V MICHEL DE TOULOUZE, GUILLAUME GUERSON DE VILLELONGUE, AND MUSIC PRINTING IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

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Several chapters in this study have referred to a source closely related to Br9085, *Sensuit lart et instruction de bien dancer* (Paris: Michel de Toulouze, [c. 1492–96], henceforth "*L'Art*"). *L'Art* and Br9085 provide a snapshot of the *basse danse* as it was changing character, from the long-note tenors of the second half of the fifteenth century to the *basse danse commune* of the sixteenth. The similarities between these two sources show that they both derive from a common source, now lost. The Brussels manuscript and *L'Art* both contain deficiencies and errors, but they also have enough in common that each can be used to amend the textual problems of the other.[1] A consideration of *L'Art* is therefore necessary for a better understanding of the text of Br9085.

However, this chapter seeks to go beyond a judgment of *L'Art* simply as the poor cousin of Br9085, or as a quarry for improved readings in

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1 Further, see Chapter 1 by Bregman and Gilbert in this volume, and their synoptic edition of the text of the treatise and dances in Appendix 4.

its text. It therefore outlines the little we know about Michel de Toulouze, his technique for printing music, and his publishing strategies. It investigates the activities of Guillaume Guerson de Villelongue, Toulouze's occasional business partner and the likely editor of *L'Art*. It reflects on the relationship between manuscripts and printed books in the late fifteenth century, and the markets for each kind of book. Finally, it examines the material evidence of the sole surviving copy of *L'Art* (in the Royal College of Physicians, London) and what it tells us about the reception of the *basse danse* in England.

MICHEL DE TOULOUZE, PRINTER

In 1935, Margaret Dean Smith found a previously unknown incunabula edition amongst the holdings of the Royal College of Physicians in London (▶ Fig. V.1).[2] She immediately realised that this book, *Sensuit lart et instruction de bien dancer*, was closely related to Br9085, which had been well known since Closson published his facsimile in 1912. In 1937, Victor Scholderer, a curator of the incunabula collections at the British Museum, published a facsimile of *L'Art* with an introduction including much relevant information on Toulouze. The same year, Smith published an article announcing the discovery and summarising Scholderer's findings.

▶ p. 245

Since this initial burst of interest, *L'Art* has stood somewhat in the shadow of Br9085. This is unfortunate, since *L'Art* would constitute one of the most important sources for fifteenth-century dance music if Br9085 had not survived. Furthermore, *L'Art* is significant as once of the first examples of mensural music printed from moveable type. Despite its importance, there has been some lack of clarity about *L'Art* in the literature. For example, there is no evidence for Smith's suggestion that Toulouze printed *L'Art* in honour of Margaret of Austria.[3] Furthermore, Heartz was certainly incorrect in dating Toulouze's edition to the 1480s.[4] But more

2 The volume was rebound in the nineteenth century. Several loose leaves were bound in, including the handwritten note cited above in the main text and a single leaf from an undated pamphlet commemorating the entry of Charles VIII of France into Florence in 1488, assigned by ISTC on typographical grounds to the Rouen printer Jacques Le Forestier and dated to approximately 1494. The date of the events in 1488 was presumably the reason why a later cataloguer added the date 1488 at the end of *L'Art*. Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books*, 6, could not account for the date 1488. Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 179, incorrectly gives the date of 1488 (albeit in parentheses) for *L'Art*. On the provenance of the volume, see Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 108.

3 Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 104.

4 Heartz, "The Basse Dance", 217.

importantly, Toulouze's role in the printing and publication of music at Paris in the years around 1500 has not yet been investigated thoroughly.

The *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) and *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) attribute approximately thirty-four editions to the printer Michel de Toulouze, who was active at Paris between about 1492 to about 1505.[5] The total number of Toulouze's titles is uncertain, since he did not always identify himself in his editions, and some books can be assigned to him only on typographical grounds, as we shall see below. The precarious survival of many of his editions in only one or a just a few copies suggests that further titles printed by Toulouze may have disappeared without a trace.[6]

Sometimes Toulouze printed on his own behalf, judging that the market could absorb a certain number of copies of a particular title. However, like many printers, he also produced books on commission for other publishers and booksellers, including Alexander Aliate, Denis Roce and Jean Dupré (who also printed books on his own account).[7]

Using Toulouze's dated editions as anchor points, we can divide his work into two distinct phases, corresponding to two different workshop addresses. In the first phase, from about 1492 to the end of 1496, Toulouze used gothic (or "black letter") types to print his books. Some, including *L'Art*, were printed from a *bâtarde* font, others from a rotunda font, some with a combination of both.[8] In the editions from this first phase, Toulouze gives his address as "Paris, on the Mont Saint-Hilaire, at the sign of the Hart's Horn" ("a paris au mont saint hylaire [...] alenseigne de la corne du cerf"), in a neighbourhood known as the *Clos bruneau*.[9] The Rue Saint-Hilaire, now Rue de Lanneau, is close to the Sorbonne, and the nature of Toulouze's titles from this period indicate that the students and professors of the university represented his primary customer base.

5 Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 179–80, lists seventeen, including some known only from old sales catalogues. Although ISTC and USTC prefer the spelling "Tholoze", the orthography "Toulouze" is entrenched in the literature on the *basse danse*, and is thus retained here. As we shall see below, Toulouze probably ceased printing in 1505, when his house was auctioned off; those editions that USTC assigns tentatively to the years 1505–7 should probably be dated no later than 1505. Further on Toulouze, see Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 308–16.

6 On the survival rates of sixteenth-century books, see Gustavson, "The Montanus & Neuber catalogue of 1560".

7 Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 314–15.

8 Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 65, 321, notes that the majuscules of this *bâtarde* font were apparently borrowed from a font used by Pierre Le Dru. Claudin also notes (329) that Le Dru was successor to Jehannot. Given that Guerson and Jehannot are known to have worked together, perhaps Guerson (and Toulouze) received this font from Jehannot rather than Le Dru.

9 Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books*, xli, notes that these premises were occupied by the printer Denidel in 1500.

These titles include works on canon law (Charles de Ranchicourt, *Arbor successionis*; Johannes Andreae, *Super arboribus consanguinitatis*; Hieronymus Clarius, *Casus breves super Institutiones*), an almanac for 1496, a book of hours for the Use of Paris (containing an almanac for 1495 to 1508), classical texts, humanist texts, and works on mathematics (*Art et science d'arithmétique*) and moral philosophy.[10]

On 30 December 1496, Toulouze took possession of a house on the Rue des Amandiers, now Rue Laplace, "in the house marked with the sign of St John the Evangelist" ("in vico amigdalorum [...] diui iohannis euangeliste effigie [...] indicante") which included a rear courtyard, stable, gallery and cellar.[11] On 27 August 1497, he received permission to construct two wooden benches ("establies") on the front of this building, seven feet long and projecting seven or eight inches into the street, presumably to display books for sale.[12] All his editions bearing this address can thus be dated after that time, while all the titles printed at the sign of the Hart's Horn—including *L'Art*—can thus be dated before that time.

All of Toulouze's titles dated after 30 December 1496, when he moved to the Rue des Amandiers, are printed from Roman type. The same font was also used by two other printers: Pierre Levet (1498) and Michel Le Noir (1499).[13] Toulouze's printing activity presumably ceased after this house on the Rue des Amandiers was auctioned by court order, evidently as a result of bankruptcy, on 7 April 1505.[14] It is possible that Toulouze's Roman types belonged to the publisher Denis Roce, for whom he had printed some titles, since Nicolas Desprez used the same types to print a book for Roce in 1505.[15]

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10 Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 309, concluded that the date "1482" in the edition of Hieronymus Clarius, even if spelled in words rather than in numerals, is an error for 1492. He brought two arguments for this conclusion. First, he pointed out that this edition contains woodcut decorative initials of a type otherwise unknown at Paris before 1486. Secondly, he argued that this would imply an improbably long gap until Toulouze's next dated edition. Claudin's arguments were followed by Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books*, xl. Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 179, mistakenly believing that *L'Art* was printed in 1488, suggested that the apparent gap in Toulouze's activity was perhaps not implausible. However, the dating of *L'Art* to 1488 is mistaken, as seen above in n. 2; Claudin's objections to the date "1482" thus seem justified.

11 Paris, AN, S//1649, p. 89, 5e série, (censive de l'Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève), digest in Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs*, 265; transcription in Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 309 n. 1.

12 Paris, AN, S//1649, p. 100, 5e série, digest in Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs*, 265; transcription in Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 310 n. 1. Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 178, describes these as balconies, but they were surely too narrow for this purpose.

13 Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 1, 450; vol. 22, 170, 312.

14 Paris, AN, S//1650, pp. 72–73, 2e série; Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 316.

15 Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books*, xli, xliii, wrote that some of Toulouze's printing materials passed on to Gaspard Philippe. Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 359–60, 364, notes that Philippe used the same types as Pierre Levet used to print his edition of the *Aeneid* for Jean Petit in 1498. It is therefore possible that Philippe acquired these types from Levet or from Denis Roce, not from Toulouze.

TOULOUZE'S MUSIC FONTS

More importantly for our purposes, Toulouze also had music types, as found in *L'Art* (▶ Fig. V.2). It is not known whether Toulouze created these himself, or engaged a specialist typecutter and founder. He was not the first in Paris to print music from type. Several printers before him had printed chant. Toulouze also printed chant from type: liturgical books represented a good source of income for printers, especially if the printing costs were covered by a bishop, a religious order or some other ecclesiastical institution. His chant font had c- and f-clefs, a punctus, a short-stemmed virga, a lozenge (used either singly or set close together for a climacus), ligatures of two and three notes, a vertical bar line to divide words (▶ Fig. V.3). The height of his four-line staff is about 12–12.5 mm. (Since the single metal strips from which the staves were printed were a little wavy, it is difficult to give a precise staff height.) In *L'Art*, he used his chant font to represent the blackened breves of the long-note tenors.

▶ p. 246

▶ p. 247

To judge from the surviving books, Toulouze was the first in Paris who had a font that could print mensural notation. He is thus one of the first anywhere to print mensural notation from moveable type, some years before Ottaviano Petrucci at Venice.[16] The development of a mensural music font must have required a considerable investment in time, effort and money, and suggests that Toulouze planned to use this font for several editions, whether for books or single-leaf song sheets. If he simply wanted to print mensural notation occasionally, it would have been easier and cheaper to use woodcut, the solution used by most printers well into the sixteenth century.[17]

In most of his musical publications, including *L'Art*, Toulouze used a multiple impression technique, printing the staves, some initials and rubrics with red ink in a first impression, then the mensural notes and

16 Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze" was incorrect in claiming that Toulouze was the first to print mensural music from moveable type; that honour goes to Theodor Franck of Würzburg (1480), as noted by Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse*, 27. However, Toulouze was indeed the first to print mensural notation on staff lines through double impression; Franck printed his notes without staff lines, which had to be added by hand. Further on Franck's music font, see Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 99–101. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, vol. 6, 278, incorrectly asserted that the chant notation in Toulouze's edition of *Utilissimae musicales regulae* (he says nothing of the mensural notation) was printed from woodcut. Fétis was followed in this incorrect opinion by Renouard, "Guillaume Guerson musician", 451.

17 See Lindmayr-Brandl, "The pioneers of mensural music printing in German-speaking lands".

text with black ink in a second impression.[18] By contrast, in the music theory treatise by Guillaume Guerson de Villelongue (to which we shall return), Toulouze printed some pages in two impressions printed from black ink (▶ Fig. V.4).[19] The examples of mensural notation in this book explain the principles of mensuration, so the pitch of the notes is of little importance. Nevertheless, Toulouze arranged the notes with a slight vertical distinction to suggest rising or falling pitches, albeit less than would have been required had the pitches been arranged on a staff. This shows that the vertical arrangement of the type for the individual note shapes was built up in small increments, like the spacing between words, through the use of "leading" (spacers) of different sizes. When printing notes on top of a staff already printed in the first impression, Toulouze presumably fixed the vertical height of the note heads with leading half as high as the distance between two staff lines. The leading required to raise or lower a note-head by one degree of the scale was about 2 mm. It is unknown whether Toulouze had leading spacers of different heights (in multiples of this 2 mm minimum) to set larger intervals more efficiently, or whether he simply stacked 2 mm leading spacers above or below each type as required. Conceivably he had both, improvising as required.

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We notice several details about this pioneering mensural music font. First is an aesthetic consideration. The proportions between thin and thick strokes in the note heads are similar to those in Toulouze's rotunda font, as seen in Fig. V.4. This produces a harmonious relationship between the text and the musical notation. However, the poor inking observed on some notes, especially minimae, suggests that "height-to-paper" of the music font was slightly less than that of the rotunda font, which prevented them from being pressed against the paper with the same pressure as the text types. The fact that the *punctus divisionis* in the long line of notation in Fig. V.4 is so much darker than the minimae to either side suggests that it was a type borrowed from a different font, for example the full-stop from the rotunda font, and that this type was

18 Corrections to the chapter heading and decorative initial on e8^{v} of one of Toulouze's undated editions of Guerson's *Vtillissime* [sic] *musicales Regule* (London, BL, K.1.g.9) show clearly that he printed the red impression first, and the black impression second.

19 In the corresponding page from Toulouze's other undated edition of this treatise, the stems of the minimae rise higher than the descenders of the text font in the line above, which would be impossible if the forme was set solid. This indicates that the music was printed in a different impression from the text.

a little taller than the types of the mensural music font. (In the copy of the other undated edition of Guerson's book, preserved in the British Library, this discrepancy in the inking in this passage has been solved, which suggests that the mensural music font had perhaps been recast to ensure that it was the same height-to-paper as the text font.) The music font also has some aesthetic deficiencies, such as the proportion signs, which fit poorly with the rest of the characters, and some of the ligatures, which are rather clumsy.

Secondly, Toulouze realised that he could reduce the number of types required by making the note heads reversible. The little spur on the semibrevis sometimes points upwards, sometimes downwards, which indicates that the type could be placed on the composing stick in either direction. The same is true of other notes. For example, the *punctus divisionis* is rotated by 90° between its first and second appearances in ▶ Fig. V.4; this indicates that this type was cast as a square, not as a rectangle. The *punctus* could thus be placed at the correct height on the staff through the use of spacers.[20]

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Thirdly, we note that Toulouze adapted his font as needed. For example, the stems of the miminae in the Brussels copy of one of the undated editions of Guerson's treatise are all the same length. However, the other undated edition, kept in London, has minimae with stems of three different lengths. It would have been unnecessarily expensive to have the typecutter or caster create three separate matrices for the three different sizes of minima. Rather, he probably just cut the end of the stem with a knife when required.[21] This pioneering music font thus shows traces of trial and error as the typecutter, founder and printer experimented to get the final result right.

GUILLAUME GUERSON DE VILLELONGUE: PRINTER, PUBLISHER AND MUSICIAN

One of Toulouze's partnerships is particularly relevant to *L'Art*: that with the versatile Guillaume Guerson de Villelongue (c. 1470–1502/3).[22] Guerson was master of the University of Paris. Like several scholars at Paris,

20 I owe this observation on the *punctus divisionis* to Laurent Guillo (personal communication).
21 I owe this hypothesis on cutting types to Laurent Guillo (personal communication).
22 Renouard, "Guillaume Guerson de Villelongue"; Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 326–30; Renouard, "Guillaume Guerson musician".

he was also a part-time printer. None of Guerson's editions are dated, but ISTC places the earliest in about 1490.[23] Guerson began his printing career while he was a graduate student, living in the house of Jean de Fonte, near the church of Sainte-Geneviève.[24] He produced at least one title, an edition of a manual of confession by Matthaeus de Cracovia, with the master printer Etienne Jehannot, from whom he perhaps learned the skill of printing.[25] From about 1499, Guerson also sold books from a shop on the corner of the Rue des Sept-Voies and the Rue des Amandiers, opposite the Collège de Reims (formerly situated where the Bibliothèque Sainte-Barbe now stands), at what is now 13 Rue de Valette.[26] The colophons of some of his books emphasise that he kept a stock of "good new books in both French and Latin, in various sciences and faculties" ("et la on les trouuera auec plusieurs bons Liures nouueaulx tant en latin que en francoys en diuerses sciences et facultes").[27] In other words, his business, like that of Toulouze, relied on the constant demand for books from students and professors at the university, both in the Arts Faculty and in the higher faculties of Medicine, Theology and Law. Guerson's stock also included titles in the vernacular that appealed to a wider bourgeois market, including the leisure-time activities of students.

Another branch of Guerson's business involved printing for a community of nuns, the Penitents of Saint-Magloire, a house which the Franciscan Jean Tisserant founded at Paris in 1492 for reformed prostitutes. For this house, Guerson produced three known editions of Tisserant's works:

23 Quentin, *Horloge de la passion nostre seigneur*.

24 See the colophon of Quentin, *Horloge de la passion nostre seigneur*, cit. Renouard, "Guillaume Guerson de Villelongue", 220: "Newly [or "recently"] printed by master Guillaume Guerson de Villalonga, student at Paris, resident in the house of Monsieur de Fonte, in front of the Collège de Reims, next to Sainte-Geneviève" ("Nouuellement imprime par maistre Guillaume Guerson de ville longue studiant a Paris, demourant en lostel de maistre Jehan de Fonte, deuant le college de Reims pres saincte Geneuiefue").

25 See the colophon of de Cracovia, *Confessionale seu libellus peroptimus*, 28^{r}: "Nouiter impressus parisii per magistrum Stephanum iehannot commorantem in vico sancti iacobi prope mathurinos Et per magistrum guillermum guerssoni de villalonga parisij studentem in domo domini de fonte ante collegium Remense prope sanctam genouefam moram trahantem" ("Newly [or "recently"] printed at Paris by Etienne Jehannot, resident in Rue St Jacques, near the Rue des Mathurins, and by master Guillaume Guerson de Villalonga, student at Paris, resident in the house of Monsieur de Fonte, in front of the Collège de Reims, next to Sainte-Geneviève"). Further, see Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 329.

26 See the colophon of Bricot, *Textus abbreviatus*, 100^{r}, where he describes is house as "on Mont Sainte-Geneviève, in front of the Collège de Reims" ("in monte sancte genouefe ante collegium remense"). The same house was described in 1505 as next to the Collège de Fortet, situated at what is now 21 Rue Valette; see Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs*, 108.

27 Almost identical colophons appear in Guerson's editions of Jean Tisserant, *Le dictie*, Jean Tisserant, *Sensuiuent les noelz* (repr. Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 328), and the *Devote contemplation*. The *Noelz* and *Contemplation* are printed in a textura font, while *Le dictie* is printed in rotunda font; this discrepancy may suggest that these three editions were not printed at the same time.

Le dictie de frere Iehan Tisserant (*The prayer of brother Jean Tisserant*), *Sensuivent les noelz tresexcelens et contemplatifz les quelz chantent les filles rendues par deuotion* (*Here follow the most excellent and contemplative Christmas songs, as sung by the daughters dedicated to devotion*), and *Devote contemplation exitant a la crainte de Dieu moult utile et propice a ung chacun pecheur voulant penser de son salut laquelle chantent les filles rendues a Paris par devotion* (*Devout contemplation serving to excite the fear of God, very useful and propitious to each and every sinner who wishes to think upon his salvation, as sung by the daughters dedicated to devotion at Paris*).[28] Each of these short publications was printed on a single sheet of paper folded and cut to make a small pamphlet. The colophon of the *Devote contemplation* mentions that the work was printed at the request of the sisters of devotion ("A la requeste des filles Rendues"), in other words, that it was printed on commission. The same was presumably true for the other editions of Tisserant's works.

Guerson was also a musician. His treatise *Utillissimae musicales regulae* (▶ Figs. V.4, V.5) gives a concise introduction to plainchant, simple counterpoint and improvised polyphony over a cantus firmus—precisely the skills needed to realise the *basse danse* tenors presented in *L'Art*.[29] Guerson also taught music, and gave lessons in singing to students who were evidently expected to buy his textbook, as the colophon of the second edition of his edition of Thomas Bricot's summary of Aristotle's natural philosophy suggests.[30]

▶ p. 248, p. 249

In about 1495, Guerson and Jehannot collaborated in the printing of a noted French *Ordinaire* for the nuns of the Cistercian order.[31] Meyer-Baer (1946) and Crane (1968) claimed that this edition was printed from the same music types as *L'Art*, but this is incorrect.[32] In the font used by Guerson and Jehannot, the punctus have pronounced vertical lines on each side, and the staves are composed from short sections

28 Campbell, "Deux livrets inconnus"; Mauzaize, "Le franciscain Jean Tisserant", 719; Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 180; Istasse, *Joannes Ravisius Textor*, 780–81.

29 Renouard, "Guillaume Guerson musician"; Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze"; Ferand, "Guillaume Guerson's Rules of Improvised Counterpoint"; "Guerson, Gerson, Guersonus, Guillaume, Guillelmus", *MGG² Personenteil* 8, 199–200. Renouard lists eight editions of Guerson's treatise, the last printed in 1550.

30 Bricot, *Textus philosophie naturalis*, 100ᵛ: "At that same address he sits as a singing teacher, with his books of music" ("Eo etiam in loco sedet instructor cantus cum suis libris musicalibus"). Cf. Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books*, 225; Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 101. This edition is distinct from ISTC ib01205500.

31 *Ordinaire en francoys selon lordre de Cysteaux*. The colophon is signed "J. G.", probably for "Jehannot and Guerson", as suggested by Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, vol. 2, 247. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* notes that this book is more properly described as a *directorium*.

32 Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 181; Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse*, 27.

(▶ Fig. V.6). In fact, it may have been Guerson's desire for a more extensive music font that drew him to collaborate with Toulouze.

The *Ordinaire* contains only chant, and there is no evidence that the music font from which it was printed also contained types for mensural notation. However, Guerson's theory treatise included both chant and mensural notation. This could be the reason why Guerson approached Toulouze. It is not clear whether Toulouze developed his mensural type in cooperation with Guerson, or whether he had already begun to experiment with mensural typography when Guerson approached him: the lack of dates in all of Guerson's books and in many of Toulouze's make it hard to establish a firm chronology.

Toulouze printed at least two editions of Guerson's treatise *Utilissimae musicales regulae*, perhaps on commission.[33] He used the same music fonts to print *L'Art* and the *Misse solempniores*, a collection of mass chants which survives in only one copy, held by the KBR (▶ Figs. V.3, V.7).[34] The use of gothic type in all these edition indicates that they were printed before the end of December 1496, when Toulouze moved to a new workshop. When François Regnault reprinted Guerson's treatise in 1509, he used yet another mensural font to set the examples (▶ Fig. V.8). This font too is more complicated than it needed to be. For example, it has two different types for the semibrevis. In the long line of semibreves and minimae in Fig. V.8, the first form is found in semibreves 1, 2, 3 and 6, while the second form is found in semibreves 4 and 5. In the lowest line of notation in Fig. V.8, the first form of the semibrevis is found in semibrevis 3, and the second form in semibreves 1 and 2.[35]

Guerson was still alive on 9 August 1502, when he purchased the right to collect the rent on a house in the former monastery of Sainte-Geneviève, next to the cemetery of the clerics.[36] He was dead by 31 January 1503, when his heirs sold half of his house to the bookseller Durand Gerlier, along with the right to collect a rent from Toulouze.[37] Several editions show that Guerson and Toulouze shared typographical materials.

33 Renouard, "Guillaume Guerson musician", 450, and most other bibliographers, conflated the two editions printed by Toulouze.

34 The address given in the colophon ("in monte sancti hylarii in intersignio cornu cerui") indicates that this edition was printed before 1497.

35 I owe this observation to Laurent Guillo (personal communication).

36 Paris, AN, S 1650, 52, 1re série, digest in Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs*, 117.

37 Paris, AN, S 1650, 173, 1re série, digest in Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs*, 108; Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books*, xliv, 225.

Although Guerson named himself in the colophon of Jean Tisserant's *Noelz tresexcelens et contemplatifz* as the printer, the book is printed from the same *bâtarde* text types that Toulouze used to print *L'Art* and the *Misse solempniores*. The *Noelz tresexcelens et contemplatifz* contain a border woodcut of a snail and two birds that also occurs in *L'Art* (A3^{r}).[38] Furthermore, the title page of Guerson's *Noelz* is decorated with a woodcut of the Nativity that also appears in Toulouze's *Misse solempniores*.

Such typographical minutiae—not to mention the rent that Toulouze was paying to Guerson—provide clear evidence of a business partnership. This suggests that Guerson may have been involved in other musical editions printed by Toulouze. Amongst these was a processional containing chant printed in red and black, including a Requiem for two voices, tenor and contratenor; the address in the colophon indicates that Toulouze printed this edition before 1497.[39] Another edition contains chant for Holy Week.[40] Guerson's skills in music and his close links to Toulouze suggest that he may have been involved in the production of these editions—and with *L'Art*—as editor or perhaps even as publisher.[41] For example, the presence of refinements to the notation, such as the "3" used to mark the change from *tempus imperfectum* to *tempus perfectum* in *Roti bolli ioieulx*, a detail found in *L'Art* (B1^{r}) but not in Br9085, suggests the hand of a musically literate editor (▶ Fig. V.2).[42]

▶ p. 246

TOULOUZE'S *BASSE DANSE* BOOK: PRINTING TECHNIQUE

L'Art is the best known of Toulouze's musical editions. It is printed in quarto on twelve leaves ($A^{6}B^{6}$). Quarto format was common in student textbooks and manuals until the second third of the sixteenth century, when such books were more regularly printed in octavo, a size more convenient for a pocket. The poor survival rate of Toulouze's manual may suggest that some copies remained unbound, and were perhaps rolled or

38 Scholderer, *L'art et instruction de bien dancer*, 4.

39 "Processionale noviter impressum Parisiis per Michaelem Thoulouze commorantem in monte sancti Ylarii in intersinio cornu cervi feliciter explicit." In octavo, 88 fols. Listed in the following sale catalogues: *Catalogue d'une belle collection*, 39, N° 830; *Bulletin de la Librairie D. Morgand*, 122, N° 504; cf. Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse*, 26. Current location unknown. Further on this edition, see Long, *Music, Liturgy, and Confraternity Devotions*, 183, 190.

40 *Michiel Tholoze. Passiones domini nostri Jhesu Christi notate seu cum cantu per viros peritissimos atque expertissimos noviter correcte et emendate Incipiunt feliciter.* Lott, "Zur Geschichte der Passionskomposition", 286, mentions that a copy was owned by Dr Werner Wolffheim (Berlin); cf. Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse*, 26. Current location unknown.

41 Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 102.

42 Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 181.

folded up for ready reference. Such treatment was not conducive to long-term preservation. Toulouze used a double-impression technique: after printing the red staff lines, initials and dance rubrics in one impression, he printed the black text and notes in a second impression. However, the "registration" (alignment of both impressions) was imperfect, which led to some ambiguity of the pitches. (The difficulties of registration were exacerbated by the fact that the staff lines, printed from single metal rules, are not straight.) In the dances derived from chansons, only two note values are found: blackened breves and blackened longae (found exclusively to mark the ends of dances). For these melodies, Toulouze used his chant types, with punctus standing for blackened breves and virgae as blackened longae. The more modern dances also contain void mensural notation. Toulouze printed the notes and choreographic notation in one colour (here black rather than silver), and the titles of each piece in another (here red rather than gold). (Toulouze breaks this pattern only for some of the pieces in mensural notation.) The presence of a distinction of colours for different kinds of text in both Br9085 and Toulouze suggests that it was already present in their lost model.

THE MARKET FOR *SENSUIT LART ET INSTRUCTION DE BIEN DANCER*

We have little idea who purchased copies of *L'Art* or how they used them, but we can make some educated guesses. Smith (1937) argued that the "low" character of the basse danse referred not to its low steps, but to what she claimed as its alleged rustic character. In support, she cited Cornazaro (1465), who stated that the *bassadanza* had become so popular that it was no longer fit to be danced in good company.[43] That may have been the case for the Italian *bassadanza*, but visual illustrations of court dances from late fifteenth-century France and the Low Countries consistently display the poise and grace of the dancers. The woodcut of two dancers that Toulouze printed above the colophon—even it

43 Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 104–5. Smith argued further for the rustic character of the *basse danse* from an orthographical quirk in Toulouze's text of the treatise. In his text, the *basse danse* is called thus "because when one dances it, one goes in the country" ("pour ce que quant on la dance on va en pays"). However, the reading "en pays" is an error of homophony. In Br9085, the same text reads: "because when one dances it, one goes peacefully" ("pour ce que quant on la danse on va en paix"). That "en paix" is the correct reading is clear from the injunction that one should dance "without agitated movements, as gracefully as possible" ("sans soy demener le plus gracieusement que on peult"). Meyer-Baer, "Michel de Toulouze", 182, strangely defined the *basse danse* as "a country dance in 3/4 rhythm, a 'Ländler'".

was reprinted from another work—breathes courtly grace rather than rustic vigour (▶ Fig. V.9).[44] It is a mistake to imagine that Toulouze, by making the *basse danse* available through print, brought it to the streets and villages. Those who purchased *Lart et instruction* still had to have the means to buy the book, the literacy to read it, the time and leisure to memorise the complicated steps, the occasion to perform these dances, and access to musicians with the skill to realise the musical notation. The likely target market for Toulouze's book was members of the court, the urban patriciates and the wealthy mercantile classes. The indication in the colophon that the dances could be played on "all kinds of instruments" ("pour Iouer a tous Instrumens") tells us little about the possible performance contexts, and represents little more than sales puff.

▶ p. 253

In printing a vernacular courtly text, and thus making it available to a broader audience than those who had access to a manuscript such as Br9085, Toulouze was doing something similar to book dealers such as Colard Mansion, a skilled scribe and illuminator in Bruges, who not only produced high-quality manuscripts for clients such as Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse, but also printed books, such as chronicles, vernacular chivalric romances, and the kinds of devotional works popular amongst the literate bourgeoisie and at court. While Mansion's books were cheaper than vellum manuscripts, their principal market was still wealthy merchants and patricians rather than members of the lower social strata.

The existence of a market for a printed *basse danse* book amongst the upper classes is supported by literary evidence. For example, Jean Molinet attests to the popularity of the *basse danse* amongst the urban patriciate of the Low Countries in his ironic poem *La robe de l'archiduc* (1493). Here he complains that the rich citizens of Bruges, who liked to perform dances such as *La Françoise* and the *Pas de Brabant*, had scandalously kept Maximilian and his household in prison (1 February to 16 May 1488):

> Bruges, rice bourgeoise,
> Plaine de grant beubant,
> Qui dansa la françoise
> Et le pas de Brabant,

44 The woodcut first appeared in *Paris et Vienne* ([Paris:] Denis Meslier, [c. 1491]); Scholderer, *L'art et instruction de bien dancer*, 4–5.

Retint son maistre en gaige,
Son habit, son thoison
Et fit bouter en cage
Les grands de sa maison.[45]

Bruges, rich citizenry, full of great vanity, which dances *La Françoise* and the *Pas de Brabant*, keeps its master under pledge, his clothes, his Golden Fleece [chain], and throws the great men of his household into a cage.

In their tastes, the burgher of Bruges wished to show that they considered themselves the equals of courtiers and even the prince whom they had locked in a cage.

Literary sources also suggest that the ability to perform the steps of a given *basse danse* correctly was a mark of social accomplishment, whether at court or amongst the social elite of Paris, Bruges or Brussels. The choreographies of the dances in Br9085 and Toulouze are all subtly different, and presupposed the leisure to learn these steps, perhaps under the tutelage of a dancing master. In his *Droitz nouveaulx,* Coquillart describes a farcical situation at a dance in which a fashionable young man asks the pipe-and-tabor player at a dance to play *Filles a marier*—the only dance he knows—so that he could invite a lady to the floor. Despite his fine clothing, the young man is an arriviste and a poseur; the *tabourin* maliciously sets him up for disaster by playing the wrong dance tenor:

Ung applicquant, ung gorgias,
Frisque, bien empoint et mignon,
Ung habille homme, ung compaignon
Qui se veult mesler de dancer;
Or ne sçait-il dancer, sinon
Une: filles à marier.
Devant qu'il se voise ingerer
A mener Dame à sa plaisance,

45 Molinet, *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Dupire, vol. 3, 262; Thiry, "Le *Livre des Basses Danses* de Marguerite d'Autriche", 12.

Il va le Tabourin prier
Qu'il ne luy sonne que sa dance,
Celle qu'il sçet; puis s'advance
Et entre ou parc, hors de la presse;
Et le Tabourin vous commence
A sonner, et joüe: ma maistresse,
Contre son dit et sa promesse.[46]

One fellow, a fop, lively, in good shape and handsome, a talented fellow, a companion who wishes to insinuate his way into the dance, unfortunately does not know how to dance, except *Filles a marier*. Wishing to introduce himself and to lead a lady at his pleasure, he goes and asks the drummer to play only "his" dance, the one he knows. Then he advances, and goes out into the garden, beyond the crowd. And the drummer starts to strike up for you, and plays *Ma maistresse*, against his word and his promise.

As Bregman and Gilbert point out, the tenor of *Filles a marier* has thirty-two notes, while that of *Ma maistresse* has forty-two; the mismatch between tenor and choreography would have left the young upstart literally on the back foot, his lack of social polish exposed.[47] A manual containing the correct choreography of many dances was thus an indispensable primer for those who wanted to avoid making such faux pas. It was not a book for those who performed less tightly choreographed rustic dances.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION OF THE *BASSE DANSE* AFTER 1500

The sole surviving copy of *L'Art* is preserved in the Library of the Royal College of Physicians, London. A note in English added to one of the front flyleaves, in a careful but inexperienced secretary hand of the first half of the sixteenth century, indicates that this copy came to England

46 Coquillart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Prosper Tarbé and d'Héricault, vol. 1, 115–16. See also vol. 1, 209–10: "Je m'en viens droit au tabourin: || Je vous prie, sonnés moy le train; || Je veulx mener ma Damoyselle. || Incontinent je vins à elle: || Ma Dame, vous plaist-il dancer?" The poem is satirical, but the point about the drummer as leader of the music at the dance holds.

47 See Bregman and Gilbert in this volume, 66–67.

soon after publication.[48] This moralising note can be dated to after the publication of Erasmus' *Stultitiae laus* (*Praise of Folly*, 1509), to which it alludes, and more likely to the eclipse of Erasmus' popularity in England in the 1530s. The presence of this copy of Toulouze's book in England attests to the popularity of the *basse danse* across the Channel. Further evidence for this reception is provided by the presence of the titles and steps of twenty *basses danses* recorded (evidently by an Anglophone scribe) on the flyleaves of a copy of a 1497 Venetian edition of the *Catholicon*, in the library of Salisbury Cathedral.[49]

Literary references likewise attest to the reception of the *basse danse* throughout Britain. In a poem written between 1495 and 1497, the poet John Skelton mentions a young man playing the dance "Roty bully joyse" (that is, *Roti boully ioyeulx*) on a lute. The Scots poem *The Tale of Colkelbie Sow* (before 1501) also mentions the dance "Rust bully". Likewise, the Gresley dance collection (c. 1500) contains the dance with the confused title "Roty Ioly ioy".[50]

Further evidence for the dissemination of the body of *basses danses* transmitted in Br9085 and Toulouze is found in two other members of the same textual family: *Sensuyvuent plusieurs Basses dances tant Communes que Incommunes: comme on pourra veoyr cy dedans* ([Lyon?]: [Jacques Moderne?], [c. 1529–38], F-Pn Coll. Rothschild, vr-3*bis*-66, № 19), and "The maner of dauncynge of bace daunces", translated by Robert Coplande and appended to *The introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche, compyled by Alexander Barcley* (London: Robert Coplande, 1521). Crane (1968) argued that Br9085 was copied from the archetype; that Toulouze was copied independently from a descendant of the archetype; that *Sensuyvuent plusieurs Basses dances* descended

48 "The Praeface to þ^{e} Reder: The dilligence that our forfathers haue alwaies vside to plesure there posterite as it dothe apeare manye wayes: so dothe yt also in this Instructione of ther stately and modeste maner of dancinge: but suche ys owre natures noweadaies: to be gratefule to none to asume all to our selves: to seeke that we onlye maye be admyride: to begine the worlde anewe: to disgrace antiquite: to defac<e> monvmente, books, and writinge: to beleve none but our selves: In so mvch þ^{t} Erasmvs the fowndere of newfanglidnes ys nowe lyttelle sette by: and none but we most be the wonderfule completid fooles of the worlde: or else all ys note welle: vale." Partial transcription in Scholderer, *L'art et instruction de bien dancer*, 2; Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 108.

49 Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 107; Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse*, 24–25. On the top of the same page is the following inscription (cited by Crane): "Superflua querere: est vilis Cupiditatis || Necessaria querere: est Infirmitatis || Omnia relinquere: est Perfeccionis." The source of these mottos, unidentified until now, is the "Libellus de emendatione vite", appended to *Speculum spiritualium*, A2^{v} ("De paupertate"), slightly adapted.

50 Smith, "A Fifteenth Century Dancing Book", 106; Mullally (ed. and trans.), *The Brussels* Basse danse *Book*, 63–64.

directly or indirectly from Toulouze, with considerable editorial intervention; and that Coplande's translation was based on a significantly edited text derived directly from the lost archetype, or even from Br9085 itself.[51] The presence of an English translation-adaptation of a text drawn from the lost archetype, together with the presence of a copy of Toulouze in England, indicates that this body of dances reached England through several channels of transmission.

There is evidence that the *basse danse* was also known in Italy. For example, at Ferrara on 5 February 1502, during the wedding celebrations of Alfonso I d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia, there was dancing for two hours, during which Lucrezia danced "several French *basses danses* most gallantly".[52] The qualification of these dances as specifically French suggests that Italians appreciated that the *basse danse* was distinct from their own *bassadanza*, as Bregman and Gilbert argue in their chapter in this study.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing comments on Michel de Toulouze's *Sensuit lart et instruction de bien dancer* have shown the importance of this publication on numerous levels. Firstly, it provides important evidence that Br9085 does not preserve a text written specifically for Margaret of Austria, but that both sources reflect the contents and layout of a shared source not known to have survived. Secondly, *L'Art* provides a useful source to check the readings in Br9085 and correct errors where possible. The fact that *L'Art* lacks three dances included in Br9085 whose names seem to refer to Philip of Cleves and Françoise of Luxembourg—*La danse de cleves*, *La danse de Ravestain*, and *La franchoise nouvelle*—provides indirect evidence that these dances were included in Br9085 under the instructions of Philip and Françoise, as I argued above in an earlier chapter.

Beside its relationship to Br9085, *L'Art* is important on its own account. Firstly, it provides valuable evidence for the development of mensural music printing before Petrucci. It also provides insights into the working methods of typecutters and casters as they experimented with

51 Crane, *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse*, 7–9, 17–18.

52 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 2993, libro 13, 39r: "Doppo desnare andassimo la Duchesa di Vrbino li fratelli, et mi a leuare la sposa di camera. Doue niente se fermassimo retornando in la sala grande, Doue erano adunate le gentildonne: si ballo per spatio de due hore, et la sposa danzo cum vna sua donzella alcune basse francese [*sic*] molto galentemente."

new technologies. The publication strategies of Toulouze and his associate Guerson also provide important information about the ways in which printers and publishers spread risk by developing diverse catalogues. Textbooks, legal texts and classical literature served as the bread-and-butter, purchased by students and professors. Devotional works, such as stout books of hours and the diminutive pamphlets containing the songs sung by the Penitents inspired by Jean Tisserant, formed another market. Such likely publishing successes could fund more speculative ventures such as treatises on improvised polyphony or courtly dance. The market for such books comprised not simply students and rich merchants at Paris, eager to access the kinds of literature long popular at court. The copy of Toulouze's *basse danse* treatise that was present in England by the middle of the sixteenth century may have been purchased in Paris and taken to England by its owner; alternatively, it could have been brought from Paris by book traders for retail sale in London.

Finally, the fact that Toulouze finally went broke and lost his house to the court auctioneer provides a salutary reminder that the book trade has always been a precarious place. While we tend to think of publications such as *L'Art* as emblematic of the musical and choreographic culture of their time, in fact they were niche publications, the kind of risky ventures on which Toulouze's fortune was eventually wrecked.[53]

53 A similar argument for the specialised market for printed music books in Germany is made by Kmetz, "250 Years of German Music Printing".