
English Measures Old and New: Dulwich College MS. XCIV/f.28

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Introduction

A new source for English measures of the Elizabethan era is a rare gift of fate. Dulwich College MSS, 2nd Series XCIV/fol.28 (Figure 1) has been lying in plain sight, as it were, in the Dulwich College archives since 1884. A transcript by John Payne Collier had been published in 1844 in the recently-founded *Shakespeare Society Papers*. Unfortunately, Collier's tarnished reputation for forging and altering manuscript sources led to widespread repudiation of his scholarship, and consequently neglect of a valuable manuscript of dances. However, recent forensic examination of Collier's diverse activities by Arthur and Janet Ing Freeman attests that the manuscript is genuine, being neither forged nor altered¹. The manuscript comprises the eight dances, known also as 'the old measures': it includes a ninth measure also found in Rawlinson 280 (Source A) and is followed by four dances unique to this source. Three of the four 'new' measures can be matched to tunes in the Mulliner book of sixteenth century dance and sacred music². (See Appendix 1 for the relevant manuscripts, Appendix 2 for the eight 'old measures' and Appendix 3 for reconstructions of three new measures.)

The main purpose of this article is to bring the whole manuscript to the attention of dance scholars. The subsequent discussion explores in more detail the reasons for the manuscript's omission from the lists of similar documents. The article then places this document chronologically in relation to the seven previously known sources, and the connection of the four 'new' measures with tunes in the Mulliner Book. A discussion also airs what the Dulwich manuscript adds to our understanding of the old and new measures of the early modern English dance repertoire. The article concludes with a contribution to the debate concerning the relationship of these lists of measures to the Inns of Court in London.

Report and transcript

Dulwich College MSS, 2nd Series XCIV, fol. 28

The manuscript

Vol. XCIV consists of loose sheets of paper, of various dates and in no logical order, guarded on stubs inside a late-19th/early-20th-century binding to form a volume. The leaves have been foliated, probably at the time of binding.

Provenance

Purchased by William Young, historian and governor of Dulwich College, from the sale of Collier MSS in 1884, as part of lot 1051 described as "a mixed lot of autographs" purchased by Young "principally to repossess a few pieces once in the Dulwich Archives"³. It is not known whether the dance directions on fol. 28 originally belonged to Dulwich or were acquired by Collier from elsewhere.

Appearance

Fol. 28 is written on one side of a quite fragile half-sheet of folio paper (vertical chainlines, no visible watermark). It was clearly folded up prior to binding. The surface of both recto and verso is discoloured by surface dirt and damp, abraded in places (and partially repaired at the time of binding: visible on the verso towards the bottom and one side of the leaf), and has several small tears or wormholes. Despite Collier's reputation, there is no reason to suppose that it is *not* late-sixteenth-century paper, ink, or handwriting. Fol. 28 all seems to be in the same hand, albeit with inconsistencies of spelling and some odd abbreviations: for example, the use of the 'per/par' abbreviation to mean either 'par' (as in 'parte') or simply as a flourish on the letter 'p' (as sometimes in 'reprince'). It looks typical of English Secretary hands of the 1570s or 1580s, but I would not date it much earlier than that. Also, typically, the spelling and punctuation are erratic, and the latter is probably not always meaningful. The dance directions are written in two columns, divided by decorative paraps and straight lines to compartmentalize the descriptions, and there are also additional pen-mark squiggles to fill up short lines of text. An oddity which may or may not mean anything is the use of suprascript 'w' above some of the titles ('Tynterneall', 'Cicilia Pavyon' & 'Cicilia Allmane') and occasionally elsewhere in the text above the word 'twice' (at the very end of 'The Queenes Allmane', at the very end of the 'Cicilia Pavyon', at the end of the second line of 'La down Sella' and above the third word of 'La bonetta'). But the use of the suprascript is not consistent.

The dance description

Collier's transcript of the leaf is not always accurate, so here is a full transcript:

[column 1]

The Passing measure pavyo^p.

2: singles and a double forward and
2 singles syde. Reprynce back.

Turculoney.

A double forward, reprince back
4 tymes 2 singles a double forward
Reprynce back twice, a double forward,
Reprynce back 4 tymes.

My Lo: [*i.e.* Lord] of Essex measure.

A double forward. one single syde
4 tymes 2 syngles syde a double fore=
ward rep[ar]ins back.

Tynterneall.^w

A double forward Reprynce back
once 2 singles a double rownde bothe
wayes / a double forward Reprynce



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The *Report and transcript* is by Jennifer Thorp.
The *Discussion* that follows is by Anne Daye.

back 3 tymes 2 Syngles, a double rownd both wayes.

The old Allmayne.

2 Syngles, a double rownde both wayes 4 doubles foreward, 2 singles a double rownd bothe wayes.

The Queenes Allmane.

2 Singles foreward cast of a double rownde, 2 singles syde Reprynce back twies, 4 doubles foreward 2 singles foreward, cast of a double rownde, 2 singles syde Reprince back twies^w.

Cicilia Pavyon^w.

One Single a double foreward one syngle syde, reprynce back a double foreward 2 Syngles syde and 6 back twies^w, 2 Singles a double foreward Reprynce back twies, one single a double foreward one Single syde. Rep[ar]ins back. A double foreward 2 Syngles syde and 6 back Twyes^w.

[column 2]

Cicilia Allmane^w.

2 Singles and a double foreward, one Single syde twyse, p[ar]te / 2 singles syde and houer [*i.e. honour?*]. Change places w[i]th 2

Syngles and a double / then houer and imbrace 2 Singles syde, and houer, 2 Singles a double, into yo^{ur} owne place agayne, then houer and imbrace.

The Black Allman.

4 doubles foreward p[ar]te a double back, a double foreward a double Syde Longe on the Lefte Legge and a double on the right Legge / 2 Singles foreward 2 singles rownd, one after another, by both handes a double rownde on the Left hand and travys 4.

~~La bonetta~~ [*crossed through*] La down Sella

2 doubles foreward 2 singles syde a double foreward Rep[ar]ince back twies^w, 2 Singles foreward Cast of a double rownd twies, the pavyon over travis 4 foreward Rep[ar]ince bace [meaning back?] twyse.

La bonetta

The Pavyon twyes^w over, 2. doubles foreward 2 Singles Syde Rep[ar]ince back twice, a double and 6. foreward, one Single syde, Rep[ar]ince back twice.

Lasche Mysa.

2 doubles foreward 2 Syngles syde twice the pavyon once over, by both handes and a double rownde both wayes p[ar]te a double syde

Longe on the Lefte hand, a double on the right hand, 2 Syngles Syde, Turne a double rownde on the Lefte hand, 2 Syngles syde and turne a double rownde on the right hand.

Lapassarella. [*The layout and abbreviations of this dance differ from the rest, because crammed into a smaller space at the foot of the column*]

2 doubles foreward, 2 Longe singles syde, 2 syngles foreward, cast of a double, and turn yo^u & doe two singles & a double foreward y^e other way, And turne yo^u agayne at y^e end of the double / 4 doubles foreward 2 Longe Singles syde A double foreward p[ar]te & turne in a double Twyes. /

Discussion

The J.P. Collier problem

John Payne Collier (1789–1883), dubbed ‘literary editor and forger’ by his biographers⁴, was at the heart of burgeoning Shakespearean and literary scholarship in the nineteenth century. We can now trace the practices of Collier through the extensive work of Freeman and Freeman⁵. Involved in the founding of influential scholarly societies, such as The Shakespeare Society in 1840 (the prospectus offered ‘all the Documents which have reference to Shakespeare’s Life’⁶), he was an industrious publisher of documents and narratives of English letters. The trouble was that he polluted his work with fraud. One of his influential tomes was *A History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* published by John Murray in 1831. Freeman and Freeman state that ‘fabrications of historical evidence and documentary text are interspersed in an otherwise meticulous and original scholarly work’⁷. Drawn to the then ‘chaotic archives’⁸ at Dulwich College in pursuit of the Alleyn and Henslowe papers, he may have found the dance manuscript there, but no proof remains of that. Wherever he found it, he was intrigued by the title of the first dance as ‘the Passing measure pavyon’ with its echo of Toby Belch’s taunt in *Twelfth Night* 5, 1: ‘he’s a rogue, and a passy-measures pavin’. As the main editor (4 of 5 volumes) and contributor under a variety of pseudonyms, including J.P.C., to the Shakespeare Society Papers, he revealed his discovery in an article, number VII ‘Illustration of a Passage in *Twelfth Night*: the passing measures Pavin’ in *Shakespeare Society Papers* Volume 1 (1844). During the 1860s the authenticity of his work was challenged; nevertheless, at his death in 1883, his reputation was not so tarnished that his family were not able to make a profit from the sale of his books and manuscripts in August 1884. As stated above, William Young, governor of Dulwich College, attended the auction with the aim of revealing the fraudulent trends of Collier’s practice and regain ownership of Alleyn’s diary and other items once in Dulwich archives. He paid £3:15s for a mixed lot no. 1051, which included the dance manuscript⁹. The manuscript has remained in the Dulwich College archives ever since. The purchase was recorded and published in a catalogue of holdings by Bickley in 1903, described as ‘A curious list of dances, with directions; amongst them are My lo. of Essex Measure, The Queenes Allmaine, Cicilia

Pavyon. Circ. 1600' and indexed as 'Dances, list of, 1600'¹⁰. If a dance historian had come across this record, they would have chased it up immediately. Meanwhile, scholars grew increasingly aware of the problem of Collier's mixed but extensive legacy to the world of English letters, to the point where his name became synonymous with forgery and plagiarism.

Freeman and Freeman's magisterial publication of 2004 is an exhaustive study of Collier and the extant documents, separating the fraudulent from the genuine. As item B190, they match Collier's 1844 article with the Dulwich College manuscript without giving notice of any fraud, and the manuscript is not included in Appendix 1 of Collier's *Physical Forgeries*¹¹. That the document is a genuine sixteenth century manuscript is further attested by the scrutiny of expert Jennifer Thorp.

How was it 'lost', but now is 'found'?

I was first alerted to the existence of the dance list by a query in 2014 from musicologist John Harley to the Historical Dance Society about the nature of the dances in Collier's 1844 article and their relationship to tunes in the Mulliner book. His own queries led on to the Freemans' identification of the original manuscript as in Dulwich College archives, information which he kindly passed on. Scrutinising the document in situ convinced me that it was genuine and worthy of serious consideration. It seemed to me that if it had been a complete forgery, the author had an unlikely grasp of sixteenth century dance for the era. However, an expert was needed to review the document and make a valid transcription.

It is clear that this important addition to lists of English measures was unknown to Melusine Woods in 1952 and Mabel Dolmetsch in 1959, as both only knew of MS. Rawl. Poet 108¹². Ironically, Arnold Dolmetsch taught music at Dulwich College from 1885, but his music research at that time was undertaken in the library of the Royal College of Music. He was then married to his first wife; Mabel, who became his third wife and undertook dance research, became his pupil in 1896 on the advice of a friend who had been a pupil at Dulwich College¹³. Peter Cunningham was the first to collate and transcribe six manuscripts in 1965 concerning English measures, linking them to the social practices of the Inns of Court¹⁴. His work was revised and edited by David Wilson in 1988¹⁵. Neither author indicates any awareness of Collier's source.

A fresh edition of this group of dances was published by Ian Payne in 2003, including a seventh manuscript which came to light in 1981, as a result of the searches by Records of Early English Drama for the county of Somerset¹⁶. The Taunton manuscript had been transcribed and discussed by James Stokes and Ingrid Brainard in 1992, followed by an extended commentary by John Ward in 1993¹⁷. Ward in note 16, p. 14 refers to Collier's article, which he had also previously mentioned in note 53 of an article of 1988¹⁸. In both notes, Ward unambiguously condemns Collier's manuscript as a complete fabrication. Robert Mullally in 1994 was equally sceptical, doubting its very existence¹⁹. Payne therefore had no reason to think that a further original source with choreographies for the Mulliner tunes was in existence²⁰. It was not until 2004 when Freeman and Freeman had published their book that the essential link

between the much-doubted Collier item and the genuine manuscript was available to scholars. With an emphasis on items relating to Shakespeare and other significant poets and dramatists, the dance manuscript is very much a minor strand in the Freemans' publication, only to be found by those looking for it.

Meanwhile the tunes that we can now link to three of the dances unique to the Dulwich College Manuscript had been published in *Musica Britannica* 1, the Mulliner book, edited by Denis Stevens in 1951 and 1973. These agreeable little tunes have consequently circulated freely among amateur and professional early musicians. A study of the collection by Jane Flynn mentions Collier's publication, noting that he does not say who owned the manuscript²¹. The Mulliner book was edited again by John Caldwell in 2011: in acknowledging the dances in Collier, he says 'Their implications for the metre of the music and its repetition schemes are unclear', but was evidently unaware of the location of the original manuscript²².

The Mulliner book and three tunes

BL Add Ms. 30513 is a musical commonplace book by Thomas Mulliner²³. Little can be determined about his life, except that he was a copyist of keyboard music. The history of the manuscript is unknown until it was in the possession of John Stafford Smith in the late eighteenth century. It passed through the hands of E. F. Rimbault and W. H. Cummings, who sold it to the British Library in 1877. Stafford Smith published the three dance tunes in *Musica Antiqua* 1812: La Bounette, La Doune Cella and La Shymyze. Stevens comments: 'we may be faintly amused by his choice', but Stafford Smith groups them with other dance tunes from Arbeau and English manuscripts presumably to offer an insight into social dancing of the time²⁴. Mulliner copied the music between 1545 and 1575, but is likely to have completed most of it by 1560. Mulliner also copied four galliards and four pavans. The three tunes linked to the Dulwich College manuscript comprise simple two-part forms of tune and bass, and are grouped together: no. 13 La bounette in duple time; no. 14 La doune cella also in duple time; no. 15 La shy myze in compound duple time. Further study by Flynn demonstrates that the tunes had a circulation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as ballad tunes²⁵. Flynn adds evidence of their currency as dances in the words to Canzonet 7 published by Giles Farnaby in 1598²⁶:

Pearce did dance with Petronella
La Siamise and La Duncella
Pretty almaids that were new –
Such he danced, and nothing true.
But when Petronella danced without him
All the maids began to flout him.

It formed a pair with Canzonet 6 in which Pearce's love for Petronella springs from her gallant dancing.

Dating the Dulwich College manuscript

Although Collier's activities have shorn the manuscript of any context of authorship or place, there are clues to its date of composition. To start with, Thorp identifies the paper as late sixteenth century and the handwriting as typical of English Secretary hand of the 1570s to 1580s. The dance

tunes in the Mulliner book were transcribed c.1560, and were in circulation for ballads by c.1600, familiar to Farnaby as dances by 1598. A date of 1570–1590 for the manuscript is in line with the tune history of the new dances: tunes circulating as songs or instrumental pieces by 1560, being adopted for new dances as they became familiar, dances which are widely known by the 1590s.

The Dulwich College manuscript shares several features with MS Rawlinson Poet. 108 (Source A in Appendix 1) of the late 1560s that are not found in the later sources (C of 1594 to H of c. 1672). The first is the use of the term 'reprynce' for a backwards step, replaced from Source C onwards by the term 'double backwards'. 'Reprynce' is used in the pavyon, Turcyloney, Lord of Essex measure, Tynterneall and Cicilia Pavyon in both documents. It belongs to an older vocabulary for the fifteenth century basse dance. They both use the title 'Lord' of Essex rather than 'Earl' of Essex found later. Both documents offer a different choreography for The Queenes Allmane to that of subsequent versions. Cicilia Pavyon is only found in these two documents.

A few details in Source A are not shared with the Dulwich College manuscript alongside all the later Sources C to H. Source A is the only document to state that doubles should be hopped in The old Allmayne and The Queenes Allmane. It is the only document to add the term 'le basse' to Turcyloney and the only one not to include The Black Allman (although the dance called The new cyccillia allemaine in Source A may be an early form of The Black Allman). This implies that the Dulwich College manuscript post-dates Source A.

The title 'The Passing measure pavyon' provides further means to place the Dulwich College manuscript chronologically. The choreography of the dance itself remains constant throughout all documents. In Source A it is titled 'The pavyan' but in Sources C to H it is titled 'The Quadran Pavan'. As the dance remains the same throughout these documents, the differing titles must relate to the music, based on one of the chordal progressions known as the *passomezzo antico* or the *passomezzo moderno*. The *passomezzo antico* was known also as 'passemeasures', 'passing-measure', 'passy-measures' or 'passemeasures pavan' while the *passomezzo moderno* was known as the 'quadro' or 'quadran' pavan. The new chordal progression emerged in the late 1550s and the term began to circulate in the 1570s. Source A and the Dulwich College manuscript probably indicate the use of the older chordal progression of *passomezzo antico*, with the new *passomezzo moderno* or *quadran pavan* taking over in the late sixteenth century by Source C of 1594²⁷. In his edition of the Mulliner Book, Caldwell notes the use of the *passomezzo antico* for no. 124 ('passing-measures pavan') and no. 128 (a galliard) and use of the *passomezzo moderno* for no. 122 (pavion), indicating that both were current at the time of its composition.

As indicated above, the date of the Dulwich College manuscript is closely tied to the date of composition by Gunter of Source A. A few clues may help to ascertain this. Gunter, admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1563 and called to the bar in 1574, also copied into the commonplace book two masque speeches composed by Thomas Pound performed at Lincoln's Inn in 1566 and 1567 on the folios following the dance list²⁸. Three of the dances are named after Cecilia,

probably Princess Cecilia of Sweden who visited Queen Elizabeth between September 1565 and April 1566²⁹.

A more challenging issue of dating is posed by the dance 'my lord off Essex measures' (Source A) and 'My Lo: of Essex measure' (Dulwich manuscript), later called 'the Earle of Essex'. Up to 1571 the title was held by William Parr, who died without heir, when Queen Elizabeth granted it to Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex in a new creation of 1572. From 1594 the dance of Source C would probably be considered to reference Walter Devereux, and the dances of Sources D to H would apparently reference Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth. Is the switch from 'Lord' to 'Earl' in the title significant? The life of William Parr (1513–1571), brother to Katharine Parr, sixth wife of Henry VIII, was embroiled in the changing policies of the Tudor monarchs from Henry VIII to Elizabeth. Parr was created Earl of Essex in 1543, then Marquess of Northampton in 1547 by Edward VI, lost all titles under Mary Tudor, and was restored to them in 1559 by Elizabeth³⁰. As marquess is a higher rank than earl in the English peerage, did this mean he was commonly called 'Lord of Essex', 'lord' being a general honorific for marquesses, earls and barons? William Parr had studied voice and the virginals, and patronised the Bassano family of court musicians: the dance and its tune may have been composed by himself or by a court musician in his honour³¹. The first concordance to the tune of the Earl of Essex measure as given in Source H is Tintelore d'Angleterre of 1559³². The evidence is circumstantial but it might favour Parr as the Lord or Earl of Essex for whom or by whom the tune and dance were devised in circulation from 1559.

The Bodleian catalogue for Source A gives a date of c.1570 for the Gunter commonplace book. Payne proposes that the dance list was written earlier than 1570³³. Lincoln's Inn hosted a special Candlemas revel in 1568: a possible stimulus for Gunter to note the measures³⁴. The best guess for dating Gunter's note of the dances is between 1567 (the second masque) and 1570 (the commonplace book). It follows that the Dulwich College manuscript falls between 1570 and 1594 (Source B).

The content of the Dulwich College manuscript is certainly congruent with the paper on which it is written and the handwriting with which it is recorded in indicating a period of composition c. 1570–c. 1590. The record of the tunes for three of the new dances in the Mulliner book accords with this dating. This places it in a chronological order between Source A and Source C as Source B.

The Old Measures

Even within the dance vocabulary, the word 'measure' has several meanings³⁵, but here we are only concerned with 'measure' as a term for an English dance with a fixed choreography to a specific tune, current c. 1560–c. 1680. One group of such dances was known as 'the old measures': a label made very clear by Source C, the Taunton manuscript of 1594. The term is used again in Source D, where the same dances are listed first, followed by several others, while the list of Source F is called 'a copley of the oulde measures'. The same list is found in Sources G and H of c. 1672. From this evidence, we can see that all eight sources present this list in exactly the same order (albeit interspersed with other

dances in A) confirming our understanding of the label ‘the old measures’; these are listed in Appendix 2³⁶.

It is likely that The Black Allman was not an addition to the Old Measures from Source B onwards, but an alternative name for The New cycillia allemaine of Source A. Ward has pointed out that a broadside ballad of 1570 calls for ‘the newe tune of the Blacke Almaine upon Scissillia’, linking the two titles. The choreographies of the two dances are very similar, the small differences could be due to changes across time, and that of The New cycillia allemaine fits perfectly well to the tune we know as The Blacke Almaine³⁷.

The Old Measures, and the others in the same vein, were vernacular to English dance practice. The measures are adaptations of French genres, particularly the almain, in constructing set step sequences to a particular tune, moving through simple figures going forwards, backwards, changing places and alternation between partners. As stated in Arbeau, the allemande in France was a simple processional form: ‘qu’il ny a guieres de diversitez de mouvements’ (‘there are no variations in the movements’)³⁸. The French form of the almain was close to the German dance. Lupold von Wedel recognised a dance in the German fashion at Greenwich Palace in 1584 by couples in columns but with significant differences: ‘the partners advanced a few paces, stepped back again, separated, changed their places, but in the right moment everybody found his partner again’. Only the highest in rank took part, and afterwards the young people danced galliards³⁹. His description evokes the figuring of The Black Allman: elementary patterning added to a processional Franco-German allemande. A Spanish eyewitness made a similar observation concerning the masque revels (social dancing) of *Oberon* of 1611: ‘y danzaron Una danza ynglesa que llaman las mesuras que es como pavana’ (‘they danced an English dance called the measures resembling a pavan’). Corantoes and galliards followed⁴⁰.

However, it should be noted that the Pavin (passing measures or quadran) is not truly an English measure, but exactly the same as the French form as described by Arbeau⁴¹. The pavans in Sources A and B predate Arbeau’s information by two decades, which may account for the reprynce back rather than the double back as given from Source C onwards. Arbeau states: ‘La pavane est facile à dancier, car il n’ya que deux simples & un double, en marchant & savanceant. Et deux simples & un double en reculant & desmarchant’ (‘The pavane is easy to dance, as there are only two singles and one double, going forward and advancing. And two singles and one double going backward and retreating’)⁴². The second pair of singles must be danced in place, that is sideways, if any progression is to be made overall. He adds that it could also be danced going forwards only and not retreating. Arbeau records that this pavane opens all grand occasions when it is also known as *le grand bal*⁴³. Such a practice is recorded in many French documents, for example the opening of the ball following *Le Balet Comique de la Royne* of 1581, when the royal and noble women dancers led out the noble men ‘pour dancier le grand Bal’⁴⁴. The shift from calling this dance simply ‘pavyan’ (Source A) to ‘The Passing measure pavyon’ (Source B: The Dulwich College manuscript) then ‘The Quadran Pavin’ (Source C) thereafter suggests that any tune will suit this dance, whereas the other choreographies are matched to specific tunes. I suggest the

longevity of the pavane can be attributed to its functionality as an opening grand procession for all participants, whether skilled dancers (for whom it mobilises the limbs) or not, the play of forward momentum with small retreat creating a magnificent, dignified and almost mesmerising spectacle.

New Measures

The Dulwich College manuscript (Source B) confirms that the Cicilia Pavyon was included for a time, then dropped. The tune was still in circulation in 1584, for the ballad ‘Heart, what makes thee thus to be’ in *A Handefull of pleasant delites* but is now lost to us⁴⁵. The Dulwich manuscript extends the life of the pavan as a dance, which Ward (1993) considers in decline between Source A and Source C⁴⁶. Not only does Source B include the two pavans of Source A, but the four ‘new’ measures include the basic figure of the pavan.

The four additional dances, in Dulwich College Ms Source B are in the same vein of straightforward dances in pairs, probably danced by several couples at the same time, as the Old Measures, and also the other dances in Source A: lorraine Allemayne, Brownswycke, The newe allmayne, The longe pavian; Source D: The Ladye Laytons Measures, The Measures of Heaven and Earth, Basilina; Sources G and H: Argulius. The manuscript reinforces the pattern that new dances on familiar tunes came into usage and then fell away, leaving a core of eight that persisted as The Old Measures.

The fortuitous matching of the three dances La down Sella, La bonetta and Lasche Mysa with tunes in the Mulliner Book supports their reconstruction and the opportunity to gain further insights into English measures (See Appendix 3). This is particularly satisfying as two are not in regular eight bar phrases: La doune cella opening with a ten-bar phrase and La shy myze with a twelve-bar phrase. The three dance descriptions include an abbreviated formula of ‘the pavyon’: by taking the most obvious solution of copying The passing measures pavyon sequence of two singles and a double forward and two singles sideways and a reprise back, the dances fit neatly into the tunes with conventional repeats of twice per strain. The first two call for the reprynce, which can be performed as a reprise, a step backwards in the time of a double step. There is no other indication of the steps required, but all three tunes are light airs more like an almain than a pavan. An almain can be in duple time, or compound duple as for The Blacke almayne of Source H; indeed, La shy myze (in compound duple time) and La Duncella (in duple time) are both called ‘pretty almaines that were new’ in Farnaby’s canzonet. Whoever composed the dance has matched common sequences attractively with the phrasing of the music.

Ward considers that the English measures evolved from the basse dance *mesures*⁴⁷. While acknowledging that vestiges of the older basse dance are apparent (the term ‘measure’, the addition of ‘le basse’ to Turculoney in Source A and the use of reprynce, presumably the ‘reprise’ of the basse dance), from a choreographic perspective these dances differ significantly. As the Dulwich College dances and their music demonstrate, the choreographic units of the dances fit the strains of the music, as do all the measures which can be matched to their tunes. The *mesures* of a fifteenth century basse dance were set to a tenor of the required length, providing a pulse for the stepping but no relationship

between choreographic structure and musical structure. Furthermore, basse dance *mesures* comprise sequences of steps in formulaic patterns, punctuated by branles, a structure completely absent from the measures. Basse dances travel forwards only, whereas the measures have rudimentary figuring⁴⁸. The measures are a new form of dance for England in the sixteenth century, and any direct connection with basse dance structure is speculative, in the absence of any surviving transitional choreographies⁴⁹.

The Measures at Court and at the Inns of Court

Sources A, C, D list other dances from the court and international repertoire ranging from those modest in skill such as The Spanioletta to the virtuoso, improvised dances for one couple alone such as the galliard. The Nyne Muses of Source A is unique: often considered a masque dance, I have proposed that it was another form of the English measure⁵⁰. These three sources therefore demonstrate the same division as at court revels of commencing with the easy measures danced in company, followed by the more demanding and fashionable dances of the international court repertoire; the division was dubbed the Solemn Revels and the Post-Revels. The records of Jacobean masques indicate the custom in the revels (the social centrepiece of a masque) of dancing measures followed by the challenging improvised dances. Very little useful evidence exists for the Caroline masques. They are called 'the ordinary measures' and 'the common measures' at Whitehall in 1604, 'the solemn revels' in 1613, and otherwise simply 'the measures'. In Browne's text for *The Inner Temple Masque* of 1615 performed by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, he states that they danced 'the old measures'⁵¹. It may be significant that the sole use of the term 'the old measures' occurs for a masque performed at one of the Inns of Court. The English measures were common to the court and the Inns of Court, but no record links the specific group of eight dances comprising 'the old measures' to the court itself.

Whose lists?

The fact that the author of the Dulwich College manuscript is unknown raises the question anew of whether the group of eight manuscripts comprises a repertoire specifically and exclusively belonging to the Inns. Only Sources G and H are firmly linked to an Inn: Butler Buggins being the Master of the Revels for Inner Temple in 1672, 1674 and 1675, although there is no record for his admission⁵².

Edward Gunter is most likely to be the author of Source A, being admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1563 and called to the bar in 1574⁵³. At Candlemas 1568, Lincoln's Inn hosted the gentlemen of the Middle Temple to dance at their revels before Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland, a likely occasion for the customary measures to be of special interest to Gunter⁵⁴.

John Willoughby, author of Source C, had business connections with the Inns, and his son John Willoughby had chambers in the Middle Temple in the 1630s. Willoughby Senior (1571–1658 of Pahembury, Devon) was in London, possibly at the Inner or Middle Temple, in his late twenties. The evidence is in two records: the first is an account of expenses dated 1594 by a servant for purchases of stationery and books (albeit with forged insertions by J. P. Collier)⁵⁵;

the second is a letter of 1600: 'At my being in London the laste terme, I left a payre of worsted stockinges to have them dyed'; the letter was directed 'To my very good friend Mr. Humphrey Spurway, at Mr. Edmond Prydeaux his Chamber in the Inner Temple'⁵⁶. He is at least linked by this affair of the stockings to work or study framed by the legal year. John Ramsey, the author of Source D, entered the Middle Temple in 1606, and Payne proposes that he wrote the dances down c. 1609 for the information of a future son, as does Kiek⁵⁷. Source D therefore precedes Source E chronologically.

Source E is among the documents collected by John Stow (1524/5 to 1605) and others, its author now unknown. Payne argues for a date of composition c. 1611–1620, after Stow's death⁵⁸. Elias Ashmole 1617–1692 was the author of Source F, entitled 'A cople of the olde measures' while he notes that 'Rowland Osborne taught me to dance these measures'. Although admitted to the Middle Temple in November 1660, recorded in November 1657 when he was forty, Ashmole was studying law in London from 1633 at the age of sixteen, and practiced from the age of twenty-one⁵⁹. The single sheet of paper listing the Old Measures is said to be in either a childish hand or roughly noted⁶⁰. As Wilson notes, the list is likely to have dated from c. 1630: on arriving in London from Lichfield, Ashmole sought to master dances common to the revels of the Inns⁶¹.

Despite efforts to make links between the Old Measures and dancing at the Inns of Court, it must be admitted that two (Sources B and E) cannot be linked at all and three (Sources C, D & F) can only be linked speculatively while one (Source A) has a clear connection to the Inns of Court, and two (Sources G and H) have undoubted association. It is worth noting here that the domestic records of the four inns are also incomplete⁶².

Customary dancing at the Inns of Court

From a dance historian's perspective, Ward's proposal that the Old Measures represent the London dancing masters' curriculum is problematic⁶³. No doubt novices of any age were taught old and new measures but whether a pupil would need to write such simple dances down to remember them is unlikely, particularly in an age when people were much more confident in relying on their memories. It is more likely that the sequence for each dance and the order in which they were danced had a high significance.

Dancing on the Grand Days of Hallowmas (1st November) and Candlemas (2nd February) in the presence of the Judges, as well as at Christmas in general and other feasts had been an important part of life at the Inns of Court since the fifteenth century. The principal aspect of the revels was the dancing of all men of the Inn together, benchers, barristers and gentlemen students, and attendance was compulsory. Sir Robert Brerewood, writing 1634–38, describes the organisation of the dancing at Grays Inn during his membership from 1607, indicative of the practices of all four Inns⁶⁴. Two Readers were appointed for a year at a time, whose duties included ceremonial leadership as well as responsibilities for education and management of the Inn. When directing the dancing one (dubbed 'the ancient') stood at the Bar of the hall, bearing a white staff and the other stood at the Cupboard in the hall, bearing a white rod. When the music began, the Master of the Revels was called twice.

At the second call, the ancient, with his white staff in his hand, advanceth forward, and begins to lead the measures, followed first by the Barristers, then the Gentlemen under the Bar, all according to their several antiquities: and when one measure is ended, the Reader at the Cupboard calls for another, and so on in order.

These measures were wont to be trulied danced, it being accounted a shame for an Inns of Court man not to have learned to dance, especially the measures, but now their dancing is turned into bare walking.

When the last measure is dancing, the Reader at the Cupboard, calls to one of the Gentlemen of the Barre, as he is walking, or dancing with the rest, to give the Lords, His Majesty's Judges, a song, who forthwith begins the first line of any Psalm, such as he takes best. After which, all the rest of the Company follow and sing with him

...

Likewise besides the solemn Revels or Measures aforesaid, they were wont to be commonly entertained either with post Revels, performed by the better Sorte of the younger Gentlemen of the Society, with Galliards, Corantos and other dances, or else with Stage plaies... But these post Revels of late years have been disused, both here, and in the other Inns of Court, to the great impairment of their honour and reputation.⁶⁵

The office of Reader at Gray's Inn was only held for one year, so a succession of barristers had to be familiar with the order and choreography of the measures: a responsibility that would lead to the need for an aide-memoire. As Breewood states, dancing the Post-Revels of galliards and corantos had stopped in the mid-1630s, which may be attributed to shifting fashions in the ballroom, but the customary measures, on the other hand, are being kept up, even if only walked.

The Inns of Court persisted in maintaining the practice of dancing the measures in the face of all kinds of opposition and resistance. Although it is tempting to assume that the Civil War and the Cromwellian government led to the suspension of customary dancing, the evidence suggests otherwise. There had been an order by the Parliament of 1649 to ban Revelling and Dancing at the Inns of Court, which was noted and enacted at Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, but by the 1650s both Inns had resumed their customary practice, as had the Inner Temple⁶⁶. In fact, serious concerns over Christmas revels had arisen just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Following a particularly riotous period, the Inner Temple revels of Christmas 1639/40 were suspended despite appeals, although they were resumed for 1640/41⁶⁷. Similar problems were affecting Middle Temple where 'the licentious expensiveness of some exceeds all reasonable limits' resulting in an order against the keeping of Christmas 1639/40, to the extent of locking up the Hall doors. This provoked riotous defiance, in which the doors were broken open by men with swords drawn⁶⁸. Instead of enforcing a permanent ban, management of Christmas and other revels was taken out of the hands of the younger gentlemen and handed over to the senior lawyers. Buggins is typical here in being a barrister of some thirty years' standing when appointed Master of the Revels, his successors, for example

up to 1689, being equally senior: Munday, Cooke and Cresset. The same solution was adopted at the Middle Temple who decided that 'the Masters of the Bar and the eight Ancients shall have the governing'⁶⁹. Costs relating to revels are found in the financial accounts of both the Inner and the Middle Temple for the seasonal revels at Allhallowtide in the Michaelmas Term and Christmas in the Hilary Term. At Middle Temple, costs for candles, torches and wands for the marshalls are recorded throughout the 1650s, including a note of a payment of £20 to dancers and others, as a gratuity for instructing the gentlemen 'and for occasions of the House of that nature' on 27th February 1654⁷⁰. Meanwhile at the Inner Temple, the master of the revels was regularly paid £2 for each Grand Day and such payments appear in the 1650s.

At the Restoration, the practice of dancing attracted the patronage of the king, and was known in London sufficiently well for Shadwell to make a joke about it in *The Virtuoso* first performed in 1676. As a satire on the new experimental science of the Royal Society, Sir Nicholas Gimcrack tests three tarantulas' appreciation of music by playing them 'a grave Pavin, or Almain, at which the black Tarantula only moved, it danced to it with a kind of grave motion, much like the Benchers at the Revels'⁷¹. Such stately dancing may not have suited the livelier gentlemen: the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn offered inducements to any who would volunteer to 'be revellers upon occasion' in 1682⁷².

So highly valued was the customary social dancing of the Inns of Court that the senior lawyers insisted on the maintenance of the custom into the eighteenth century. On 25th November 1704, the Inner Temple Bench ordered 'that the ancient exercise of dancing be revived, and that it begin the first Saturday in next term'. They attempted to enforce a fine for not dancing but soon dropped the order⁷³. At Lincoln's Inn in November 1706 musicians were paid 'for the gentlemen to dance' and ten years' later special arrangements were made for guests to view 'the usuall entertainment of musick and dancing'⁷⁴. The last recorded Grand Day held at Inner Temple was on Candlemas Day 1774, a ticketed public event, during which the Chancellor and Judges danced around the fire to 'the ancient song usually sung on the Grand Days'; Mr. Anthony Ashton was paid two guineas to sing it and Mr. George Johnson was paid five shillings for making copies⁷⁵. As Baker, the legal historian, states: 'Lawyers being conservative spirits, the oldest forms of entertainment were kept up long after ordinary folk had moved on to newer fashions; and in the solemn revels, with the old measures and songs performed on such occasions we see vestiges of medieval court life'⁷⁶.

Conclusion

The Dulwich College Manuscript is an addition to the series of manuscripts recording sixteenth and seventeenth century dances, all of which include the sequence of eight identified as the Old Measures. While measures formed part of the contemporary dance repertoire of sixteenth century London, by the 1590s they had become a traditional practice at all four Inns of Court. We deduce that the maintenance of a set group of eight completed in a set order, which became known as 'the old measures', suited the dignity of a ritualised social occasion. Individuals required to ensure the correct sequence of dances and assist newcomers or future members to execute the dances properly, and to ensure that the

musicians played the correct tunes, found it expedient to write the Old Measures down. The person most likely to need a handy list would be the man in charge of the dancing at a revel. This might be a young gentleman elected Master of the Revels, a barrister chosen as Reader or someone deputised to manage this aspect of a revel. Butler Buggins is evidently such a man, noting down ‘The old measures of the Inner Temple London as they were first begun and taught by Robert Holeman a dancing master before 1640 and continu’d ever since in the Inner-Temple Hall’⁷⁷. Such a requirement explains the survival of manuscripts by a variety of individuals and with links to different Inns.

Customary practice in education and social life had an important function in maintaining the principle of the Inns as societies living in commons, as the Inns had no legal charter unlike universities. As Baker notes ‘By a combination of trust, agency, contract and custom...the inns of court preserved the medieval concept of a fellowship or community without recourse to incorporation’⁷⁸. This helps to explain the significance of the custom of dancing and its continuation in the face of resistance and passing fashion. Dancing, therefore, was a highly-valued practice of the legal community. From the records of the honourable societies of the Inns of Court, and associated documents, a more extensive history of dancing at the inns could be written. Meanwhile, this exploration of the dancing of the old measures at the Inns of Court provides a context for understanding the anonymous and undated Dulwich College Manuscript.

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Appendix 1. The eight manuscripts of English measures

The summary below provides a guide to the 8 known sources for the purposes of this article. Full transcripts for A, D – H are available in Wilson and Payne, and C in Payne.

Wilson, D. (1987) 'Dancing in the Inns of Court' in *Historical Dance*, 2, 5 1986/7, 3–16

Payne, I. (2003) *The Almains in Britain, c.1549 – c. 1675*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp 7–23, 211–241

A 1568–1570 GB-Ob, MS Rawlinson Poet. 108, fols. 10r – 11r (also known as the Gunter ms)

The old measures, and lorayne Allemayne, Brownswycke, The newe allemayne, The longe pavian, The new cycillia allemaine, Cycyllya pavyan, Caranto (or Quanto) dyspayne and The nyne muses

B c. 1570–90 Dulwich College MSS, 2nd Series XCIV, fol. 28

The old measures, and Cilia Pavyon, La down Sella, La Bonetta, Lasche Mysel and Lapassarella

C 1594 Taunton, Somerset Record Office, DD/WO 55/7, Item 36 (also known as the Willoughby ms)

The olde Measures, and The Galliard

D c. 1609 GB-OB, MS Douce 280, fols 66(a)v – 66(b)v

The ould Measures, and Robertoes Gallard, The Bodkin Galliard, Marke Williams his galliard, Passemeasures Galliard, The Temple Coranta, The Spanish Pavin, The French Levolto, The Ladye Laytons Measures, The Spanioletta, The Measures of Heaven & Earth, Basilina, Lesters Galliard, The French Galliard, The French Brawles

E c. 1611–1621 GB-Lbl, MS Harley 367, fols 178r – 9v

The old measures

F c. 1630 GB-Ob, MS Rawlinson D864, fols 199r-v

The old measures (on fols 203r- 204v Coranto Dance with diagram and The First Corantt with diagram)

G c. 1672 London, Inner Temple Library, Records of the Inner Temple, Vol. XXVII, fols 3r- 6v (also known as Buggins ms.)

The old measures, details of the revels ceremony, and dances Sinke a pace, Argulius measure

H c. 1672 GB-Lem, MS 1119, fols 1r – 2v

The old measures, details of the revels ceremony, and dances Tricatees, Argulius and An Holy Dance. Also tunes for The House Measure, Essex Measure, The Black Almains and Argulius

Appendix 2. The old measures

The spellings are varied across the 8 manuscripts, here given as in B Dulwich. The dances are essentially the same in choreography, allowing for variants in the informal note by each scribe, and changes across time.

The Passing measure pavyon

Turculoney

My Lo: of Essex measure

Tynterneall

The old Allmayne

The Queenes allmane

Cycilia Allemane

The Black Allman

Appendix 3. Reconstructions of the New Measures

La down Sella [La Damselle]

Dance	La down Sella Dulwich College MS. XCIVf.28
Music	La doune cella The Mulliner Book, No. 14: Caldwell, J. (ed.) (2011) <i>Musica Britannica 1</i> , London Stainer & Bell Melody line by Paul Kent Repeat scheme: AABBCDD Tune repeated as many times as wished

For several couples, one behind the other, travelling forwards.

A	Honour to the presence, honour to partner
A1	1 – 6 7 - 10
	2 doubles forward L, R; 2 singles sideways L, R; L double forward, R reprise back
A2	Repeat the above
B1 + B2	2 singles forward L, R; L double casting off to face the other way. 2 singles forward R, L; R double casting off to face forward again.
C1 + C2	2 singles forward L, R; L double forwards; 2 singles sideways R, L; R double backwards (the pavyon)
D1 + D2	4 quick sideways steps diagonally forwards L ('travis'); R reprise back. Repeat
Steps	Called an almain in Farnaby's Canzonet, which suggests the single and double finishing with a raised foot. It is suggested that the reprise is performed as one step diagonally backwards in the time of a double. The 'travis' can be four sideways steps (slips) in the time of a double step. The reprise and travis are best done finishing with closing both feet. By using opposite feet throughout (man leading with L, woman leading with R), the dance becomes more sociable.

La doune cella

La Bonetta [La Bonnette]

DANCE	La bonetta Dulwich College MS. XCIVf.28
MUSIC	La bounette The Mulliner Book No. 13: Caldwell, J. (ed.) (2011) <i>Musica Britannica</i> 1, London Stainer & Bell Melody line by Paul Kent Repeat scheme: AABBCC Tune repeated as many times as wished
	For several couples, one behind the other, travelling forwards
A	Honour to the presence, honour to partner
A1	2 singles forward L, R; L double forwards; 2 singles sideways R, L; R reprise (the pavyon).
A2	Repeat the above
B1	2 doubles forward L, R; 2 singles sideways L, R; L reprise back
B2	2 doubles forward R, L; 2 singles sideways R, L; R reprise back
C1	L double forwards; 6 paces forwards starting with the R foot; R single sideways, L reprise back.
C2	R double forwards; 6 paces forwards starting with the L foot; L single sideways, R reprise back.
STEPS	There is no information on the steps, but closed singles and doubles as in the pavyon will fit. '6 forward' probably means six walking steps, 2 to each bar.

La bounette

The image displays the musical notation for the melody line of 'La bounette'. It consists of three staves of music in 4/4 time, each starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#).
Staff A: Labeled 'A', it contains 12 measures of music. The melody starts with a dotted quarter note, followed by eighth notes, and ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.
Staff B: Labeled 'B', it contains 12 measures of music. The melody starts with a quarter note, followed by eighth notes, and ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.
Staff C: Labeled 'C', it contains 12 measures of music. The melody starts with a quarter note, followed by eighth notes, and ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Lasche Mysa [La Chemise]

Dance

Lasche Mysa
Dulwich College MS. XCIV/f.28

Music

La shy myze
The Mulliner Book No. 15: Caldwell, J. (ed.) (2011) *Musica Britannica* 1, London Stainer & Bell
Melody line by Paul Kent
Repeat scheme: AABBCDD
Tune repeated as many times as wished

For several couples, one behind the other, travelling forwards

- A Honour to the presence in 4 bars, short honour to partner in 2 bars
- A1 2 doubles forward L, R; 2 singles sideways L, R
- A2 Repeat the above
- B1 + B2 2 singles L, R forwards, L double forwards;
2 singles R, L sideways, R reprise (the pavyon)
- C1 Giving both hands to partner, L double crossing into partner's place, then R double crossing home
- C2 Letting go hands, L double sideways left, R double sideways right
- D1 + D2 2 singles sideways L, R; L double to turn single left;
2 singles sideways R, L; R double to turn single right
- Steps** Called an almain in Farnaby's Canzonet, almain steps will suit the dance, perhaps also for the pavyon figure.

La shy myze

The musical notation is written on a single treble clef staff in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). Section A (4 bars) starts with a repeat sign and contains a melody of quarter and eighth notes. Section B (4 bars) begins with a repeat sign, followed by a double bar line and a repeat sign, then continues with a melody. Section C (4 bars) starts with a repeat sign and continues with a melody. Section D (4 bars) begins with a repeat sign, followed by a double bar line and a repeat sign, then continues with a melody that includes first and second endings.