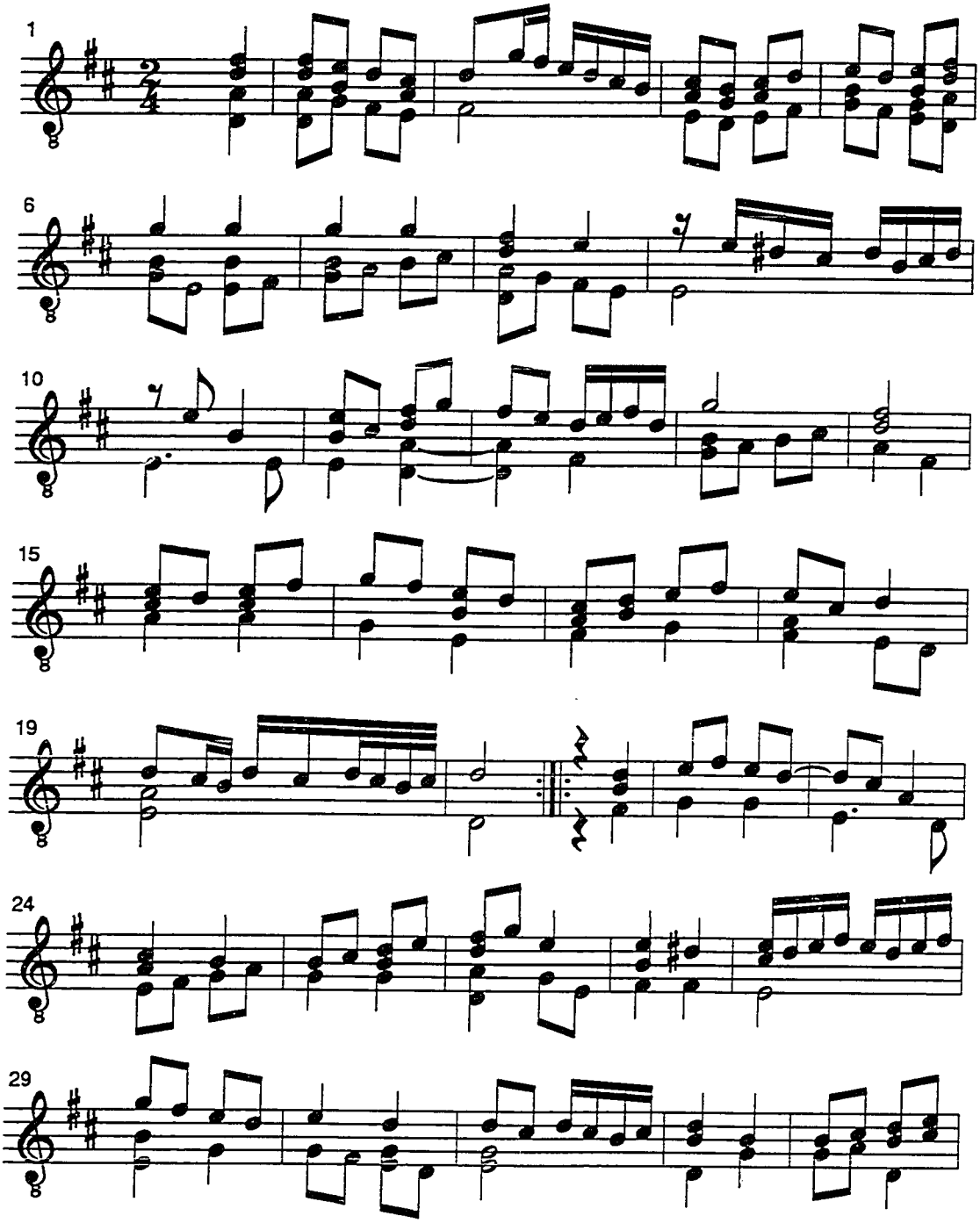
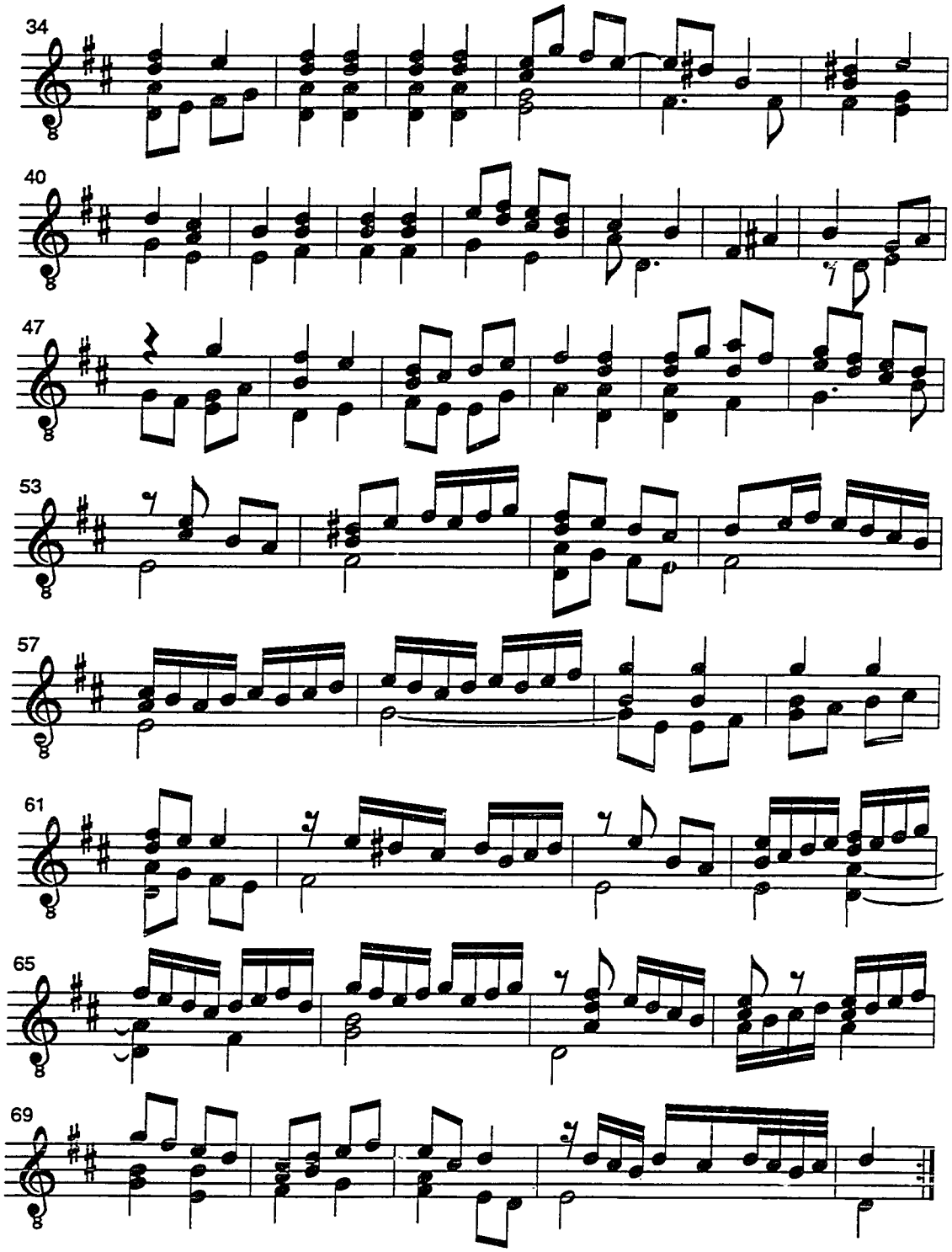
No. 8 **Plourez mes yeuls** f. 9v.-11r.

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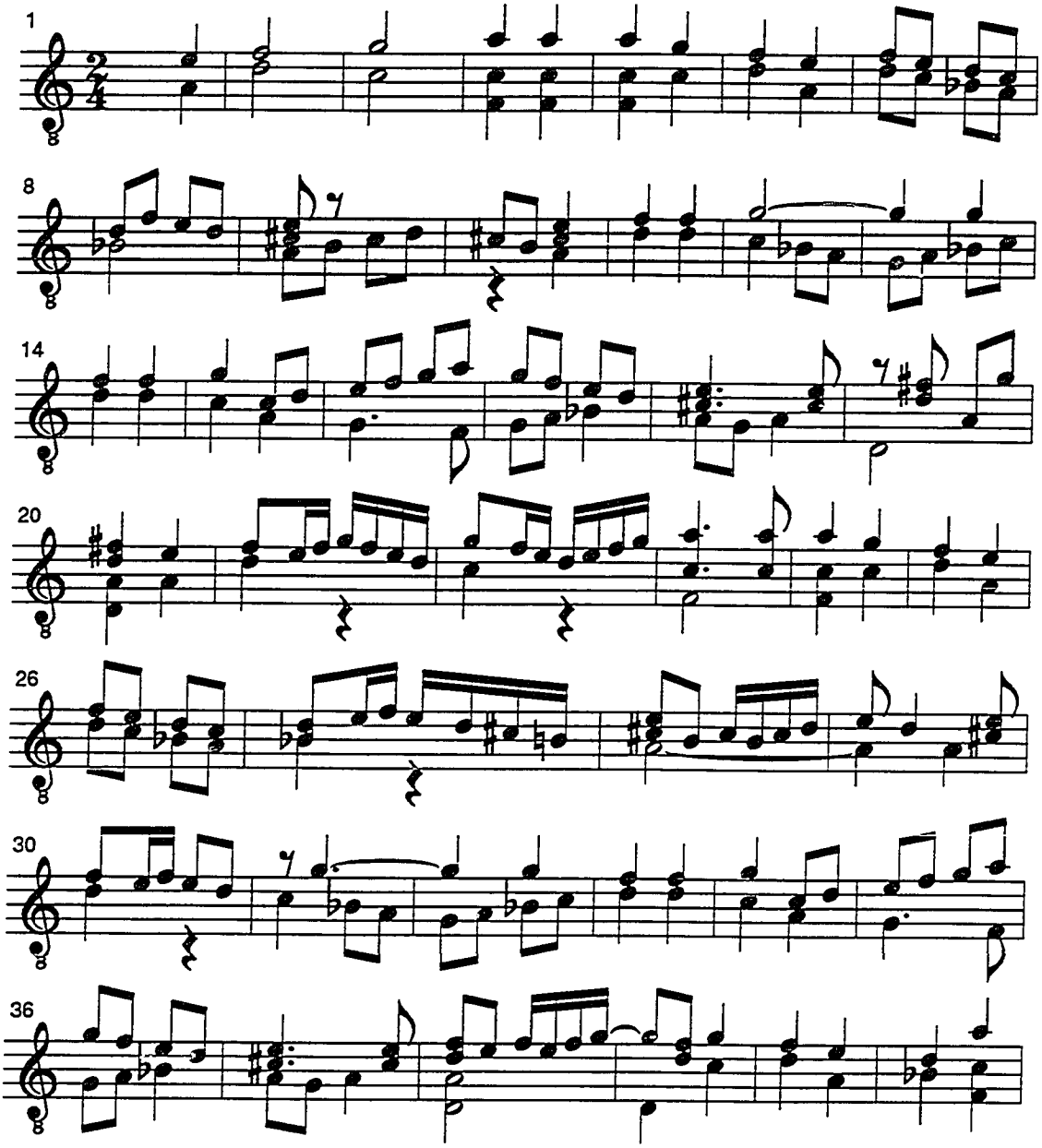
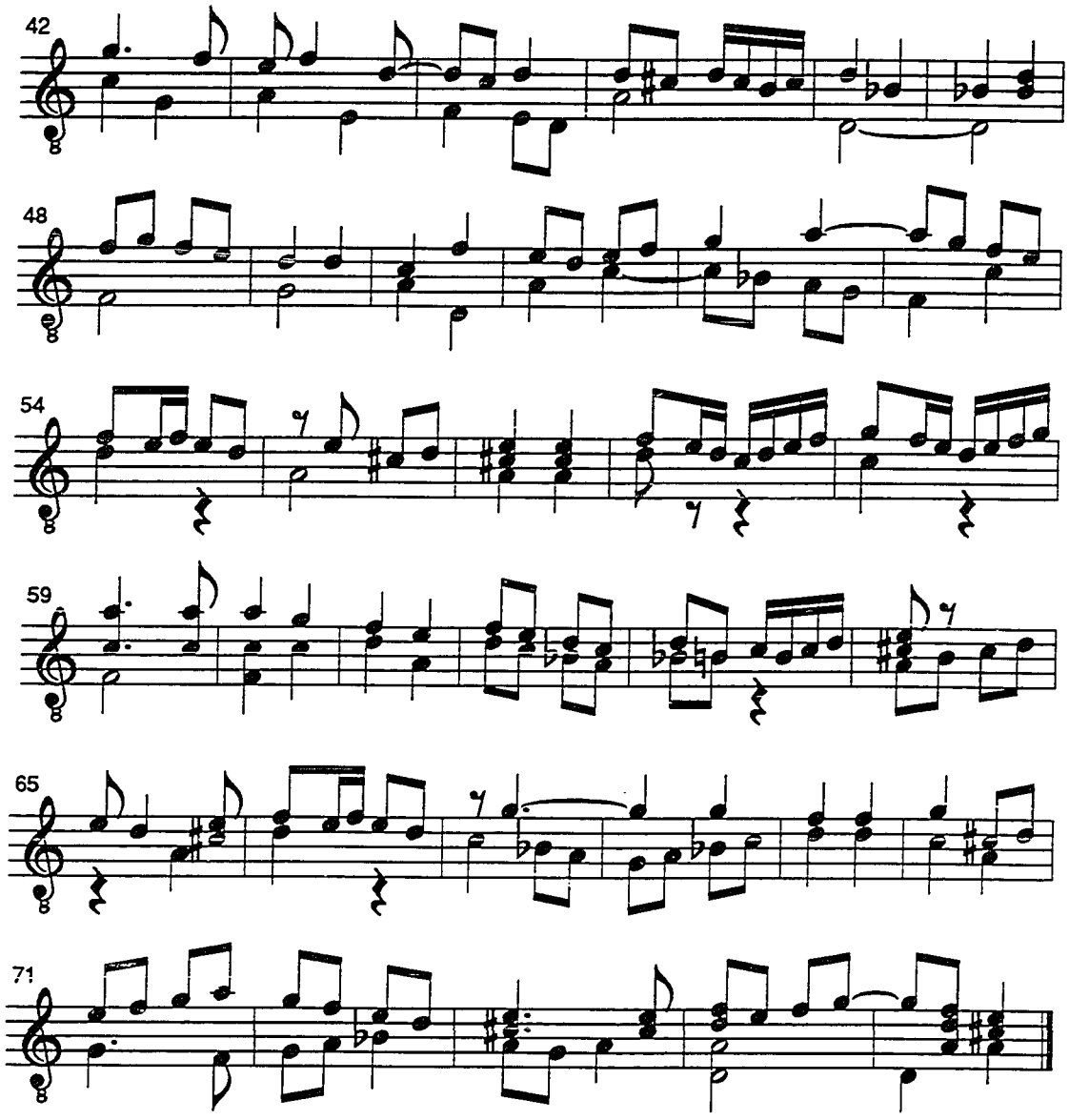
No. 9 **La voulonté** f. 11r.-12r.

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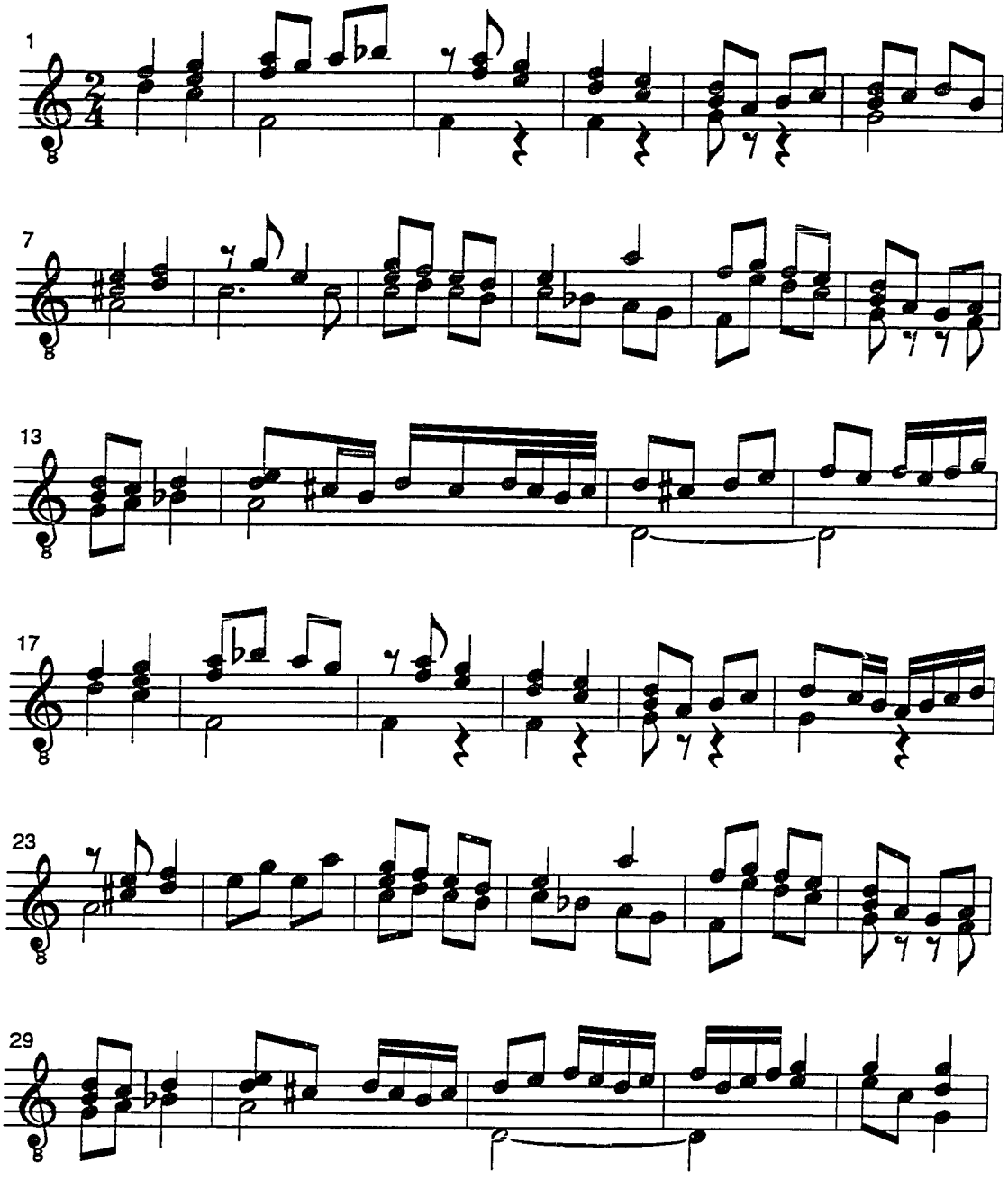
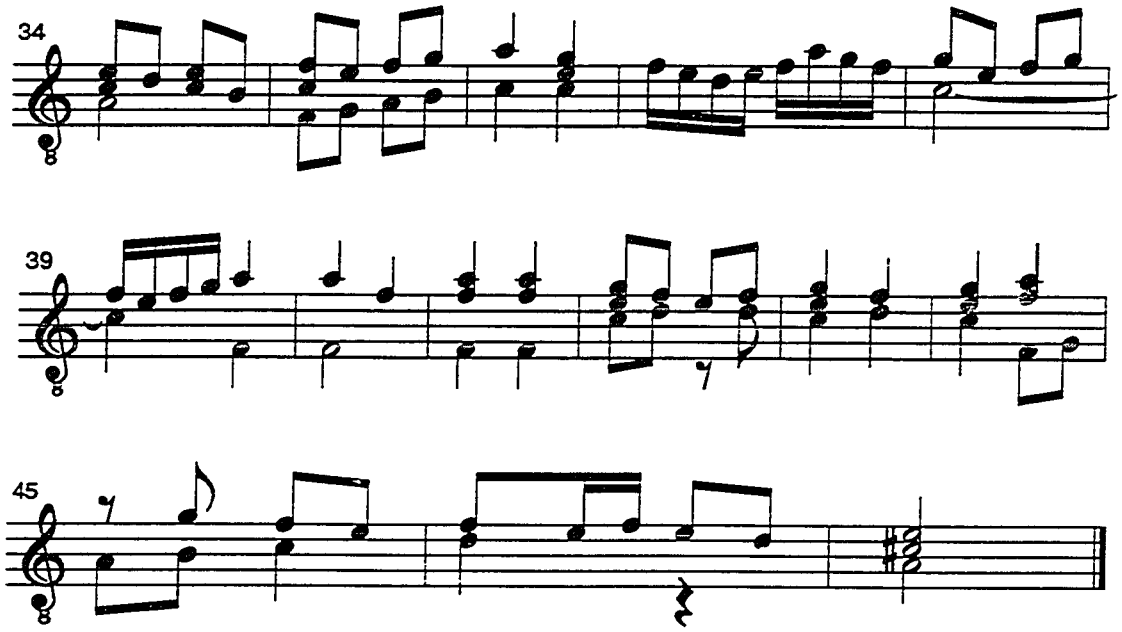
No. 10 **Jay veu que j'estoys franc e maistre** f. 12v.-13r.

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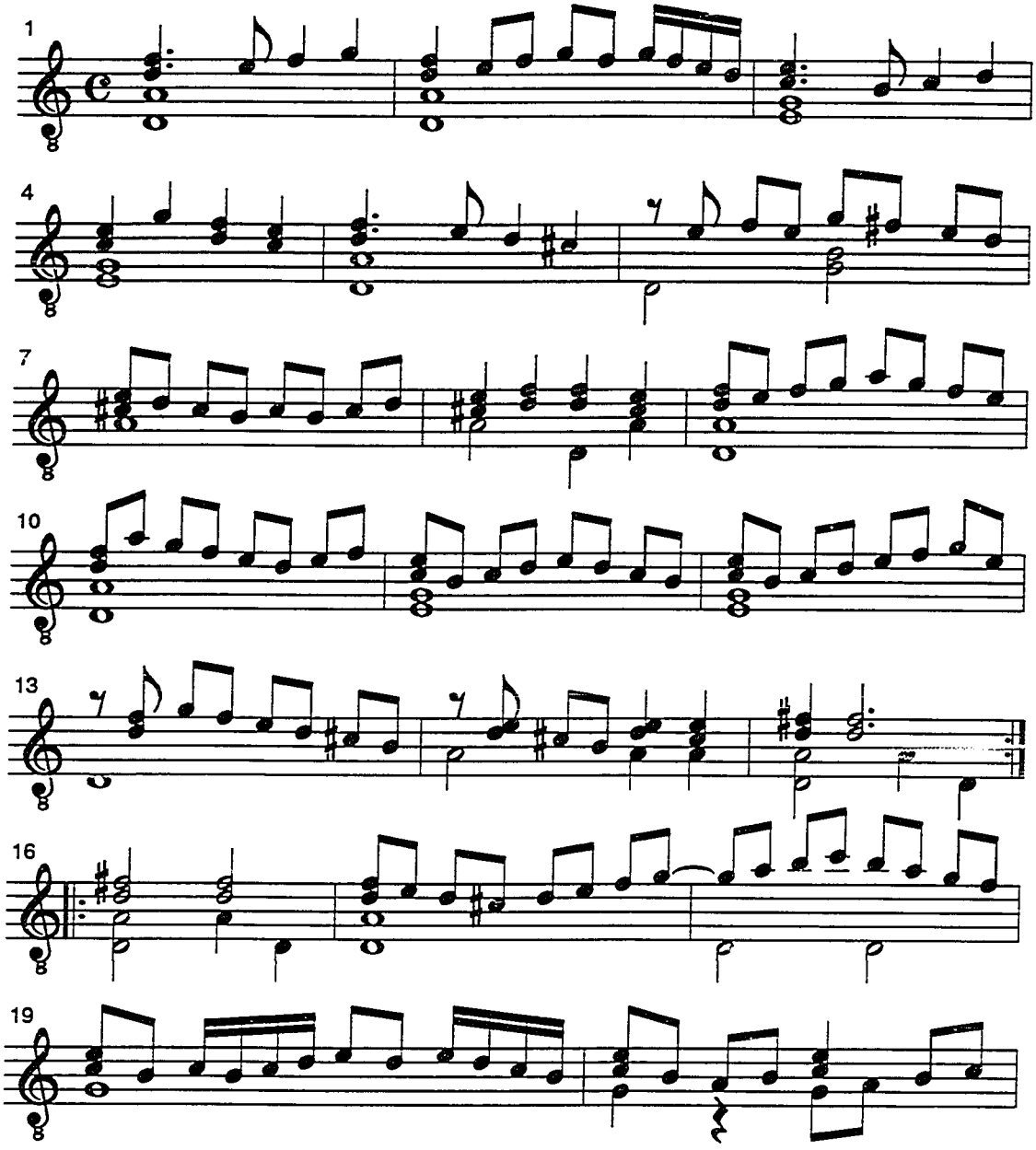

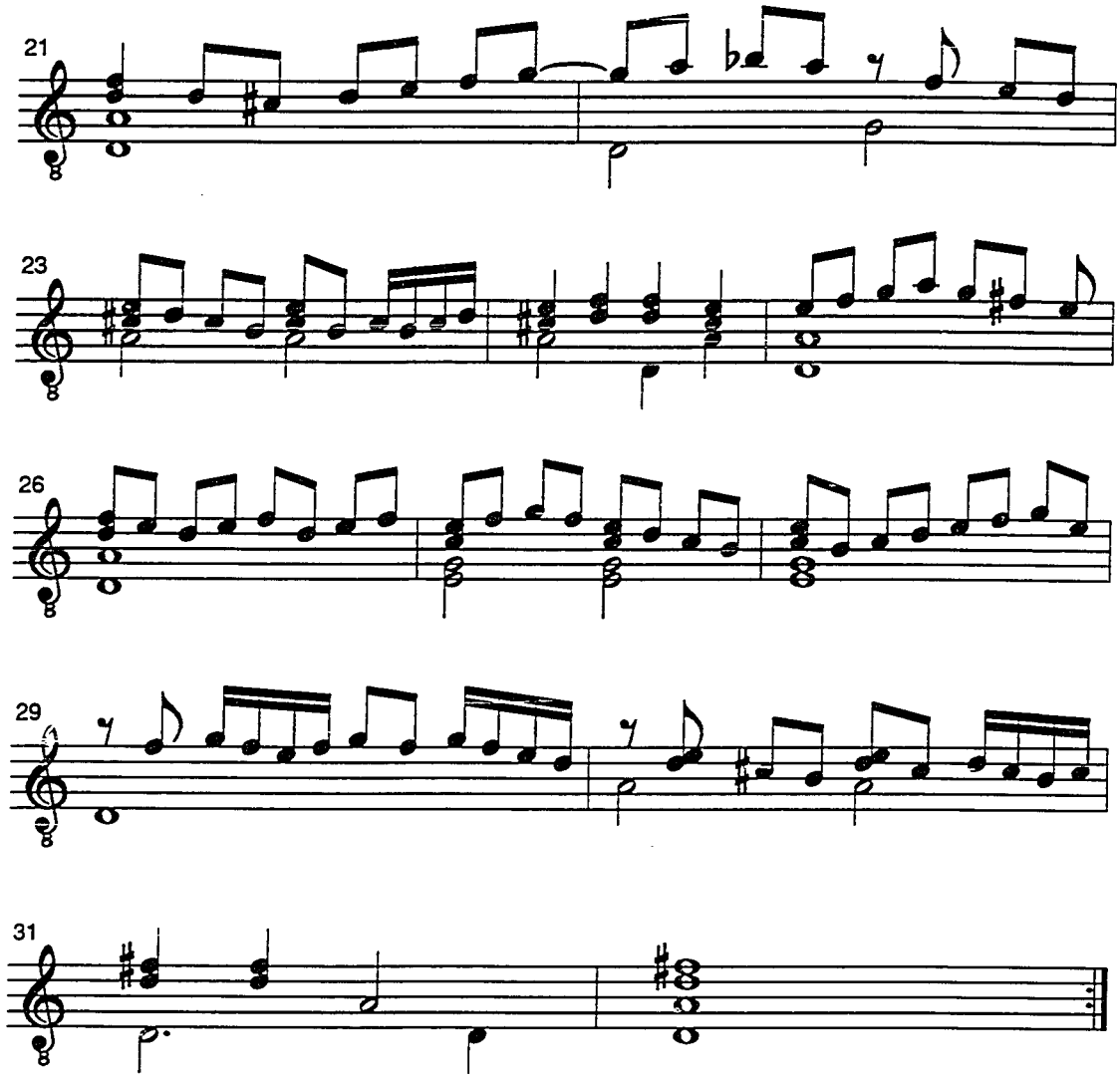
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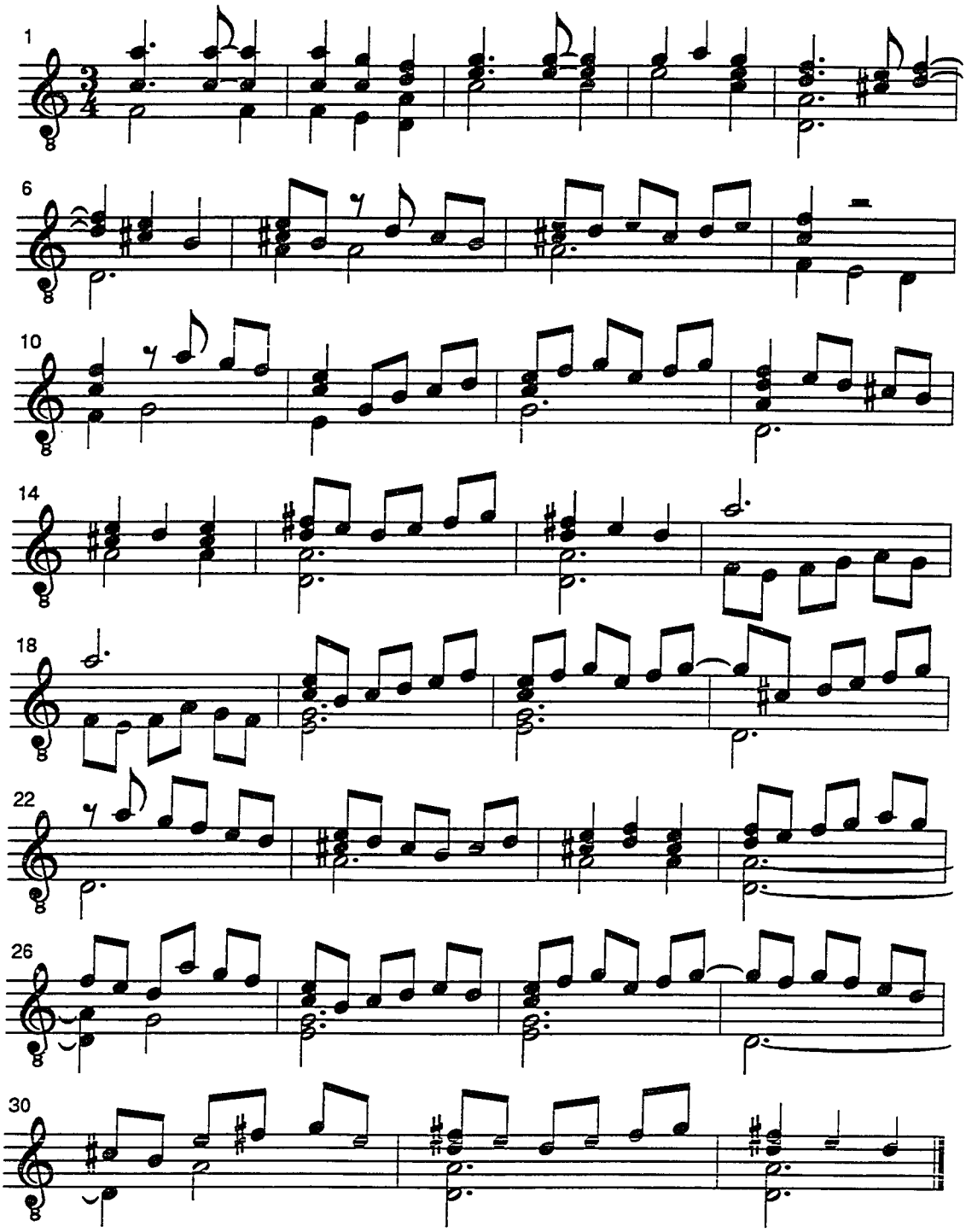

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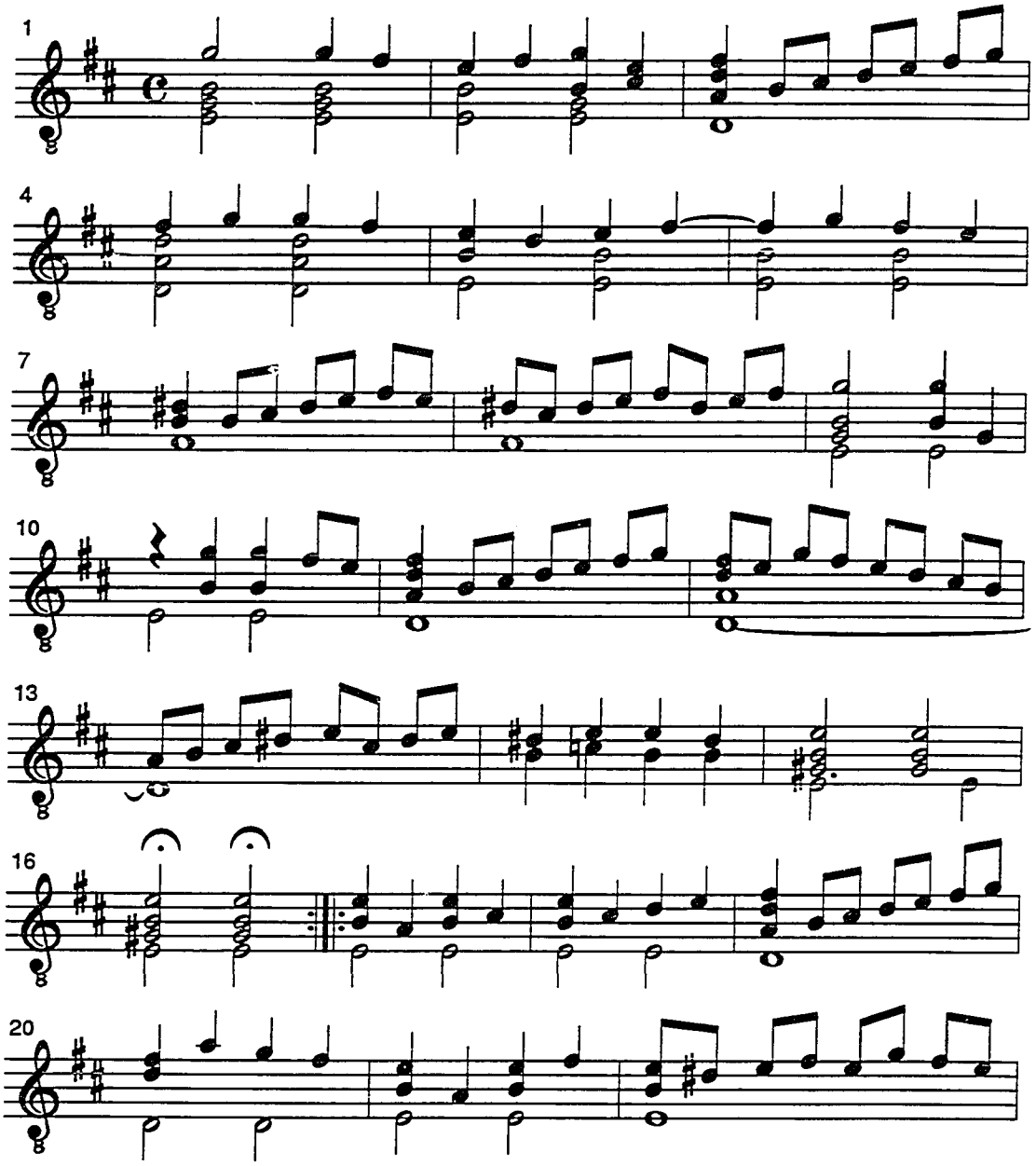
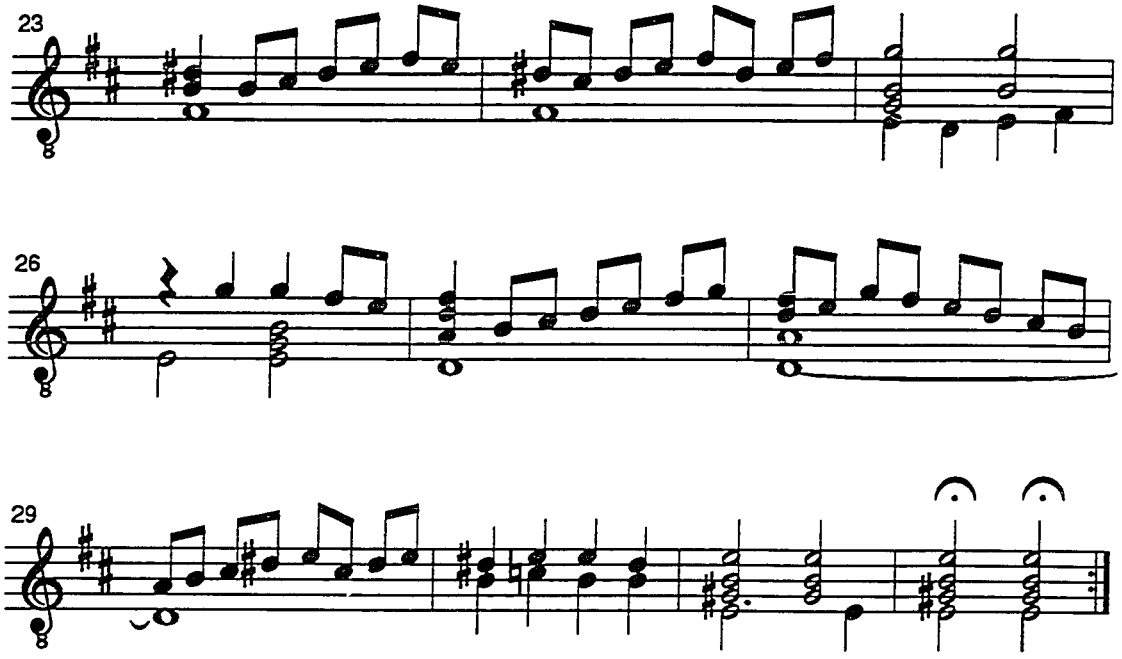
f. 15v.-16r.

Pavanne

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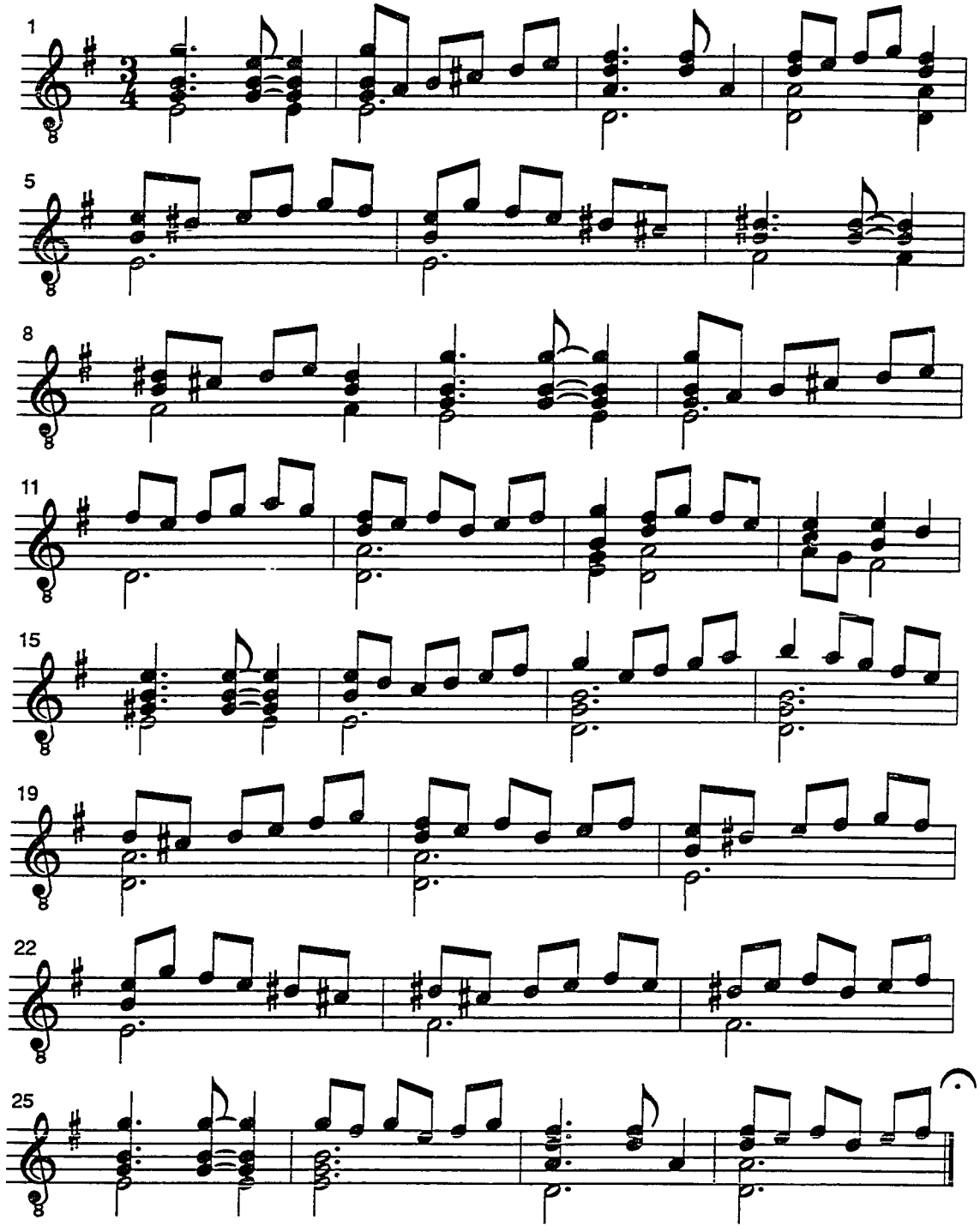
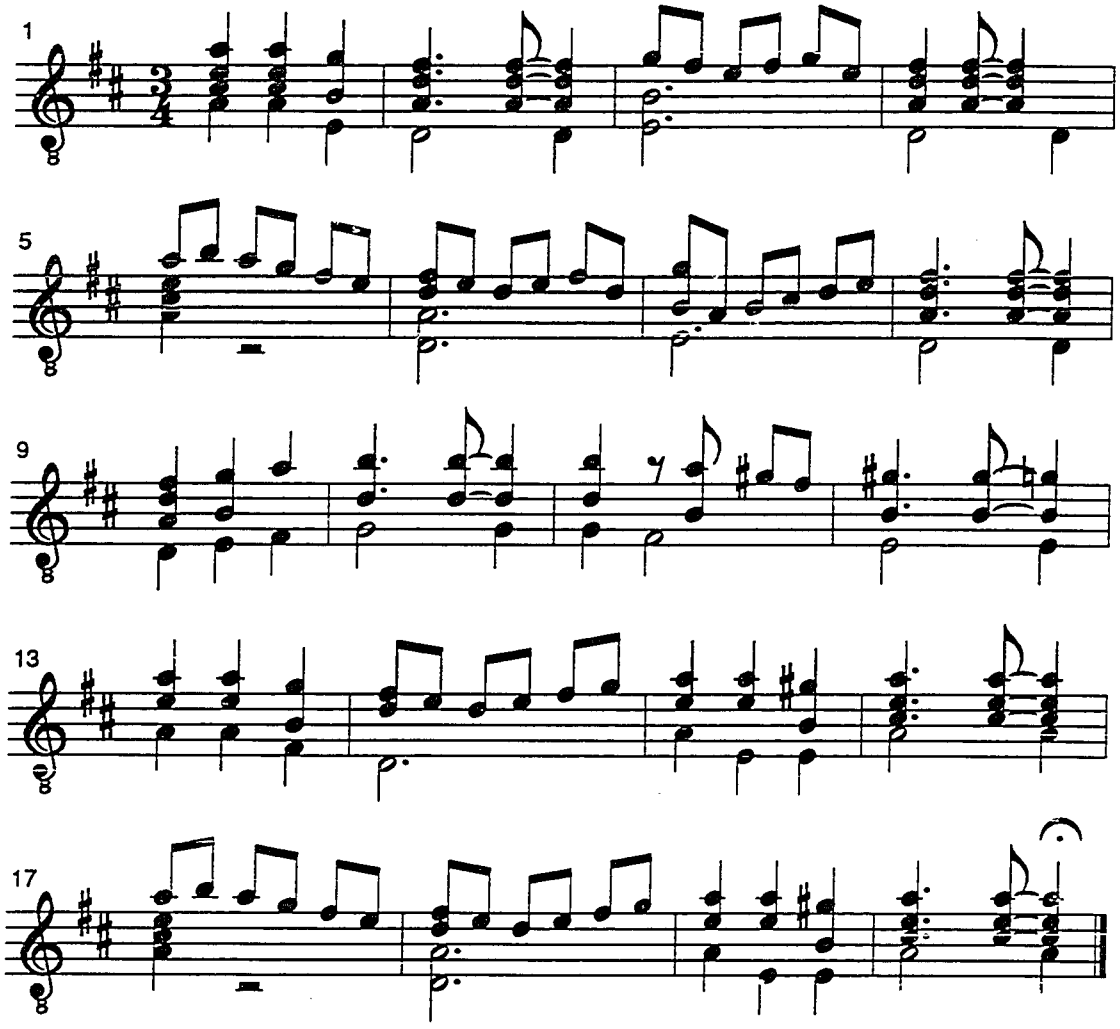
No. 14 **Gaillarde** f. 16v.-17r.



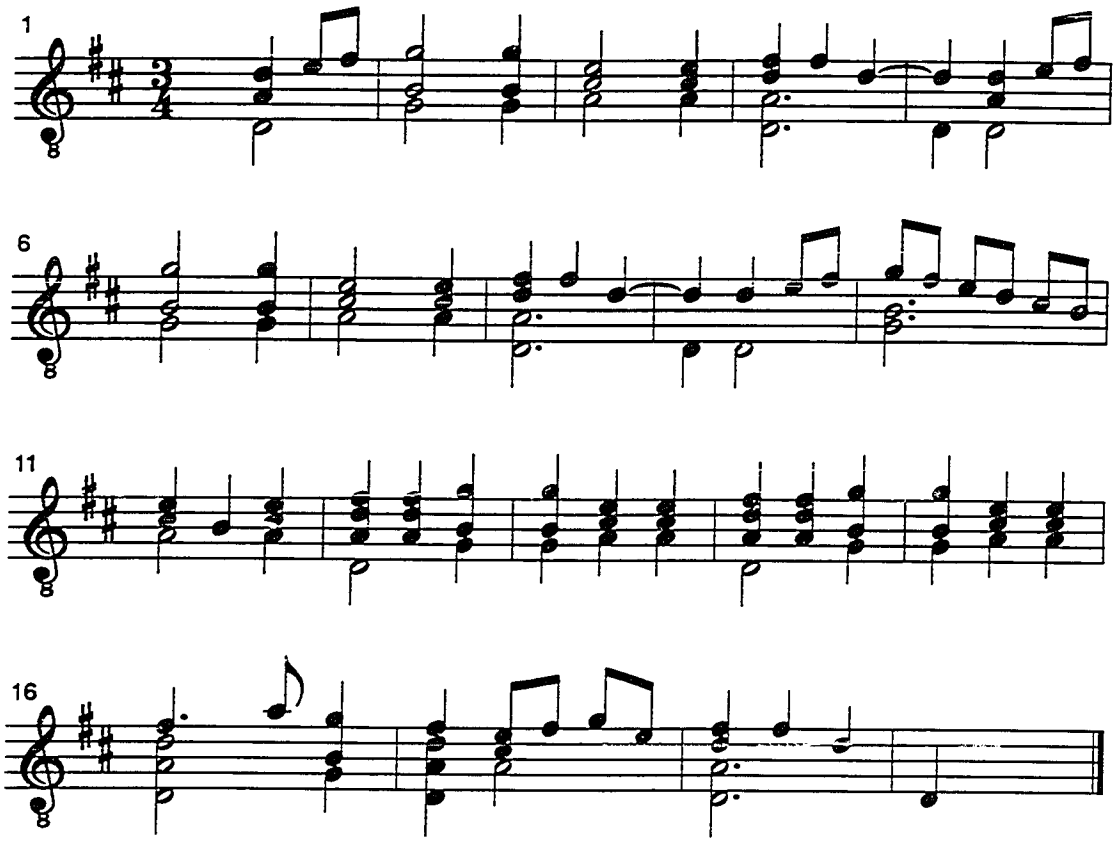
No. 15 **Gaillarde: Puis que nouvelle affection** f. 17v.



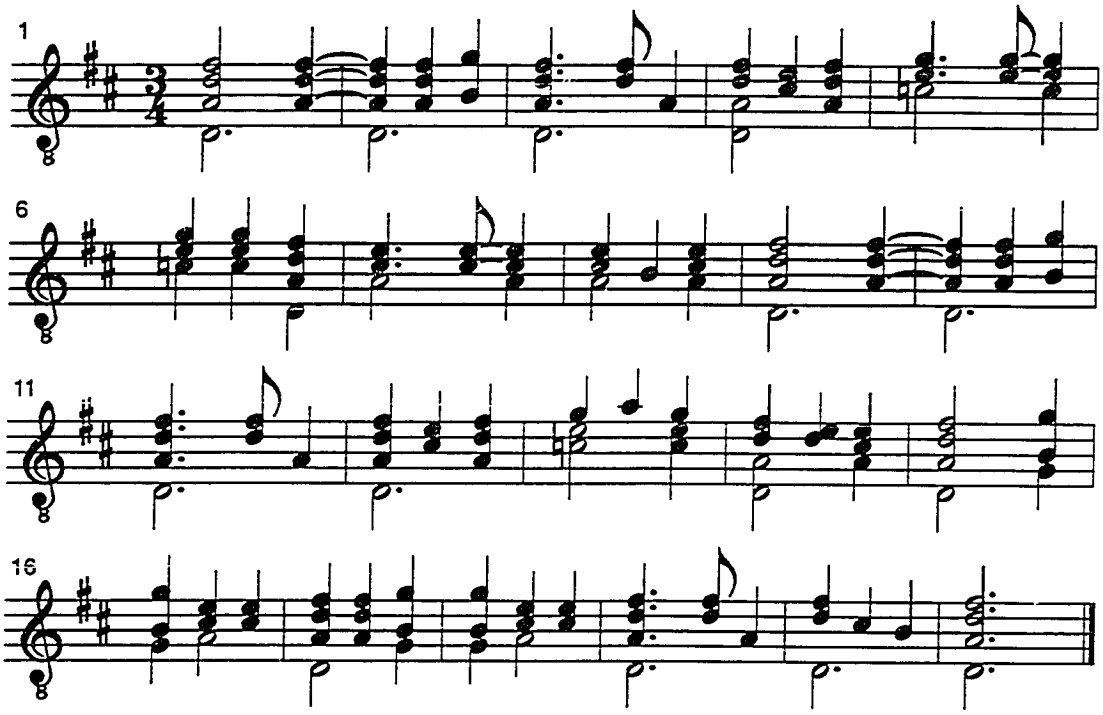
No. 16

Gaillarde

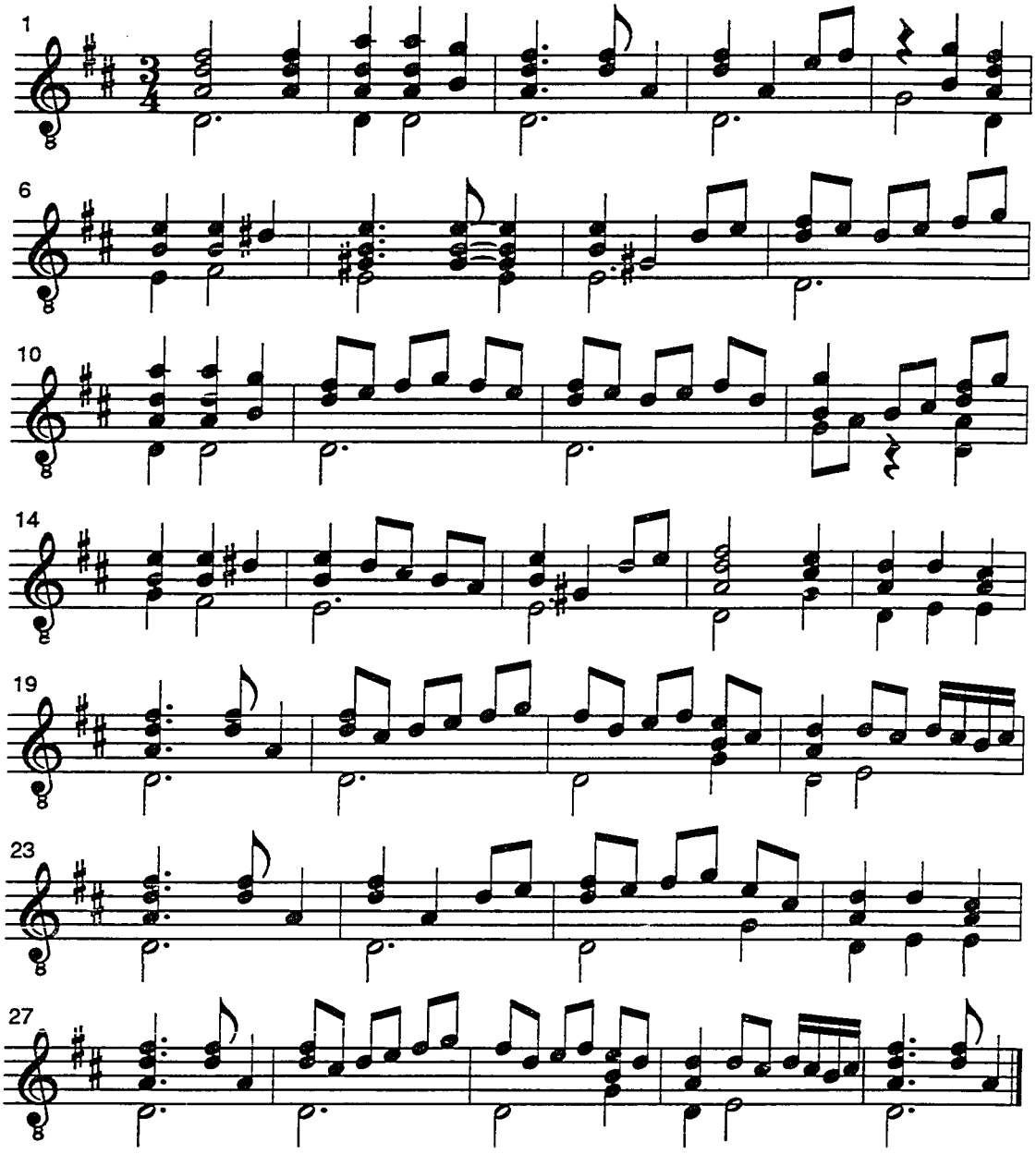
f. 18r.



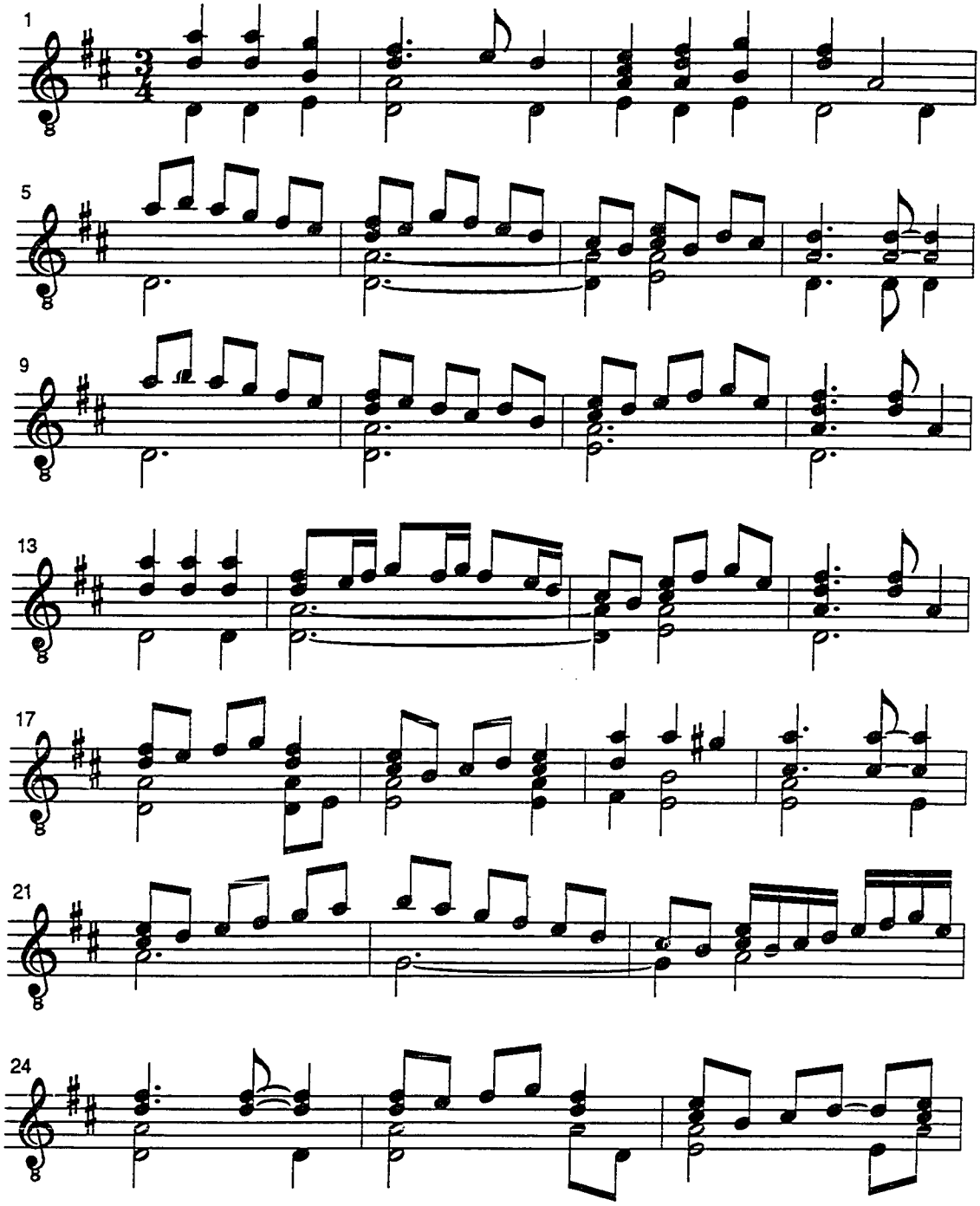
No. 17 **Gaillarde** f. 18v.

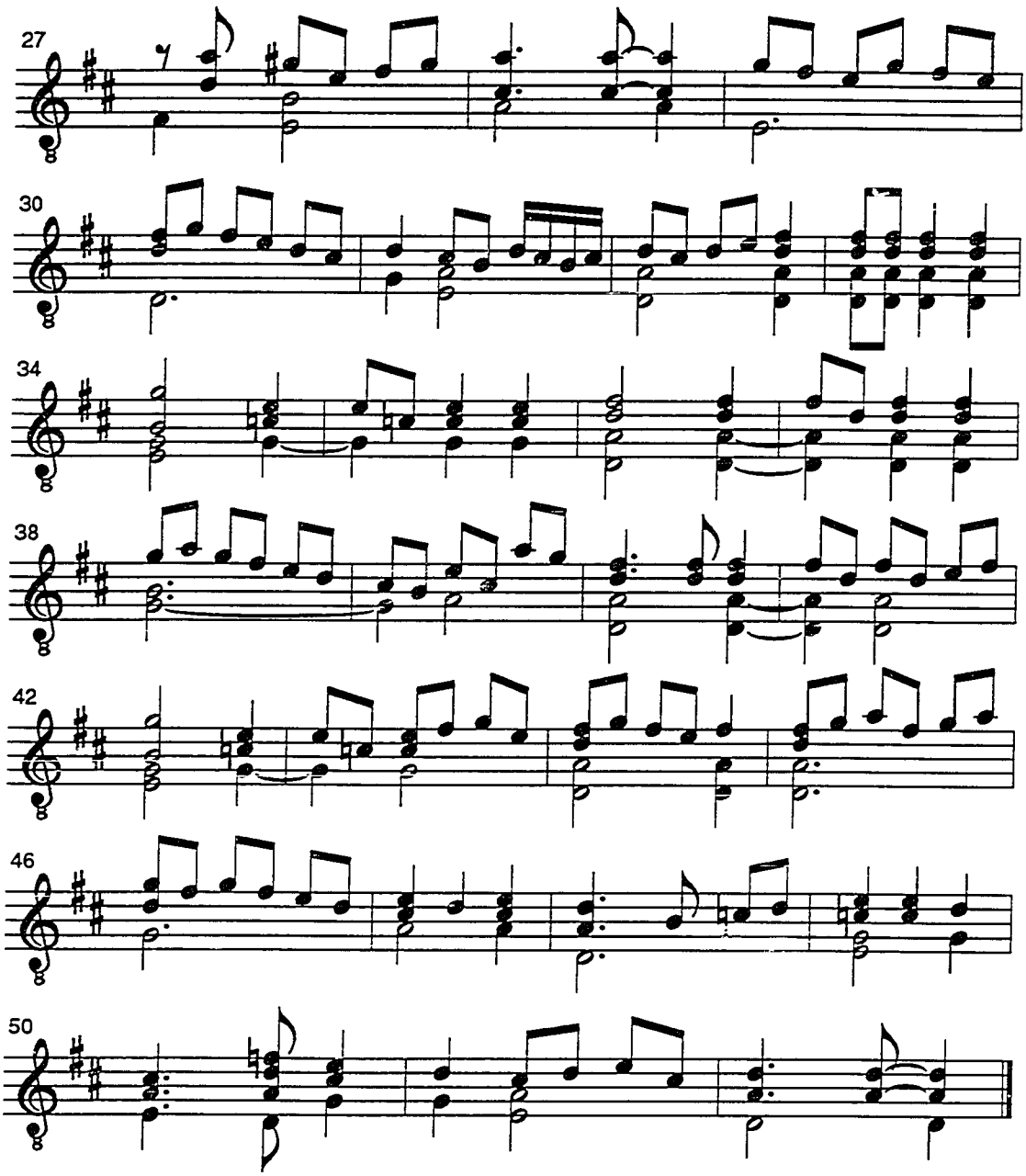


No. 18 **Gaillarde** f. 19r.-19v.



No. 19 **Gaillarde** f. 19v.-20v.

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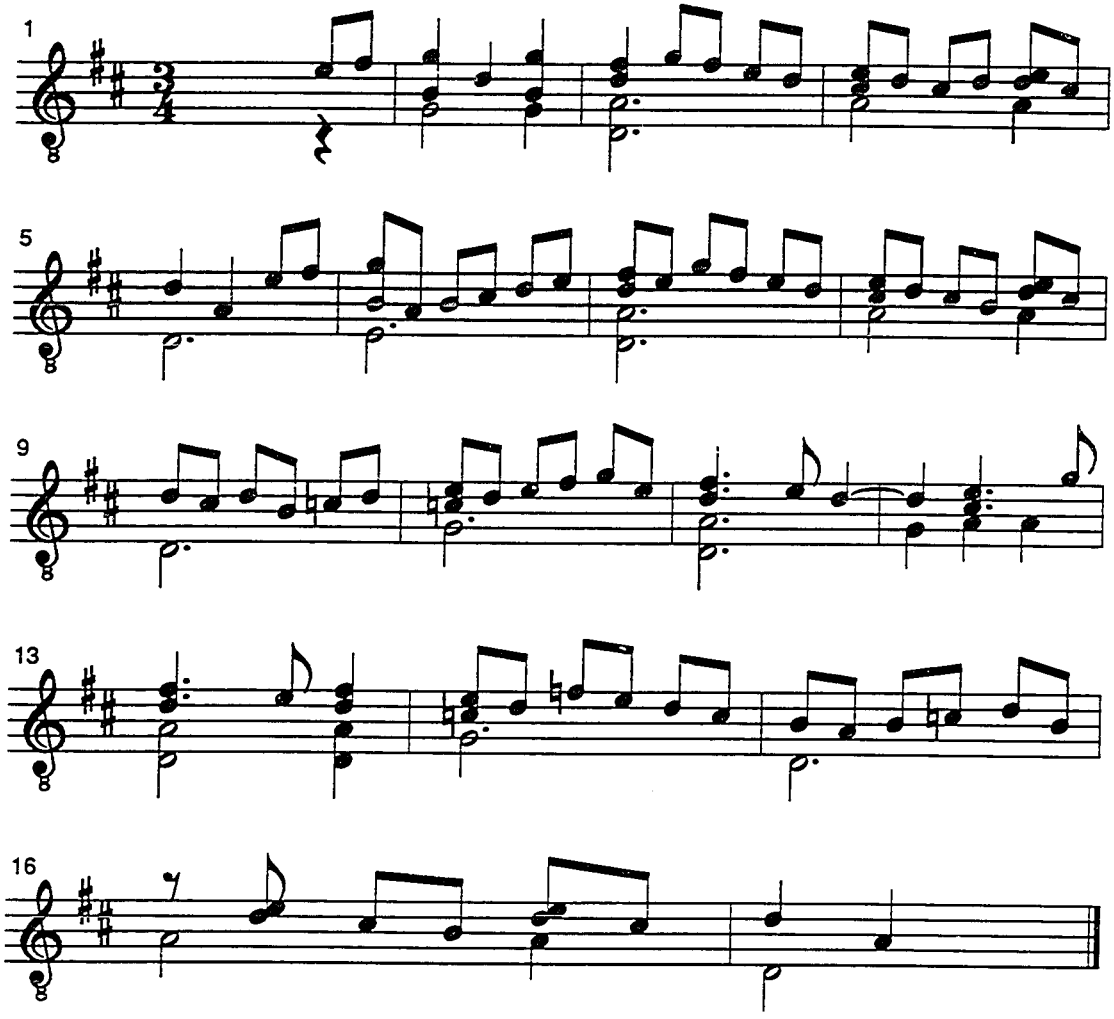
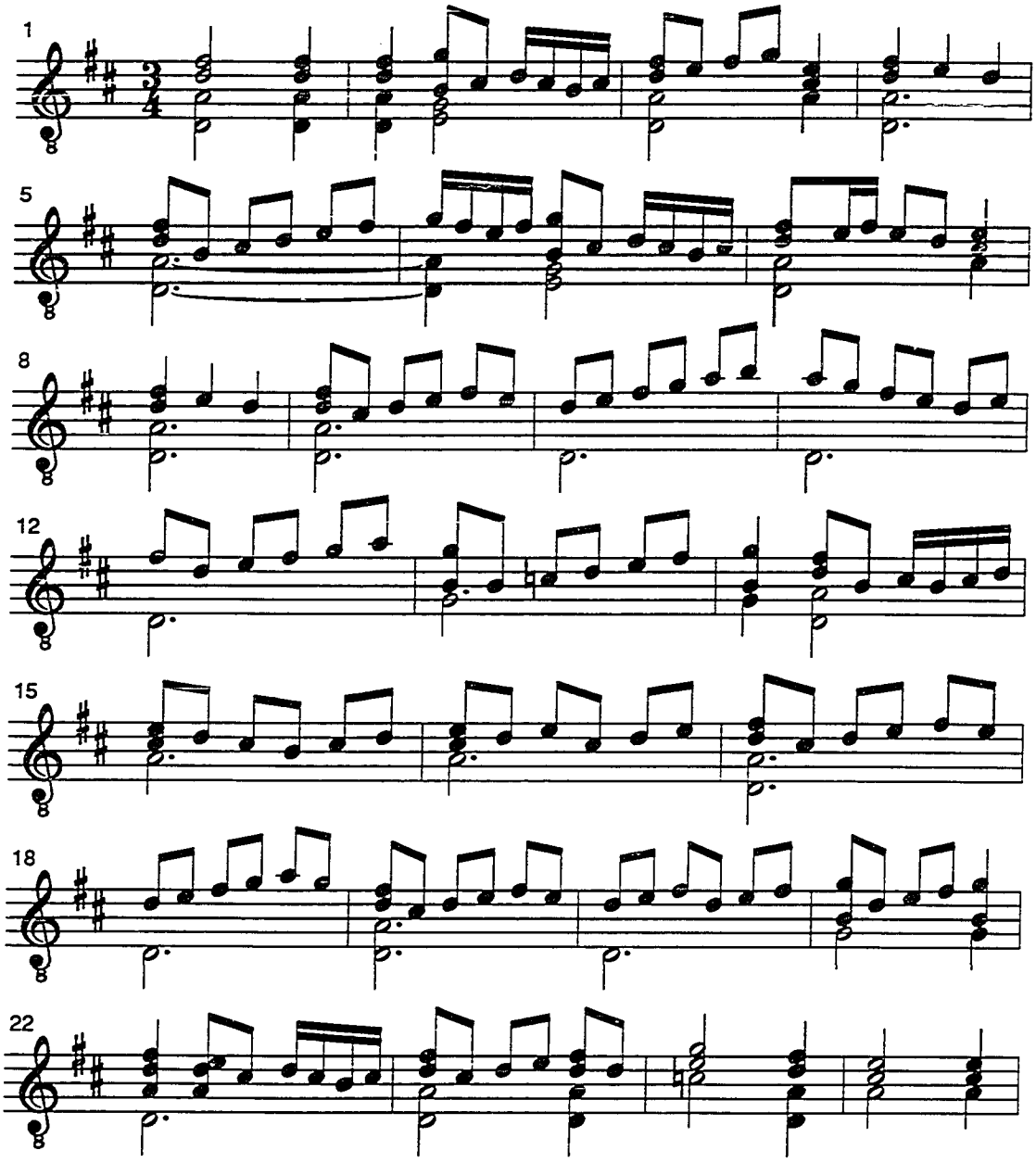
No. 20

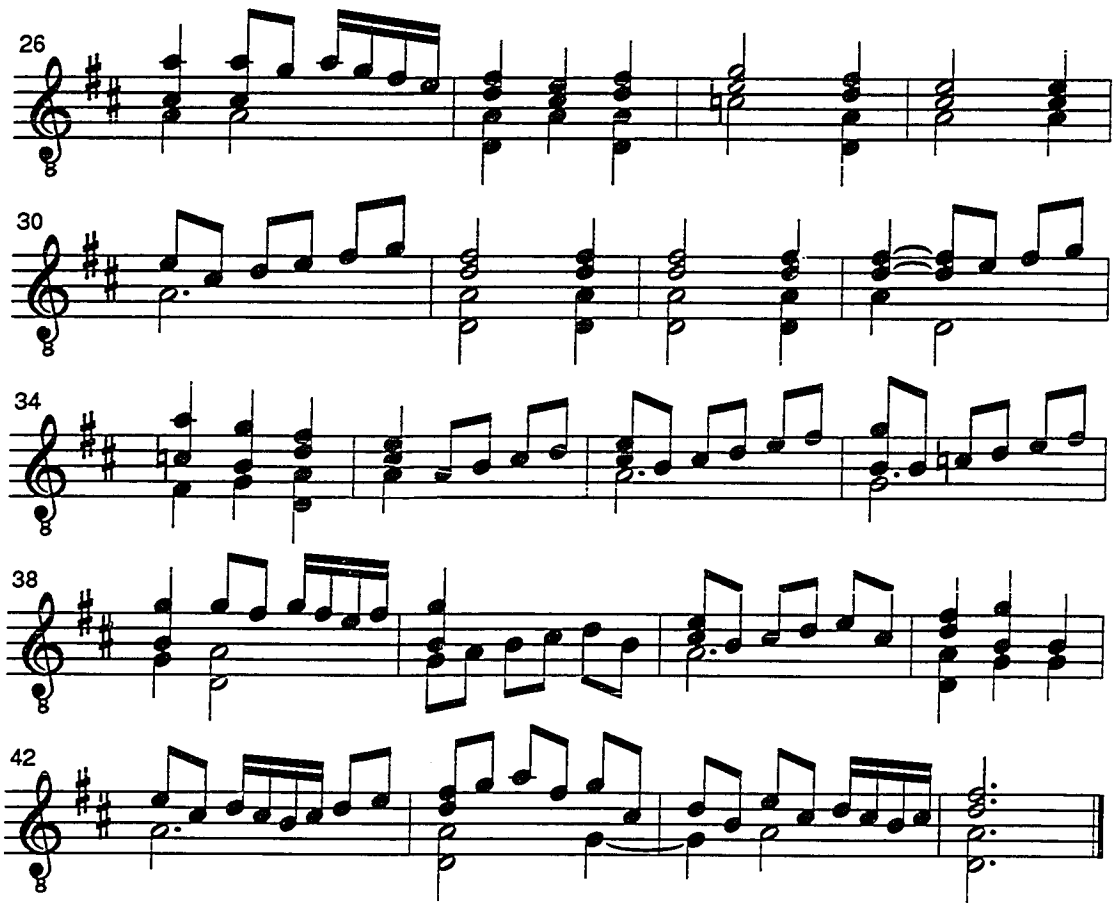
Gaillarde

f. 21r.



No. 21 **Gaillarde** f. 21v.-22v.

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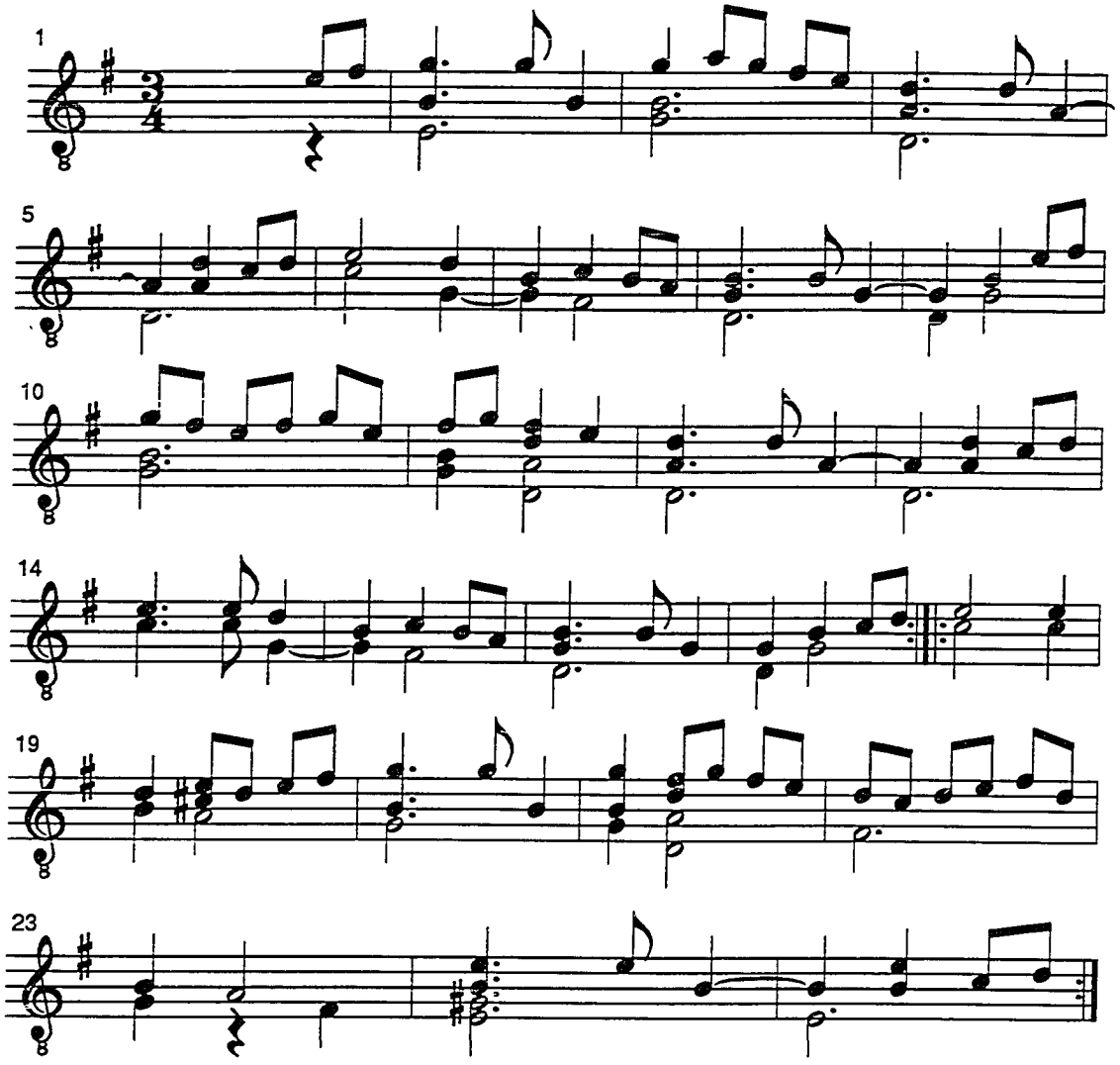
No. 22

Gaillarde

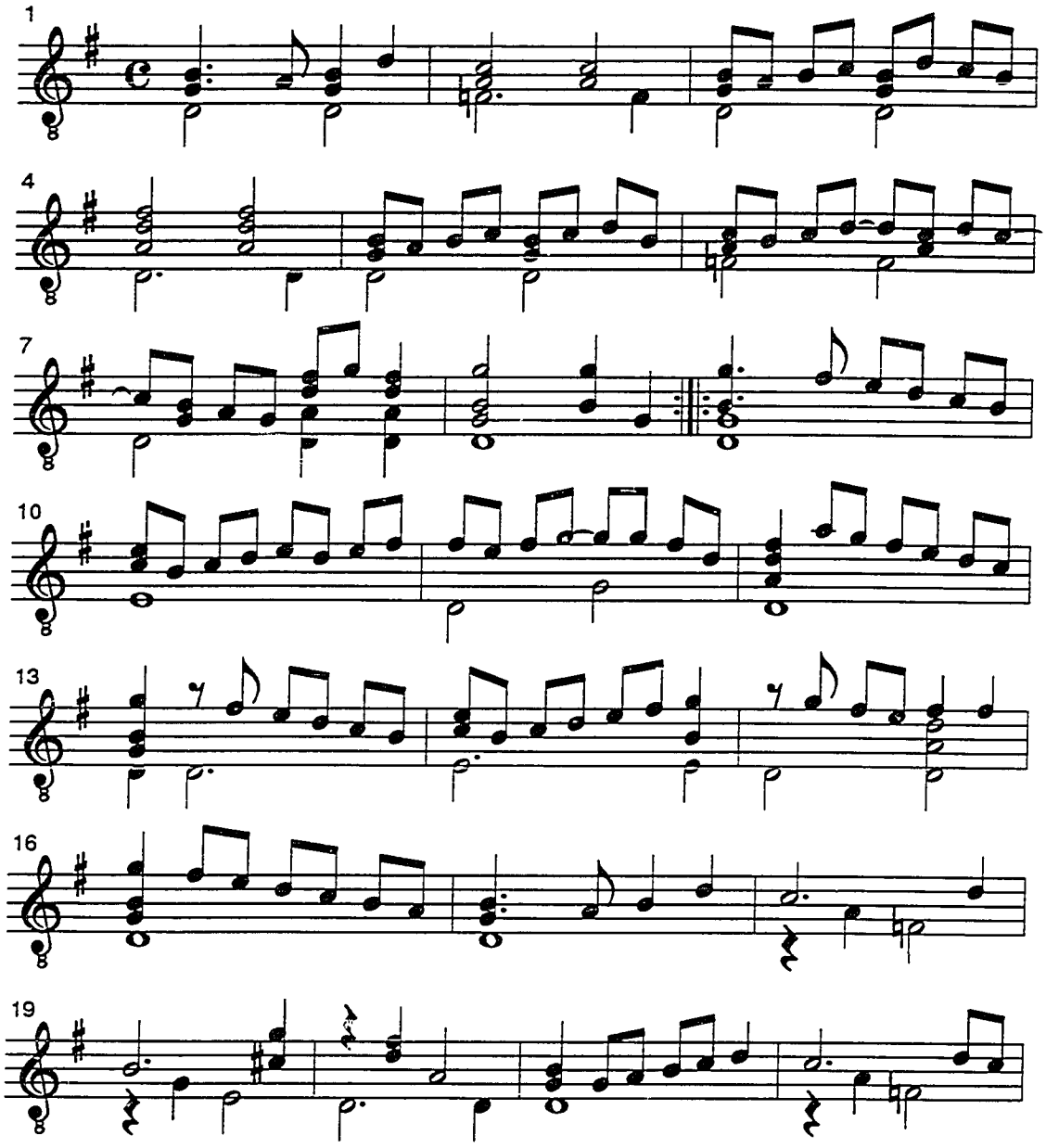
f. 22v.-23r.

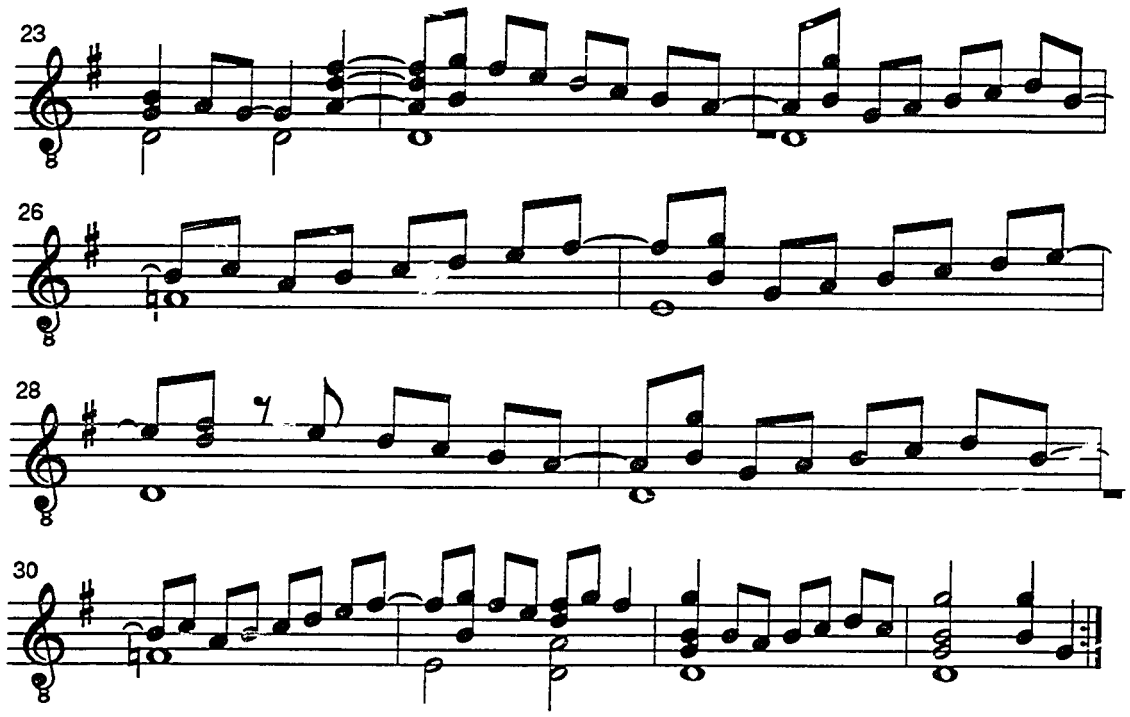


No. 23

Buffons

f. 23v.-24r.

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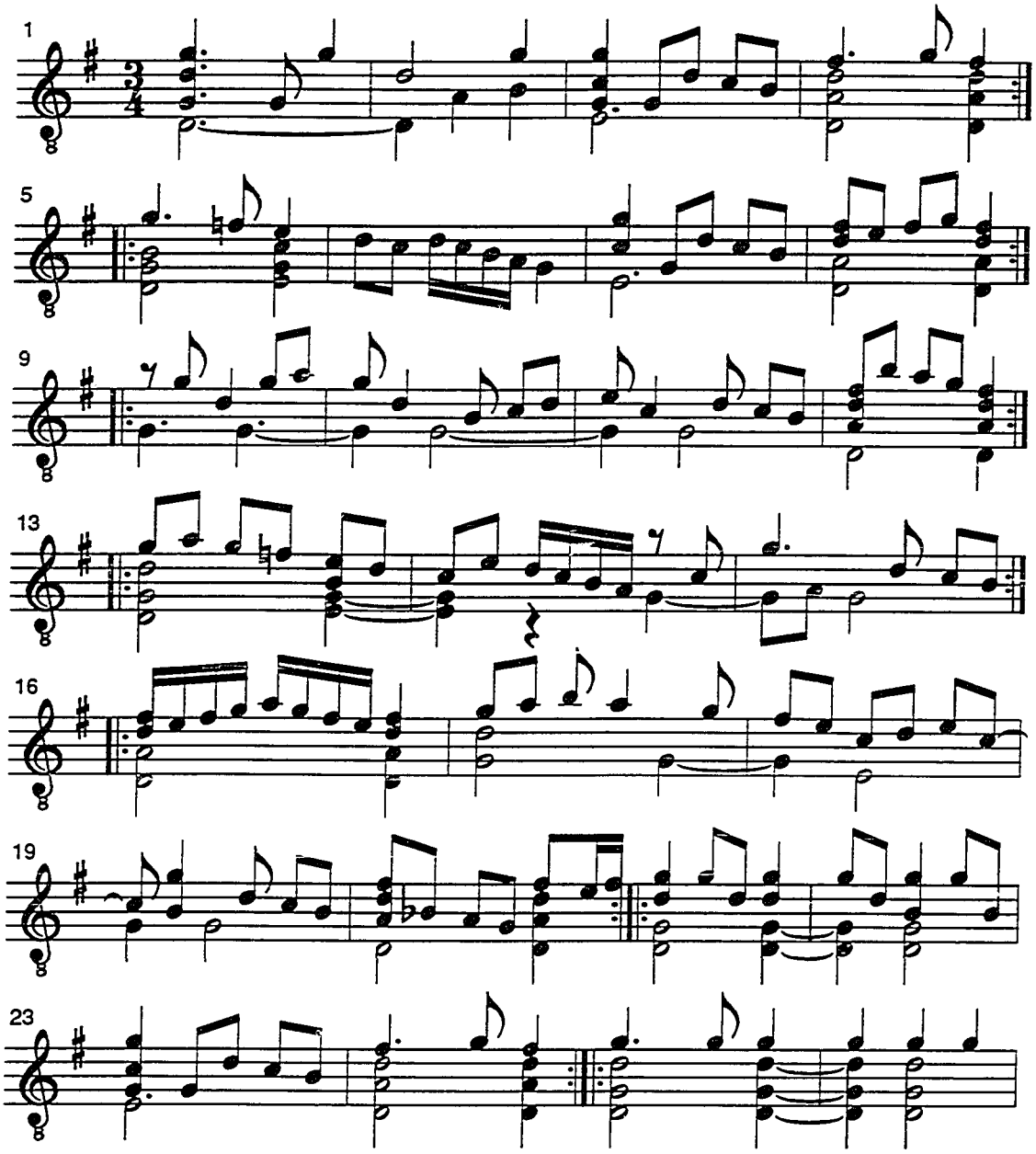
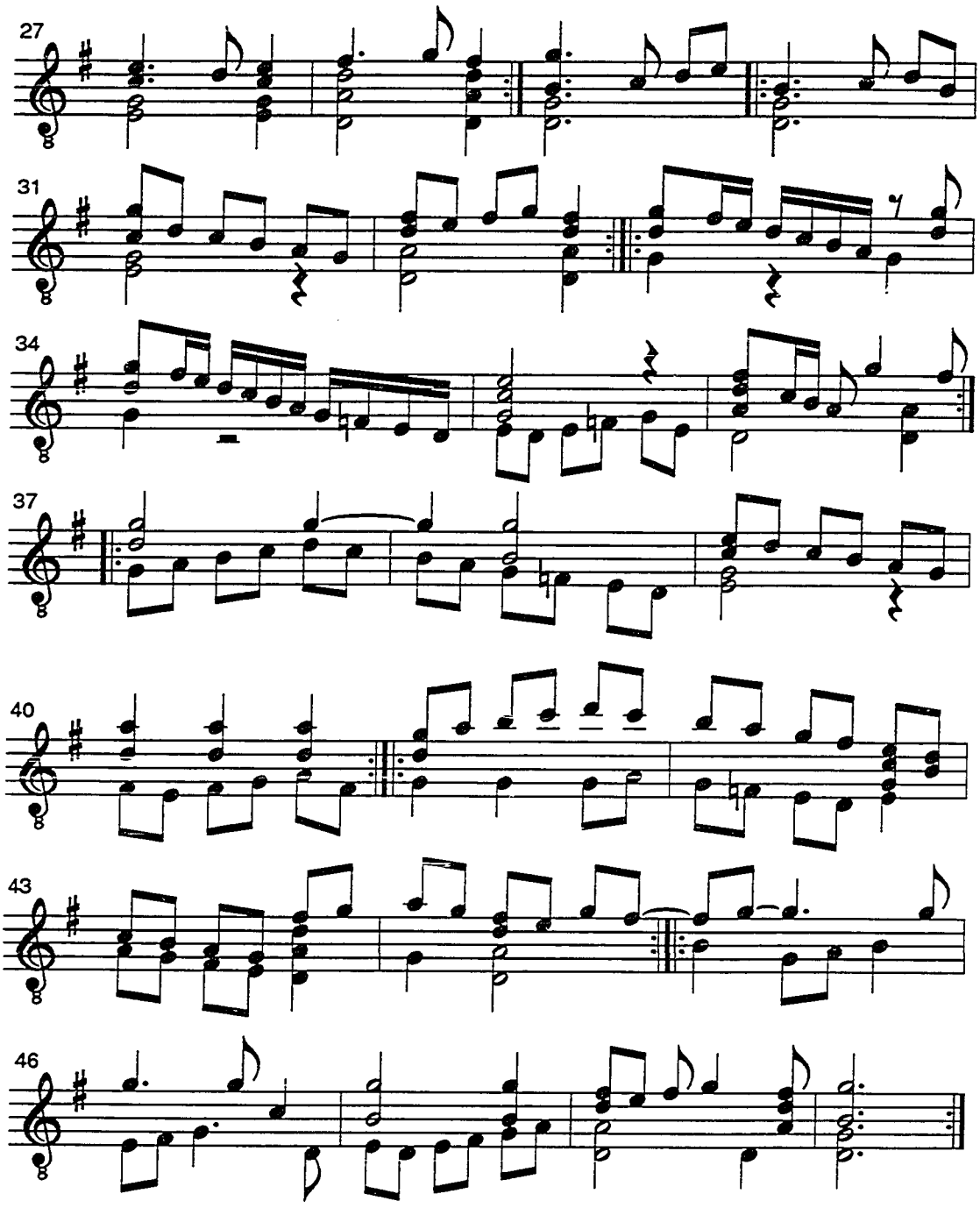
No. 24 **Conte clare** f. 24v. 25v.

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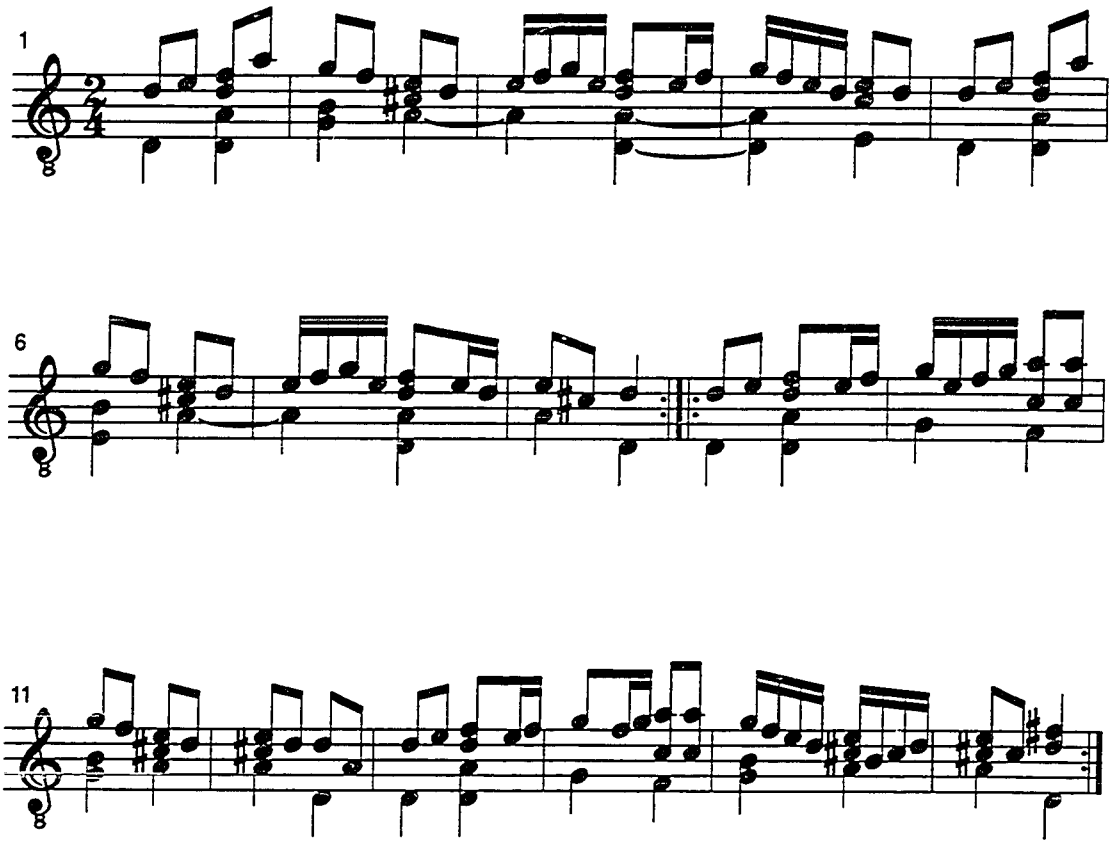
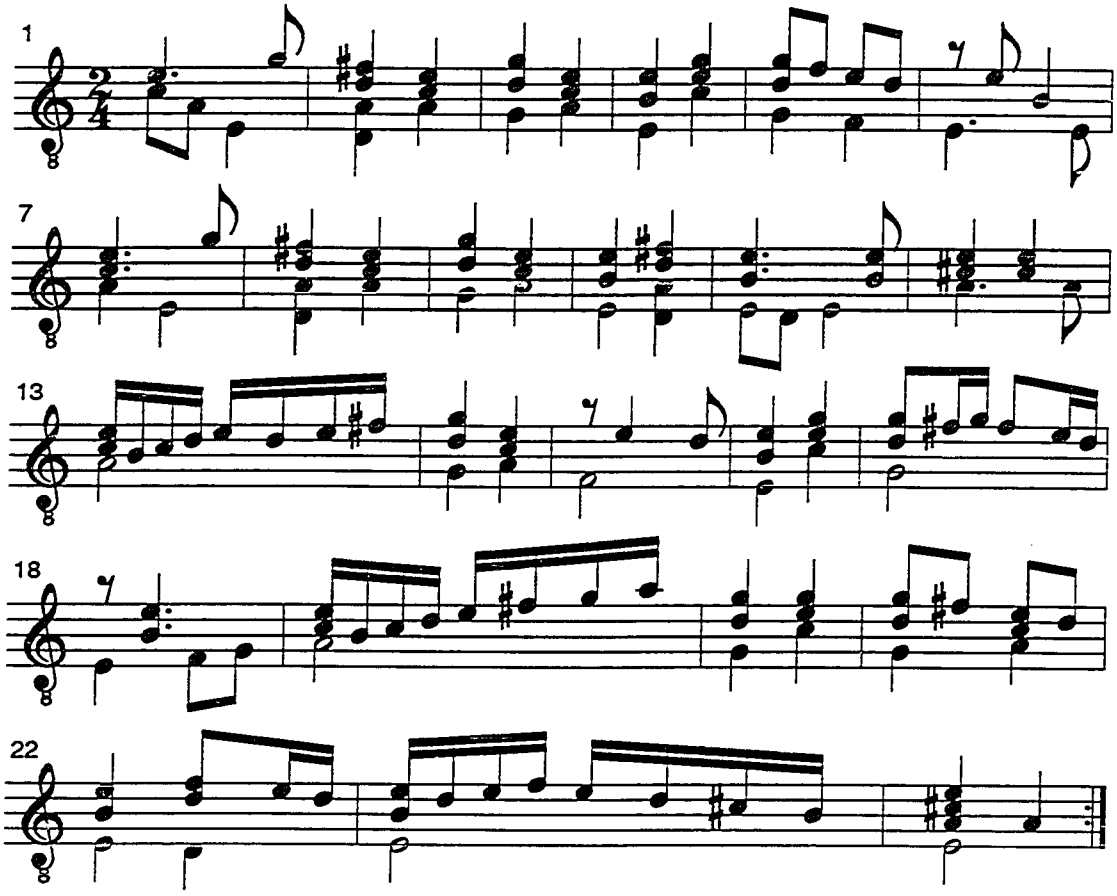
No. 25

Bransle (double)

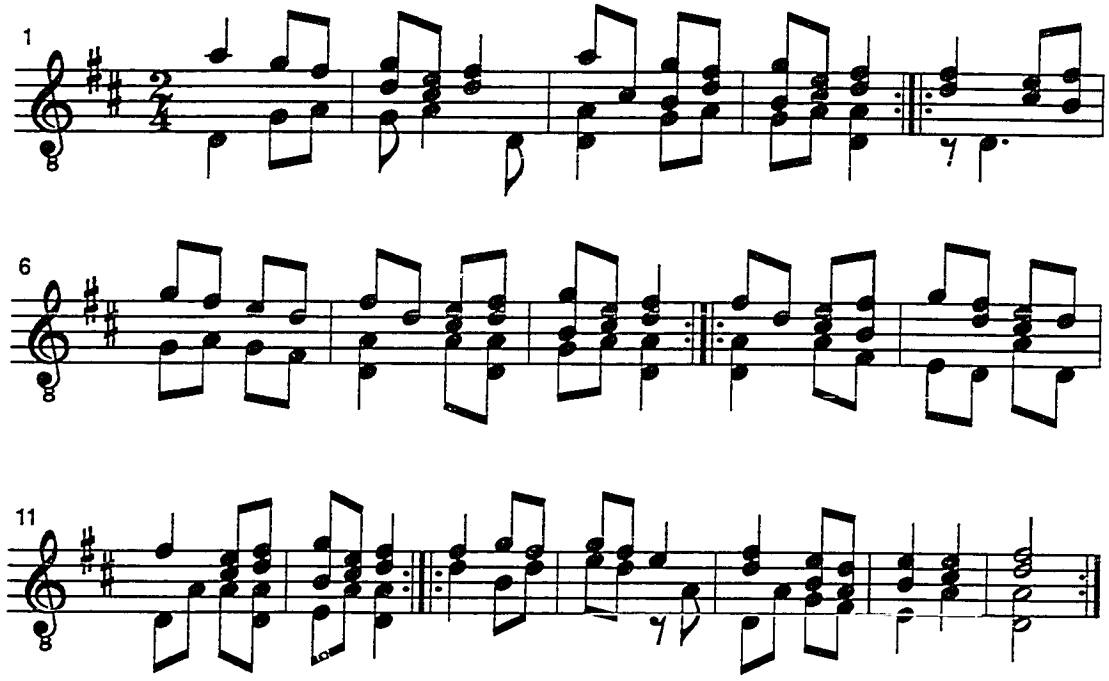
f. 26r.



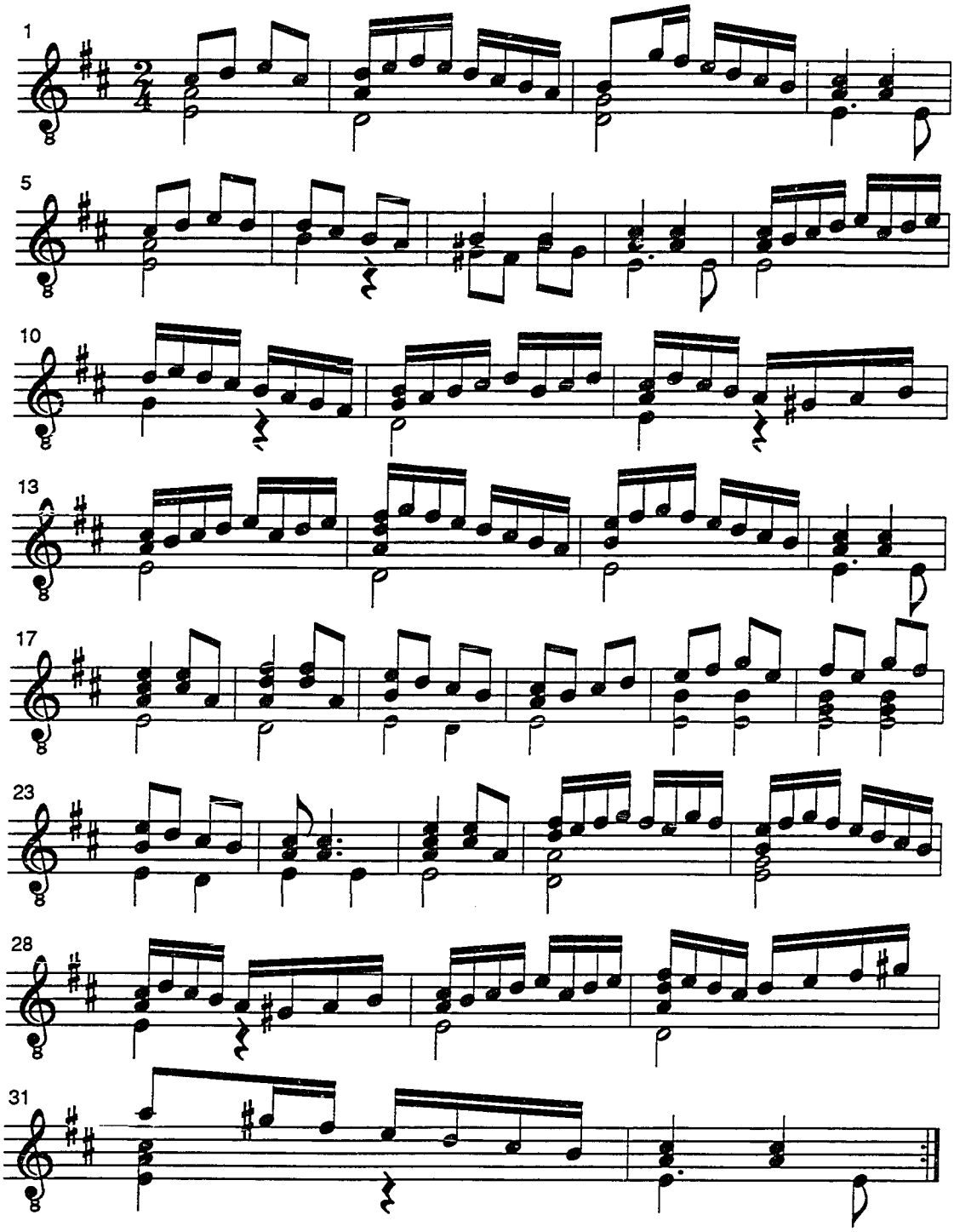
No. 26 **Bransle (simple)** f. 26v.



No. 27 **Bransle (de Bourgongne)** f. 27r.



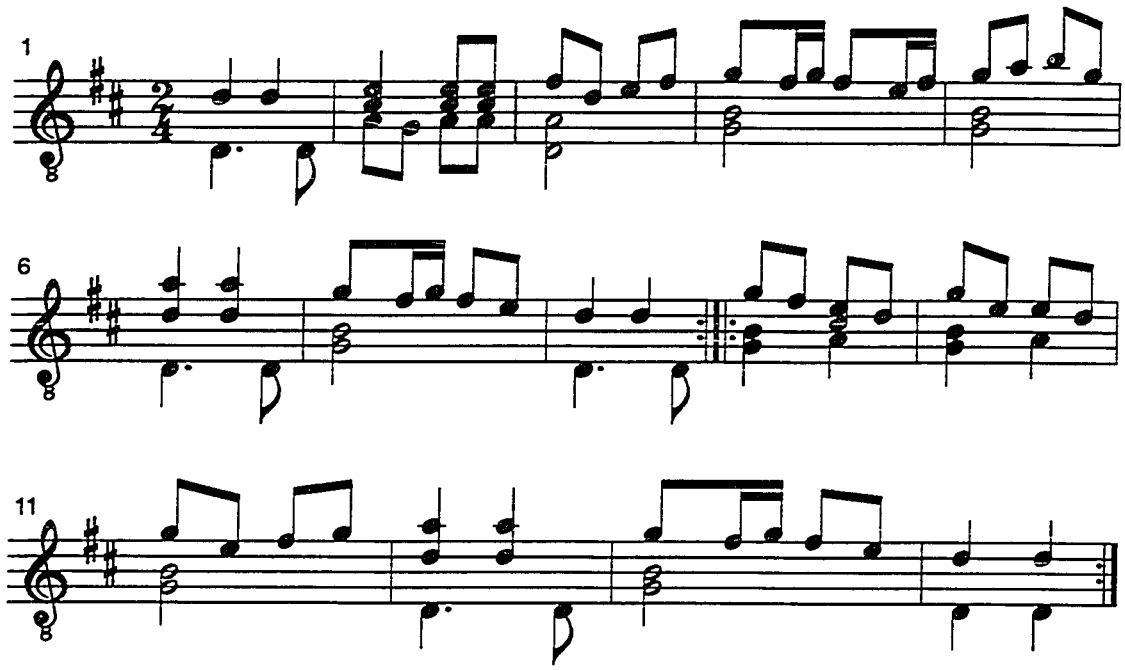
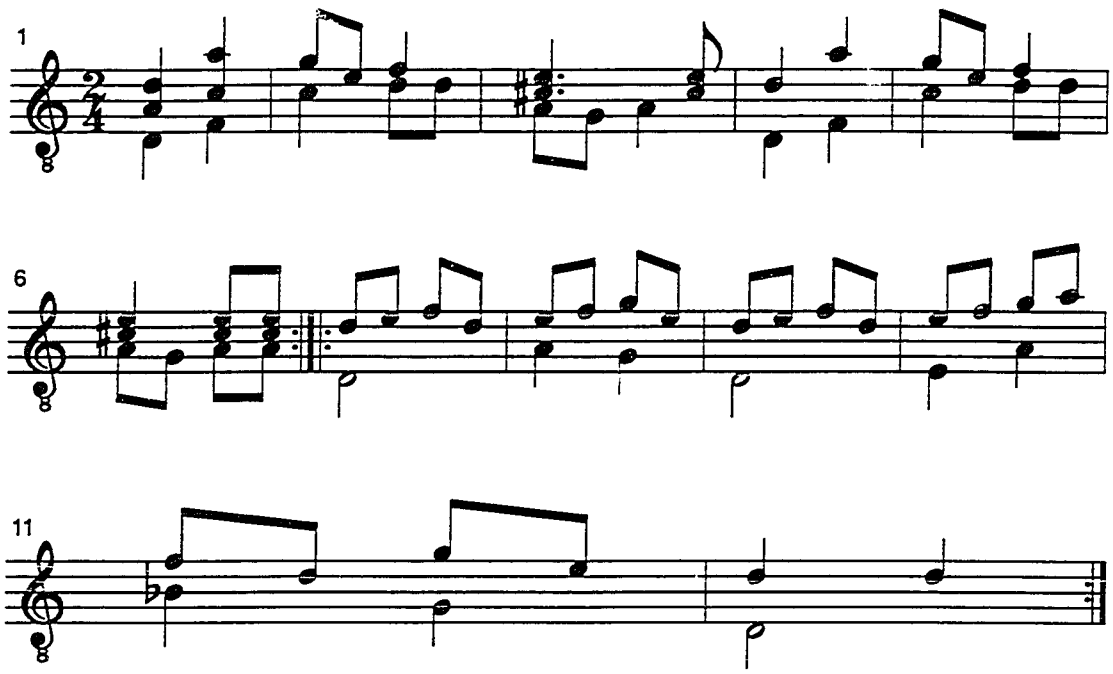
No. 28 **Bransle (double)** f. 27v. -28r.



No. 29

Allemande

f. 28v.



No. 30 **Allemande** f. 29v.